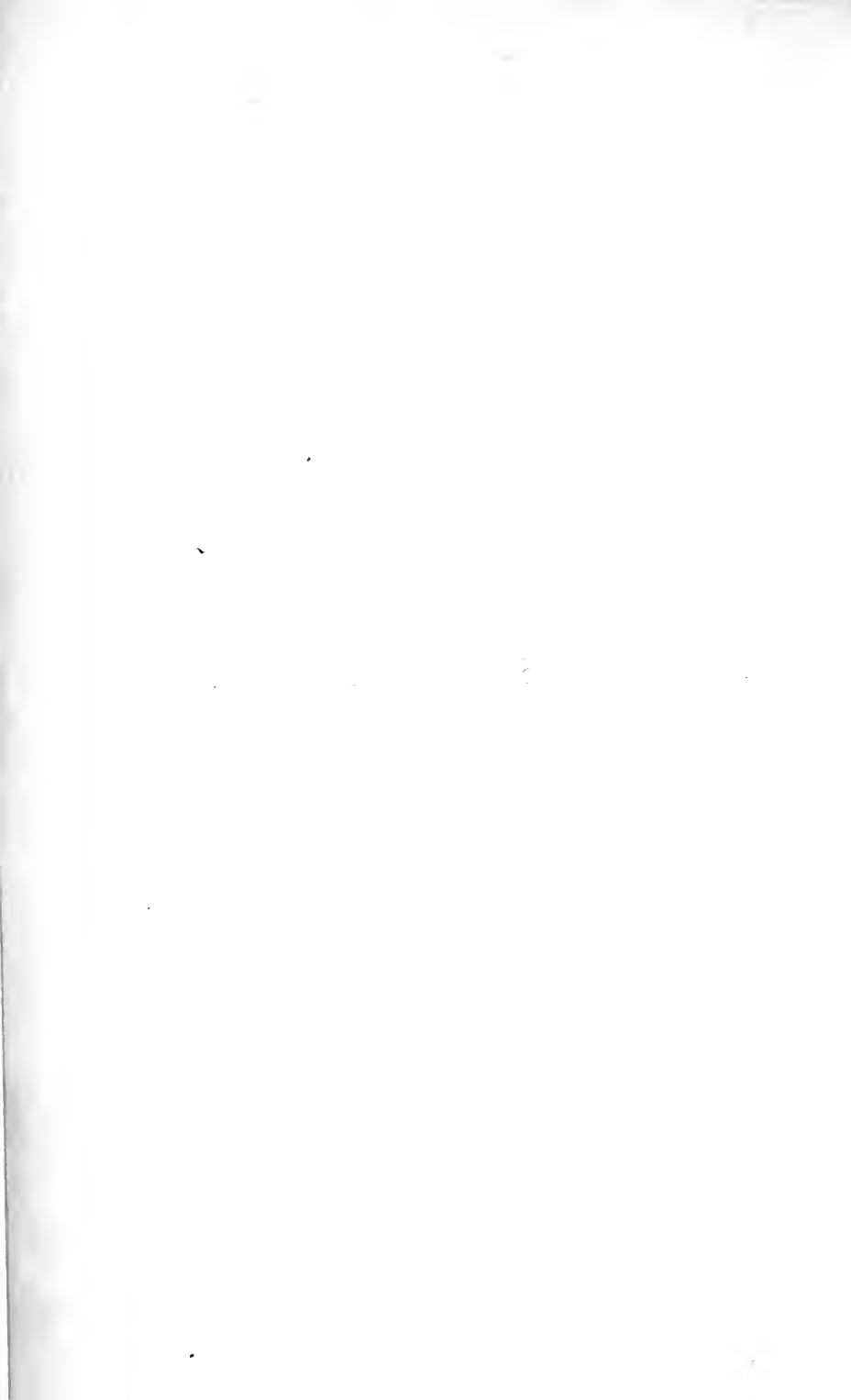






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THE PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE.



THE  
PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

AN ENQUIRY CONCERNING

THE TRUE MANNER OF UNDERSTANDING AND USING  
THE ORDER FOR

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER,

AND FOR

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION

IN THE

ENGLISH CHURCH.

BY THE LATE

PHILIP FREEMAN, M.A.

VICAR OF THORVERTON, CANON AND ARCHDEACON OF EXETER, AND EXAMINING  
CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

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VOL. II.—HOLY COMMUNION.

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*Stare super antiquas vias.*

*Σπάρταν ἔλαχες· ταύταν κόσμει.*

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## MONITUM.

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THE design of the following pages is to unravel, by means of an historical survey of the ancient belief concerning the HOLY EUCHARIST, viewed as a mystery, and of the later departures from it, the manifold confusions which have grown up around the subject, more especially since the fatal epoch of the eleventh century. Such a survey would seem to be the best preparation for entering upon the consideration of the English, or indeed of any other Communion Office. And as various questions, for which the only solution is to be found in such an investigation as is here attempted, have acquired unusual prominence at the present day, the writer has been induced to put forth the results of his inquiries in the form of a separate, though still, properly speaking, Introductory Treatise; not without a hope that various misconceptions will be cleared up, and agreement on fundamental points promoted, by the simple appeal which is here made to the facts of Eucharistic History.

ISLE OF CUMBRAE,  
*Whitsuntide, 1857.*



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THE  
PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

PART II.

---

INTRODUCTION.

ON THE HOLY EUCHARIST, CONSIDERED AS A MYSTERY.

---

“What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.”

---

I. THE Ordinance of the HOLY EUCHARIST, or HOLY COMMUNION, is admitted by all, who recognise in any degree its existence and obligation, to stand in a peculiar relation to the profoundest Mystery of the Gospel, the Sacrifice of the Death of CHRIST. Viewed as an act of Service towards ALMIGHTY GOD, it is, on the lowest estimate that can be formed of it, an ordained and solemn Memorial of that Event: on a higher view, it is much more. Considered, again, as a provision for the benefit of Man, while it is universally acknowledged as the occasion, at least, if not the channel, of peculiar Christian blessing, it challenges, according to a loftier conception of it, an absolute supremacy of Gift and Benediction among the ordinances of the Gospel. And under both characters, though by some, in these later days, held to be, in various degrees, devoid of supranatural relations, it was confessedly through long ages of the Church,

and is by the vast majority of the Christian world at this hour, conceived to be exceedingly mysterious throughout in its nature and operation: to be no less, indeed, than the highest line of contact and region of commingling between heaven and earth known to us, or provided for us;—a border-land of mystery, where, by gradations baffling sight and thought, the material truly blends with the spiritual, and the visible shades off into the unscen;—a thing, therefore, which of all events or gifts in this world most nearly answers to the highest aspirations and deepest yearnings of our wonderfully compounded being;—while in some ages and climes of the Church it has been elevated into something yet more awful and mysterious.

Such an Ordinance as this,—challenging such a position,—claiming, and known to claim, such powers,—could never fail at any period to command the attention, if not the reverence, of thoughtful humanity. Drawing towards it the longing vision, and engaging, in measure or excess, the faith and affections of some ages and minds; awakening the jealous scrutiny, and experiencing the colder construction, or the eager opposition, of others; it would be likely to give rise, in ample measure, to the recorded feelings and judgments of mankind concerning it.

Nor, accordingly, have successive ages of the Church been wanting in abundant records of this kind. The literature of the Eucharist, so to call it, possesses all that variety and extent which might beforehand have been expected.

To speak first, however briefly, of the sacred Writers of the New Testament. The extent to which the Holy Eucharist, no less than the other great

Sacrament of the Gospel, is spoken of or referred to by them, has been greatly under-estimated. The mention or recognition of it is by no means confined to the fourfold recital of its Institution, or to a few well-known passages. Besides many incidental allusions, it is the subjacent idea which gives shaping to large tracts of Holy Scripture—for example, in the Gospel of St. John<sup>a</sup>, and in his First Epistle, as well as in those of St. Paul. In the Acts of the Apostles, the celebration of the Eucharist appears from first to last<sup>b</sup> as a fixed Christian habit, and is therefore an ever-present element in the history: though, for the very reason that it was such a habit, it finds but infrequent mention. As to St. Paul, again, it is much to be observed, and has been shewn elsewhere<sup>c</sup>, that when he would build up the loftiest conception either of the Christian estate, or of his own peculiar office as the Apostle of the Gentile world, it is still the Eucharistic idea and function that he takes for his framework. Lastly, the Revelation of St. John would seem to contain undoubted recognition<sup>d</sup>, on a large scale, of the then existing Eucharistic worship of the Church.

In the Apostolic and post-Apostolic Christian

<sup>a</sup> Viz., chapters xiii—xviii. inclusive, and the whole of chap. vi. The connection of the latter with the Eucharist is recognised in all Liturgies. See also, for the testimony of the Fathers to that connection, Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, ch. ii. sect. 5; Wilberforce on the Eucharist, ch. vi. It will be seen, even by the marginal references ordinarily given, how closely the First Epistle of St. John is connected with the above specified chapters of his Gospel, and therefore with the Eucharist.

<sup>b</sup> Acts ii. 46; xx. 7. This latter occasion was in the course of St. Paul's last journey to Jerusalem.

<sup>c</sup> See Part I. note G, pp. 411, 412.

<sup>d</sup> See Williams on Rev. ch. iv. and viii. pp. 65, 140. For an instance, see above, Part I. ch. i. p. 68.

writings, again, from Clemens<sup>e</sup> and Ignatius<sup>f</sup> downwards;—in the notices we obtain of Christianity from heathen writers, commencing with Pliny<sup>g</sup>;—no ordinance or habit of the Church emerges earlier, or continues more constantly in view, than the Eucharist and Eucharistic assemblies: none is treated with the same degree of reverential mention, or of yet more significant silence or occult reference; none more frequently or more largely, notwithstanding a professed rule of reticence, commented on and expounded by the Church's great teachers. In those ages, the fuel of controverted questions on this particular subject was, indeed, as we shall have occasion to observe presently, happily wanting. But such was the warmth, on the other hand, of Eucharistic feeling and devotion, that, however pent up in the heart of the Church, it continually found vent for itself in the burning utterance, and the majestic writings, which such a theme naturally prompted. The artificial barriers of the system of concealment were from time to time overborne: and glowing torrents of thought, rich with the ore of Eucharistic truth, would flow from the lips of some Cyril or Ambrose, some Chrysostom or Augustine<sup>h</sup>. Other writers, from John Damascene in the East to Fulbert<sup>i</sup> of Chartres in the West, keep up the succession of writers on the Eucha-

<sup>e</sup> St. Clem. Rom., Ep. i. ad Cor., cc. 40, 41.

<sup>f</sup> St. Ignatius, ad Philad., c. 4; ad Smyrn., cc. 6—8.

<sup>g</sup> Plin. Ep., lib. x. 96.

<sup>h</sup> See more especially St. Cyril, *Mystagog. Catech. V.*; St. Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*; St. Chrysostom, *Homil. passim*; St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. x., and *passim*.

<sup>i</sup> Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres (1007—1028), the tutor of Berengarius, was one of the last, and not the least able, among writers on the Eucharist previous to the breaking out of controversy in the eleventh century.

rist for a thousand years from the time of its institution.

And if, again, from those more peaceful ages of the Church's Eucharistic history, we descend to others less fortunate, in which Eucharistic disputation is rife;—when the tide of controversy, ebbing from the regions over which it once rolled, and leaving them dry land, fixed and firm, has taken another direction, and covers spaces heretofore untouched by it;—when the old questions concerning the more purely theological articles of the Creed have ceased to be contested, and others, chiefly those concerning the ordinances committed to the Church, have come up in their stead: we find that on no point is the contest more keen, in none are more important issues held to be at stake, than in this one of the nature of the Eucharist. It furnished an element of exasperation, as well as a clear note of difference, between the East and West, in the great schism of the eleventh century<sup>k</sup>: it continued to exercise the dialectical subtlety of the West for five centuries more; and became, in an ever-increasing degree, the centre and the mainspring of her doctrinal and ritual enactments. In the sixteenth century, the standards round which the contending parties in the great controversy of the West severally rally, are found to be in fact no other than their several conceptions of the Eucharistic mystery<sup>l</sup>. And, alike for polemical and for more practical purposes, works dilating upon this subject have never ceased

<sup>k</sup> See below, sect. vii.

<sup>l</sup> This has been well brought out of late by Mr. Hardwick, in his able and lucidly-arranged volume on the period of the Reformation. Thus he observes, (p. 213), that “the question of the Eucharist was underlying all the controversies of the Reformation period.” See also *ibid.*, p. 166, &c.

to flow forth in a continuous stream down to the present day.

Add to this, that the diversity of forms,—with however remarkable an identity of general outline, and, in kind, of contents also,—assumed by the Eucharistic rite in various Churches and ages of the world, opens to us another wide and somewhat intricate field of study. The Liturgies of the Universal Church are in themselves a literature. And the investigation, by a host of writers, of their features and history,—their variations at successive periods,—their correspondences and relationships,—has from the ninth century<sup>m</sup> downwards formed a regular branch of ecclesiastical science. The vast text of the Church's Eucharistic Ritual has come to possess a yet vaster and more voluminous commentary.

Thus has there gathered round the Holy Eucharist an immense body of writings, Divine or human,—devotional, controversial, or ritual,—detailing no brief or unimportant chapter of the religious history of mankind.

II. Let us next observe what is the state of things disclosed to us by these various writings and monuments, viewed as the Church's Eucharistic records.

We find, then, that the history of the Church, as far as concerns the Holy Eucharist, from the hour of its Institution down to the present day, falls into two great periods of widely dissimilar character. For the space of fully a thousand<sup>n</sup> years, we behold, not with-

<sup>m</sup> Amalarius (circ. 820) may be reckoned the earliest regular commentator on the Ritual of the Church. (*Libri IV. De divinis Officiis.*)

<sup>n</sup> The earliest date that can be named for the emergence of controversy proper on this subject, is, as will be shewn hereafter, about 1030—1035, (*L'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, c. 17.*) The precise distance of 1,000 years from the Institution will be noticed. Wickliffe



out astonishment, the spectacle of peace and unanimity prevailing within her borders as to this Ordinance. While, for the succeeding period of eight centuries more, we are presented with a no less uninterrupted scene of controversy and division on the same subject. The Church has had, speaking broadly, her day of Eucharistic devotion and charity, when the only contention was how best to honour and use so high and holy an Ordinance: and her day of Eucharistic polemics and division, during which thought and writing upon the subject of the Holy Eucharist have mainly spent themselves in maintaining or impugning particular views as to its abstract character, and as to the essentials for its valid celebration.

It will be understood that we are not now entering into the question whether there was, or was not, during the former of these periods, any departure, or tendency to depart, from the perfect Apostolic standard of Eucharistic doctrine and practice in all respects: but only observing, that, as yet, on this subject, *controversy*<sup>o</sup> was not. And indeed, the fact of its abeyance for the space of about *eight* centuries is very generally admitted. We may, however, for reasons to be alleged presently, safely acquiesce in the view of those who extend, by two centuries more, the duration commonly assigned to the uncontroversial period.

and Bishop Cosin have remarked upon it (Hist. of Transubstantiation, chap. vii., init.) as being *about* 1,000 years, referring to Rev. xxii. 2, "But at last the thousand years being expired, and Satan loosed out of his prison, to the great damage of Christian peace and religion," &c.

<sup>o</sup> Dean Milman distinctly recognises this: "That Presence had as yet" (in the eleventh century) "been unapproached by profane or searching controversy; had been undefined by canon, neither agitated before council nor determined by Pope." Latin Christianity, vol. iii. p. 21. So also does Jeremy Taylor, Real Presence, I. 2.

Neither, again, is any question here made of the existence of much earnestness and devotion in connection with the Eucharist, alike in the lives and writings of Christians, during the latter of these two periods. But the prevalence, during the same time, of Eucharistic controversy, as well as the great prominence and even preponderance given to the controversial element in the treatment of Eucharistic subjects, is unhappily too notorious.

Such then being the case, it is natural to enquire how all this came to pass: to ask what were the causes, as well of the ancient unanimity, as of the modern dissension on this subject.

Now it is true that in this, as in all other events in the fortunes of the Church, we must discern and thankfully acknowledge the overruling of the Divine Hand. For thus has it been ordained all along, and not in this instance only, that, though divisions must needs come, they should not take place on the various great points of Christian belief at once, but in succession. The great questions about the Nature of the Godhead and the Person of Christ arose not simultaneously, but each one as the other was laid at rest,—the Arian, the Sabellian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, the Monothelite. And just so, while this whole class of questions was under debate, was there another class, scarcely less extensive or important, the discussion of which was happily, as yet, delayed. And as in the speculative controversies the acknowledged facts of Eucharistic doctrine furnished, as is well known<sup>p</sup>, an important and valuable standard of appeal: so, con-

<sup>p</sup> For a full catena of passages of this kind in ancient writers, see "The Doctrine of the Real Presence, in Notes on a Sermon," by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., note G, p. 75, (Oxford, 1855).

versely, in the Eucharistic controversies of later times, those great theological verities have been always accepted as established axioms on either side. But for this provision, it might well have been that the human mind, in default of some fixed stay in each of these periods, would have rushed into irretrievable anarchy and chaos.

But it is at the same time reasonable that we should enquire into the secondary causes of the phenomenon before us. The question unavoidably suggests itself, How was it, humanly speaking, that this controversy was delayed so long? and from what cause, after so long a delay, did it at last break out and become inveterate?

Was, on the one hand, the Eucharistic belief and practice, in which those earlier ages reposed, on the whole right and true? in its leading features, that is to say, and deducting some minor irregularities or corruptions,—excrescences<sup>9</sup>, so to speak, which had grown up under the broad shadow of the Church's otherwise sound and healthful convictions as to the

<sup>9</sup> A remarkable instance of what is meant is furnished by the comparatively early rise of the practice of desiring the intercession of the departed, of which there is no trace in the very earliest form of the Liturgies. The Sacramentary called St. Leo's, doubtless belonging (see Muratori *De Reb. Liturg.*) to the close of the fifth century, abounds in collects of this kind. But they occur almost exclusively in the comparatively private Services for the days of saints and martyrs. The Sunday and high Festival Services continue almost entirely free from them for ages after: so much so, that our Revisers in the sixteenth century, while constrained to reject or alter, almost without exception, the collects for Saints' days, were able to retain, with few exceptions, all those for Sundays and great Festivals. The great trunk of the Eucharistic Rite was all along sounder, in this point, than the branches. So, again, Apostolic habits in respect of frequency of reception, and of reception as an indispensable feature of joining in the rite at all, had, from the fifth or sixth century onwards, been gradually departed from. See below, sect. iv.

main question? Was the peace of those days an inward and a genuine, as well as an outward and actual peace;—the repose of a healthy organism;—the harmonious action of divinely-attempered elements essentially pacific in their relations, and not properly provocative of controversy? and might, accordingly, this uncontroversial state of things, but for some external violence done to the frame of Eucharistic verity, have been perpetuated without prejudice to the interests of truth?

Or was that peace, on the contrary, a deceitful calm;—the mere slumbering of elements essentially antagonistic, and whose ultimate collision was inevitable? Were views really irreconcilable entertained all along in the bosom of the Church, so that men in those days, after all, only agreed to differ? and was it consequently a duty, only too long delayed, to have raised at a yet earlier period the standard of reaction against unsoundness of teaching and practice, on the one side or the other?

On the answer to this question the whole of the modern controversy about the Eucharist really hinges. At the same time the conditions of the problem are apt to be somewhat misconceived. To apprehend it, and the *data* for its solution, correctly, we must carefully consider it in its whole aspect and bearings. To have stated it aright is, as in similar cases, to have more than half answered it.

Now in the first place, it must, I think, be admitted, that the fact of controversy, *on a subject of this nature*, having been so long unknown, affords a considerable presumption that, but for serious fault in some quarter or other, it need never have arisen at all. The presumption is, in short, that the Church,

not in the very earliest times merely (which no one doubts), but almost down to the very period of the rupture, when some element of discord was introduced, was, on the whole, as to the main question, in possession of the truth.

For let it be considered how absolutely unique and without parallel, in the whole history of the Church, is this condition of things, taking it in all its circumstances. That corruption on single and subordinate points of faith or practice should grow up for a considerable time unperceived and unprotested against, is only too much in accordance with our experience of human nature. But that the whole Church, *on such a subject as this*, should have been at rest so long;—that the human mind, in the presence of so great and so confessed a mystery, (for such the entire Church of old certainly esteemed it to be), and about which such solemn and profound language is used both in Holy Scripture, and in the rituals of all Churches, should have continued to manifest no outward disagreement respecting it for so immense a period; and that too the very period in which the yet profounder mysteries of the Godhead, and of the Union of the two Natures in the One Person of Christ, were canvassed from every possible point of view, and gave rise to the most eager controversies:—this is surely a most remarkable and unexampled phenomenon, and almost bespeaks, as its cause, such a sober and conscious possession by the Church all along of the true Eucharistic doctrine, such a firm and steady grasp upon the entire extent of the Verity, as defied the operation of the ordinary causes of difference and disputation.

And the corresponding presumption as to the

second or controversial period of the Church's Eucharistic history, is, in like manner, that which has been above suggested: namely, that some element of disorder, and that of no ordinary character, but of the most active and virulent kind, had at the exact juncture of the commencement of this period, or not long before, insinuated itself into the hitherto sound and healthful constitution of the Church's Eucharistic belief and practice. More especially, that the controversy, so long delayed, should, when once set in motion, have assumed so intense and so leading a character as it did, sweeping into the area of its range all other questions, and becoming, hitherto at least, interminable; so that what before had been the Church's one "enclosed garden," into which no strife could enter, became henceforth her battle-field:—this suggests, to say the least, as its probable cause, the entering in of some subtle agent, inimical to the ancient harmony of the Church's paradise; some new and false conception properly destructive of Eucharistic truth, and therefore of Eucharistic peace. There must have been, we cannot but think, "a loosing," as it were, "to deceive all nations, and to gather them together to battle," of some spirit of evil heretofore "bound for a thousand years," during which the "priests of God and of Christ," the Christian people of God, had "reigned with Him," serving Him with one accord<sup>r</sup>.

III. But let us examine what degree of support these general presumptions receive from history;—what indications there are of this being the true account both of the old harmony and the later discord within the Church on the Eucharistic subject.

<sup>r</sup> Rev. xx. 2—8.

That the former did not arise from any indisposition in the temper of those times to speculate on mysterious subjects, or from any lack of the most intense interest in this particular one, we have already seen. And it is equally certain that the later disputations did not originate, as some have supposed, in any peculiar aversion to the acceptance of mysteries in general; since the far profounder ones relating to the Godhead, which had perplexed the earlier ages, were now implicitly accepted by all parties: nor yet in indevotion and indifference; the contest being on both sides that of men in earnest, and deeply anxious about religious truth.

But if we can point, on the other hand, to certain elements of stability inherent in the subject itself, though not peculiar to it; and again, to certain protecting influences, by which it was peculiarly, and beyond all other doctrines belonging to the same class or category with it, shielded of old time from question and debate; and lastly, as the result of all these, to a corresponding mode of entertaining and treating Eucharistic doctrine, such as rendered controversy all but an impossibility, so long as that mode was persevered in:—we shall then have a sufficient reason to render of the ancient abeyance of controversy.

And if we can, on the other hand, at the period, and in the particular quarter of the Church in which the controversy had its birth, discern, first, a gradual breaking down and withdrawal of those influences which had warded it off hitherto; then the introduction, and (owing to the removal of those defences) the ready admission, of a particular conception fatal to the balance of the elements of stability before-

mentioned; and, lastly, as the consequence of this, a marked abandonment of the earlier and controversy-excluding habit of mind in dealing with Eucharistic subjects:—we shall then have a no less adequate account to render of the breaking out of the controversy, and perhaps also of its intense and comprehensive character.

And if this be accepted as a true account of the whole matter, it will go far, at least, to suggest the course to be taken by the Church in order to make an end of controversy, and to win her way back to the ancient Eucharistic harmony. That course would clearly be, for every branch of the Church which had thus in any degree departed from the old manner of viewing and treating the Eucharistic subject, and the old habit of mind respecting it, to return to that manner and habit; and to bring over the doctrine, as far as might be needed, the old protecting influences under which it had so long reposed. For thus, though thus only, could it be reinstated, throughout the Church, in its ancient and long undisturbed condition of equilibrium, and consent respecting it be once more restored.

Let us see, then, how far we can discern in the circumstances of the Eucharist itself, and in the mode of viewing it prevalent during the two periods of its history respectively, the characteristics of which I have spoken.

Now it is to be observed, that in almost all cases in which a mysterious truth is propounded by ALMIGHTY GOD for our acceptance, it is in reality to a twofold or compound, and not to a single or simple article of belief, that our assent is required. The peculiar task which our faculty of belief is set in



such cases, is no other than this: to hold in conjunction, simply and without reserve, some *two* divinely affirmed matters or positions, either of which we should probably make no difficulty of accepting by itself, but whose *compatibility*, or *possible co-existence*, we are unable to perceive. So is it with the great cardinal truth of the Holy Trinity: of the Unity, that is, of the Godhead, and of the existence, nevertheless, in that Godhead, of Three Persons. Both truths being as clearly declared in Scripture, as they were from the beginning unhesitatingly handed down by the Church; it is not in reconciling them, or in proving their reconcileability,—a task beyond the reach of human faculties,—that right faith consists: but in simply believing them both, leaving to God the solution of the difficulty or mystery. So is it, again, with the Union of the Two Natures in the One Person of CHRIST; with the co-existence of God's foreknowledge and our free-will; with that of divine inspiration and human writing; and many like mysteries.

And for our confirmation and encouragement in holding fast to a Creed involving not a few such paradoxes as these, notwithstanding the cavils which it is obvious to make against it on that account, we are provided, in the natural scheme of things, with perfect or sufficient analogies. The union of the soul with the body; the connection between life and thought; between volition and mechanical action in the animal frame;—these and other facts of the same class, occupying the mysterious confines of matter and spirit, are perhaps as inexplicable by us as the class of truths just described; as the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the hypostatic Union: since we can

give no account whatever of the manner in which the co-existence has place, or how it can have place at all, in the one case any more than in the other. The only difference is that, in the case of the theological verities, the two great *terms* of the paradox or mystery in each case, as well as the paradox itself, are completely above our apprehension. Our incapacity to reconcile them, or conceive the mode of their co-existence, is in both cases absolute. And our position, as believing Christians, is, that we hold to our divinely-attested Creed on these mysterious points, notwithstanding our inability to reconcile the two terms of the mystery in each case: just as we accept, on the evidence of our senses, the fact of certain wonderful co-existences and combinations within and around us, albeit it defies our penetration to discern, or even conceive, the manner of them.

It follows from hence, that the path alike of duty and of safety for the Church and her teachers, with reference to any mystery of the Faith, is to entertain, with frank and unsolicitous confidence, the *positive* apprehension of both terms or members of that mystery. So long as this is honestly and equally done, there is little danger, nay, scarcely a possibility, of departure from the truth. Every mystery, in fact, considered as propounded to man, possesses, as some compensation for the difficulties which may surround the acceptance of it, the elements of its own stability. To believe it with perfect and unclouded apprehension of it as a whole, is indeed denied to us; but to believe equally and equably concerning it, to fix and exercise the mind and heart on both its terms alike,—this is as possible for us, as it is incumbent upon us.

It is only necessary to observe further, concerning the apprehension of any mystery, that, as regards the way in which the two terms or sides of it mutually affect each other, all we know, strictly speaking, is this :—that, while neither term can be held to affect or diminish the degree in which the other is true, or in other words, the *truth* of its existence, each does nevertheless of necessity affect, in a *negative* way, the *manner* in which the other exists or has place.

Thus, while the Unity of the Godhead is, as a truth, absolute and unqualified, we are at the same time assured that the manner in which That One Godhead exists is *not* such as to forbid a plurality of Persons in It :—and again, the real Plurality of Persons is *not* such as to militate against the Unity of the Divine Substance. We must not “confound the Persons,” nor “divide the Substance.” So, once more, in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, the perfect Godhead exists ; yet so, as to the *manner* of Its existence, as not to swallow up, notwithstanding Its glory, the proper Humanity ;—the perfect Humanity exists, yet so as not to exclude, notwithstanding its weakness, the proper Godhead<sup>s</sup>.

Now the Holy Eucharist, by the very terms and circumstances of its original Institution, is a mystery of the kind here spoken of. Our blessed Lord, in instituting it, declared, in the plainest and most unqualified manner, that “the Bread,” which He had just “taken” and “blessed<sup>t</sup>,” (or “given thanks”

<sup>s</sup> “Dominus noster Jesus Christus, in Unitate unius ejusdemque Personæ, ex duabus et in duabus substantiis, divina scilicet et humana, subsistens, et mira protulit ut Deus, et infirma sustinuit ut Homo.”—Fulbert. Carnot. Ep. i.

<sup>t</sup> St. Matt. xxvi. 26 ; St. Mark xiv. 22. (Comp. 1 Cor. x. 16.)

over<sup>u</sup>;) and “broken,” was “His Body,” Which was then being “broken,” or “given” to God the Father in sacrifice<sup>x</sup>: and that “the Cup” over which He had “given thanks<sup>y</sup>,” was “His Blood of (or under) the New Covenant,” Which was then being “shed<sup>y</sup>.” As such, the disciples were bidden to “take, eat, and drink” them. And this action, with the like effects guaranteed to it, was to be repeated until His Second Coming.

How these things could be as He declared them to be, is inconceivable by us. The Ordinance is herein an absolute mystery. It involves a paradox or apparent contradiction; a seeming incompatibility of terms: in short, a mystery, whatever the exact nature or limits of that mystery may be held to be.

Accordingly, those who have most earnestly sought to deprive it of all proper paradox and mystery, by the ejection and elimination of either of its terms or members, have failed in the attempt. Such as, on the one hand, would fain ignore the visible and earthly side of it, are met by the insuperable difficulty that the outward aspect and other natural circumstances of the Eucharistic elements remain confessedly or

<sup>u</sup> St. Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.

<sup>x</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 24; St. Luke xxii. 19. (Comp. 1 Cor. x. 16.) This is undoubtedly the force of the participles κλάμενον, διδόμενον, ἐκχυνόμενον. They describe a process then, in some true sense, going forward. See Green's Grammar of the New Testament. As an illustration of the term “given” in the sense of “offered to God in sacrifice,” compare Levit. vii., where it is said of the freewill-offering (consisting partly of slain victims, partly of bread, &c.), “he shall *offer* for his gifts (δῶρα) leavened bread, &c. . . . and the flesh shall be eaten in the same day that it is *given* (δωρεῖται),” vers. 13, 15. Comp. Micah vi. 7; Gal. i. 4; Eph. v. 2; Tit. ii. 13, 14; St. John vi. 51. See, on this whole subject, below, Part II. ch. i.

<sup>y</sup> St. Matt. xxvi. 27, 28; St. Mark xiv. 23, 24. See note x.

demonstrably unaltered<sup>2</sup>. Those, on the other hand, who would disallow the invisible and supranatural element in the Eucharist, have been unable to give any reasonable or tolerable account whatever of the tremendous, and yet clear and precise language, uniformly employed by our Lord and His Apostles when speaking of it. They are constrained to represent that the proper and ordinary sense of words is to be held to have been absolutely suspended and done away with in all such passages of Holy Scripture:—that there is absolutely no intelligible relation, much less any proportion, in such passages, between the terms used and the things signified. It is impossible to characterize in any other language the view which would understand the passages alluded to<sup>a</sup> as pointing to nothing more than the inward operation of the heart of man, acting under special influences of the Holy Spirit.

Thus has it been found too severe a task for the utmost stretch of the combined zeal and ingenuity of man, to evacuate the Holy Eucharist of all paradox and mystery. Something still remains in it to be accounted for; something which it baffles human powers perfectly to reconcile and clear up. The ma-

<sup>2</sup> The Council of Trent itself allows not only that the “accidents” of colour, taste, smell, and touch remain (Catech. Trident. II. 24.) to the Eucharistic elements after consecration; but also that their power of nourishing the body (and therefore, in fact, their substance) remains likewise. (Ibid. c. 35.)

<sup>a</sup> Such as, “This is My Body, which is being given for you: This is My Blood, which is being shed for you.” “Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you.” “The bread which we break is the participation of the Body: the cup which we bless, of the Blood of Christ.” “Whoso eateth of this Bread and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ.”

terial elements on the one side, the language of our Lord and His Apostles on the other, are found to oppose an invincible impediment to all attempts at resolving its compound being into a single one; at annihilating either its natural or its supranatural component. It remains a divinely-stated paradox, absolutely irreconcilable by man; a mystery utterly beyond his power to clear up: and such it must ever be.

The Eucharist, then, being thus by universal, however in some cases reluctant admission, a mystery, does not stand alone, but belongs to a class. The difficulties, which may attach to the apprehension and acceptance of it, are not, in kind, peculiar to it. Considered as a mystery, all that, in strictness of speech, it demands, in order to its being fully and safely held, is that frank and unquestioning acceptance of it in both its terms, or on both sides of it, which has been above spoken of as being demanded in the case of any mystery. To accept and affirm, with undoubted faith, that which Christ Himself has assured us of, namely, that the consecrated Elements are His offered Body and Blood, to be partaken of, as such, by us; and to hold no less that which He gave us no reason to doubt of,—which St. Paul expressly affirms<sup>a</sup>, and our senses convince us of, namely, that they are Bread and Wine:—this, surely, by the analogy of all other mysteries, must be the path at once of duty and of safety, of obedience and truth.

Nor does that analogy, be it remembered<sup>b</sup>, less clearly and certainly evince, that while the proper *existence* of both terms of the Eucharistic mystery is

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 26. “The *cup* which we bless, the *bread* which we break.” “As often as ye eat this *bread* and drink this *cup*.”

<sup>b</sup> See above, p. 17.

to be thus unhesitatingly maintained, the *manner* in which each exists or has place is necessarily affected, negatively, by the fact of the existence of the other.

The existence of the elements in their proper nature, after consecration, is absolute and unqualified; but the *manner* of that existence is *not* such (this is all we know about it, but this we do know,) as to exclude the other term of the mystery: it is elevated, and therefore changed<sup>c</sup>, from that which they naturally have, by the fact of their being also the Body and Blood of Christ. They are still Bread and Wine, but *not* mere ordinary<sup>d</sup> Bread and Wine; not bread and wine in their merely natural condition.

The existence of the Body and Blood of Christ is, in like sort, absolute and unqualified; but the *manner* in which They exist and are present is *not* such as to exclude the other side of the mystery: it is affected and changed from the manner of existence which They naturally have, by the fact that the elements cease not to be Bread and Wine. They are the Body and Blood of Christ, but *not* the Body and Blood of Christ under Their merely natural or physical conditions and mode of existence. Whether the mode of existence of the Body and Blood is elevated, or by a condescension lowered, we cannot say. But that it is not the same as, but is changed from, that in which They were manifested on earth, is certain; since we no longer either see or handle Them. They exist

<sup>c</sup> "Nor do we deny that the elements are changed by the benediction, so that the consecrated bread is not that which nature has formed, but that which benediction has consecrated, and even changed by consecration." Andrewes, *Apolog. ad Bellarm.*, Oxf. ed., p. 263.

<sup>d</sup> "For we do not receive these things as common bread and common drink, but . . . the food over which thanksgiving has been made is the Flesh and Blood of Jesus." Justin Martyr, *Apol. i.* 66.

in or through a new medium, or under a veil<sup>e</sup>. The manner of Their existence and manifestation on earth was visible and palpable, as the subjects of sight and touch; the manner of it in the Eucharist is under a veil, impalpable and invisible.

Of the nature or manner, *positively*, of this manifestation, we know nothing. We say, indeed, that it is after a heavenly or a spiritual manner: yet not as undertaking to explain<sup>f</sup> the mode of existence; but only employing terms used from the beginning, to signify that it is after an unearthly law of being, and in order to high moral and spiritual *effects*, that the Presence of the Body and Blood has place. Neither yet do we use this language as desirous of explaining away the simple reality of that Presence, but only as excluding the mere ordinary and physical manner of it.

Nor are we without assurance, at the same time, both of the possibility and probability of that which we thus in simple faith accept. For we are assured,

<sup>e</sup> Compare Ratramnus: "Under the veil of the corporeal or substantial bread and wine, the spiritual" (i. e. mystic or mysteriously exhibited, as he elsewhere explains himself,) "Body and Blood of Christ exist." De Corp. et Sang. Domini, c. xvi. Elsewhere he speaks of "obumbratio quædam," through which the "heavenly" and "divine," or divinely-existing, Body of Christ is discerned by the faithful soul, cc. vii., ix.

<sup>f</sup> Comp. Jer. Taylor, Real Presence, I. 2: "The word 'spiritual' is so general a term, . . . that we are, in this specific term, very far from limiting the article [i. e. the thing meant] to a minute and special manner. Our word of 'spiritual presence' is particular in nothing, but that *it excludes the corporal and natural manner*. We say it is *not* this, but is to be understood, not naturally, but to the purposes and in the manner of the Spirit and spiritual things: which how they operate or are effected we know not. . . . Christ [the Body and Blood of Christ] is present spiritually, that is, by [and in order to] effect and blessing [spiritual]."



first, that the human body is capable of other modes of existence than its ordinary and natural one, without ceasing to be the same body: St. Paul insisting very earnestly<sup>g</sup> that other bodies have this capacity; and that the human body, in particular, will hereafter exchange its natural mode of existence for one which he calls spiritual.

And again, we know by undoubted testimony that the Body of Christ, especially, is capable of more than one manner of Presence; of other modes of Manifestation over and above that which is common to It with other human bodies. The fact that, though Human, It is nevertheless the Body of a Divine Person<sup>h</sup>, might even lead us to expect<sup>i</sup> that It would possess such peculiar capacity. And accordingly, after His Resurrection He appeared not always in His proper Form, but in some others<sup>k</sup>; so that, though present in the Body, He was sometimes not seen to be so; at others, though seen, not recognised: and this by reason of a change in the mode of manifestation of His One Body.

But further, there is a manner of Presence of His Body, with which, as Christians, we are more especially familiar, and which, however mysterious, we make no difficulty of accepting as a truth. The Church is affirmed in Holy Scripture<sup>l</sup> to be in such very deed "the Body of Christ," that nothing can ex-

<sup>g</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 37—44.

<sup>h</sup> St. Ambrose, in speaking of the sacramental mode of Presence, "Corpus Christi Corpus est Divini Spiritus." De Sacram.

<sup>i</sup> "Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi Corpore, cum *præter naturam* sit Ipse Dominus Jesus?" St. Ambros., De Myster.

<sup>k</sup> St. Mark xvi. 12; St. Luke xxiv. 16; St. John xx. 14, 15.

<sup>l</sup> Eph. i. 23, "The Church, which is His Body." Col. i. 24, "For His Body's sake, which is the Church." In 1 Cor. xii. 12, the Church seems to be called "Christ," as being so truly His Body.

ceed the clearness or strength of its language to that effect. Her members are even said to be members “of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His Bones<sup>m</sup>.” Here then we have, for our confirmation in our faith concerning the Eucharistic manifestation of the Body and Blood of Christ, *a fact of the same order*; a manner of Presence and Manifestation of His real Body, not only widely different from that which had place in the days of His sojourn upon earth, but akin to the mode which we say has place in the Eucharist.

For, first, there is here exactly the same amount of paradox or mystery,—neither less nor more,—as is involved in the supposed Eucharistic Presence of His Body and Blood. If *we* are really and truly, though in a manner perfectly inconceivable to us, His Body, (or Flesh) without losing our natural condition or identity, but only receiving mysterious elevation; there is no reason in the world why the Elements of Bread and Wine may not also be His Body (or Flesh, St. John vi. 51—56) and Blood, losing nothing of their nature, but only having honour put upon it.

And this mode, again, is also closely *akin* to the Sacramental or Eucharistic manner of His Presence; since the one is the result of the other. The mystical Presence of Christ in the Church flows out of the mystical Presence of His Body and Blood in the Sacrament, and is the very purpose of it. The identification of the Church with Christ’s offered Body, and in a manner with Christ Himself, is effected<sup>n</sup>, as by

<sup>m</sup> Eph. v. 30.

<sup>n</sup> Compare the English Office: “Then we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink His Blood; then . . . *we are one with Christ, and Christ with us.*” So also an ancient Gallican Collect: “O Lord, Who wilt feed us both to feed on Thy Body and to become Thy Body:” on which Mr. Bright well remarks, in his valuable compilation of “Ancient Col-

an instrument, by the reception of the Elements which are identified with His broken Body and His Blood poured out.

Such is the amount, and such too are the limits, of the knowledge we can possibly have of the Eucharist as a mystery. Beyond this we cannot go, in the way of apprehending the relation or the connection between the two terms of that mystery. All expressions, which seriously proffer any further and positive clearing up of it, must be viewed as being, at best, illustrations°. Even as illustrations, they cast not so much as a taper's light on the necessary obscurity of the subject. If insisted upon as philosophical explanations, or as a real account of it, they are entirely inadmissible, nay, are in the highest degree mischievous, and can only result in the overthrow of both the mystery and the Ordinance.

Held, on the contrary, as a mystery, in accordance with the proper law of all similar mysteries, the Eucharist inherently possesses those elements of stability, that capacity for being held aright, which, as has been shewn, is common to this entire class of doctrines. Embraced with equal good faith and unreservedness in both the terms of which it consists, without any

lects," "The life of the Church, as Christ's Body mystical, is kept up by the Sacramental Communion of His Body and Blood." p. 45.

° Such illustrations and illustrative expressions abound, as is well known, in the Fathers. Such are, besides various comparisons, the terms "to transmake," "transelement," "re-arrange," "transform," "transfer," "translate," "transfigure." The Liturgies meanwhile are remarkable for using the simplest and least figurative or explanatory terms; from the Syriac and St. Basil's "exhibit," or "shew," to "make," or "become." See on the whole subject, and for instances, "Notes to a Sermon on the Real Presence," (as before), Note Q, pp. 162—251. Comp. Jer. Taylor, "This account does still leave the article in his deepest mystery."

anxiety or endeavour to lower either in deference to the supposed requirements of the other, or to explain the subject farther than it is self-explanatory, it has even an inherent tendency to be correctly conserved in all its main articles.

IV. But next, can we point to any peculiar influences by which this particular mystery of the Faith was, beyond others, fenced from liability to have its equilibrium, and consequently its correct subjective apprehension, overthrown? Was there anything special in this case, to hinder that "paring away," as Hooker<sup>p</sup> expresses it, of one or other of its terms, which befel the other mysteries in succession at a comparatively early period? any peculiar home and sanctuary for its abode, where all doubts or disputations, that might be likely to arise concerning it, would be presently stilled and laid at rest, because there the verity of Eucharistic doctrine, in the exactitude of its divinely-constituted proportions, was embodied and enshrined? any storehouse wherein was laid up an answer and a limit, on the right hand and on the left, to all the principal questions naturally suggested by a subject so profound and mysterious?

The reader will have anticipated the reply. The Eucharist, after all, is not merely, or even chiefly, a Doctrine, but an Action: not a Mystery only, but also, and primarily and supremely, a Rite. Other mysteries, such as the great theological Verities, are essentially doctrines to be believed, not actions to be done by us. They may indeed be recognised in a prayer or rite; and this was one principal mode of

<sup>p</sup> L. E. P., V. lii. 1.

their preservation in the Church. But such truths reside not in a Rite as their proper home, but are external to it.

With the truth of the Eucharist it is otherwise. From the earliest time it was, by the very nature of the case, embodied, in its entire extent, in actions and forms of speech, which effectually, in all main points, interpreted its intent and powers to generation after generation. The Eucharist was its own definition, and contained within itself its proper limitations. Divine Wisdom, acting at first through Apostolic ministration, and continuing to preside over the counsels of the Church Universal, had so cast the general frame of the Ordinance, such as the Churches at the first inherited, and in the main preserved it, that there was little room for the entering in of question or controversy. The very facts and manner of its administration maintained the due balance of the faith concerning it. Eucharistic doctrine appeared there in its true character, as no single or uncompounded, but a twofold, or two-sided truth or body of truth, both whose members were to be held in conjunction, be the mode of reconciling them what it might. This would be a powerful, and might have been an impregnable bulwark against error. Even a tendency to unequal recognition of the two parts of the mystery would be checked by the tenor of the Ritual. Any endeavour or anxiety to reduce either to the lowest degree, would fail to find any real countenance in it. But actual *denial* of the existence of either the one or the other could only be hazarded in absolute defiance of its provisions and teaching.

All this we might in a manner be sure of beforehand, even if we had no knowledge of the old forms of Eucharistic Service. The Eucharistic Mystery would

be certain, we might safely say, to be equably embodied in the Eucharistic Ritual.

But we are not left to conjecture. No one can survey in their entire range, their breadth and length, the ancient Liturgies of the Church Universal, such as they were throughout her uncontroversial period, without perceiving that such is actually the case. However clear and uncompromising the mind which they betray,—however strong and intense their mode of expression,—on either side of the mystery, on its higher side more especially; insomuch that for the time the other may seem to be excluded: they never fail, scanned in their entire extent, to represent, beyond all gainsaying, *both* sides. Nay more, they shelter both the mystery as a whole, and every particular article and feature in it, from those extremes to which a disregard of either side of it necessarily leads.

There, in those ancient Liturgies, for them of old time, (and no less for us, when we have recovered a just knowledge of their contents and significance,) not the true nature and powers only of the Eucharist, but,—what is no less important,—the true *limits* of that nature, and of those powers, were set forth in characters not easily to be misread or perverted. What the supreme and all-including design of the whole Ordinance was, and what its subordinate and more incidental purposes only, though still far from unimportant ones:—what its real relation to the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, neither less nor more; whether a profoundly mysterious representation and presentation, or again, a mere mental remembrance, or lastly, an actual miraculous repetition of it:—in what light<sup>a</sup> the consecrated Elements were to be

<sup>a</sup> For the testimony of the Liturgies on these points, see below in this Introduction.

viewed in virtue of their consecration; and, no less distinctly, in what light they were *not*.—whether they were to be esteemed mere symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ, and nothing more, or as His Very Body and Blood, and nothing less:—whether on that account they lost their proper nature, or retained it entire together with their new and mysterious condition and functions:—whether, further, they could claim to be Christ Himself, or to involve His Presence in the entirety of His Person, and nothing short of That, or to be His Sacred Body and Blood indeed, but nothing beyond:—whither, and whither alone, Divine worship, praise, and prayer were to be directed, and whither profoundest reverence only<sup>r</sup>:—what were the ordained conditions of valid consecration, as well in respect of the matter and form, as of the person officiating, and of the persons necessarily concurring in it:—whether the rite was, in its inalienable character, social, or might be solitary; its benefits to be personally sought, or to be obtained vicariously<sup>s</sup>:—whether the whole action was in its nature divisible, and so might be participated in by halves<sup>t</sup>; or absolutely indivisible, so that except as a whole it had no meaning or proper existence whatsoever:—whether, lastly, the Elements were singly and separately in-

<sup>r</sup> See note q, preceding page.

<sup>s</sup> For a succinct account of the rise of the notion of vicarious communion, according to which the priest is said to receive sacramentally for and in behalf of the people, while they communicate spiritually, see Scudamore, “Communion of the Laity,” ch. ii. 5.

<sup>t</sup> On non-communicating attendance at the Eucharist, see Scudamore, *ibid.* His brief but convincing treatise sets the question absolutely at rest, shewing that there is not the least shadow of countenance for the practice in the early usage of the Church. “No fact,” says Maskell, “is so undeniable, none rests upon greater authorities.” (*Anc. Liturgy*, p. 129, ed. 1846.)

stinct with grace and virtue for their proper purposes, or only when both were received, being otherwise of absolutely unknown and unrevealed effect:—the answers, I say, to all these questions, so eagerly discussed for the last eight hundred years, though equally unknown<sup>u</sup> as doubts for a thousand previous, were read with sufficient clearness for all practical purposes in the ancient Liturgies; or rather were imbibed as principles in the devout use of them.

Even the re-arrangements in point of order, the expansions or contractions in bulk, which, as will be shewn hereafter, all Liturgies underwent, more or less, in the first six or seven centuries, were, as it should seem, so sufficiently presided over and attempted by the admitted and traditionally-preserved design of the rite, that there resulted no material or immediate departure from the old proportions of Eucharistic faith and practice. These alterations have indeed in some instances obscured, to the eye of later ages, the true original theory of the Rite: but at the time they would be unlikely to cause any misapprehension.

Here then, namely, in the existence and the constitution of the ancient Eucharistic Ritual of the Church Universal, do we find, as I conceive, a sufficient account of her long-continued harmony on the entire subject.

For, first of all, the general mind would reflect the Liturgies. Like the Eucharistic Offices throughout the world, it would be at one as to the facts of Eu-

<sup>u</sup> With the single exception of the question of non-communicating attendance at the rite, and solitary communion, which is only a branch of it. The former of these grew up as early as the sixth century; the latter probably in the seventh or eighth. See on both points, Scudamore, ii. 2, 4.



charistic doctrine, or be content to appeal to those Offices.

And we may safely (to remark this by the way,) take with us this rule, that, in determining Eucharistic questions, *Liturgies are greater than Fathers*. The Fathers, in truth, ever defer to, or do but expound, the Liturgies. *Legem credendi lex statuebat supplicandi*. It is inconceivable that they could for a moment desire to render any other mind, in their teaching, than that which was contained in the Offices familiar to them. And there is this signal advantage in a Liturgy, as compared with a writer, considered as bearing testimony on Eucharistic subjects,—that we have its whole mind before us; the different parts of it balancing and compensating each other, and presenting the mystery not on one side only, but on all. Writers, on the contrary, mostly deal with one side of a truth at a time: and we may or may not possess, in their remains, their testimony to the countervailing verity which they held with it. Hence, particular passages of writers must be viewed in connection with the whole body of their works; particular writers balanced by comparison with the whole body of writers:—a difficult and seldom very satisfactory process.

But in more ways than one the existence of a uniform system of liturgically embodied Eucharistic truth throughout the world, would have the strongest possible tendency to produce essential harmony of Eucharistic teaching and writing. Not the doctrinal facts only, but the balance, the equable apprehension of them, would be preserved also. The *temper* of the Liturgies, the mode of dealing with the Eucharistic subject conspicuous in them, would naturally com-

municate itself to those whose devotions and rule of spiritual life they were, and foster in them a like habit of thought and expression. The Doctors and ecclesiastical writers would speak and write, on the whole, after the pattern of the Liturgies. They would unconsciously acquire from their nurture under them, clear and strong *positive* apprehensions of both sides of the Eucharistic mystery, and be in the habit of giving utterance to them.

As to the higher side of the mystery, there would be little likelihood, with the glowing and awful language of Holy Scripture and of the Liturgies before their eyes, of their under-stating it. They would be more especially led to express, with the fearlessness of an uncontroversial period, and the warmth of a devotional one, their feelings and conceptions of the divine and supranatural element in the subject: and thus would present, on occasion, the appearance of ignoring the earthly and natural one. But they would be no less certain, if not as individual writers, yet as a body of writers, at least from time to time, and in various unconscious ways, to evince their full recognition of the latter. They would be unlikely to utter anything that could fairly be construed into a denial of it: far less would they address themselves deliberately to the task of proving that it had no existence, or only an apparent and delusive one. And thus, on whatever side or aspect of the subject they might be led by their disposition or circumstances to dwell, there would arise no conflict of opinion, because no real contrariety. Whatever there might be of it in appearance, would be in appearance only. It could never acquire the solidity of a real issue, or the proportions of a serious controversy.

And so we find it to be. The inward character of the consecrated Elements is more insisted on than the material one; but there is to the full as much as could be expected of dwelling on the latter: of denial of it, it is difficult, if not impossible, to substantiate a single instance; while of a pervading habit of denying it, or of anxiety to do so, no one pretends that there is any trace. This has been proved<sup>‡</sup>, of late years more especially, by the clearest evidence.

A pertinent illustration of the view here taken, as to the cause of the Church's ancient Eucharistic harmony, is furnished by a recent writer<sup>‡</sup>. Taking a survey of the first seven centuries, he notices several systems of thought, or habitual modes of conception, as to the Eucharist. He discriminates five "different ways in which their positions or their characters led as many different parties to speak of this Sacrament. Their real accordance, amidst such apparent diversity, affords," he justly observes, "the surest proof that their fundamental idea was the same." He remarks in one school of writers a tendency—though no more—to error, "such as the disallowance of the natural powers of the Bread and Wine, from too exclusive attention to the undoubted truth that the elements are changed by consecration." But "there were two other schools which served to qualify this tendency. The opponents of Eutyches were led to make such assertions respecting the outward part of the Eucharist, as qualified any tendency to forget its existence, to which the language of the other school might

<sup>‡</sup> See more especially "Notes to a Sermon on the Real Presence," Notes G, M, N, for passages in which the Fathers recognise "the continued existence of the elements in their natural substances."

<sup>‡</sup> Wilberforce, *Doctrine of the Eucharist*, ch. ix. p. 271—297.

have given rise." And again, "mistakes respecting the inward part were in like manner corrected through that line of thought which was naturally taken by the opponents of Nestorius." "These different schools, then, qualify the language of one another:" one "attests the fact that the elements are changed by consecration:" another "that the outward part is not to be forgotten:" a third "that the inward part is the Very Body of the Incarnate Son." He asks in conclusion, "How should there be such concert respecting the thing conveyed, except because this was a constituent part of the Church's original deposit?" The doctrine must have been "a practical conviction, rooted in the deep and wide-spread belief of a whole community." Undoubtedly it was so. And one thing only needs to be added to these statements; namely, that it was beyond all question in the *Liturgies* of the Universal Church that this "original deposit" was laid up;—it was through them that this "deep, wide-spread belief" was inculcated.

Thus may the absence of Eucharistic controversy, in ages both of unbounded speculation, and of strong Eucharistic feeling, be nevertheless sufficiently accounted for.

V. At what period then, our next enquiry is, and through what predisposing causes, was this harmony broken up, by the abandonment of the old healthful mode of viewing and treating the Eucharistic mystery? For as long as that mode was persevered in, so long, we need not fear to assert, controversy would have been impossible.

Now there arose, it is true, in the course of the eighth century, some apparent conflict of opinion or expression as to the Eucharist. John Damascene, an

Eastern writer, (circ. 740,) took occasion, in connexion with the subject of image-worship, to condemn the use of the terms "figure." or "type," as applied to the elements, affirming them to *be* what our Lord called them. The second council of Nice in the East (787), the council of Frankfort in the West (794), took up the same position. On the other hand the council of Constantinople (754), affirmed no less earnestly that the elements *are* a figure or type of the Body and Blood of Christ. But on neither side is there any denial of the outward or the inward part of the mystery<sup>z</sup>: nor, consequently, did any controversy arise even out of these public and conciliar decisions, however at first sight incompatible with each other.

It is commonly represented, however, that controversy concerning the Eucharist commenced early in the ninth century; Paschasius Radbertus<sup>a</sup> (in 820), on the one hand, and Ratramnus<sup>b</sup>, Rabanus Maurus, and others (840—850) on the other, having maintained diametrically opposite views upon the subject. But in truth, on a careful examination of their writings, no such opposition can be discovered. That the writers

<sup>r</sup> On this whole subject, see "Notes to a Sermon on the Real Presence," Note I, pp. 94—115.

<sup>z</sup> See L'Arroque, Hist. of Eucharist, ch. xii. He points out particularly that Damascene nowhere says that the substance of the symbols is destroyed. It is equally clear, though this writer explains it away, that the council of 754 affirmed and held the elements to be in a true sense the Body and Blood of Christ.

<sup>a</sup> His chief treatise is entitled "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini," (Martene et Durand. Vet. Scriptorum Collectio Amplissima, tom. ix. pp. 382—470.) It may be said to be rare in this country, being only found in this bulky and expensive work; and few probably are acquainted with it except at second-hand.

<sup>b</sup> "Liber Ratramni (or, Bertrami) De Corpore et Sanguine Domini." The Oxford Ed. of 1838 is reprinted from Boileau's (1686), after a MS. found by Mabillon in the monastery of Lobez. Boileau's translation is very partial and inaccurate.

nowhere impugn each other by name, is confessed. And the views maintained by them respectively prove on enquiry to be no more than the carrying out of one or the other term of the Eucharistic mystery, as anciently held. On neither side is this accompanied by a denial of the other term.

It has been said indeed, and the opinion has very widely prevailed<sup>c</sup>, that Paschasius affirmed the annihilation of the elements in their proper nature. But there is no such statement in his writings: nor does Ratramn, or any other contemporary of his, charge him with holding this opinion. The immediate design of his treatise was to affirm that the Body and Blood, which our Lord meant when He instituted the Eucharist, were no other than those which He gave for our redemption on the Cross. This he does, for the most part, in the language of the old writers, with

<sup>c</sup> This is most probably owing to the fact that Berengarius, writing two centuries later (1050—1070), represents Paschasius to have affirmed this doctrine: “Sapis contra omnes naturæ rationes si cum eo (Paschasio) sapis, in eo quod solus confingit, Sacramento Domini corporis decedere panis omnino substantiam.” Even if Berengarius had access to writings of Paschasius now lost, it can hardly be said that this was the leading idea in his mind, since it does not appear in his regular treatise on the subject. It is more probable that he overstates the view of Paschasius. (See Berengarius, de Saerâ Cœnâ, pp. 33, 65, al. Ed. Berolin 1834.) Dean Milman (Hist. of Latin Christianity, vol. iii. p. 21) has been misled, probably by the authority of Berengarius, into stating, as Paschasius’ view, “that the bread was actually annihilated.” And he even attributes to him the invention of the term “transubstantiatio,” which is found in no earlier writer than Peter Damiani, (circa 1041.) The nearest approach to a denial of the existence of the elements in Paschasius is in his first chapter: “*Licet figura panis et vini maneat, hæc nihil aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt.*” But this may well mean that the outward visible elements are really the Body and Blood, and nothing less. And Ratramn himself says the same: “Post mysticam consecrationem *nec panis jam dicitur nec vinum, sed Christi corpus et sanguis.*”

whom he was well acquainted. But though his language to this effect is strong, with a tendency towards the merely physical, and his illustrations (chiefly copied from the Life of Gregory the Great by Peter the Deacon, and of themselves proving that he conceived Christ's Body to be present under a veil and in a mystery) coarse and unpleasing, he confines himself to the positive statement of that side of the mystery with which he is dealing. He neither affirms the annihilation of the elements, nor any of those doctrines<sup>d</sup> which were freely drawn as deductions from that position as soon as it was distinctly maintained at a later period. He also admits, in several places, that the Eucharistic transaction is not after the order of nature, but is a mystery<sup>e</sup>. It would seem, therefore, that he stands clearly distinguished<sup>f</sup> from those who in after ages overthrew the balance of Eucharistic doctrine by denying the existence of the material

<sup>d</sup> Thus he nowhere represents that the elements are no longer food after consecration; nor so much as hints at divine worship being due to them. He affirms, in clear contradiction to the doctrine which obtained in the eleventh century, that "*Christum fas vorari dentibus non est.*" He assumes, throughout, reception in both kinds: and views reception as indispensable to joining properly in the rite. And he rejects as impious the opinion so boldly avowed after the eleventh century, that the priest can create God Almighty: "*quia si posset, quod absurdum est creator Creatoris fieret.*" See his Treatise "*De Corpore,*" throughout.

<sup>e</sup> In his Tract *De partu Virginis* (c. iv.) he says: "*Quia Christum fas vorari dentibus non est, voluit in mysterio hunc panem et vinum carnem suam et sanguinem . . . potentialiter creari.*" So again, "*De corpore,*" &c.;—"Veram carnem et verum sanguinem, sed *mystice*: mysticum est sacramentum, nec *figuram* illud negare possumus." (c. iv. p. 394.) Ratramn himself could not say more.

<sup>f</sup> This conclusion is avowed in by Bp. Cosin; "Yet in that whole book of Paschasius there is nothing that favours transubstantiation of the bread, or its destruction or removal. He hath many things repugnant to it." (Cosin's *Hist. of Transubst.*, p. 118, ed. 1840) His editor (vid. p. 116, note) also says that "Paschasius' expressions hardly amount to transubstantiation."

elements: and is rather to be classed with such of the older writers (as for example St. Chrysostom) as used the most nearly physical language with reference to the Body and Blood of Christ as present in the Eucharist.

The view, again, which Ratramn takes occasion to dwell upon, proves on examination to be no other than this, that there is a difference between the *manner* of Presence of Christ's Body in the Eucharist and that of Its Presence on earth in the days of His flesh<sup>g</sup>: it being invisible to the bodily eye in one case, and visible in the other; and the like distinctions. In short, he insists upon the other side of the mystery: on the proper existence of an outward and material medium, necessarily modifying and affecting the manner of Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. But the fact of such a Presence he fully admits<sup>h</sup>, and therefore does not come into any real collision with his supposed adversary Paschasius.

There is indeed, at first sight, a clear opposition between the two; the one asserting that the Body received in the Eucharist is the same which Christ had on earth and gave for our redemption<sup>i</sup>: the

<sup>g</sup> So c. 60, "Est quidem corpus Christi, sed non corporale, sed *spirituale*."

<sup>h</sup> "Non enim putamus ullum fidelium dubitare, *panem illum fuisse Christi Corpus effectum*," c. 28. "Panis per sacerdotis ministerium Christi Corpus conficitur," c. 9. "Panis substantiam et vini creaturam convertere potuit in proprium corpus." By these clear expressions, which are as strong as anything Paschasius says, must we judge of Ratramn's meaning when he speaks (as Paschasius does too, above, note e) of the bread as "the figure of Christ's Body," and the like expressions: as e. g. "claret, quia panis ille vinumque *figurate* Christi Corpus et Sanguis existit." He does not mean unreally or metaphorically, but under another, which he elsewhere calls a spiritual, manner of being. So he explains *figura*, l. c.

<sup>i</sup> Comp. Jeremy Taylor, Real Presence, I. 11. "It is inquired whether, when we say that we believe Christ's Body to be 'really' in the Sacrament, we mean that Body, that Flesh, that was born of the Virgin



other that it is not. But when they come to explain themselves, they clearly shew that what they both alike believed, was a different mode of manifestation or existence of the same Body.

That the opposition commonly assumed to exist between Paschasius and Ratramn is, to say the least, very equivocal, appears from hence, that some, however improbably, have thought that they were one and the same person<sup>j</sup>. And we have seen that they employ, on occasion, language almost identical. But a further and more convincing indication of this is furnished by the silence of the Church at the time, and for a long while after. Had there been direct contrariety and incompatibility between the views thus openly and widely maintained, one or other of them (it matters not which) must have been irreconcilable with the received faith of the Church at that time: and,—as in the succeeding age, when a tangible issue had arisen,—Popes and councils would have been called upon to adjudicate in the matter<sup>k</sup>.

Mary; that was crucified, dead and buried? I answer, I know none else that He had or hath. There is but one Body of Christ [c. g.], natural and glorified: but he that says the Body is glorified which was crucified, says it is the same Body, but not after the same manner. And so it is in the Sacrament: *we eat and drink the Body of Christ that was broken and poured forth*; for there is no other Body, no other Blood, of Christ: but though it is *the same* which we eat and drink, *yet it is in another manner.*"

<sup>j</sup> See Bellarmine, ap. Martene, tom. ix. p. 382.

<sup>k</sup> Compare Milman, as quoted above, p. 7. note o. And L'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, ch. xv. init.: "It is a thing very worthy to be observed, that the Popes Nicholas the third and Adrian the second, &c., having been spectators of so obstinate a combat (?) without engaging on either side, and seen men's minds divided, though unequally, upon the subject of the Sacrament, yet after all declared not themselves in favour of the one side or the other; and it doth not appear that they opened their mouths either to condemn or approve either of the two opinions."

But it was manifestly felt that the attitude of Eucharistic doctrine was not compromised by those discussions, or any real controversy raised.

The treatise of Ratramn, however, proves that there were some at that time who represented that the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist were discernible by the senses. But they seem to have dreamed not so much of the natural Body and Blood being exhibited and received in their natural condition, as of a new Body and Blood, consisting of Bread—a “*corpus panaceum*”—and Wine: so that there was no veiling<sup>1</sup> or mystery, no outward and inward part. The idea of the senses being deceived, which is necessary to the theory of annihilation or transubstantiation, does not seem to have occurred to them: indeed, Ratramnus appeals to the evidence of the senses as decisive, by universal admission<sup>m</sup>, of the reality of the elements. Nor do we find the idea of the destruction of the elements so much as mentioned in the ninth century, save once<sup>n</sup>, by a single writer (Johannes Scotus, or Erigena, circ. 850), who rejects it as untenable, but does not say whether any one believed it.

And all that can be affirmed of this century is that a tendency having manifested itself in some quarters, probably among the unlearned, to neglect or depreciate alternately the one side or the other of the Eucharistic mystery, Paschasius took occasion

<sup>1</sup> “Dum quidam dicunt quid nullâ sub figurâ, nullâ sub oblatione fiat, sed ipsius veritatis nudâ manifestatione.” c. ii.

<sup>m</sup> “Hæc ita esse dum nemo potest abnegare,” &c. c. x.

<sup>n</sup> He says, “Convincere ipsa verba in consecrationem panis instituta, non decedere sacramento panis materiem.” (Johannes Scotus, quoted by Berengarius, Ep. ad fratrem Aseclinum, Harduin, Acta Concil., tom. vi. pars 2. p. 1020.)

to press one side, viz. that the Elements are the very Body and Blood of Christ; Ratramn and other writers the other, viz. that they are so after another manner of existence than the natural one. Of such mere tendencies to error, speedily and effectually corrected by the teachers of the day, it would be easy to find abundant indications in far earlier ages. But to neither case can we properly apply the name of controversy.

We may pass in like manner through the tenth century<sup>o</sup> without finding any author who denies the proper existence in the Eucharist, either of the elements or of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Saxon Ælfrics, Archbishops of York and Canterbury (995—1006), and others, chiefly insist upon the same side of the mystery as Ratramnus: while no writer perhaps, came forward to vindicate in a special manner that which had been selected by Paschasius. Odo, however, Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>p</sup>, (940,) repressed a tendency among his clergy to view the elements as a mere figure of the Body and Blood of Christ, and used strong language as to the change. But we have no proof that he affirmed the annihilation of the elements.

And the nearest approach that we discern, throughout these centuries, to such a view, appears in the form of an enquiry, as to whether the consecrated elements, though confessed to be nourishment, were liable *in all respects* to the same physical processes as ordinary food. The idea of their passing, without being corrupted, into the substance of the human body, by

<sup>o</sup> See the history of the century in L'Arroque, ch. xvi.

<sup>p</sup> Edmer, in Parker's Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 78, quoted in Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, p. 201.

a peculiar exhalation or absorption of them, had been entertained by earlier writers, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>a</sup> and St. Chrysostom, and afterwards by John Damascene<sup>r</sup> in the eighth century, and by Amalarius in the ninth (820). But this was only a pious theory as to the manner of the absorption of the material elements. Of their proper substantiality after consecration, and of their consequent power of nourishment, I do not find any writer to have doubted until the eleventh century.

Thus were the writers of the first ten centuries, so far as we are informed, only following out, with whatever earnestness, one side or other of the Eucharistic mystery. Even when they seem, and sometimes seemed even to themselves, to be running counter to each other, it is not so in reality.

And thus was there, as it should seem, for ten centuries, no real breach made in the Eucharistic peace of the Church. However violent, in either direction, the apparent oscillations of the doctrine, according as one side or the other of it was pressed by different writers or periods, it had all along in reality maintained its stability, and might, for aught that appears, have maintained it to the end of time.

VI. How far predisposing causes were making way, meanwhile, for the acceptance of any unsound principle that might chance to be propounded at this period, shall be considered presently.

But it is on the very verge of the eleventh century that we seem for the first time to discern a disposition to maintain in good earnest a view of the Eucharist properly involving the annihilation of the

<sup>a</sup> Catéch. Mystagog. 5.

<sup>r</sup> Damascen. Orthod. Fid. c. xiv.

elements. That which Paschasius cannot be proved to have held, and which, indeed, is incompatible with his other opinions, was not improbably the opinion, some time before the year 999, of Gerbert, who in that year became Pope, by the title of Sylvester II. At least he denounces the opinion of those who believed the elements to be subject in all respects to the accidents of ordinary food; and there were probably others who shared his views. It is true, that this opinion does not necessarily involve a belief in the destruction of the elements; we have seen that in the ninth and preceding centuries, so far as it was entertained at all, it only indicated a belief that, retaining their proper nature, they were absorbed in some peculiar manner into the human frame. But it is certain that a few years later than the date of Gerbert, it began to be combined with a distinct assertion of the abolition of the elements; and it is not improbable that it may have been more or less distinctly associated, in the mind of Gerbert and his contemporaries, with this view.

It is not, however, until nearly the middle of the eleventh century, that we know for certain such a view to have been expressly maintained. About the year 1040, or somewhat earlier, we find Berengarius, or Berenger, a native of Tours, and Archdeacon of Angers, earnestly opposing, as a doctrine which had obtained considerable currency, the opinion *that the Eucharistic elements were annihilated*<sup>s</sup> *by consecration.*

That the denial of this position was the exact

<sup>s</sup> This was the position of Cardinal Humbert at the Council at Rome, 1059. "Susceperat Burgundus (i. e. Humbertus) *negare panem et vinum in mensa Dominica superesse.*" Lanfranc. de Veritate Corp. et Sang. Domini.

characteristic<sup>t</sup> of the views of Berenger, and that he fully believed<sup>u</sup> the Elements to be the Body and Blood of Christ is certain, alike from the admission of his opponents, and from his own writings.

Here, then, namely in the rise and promulgation of the doctrine just described, do we, for the first time in the history of the Church, discern the deliberate maintenance of a position properly fatal to the old stability of Eucharistic doctrine, as "overthrowing the nature" of a mystery having two terms; and fraught, therefore, sooner or later, with the seeds of disunion and controversy on the subject. And in fact, as we have seen, we become aware for the first time of the existence of the doctrine by the opposition offered to it.

Thenceforward controversy properly exists: not the mere contrast between theologians severally intent on different sides of a mystery; not the shooting past each other, without collision, of two parallel lines of thought, projected from opposite but not really opposed points of view; but the meeting and collision of properly contradictory and irreconcilable

<sup>t</sup> Thus Lanfranc, one of his ablest opponents, says, addressing him, "Nicolaus Papa, comperiens te docere, *panem vinumque* altaris post consecrationem *sine materiali mutatione in pristinis essentiis remanere,*" &c. Lanfrancus de Sacra Eucharistia, Bibl. Patr., tom. iv. p. 194.

<sup>u</sup> Roman writers, as Mabillon and Martene (see Gieseler, ii. 411; Hardwick, Middle Age, p. 186), have admitted that Berengarius was sound on this point. And he himself says, "Certissimum habete, dicere me, panem et viuum altaris, post consecrationem, *Christi esse verera Corpus et Sanguinem* (Berengar., de Sacra Cœnâ, adv. Lanfrancum, p. 51;) and "Panem et Vinum per consecrationem converti in verum Christi Corpus et Sanguinem evangelica apostolicaque simul autenticarum Scripturarum est sententia." Ibid. p. 57. His work "De Sacra Cœnâ" was lately discovered, and published at Berlin, 1834. For a brief but clear account of the controversy, see Hardwick, Middle Age, p. 182—186.

affirmations. Nor is it denied<sup>x</sup> even by those who maintain that the old Eucharistic doctrine underwent no change at this period, that in the direction given to Eucharistic speculations, and in the tone and manner of handling the entire subject, the utmost possible difference, as compared with those of earlier times, is henceforth observable in the West. An eager desire to reduce to the lowest point the material term of the Eucharistic mystery, and the discussion of various theories by which this may be accomplished; in short, a subtle and dialectic, a philosophical and controversial habit of thought, strongly contrasting with the implicit and unenquiring manner of the earlier writers, is undeniably the characteristic of the eleventh and succeeding centuries. A sharp and trenchant line divides the Eucharistic literature of this period from that of the preceding one.

The controversy, too, at its first breaking out, was no less wide in its range than real in its issue. For whereas the putting forth of their several views by Paschasius and Ratramnus was followed, as we saw, by no overt rupture whatever in the peace of the Church, nor called forth a single conciliar determination, now it was far otherwise. All Europe was speedily in commotion. The newly raised question was discussed in no less than *nine* Western Councils<sup>y</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Cosin (Hist. of Transubstantiation, c. vi. p. 153, new ed.) quotes Alphonsus de Castro, and other Roman writers of the sixteenth century, as allowing that "the matter of transubstantiation was not so much as touched, or rarely, by the ancient fathers:" "De transubstantiatione panis in Corpus Christi, rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio."

<sup>y</sup> They were held at (1) Rome, (2) Briotna, in Normandy, (3) Verceil, (4) Paris, (all in 1050,) (5) Tours, 1054, (Hildebrand legate), (6) Rome, 1059, (7) Rome, about 1074, (8) Rome, 1079, (under Gregory VII.,) (9) Placenza, 1095. (Harduin. Concil. vi. p. 2.) Comp. Milman, Lat.

in the course of fifty years, from 1050 to 1095; and the East was from the first involved in the quarrel.

As to the balance of parties throughout Europe during this period, it is variously stated, according to the bias of different writers. That the minds of men, however, were greatly divided hereupon, is admitted on all hands. And that all France, Italy, and England were in the first instance largely possessed, to say the least, with Berengarius' doctrine, is allowed by writers most opposed to him<sup>z</sup>, writing not long after. The fact, on the other hand, of his condemnation by these councils in every case but one—albeit a result far from unanimous, and traceable partly to the activity of two or three leading opponents<sup>a</sup>, partly to misrepresentations of his views<sup>b</sup>,—clearly shews that the doctrine impugned by him was, during the latter half of the eleventh century, in the ascendant among the ruling clergy, and even in a great measure among the people.

The question is, whether of the two views was the novel one: that which Berengarius represented, and was condemned for holding; or that which, impugned

Christianity, vol. iii. p. 20. "But the opinions of Berenger threatened a civil war,—a contest within the Church, within the clergy itself."

<sup>z</sup> William of Malmesbury, writing circ. 1130, and Matthew of Paris (1240), say, "In the eleventh century all France was full of Berenger's doctrine" (in Wilhelm. L.) Matthew of Westminster (1377), says, "Eodem tempore (i. e. in 1087) Berengarius Turouensis *omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, suis jam pene corruerat pravitatibus.*"—(Flores Hist., tom. i. fol. 8, ed. 1567.)

<sup>a</sup> As Lanfranc; Humbert, Cardinal of Blanche-Selva, (to whom Berengarius positively and exclusively ascribes the authorship of the recantation forced on him in 1059,—Berengar. de Sacra Cœnâ, p. 25, ed. Berol. 1834); and Cardinal Benno: see Hardwick, Middle Age, p. 185.

<sup>b</sup> "He was accused, as usual, of opinions which he did not hold, of reducing the Sacrament to a shadow," &c. Milman, Lat. Christianity, p. 24; see Hardwick, Middle Age, p. 183, note 7.



by him, was affirmed in these councils, and triumphed throughout the whole West for five hundred years.

The sole point at issue, be it remembered, was *whether the elements lost their proper nature and substance, and were destroyed, by consecration, or not.* Of this proposition, Berengarius (while fully recognising the consecrated Elements as the Body and Blood of Christ) maintained the negative; his opponents the affirmative.

Now I have ventured to assert, that no instance of the doctrine of the annihilation of the elements being enunciated and adopted as an opinion can be found in either the East or West much before the year 1040. And if this be so, then in this sense, at any rate, namely, as a position consciously and deliberately maintained, it must be allowed that that opinion was new.

But there are also indications that even as a notion, and in however latent a form, it had not long been entertained. For example, we have seen that, in the first instance at least, the popular feeling was confessedly, to a great extent, with Berengarius. Now it is certain, and will be pointed out presently, that the tendency of the general mind on Eucharistic subjects had for a long time past been in the opposite direction, and towards whatever magnified and enhanced the mysterious character of the elements; not toward any view that tended to lower it. And it is incredible that, in the face of such a tendency, Berengarius should have been able, as some historians<sup>e</sup> re-

<sup>e</sup> "The opinions of Berenger were widely disseminated by the poor scholars who wandered about the country from the school at Tours, and who were maintained at the cost of Berenger."—Milman, vol. iii. p. 241. But this cause is totally inadequate to produce such an effect in such times.

present the matter, to procure such wide acceptance for a doctrine novel and unheard-of hitherto, and which detracted so far from the mysteriousness of the elements, by representing that they retained their natural properties. He must have *found*<sup>d</sup> the mass of men in that opinion already: he did not—we may with some confidence say he could not—*make* them so.

But further, in the very last council in which he was condemned during his life-time (1079), there was confessedly a considerable party of the clergy that sided with him. Above all, the presiding Pope himself, Gregory VII., (who indeed, as legate, had pronounced his acquittal at Tours in 1054), so far from thinking it certain or clear which was the old view and which the new, or whether of the two would triumph in the council, instituted a solemn fast “to the end that God would shew whether the Church of Rome or Berengarius were in the truest opinion.”

All these things duly considered;—the entire absence of any direct affirmation of the doctrine until the year 1040;—the strength in which the side of Berengarius mustered, notwithstanding the confessed tendencies of the age;—the division of opinion to the very last in the councils of Rome herself;—to which has to be added, as we shall see hereafter, the remarkable fact that not even Rome has ever ventured, at any period subsequent to this century, to maintain the doctrine in the same stringent form, and in its necessary results:—it seems that the only con-

<sup>d</sup> He himself claims the sympathies of a very large class throughout the whole Church; speaking of those “qui per infinita terrarum spatia, gavisī sunt, gaudent, gaudebuntque pro veritate per me assertā.” —*De Sacrá Cœnâ*, p. 27.

clusion we can possibly come to, is that the opinion of the annihilation of the elements, when first opposed by Berengarius about 1035 or 1040, had then,—say within half a century,—but newly arisen or found any supporters; and that in the lapse of that time it had been systematized, and (from causes to be noticed presently) made great though by no means unexampled progress. The alternative supposition,—namely, that Berengarius invented the doctrine,—is beset by real and indeed insuperable difficulties.

While, therefore, it is easy to speak of the “heresy of Berengarius<sup>e</sup>,” meaning thereby the doctrine that *the elements retain their being and proper nature after consecration*: the *onus probandi* in reality rests, with a weight not easily to be shaken off, upon those who would represent that the contrary opinion was ever seriously entertained before his days.

One thing only remains to be accounted for; namely, why, at this particular period, an opinion destructive of the due proportions of Eucharistic doctrine should not merely have occurred to men’s minds (which it would seem to have done before<sup>f</sup>), but be eagerly accepted, and deliberately formalized, and within a short time obtain the ascendancy in the Western Church.

But a fully adequate account of this is, as I conceive, to be found; chiefly in the condition to which the Eucharistic Ritual of the West, of the continental Churches more especially, had by this time been reduced.

We have seen that in the full proportions of Eucharistic ritual, conserved in numerous similarly constituted Liturgies throughout the world, lay the ordained safeguard for the integrity of Eucharistic doc-

<sup>e</sup> Fleury, Muratori, &c.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 40, note n.

trine. But in the West, Eucharistic ritual had, first of all, long been exclusively represented by a single Office, or type of Office, the Roman. There had been of old, even in the West, taken by itself, much more in the Church Universal, a great commonwealth of Liturgies. For besides the numerous Eastern forms, Rome and Africa<sup>g</sup>, Milan and Aquileia<sup>h</sup>, France and Spain and Britain, had had each one their several and distinct, however related Offices. And from the fifth to the seventh century there were various liturgical intercommunications between these Churches, which would tend to check unhealthy development in any particular quarter. But between the seventh and tenth centuries all the other Liturgies had been either absolutely superseded<sup>i</sup> by that of Rome, or assimilated<sup>k</sup> to it; so that one tenor of Eucharistic ritual now prevailed throughout Europe. Moreover, intercourse with the East had during the same period been very partial, and that mainly of a hostile kind: so that though the Greek ritual was not absolutely<sup>l</sup> unknown

<sup>g</sup> The Liturgy of Africa, though closely similar to that of Rome, was certainly not identical with it. (See Palmer, *Orig. Lit.*, vol. i., Dissertation, sect. viii.) It more probably dated, like many others, as to some of its features, from the Day of Pentecost itself. See below, Part II. ch. ii. on the Primitive form of Liturgy.

<sup>h</sup> On the curious independent Rite of Aquileia, see the little that is known ap. Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, tom. ii. pp. 220—227. It was called the “Patriarchine Rite.”

<sup>i</sup> Viz. the British circ. 600; the Gallican in 790 (Le Brun, tom. ii. p. 228); the Spanish in 1060—1074, (Palmer, *Diss.* sect. x.)

<sup>k</sup> Viz. the Aquileian and the Milanese, gradually, in the course of ages.

<sup>l</sup> “For a century and a half at least (880—1024) the marks of intercommunion (between East and West) are slight and discontinuous. Yet (circ. 1024) public worship, according to the ritual of the Greeks, was tolerated at Rome, and the converse at Byzantium,” until in 1053 Michael Cerularius, the Patriarch, forbade the use of the Roman rite in his province.—Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, p. 206.

to the Latin Church, it was unlikely to exercise any practical influence in Eucharistic questions.

But not only had this single form of the Eucharistic Rite thus become dominant, and been removed from the beneficial juxtaposition and influence of its liturgical compeers: but its own internal proportions had also been materially altered, and its proper balance destroyed. The old Roman Rite, compared with what it had been in the days of Gelasius (494) or earlier, or even with what it was when brought into this country by Augustine in 597, had in some respects, by the eleventh century, shrunk to the shadow of its former self. And, unhappily, its proportions had become most unequal. Large practical and popular elements of it, more especially, had one by one fallen into desuetude. The people's part in it, and consequently its aspect as a general act of the Church, had been reduced to the very lowest point. It had, there is no question, like all other Liturgies, originally contained full and ample acts of intercession and pleading, and again of praise, joined in by the whole people. Two Litanies of considerable length would seem to have been ejected<sup>m</sup> from it before the tenth century. The *Gloria in excelsis*, and the Nicene Creed, previously, as is most probable, constant features, were reserved for festal occasions. The psalmody, reading of Scripture, and canticles, which, as features of the Ordinary Offices, were by ancient rule<sup>n</sup> attached or prefixed rather to the Eucharistic

<sup>m</sup> Goar, Euchologium, p. 38, n. 2; p. 100, note 62.—Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. 4. 3: "Post *Kyrie*, *prolixas preces* pro omni statu hominum recitari consuevisse. . . . Permansit hic ritus in Ecclesiâ Latinâ usque ad *sæculum* ix., ut observat Goar." See below, Part II. ch. ii. and iii.

<sup>n</sup> "Missa privata (i. e. ordinary celebration) *saltem post Matutinum et Laudes dici potest*," (Rubr. Generales, Missale Rom.) The old Eng-

Rite, and in many ways woven up into one contexture with it, had by this time probably ceased to be so used, at least congregationally. And, not least of all, the decay of the Latin as a living language, while the Offices continued to be said in it, had consummated throughout Europe the evaporation and drying up, so to speak, of one whole side and department of Eucharistic service,—that in which the body of the faithful anciently expressed themselves, and took their part in the great Eucharistic Action.

And in truth the use of the Service, as was natural under all these circumstances, had come to be confined in a great degree, and on all ordinary occasions, to the clergy.

The withdrawal of the people's portion of the Office had in part caused, in part perhaps been caused by, the withdrawal of the people themselves. From the sixth century onward, the neglect of the laity to take their part in the celebration of the Eucharist had been gradually on the increase in the West. For the ancient rule<sup>o</sup>, still observed in the East until long after<sup>p</sup>, that any who should fail to receive for three successive Sundays should be excommunicated, was in many places early exchanged for one<sup>q</sup> which recognised

lish rule was more stringent still: "Nullus Sacerdos Parochialis præsumat Missam celebrare, priusquam *Matutinale* persolverit officium, et *Primam et Tertiam* de die." Council of Oxford, A.D. 1322, after a Constitution of Abp. Raynold. The "Matins" here mentioned included "Lauds," as Lyndwood observes. See Maskell, *Ancient English Liturgy*, p. 153, Ed. 1846. The rule of the Greek Church is the same: "*Laudibus Matutinis Primæ recitatio* jungitur: ante Primam enim dictam, *nefas* Græcis liturgiam aggredi." Goar, *Euchol.* p. 47, n. 39.

<sup>o</sup> Concil. Eliberit., circ. A.D. 305, can. 21.

<sup>p</sup> So Theodore of Tarsus, Abp. of Canterbury, testifies, A.D. 668. (*Seudamore*, Communion of the Laity, ii. 20.)

<sup>q</sup> Concil. Agath. (Agde), A.D. 506, can. 18; Concil. Augustod. (Autun), A.D. 670, can. 14; Excerpt. Ecgabriht, A.D. 740, can. 38; Ælfric,

communion thrice in the year. During the same period, the permission to be present at the celebration without receiving, was introduced, to the abandonment of the ancient and universal<sup>r</sup> rule to the contrary.

It was impossible but that these circumstances should greatly weaken and unhinge that old conception of the Eucharist, according to which it was very principally, if not as its primary and most indefeasible aspect, the presentation to God, in mysterious and intimate union with the Sacrifice of Christ, of the body of faithful worshippers.

And thus the Roman Communion Office of the centuries immediately preceding the eleventh exhibited the spectacle of a solemn and mysterious rite, whose proper motive and purpose had been to a great degree withdrawn from it. It was a vast and ever-moving ritual machinery, which had ceased in a great measure to discharge its ancient and designed functions, and yet for which no other had hitherto been found. The altar lacked for the most part the very sacrifice which it had been divinely built to present. The temple remained; but its noblest and truest priesthood had all but abdicated their office.

circ. 995; Canute, circ. 1020. See these and other similar enactments, collected by Scudamore, "Communion of the Laity," p. 80—87. St. Bede, in the eighth century, says that "even the more religious laity did not *presume*" (an indication of the feeling growing up with reference to the Eucharist) "to communicate in the most holy mysteries except on Christmas-day, Epiphany, and Easter." He urged (testifying, as a remarkable thing, that Egbrigt had seen it at Rome,) that persons might communicate without scruple on every Sunday and saint's day.

<sup>r</sup> See above, p. 29, note t. The Rev. W. E. Scudamore, in his work there referred to, traces the growth of the innovation; see his Second Chapter, pp. 70—80.

The natural effect of the Ritual's having been thus shorn of one whole department of its proper operation—the people's part in it,—the presentation of the reasonable and lively sacrifice of the souls and bodies of Christian men,—was to fix attention, with an intensity and exclusiveness hitherto unknown, on another feature of it, namely, the material elements, considered in themselves. The old Eucharistic phraseology with reference to these, still remaining in the ritual, testified to very exalted and mysterious characters and functions<sup>s</sup> as belonging to the consecrated Things. But one exalted purpose of them, to unite the worshippers to the One Sacrifice, they had now ceased, except on rare occasions, to answer.

Even that other function divinely assigned to them, of being a means of pleading and presenting that Sacrifice in the most effectual manner, would be likely to seem an insufficient final cause for such exalted and mysterious language, or for so solemn a ritual. The mind craved a further aim and purpose both for these, and for its own feelings of reverent awe. Any view which should provide such an object, by elevating the elements into a new condition and sphere of estimation, would be likely to meet with eager acceptance.

Add to this, that scholasticism, or the habit of analyzing and systematizing Church doctrines on philosophical principles, had from the beginning of the tenth century<sup>t</sup> obtained a footing in Europe, and was peculiarly cultivated in the monastery presided over by Lanfranc, Berengarius' ablest opponent, to whom

<sup>s</sup> See below, sect. xiv.

<sup>t</sup> Johannes Scotus (or Erigena) had introduced it about the year 875. Hardwick, Middle Ages, p. 172.



we may with probability ascribe the systematization of this subject.

Thus, what practical unfaithfulness in the matter of Divine worship, joined to the accidental desuetude of the old language, had paved the way for, the pride of intellectual subtlety consummated. The new doctrine of the absolute annihilation of the Eucharistic elements—(and “Transubstantiation,” as it had now come to be called, is but another way, designed to be philosophical, of expressing this,)—had only to be propounded to find ready admission, to be at once reduced to system by the learned, and to become in a very short time the creed of the West. By the introduction of this idea, the one insuperable barrier which had hitherto existed against unlimited exaltation of the elements was removed. There could be no risk of idolatry now, since there was no natural substance to share whatever worship might be directed to the seeming, but no longer real elements of bread and wine. All difference between the mode of Christ’s manifestation of Himself on earth or in heaven, and in the Eucharist, might now be proclaimed to be done away.

And accordingly from this time a variety of Eucharistic dogmas and practices,—confessed even by those who represent them as legitimate deductions from the ancient faith, to be *new*,—flow in in rapid succession. Such is the affirmation that not only the Body and Blood of Christ, but His Soul and Divinity, and so His entire Person<sup>u</sup> as God and Man, are contained in the consecrated Elements, and even in each of them<sup>x</sup>, so that

<sup>u</sup> See below, sect. xiv., for proof that this is contrary to the doctrine of the ancient liturgies. St. Anselm (1093) is the first who is known to have asserted it, and the doctrine of Concomitance built on it.

<sup>x</sup> Concil. Trid. xiii. can. 3: “Si quis negaverit, in Sacramento sub

reception of either is sufficient. Such the identification<sup>γ</sup> of them with the Creator of heaven and earth, and the distinct claim of Divine worship as due to them, even as to Almighty God in heaven :—a claim affirmed in decrees<sup>z</sup> and embodied in rubrics<sup>a</sup>, ordaining the elevation and worship of them on consecration. Such the strong and all but unqualified assertion of an actual repetition<sup>b</sup> of the Immolation or Sacrifice of Christ, every time the Eucharist is celebrated.

Thus was the doctrine of the annihilation of the elements eagerly caught at by the mediæval Western Church, as giving full scope to the tendency already existing, to develope one side of the Eucharistic mystery at the expense of the other. Thus too did it supply the very thing of which they stood in need ; namely, an adequate account to render of the mysterious and

unaquaque specie, et sub singulis ejusque speciei partibus totum Christum contineri ; anathema sit.”

<sup>γ</sup> Concil. Trid. xiii. c. v. : “ Nam illum eundem Deum præsentem in eo (Sacramento, i. e. the Elements) quem Pater æternus,” &c. The earliest statement of this kind is perhaps in 1097, in a council under Urban II. : “ The hands of the clergy create God their Creator.” Jer. Taylor, R. P., Preface.

<sup>z</sup> “ Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles...*latræ cultum, qui vero Deo debetur*, huic sanctissimo sacramento exhibeant.” Conc. Trid. i.

<sup>a</sup> “ Prolatis verbis consecrationis, statim Hostiam consecratam *genuflexus adorat* ; . . deponit calicem, . . . genuflexus adorat ; . . . surgit, ostendit populo.” Canon Missæ, Missale Rom., from about the thirteenth century.

<sup>b</sup> Catechism. Trident. ii. 77 : “ Nobis visibile sacrificium reliquit, quo cruentum illud, semel in cruce paulo post immolandum *instauratur*.” Ib. 83 : “ Unum itaque et idem sacrificium esse fatemur et haberi debet, quod in missa peragitur, et quod in cruce oblatum est.” Still stronger and less equivocal expressions occur in various *writers* since the eleventh century. Some countenance for them may no doubt be found in earlier writers, as St. Chrysostom. But there is every reason for saying that *they* used them in a hyperbolical way, not as insisting on their absolute truth. They are not found in the ancient liturgies. See below, sect. xii.—xiv.

elevated character of the Eucharistic Rite ;—a definite work and purpose for it to accomplish in place of that which it had to so great a degree ceased to discharge ;—a new centre or centres for the gravitation of its mighty forces, and its intense devotional expressions, in lieu of that which had been, so to speak, unsphered. In the creating and providing on earth of a present Object of Divine Worship, and in the actual repetition, *toties quoties*, of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ, were that work and purpose declared to consist, and those centres found. These have practically been, from that hour onward, in the view of the Roman Church, the principal and supreme purposes of the Rite : others, such as reception of the Elements<sup>e</sup> by the people,—and thence their presentation of themselves as a spiritual sacrifice mysteriously united, through reception, with that of Christ,—practically occupying a very subordinate position, and forming no necessary part of the ritual.

The rite had, indeed, to be materially altered, and new interpretations put upon various parts of it, to meet the requirements of the new theory. Such alterations were accordingly made, and such new interpretations devised. There was one very solemn part of the rite, common to all liturgies, the “bowing down” in the prospect of reception of the mysterious Gifts. This, in the West, had long ago lost its proper meaning by the desuetude of the people’s communion. But to interpret it as an act of worship of the Elements would not answer the purpose, since it came at

<sup>e</sup> A sense of the real importance of this is indeed marked by the theory of vicarious reception by the celebrant *for* the people. (See above, p. 29, note s.) But what is this but an ill-conceived homage which error pays to truth ?

some considerable interval after the consecration. A new act of this kind, for priest and people, following immediately upon consecration, was necessary to be introduced, and was introduced accordingly. Another part of the rite, further on, also found in all ancient Communion Offices, desired that the consecrated Things might be carried up to the heavenly Altar<sup>d</sup>, in order to their profitable reception; another, of their being creatures<sup>e</sup> of God's Hand. The one passage was clearly incompatible with the view that the Elements were no less than Christ Himself; the other with the denial that they retained the nature of bread and wine. These difficulties were explained as they best might: but the explanations carry upon the face of them the condemnation, on the ground of entire novelty, of the belief which rendered them necessary. In the words of a recent ritualist<sup>f</sup>, it must be admitted that "Anciently matters were not so: before such novelties were introduced into the Faith of the Church, one part of her Service harmonized with another, and there was no need, [such] as the Roman doctors now cannot but acknowledge, to explain away any prayer, that it might not contradict openly statements to which she had unadvisedly been committed. No longer, as they once could, can those branches of the Catholic Church, which are in communion with Rome, point boldly to their Liturgy, and say that the prayers and ceremonies and observ-

<sup>d</sup> For the true explanation of this feature of the rite, see below, sect. xiv.

<sup>e</sup> "Per quem hæc omnia Domine semper bona creas, sanctificas," &c. Canon Missæ Rom. Comp. Cosin's Notes on the Prayer-book, p. 108. See the very violent interpretations of the former passage in Bona, *Rer. Lit.* ii. 13. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Maskell, *Anc. Liturgy*, p. 99; see also p. 108.

ances, which it contains, are to be interpreted in an honest acceptation, and in their ancient and true meaning.”

Thus the Roman Church succeeded, indeed, in imposing upon the entire West the new belief which she had adopted ; but at the expense of her own ancient traditions. It could not be accomplished without altering the letter, and disorganizing and falsifying the spirit, of her Apostolically descended ritual.

Such, then, is the true account of that remarkable event in the Church's history, the breaking up, in the West, of her long-enjoyed condition of peace and harmony on the subject of the Holy Eucharist.

Nor can that ancient condition of truth and peace ever be restored in any other way, than by the abandonment, on the part of the great Church of the West, of the novel dogmas and practices then introduced by her, joined to the restoration of those old protective influences, the decay of which left her an easy prey to such views as soon as they were propounded.

There must be an entire and *ex animo* abandonment, first of all, of that which is in reality the hinge upon which all the other errors turn, and which, nevertheless, she has never been able to make good, or really to hold,—the annihilation of the Elements by consecration. The identification of those Elements with Christ Himself, in the entirety of His Person, instead of, according to the ancient truth, with His Body and Blood, must be abandoned no less. From her rubrics and dogmas must also be removed the assertion and the practice of divine worship as due to the Elements, as being no other than the Creator of heaven and earth ; and the withholding of the Cup from all but the celebrant.

But more than this, yet older instances of ritual unfaithfulness must be amended. The due balance of the Office must be restored by the bringing back of the old litanies and acts of praise, or equivalents for them, and by the resuscitation of the Ordinary Offices. And to crown all, that attendance at the rite without reception, which is utterly incompatible with the whole theory of it, which to the faithful of the first four centuries would have been as utterly incomprehensible as it was absolutely unknown, and which rests mainly on misconception of the true character belonging by Christ's ordinance to the consecrated Elements, must be abolished likewise.

These are the main points that imperatively call for correction. Other corruptions<sup>g</sup> there are, dating even from the days of Leo and Gelasius, which would need to be amended too, ere the Apostolic model of service could be once more beheld in the continental Churches of the West, and the great breach of the eleventh century fully repaired.

VII. We may next consider the aspect presented by the Universal Church since that event, as far as regards the Eucharistic Mystery.

1. The final separation into two great divisions of East and West, differing on certain specified points of doctrine and ritual, was, after being long imminent, finally consummated by an interchange of anathemas in the year 1054<sup>h</sup>, the very year, by a singular coincidence,

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 9, note g.

<sup>h</sup> Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, p. 200. In 1053 the Patriarch Cerularius wrote an attack on the Western Church, (see Baronius, *Annal.*, an. 1053). Humbert replied. The papal legates, invited by the emperor, (1054), were unable to come to any terms. Their writ of excommunication, placed on the altar of St. Sophia, (July 16), was followed by an anathema from Cerularius and his clergy. The other Greek patriarchates sided with Constantinople.

in which Berengarius was acquitted at Tours. Among the considerations by which the Western side, at least as represented by Cardinal Humbert, was influenced in coming to a rupture, the Eastern belief that the elements retain their proper nature and qualities after consecration, is undoubtedly to be reckoned<sup>1</sup>, though it was not formally alleged; since Humbert vehemently reproaches the Greeks with holding it. And from the date of the rupture, accordingly, these two great branches of the Church exhibit diametrically opposite phenomena with reference to the mystery of the Eucharist.

The Western mind is thenceforth largely and intently occupied in discussing, defining, and contesting it. Here the annihilation view is dominant: it is systematized by the schoolmen, and imposed with increasing stringency by councils; as by that of Lateran in 1215, of Florence in 1493, and of Trent in 1551, (Oct. 11).<sup>2</sup>

Not but that, even in the Roman Church itself, a reactionary shrinking from the doctrine, as at first enunciated, visibly and confessedly took place. Rarely even by individual writers, never perhaps in any council, was the awful and even revolting language forced by

<sup>1</sup> Humbert, being sent on an embassy to the Greeks by Pope Leo IX. in 1053, reviled them in coarse language, for believing that the Eucharistic elements break the fast, and are otherwise subject to the conditions of common food. (Humbert, *Bibl. Patr.*, tom. iv. p. 295.) Alger, a Cluniac monk (circ. 1130), bears the same testimony as to the Eastern opinion. (Algerus de Corpore et Sanguine Christi, *Bibl. Patr.*, tom. vi. p. 320.)

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Concil. IV. Later. c. i.: *Epistola Eugenii IV. a Concilio Florentino approbata*: Concil. Trid. Sess. 13, can. 2: "Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto Eucharistico sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini . . . anathema sit." Cf. *Catechism Trid.*, pars ii. 37. See Hardwick's *Reformation*, p. 312.

the fiery Humbert upon Berengarius in the council at Rome (1059), resumed or enforced as an article of faith; viz., "that the body and blood of Christ are *sensually*, not only in Sacrament (or mysteriously), but in truth, handled in the hands of the Priests, *broken and crushed by the teeth of the faithful*<sup>k</sup>." In this respect, of exactness and coarseness of physical definition, Rome herself, as represented at the Lateran and Trent councils, manifests a strong though tacit reaction against the positions at first taken up against Berengarius. The Lateran, in 1215, affirmed nothing as to the annihilation of the elements, but only the change of their substance into that of the Body and Blood of Christ. And Innocent III., the real author of that decree, mentions<sup>l</sup>, without blaming it, the opinion that the substance remained.

The Council of Trent does, indeed, affirm that the substance is abolished. But there is a most important point, which, though in the eleventh century maintained with the utmost confidence, as a necessary truth, viz. that *the consecrated elements cease to have the power of nourishing the body*, yet is not only *not affirmed* in the decisions of Trent, *but is in terms conceded to be otherwise*<sup>m</sup>. The importance of this concession it is impossible to esti-

<sup>k</sup> Alanus, however, in the fourteenth century, and others from time to time, reiterate this language: "Apertissimè loquimur, verè a nobis in Eucharistia dentibus teri, non minus quam ante consecrationem panis."

<sup>l</sup> Notes to a Sermon on the Real Presence, p. 17.

<sup>m</sup> Catech. Concil. Trid., pt. ii. c. 38: "Quia naturalem alendi et nutriendi corpus vim, quæ panis propria est, adhuc retineat." The same is recognised a little later by Paul V. in a missal put forth for English priests. See Jer. Taylor's Real Presence, vol. x. p. 479. It was denied by Roman writers in his day, notwithstanding the Tridentine admission.



mate too highly. It is in reality absolutely subversive of that entire fabric of doctrine as to the elements, which is so sedulously worked out in the other decrees and teachings of the council: for it admits that their substance remains sufficiently for being converted into nourishment; and this being granted, the whole matter at issue is in reality conceded. The only alternative is that the human body *is nourished by the accidents of the elements*<sup>n</sup>, as their colour, taste, and the like; since the substance is positively affirmed to have disappeared:—a conclusion too absurd to be entertained for a moment. The older advocates of annihilation perceived this consequence, and boldly took the course of denying<sup>o</sup> the fact of the nourishment, however patent, and however widely such denial extends the range of those delusions, which, according to the annihilation theory, Almighty God is pleased to connect with the Holy Eucharist. For, that the sensible refreshment which we feel on participation, the renewal of vigour which they certainly in their measure effect,—that these should be simply delusions, is to introduce so entirely a new order of things, such a system either of causes without effects, (or with only apparent ones,) or of effects without causes, as is entirely without analogy.

The Council of Trent, however, as has been already said, rejected this consequence, though really indispensable to the consistency of its decrees. And it

<sup>n</sup> This was actually maintained by one writer (a Palude). See Notes to a Sermon on the Real Presence, p. 164.

<sup>o</sup> So Guitmundus of Antwerp, 1066; Algerus, 1130; Humbert, as above, p. 61; Thomas Waldensis, 1409. For various “physical theories devised to explain how, without having any substance, bread and wine could have the same physical effects as if the substance were there,” see Notes to Sermon on Real Presence, pp. 154—158.

may be consequently affirmed, without possibility of contradiction, that neither the Roman Church as a whole, nor any member of it, really believes this doctrine,—however it may be nominally imposed under an anathema,—of the annihilation of the substance of the elements; nor, therefore, the doctrine of transubstantiation as laid down by her: since her own statements concerning it are self-contradictory and absolutely destructive of each other; and her members are as really forbidden to hold the doctrine as they are enjoined to do so.

Nor is it a less remarkable admission, (though equally little noticed with the former one,) which is made by the Council of Trent with respect to the manner of Presence, in the Eucharist, of Christ's Body. Notwithstanding its rigid and unqualified assertion of the purely physical or natural<sup>p</sup> character of that Presence, and of the absence of any veiling medium, it yet elsewhere admits that the manner of that existence is *different* from the natural one; that it is "mysterious, ineffable, and inconceivable by us; and that it is in heaven, and there only, that Christ is present according to the natural manner of His existence<sup>q</sup>." This is exactly, and almost *totidem verbis*, what the English Church affirms; namely, "that the *natural* Body and Blood of Christ," according to their natural mode of existence, "are in heaven, and not here: it being

<sup>p</sup> Catechismus Concil. Trid., pt. ii. 31: "Explicandum est . . . quidquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet, *velut ossa et nervos*, in sacramento contineri."

<sup>q</sup> "Neque enim hæc inter se pugnant, ut Ipse Salvator noster *semper* ad dexteram Patris in cœlis assideat, *juxta modum existendi naturalem*; et ut multis nihilominus aliis in locis sacramentaliter præsens suâ substantiâ nobis adsit, eâ existendi ratione quam, etsi verbis exprimere vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo, cogitatione assequi possumus." Concil. Trid. Sess. xiii. c. i.

against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one<sup>r</sup>." This, again, is another manifest instance of reaction in the Roman mind since the days of Berengarius and Humbert; for the latter certainly did not consider that the Body of Christ was present in any other than the purely natural mode of existence.

Wherein, then, it may be asked, lies the evil of the modern Eucharistic belief of the Church of Rome on this point, as set forth at the Council of Trent? since, notwithstanding her vehement affirmations contained in some of its decrees, it is certain from other parts of them, that she does not really believe, nor require any one to believe, either that the substance of the elements is abolished by consecration, for she allows that it remains to the nourishment of the body: nor yet that the Body and Blood of Christ, under Their natural conditions and mode of manifestation, are made present in the Eucharist by consecration; for she allows that under those conditions and in that mode "Christ's natural Body sitteth continually at the Right Hand of God, and there only."

And the answer is, that this so-called dogma, as laid down by her in her decrees as a whole, is properly harmless, simply because it is no dogma at all. It is no more than an array of philosophical expressions and positive assertions, which, though seeming to define and impose a distinct belief, in reality neither define nor impose anything; their significance

<sup>r</sup> Rubric at the end of the Communion Office. St. Thomas Aquinas makes the same admission: "The Body of Christ is not in such a manner in this Sacrament as a Body is in a place . . . but in a special mode peculiar to this Sacrament." Comp. Hooker, v. 55, 6: "The substance of the Body of Christ hath no presence, neither can have, but only local."

being entirely destroyed by counter-statements, absolutely irreconcilable with them, and yet defined and imposed by the same authority. Not in her theoretical dogmas on this point, therefore, which in reality leave the matter where they found it, but in the tremendous consequences deduced from one half of her positions, in utter defiance or forgetfulness of the other half, does the evil of the Roman view in this matter essentially consist.—The undoubted animus, however, of the West, from the time of Berengarius down to the sixteenth century, and of the greater part of it to this hour, has unquestionably been to espouse to the utmost the doctrine of elemental annihilation, and to press it to its most extreme consequences.

2. But while such was the history of the Roman Church, feebly and reluctantly reacting against the doctrine of annihilation in its unqualified form, and yet acting upon the supposition of its truth: the rejection of that doctrine was in other quarters made the point of departure of new systems:—unsuccessfully enough, for the most part, the reaction being almost universally pushed to an extreme, destructive of the other or supernatural side of the mystery.

Within a very few years after the last of those councils by which, in the eleventh century, one side of the Eucharistic mystery was denied, we find for the first <sup>s</sup> time in the history of the Church, large bodies

\* Earlier bodies, both in East and West, had denied the supernatural part of the Eucharist; but always on distinctly heretical (as Docetic or Manichæan) principles. For the earlier sects, see Bingham, XV. ii. 9; L'Arroque, *History of the Eucharist*, ch. ii. The later sects in the East were the Paulicians (657—900), and Thontrakians (833—1002); and in East and West, the Euchites or Bogomiles, (Hardwick, p. 202). The Albigenses (1120—1230) certainly held Manichæan doctrines, and sprang from the older Manichæan bodies, (*Ibid.*, pp. 309, 310): not so the Waldenses, (*Ib.*, p. 311, note 7).

of Christians systematically denying the existence of the other, while otherwise holding in the main the great theological verities of Christianity. About 1104—1147 such a body arose, under clerical leadership<sup>†</sup>, in the south of France; about 1070, the better known Waldenses, or followers of Pierre de Vaud.

The same phenomenon, as is well known, was reproduced on the continent of Europe in the sixteenth century: all the reformed continental bodies agreeing in “paring away,” though in different degrees, from the entirety of the mystery. Three leading varieties of opinion—the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, and the Zuinglian—make their appearance<sup>‡</sup>. According to the Lutheran view, the consecrated Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ, but only as a present stimulus to faith, not to purposes of reception<sup>§</sup>; according to the Calvinistic view, they are so in effect and virtue merely, not in any real objective sense, and only on reception<sup>¶</sup>; nor even that except to a favoured few. While by the Zuinglian view, the ordinance is evacuated of all mysterious or peculiar power whatever, and reduced to the rank of

<sup>†</sup> Their leaders were a priest named Peter Bruis (whence they were called Petrobrusians,) and Henry, a Cluniac monk and deacon. Hardwick, p. 310.

<sup>‡</sup> The characteristics of these several views have been brought out with peculiar clearness in two recent works,—Wilberforce on the Eucharist, and Hardwick’s History of the Reformation.

<sup>§</sup> The Lutheran doctrine had two opposite elements: the one the acceptance of the letter of our Lord’s words, “This is My Body,” the real objective Presence; the other, the theory that the sacrament had its efficacy as a picture, to confirm faith. Notes, &c., on the Real Presence. See also Wilberforce, as above.

<sup>¶</sup> “The glorified Humanity, though locally absent, being virtually and in effect communicated for the sustenance of the faithful, *simultaneously* with the participation of the outward elements.” Helvetic Confession, Art. 36.

a purely mental operation; since according to it, "there is therein only bread and wine<sup>z</sup>."

Thus the Lutheran discerns in the Eucharist a mighty Cause, to which he assigns no proportionate effect or purpose; the Calvinist, a mighty Effect, for which he assigns no adequate cause; while by the Zuinglian, more consistently, cause and effect are both alike swept away. It is needless to point out that in no one of these statements are the words of our Lord accepted in their simple reality; or with such limitation only as necessarily resides, by His own appointment, in the subject. The qualifications introduced in each case are suggested by a private theory, or by the fear of some unwelcome consequence; not by the essential laws of all mysteries, or by the circumstances of this one in particular.

As to the Lutheran view, it is surely most strange that they, who allow the Elements to be (in the words of Christ Himself) "His Body and Blood" in a real sense, after consecration, should suppose them to lose that character on reception. If anything is clear concerning the Eucharist it is this, that assuming the Elements to be the Body and Blood of Christ at all, *they are so to purposes of reception.* But the Lutheran, fearing lest faith should have a less exalted office in this matter than his theoretical system otherwise assigns to it, or lest Rome should have an advantage, if the proper reality, throughout, of the sacramental transaction were to be conceded, chooses to represent the consecrated Things as objects merely, not media; as stimulants to the mental faculty, not gifts to the whole being. While, therefore, he can accept the words, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood," he

<sup>z</sup> Zuinglius, De verâ et falsâ Religione, 1525.

rejects those by which they are prefaced,—“Take, eat;” “Drink ye all of It.”

The Calvinist, again, chooses to assign, as the point at which our Lord's words shall begin to be taken in their plain meaning, exactly that at which, according to the Lutheran, they are to cease to be so taken. He flies yet further and more timidly than the Lutheran, though on much the same grounds, from the recognition of an objective reality in the transaction; denying it to the consecrated, but as yet unreceived media themselves, as he to the reception of them; and assigning to them a merely virtual character instead, dependent on their reception. Those who hold this view add, still out of their own theory, a limitation as to the persons who can by possibility receive the destined benefit. They reject, therefore, first, the affirmation of our Lord as to the *present* nature of that which He was imparting, “This *is* My Body,” “This *is* My Blood;” as well as those other words (“Which is being given or offered for you,”) whereby the *already accomplished* identification of the Elements, previously to reception, with His offered Body and Blood, is declared. And they further reject such plain declarations as “*Whoso* eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath everlasting life.”

The Zuinglian completes the work of evacuating the transaction of all mystery. Assigning to faith the same office as the Lutheran does, (that of meditation, not of reception,) he will have it exercised on a purely *absent*, not in any sense present Body and Blood of Christ. Agreeing with the Calvinist that the unreceived elements are but an outward sign, he allows them not, even when received, any virtue or

efficacy; nor admits that they are to any person whatsoever a medium or channel of benefit.

Thus — with a single notable exception, to be dwelt on hereafter, — was the rejection of the doctrine of the annihilation of the elements characterized, in the case of all large bodies of Christians in the West, by the overthrow of the other term of the mystery.

3. In the East, meanwhile, as has been already said, the very converse of all this is discernible throughout this period. There, as we saw, the view maintained by Berengarius as the old one, namely, that the Elements remain in their natural substance, was in possession when the controversy arose: no Eastern writer or Council having affirmed the contrary. And for full six hundred years longer it remained the doctrine of the whole Greek Church: the views of St. John Damascene<sup>a</sup> (which, as we have seen, contained a recognition of the point in question,) continuing until the close of the seventeenth century<sup>b</sup> to be the avowed standard of orthodoxy. Controversy during this period was all but unknown; and so far as it existed at all, it was in the shape of reaction against the old and still dominant doctrine. Particular persons are mentioned as having departed from it, or seemed to do so; but in all cases they fall back upon the position of John Damascene. Such was Nicholas of Methona (1090), Nicephorus Cabasilas (1350), Mark of Ephesus (1437), Jeremiah of Constantinople (1573). In the thirteenth century a keen though brief dispute

<sup>a</sup> In his "Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith." See Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, p. 77.

<sup>b</sup> "Not until the seventeenth century was any authoritative exposition of the East found necessary in addition to the works of St. John Damascene." Neale, *General Introd.*, p. 1171.



arose as to the corruptibility<sup>c</sup> of the elements. But on the whole, the repose of the East, in all this period, as to Eucharistic doctrine, is no less remarkable than the feverish restlessness of the West on the same subject.

Thus, then, it was not by the petty provincial Council of Tours alone, or only for a few years, that the view of Berengarius was recognised as that of antiquity, but by the whole Eastern Church, and for a period of six centuries.

The steps by which a change of view was at length brought about, and the greater part of the East drawn into conformity, to a certain extent, with the Roman Eucharistic doctrines,—without, however, in any degree adopting Roman practice,—may be thus briefly summed up. Towards the close of the sixteenth century (1573—1600), various overtures<sup>d</sup> made by the reformed bodies of continental Europe, for an alliance with the Greek Church, brought the West and East once more into contact. In 1629 a strong declaration was made by a synod of Constantinople, under the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, against the Roman doctrine. The Greek Church, for the first time, acting under Western influence, abandoned her old standard of doctrine, substituting for the Exposition of John Damascene a new Confession of faith. In 1639 this Confession was again rejected, and another adopting Roman statements drawn up. And finally, in 1672, the Western doctrine of the annihilation of the elements was formally affirmed on behalf of the four Greek Patriarchates, by the Council of Bethlehem<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> L'Arroque, ch. xviii. p. 493.

<sup>d</sup> Neale, Gen. Introd., p. 1174.

<sup>e</sup> Neale, p. 1174. Harduin, Concil., tom. xi. 180: "We believe that after the consecration the substance of the bread and wine no

Thus, after faithfully maintaining in its integrity for more than 1600 years, the old doctrine concerning the Eucharistic Mystery, was the Greek Church prevailed upon to abandon it. The East, to recur to an illustration already made use of<sup>f</sup>, yielded at length to the seductions of its Western partner in the faith,—a partner sprung from its own side in primeval days, and herself for a thousand years uncorrupted in this particular,—and made common cause with her in speculative error.

Happily, to speculative error alone was that change of view strictly confined. The Greek Church, proud of her old ritual traditions, and taking her stand upon their antiquity, was little likely to make any innovation in them at the bidding of the West. Her dogmatical determinations rested on less immovable foundations. She might consent to adopt other phraseology than that of St. John Damascene: but her liturgical practices were in her view a part of her very being, and could only be yielded up with life itself. Nor, accordingly, was so much as a hairbreadth of variation made in her Liturgies, or in her ritual practice, as a consequence of her professed and formal reception of the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist. The “changeless East” was on this point change-

longer remains, [the Russian form is, ‘the very bread and wine no longer remain,'] but the very Body and Blood of our Lord under the appearance of bread and wine; that is to say, under the accidents of the bread [the Russian omits this]. Further, that in any portion, the Lord Jesus is present in His substance, that is, with His soul and Divinity, as perfect God and perfect Man. We further believe that the Body and Blood of the Lord ought to be honoured and worshipped with divine worship.” Concil. Bethlehem, Art. 17. The article, however, goes on to disavow explaining the mode, or believing in any conversion. *Ib.*, p. 1176.

<sup>f</sup> Above, p. 12.

less still. She neither introduced the adoration<sup>§</sup> of the Elements upon their consecration, nor withdrew either Element from universal reception, nor in any other way expressed new or more intensified regard than heretofore for the consecrated media of the ordinance.

One reason of this, besides her rooted dislike to practical change of any sort, was that the way to such innovations had not been paved, as in the West, by earlier ritual unfaithfulness; or not at all in the same degree. Infrequency of communion, and non-communicating attendance at the rite, had indeed been allowed to creep in here also. But the Eucharistic Office had never been evacuated of the people's element in it, the Litanies and the acts of praise; nor had the Ordinary Offices fallen into disuse. It was not, therefore, for her, a ritual necessity to introduce new centres and modes of worship. By a happy illogicality, she was at no pains to square her ancient practice with her newly received dogmas of belief.

And since neither did she affirm, with the Roman Church of the eleventh century, that the elements lost their proper powers of nourishment: it should seem that the dogma of Transubstantiation has been for her, after all, a mere barren formula; registered indeed in the decrees of a Council, but never followed out to a single result; never recognised in the ritual of the Church, or inwrought into the practical faith of the people. To this day, while holding, with the strongest and clearest belief, that the consecrated Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ: she no less really believes that they retain their very natural substance, nor does she direct towards them, immediately on

§ On this point see below, sect. xiv.

their consecration, or at all, that Divine worship, to withhold which for a moment, if she really believes it to be their due, is the height of impiety. Thus, as we have seen that even the Church of Rome does not venture to maintain as a speculative tenet the doctrine of Transubstantiation in all its consequences, and therefore does not really hold it at all, but only adopts practices which are based upon the supposition of its truth ; so may we say that the Greek Church, though speculatively assenting to it, neither really believes it, nor accepts any one of its results.

Meanwhile it is, after all, the *Greek* Church alone, of all Christian bodies in the East, that stands committed even to the decrees of the Council of Bethlehem. All others,—the orthodox Syrians<sup>b</sup>, and with them the Jacobites, the Armenians<sup>i</sup>, the Nestorians<sup>j</sup>, whose heterodoxy, be it more or less on other points, does not affect the value of their testimony on this,—distinctly hold, and have never even dogmatically disallowed, that the elements retain their proper nature.

VIII. It will have been perceived that in tracing the Eucharistic history of the latter or controversial period of the Western Church, we confined our attention to the *unsound*, because either defective or excessive, forms of reaction against the new doctrine of the annihilation of the elements ; reserving for sepa-

<sup>b</sup> So Bar-Hebræus, in Menorath Kudshee, or “the Lamp of the Saints,” vi. 2: “This bread and wine, not being flesh and blood by nature, are called the Body and Blood of Christ.” See Etheridge’s Syrian Churches, p. 144.

<sup>i</sup> “The Armenians believe that the bread and wine retain their nature in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.” Joh. Lasica de Religione Armenorum. Cosin, Hist. Transubst., vii. 30.

<sup>j</sup> “The Nestorians hold that the bread and wine by a certain mystical union are the Body and Blood of Christ ; but *by nature*, they are bread and wine.” George of Arbela, in Etheridge, pp. 97, 99.

rate consideration any more legitimate and healthful instances of it. Such instances were probably by no means wanting all along, and indeed are alleged by various writers. For want, however, of precise records as to the opinions positively entertained in these cases, it is not always easy to determine how far they were really free from excesses on the other side. Thus, it is certain that in the beginning of the twelfth century, great numbers, said to hold the opinions of Berengarius, were expelled by Bruno, Archbishop of Treves, from his diocese<sup>k</sup>. And in 1180 we find Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, writing a treatise “against the remains of the followers of Berengarius<sup>l</sup>.” But of the positive views of these bodies we have no evidence.

It is therefore somewhat more to the purpose to observe, that the difficulty of accepting the doctrine was in particular instances felt, and in various ways acknowledged, by members of the Western Church. Thus Rupertus, abbot of Tuitium (1125), while fully recognising that by the operation of the Holy Spirit the elements become the Body and Blood of Christ, plainly maintains that that operation, in the Eucharist, as in other instances, is not such as to destroy the substance which He makes use of for His high purposes, but to add to the substance, itself continuing unaltered, an invisible grace<sup>m</sup>. Peter Lom-

<sup>k</sup> L'Arroque, ch. xviii. init.

<sup>l</sup> “Contra relliquias Berengarii.” Baldwin, ap. Possevin, Appar. Sacr. in Berengar. Turonens.—See Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, p. 191.

<sup>m</sup> “Operatione S. Spiritus, panis Corpus, vinum fit Sanguis Christi: cujus affectus non est destruere vel corrumpere substantiam quamcunque suos in usus assumit, sed substantiæ bono permanenti quod erat, invisibiliter adicere quod non erat.” Cosin, Hist. Transubst., vii. 14. See an able vindication of Rupertus, against Bellarmine, in “Notes on the Real Presence,” pp. 5—9.

bard<sup>n</sup> again, (1141), whose famous work of "The Sentences" became the text upon which all other scholastic writings were but a commentary, professes himself unable to say whether the change of the elements is one of substance or not.

Shortly after the Lateran decree (1215), in which the change of substance<sup>o</sup> was affirmed, we find Albertus Magnus (born 1193), the tutor of Thomas Aquinas, speaking of it as a doubtful question. And Aquinas himself (1255) reports<sup>p</sup> that some in his time disbelieved it. Other schoolmen<sup>q</sup>, unable to satisfy themselves of its truth, and allowing the contrary opinion to have fewer difficulties, assign as the chief reason for believing it, that it had been so ruled by the Church of Rome.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century (1304), the Faculty of Divines at Paris gave its countenance to the assertion of John of Paris<sup>r</sup>, that the manner of existence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist was an open question; so that, though the doctrine of

<sup>n</sup> Sentent. iv. Dist. 10, 11.

<sup>o</sup> See above, p. 61. The decree of this council being directed against the Albigenses, (above, p. 66, note s,) who made the elements a mere figure, it has been doubted "whether it was intended to affirm more than the real objective Presence." Notes to a Sermon, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Summa Theologiæ, iii. q. 75, 6: "Quidam posuerunt, quod factâ consecratione, non solum remanent accidentia panis, sed etiam forma substantialis."

<sup>q</sup> e.g. Duns Scotus 1300; Durandus, 1325; Occam and John Bacon, 1330; Thomas de Argentina, 1345; Peter D'Ailly, 1396—1411. See the passages in Cosin, Hist. Transubst. vii. 27; and for a full examination of some of them, "Notes to a Sermon," &c., pp. 14—31.

<sup>r</sup> "Licet teneam et approbem illorum sollemnem opinionem, quod Corpus Christi sit in Sacramento altaris per conversionem substantiæ panis in ipsum, et quod ita maneant accidentia sine subjecto, non tamen audeo dicere quod hoc cadit sub fide meâ, sed potest aliter salvari vera et realis existentia Corporis Christi." Determinatio Fratris Johannis de Parisiis. L'Arroque, p. 496.

Transubstantiation might be the true one, and in their opinion probably was so, other views, (as, for example, that the substance of the Bread was not abolished, but itself remaining, was sanctified by the touch of Christ's Divinity,) were equally probable. The Faculty even went so far as to pronounce sentence of excommunication<sup>s</sup> on any who should maintain that the former view, that of Transubstantiation, was an article of faith. In short, "the remaining of the elements in their natural substance was held by many to be an open question, at the beginning of the fifteenth century."

All these are, as far as they go, clear instances of sound and legitimate reaction within the bosom of the Western Church herself, against the view of elemental annihilation, as entertained by the opponents of Berengarius in the eleventh century.

But these instances, after all, though they point to the existence of doubts widely diffused, and entertained pretty continuously, as to the annihilation of the elements, yet are far from amounting to any positive and satisfactory reinstatement of the old Eucharistic doctrine, either in the minds of men, or in the ritual of the Church. We fail to discern in these various isolated reactions *within* the Roman Church, just as we failed to discern in the more extensive reactions external to it, anything answering to this description. By the space of 800 years, from the first condemnation of Berengarius (1050) down to the present day, we vainly sweep in every direction the horizon of continental religionism, in search

• "Et qui determinate asseveret, alterutrum præcisè cadere sub fide, incurreret sententiam canonis anathematis." Judicium Facultatis Theologiæ Parisiens. 1304. L'Arroque, *ibid.*

of any body of Christians maintaining a wise and practical protest, in the shape of a sound belief embodied in a sound ritual,—the Church's *mens sana in corpore sano*,—against that doctrine.

2. Meanwhile, there was one country and Church in the West, whose Eucharistic history was throughout this period, to a certain extent, peculiar and exceptional. ENGLAND, owing to its insular position, and to its never having been included in the politico-ecclesiastical dominion of Charlemagne<sup>†</sup>, preserved, as in other respects, so in point of Eucharistic doctrine and ritual, a certain independence. She was not, indeed, exempt from the influence of those daring and novel definitions to which the Berengarian period gave birth: far from it. In no country of Europe did those views bid fairer, from the first, to attain an exclusive ascendancy in their most rigid form, and to be pushed to their most extreme doctrinal and ritual consequences. It is a curious and interesting fact, that one of the earliest councils in which Berengarius maintained his famous position, was held<sup>u</sup> (1050) at Briotna, or Brion, in Normandy, under the presidency of Duke William, the future Conqueror of England, then in the twenty-third year of his age. There the influence of Lanfranc, at that time Prior of the neighbouring Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and probably, as has been already observed, the original systematizer of the new doctrine, easily procured the condemnation of his enemy the

<sup>†</sup> See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 275: "The Empire of Charlemagne was almost commensurate with Latin Christendom. England was the only large territory which acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, not in subjection to the Empire . . . He was the sole legislator in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs."

<sup>u</sup> See Harduin. *Concil. tom. vi. pars 2, p. 1018*; Milman, vol. iii. p. 26.



Archdeacon of Angers, and head of the rival school of Tours<sup>x</sup>. The doctrine, therefore, may not untruly be said to have come over to this country with the Norman rule: and it was only four years later (1070), that it was formally installed in the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, in the person of Lanfranc himself.

Nor was this all. The work of doctrinal elaboration which Lanfranc had begun, St. Anselm (who entered upon the see of Canterbury in 1093) would seem to have completed. Abbot of Bec—now a noted school in theological disputation,—as Lanfranc had been its Prior, and no way inferior to him in dialectic subtlety, he is thought to have invented<sup>y</sup>, or to have wrought out at least, that doctrine of “Concomitance,” or of the existence of the entire Person of Christ under *each* element, on which the withdrawal from the Christian West of the Eucharistic Cup was professedly based or justified<sup>z</sup>. The withdrawal it-

<sup>x</sup> Milman, vol. iii. p. 23.

<sup>y</sup> Anselm was the first who argued “in utraque specie totum Christum sumi.” Epist., lib. iv. p. 117. The practice, however, came in, as we shall see, by degrees only. As late as the fourteenth century the contrary practice survived in some places, as Peter a Palude testifies.

<sup>z</sup> The real origin of this most extraordinary practice—which passed long after (Council of Constance, 1415, June 15,) into the most cruel act of deprivation, perhaps, which it is in the power of man to inflict,—was probably a hierarchical one, viz. to reserve a peculiar honour to high ecclesiastical personages, or to the sovereign, as having a quasi-sacred character as the Lord’s anointed. We trace it first in pontifical (i. e. papal or episcopal) celebrations, or occasions when there were many clergy of various ranks present. The limitation of the cup to the celebrant only grew out of this as an after-thought. See Mabillon, on the old “Ordines Romani,” (i. e. rubrical books, chiefly concerning pontifical celebrations, from the seventh to the fourteenth century,) in his “Iter Italicum,” t. ii. pp. xlv., lxi. The steps by which it was introduced were these. In pontifical celebrations, among many other peculiar usages, was this; that the cup (“calix”) destined for consecra-

self, to which the way was thus opened, followed at no great interval. The first known mention of it as an existing practice is found in the writings of Robert le Poule, an English Divine, afterwards a Roman Cardinal (circ. 1150), about fifty years after the death of Anselm.

And this is a confessed instance, as we may remark in passing, of the rising up, and passing into a recognised belief and practice, within the space of half a century, of a new and momentous change of view as to the Eucharist;—a phenomenon perfectly parallel to that which has been above represented to have taken place, as to the doctrine of annihilation, in the preceding century, and which to some may seem contrary to probability. Indeed, it is a curious fact, as regards the *date* of the introduction of com-

tion, was first filled up to the brim; then all but a small remainder was poured back into an inferior vessel called “scyphus,” or “calix ministerialis,” (p. xl.) The bishop, and on occasion other chief persons, received from the consecrated cup itself; but all others from the “calix ministerialis,” into which only a little of the consecrated Wine had been poured, after the bishop had received, (p. lvii.) *The like was done on other occasions*, if the wine seemed likely to run short, (and in fact it became a habit in any case,) by adding unconsecrated wine to the “calix” itself. Since, then, the “laity had ceased to communicate in consecrated wine, pure and unmixed, the transition was easy,” as Mabillon observes, to their not receiving the Wine at all. Other reasons for the practice were easily invented, or may in part have contributed to bring it about. They are enumerated by Mabillon (p. lxii.), and the Catechism of Trent, as follows: (1.) fear of spilling the wine; (2.) of its turning sour; (3.) of the smell of wine being unpleasant to the sick; (4.) of its injuring them; (5.) of its being too expensive for poor countries to provide; (6.) for the confutation of the heresy of asserting that the Bread was the Body of Christ, and no more; the Wine His Blood, and no more. These prettexts speak for themselves. Our rubric (1662) directing the celebrant to lay his hand on every vessel, be it *chalice* or *flagon*, probably bore reference to the practice of consecrating the “calix” only, and administering common wine, mixed with consecrated, to the people, as above.

munion in one kind, that notwithstanding the justification for it provided by the theory of Anselm (so to call it), it was for many years after held to be an *immutable* law, that *both* kinds should be received. William de Campell, about A.D. 1120, and Hugo Victorinus, who lived until 1142, lay down, that "though it be a heresy to say that it is *necessary* to receive both kinds, since he who receives either receives Christ entire, yet for the sake of the due remembrance of the Blood and water that poured from the Side, as well as of the Body that hung on the Cross, the Reception of both kinds is *immutablely* held by the Church<sup>a</sup>."

Thus, as it should seem, were the two most fatal Eucharistic errors of the West built up into a compact form by two English prelates of the early Norman succession.

But though the new doctrines were thus signally, and from the first, installed in high places in the English Church, there were special causes which

<sup>a</sup> Mabillon, *Iter. Ital.*, p. lxi. It is curious to mark the inroad, about ten years later than the date last given, of the practice of communion in one kind, in its earlier form. Robert le Poule (1150), referred to above, says, "Primo corpus deinde sanguis a *presbyteris* sumendus est. Institutio Christi mutanda non est . . . Verum qualiter a laicis eucharistica sumi deberet, sponsæ suæ commisit iudicio: cujus consilio et usu pulchrè fit, ut caro laicis distribuatur. Nimirum periculosè fieret ut sanguis sub liquidâ specie multitudini Fidelium divideretur: longe periculosius si infirmatis per parochiam deferretur." This curious and important passage proves, (1.) that the original limitation, in ordinary celebrations, was to *all the clergy*, not the celebrant; (2.) that it was primarily justified on the ground of Christ's original administration to clergy only, in the person of the Apostles, so that the Institution was satisfied provided the clergy received,—a ground entirely abandoned afterwards; (3.) that the fear of irreverence was an after-thought. So late, indeed, as the Council of Constance (1415), one speaker alleged as a reason for denying the cup to the laity, the desire of elevating the clergy in comparison of the people.

would be likely to stand in the way of a cordial reception of them in the nation at large. Not to mention whatever aversion might be felt to them as an accompaniment of the Norman sway, it is certain that, down to the very period of the Conquest, the teaching of the English Church was peculiarly and emphatically opposed to all extremes in the direction of physical conceptions of the Eucharistic Mystery. The two Ælfrics<sup>b</sup>, Archbishops of Canterbury and of York respectively, (995—1051), were earnest maintainers of that side of the mystery which Ratramn and others had so strenuously upheld two centuries before. There was therefore an antecedent probability of the fact which history confirms, that the views of Berengarius, which were first defended by him about thirty years before the Conquest, pervaded nearly the whole of England, in common with other countries<sup>c</sup>, and that traces of them continued to exist, we know not to what extent, in the end of the following century.

Nor, when the new dogma had been more firmly established, did this country fail to stand out with some prominence, as might have been expected, in the annals of reaction against it. Out of some six or seven<sup>d</sup> among the schoolmen, who can be named,

<sup>b</sup> The well-known Paschal Homily of Ælfric has lately been reprinted (Lumley, 1849), with the old translation published by Jocelyne, Abp. Parker's chaplain, about the year 1566. The editor seems to have cleared up the old doubt as to the author of the homily, who according to him is certainly Ælfric Batta, Abp. of *York*, (1023—1051). The language "is either literally translated or paraphrased from the Latin of Ratramn." Concerning the two Ælfrics, see Hardwick, *Middle Ages*, p. 187. For Ratramn's doctrine, see above, pp. 35—41.

<sup>c</sup> "Berengarius omnes . . . Anglos suis penè corruerat pravitatibus." See above, p. 46, note z. Comp. p. 75.

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 76, note q. Duns Scotus was a native of Northumber-

from the year 1300 onwards, as having stated with peculiar freedom their objections to the doctrine of annihilation, no less than four—viz. Duns Scotus, Occam, John Bacon, and Holkot — were Englishmen. All these were the genuine pioneers as well as the immediate precursors<sup>e</sup> of Wickliffe, as far as concerns Eucharistic doctrine. The last-mentioned of them, in particular, testifies that in his day few could be persuaded of the annihilation of the Eucharistic elements.

It is further to be remarked, whatever importance is to be attached to it, that the decree of the Lateran Council of 1215 was never recognised by the English Church<sup>f</sup>, or only in a single diocese, though an important one (that of Salisbury), until the year 1370, when it was first adopted by a council held at Oxford, for the very purpose of condemning Wickliffe. So that it was only for about 180 years that the English Church stood formally committed even to the comparatively moderate Lateran view of the doctrine.

3. But these facts represent but a small part of the resistance or objection virtually made by the English Church during these five centuries (1066—1549) to the Roman views of the Eucharist. It will be

land; John Bacon, of Norfolk; Holkot, of Northampton, (Cave, *Chartophylax*); Occam certainly English.

<sup>e</sup> The date of Holkot is as late as 1340—1349. Wickliffe's earliest known tract, "The Last Age of the Church," was written circ. 1356. Occam, again, whose views were, like Wickliffe's, strongly anti-papal as well as opposed to the received Eucharistic theory, was of Merton College, Oxford, of which Wickliffe became a Fellow 1340, during the lifetime of Occam, who died 1347. Wickliffe, though, as a realist, opposed to him, may well have derived his Eucharistic ideas in part from him. (See, for dates, Cave's *Chartophylax*, p. 271; Hardwick, pp. 347, 400.)

<sup>f</sup> See "England under the House of Lancaster," and the *Christian Remembrancer*, No. 72, Oct. 1853, p. 419.

pointed out hereafter, that she adhered in many most remarkable points, and in some important ones, to the condition of her Eucharistic ritual, such as it <sup>g</sup> had been when introduced by St. Augustine; refusing to admit various alterations both of text and rubric, of words and mode of administration, which were adopted elsewhere throughout the West. So wide indeed was the discrepancy, owing to this cause and to others of longer standing, between her rite and the Roman, that it may safely be affirmed that no Roman or continental priest can possibly, for many ages before the Reformation, have officiated at an English altar. We are only concerned at present with a single one, but that by far the most important of these discrepancies.

The claim of Divine adoration, as properly due to the Elements from the moment of their consecration, was indeed inculcated on English ground, as elsewhere, from about the time of the Lateran Council, or perhaps even earlier. But there was this remarkable and important difference between the English Church and all others throughout Europe,—that her regular, written, and authorized ritual *contained no recognition of that claim*. The consecrated Bread was indeed ordered to be elevated, so that it might be seen by the people; and there were various diocesan or episcopal injunctions for its being revered by them. But the direction which was embodied in the rubrics of all other Churches and monastic bodies of the West, for the celebrant to *kneel and worship the Ele-*

<sup>g</sup> It was even then, as it would seem, in no small degree Gallicanised, in its passage through the South of France in the hands of St. Augustine. It had also retained and embodied a few features of ancient British Service. See below, Part II. ch. iii. on the Ancient English Offices.

*ment, never found footing in those of the English Church*: and if not in her rubrics, we may be sure not in her practice either, since in all these points the rubric was always rigidly adhered to. And this peculiarity continued down to the very time of the Revision of the Offices in the sixteenth century. The Communion Offices of the various dioceses of Salisbury, of York, of Hereford, or of Bangor, in whatever else they might differ, agreed in this point:— a unanimity, it must be admitted, most striking and even astonishing, when the universal prevalence of this direction elsewhere throughout the West, and the immense importance attached to it, are taken into consideration.

It is scarcely less astonishing, that this fact should never before, so far as I am aware, have been noticed by any writer, Roman or English. The English Uses were by no means altogether unknown to foreign ritualists, such as Martene and Le Brun, though very imperfectly examined by them. Yet they have overlooked, beside many other striking peculiarities, this capital and distinctive feature of them. But it is still more surprising that it should have escaped the observation of our own writers, as Palmer and Maskell.

Of the fact itself, however, there is no doubt. And as little question is there of the interpretation and significance to be attached to it. It clearly appears that the *written* ritual, at any rate, of the English Church, retained its original soundness in this particular, amid the universal corruption of the whole of Europe beside. It exhibited all along in the West an almost perfect parallel, as far as concerned its letter and its authoritative contents, to the Liturgies of the East. The doctrine of elemental annihilation,

however proclaimed, almost from the very hour of its invention, from archiepiscopal thrones, and followed up by divers injunctions, based upon it, in diocesan decrees, wrought no material change in the liturgical forms of the English Church. From whatever causes, (a point to be considered presently,) the accredited ritual expression of that doctrine, elsewhere universally imposed by the Roman See, found here no place. Viewed in its theoretic structure, the stream of Liturgical service in this country flowed almost unimpaired, in this particular, from the Apostolic fountain-head.

How far the reverence enjoined by the diocesan decrees referred to was carried, or intended to be carried, in this country, it is somewhat difficult to decide with any certainty. But the purpose of the elevation, as defined by the rubric, was simply that the Element "might be seen," and doubtless beheld with reverence, "by the people." Nor have I found any distinct order for its being *worshipped*, or for their prostrating themselves, even in the diocesan injunctions. The directions are, that "the people should behave themselves reverently at the consecration of the Eucharist, and kneel, especially after the elevation<sup>h</sup>." Every priest was "frequently to instruct the people, that when the elevation takes

<sup>h</sup> "Moneantur laici, quod reverenter se habeant in consecratione eucharistiæ, et flectant genua; maxime in tempore illo, quando, post elevationem eucharistiæ," &c. Concil. Dunelm., A.D. 1220. "Hostia ita levetur in altum, ut a fidelibus *circumstantibus* valeat intueri." (This, however, is probably a general term for "worshippers," as in the Canon Missæ: "Memento omnium *circumstantium*.") Synod. Exon., 1287. "Sacerdos quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut cum elevatur hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet." Synod. Norvic., A.D. 1257. "Campanella pulsetur, cum corpus Domini in altum erigitur, ut per hoc devotio torpentium excitetur, ac aliorum charitas inflammetur." Constit. Ep. Wigorn., 1240.



place, they should bow reverently." Another enjoins that "it be so raised on high, that it can be beheld by those who stand around." The purpose is elsewhere defined to be, "that devotion may be awakened, and charity inflamed."

These instructions do not necessarily point to anything beyond profound reverence<sup>i</sup> for the Elements, now consecrated. They also, by their varied expressions, bespeak the absence of any fixed and rigid rule on the subject. And on the whole, seeing that no example of worship was set by the celebrant, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the practice of the laity also, as well as of the officiating clergy, in this country, was materially different from that which prevailed on the Continent.

This conclusion is greatly strengthened by a closer examination both of the rubric and the diocesan injunctions, taken in connection with the ascertained history of the practice of elevation; which is briefly as follows. No such action was used upon consecration, until the middle of the twelfth century<sup>k</sup>, at earliest. The first recorded recognition, or even mention of it, is at a council held at Paris in 1188<sup>l</sup>. And it was introduced, as a new practice<sup>m</sup>, into Germany, in 1203, by Cardinal Guido, acting as Papal legate at Cologne. But in none of these earlier instances of elevation,

<sup>i</sup> On the real distinction to be made between such reverence and actual worship, see below, sect. xiii.

<sup>k</sup> Mabillon indeed says the middle of the eleventh (*Iter Ital.*, p. xlix.); but he alleges no clear instance earlier than the *thirteenth*.

<sup>l</sup> Maskell, *Anc. Lit.*, p. 92: "Tunc elevent eam, *ut possit ab omnibus videri*."

<sup>m</sup> "Hic bonam illic consuetudinem instituit, ut ad elevationem hostiæ omnis populus ad sonitum nolæ *veniam peteret*, et sic prostratus usque ad calicis benedictionem jaceret." *Bona, Rer. Lit.* ii. 13. 2.

nor even in the famous decree<sup>n</sup> of Pope Honorius III., circ. 1217, was the purpose of the elevation, or of the actions accompanying it, defined to be the actual worship of the Element: but, as in the English rubrics, “that it might be seen by the people;” that they might shew it “reverence;” or “might fall down and ask pardon<sup>o</sup>.” It is about the latter part of the thirteenth century that stronger language begins to be used on this head: as in the ceremonial<sup>p</sup> of the date of Gregory X. (1271). Then, too, it is that the existence of the present Roman rubric begins first to be recognised by the ritualists; as by Durandus<sup>q</sup>, (circ. 1286).

Now it is not difficult to assign reasons why the English Church would be likely enough, during the earlier part of the period here spoken of, to admit Roman variations into her rubric, but to cease to do so in the later part. Down to the year 1215, or somewhat later, was the palmy time of Roman ascendancy in this country. A reaction against the *national* spirit which had spoken in the Constitutions of Clarendon, was manifest in the triumph and canonization of à Becket, the acceptance of a grant of Ireland from the Pope by Hen. II., the interdict laid on the kingdom, the deposition of John, the appointment and removal of Langton. All these were so

<sup>n</sup> “Cum elevatur hostia, quilibet se reverenter inclinet, idem faciens cum eam defert presbyter ad infirmum.”

<sup>o</sup> See note m. So too the customs of Cluny (twelfth century): “All who meet the Priest bearing the Body of the Lord should demand pardon.”

<sup>p</sup> In the Ordo Romanus, No. XIII. (Mabillon’s *Iter. Italic.*, p. 235): “In elevatione vero corporis Christo, prosternent se ad terram, et adorient reverenter in facies cadendo.”

<sup>q</sup> *Rationale Div. Offic.* iv. 41, ult.

many proofs of the revived influence of the Roman see, extending from about 1170 to 1215. But by the middle of this century, a national *animus* reappears in considerable vigour, as was marked by the appeal of the English ambassadors to the Council of Lyons<sup>r</sup> (in 1245), against Italian exactions; by the rise of Grostête (1235—1253); and by a variety of ordinances<sup>s</sup> tending to restrain the Papal power in this country, during the next 300 years. Nothing was more natural than that the English Church, under such circumstances, should guard her ritual with the same jealousy as she guarded her spirituality and temporalities; and should proceed no further in the course upon which she had lately entered, of conforming her rubric to the Roman developments. Such is, at least, a very reasonable account to give of the phenomenon which her ritual certainly presents, of having only admitted in a very germinal form, into her rubrics, the practice of shewing reverence to the newly-consecrated Elements. Her Eucharistic mind, which remained unaltered for the next three centuries, must be interpreted by the earlier, not by the later, significance attached to the practice of elevation. Her diocesan and extra-rubrical teaching may well have been intended to keep within those limits.

It need only be added here, that, in like manner, the adoration of the consecrated Cup, enjoined in the Roman Use with no less rigour and universality than that of the Bread, was wanting in the English Rite: and that the “Agnus Dei,” later in the Office, which

<sup>r</sup> July 17. See Landon's Councils, p. 382.

<sup>s</sup> Such were the trial of clerks by jury, 1275; statute of mortmain, 1279; appeal of the commons against presentation of foreigners, 1297; statutes of provisors, 1352—1399.

in the Roman Use seems to be addressed to the consecrated Bread (“*inclinatus Sacramento dicit*”), in the English Uses is not so.

The only shadow of an exception to what has been here represented as the rule of the regular English ritual, is in the Use<sup>t</sup> supposed to be that of Bangor; in which the words “*inclinat sacerdos ad hostiam*” follow the consecration of the Bread, though not that of the Cup. But, in the first place, this falls very far short of the Roman direction, universally adopted elsewhere, “*Prolatis verbis consecrationis statim hostiam genuflexus adorat.*” And next, in all the other English Uses, this direction to “incline” or bend towards the Elements (in the Sarum “towards the Altar,”) *precedes* the words of consecration. (And in truth this was the old Roman or Western usage also, as writers<sup>u</sup> from the eighth to the eleventh century testify, though it has now disappeared from the canon: and it is explained by them to signify Christ’s humbling Himself to the Death upon the Cross.) Now it was obvious to repeat this action (as in the Bangor Use) in a position after the words of consecration, and to convert it into an act of adoration of the Elements. And it is very remarkable that we find this addition made in some late editions of the Sarum Missal<sup>x</sup>, and when it was restored to use during the brief reign of Mary.

And we may with much probability discern by this light the process by which the Roman rubric was brought to its present condition. The old direc-

<sup>t</sup> Printed by Maskell, *Anc. Lit.*, column 2. See *ibid.*, p. cliv. Others suppose it to be only a variety of the Sarum. The date is circ. 1400.

<sup>u</sup> Amalarius (820), c. 30; Micrologus (1080); Honorius, *Gemma Animæ*, (1130).

<sup>x</sup> E. g. Ed. 1533. Regnault, Paris. Ed. 1554. Valentin, Rouen.

tion and practice—how old we know not, but probably as old as St. Gregory at least, since it appears in all English Uses—being for the celebrant to *incline* with a symbolical import, as above explained, before consecration: this in the eleventh or twelfth century was abolished; and after consecration, first an act of elevation only, as in the English Uses, but subsequently one of worship also, prescribed in its stead.

It may be proper to add, that in a Pontifical<sup>v</sup> of the Use of Sarum, of about the year 1468, we find the Roman direction for the worship of the elements embodied in the Canon. This only proves that the pontifical Offices were (as would be not unlikely) under more immediate Roman influence than the ordinary Eucharistic ritual. It establishes nothing against the position here affirmed, that the regular English Rite knew nothing of such adoration.

4. But the English Eucharistic ritual, in various other respects besides that which has been now specified, contrasted remarkably with that of the Roman Church and of the continent of Europe. That disuse of whole elements and features of Eucharistic Service (such as the ancient Litanies) which, as we saw, paved the way for the reception of unsound doctrine, and greatly aggravated its effects, had never been carried to the same lengths in England. The Litany more especially, which in the Roman Use, from the tenth century, ceased to be said (except

<sup>v</sup> In the University Library, Cambridge, MSS. Mm. 3, 21. On the fly-leaf is written by a later hand, "Innocent VIII., Hen. VIII., circa MCCCC LXVIII." The Pontifical contained the Offices proper to Bishops, as those for Ordination, Consecration of Churches, &c. That of Sarum was quite distinct from the Roman, and contained especially a set of ancient *Benedictiones Episcopales*, which have been disused at Rome since the time of Gregory the Great. See Muratori, *Vetus Lit. Rom.*

on a single day in the year, and at Ordinations and Consecrations,) in its proper Eucharistic connection, had retained it in England, in the season of Lent, down to the time of the Reformation : while another and somewhat briefer form of intercession was appointed, according to the Use of Sarum, on all Sundays and Festivals. But besides this, the ordinary Offices of the Church continued to be in use on Sundays and Festivals at least, as a prelude to Eucharistic celebration. There was, therefore, a far less degree of ejection of the popular and congregational element out of the Eucharistic Office. And besides this, a higher standard as to frequency of lay communion was prescribed in at least some parts of this country, than elsewhere. The Lateran decrees of 1215 require but one Communion in the year. The diocesan synod of Salisbury, 1217, already referred to, (while endorsing the Lateran decree as to the Elements,) required *three*, which was continued as the rule of the English Church at the time of the Revision of her Offices.

Thus did the English Church exhibit, during that mournful period of Europe's Eucharistic history, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, the nearest approach which the annals of the West afford, to the proper retention of the ancient Eucharistic views and practice. That its condition in this respect was at all satisfactory, or realized the mind of early days, or of the Church's bright Eucharistic Millennium, I am far indeed from representing. Practically, error was probably here, as elsewhere, deep-seated, though in a milder form. But the great point to be remarked is, that it existed *in spite of, and in opposition to, the written and ritual law of the Church, not in virtue of it*: and that it was not unaccompanied either by

occasional protest, in the form of serious questioning as to the Eucharistic dogma thus forcibly imposed, or by ritual compensations, and witnessings for a purer Eucharistic theology. Owing to the national peculiarities just described, there had survived in the soil of the English Church many a "tough and stringy root" of ancient Eucharistic custom, which had elsewhere been extirpated. Throughout the rest of the Western Church, the Eucharist had long ceased to be customarily celebrated with any reference, such as the primitive forms<sup>z</sup> contained, both in East and West, to the entire Economy: to the Incarnation, the Nativity, and the other earlier events of it, as well as to the Passion and other later and crowning ones. Nor, for the same period, had any *detailed* intercession been made for the Church and for mankind; any deprecation of particular evils, or any petition for particular needs, temporal or spiritual<sup>a</sup>: any prayer for those in sickness or danger, for the traveller, the fatherless or widow, and such like cases of need. All this solemn Eucharistic memory and pleading of Christ's Divine Actions; all this kindly and bounden care for the necessities of the world, was cut off by the disuse of the Litany, and not re-

<sup>z</sup> These commemorations still remain, in a position corresponding to that of our Litany, in the very ancient Syriac Liturgy of St. James. (Renaudot, ii. p. 16.) In the Greek forms, they are in the preamble to the Institution. (See Neale, *Gen. Introd.*, pp. 542—551) In the Mozarabic they are more clearly connected with the consecration. (Neale, *Tetralogia*, p. 148.)

<sup>a</sup> The intercessions in the Roman Office are restricted to three or four lines: "for the Church universal, its peace and unity, the pope, the bishops, the faithful, the congregation, and the departed." (See the "Te igitur" and "Memento.") The deprecations are yet more brief: "for deliverance from all evils, past, present, and to come." ("Libera nos," &c., after the Lord's Prayer.)

stored in any other shape. In this country alone, more especially during a portion of the year, it had its ancient place, and thus maintained a solitary witness in the West to the proper constitution of Eucharistic Service. And when we add to this, that another great Eucharistic element, that of praise, never slumbered here to the same extent as elsewhere, but was perpetuated on all high Eucharistic days, (as Sundays and chief festivals,) in the Psalms and Hymns, the Scripture and Canticles, of the Ordinary Office, long after these had fallen, as it should seem, into disuse in other parts of the West;—we surely discern, in the English national worship of the middle ages, a breadth and justness of Eucharistic conception, up to a certain point, quite peculiar to it. That misdirection of the Eucharistic rite, as to its purpose and design; that narrowing of its range, which elsewhere proceeded to the utmost lengths, was never quite without alloy or abatement here. And it is unlikely that they who were taught to associate the Eucharist with this wider range of ideas, could really receive, as its almost exclusive conception, the creation by it of an object of Divine Worship; or could fail to recognise, as one very important function of it, the presentation, in mysterious union with the One Sacrifice, both of the individual member, and of the body of the faithful, acceptable to God in Christ.

IX. The facts to which attention has now—so far as I am aware, for the first time—been drawn, and which will perhaps be received with somewhat of surprise, or even of incredulity, marked out the Church of this country as that in which, if anywhere in the West, a successful reinstatement of the Eucharistic Mystery, by a recovery of the ancient manner of



holding it, and by the embodiment of it in a sound ritual, might be hoped for. Other countries of Europe, being more completely committed to views and practices properly subversive of the old verity, with far less of alloying circumstances, might well be expected, in whatever reaction they might experience, either to fall short of a genuine recovery and working back to the truth, or, in the rebound, to run into excess in the other direction.

And such, as a matter of fact, has been the case. The Roman Church, though largely reacting all along, as far as concerns theoretical statement of doctrine, against her earlier and more extravagant positions of the eleventh century, and though manifesting<sup>b</sup>, at the epoch of the Reformation, some desire of retracing her now ancient error of five hundred years' standing, has nevertheless been so far from winning her way back to the whole truth, that she has ended by binding upon herself ritual practices which can only be properly based on the entire denial of one whole side of it.

Nor have those continental bodies which, in various times and countries, drawing off from allegiance to Rome, have undertaken to reform and restore Eucharistic doctrine, been at all more successful. *Iliacos extra muros peccatur et intra.* A contest of oppo-

<sup>b</sup> See the able sketch of the Counter-Reformation in Hardwick, Reformation, ch. vi. Not a few of the Roman divines, as George Cas-sander, (*ibid.*, p. 299,) desired that the appeal should be made "ad consensum universalem vetustissimarum Ecclesiarum, usque ad ætatem Leonis vel etiam Gregorii." And this, in truth, was the principle professed, and, so far as was convenient, acted upon by the Council of Trent. "Nemo contra eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, . . . aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum S. Scripturam interpretari audeat." Concil. Trid., Sess. IV.

site excesses sums up the Eucharistic history of the European continent for eight hundred years past. Not so much as a single clear enunciation of sound Eucharistic doctrine falls upon the ear; much less does any embodiment and exhibition of such doctrine, in a thoroughly sound ritual, meet the eye, throughout that period.

(It does not by any means follow from hence, nor is it meant to be implied, that the Eucharistic celebrations of the West during this time were invalid. Neither the doctrinal misconceptions, nor the corrupt ritual practices based upon them, could invalidate the rite, so long as it was performed with the due essentials as to matter, words, and officiating persons, and so far as it was so. But there was still so wide a departure from Apostolic conception and practice as to mar and obscure, to the most grievous extent, what happily no amount of human perversion, within the limits just described, could altogether destroy.)

In England it was otherwise. Here, besides some earlier and less clearly defined instances of reaction, we have seen that the first half of the fourteenth century abounded to an unexampled degree in the free expression of opinion in this country as to the untenableness, on philosophical grounds, of the doctrine of elemental annihilation; and perhaps also in a somewhat widely spread loosening of the hold which that opinion possessed on the general mind. All these manifestations of opinion, however, at least in the case of the schoolmen referred to, were accompanied by a ceding, real or nominal, of the point at issue, in consideration of the decision, or what was decreed to be such, of Rome and the West. They did not result in any clear re-statement, in the ancient

manner, of the Eucharistic Mystery; nor did they exercise any influence on the English Ritual; which was indebted, as it should seem, to other and somewhat earlier causes<sup>d</sup> for whatever of superior purity or soundness it preserved.

But about twenty years after the last of these protests, such as they were, a spectacle new to Europe for many hundreds of years is exhibited. It is that of the open enunciation, correctly and sufficiently expressed in both its terms, of the Eucharistic Mystery. In propositions still on record, and about which there is therefore no sort of doubt, John Wickliffe, in the year 1380, affirmed on the one hand "that the Elements are really and truly the Body and Blood of Christ<sup>e</sup>;" and on the other, "that they retain their natural substances<sup>f</sup>, and may not be worshipped." It is interesting to note that the form which one of his positions assumed was, "that of old

<sup>d</sup> Above, p. 84.

<sup>e</sup> "Eucharistia habet, virtute verborum sacramentalium, tam Corpus quam Sanguinem Christi, vere et realiter ad quemlibet ejus punctum," (4th Proposition.) Again, he distinguishes between himself and "heresykes that trow that this Sacrament may on none wise be Goddus Body," (Wickliffe's Confession, 1382). The first Proposition does indeed affirm that "Hostia consecrata *quam videmus* in altari, nec est Christus *nec aliqua Sui pars*, sed efficax ejus signum." But this is in all fairness to be understood of His natural Body, under Its physical conditions. And the equivalent to "efficax signum" was upheld as a truth in the eighth century, (above, p. 35: and see "Notes on a Sermon," &c., Note I., on the titles "Type, Figure, Symbol, &c., as applied to the Holy Eucharist" by the early writers). Wickliffe is clearly speaking of the *outward* part as an "efficax signum." (Comp. the Eng. Art. 25, "efficacia signa.") See Hardwick, Middle Ages, p. 407.

<sup>f</sup> "Olim fuit fides Ecclesiæ Romanæ in professione Berengarii, quod panis et vinum, *quæ remanent post benedictionem*, sunt hostia consecrata." Prop. 3. On the subject of worship of the Elements, see his Trialogus, p. 192.

the faith of the Roman Church was that of *Beren-garius*, that the bread and wine remain after the blessing.”

And thus, whatever Wickliffe’s views in other respects, or whatever the vagaries of his followers<sup>g</sup>, to him certainly belongs the credit of having been the first to re-state boldly that side of Eucharistic truth which had so long been obscured in the West, without at the same time running into excess on the other side.

We cannot, indeed, assign to this setting forth of the old Eucharistic truth the very first rank in point of importance, nor for a moment compare it, for its results, with that which followed, nearly two hundred years later, in this country. We can point to no immediate fruits of it in the form of a sounder belief either extensively entertained, or ritually embodied. It is very doubtful, too, whether that subsequent and national movement can be legitimately or directly traced<sup>h</sup> to the influence of this one, as to a primary impulse. It was, in truth, rather the heading up and the final effort of a form of thought, which in this country more especially, as we have seen, had for near a century past been gathering momentum, and tending to a collision with the prevailing doctrine. When that collision took place, the aggressive body of opinion, slowly matured, indeed, but insufficiently compacted or sustained, was dashed to pieces and dissi-

<sup>g</sup> See Hardwick, Middle Ages, p. 410.

<sup>h</sup> “The impulses by which this country was aroused to assert the ancient faith, and to recast the Liturgy and other forms of public worship, are not traceable to any of the feverish agitations which the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced.” Hardwick, Reformation, p. 180. He points out, however, some slight under-currents of connection.

pated in the shock with the iron strength of the dominant mind of the West.

X. But the next movement of the kind in this country, falling upon a more propitious time, and conducted both with juster conceptions of what was needed, and from the vantage-ground of a higher ecclesiastical position, had a very different issue.

Hitherto, all instances of reaction against the Eucharistic doctrines of the eleventh century had either been unsound in degree, (whether in the way of defect or excess), or, if sound, were confined to personal expressions of opinion, and found no utterance in the ritual of any body of Christians.

The great English movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was absolutely discriminated from all those instances by two notes of difference: namely, first, by the full and equal enunciation of both terms of the Eucharistic Mystery, with only such limitations as the subject itself prescribes; and next, by the embodiment of the recovered Verity in the ritual of an entire Church and nation.

In proof of this, it will only be necessary to point to deliberate statements, or more incidental indications, contained in authorized forms of the English Church, from the year 1548 onwards; such, more especially, as either virtually, or in so many words, continue a part of her principles and teaching at the present day. And it must be clearly understood that we are not concerned with the ebb and flow of opinion on the subject, whether in the minds of particular persons, or in the temper of the times at certain periods; but only with the accredited expressions of the mind of the Church herself. It is also to be borne in mind, that we are not now speaking of the

entire structure or contents of the revised English Office, viewed as a mode of celebrating the Holy Eucharist; but only of the recognition contained in it, and in other formularies, of the two great Terms of the Eucharistic Mystery: namely, first, that the consecrated Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ, only not under Their natural, but a supernatural mode of existence; and, secondly, that the Elements, though thus elevated in their conditions and powers, yet lose not their proper nature or substance, but continue to be real Bread and Wine. We shall find, however, that it was not at a single step, but through the medium of successive revisions of her Offices and formularies, that the English Church thus recovered the full enunciation, on both its sides, of the Eucharistic Mystery.

It is to be observed in the first place,—and it is perhaps somewhat characteristic of the English mind,—that the dogmatic re-affirmation of Eucharistic doctrine was preceded, in point of time, by the virtual re-instalment of it in ritual. It was, as it should seem, by the practical use of a purer Office,—an Office from which the confessed additions of later times, such as the elevation of the Elements immediately on consecration, had been removed, while ancient features long obsolete in the West, as the Communion in both kinds, and the Litany, had been restored to it,—that the English Church won her way back to a sound conception and statement of the Mystery. And this was, in truth, the just order of events. As ritual unfaithfulness, in ages long past<sup>1</sup>, had prepared the way for the influx of unsoundness in doctrine; so the repairing of the old defences of this kind left the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 51.

Church of this country at leisure to ponder and weigh, under circumstances favourable to a pure and right judgment, the great question which lay before her, and which it was ultimately granted her to replace, in the dogmatic no less than the ritual form, on its ancient and properly immoveable foundations.

The project of a Revision of her Ritual, both ordinary and Eucharistic, had in truth occupied the attention of the English Church from a far earlier period than is commonly supposed. It is usually represented<sup>k</sup>, that in the year 1548-9, a body of Divines, then first selected and commissioned by the Crown for the purpose, and resting their authority on no broader basis, took in hand for the first time the revision or reconstruction of the ancient Offices; and thus produced, at a single effort, the earliest form of the English Prayer-Book. Such a representation, however, does very imperfect justice to the real character of this important movement. The work thus accomplished did not merely—which is the most that is generally admitted—go forth with the sanction of Convocation, but had, in the truest sense, originated with that body, and was carried through by members of it: and so was in far stricter reality the work of the Church by representation than it would otherwise have been. And again, this work of revision had been spread over a period much more commensurate with the greatness of the undertaking, than is thus erroneously assumed. Some little obscurity, indeed, still exists as to the exact degree in which Convo-

<sup>k</sup> As by L'Estrange, *Alliance of Divine Offices*, p. 44, (Ed. Oxf. 1846). Wheatly (Introduction) records the appointment of the earlier Committee, but with no idea of its having any connection with the subsequent Revision of 1549.

cation was concerned in the revision ; but that it was so to a far greater extent, and from a much earlier date, than is generally conceived, is certain.

As early as the year 1516, we discern the first indication of a steady design and endeavour, never afterwards abandoned, of amending the existing condition of the ancient English Service-books. In that year appeared an edition<sup>1</sup> of the Sarum Breviary, differing so widely, at least in point of arrangement and method, if not in its actual contents, from all previous editions, that a peculiarly well-informed antiquarian<sup>m</sup> has not hesitated to designate it by the title *Reformatum*. The chief characteristics of this edition were, (1.) the greater fulness, clearness, and simplicity of the instructions for using<sup>n</sup> the Office; the rubrics being without abbreviations, the references simplified, and the anthems, &c. printed *in extenso*;—and (2.) the increased length of the Lessons, which of late had been very much abbreviated in most of the printed copies; as well as the assigning fixed Lessons to some days<sup>o</sup> which had lacked them hitherto, and the reading

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. C. Seager's *Portiforium Sarisburiense*, (Leslie, 1843.) Preface, pp. vi., vii., ciii. He remarks that the lections at Nocturns are "*twice as long* as in any of the other editions." Another learned ritualist (F. H. Dickinson, Esq.) considers that this was only a return to the standard all along acknowledged by the larger "Breviaries," though departed from in the smaller "Portiforia." But even if this was so, the alterations in other respects fully justify the view taken by Mr. Seager, and adopted in the text.

<sup>m</sup> Rev. C. Seager, as above, p. vii.: "Editionem istam a reliquis distinguendam, et nomine suo Breviarium Sarisbur. *Reformatum* appellandam fuisse, manifestum est."

<sup>n</sup> See Seager, *Monitum generale*, p. ii., iii.

<sup>o</sup> As, for example, to the several week-days in Advent, which had hitherto, in the Sarum Use, only had a portion assigned to each week as a whole. The idea was taken from the Use of York. Seager, p. ciii. He adds, (p. ciii.), "De lectionibus notandum est, eas quæ de



of the text of Scripture in order, without omission. It is hardly conceivable that these reforms, the two last-mentioned more especially, can have been made without Synodal authority. And we discern in them two, at least, of the leading principles which governed the Revision of 1549: first, the simplification<sup>p</sup> of the use of the Office; and secondly, the increased provision of Holy Scripture<sup>q</sup>. This edition re-appeared in 1531.

Two years later, a similar work was done upon the Sarum Missal. An edition of it was put forth in 1533, in which the utmost pains were taken, to a degree unexampled hitherto, to render the directions for its use clear and intelligible, and also to facilitate the finding, in the Bible itself, of the passages used either as Epistles and Gospels<sup>r</sup>, or in other ways, for introits, offertories, and the like<sup>s</sup>. The former provision would redound more especially to the benefit of the clergy, the latter to that of the people; for by this time the use of Tyndale's version of the Bible was beginning to receive open encouragement from

Esaiâ sumptæ sunt ita ordinatas esse, ut *sine omissione* omnia suo ordine sequantur."

<sup>p</sup> Compare the Preface to the Prayer-book of 1549: "The Holy Scripture is so set forth, that all things shall be done in order, without breaking one piece from another. It is also most commodious for the plainness of the Order, for that the rules be few and easy."

<sup>q</sup> *Ibid.*, sub init.

<sup>r</sup> "Cum multis annotatiunculis, et litteris alphabeticis Evangeliorum atque Epistolarum originem indicantibus." Colophon, fol. lii.

<sup>s</sup> A copy of this edition (4to., Paris, Regnault, May 27, 1533,) is in the University Library, Cambridge, (B. 5, 57), and in the Bodleian, (Gough, 129). It is said in the title-page to be "elimatissimè impressum," and deserves the eulogium. "Tabula etiam perpulchra, secundum numerum foliorum singulas dominicas et festa demonstrans. Non sine ingenti atque pervigili curâ. Cum appropriatis ubilibet historiis quotationibus [que?] litteris alphabeticis *unum quemque locum Sacrae pagine in promptu indicantibus.*"

the bishops, and a revision of it for public authorization was actually in hand<sup>t</sup>. In this edition there are some singular rubrical additions, which bespeak its having proceeded from high authority.

It is not long after this that stronger indications of the connection of Convocation with ritual progress and improvement begin to appear. In the year 1534 the Convocation of Canterbury<sup>u</sup> petitioned Henry VIII.—fruitlessly at that time—to authorize an English Version of the Bible: a not unnatural result of the appeal to Scripture which the clergy had made in the same year, when repudiating the Pope's supremacy. This was not in itself a ritual measure. But it is surely most remarkable, though I am not aware that it has been noticed hitherto, that, coincidently with this petition, the issue of printed editions of the principal ancient Service-books, of whatever "Use," which since the end of the fifteenth century had continued without intermission, *suddenly ceased*<sup>x</sup>; and in the case of the Missal was *never resumed* up to the time of the first Revision of the Offices in 1549. This coincidence is too remarkable to have been the result of accident. It indicates, not obscurely, a design or desire on the part of Convocation to popularize the

<sup>t</sup> Tyndale's version of 1525, and all other vernacular versions, were prohibited by royal proclamation three years before; but Cranmer, in the course of this or the next year, (1534) "distributed Tyndale's version, in nine or ten parts, among the Bishops, for correction, and received favourable answers from most of them." Hardwick, p. 197.

<sup>u</sup> Dec. 19. Journal of Convocation, fol. 60. Collier, p. 95.

<sup>x</sup> This may be seen by inspection of the "List of Printed Service-books, according to the Ancient Uses of the Anglican Church," (printed privately by Masters, 1850). No Breviary, Psalter, or book of Hymns, of whatever Use, is known to have been printed between 1535 and 1541, (see the text further on); no Processional from 1532 to 1544; no Missal from 1534 to 1553.

ancient Offices, and adapt them to congregational use, (at least to the extent of having the portions of Scripture contained in them read in the vernacular,) before putting them forth again. It would be natural, under the influence of such a hope, to suspend the issuing of the Service-books in their older form.

And in full accordance with the supposition here made as the motive of such suspension, we find put forth at this time an entirely novel kind of help (as it would seem) to congregational or popular devotion, in connection with the Eucharistic Office. From the year 1538, (or perhaps earlier,) begin to appear, generally attached to the end of the English Primers, but sometimes printed separately, the "Pystles and Gospels"<sup>7</sup> used in the Communion Office, in English. This expedient was clearly an instalment, yet without touching the public ritual-books, of the ordinance of ten years later (1547), by which the Epistle and Gospel were ordered "to be read at High-Mass in English, and not in Latin<sup>8</sup>." And thus the setting up in the Churches, by the advice of Convocation<sup>a</sup>, (1536,) of the English Bible, to be read by the people at their leisure, was accompanied by a ritual provision of the same complexion, most probably from the same source, enabling them to follow with the eye, though not as yet with the ear, the appointed Eucharistic Scriptures.

<sup>7</sup> See the List of Printed Service-books (as above), p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Injunctions of Edw. VI., 1547.

<sup>a</sup> In June, 1536, Convocation (Cromwell presiding as Vicar-General) repeated their request to Henry for an authorized version. In the same year followed certain royal Injunctions, put forth by Cromwell, "with the assent of the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation." By the 7th, every Parson was "to provide a Bible in Latin and English, to be laid in the choir, for every one to read at their pleasure." Collier, p. 129. In 1542, the Upper House ordered a chapter of the Bible to be read after Te Deum and Magnificat, on Sundays and Festivals. *Ib.*, p. 186.

Hitherto, however, it is, perhaps, rather matter of probable conjecture, than of certainty, that Convocation was concerned in the ritual measures adopted. But in 1541, (Feb. 17,) the Archbishop moved<sup>b</sup> in Convocation "that the Missals, and other Liturgic Books, might be reformed, omitting the names of the Pope," &c. And shortly after, (Mar. 3,) by a regular Act of that body, the ancient Use of Sarum was made obligatory on the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury<sup>c</sup>: an earnest of the great preponderance which that Use was destined to carry in the Revision ultimately accomplished, as well as of the uniformity of "Use" then to be imposed on the whole realm<sup>d</sup>. We seem, too, to derive, from the fact of such a motion and such an authoritative order being made, a presumption that whatever had been done hitherto in connection with the Service-books had proceeded from the same authority, or had been sanctioned by it. But however this be, the motion, and the convocational Act of Uniformity, (so to call it,) were followed up in the same year by an amended edition<sup>e</sup> of the Sarum Breviary, with the proposed omissions. It is impossible to doubt that this novel edition was

<sup>b</sup> Fuller, from the Records of Convocation; Collier, p. 185.

<sup>c</sup> Wilkins, iii. 361; Hardwick, p. 206.

<sup>d</sup> Preface to the Book of 1549: "And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm, some following Salisbury Use, &c., henceforth the whole realm shall have but one Use." So also the title-page: "The Book of &c. . . . after the USE of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND."

<sup>e</sup> "Portiforium noviter impressum et a plurimus purgatum mendis, Pars æstivalis: 12mo., London, Whytchurch." Library of Queen's Coll., Cambridge, (see Collier, p. 191). Copies also exist in the Bodleian (Gough, 38), Sion College, and New College; where is also the "Pars hiemalis." The two vols. are also in the King's Library, British Museum, 16mo. See List of Printed Service-books.

connected with the ordinance of Convocation of the same year. For, besides the serious and responsible nature of the alterations, such as omitting certain Saints' days, it is a remarkable fact, that whereas all previous editions of the Sarum Breviary, with the exception of two at the beginning of the century (those of 1500 and 1509), had been printed abroad<sup>f</sup>, this edition is printed at *London*, by Whitchurch, the same printer to whom the First Book of 1549 was committed<sup>g</sup>. Convocation, it is evident, had now taken into its own hands, if it had not before, a work of ritual reform, which was to proceed henceforth under its auspices, with some steadiness and uniformity both of aim and arrangements<sup>h</sup>.

The publication of the altered Breviary was, no doubt, intended to be followed up by similar measures. Accordingly, in the very next year, (1542,) the decisive step was taken of appointing, at the King's desire, a Committee of both Houses of Convocation, consisting of the Bishops of Sarum (Shaxton) and Ely (Goodrick<sup>i</sup>), and six members of the Lower House,

<sup>f</sup> See list of Printed Service-books, p. 5, 6. English impressions of the *Missal* were scarcely less rare. The List only gives four, all by Pynson, in 1500, 1504, 1512, 1520.

<sup>g</sup> "Imprinted at London, in Flete-street, by Edward Whitchurche, the seventh daye of Marche, 1549." Colophon to the first edition of the Book of 1549. Maskell, *Anc. Lit.*, p. 237.

<sup>h</sup> The preface to a reprint in 1544 of the edition of 1541, by Grafton and Whitchurch, forbids the printing of the chief Service-books by any other firm, within the space of seven years next ensuing. See Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. xvii.

<sup>i</sup> "It was ordered that examination of the said books of service should be committed to the Bishops of Sarum and Ely, taking to each of them three of the Lower House, such as should be appointed for that purpose." It is important to observe, for reasons which will appear hereafter, that Goodrick was now Bishop of Ely, having been appointed in 1534, (*Collicer*, ii. 2, p. 129; *Godwyn de Præsul.*) Shaxton and Good-

by whom "all mass-books, antiphoners, portuises, (breviaries,) in the Church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed<sup>k</sup>."

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of bearing in mind the appointment of this Committee, in order to a right understanding of the subsequent progress of events in the English Church, and of the influences by which they were produced or controlled. This event fixed in a very great degree the peculiar character of the English reforming movement, by determining it strongly, from the first, in the direction of ritual. And the existence of such a Committee for many years after, of which we find unequivocal proofs, throws considerable light on the ecclesiastical proceedings of this and the following reign. Having been in the first instance appointed by Convocation, at the desire of the Crown, it would seem to have been considered henceforth as a standing institution, and as the common property, in some sort, of the spiritual and temporal authorities; or rather as an instrument in the hands of both, which each made use of, with the tacit concurrence of the other, for carrying out the purpose originally contemplated in its appointment. Its powers were indeed for some few years dormant; or, however, issued in no present results. This, doubtless, arose from the terror of the "Six Articles," which had passed shortly before (1539), and by which it was made penal to raise the question either of the

rick had both acted before on a commission to examine into matters of religion, in 1537. Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 13.

<sup>k</sup> Wilkins, iii. 863. Stryp., *Eccl. Mem. Hen. VIII.*, i. 50. See Hardwick, p. 206; Procter, p. 14. Wheatly, in his *Introduction*, makes the Committee to have been appointed in 1540, and to have reported in 1542-3, but without any foundation.

nature of the Eucharistic Elements, or of Communion in both kinds. Hence the Lower House declined<sup>1</sup> at the first to appoint their contingent of the Committee. But that the Committee was subsequently appointed, and entered seriously upon the task designed for it, is undoubted. For in the year 1547 (Nov. 22,) the Lower House of Convocation petitioned the Upper, “that the performance of the Bishops and others, *who by order of the Convocation have spent some time in reviewing and correcting the Offices of Divine Service,*” might be laid before the House<sup>m</sup>. Nothing can be more complete than the proof which this petition furnishes of the steady prosecution by the Convocation, through this Committee, of the work of Revision.

But we are further enabled, from having ascertained that this Committee was thus really operative, to trace with probability to their true source other acts of revision belonging to the same period; as when we find a document put forth shortly after<sup>n</sup> the first appointment of the Committee, entitled “The Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England, together with an explanation of the meaning and significancy of them,” couched in authoritative language<sup>o</sup>. Again, we know that Hen. VIII., two years before this time, in 1540, appointed certain Divines to consider the question of the seven Sacraments. Their names are preserved;

<sup>1</sup> Strype, as above: “But that the Lower House released. A gentle refusal to have anything to do with it.”

<sup>m</sup> Synodalia, Library of C. C. C. C.; Burnet, Records, p. 120.

<sup>n</sup> So Collier, (under the year 1543): “About this time, as may be reasonably calculated, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church were brought under a Review, and a Rationale drawn up to explain them,” &c. He does not offer any conjecture as to the source of it. iii. 2, p. 191.

<sup>o</sup> Collier, *ibid.*, from the Biblioth. Cotton.

and we find them to have been mostly members of Convocation: *while seven of them are among the Revisers of 1549*<sup>p</sup>. In 1544, the King reminds Cranmer in a letter, "that he had appointed him, with the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and other learned men, to peruse certain Books of Service which he had delivered to them." We can scarcely doubt that these were in the main no other than the Committee to whom the business of Revision had, by the joint action of the King and the Convocation, been assigned.

And yet more, when a few days after the petition made by the Lower House in 1547, as already mentioned, the Archbishop of Canterbury presents to it (Nov. 30) "a form of a certain ordinance for the receiving of the Body of our Lord under both kinds, viz. of bread and wine;" which in the next Session (Dec. 2), "all the whole session, in number sixty-four, by their mouths did approve, *nullo reclamante*;"—we take this to be no mere personal motion of Cranmer's, but that it was presented by him as the head of the long-established Revising Committee, and as a first instalment of their work. A bill to the same effect, manifestly in pursuance of this ordinance, and verbally adopting the very language of it, passed in Parliament on the 27th of the same month, (Dec.) It enters into the theological reasons for the change of practice, and enacts that there shall be an Exhortation both before and at the celebration, with the topics proper to both of them. All this, which other-

<sup>p</sup> Six were Bishops: of these, Cranmer and Skip, of the remainder, Thirleby (Bp. elect of Westminster), Robertson, Redmayne, Cox, and Day, afterwards Bp. of Chichester, were of the Committee of 1549. Compare note q. See Collier, ii. 3, p. 188, 203.



wise seems beyond the province of an Act of Parliament, is perfectly intelligible when that Act is understood to be only ordaining what the spirituality had duly debated of and prepared.

And when, at last, in the following month of January, the King appoints “certain<sup>a</sup> grave and learned Bishops and others, to assemble at Windsor Castle, there to treat and confer together, and to conclude upon and set forth one perfect and uniform order for Communion;” a measure which resulted, first, (1548,) in an English formula for “Communion” to be appended to the Latin Uses; and ultimately, (1549,) in “THE BOOK OF THE COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, AFTER THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;”—it would even beforehand be most improbable that this body should be arbitrarily chosen, and not rather be, for the most part, the same as had so long been conversant with the subject.

Accordingly, on examining the list of Divines thus commissioned, we find them, in the first place, with-

<sup>a</sup> Strype’s Cranmer, ii. 4. The Committee of twelve (Heylin, Ref., p. 57,) acting under the Archbishop (Cranmer) were:—

<i>Upper House of Convocation.</i>		<i>Lower House of Convocation.</i>
Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.		Cox, Dean of Ch. Ch., Oxford.
Holbeach     ,,     Lincoln.		May     ,,     St. Paul’s.
Day           ,,     Chichester.		Taylor   ,,     Lincoln.
Skip           ,,     Hereford.		Heynes   ,,     Exeter.
Thirleby     ,,     Westminster.		Robertson, Archd. of Leicester.
Ridley        ,,     Rochester.		Redmayne, Master of Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

The Bishops added in the preliminary stage were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Durham, Salisbury, Coventry, Bristol, Carlisle, St. David’s. All the first-named twelve signed the Book of 1549, except Day of Chichester. Heylin, *ibid.* See Collier, p. 243.

out a single exception<sup>r</sup>, members of Convocation. Two lists<sup>s</sup> are given, differing only in the number of the Bishops; the members of the Lower House being in both lists the same. And next, it is worthy of remark, that the very first name, after the Archbishop's, in the list of the smaller Committee, to whom the work was ultimately confided, is that of Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, the only survivor (Shaxton of Salisbury being dead) of the two Bishops placed upon the original Revising Committee, appointed by Convocation in 1542. Moreover, the number of members (six) of the Lower House in this Commission is exactly the same as in 1542; and the persons may well have been the same also; for we have seen that of the entire number no less than seven<sup>t</sup> had in 1540 been engaged in a similar work,—that of discussing the number of the Sacraments. These circumstances seem to guarantee the continuity and virtual identity of this final Committee with that primary one, and so to impart the stamp of organic wholeness, as well as of convocational authority, to the entire process of Revision from 1542 to 1549.

Other points connected with the Revising Committee of 1548-9 are well worthy of observation. With the view, as is manifest, of investing the work with the character of a national act of the whole

<sup>r</sup> The only name about which there could be any doubt—all the rest being Bishops, Deans, or Archdeacons—is that of Dr. Redmayne, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; but he was certainly a Proctor in Convocation, (probably for the Chapter of Westminster, of which he was a Prebendary,) and carried great weight in its counsels. (See Strype's *Cranmer*, ii. 4, p. 157).

<sup>s</sup> The longer in Stillingfleet's MSS., in Burnet, P. ii. p. 61; the shorter by Heylin, *Hist. Ref.*, p. 57.

<sup>t</sup> See above, note p, p. 110.

English Church, a large accession of Bishops, making eighteen in all, was at the first made to what would seem to have been the standing Convocational Committee. That all these Bishops, moreover, took a part in the preliminary proceedings, is certain, since the opinions delivered by them in writing on some questions connected with the Eucharist remain on record<sup>u</sup>.

And we seem to discern, in the selection of the entire Commission, a design of representing all the great interests concerned in such a matter. The Province of York, consisting but of four dioceses, was abundantly represented by the Archbishop and two Bishops; that of Canterbury by the Archbishop and fourteen Bishops. The two Universities appear by the Dean of Christ Church and the Master of Trinity College respectively. The former of these, again, as Almoner to the King, and others of the Committee as his Chaplains, gave the Crown considerable though not excessive weight in the deliberations. On behalf, again, of the ancient Uses of Salisbury and York, of Lincoln and Hereford, and as the exponents of them, the Bishops of those Sees were present; the Use of Bangor being also sufficiently represented, we may suppose, by the Bishops of St. Asaph and St. David's.

Nor, as we may remark, did the several Uses, as far as we are acquainted with them, fail to be represented in the national Use ultimately produced, as well as in the Revising Commission. While the Rite of Salisbury took the lead for the most part, those of York and Hereford, the former more especially,—whether as representing the Northern Province, or as

<sup>u</sup> Burnet, *as above*, p. 61; Collier, vol. ii. p. 243.

possessing more of characteristic difference,—were laid under contribution for some important parts of the Eucharistic Office. Thus it was York and Hereford, and not Salisbury, that furnished our present form for the Tersanctus; York, (with Hereford only in part consenting,) that prescribed the words used at reception, and in the prayer of humble access<sup>x</sup>. Of the exact characteristics of the Uses of Lincoln and Bangor<sup>y</sup> we do not know enough to say whether they contributed any special features.

Meanwhile there was one “Use” which, owing to the ecclesiastical circumstances of the times, was so far from being (as has been often assumed) the basis of this Revision, that it is infinitely improbable that it was consulted at all: nor have I discovered any indications of its influence. This was the Roman Use, as then existing; the parent, in its purer form, as we must ever remember with gratitude, of the noble family of English Diocesan Rituals, but by that time degenerated, in a far greater degree than its children, from its original purity, and really incapable of contributing any counsel of value to the English Church. But, in truth, so strong was the feeling at this time against “recognising privily or openly the Bishop of Rome, his rites, ordinances, and fashions<sup>z</sup>,” that it may be assumed as certain that, in this work of revision, she fell back exclusively on her national traditions.

Such then was the constitution,—such the real an-

<sup>x</sup> Comp. the Uses in Maskell, p. 124; and see Palmer, vol. ii. p. 122.

<sup>y</sup> It is not certain that the MS. from which Maskell has printed the Use of Bangor in his “Ancient Liturgy,” was really a Bangor book. See *Ecclesiologist*, vol. v. p. 150, New Series.

<sup>z</sup> Protestation of the Lower House of Convocation, 1536, June 28. Records of Convocation.

tecedents and the virtual date,—such the relations to the Spirituality of the Realm and to the Crown, of the memorable Commission which was summoned to Windsor in January, 1548.

The work then accomplished was, as we have seen, not the beginning, but the summing up and final elaboration of a design, which, dimly entertained by the Church for more than thirty years past, had for the last seven years been almost unremittingly prosecuted, and had made a certain appreciable progress. During that time, the Church of this country had advanced far in the transition out of what may be called her Latin, or rather her mixed Latin and vernacular, into her purely English phase and period. And the change had fallen fully as much on her Eucharistic as on her ordinary ritual. By the end of the year 1547, not only were Lessons from Holy Scripture read in English<sup>a</sup> on Sundays and Festivals, in the midst of the old Matins and Evensong; but the English Litany, long<sup>b</sup> familiar to the nation in the Primers, though wrought up into a more perfect form in 1544, had now superseded, as a prelude to the Sunday and Festival Celebration, the mixed English and Latin of the Bidding Prayer<sup>c</sup>. The Epistles and Gospels, now for some years past, as we have seen, placed by au-

<sup>a</sup> Namely, a chapter of the New Testament at Matins, after the Latin Lections; and one of the Old Testament at Evensong, after the *Magnificat*. Injunctions of Edw. VI., 1547. On days for which there were nine Lections appointed, three were to be omitted.

<sup>b</sup> For several translations of the Litany contained in the Primers, from the year 1410 onwards, see Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 207, 223.

<sup>c</sup> For specimens of this mixed form, see the *Processionals*; Leslie's *Transl. Sarum Psalter*, p. 9; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, iii. 343; but above all, L'Estrange, who gives much curious information about it, *Alliance*, p. 253, &c., *Oxf. Ed.* It was used before High Mass on Sundays and Festivals.

thority in the hands of the people in the vernacular, had by the time that the entire English Communion Office came into use, in June, 1549, been for about a year and six months past<sup>d</sup> actually *read* in English at the Celebration. The Ten Commandments (with the Creed and the Lord's Prayer) were also recited in English immediately after the Gospel: a prelude to the subsequent more formal incorporation of them into a somewhat earlier part of the Office; though indeed this would seem to have been a custom of very-long standing<sup>e</sup> in the English Church. The removal of all shrines and lights from the Churches, with the exception of two lights upon the principal Altar, had concentrated attention upon the high congregational performance of the great Rite, as compared with private or subsidiary celebrations. By the omission of Prime and the minor Hours, whenever there was a Sermon or Homily, the conjoint<sup>f</sup> Ordinary and Eucharistic Office of Sundays and Festivals

<sup>d</sup> The royal Injunctions, by which this and other changes were prescribed *ad interim*, were issued in September, 1547.

<sup>e</sup> The Provincial Synod of Lambeth, under Abp. Peckham, (1281) ordered the Creed and Ten Commandments to be expounded in church at least four times a-year, (Lyndwood, i. 7, 11). A constitution of the Abp. of York, circ. 1360, exhorts the laity "to hear Goddy's Service every Sunday, and to hear *Goddy's Law* taught in thy *modyr tongue*." Collier, ii. 1, p. 11.

<sup>f</sup> This conjoint use of Matins, Litany and Communion Office on Sundays and Festivals, though generally assumed to be a corruption of recent date, the result of accident or ignorance, is the ancient practice of the English Church, and in some degree of all Churches. Neither in the East or West was it lawful to celebrate the Holy Communion unless Matins and Lauds had preceded. And the Litany, in some form or other, was universally a prefatory feature of the celebration. The idea was that the Church's great Rite on these days gathered up the ordinary Office into it, and was enriched thereby. See, for the English rule, Maskell, *Anc Lit.*, p. 152, ed. 1840. The Eastern rule was the same: Goar, *Euchol*, p. 47, note 39.

had been reduced to more manageable proportions. The Service books, we have seen, had been carefully simplified for the use of the Clergy. These various provisions had probably imparted an increased reality and animation, and a sense of united and congregational action, to the Sunday and Festival Service of the Sanctuary.

XI. But whatever ritual changes, or symptoms of change, had thus taken place when the Committee of 1548 entered on their work, it is certain that up to this time there had been no departure whatever from that mode of holding and stating the Eucharistic Mystery, which had so long prevailed in Europe. Nay, it may be doubted whether the English or any other Church, since the eleventh century, had ever formally bound upon itself such strong language upon the subject as is found in her dogmatic formularies of this period. It far outwent in positiveness the language of the Fourth Lateran Council; nor was it exceeded, as far as concerns the doctrine of elemental annihilation, by the subsequent decrees of Trent.

There had been, indeed, even a climax in the expressions adopted on this subject in the preceding reign.

In the "Institution of a Christian Man<sup>g</sup>," or "Bishop's Book," said to have been composed in Convocation in 1534, though not published till 1537, it was simply affirmed, that "the very selfsame Body and Blood of our Saviour which was born of the Blessed Virgin, and suffered on the Cross, is present under the form of Bread and Wine:" expressions fully countenanced, had they stood alone, by the language of the early Church.

<sup>g</sup> See Collier, *ib.*, p. 39.

The brief Articles<sup>h</sup> of 1536, however, the earliest manifesto of the English Church on the great questions then at issue in the West, declared that “under the form and figure of Bread and Wine is verily and *substantially* contained and comprehended the very selfsame Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered on the Cross for our redemption. That It is corporally, really, and *in very substance* exhibited, distributed, and received of all of them which receive the said Sacrament<sup>i</sup>.”

But the famous Six Articles<sup>k</sup> of 1539 were far more express as to the annihilation of the elements; affirming that “in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, *there remaineth no substance of Bread or Wine*, nor any other substance, but the Substance of Christ, God and Man.” The same doctrine was reiterated in 1543, in the “Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man;” an enlarged edition of the “Institution,” known as the “King’s Book<sup>l</sup>.” “In the worshipful Sacrament of the Altar,” it is there affirmed, “the creatures which be taken in the use thereof, as Bread and Wine, *do not remain still in their own substance*, but, by virtue of Christ’s Word in the consecration, be changed and turned into the very Substance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour

<sup>h</sup> “Articles to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unities among us and to avoyde contentious opinions.” They were signed by a majority of the Bishops in Convocation, and set forth in the King’s name. Collier, ii. 2, p. 122.

<sup>i</sup> Collier, *ibid.*, p. 124. Strype’s citation of the passage (Memorials of Cranmer, i. 2,) is very brief and incorrect.

<sup>k</sup> The Six Articles were debated and agreed on both by Convocation and Parliament, (31 Henry VIII.) See Collier, ii. 3, p. 168.

<sup>l</sup> Collier, ii. 3, p. 188. This book, as the preface declares, “had been viewed and approved by both Houses of Parliament,” and was now “set forth by the King *with the advice of his Clergy.*”



Jesus Christ." This was the last doctrinal formula set forth in this reign.

These doctrinal statements, duly sanctioned by the Church's<sup>m</sup> authority, continued to be the law of the English Church respecting the Eucharist during the first year of Edward VI.; that is, from January to December, 1547. At the end of that year they were all repealed<sup>n</sup> at one and the same time. It has indeed been supposed by some<sup>o</sup>, that the latest of these documents, (the "Necessary Erudition,") continued to be in force during the whole reign of Edward. But on the most careful examination, it is certain that such was not the case. It was probably held to be *directly* repealed by the Act just referred to, since, though not (as it should seem) legalised by a regular Act of Parliament, and therefore not strictly coming under the statute, it had been approved by both Houses before it was "set forth by the advice of the clergy." But even if it was not, in this sense, covered by the provisions of the Act, it became null and void nevertheless. For the same Statute went on to *withdraw* a previous Act (31 and 34 Hen. VIII.) by virtue of which the King's proclamations set forth by advice of his Privy Council, (to which class the "Necessary Erudition" belonged,) were to be obeyed as though they had been made by the authority of Parliament<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> See the references in the preceding notes.

<sup>n</sup> The Act (1 Ed. VI. c. 12, Dec. 1547,) expressly names the Six Articles, and includes "all and every other Act or Acts of Parliament concerning doctrine or matters of religion." See Collier, p. 235.

<sup>o</sup> See Editor's Note on "The Doctrine of the Real Presence as set forth in the Divines of the English Church," p. 5. (Parker, 1855.)

<sup>p</sup> That this book, including its Eucharistic dogma, ceased at this time to be of authority, there are various other reasons for concluding. Thus it was enforced by Crammer in his diocese, and for-

2. But though the annihilation of the Eucharistic elements, and the conversion of their substance into the Body and Blood of Christ, had thus, by the withdrawal of the doctrinal formularies of the preceding reign, ceased to be affirmed by the English Church; it is nevertheless certain that no contravening statement on these points was at this time adopted by her. Deliberately, as it should seem, and with the express design of its being submitted to a thorough ventilation, (which it did not fail to receive,) this whole question—the very hinge, as we have seen, of the Eucharistic determinations of the West since the eleventh century—was left undecided either way by the great representative Commission of 1548-9.

Their labours commenced with the discussion, already referred to, of various Eucharistic questions. It is very remarkable, however, that the questions of the annihilation or non-annihilation of the elements—the natural or supernatural character of the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ—were not among the points thus discussed. But it is yet more important to observe that neither did the Book then brought out contain any assertion or decision on these subjects.

That the consecrated Elements were to be esteemed the Body and Blood of Christ, was indeed unquivo-

bidden to be preached against, during Henry VIII.'s reign; but we hear nothing of it after the first year of Edward VI., when it is appealed to in Gardiner's letter to Crammer, June 10, 1547, (Collier, p. 225). The Devonshire rebels, again, (1549,) insisted that "no substance of the bread and wine remains after consecration;" which there was no need to do if it was already so ruled by an existing law or formulary. And the King's answer clearly implies that it was not so ruled: as he only assures them, "that by the laws of Church and State, that Sacrament is religiously guarded from contempt, and widely distinguished from common bread." (Ibid., p. 270, 271).

cally declared<sup>a</sup> in the Office, by the retention of the old language<sup>r</sup> both at consecration and reception; and also by the Exhortation. But beyond this nothing is defined. The rubric, (1549,) that “men must not think less to be received in part (of the Bread) than in the whole, but in each the whole Body of Christ,” does indeed present some appearance of leaning to a physical view; but it cannot be insisted upon. On the other hand, the expression “then we *spiritually* eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood,” might seem to incline the other way. But it does not necessarily affirm, nor probably was it intended to imply, more than that the reception is to spiritual purposes and effects; about which all are agreed.

The restoration of the Cup to the laity, and the withdrawal<sup>s</sup> of the elevation, and shewing to the people, of the Elements, were in like manner *indications* of doctrinal view; but they were nothing more.

<sup>a</sup> So also in the preliminary discussions, twelve of the Bishops (including those of Ely and Chichester, who were in the ultimate Committee of twelve,) agreed that there is in the Eucharist “the presenting of the very Body and Blood of Christ to God the Father, under the form of Bread and Wine . . . That these Eucharistic Elements are consecrated with prayer and thanksgiving in remembrance of our Saviour’s Passion.” Others, as Ridley and Holbeach, who also remained on the Committee, offered no denial of this, but only of the position of “Christ’s being there indeed offered and sacrificed.” Cox and Taylor inclined to the view of a mere remembrance. (Collier, ii. p. 243.)

<sup>r</sup> “That they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ.” “The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve,” &c. “He hath left in those Holy Mysteries His own blessed Body and precious Blood, for us to feed upon spiritually.” (Exhortation, 1548, 1549.)

<sup>s</sup> First ordered in the form of 1548, in consecrating additional Wine, if needed: “The Priest may go again to the altar, and reverently and devoutly prepare and consecrate another (cup) . . . beginning at these words, *simili modo* . . ., and *without any levation or lifting up.*”

The side of the Eucharistic mystery, then, which, and *which alone*, was clearly and expressly ruled by the English Church † in her first Revised Communion Office, was the retention of the ancient belief, from which no Apostolic branch of the Church had ever swerved, *that the consecrated Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ*. On this, the first and most indispensable axiom of Eucharistic truth, she took her stand. Beyond it she did not at that time profess to be so sufficiently resolved, as to be able to define anything.

3. Nearly five years, in truth, elapsed from the withdrawal, in Dec. 1547, of the doctrinal books of the preceding reign, ere the English Church proceeded to express any decision on the further points of the condition of the Elements, and the nature of the Eucharistic Presence. During that time these questions were discussed ‡ with a freedom unknown to the days of the Six Articles, and in the most public, and even national manner. They were manifestly open questions, not ruled by any existing law. And it is further to be remarked, that public disputations upon them were presided over by some of the very persons \*

† The Book of 1549 was not only prepared, as we have seen, by a Committee emanating from Convocation, but also set forth “by the assent of the Bishops in Parliament, and of all other the learned men of the realm, *in their Synods and constitutions provincial.*” Letter of the Privy Council to Bonner, July 23, 1549, in Wilkins, iv. 35. See Hardwick, Ref., p. 212.

‡ As, for example, at Oxford, before the Visitors of the University, May, 1549; and at Cambridge, before the King’s Commissioners, June, 1549. As late as Dec. 1551, a disputation was held between Cecil, Cheke, &c., and Young, as to the sense of the words, “This is My Body.” Strype’s *Cranmer*, ii. 26.

\* The Oxford Visitors were Dr. Cox, (the Chancellor,) Holbeach, Heynes, and others. (Collier, ii. 4, p. 273.) The King’s Commissioners

to whom the Revision of the Offices had been committed in 1549, and who, as we shall hereafter see reason for believing, very probably continued to superintend the work in its next stage.

At length, in Nov. 1552, the Second Book of Edward VI. was put forth, containing a distinct declaration as to the points on which the English Church had thus for several years absolutely suspended her judgment; and of the full and free discussion of which she had during that time been an attentive spectator. A suspension and pause, it must surely be said, not without a certain fitness and nobility, and lending not a little of weight to the decision ultimately arrived at. For it marked at once her sense of the cardinal nature of the points at issue, and her backwardness to reverse, without the fullest deliberation and the clearest conviction, what had nominally at least been the mind and judgment of the West for five centuries.

It is of some moment, however, that we should clearly apprehend two points concerning the Book of 1552, in which this important declaration first appeared: namely, first, the exact relation in which it stood to the former Book of 1549; and, secondly, the authority by which it was sanctioned.

(1.) As to the first point, the one decisive consideration, by which all minor doubts must be absolutely ruled, is, that the Second Book *adopted as its basis*, without any qualification or reserve whatever, *the doctrinal positions of the First*. The Statute<sup>y</sup> by which it was authorized, in a preamble, doubtless proceeding from the Divines who conducted the Revision,

at Cambridge were Goodrick, Ridley, May and others. (Ibid., p. 275.) All these were on the Committee of 1549. See above, p. 111, note q.

<sup>y</sup> The Act of Uniformity, 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1.

completely endorses the earlier Book in all respects; declaring it to be “a very godly Order, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church.” This commendation, it has been well observed<sup>2</sup>, “is given without abatement. There is no stroke of censure, no charge of superstition, no blemish either with respect to doctrine or ceremonial thrown upon it.” Whatever expressions, therefore, may have been withdrawn or modified in the Second Book, we are absolutely precluded from interpreting this as a contravention or abandonment of any doctrine contained in the First. Whatever in it is ambiguous must be interpreted,—whatever is wanting must be supplied,—by reference to the mind and contents of the Offices as originally revised. There is in reality no escape from this conclusion.

And there is the less difficulty in acquiescing in it, since we can very sufficiently account for, whether we altogether justify or not, the alterations made. The removal from the Office of such expressions as “He hath left in those Mysteries . . . His Own blessed Body and precious Blood;”—“Bless these Thy gifts, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ;”—“The Body (or the Blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve Thy body and soul;”—this would, under ordinary circumstances, be unaccountable on any other supposition than that the Elements were no longer esteemed to be the Body and Blood of Christ. But when we consider the magnitude and the responsibility of the particular task which it was left to this second Revision to perform, namely, to eradicate opinions of such long

<sup>2</sup> By Collier, p. 320.

standing, and so deeply rooted in the general belief;—when we remember the extraordinary stringency of the decisions laid down in the late reign as to the annihilation of the Elements, and as to the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in their natural Substance, as well as the obstinacy of the recent disputations on these points:—we can be at no loss to account for even an excess of caution in removing from the Revised Office expressions which seemed to favour the doctrines just mentioned. And in this way we *can* reconcile the enfeebled condition of the Office in point of doctrinal expression about the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, with the earnest disclaimer, prefixed to it, of any desire to abandon that or any other position of the former Book. The alterations, the Revisers assure us in the same preamble,—and we are bound to believe them,—were suggested not by any dissatisfaction on their part with the former Book, or any dissent from it, but only “for divers doubts raised for the fashion and ministration of the same; rather by the curiosity” (i. e. disposition to find fault) “of the minister(s) and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause.” The “doubts” had reference, we may be sure, to a supposed recognition<sup>a</sup>, by the former Office, of the conversion of substance, and of the natural mode of Presence. Hence,—namely, as a disclaimer of those particular doctrines, and not (so the preamble assures us) with any view of dis-

<sup>a</sup> Thus the rubric about the reception of the whole Body of Christ, (see above, p. 121,) was withdrawn at the desire of Bucer, on the principle that it might give occasion to the ignorant or contentious to suppose “that the Body and Blood of Christ was really offered *as if locally included* in the particles of Bread.” Bucer’s Censura, c. 1. See “The Doctrine of the Real Presence as set forth in Divines of the English Church,” by the late Dr. Wright, p. 7, Editor’s note.

turbing the one great doctrine ruled in the former Book,—proceeded the alterations which were made.

The *real* relation of this Second Book, then, to the former one, was this: that it took in hand to supplement, in one very important particular, the work which that Book had nobly begun, but had, (to all appearance purposely, and as a matter of caution and wise delay,) left in that one respect unfinished. The First Book had affirmed, in ancient and unequivocal language, and as the very basis of all Eucharistic truth, what the consecrated Elements *were*. To the Second was left the less grateful, but not less necessary task, of declaring as distinctly the equally ancient belief as to what the Elements *were not*. That this, and not any intended departure in doctrine from the former Book, was the essential and characteristic purpose of the new Revision, towards which alone any alterations of order or expression were directed, is clearly established by the avowal with which it sets out, by the suspended judgment of the Church on this point in the interval, and by the pointed expressions of the new rubrics upon it. “As concerning the Sacramental Bread and Wine,”—so it was declared, in language which has fixed the faith of the English Church and its offshoots for three hundred years,—“they remain still in their very natural substances; and as concerning the Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in Heaven and not here.”

One word it may be necessary to say with reference to the rubric just quoted, which was left out in two subsequent Revisions, (1559, 1604,) but restored, with the alteration of one expression, at the latest Revision of 1662. In the original form of this rubric it is declared, that “no adoration is due, or ought to be



done unto any real and essential Presence there being of Christ's natural Body and Blood." This was altered, in the later and still existing form, into "any corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." Both forms subjoin, as above, that "the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's true natural Body," ("Christ's natural Body," 1662,) "to be at one time in more places than one." To those unversed in the language of theology, and in the distinctions necessary to be maintained in stating and holding the Eucharistic Mystery, both these passages alike would probably seem to deny any Presence whatsoever of Christ's Body and Blood. And in this sense the rubric of 1552 has been almost universally understood. But the truth is that, in both forms of the rubric alike, it is not the "Flesh (or Body) and Blood" absolutely, but, (very emphatically and with a pointed reiteration,) "The natural Flesh and Blood," "the natural Body and Blood," (the "true natural Body," 1552,)—that is to say, after their natural manner of existence,—that are denied to be present. The emphasis is upon the term "natural" in both cases. The change of the words "real and essential" into "corporal" at the last Review, though suggested by the fear of the former term being misunderstood, does not in reality make any difference as to the sense. The thing denied in both cases is the *natural manner of Presence*. The principle already dwelt upon as the only allowable one for interpreting the Book of 1552, absolutely requires this acceptation of the rubric; and the carefully emphasized wording of it, in that Book more especially, fully justifies it.

(2.) As to the authority by which the new Revision

was conducted, and the Book of 1552 sanctioned, we are but imperfectly informed. Yet enough is known to settle, practically, the much-disputed question of the light in which it ought to be regarded.

After the putting forth of the Book of 1549, ritual measures still continued to engage the attention of the Church. Early in November of that year an Act<sup>b</sup> was passed for calling in the old Service-books. Measures of this kind, as we have seen abundant reason for believing, would, as a general rule, originate with Convocation, or with those who, by a kind of tacit understanding, were entrusted by them from time to time with the conduct of such matters. In January, 1550, another Act<sup>c</sup> was passed for drawing up "a Form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, by six Prelates, and six other men of this Realm, learned in God's Law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and assigned." One of the Prelates so appointed, (the only name recorded,) was Heath of Worcester, who was imprisoned for refusing to act, and subsequently deprived.

There is good reason for believing that it was by this Commission that the Revision of 1552 was conducted.

It will be observed that the constitution of it—six Bishops and six Divines—is precisely the same as that of the Commission of 1548-9, except that the Archbishop then presided in addition: as indeed he may have been intended to do now. And the work of providing an Ordinal, by a revision of the old Ponti-

<sup>b</sup> 3 and 4 Edw. VI., c. 10; Collier, p. 286.

<sup>c</sup> 3 and 4 Edw. VI., c. 12; Collier, p. 288.

fical Offices, (which was the course adopted,) is so properly supplemental to that of revising the other ancient Service-books, that it is inconceivable that it should have been committed to altogether different hands. Now of the original Commission of twelve (1549), we find certain members continuing to be employed about this time in Church matters: acting, for example, as Commissioners, whether (as we have already seen,) at Eucharistic discussions, or in carrying out Church discipline<sup>d</sup>. Others of the Bishops and Divines dissented<sup>e</sup> more or less from the proceedings of 1549. We may plausibly conjecture that the present Commission included most or all of the former class; with the addition of such Bishops, perhaps, as Poynt of Rochester, and such Divines as Parker and Rowland Taylor.

But however this be, there is some evidence<sup>f</sup> that the Commission did not restrict themselves to drawing up a revised Ordinal, but laid before Convocation, towards the close of 1550, some questions respecting the Book of 1549 in general, and the Eucharistic Office more especially. Some of the points ultimately altered in the Revision, such as the words used at reception, were certainly discussed at that time, and were the subject of messages between the two Houses. The Lower House was to report upon them to the Upper:

<sup>d</sup> Such were Cranmer, Goodrick, Ridley, and Holbeach; of the Lower House, Cox, May, Taylor, and Heynes: who were on a Commission about Church Discipline, Nov. 1549—1551. See Collier, Records, No. 61.

<sup>e</sup> Day alone did not sign the Book of 1549. Skip and Thirleby did, but protested against the Act of Uniformity. (Collier, p. 264.) Strype adds that "probably Robertson and Redman liked it as little." (Mem. Edw. VI., i. 11.) Day and Thirleby also protested against the Act for a new Ordinal. Collier, p. 238.

<sup>f</sup> See Procter on the Common Prayer, p. 28.

but of the subsequent proceedings no record remains<sup>g</sup>. The probability is that the proceedings of the Ordinal Commission in the matter received a tacit and perhaps reluctant sanction from the Convocation.

And there is one fact which renders it all but certain that it was the Ordinal Commission that conducted the Revision of 1552: namely, that the new Ordinal was annexed to the Bill by which the revised Book was legalised<sup>h</sup>. This indicates, not obscurely, that the two departments of revision had been in reality fused into one, and were superintended by the same persons.

Of the acceptance of the revised Book by Convocation we have not indeed, as in the case of the First Book, any evidence. But that it was taken and recognised at the time as the law of the Church, in the same sense as the former Book, we have satisfactory, though in part but negative proof. At the beginning of the following reign of Queen Mary, Parliament having been opened October 5th, 1553, Convocation met on the 6th. It was, at least as regards its more eminent members, a new body: those of the former one having either fled, or been deprived and imprisoned<sup>i</sup>. Its more immediate business, as might have been expected, was to reverse the ecclesiastical measures, doctrinal and ritual, of the preceding reign. As a preliminary step, it was manifestly necessary to decide what formularies were or were not at that time binding on the Church, as well as to lay down a doctrinal basis for the repeal of them. Two propositions<sup>k</sup>

<sup>g</sup> Collier, p. 310. Cardwell, Two Books of Edw. VI. Pref. p. xix.

<sup>h</sup> 5 and 6 Edw. VI. Collier, p. 321.

<sup>i</sup> As Ridley, Cox, Latimer, Hooper, Poyntet, &c.

<sup>k</sup> Oct. 1553. Collier, p. 336, 355.

were accordingly subscribed in the Lower House, by all but five members, who, in a debate of ten days' duration, made an able resistance. The first proposition "asserted the natural Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar." By the other, the authority of a certain Catechism, published in the preceding reign<sup>1</sup>, was denied, on the ground "that it was not set forth by the agreement of that House." This was evidently the only formula which it was deemed possible to repudiate on behalf of the Church.

And it is worthy of remark, that it was argued on behalf of this Catechism, "that the said House had granted authority to make ecclesiastical laws to certain persons to be appointed by the King, and that what they had set forth might well be said to be done in Synod." The House on a division, as has been said, disallowed this plea: whether as to the principle of delegation alleged, or merely as to the particular work for which authority was claimed on that principle, is not clear. In the latter case we have a plain recognition of that conjoint working of the Convocation and Crown, which has been above represented as pervading the Church proceedings of this period. But in either case, the exception made to the authority of this Catechism incontestably proves that no such objection lay against that of the Book of 1552, since the Marian Convocation would certainly have disallowed it in the same way, had it been possible. We conclude, therefore, that, directly or indirectly, this Book was deemed by the Convocation itself to have received its sanction<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> May 20, 1553. It is ascribed to Poynter or Noel.

<sup>m</sup> I have not touched upon the Articles of 1552, so called, but really issued in June, 1553, the very last month of Edward's life. Their Convocational authority is uncertain. (See Hardwick, Ref., p. 232, and History of the Articles.)

And accordingly the Parliament, thus armed with the sanction of Convocation, and acting in concert with that body, (such is evidently the course of the proceedings here described, though the scanty convocational records leave it to be inferred,) proceeded in the following month, (Nov. 22,) to repeal<sup>n</sup> those statutes of the former reign by which the First *and* Second Books were established. This Act of repeal, then, while it reminds us that the Second Book was in no way intended to reverse, but to supplement the First,—the Acts for both continuing to stand on the Statute-book together,—is also peculiarly full to our present point: namely, that the Second Book of Edward, in the idea of those who had the best means of knowing, and the least reason for favouring its pretensions, stood on precisely the same footing of ecclesiastical and temporal sanction as the First.

4. It only remained for the English Church, after the temporary retrogression which marked the reign of Mary, to enter upon what has proved hitherto her final stage, her settled and enduring mind, in point of Eucharistic doctrine. The characteristic of this era, extending from the first year of the reign of Elizabeth to the present hour, is not the affirmation of any fresh point of belief as to the Eucharistic Mystery, beyond those two cardinal ones which were successively defined by the First and Second Books of Edward; but the affirmation of them both in conjunction, freely and *ex animo*, as positions no longer doubted of or deemed incompatible, but as alike necessary to sound belief.

This was done, for the most part, by recalling or strengthening, as occasion arose, the language both of

<sup>n</sup> 1 Mar. Sess. 2, c. 2. Collier, p. 350.

the one and the other formulary. The restoration, in the main, in 1559, of the Second Book of Edward, (conducted still, we remark, by some<sup>o</sup> of the Revisers of 1549,) involved the belief that the consecrated Elements retain<sup>p</sup> their proper nature. But this was accompanied, on the other hand, by the reinstatement of the old formula of reception, (in conjunction with the newer): a recognition no less of the view of 1549, as to the Things received. The Articles of 1562 and 1571<sup>q</sup>, while adopting on one side additional and positive language<sup>r</sup> as to the real reception of the Body and Blood of Christ, only under a spiritual mode of existence, reiterated on the other, like the Second Book, the denial of the conversion of substance<sup>s</sup>. The additions made to the Catechism in the reign of James I., in 1604, strengthened the former of these positions. The recal, at the Restoration, in 1662, of the famous rubric of the Second Book of Edward, which had been dropped out in the interval, added a final re-assertion of the latter. At the same time, the

<sup>o</sup> As Cox and May. The others were Parker, Grindal, Pilkington, Bill, and Smith.

<sup>p</sup> "Grant that we, receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine," &c. Prayer of Consecration, 1552, 1559.

<sup>q</sup> They were sanctioned by Convocation and the Crown in 1562; by Parliament in 1571.

<sup>r</sup> "The Body of Christ is *given, taken*, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner." Art. 28, 1562. Geste, Bishop of Rochester, in a letter to Cecil, Dec 22, 1556, disavowed any intention of denying by this article, "of his own pennyng," the proper Presence of the Body of Christ. "I told him [the Bishop of Gloucester] plainly, that this word *only did not exclude the Presence of Christ's Body*, but only the grossnesse and sensibleness in the receiving thereof." (Lately printed from the original in the State-Paper Office.)

<sup>s</sup> "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of the Bread and Wine) is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions." Art. 28. On these last words, compare above, p. 55.

provision made in this latest Revision of the Office for a distinct act of Oblation of the elements, and for manual actions at consecration, similar to those anciently used, brought back in a great degree the more fully expressed mind of the First Book of Edward as to that side of the Mystery.

We may add, while speaking of the recognition by the English Church of this side of the truth, that in documents less formally bound upon her than those which have been alleged hitherto, the expressions occur of "receiving the Body and Blood under the form of Bread and Wine<sup>†</sup>." "Thou hast received into thine own possession the everlasting Verity, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Thou hast received His Body, which was once broken, and His Blood, which was shed for the remission of thy sins. Doubt not of the truth of this matter, how great and high soever these things be<sup>u</sup>." "Look up with faith upon the holy Body and Blood of thy God, marvel with reverence, touch It with the mind, receive It with the hand of thy heart, take It fully with thy inward mind<sup>x</sup>."

A well-known typical instance will probably best illustrate the position of the later English Church as regards the Mystery of the Eucharist. It is not unfrequently said that that position is, both as to its essence, and as a matter of historical fact, a compromise. There is some truth in this. But then it must be remembered that the true Eucharistic Doctrine is itself of the nature, in some sort, of a compromise. It involves an assent to two facts which we

<sup>†</sup> Notice subjoined to the Homilies of 1547—1549: "Hereafter shall follow Homilies . . . of the due receiving of His blessed Body and Blood, under the form of Bread and Wine."

<sup>u</sup> Homily of the Resurrection, for Easter-day, 1562.

<sup>x</sup> Homily of the Sacrament, 1562.



do not profess fully to reconcile. And on occasion, the true holding or stating of a mystery of this kind may perfectly well result from a compromise between parties. Something of the kind took place as to the words now used in our Office at the reception of the Elements.

The First Book of Edward VI. had prescribed for this purpose words anciently in use in this Church<sup>y</sup>; "The Body (or the Blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life:"—the Second Book (1552) quite another form; "Take and eat this (or "drink this,") in remembrance, &c., and feed on Him in thy heart, &c." These two forms were, in the Book of Elizabeth (1559), combined into one, which continues in use to this day. Now of the two original formulæ, the first confessedly embodies the recognition of the fact that the Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ; for such is the accredited sense of the similar formulæ in the Liturgies of all Churches. And on this ground, and as bearing this sense, doubtless, were they restored in the Book of Elizabeth. The other formula no less confessedly witnesses that the Elements remain in their natural substance, and that they may be eaten; and that the manner of reception of the Body and Blood of Christ is not ordinary and physical, but beside nature, spiritual and heavenly. Now it is true that many of those who at the time severally urged the retention of one or other of these formulæ, desired to exclude thereby the doctrine contained in the other. But it

<sup>y</sup> The Use of York has "Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus meum et animam meam in vitam æternam." The mention of "body and soul" is peculiar to the York Use. It is found also in the famous Missa published by Flaccius Illyricus (Bona, p. 532, App.); and in the Mozarabic Rite.

cannot be said of either form that it properly involves such an exclusion. Each one only upholds its own side of the Mystery. The older part of the formula does not in the least affirm or imply the natural mode of Presence, however some may have desired to understand it so. Nor does the newer part at all exclude the Presence, however others, again, may have chosen so to take it. While the *combined* form—whether the best possible or not for the administration of the Elements, which is another question—does certainly embody very distinctly the two sides of the Mystery. And in this sense, there is every reason for saying, did the mass of the Church and nation at that time accept it. And though, as regards others, a compromise at the time, it is no less *a truth for all time*,—a conjunction of two sides of a truth for a long time divorced;—the old Eucharistic Verity affirmed in the old manner, by the equal presentation of two terms, without any attempt at reconciling them, or any sacrifice of either to the supposed requirements of the other.

And surely it is most remarkable, and sheds a parting gleam of Eucharistic peace and unity over the West and over Christendom, as represented by the different elements then contending within the bosom of the English Church, that by the space of ten years after this combination of the two forms, and mainly on the ground of it, men of all minds “generally (i. e. universally) repaired to their parish churches without doubt or scruple<sup>z</sup>.” That each party did so because they found their own particular view repre-

<sup>z</sup> Sir Edward Coke, speech against Garnet; Q. Elizabeth, Letter to Walsingham; Saunders de Schismate; Heylin’s Hist. of Ref., p. 110. The fact is admitted by later Roman Catholic historians, as Ribedaneira de Schismate; Butler’s English Catholics, iii. p. 156.

sented, rather than from a perception that the combined formula was a true and harmonious rendering of Eucharistic truth, may be admitted.

But the fact of their continued acquiescence, until it was cut short, as to the one party, by papal anathema, (1570,) is, under all the circumstances, a weighty testimony as to what is even instinctively felt to be the true path of Eucharistic safety and truth. Nor is it less significant that Pope Pius IV., as is well attested<sup>a</sup>, offered to recognise the Office thus constituted. Whatever be thought of this homage from opposite quarters, as a feature of those times, the rightly instructed mind of the present day may well discern in the formula referred to, taken in connection with its history, the lineaments of the ancient mode of holding the Eucharistic Verity.

Such was the process by which the ancient view of the Eucharistic Mystery was finally recovered in this country. Let it not be thought that an excess of care has been bestowed in tracing it out in these pages; nor yet that undue importance has been attached to the recovery of the two points insisted on,—the recognition of the consecrated Elements as the Body and Blood of Christ, neither less nor more; and the continuance at the same time of those Elements in their proper nature. Simple and easy, indeed, as has been elsewhere insisted on, and was manifested by the experience of a thousand years, is the task of holding to these two positions, once admitted and embraced. But to recover the due and conjoint holding of them when once lost, is neither simple nor

<sup>a</sup> Hallam's Hist. of England, p. 155; Strype's Annals, i. 221. See also a recent pamphlet on the subject, by Chancellor Harington.

easy: nor can too much attention be paid to the process by which it was effected in the one country and Church in the world which alone has been known to accomplish it.

And again, the importance of these two positions is really unspeakable. Single and simple points in themselves, and at first sight of very unequal moment, they are nevertheless the very poles, the upper and the nether, between which the whole body and sphere of Eucharistic truth lies, and rotates securely. Dislodged from either of them, the entire mass becomes disorganized, and enters (as is exemplified by the history of continental Europe), on an erratic course, ever more and more divergent from the true, and of which none can foresee the termination. Duly resting upon them, on the contrary, it tends to perform unerringly its proper functions, revolving in its appointed orbit, and answering the great purposes of its being.

Thus, at length, after the lapse of about five hundred years, from the earliest condemnation of Berengarius, in language subversive of the Eucharistic Mystery, in 1050, to the putting forth of the First and Second Books of Edward VI., and of that of Elizabeth, in 1549—1559, was that Mystery once more both rightly enunciated, and ritually embodied, in one Church and nation of the West. The East, which had never wavered either in her dogmatic affirmation or her ritual expression of the ancient Eucharistic belief, found once again an echo and a response in a portion of the Western Church. The chasm which had so long separated the two great Christian families on this subject,—a diversity far more mournful in its

visible effects than that more famous and more prominent one concerning the Procession of the Holy Spirit,—was now at last, to a certain extent, bridged over. One member, at any rate, of the family which had departed from the truth, had avowed its error, and re-entered into harmony with that which had always been faithful. In some sense, therefore, it might be said that the *image* of the ancient Eucharistic concord—we cannot say more—had re-appeared upon earth, and that the Church of God in one of the most important points in which it had ever differed within itself, was, representatively at least, at one again. And though subsequently the Eastern Church, or the Greek portion of it rather, gave in a nominal adhesion to the speculative error of the West, her practical belief has remained uninfluenced by it. The true and the false Eucharistic doctrine have, therefore, since the middle of the sixteenth century, been represented respectively by the Churches of the East, with England, on the one hand; and by the remaining Churches of the West on the other.

Whether, in the good Providence of God, some future chronicler of the Church's Eucharistic history may have the happy task of recording a wider and more universal pacification on this head, it is not for us to prognosticate. At present there is little appearance of such a consummation. As in the days of the elder Economy, the Church of God, in respect of Eucharistic belief and practice, lies to this hour in two great and unequal divisions: the one, and by far the larger portion, having of its own mind, like the Ten Tribes of old, violently broken away from the ancient oneness in the faith; the lesser portion cleaving to it. And besides these two well-defined masses,

there are, moreover, those various bodies of Christians in the West who are as outcasts, cleaving to neither of the two great divisions, but having lost Apostolic descent and order as well as Eucharistic truth. It is much that in this matter the East, the Judah of the latter days, stands not altogether alone; one tribe of the West, though but a little one, like Benjamin of old, being with her. But no Christian can view such a state of things without earnest sorrow. Who is there but would unite in a desire and prayer, often entertained, and in no point more necessary than in this of Eucharistic unity, that it would please the Great Head of the Church that "the days may come" when, in the words of the three great prophets of the dispersion and captivity, "the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel," "and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all:" nor only so, but when "He shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth <sup>a</sup>."

XII. I proceed to speak of one or two consequences which have been supposed to flow from the manner of holding the Eucharistic Mystery here set forth as that of the Church Universal for the first thousand years, and of the English Church for the last three centuries. It is well at all times—at the present time it is perhaps very especially needful—that such supposed or alleged consequences should be duly examined.

First, then, if the Elements become by consecration the Body and Blood of Christ, so that we may say that That Body and Blood are thereafter truly present, does it not follow that They must be worshipped with

<sup>a</sup> Jer. iii. 18; Ezek. xxxvii. 22; Isa. xi. 12.

Divine adoration, since He, whose Body and Blood they are, is Very God? Or, if not the Elements themselves, by reason of their retaining the nature of creatures, so that to worship *them* would be idolatry<sup>b</sup>; yet must not the Presence of that Body and Blood be worshipped, even as the Presence of Christ Himself in Heaven, or in the days of His Flesh? Does not Their Presence involve the proper Presence of Christ; and is not That Presence, at any rate, to be worshipped?

These questions are asked, by persons differently minded, in a very different spirit. By some, the affirmation of them is eagerly pressed as an inevitable conclusion from the premises: by others it is no less earnestly deprecated; while yet they see no escape from such a conclusion, except by rejecting the premises themselves.

Now as to the question in its first and most stringent form, we know how it is answered by the Western Church of the last six hundred years. From about the year 1200<sup>c</sup>, or a little later, the claim of the consecrated Elements to be worshipped with the self-same adoration as God Almighty sitting upon His Throne in Heaven, has been openly affirmed both by Divines and Councils. That portentous conclusion has not, it is true, been carried out in all its results, but only in some of them. Worship of some kind is indeed prescribed, and doubtless, both by outward

<sup>b</sup> This is all but universally admitted by Roman writers, viz. that if it were conceded that the elements retained their substance after consecration, it would be idolatry to worship them. Muratori, (*de Reb. Lit. e. 19.*) seems at a loss what to think: “Si Patres censuissent perdurare adhuc panis et vino substantiam, adorationem improbassent, ne cultus uni Deo debitus simul creaturæ redderetur, (ita enim Lutheranis videtur, *an jure, non iniquo*).”

<sup>c</sup> See above, sect. vi. p. 56, and p. 87.

gesture and inward affection of the mind, habitually offered. But by an inconsistency for which we may well be thankful, no prayer<sup>d</sup> or other service is in public authorized rituals addressed to the Elements, but still, as of old before this doctrine was heard of, to God and to Christ in Heaven, and in Heaven only. This, however, makes no difference as to the speculative tenet, which is avowed and maintained without any limitation or qualification whatever.

In this form, the tenet of Eucharistic adoration is little likely to be entertained by members of the English Church, since it is so clearly and emphatically rejected in her formularies, as already referred to<sup>e</sup>. To worship the Elements themselves would be, it is admitted among us, idolatry. But the other and more modified claim, of Divine adoration being due, after the consecration of the Elements, to the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, or to the Presence of Christ Himself, as involved therein, stands on somewhat different grounds. It is alleged on its behalf, that it does not contravene any admitted principle of Christianity;—it is found, rightly or wrongly, to have peculiar attractiveness for a deeply reverential order of mind;—the countenance of antiquity is confidently claimed for it;—and it is openly avowed and acted on by members of the English Church. On this account, however devoid of foundation it may be, it demands our serious consideration.

<sup>d</sup> The exceptions are so rare as to prove the rule; which, indeed, is strongly insisted upon. Thus Bona remarks, that the hymn "O salutaris hostia," was sung during the elevation in some Churches of France, and sanctioned by a provincial council at Cologne; but that another Synod, (Augustana, c. 18,) while permitting this, commended silent adoration in preference. *Rev. Lit.* ii. 13, 2.

<sup>e</sup> Above, sect. xi.



Since, however, there is manifestly a close connection, with whatever of real distinction, between the two kinds of adoration which are thus, without the English Church and within it, claimed as a consequence of the consecration of the Elements, it will be best to survey the subject as one whole, and in all its bearings.

It will be admitted, then, in the first place, that all manner of Eucharistic tenets ultimately stand and are based upon the original Institution of Christ Himself, as recorded in the Gospels, and further unfolded or alluded to in them, and in the Apostolic Epistles. All that any Church, or any Liturgy, even to the most elaborate, can legitimately aim at, is to *render the Mind of Christ* as intended and expressed in that awful Institution. To watch His hand, His Eye, His voice,—to gather His Intent, to understand His Action, to do as He bade us do;—this, since the days of the Apostles themselves, has been, and ever must be, the Church's only study,—all her lore, all her wisdom,—in the matter of Eucharistic celebration. What He did, and said, and intended, and left for us to imitate in our measure,—that is the text and the rubric of all our Eucharistic ritual; the norm and measure of all our Eucharistic thoughts, and words, and actions.

Accordingly, the particular opinion to be held, and the practices to be adopted, as a result of the consecration of the Eucharistic Elements, depend solely and entirely upon what He divinely intended, and was from the first understood to intend, in reference to this part of the subject. To think or do either less or more than what was thus designed by Him for His Church, is what none can wisely or safely desire.

What, then, did He say or do, or what did His

Apostles after Him unfold, that tends to prescribe the conceptions we should form, the mind we should entertain and carry out, with reference to the consecrated Elements? Or what did the whole Church for the first thousand or more years of her existence, with one consent, understand Him to have prescribed in the matter, and how did she give ritual effect and expression to it?

Now had our Lord said that the Elements consecrated by Him were either singly or jointly HIMSELF, much more had He said that they were GOD, or had any Apostle declared as much;—were it possible that the same Thing should thus be at once the creature and the Creator, or that the Creator should be thus made, as is daringly affirmed, out of the creature; and had it been revealed to us that it was even so:—then the case would have been far different.

But what *did* Christ say? And certainly He said not of either Element, “This is God;” no, nor yet, “This is Myself,” “This is the Son of God,” or “the Son of Man.” No: He said, “This is My Body, which is being given for you;” “This is My Blood, which is being shed for you.” He said *no less* than this;—but He said *no more*. Nor did His Apostles in any way amplify or supplement that primary declaration. St. Paul, for example, does not say, “The Bread which we break” is Christ, nor even that it is “the communication or partaking of Christ;” but “of the Body of Christ:” nor that “the Cup which we bless” is Christ, or even “the partaking of” Christ; but “of the Blood of Christ.” He might, indeed, with all truth have used the second of these forms of speech, with reference to the participation of Christ Himself, consequent upon the participation of those Elements, which

are His Body and Blood. But it is worthy of remark, and may well have been a divinely provided safeguard against error, that he does not say so ; but here and elsewhere reproduces, as the strict and true account of what is *directly* partaken of in Eucharistic reception, the same as Christ Himself had given ; namely, that it is His Body and Blood that are received.

The only passage of Holy Scripture which presents any appearance, even, of identifying the Eucharistic Elements with Christ, is that in which our Lord says of Himself, "I am the Bread of Life ;" and again, "He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me<sup>f</sup>." But, besides the ordinary rule of Scripture interpretation, that the significance of single passages is to be gathered from the consent of many, and not *vice versá*, it is to be observed that in this passage our Lord distinctly specifies, in the context intervening between the two sentences which have been quoted, the instrumentality by which men should "eat of Him ;" namely, by eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood. Such a single passage, then, so entirely capable of being understood without introducing a conception nowhere else countenanced in Holy Scripture,—and indeed so self-explanatory in the other sense,—cannot be held to be a warrant for such conception. And, accordingly, we shall see hereafter that the Church, as instructed by the Liturgies, did not receive this further conception of the Elements.

Christ did not, then, in terms, and in so many words, nor did His Apostles after Him, identify the consecrated Elements with Himself. He announced, indeed, a very awful and mysterious truth concerning

<sup>f</sup> St. John vi. 35, 57.

them ; but this was not the truth that He, in words, announced. Whether this lay hid and was included in what He did declare, is of course a further and most legitimate question. But the fact as to the overt statement of Scripture is as has been here represented.

And if the identification of the Elements with Christ Himself, and of their Presence with His, be thus unwarranted by the letter of Holy Scripture, then it must be admitted that it is a very large assumption to make, and one for which the most cogent reasons may well be demanded, in order to its being accepted as an article of faith.

Now there is but one way in which such identification can be intelligibly or truly held ; and that way involves consequences so extravagant, and so subversive of the whole character of the Rite, that even its nominal adherents have shrunk from maintaining them.

It is to represent that, *in addition* to the Body and Blood of Christ, His Human Soul is by consecration made to be present. This was a deduction<sup>8</sup> early made from the doctrine of annihilation in the eleventh century ; and was boldly averred by the Church of Rome at Trent. It is not at all involved in the doctrine of annihilation ; which properly only affirms the natural manner of Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, not the Presence of His entire Person : but is altogether a distinct and superadded article of belief. But it was soon seen to be necessary to the identification of the Elements with Christ Himself. “After the consecration,” it was accordingly declared, “the very Body and Blood of Christ exist under the form of Bread and Wine, *together with His*

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 55, note x, and p. 79.

*Soul* and Divinity<sup>b</sup>.” It should follow from hence, (since only in the *living* Christ did His *Soul* and Divinity ever unite with His Body and Blood,) that it is not with Christ in His Death, but with Christ as alive, that the Elements are identified. And, accordingly, it is further laid down by the Tridentine decrees, that it is the Parts of Christ, *as they are held together by His Resurrection*<sup>i</sup>, that are thus present by consecration: in other words, that it is Christ as risen from the dead that is present. How this can accord with the position that what the Eucharist shews forth is the *Death*<sup>k</sup> of Christ, is not explained; unless it be said that Christ is first presented alive in the Body of His Resurrection, and then slain. It does not appear that anything so extravagant as this has ever been maintained. The two positions, that the Body which is present is That of the Resurrection, and yet that the Body is mystically or really slain and offered on the Altar, seem to be held in conjunction, without any attempt at reconciling them. But supposing such a view, then by the very idea of that ensuing Death, the Soul of Christ would be withdrawn, and thus would He Himself cease to be, after all, properly present.

Some apology might seem necessary for entering seriously into the consideration of such extravagances, were it not that they are in part avowed, and all of

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Trid. Sess. xiii. 3: “Verum Domini nostri corpus, verumque ejus sanguinem, sub panis et vini specie, unâ cum ipsius animâ et Divinitate existere.”

<sup>i</sup> Concil. Trid., *ibid.*: “Animamque existere sub utrâque specie, vi naturalis illius connexionis quâ partes Christi, qui jam ex mortuis surrexit, inter se copulantur.”

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 26; and so Concil. Trid. *ib. c.* 2: “In illius sumptione colere nos sui memoriam præcepit, suamque annuntiare mortem.”

them properly involved, in the Eucharistic belief of the greatest portion of the Christian world. It is not too much to say that by the portentous and intolerable hypothesis here described, the foundation-stone of our Redemption, the *Death* of Christ, is uprooted, and His Life substituted for it;—though, indeed, it may more properly be said that the speculations of the middle age in the West, culminating in the decrees of Trent, have left the subject of the Holy Eucharist a tangled skein of contradictions, absolutely incapable of being unravelled, and painfully contrasting with the clear and intelligible faith of the Liturgies and the Church for a thousand years.

It is inconceivable that any among ourselves at the present day are prepared seriously to endorse the mode just described of establishing the Eucharistic Presence of Christ, and to raise so gratuitous and so perplexing a superstructure upon the confessed Presence of His Body and Blood. Yet is it, as I have said, and as the middle age rightly perceived, the only mode that is in any degree, or even up to a certain point, intelligible. And those who, rejecting this mode, maintain nevertheless the proper Presence of Christ, as God and Man, upon the consecration of the Elements, and ground upon it a theory and practice of worshipping Him, as so present, may fairly be asked on what position they take their stand? The only other position that can be conceived, is to represent that the Body and Blood of Christ are *somehow* truly and sufficiently Christ, ignoring the necessity of any particular supposition as to the Presence of His Human Soul; and that Their Presence involves, as a matter of course, His Presence. And this is perhaps the form in which the opinion of Christ's Presence, as the effect of con-

secration, is entertained among us, so far as it is entertained at all. The Presence of Christ is assumed, without entering into any argument, to be a necessary result of the Presence of His Body and Blood.

This is indeed but a vague and unconvincing account to render of so weighty a postulate. Nevertheless, let us inquire whether there is any possible standing-ground for it. The question is, whether the opinion of the supranatural Presence of Christ Himself, in the entirety of His Person, as the effect of the consecration of the Eucharistic Elements, can be held in any other way than by the supposition above mentioned, with all its train of consequences.

We shall do well to consider the question, first, with reference to the Body and Blood of Christ under Their ordinary and natural mode of existence.

What, then, is the fact in the case of any ordinary human being? Now it is true that as long as a man is alive, he may be said, in some sort, to consist of his body and blood: his body and blood (the latter containing his life) do in a manner make up the man. But when these two are sundered from each other, and from the soul, by a violent death, do we any longer say that the body and blood, without the soul, make up the man, or that they are the man? We do not. And let us not doubt, albeit we speak of great mysteries, that in this point, as in all others belonging to our nature, sin only excepted, Christ was even as we are. His Death being as real<sup>1</sup> as any man's, His broken Body and His Blood poured out in Death were no more the Man Christ Jesus, than the body and blood of any other man are

<sup>1</sup> On this whole subject, see Pearson on the Creed, Art. iv., on the word "dead;" e. g. "Thus Christ did really and truly die, according to the condition of death to which the nature of man is subject."

that man. True it is that from neither His Body nor His Soul was His Divinity ever separated<sup>m</sup>, but was so present with Both that neither could the One be left in Hell nor the Other see corruption. But this took not away, nor modified, any of the phenomena in which Death consists; else would there have been no Death at all. It did not abrogate the unchangeable law of death, that the body and soul should be truly separated, so as no longer, for the time being, to make up one man. The Divinity by its contact preserved in Their separated estate both Body and Soul; but did not, for the time then being, cause Them to coalesce into One Man. That effect of the Divinity was reserved for the Resurrection. To doubt this is to deny the verity of the Manhood of Christ, and the proper reality of His Death.

And next, if the broken and poured-out Body and Blood of Christ, in Their natural condition and manner of existence, were not Christ,—as certainly They were not,—have we any reason for saying or conceiving that in Their supranatural and sacramental manner of existence They are Christ? Is it not at least probable, so far as we can judge of such things, that the sacramental mode would in this respect follow the law of the natural? And if this be so, then the opinion now under our consideration is absolutely excluded by the first principles of the great Christian Economy. It involves the denial of great axioms of the Christian Faith.

<sup>m</sup> The universal Presence of Christ as to His Divinity, and yet the separate location of His Body and Soul in Death, are well expressed in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: "In the grave as touching Thy Body, in Hades with Thy Soul, as God, and also in Paradise with the thief, Thou didst subsist (*ἠπῆρξες*) in Heaven as on a Throne, O Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the uncircumscribed, filling all things." This seems to be the sense of the passage, which Mr. Neale (Introd., p. 438) has rendered somewhat differently. See Pearson, as above.



The same conclusion follows from a close examination of the Eucharistic Rite. We are in a manner debarred, by the very structure and ordained purpose of it,—as I have already implied in speaking of the Roman view,—from conceiving that the sacramental Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ involves that of Christ Himself in the entirety of His Person.

For why is it that *two* Things, and not one only,—and those, moreover, Things which by their severance speak not of Life, but of accomplished Death,—are set forth in the Rite? It is plainly because the setting forth, or “shewing forth” of Christ’s DEATH, was the very purpose of the Ordinance. Therefore are produced the proofs and pledges, the very facts and parts, so to speak, of that Death. It is *as sundered in sacrificial Death*, and under no other aspect whatsoever, that the Body and Blood of Christ are set forth to us, and partaken of by us. It is His “Death that worketh in us” in the mysterious Ordinance.

Far from being anxious, therefore, to represent that the living and entire Christ is present by reason of the consecration, we ought very earnestly to contend that He is not; lest, while we seek prematurely to secure the Living Presence of our Redeeming Lord, we lose hold of the very means and instruments of our Redemption.

The idea of Christ’s Resurrection or Risen Life does, it is true, enter into the Rite: but not at this stage of it, or purely prospectively; whence in some ancient Communion Offices it is said, “we shew forth His Death and confess His Resurrection<sup>n</sup>.” And belief

<sup>n</sup> Liturgy of St. James, St. Basil, St. Mark, Coptic St. Basil.

in that Resurrection was further symbolized by commixture of a portion of the Elements. But both the Rite itself and our attention are properly concentrated, for the time being, on the fact of Christ's Death, as set forth by His Body and Blood.

The whole Action, it has often with some truth been said, is in its nature exhibitory, or dramatic<sup>o</sup>: certain Divine events being thereby not merely recalled, but exhibited. But let it be carefully observed to what exact point each Eucharist sends us back, and what the manner and limits of the "setting forth" or "exhibition" are. It is to the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, wrought once for all, but again and again "exhibited<sup>p</sup>;"—not, however, as to the *process*, but only *as far as concerns the constituent parts and tokens thereof*, the Body and the Blood. Christ does not, as some have said, or gone near to saying, die again; He is not, in any sense, immolated again, *toties quoties*, on the Eucharistic altar, however widely that

<sup>o</sup> This character of the Eucharist is strongly marked in some Liturgies; and sometimes, as in the Greek Office of Prothesis, (Neale, p. 339—354,) developed with much excess. See also Amalarius on the Roman rite.

<sup>p</sup> This is the most ancient term, probably, to express the inscrutable operation, by which the consecrated elements become the Body and Blood of Christ. So Lit. St. Clement, in the Apostolic Constitutions, lib. viii. *ἕως ἀποφῆν τὸν ἕρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου*. So Irenæus, in a fragment, quotes it. Other Liturgies, as St. James' and St. Mark's, have "sanctify and make;" others, as St. Chrysostom's, "make." One objection to the Transubstantiation theory is, that it seems at least to declare for a proper production, by way of corruption and generation, of the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, out of the substance of the bread and the wine. This is well stated by Berengarius, (De Sacra Cœnâ, p. 97): "Fit plane de pane Corpus Christi, sed . . non corruptione ipsius subjecti, . . non generatione Ipsius Corporis; quia Christi Corpus, semel ante tot tempora generatum, generari ultra non poterit." Comp. 1 Cor. xi. 26, *τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε*: also Gal. iii. 1, *προεγράφη ἑσταυρωμένος*.

mode of expression may have obtained. No *process* of Death, even mystical, is made known to us as having place in the Rite. We know nothing of any living Body of Christ, mystical or other, produced and then slain for us in this Ordinance. The bread before consecration is only bread, though it may represent to our thoughts Christ's living Body; the wine only wine, though it may remind us of the Blood which flowed in His sacred veins. And on the consecration of these, they pass at once into types and realities appertaining not to the Life, but to the Death of Christ. His Body and Blood, the constituents of His original and real Sacrificial Death, are under mysterious conditions and in a peculiar state of existence reproduced or re-exhibited.

Setting out from this as from a starting-point, the subsequent events or phenomena of Christ's Action on our behalf are indeed, as we shall see presently, mystically reproduced or re-enacted likewise; namely, within us, on reception. But at the present stage, when consecration has taken place, but nothing more, it is the Body and Blood of Christ, as the facts and pledges of His Death; it is these, and these only, that by the very nature of the Rite are before us. To suppose that Christ Himself, in some altogether vague and unexplained way, is personally present in the entirety of His Being, at this point, is not only a supposition purely gratuitous, but throws the whole ideal of the Rite into inextricable confusion.

Is there, then, no supranatural Presence, in the Holy Eucharist, of Christ Himself, as distinguished from the Presence of His Body and Blood? Doubtless there is: His Presence in the entirety of His Being; in a mysterious and peculiarly intimate manner, and in Body,

Soul, and Divinity. The Scriptures as plainly and as repeatedly assure us of this as they are persistent and uniform in assigning to the Elements themselves no other character or nomenclature than that of His Body and Blood. There is such a Presence: but it is when the Rite attains its consummation; then, though not till then. The unreceived Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ, and no more: but "he that eateth and drinketh" of them aright hath in him CHRIST Himself<sup>o</sup>, and no less, and is united to Him. This is so certain from Scripture, that none but the lowest order of believers in the existence of a Eucharist at all have doubted of it; and it is therefore needless to enlarge upon it.

By what particular process of the Holy Spirit this effect is produced we have no information. But the analogy of the Christian Economy, as wrought out in the Person of Christ Himself, combined with what we know of the consecrated Elements in the Eucharist, would seem to suggest some account of it. The natural Body of Christ, once slain, and no longer to be accounted as Christ, by reason of the separation of It from His Human Soul, was nevertheless, after being duly received into the receptacle of God's appointing, the heart of the Earth, re-united to That Soul by the operation of the interposed Divinity; and so CHRIST HIMSELF was once more truly alive, and rose again. And even so, when His Body and Blood, existing in a new and specially provided manner, have been received into the duly qualified bodies and souls of

<sup>o</sup> St. John vi. 56: "He that eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in him." 1 Cor. xii. 13: "And have all been made to drink into One Spirit," i. e. one divinely compacted condition of unity with Christ.

men, does the same vital re-union, as it should seem, take place, and so CHRIST HIMSELF<sup>p</sup>, in Body, Soul, and Divinity, is in them of truth, and raises them, together with Himself, to a glorious immortality.

This Eucharistic Presence of Christ, however real and full, fails, it is true, to satisfy the desires which some frame to themselves; as not providing a present object of worship external to the human soul. But the question for us surely is, not what we should have imagined to ourselves would enter into the design of such an Ordinance; but what, by the Institution and Divine Intent of Christ, its design and its nature really are, and were from the first conceived to be.

XIII. It would be to little purpose, however, to have ascertained what we are "*forbidden* by the Catholic Religion" to hold or practise, as results of the consecration of the Eucharistic Elements, without endeavouring to ascertain also the mind which we *ought* to hold towards such Holy Mysteries. For though They be not Christ Himself, neither is Their Presence His Presence, they are confessedly Things sacred and mysterious in the highest degree. The Body and Blood of Him Who, what time the One was broken and the Other shed for our Redemption, was both God and Man, cannot, under any mode of existence or manifestation, be viewed as common Things. From that Body of Christ, though separated from His Human Soul by Death, His Divinity never departed. It "stood" as a bond of mysterious conjunction "between the Dead and the Living," between the

<sup>p</sup> Comp. S. Dionysius, Ep. 5: "The mystery of Life came to us through His pure, and incorruptible, and Divine Hands, that the faithful may be able to contain Him, and to become the abode of God, receiving Him whole." (Notes to Sermon on the Real Presence, p. 353.)

Dead Body and the Living Soul, or "the plague" of humanity had never been "stayed" by the Resurrection. That Body was confessedly, even in Death, Divine.

And Divine, doubtless, no less, are that Body and Blood under their sacramental manner of existence. They, too, have the awful touch and impress of the Divinity of Christ. They, too, these *mystical* Parts of Christ, await but the special operation of that Divinity to re-unite and quicken them to a new and risen existence in the souls of faithful men.

But how shall we deem of them meanwhile? Though the Personal Christ, God and Man, be not by consecration made present for our worship, yet is there not here, it may reasonably be asked, so peculiar a Presence of His Divinity, and of the Godhead Itself, as requires that worship be paid to It, even as to God sitting upon His Throne in Heaven? and if not, by what considerations is our duty in the matter limited and defined?

In order to answer this question satisfactorily, it will be necessary to enter somewhat into the general subject of Divine Presence; to inquire what, if anything, bearing upon the point before us, is revealed to us.

"God," says Hooker, "hath His influence into the very essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them, their utter annihilation could not choose but follow . . . They are in Him, as effects in their highest cause, He likewise actually is in them; the assistance and influence of His Deity is their life<sup>a</sup>." And again: "Impossible it is that God should withdraw His Presence from anything, because the substance of God is infinite. He filleth Heaven

<sup>a</sup> Hooker, L. E. P., V. lvi. 5.

and earth, although He take up no room in either, because His substance is immaterial: . . . . He is present whole unto every particular thing<sup>r</sup>.”

But are we enjoined, or even permitted, to worship all things, because God is truly in them? None but the Pantheist affirms this; nor does even he act upon it. But lest any should draw such a conclusion, an express prohibition has been given, doubtless from the first, against worshipping any created thing, however full of Deity, even on the ground of such In-dwelling.

But whither is our worship of God Himself directed? Is it to God as dwelling and abiding in all things, or *to God as in Heaven?* Certainly to God as in Heaven. The Lord's Prayer alone is conclusive on this point. “In that He saith, ‘Who is in Heaven,’” says St. Chrysostom<sup>s</sup>, “He confineth not God's Presence to that place: but He saith this to draw the prayer that is prayed away from earth, and to fix it immoveably on the places on high.”

Now wherefore is this? On what necessary and eternal law is it founded?

Among other things which Revelation makes known to us concerning the Divine Nature, is this, that it is capable of divers kinds or manners of Presence, according to Its Own Will. And further, that not all these modes of Presence,—no, nor yet, as it should seem, any but the highest and supreme mode, that whereby He dwells in the Heaven of heavens,—draws towards it, as a matter of Divine Will and Ordinance, the worship of rational creatures. *Worthy*, howsoever

<sup>r</sup> Ibid., lv. 3.

<sup>s</sup> In Matt. vi. 9: εἰπῶν, ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, οὐκ ἐκεῖ τὸν Θεὸν συνέκλεισεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπάγων τὸ εὐχόμενον, καὶ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς προσηλῶν, τοῦτ' ὀφείλει.

or wheresoever existing, of Divine worship; nevertheless, *not* as existing everywhere, will He have or allow worship to be indifferently directed towards Him. His Indwelling, elsewhere than in Heaven, is to the accomplishment of other purposes: not in order to that of directing thither the worship of such beings as are capable of offering it.

In order that we may more clearly apprehend this important truth, let us briefly consider some instances of this His Indwelling.

First of all, while existing everywhere, He yet dwells by a purer and subtler influence, and, as we may say, by a more intimate Presence, in some creatures than in others,—in angels than in men,—in men than in the lower animals,—and in these last, it should seem probable, than in inanimate matter. But to His Presence in none of these receptacles and habitations does He enjoin or permit Divine worship to be offered. God dwells in them to maintain their being; not that, as dwelling there, He should be worshipped.

Again, it has pleased Him on occasion to dwell, by intenser localization (so to speak), in particular places: as in the cherubic<sup>t</sup> forms (probably) at the gates of Eden after the Fall; in the Burning Bush; in the cloud at the Exodus, and on Mount Sinai; in the Tabernacle ere the ark of the covenant was made; on the outstretched wings of the cherubim above the ark, both in the Tabernacle and first Temple; and behind the Veil, though there was no ark, in the second Temple.

What, then, was the object of these peculiar fixed manifestations of the Divine Presence? It was on occasion, as at the Exodus and on Sinai, the carrying

<sup>t</sup> See Patrick on Gen. iii. 24, iv. 3.



out of particular purposes. But mainly, and in the more permanent cases of Indwelling, as at the gates of Eden and in the Tabernacle and Temple, it was the localization, as it should seem, of worship, *as regarded the worshippers*,—the marking out of peculiar spots *where*, or *towards which*, if at a distance, “men ought to worship,” because He had placed “His Name” there, that is, a peculiar and gracious manifestation of Himself, as the God of Israel;—this, and the sanctification, in the case of Israel, not of the place only, but of those among whom He was thus pleased specially to dwell.

But what of the worship itself? Was it to be directed towards God as dwelling there? We might not unnaturally have expected to find it so. But the direction impressed upon the devotions, for four thousand years, of the subjects of these previous dispensations, proves the contrary. The Psalms alone are a sufficient proof of this. The localization of the Presence is indeed recognised and lived in as a boon of peculiar graciousness; as an Indwelling for power and for sanctification. “Hear, O Thou Shepherd of Israel: . . . shew Thyself also, Thou that dwellest between the Cherubims.” But the same Psalm in which these words are found, proceeds,—thus correcting any misconception which its opening address might have given rise to,—“*Look down from Heaven*, behold and visit this vine<sup>u</sup>.” The prayer of Israel, near to or far off from that local Presence, was clearly to pass, so to speak, right through it to the proper Throne of the Majesty in Heaven.

But nowhere is the distinction between the Presence which was in order to sanctification, or to the

<sup>u</sup> Psalm lxxx. 1, 14.

mere steadying of the thoughts of Israel on the God of Israel, and That which alone was to be the Object of worship and prayer, more fully drawn out than in the consecration of Solomon's Temple. God's promise of "dwelling among His people" was then, as at other times, literally fulfilled: "The Glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord." And Solomon's words, "I have surely built Thee a house to dwell in, a settled place for Thee to abide in for ever," give the most perfect assurance of the reality and enduring nature of that Presence. Yet still is the secondary character of It recognised; and to the higher and supreme seat of the Godhead, and thither only, the worship and the prayer directed. "But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold the Heavens and the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain Thee: how much less this house that I have builded? Yet hearken Thou when they shall pray toward this place; and *hear Thou in Heaven, Thy dwelling-place.*"

Now these more intimate indwellings of God in the superior orders of creatures, and again these intensified localizations of His Presence, both alike found their highest and crowning realization in the Incarnation of Christ. In Him, the Head of all spiritual and rational, and even of all material existences, "the First-born of every creature," "dwelt the whole fulness of the Godhead Bodily," intimately informing and irradiating His Soul; eternally localized and enshrined in the "Temple of His Body."

But even then, transcendent and complete as was this Indwelling of the Godhead, the question whether Divine worship should uniformly and at all times be enjoined towards It, upon all who should draw near to It, was still, as the event shewed, one of the things

“which the Father had put in His Own power.” We might well have expected, that towards God manifest in the Flesh the constant and enjoined attitude of as many, at least, as knew Him to be such, would be that of worship and adoration, even as towards the Triune God enthroned in Heaven. But what do we find to have been the case? There is no instance of our Lord’s enjoining such worship of Himself, though there is no instance of His refusing it when offered. And in His teaching He ever bade prayer and worship to be directed to His Father in Heaven. As One with Him on His Throne of Glory,—as “the Son of Man which was in Heaven<sup>x</sup>,”—not as on earth, did He customarily receive the worship which was His due. Nothing is more certain; nothing, at first sight, more unexpected, and even astonishing.

But the same account is to be given of this as of the former cases of Divine Indwelling. The purpose of It in those cases was, we saw, in the creatures, for their maintenance in being; in particular places, for designation of place, for honour, and sanctification;—for these ends, not to provide a centre, or centres, of worship. And even so the Indwelling of God in Christ in the days of His Flesh, although It might well supremely command, and did accept worship, yet was strictly, at that time, in order to a work and design then to be accomplished,—the Economy of Human Redemption. Until that was finished, He was pleased, so far as was possible for Him, to empty Himself of His Glory; not indeed alienating from Himself—which could not be—the attributes of Divinity, but waiving

\* St. John iii. 13, *ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*. Pearson on the Creed, Art. II. vi.: “The Son of Man . . . after His conception, by virtue of the hypostatical union, was in heaven.” p. 452, Ed. Oxf. 1833.

by a gracious self-denial, in His then estate, and as on earth, (after the analogy of meaner Indwellings of Deity,) the worship belonging to Him everywhere and in all conditions. Not even after His Resurrection, in His glorified and spiritualized Body, does He depart from this law. The worship is indeed offered and accepted more frequently, but still never enjoined. For the Glory-Throne, whither He was speeding, He reserves both the sacramental touch and the full and satisfying adoration of His Glorious Body. "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father: but say unto My brethren, I ascend to My Father and to your Father, and to My God and your God."

But there remained yet one mode more of Divine Indwelling, towards which this, however insurpassable, was, in one point of view, but as the means to an end. It was not for His Own sake that the Word had tabernacled in Flesh and taken to It a Human Soul. That Human Soul would never have been created, nor the Temple of that Body built, but for other souls and bodies that needed an Illumination and an Indwelling of Godhead, which could no otherwise than by such means be imparted to them.

The ordained Economy by which they were to become the abode of such an Indwelling was, that the Natural Body of Christ, without losing Its proper manner of existence, should be capable of, and enter upon another. There was to be a Mystical Body of Christ;—mystical, because not natural;—mysteriously identified with the natural Body, yet consisting of other members, and having a new, though parallel, organization.

At what precise period this Mystical Body began to be, we are not clearly informed. But there seems

to be reason for supposing that it was shortly before the Eucharistic Institution, by which the Apostles, already in a mystery members of Christ, were made to drink into one Spirit, and admitted into the fellowship of His Sacrifice. We read that "When Jesus knew that His hour was come that He should depart out of the world unto the Father, having loved His own that were in the world, He loved them unto the end [or eternally]." "Knowing that the Father had given all things into His Hands, and that He was come from God, and went to God;" in order to take to Himself in a peculiar manner those that had been thus given Him, and that not even His Death might separate from Him His Own, He commenced, we seem to be told, a series of effective as well as profoundly significant actions. The first of them is thus described:—"He riseth from supper, and laid aside His garments, and took a towel and girded Himself." Mystically, (that is, mysteriously,) as it should seem, and in Divine intention and reality, He took <sup>y</sup> to Himself in this action, as mystical members, the disciples then present, and also, by anticipation, the whole Church, His Body and Spouse. That some mysterious and yet real change of condition now passed upon<sup>z</sup> the

<sup>y</sup> See Williams on the Holy Week, pp. 392—407: "The very action is emblematic of" (it might be added, "would seem to have implicitly and mystically contained") "all the conduct towards us of the Word made Flesh. Being found in fashion as a man, . . . He girded Himself, . . . He took hold of and wrapped around Him, as a girdle, the seed of Abraham, as He had said in His Prophet, 'As a girdle cleaveth unto the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave unto Me the whole house of Israel, . . . that they might be unto Me for a people.' Thus on the day of Expiation was the High-Priest girt with a linen girdle; thus was Christ seen again by His beloved disciple 'girt about with a golden girdle,' our great High-Priest." p. 394.

<sup>z</sup> Williams (Holy Week, p. 400,) remarks upon the difficulty of the passage; which indeed seems absolutely to require the view given in

Apostles is clear from His declaration to St. Peter when He proceeded to wash their feet, that they had been altogether "washed"<sup>a</sup> and made pure, and needed not save to wash their feet. They had been in the eternal purpose of God, and now mystically, by His action, cleansed through His Incarnation and Passion. This washing of their feet would seem to have been at once the sealing or conveyance to them severally of their baptismal portion in Him, and also<sup>b</sup> a preparatory cleansing for the reception of the Eucharistic Mysteries which would complete their position in Him. To this series of mystical actions St. Paul seems clearly to allude, when he says that "Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself up for it that He might sanctify it by the washing (or laver) of water through the word, that He might present the Church unto Himself glorious, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it might be holy and without blemish<sup>c</sup>."

All this, though needing to be ratified and consummated by the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the

the text. So St. Augustine says, "This expression proves that they were already baptized in Christ's Passion." And Bede, "This washing signifies not that of Baptism, but that daily washing which we all require for daily offences after Baptism."

<sup>a</sup> "He that is clean," (washed as in a bath, *λελουμένος*) "needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean" (pure, *καθαρός*), "every whit: and ye are clean," (pure,) "but not all."

<sup>b</sup> "Some suppose it to intimate that repentance and absolution which is necessary before partaking of the Holy Eucharist," (and which the Church has provided publicly or privately, or both); "*and the occasion seems strongly to support this inference.*" Williams, *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> Eph. v. 25, 26. That St. Paul is referring to some particular time and action, appears from the tenses *ἠγάπησε, παρέδωκεν*, (compare Eph. v. 2). The marginal references in Bp. Lloyd's edition are to St. John xv. 3, and thence to xiii. 10; thus recognising the connection of the passage with these actions of our Lord.

Day of Pentecost, the proper Birthday of the Mystical Body, (since not till then could the grace of His Resurrection and Ascension, as past, be imparted,) would yet seem to exhibit, in its first stage, the essential and as it were embryo formation of that Body. From that time began *a new order of being*, having its own special facts and phenomena. There had begun to be, and there was henceforth, not only a Natural and Personal Christ, God and Man, “Who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for the actual sins of men<sup>d</sup> ;” “Who did truly rise again from death, and took again His Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man’s nature, where-with He ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the last day<sup>e</sup> ;” not only such a Christ as ‘This, “treading the wine-press alone,” in His Death, “while of the people,” as touching the virtue of that Sacrifice, there were “none with Him,” and “travelling,” in His Resurrection and Ascension, “in the greatness of His Own strength ;”—but also a Mystical Body of Christ, identified with the Personal, and made in all things in its degree like unto Him, and sharing the grace of all His actions. A Mystical Body, whose members (as St. Paul accordingly assures us) were crucified<sup>f</sup> with Him and in

<sup>d</sup> Article II.

<sup>e</sup> Article IV.

<sup>f</sup> Gal. ii. 20, “I have been crucified with Christ,” (Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι); v. 24, “They that are Christ’s crucified the flesh,” (ἐσταύρωσαν, i. e. either on the Cross or in Baptism); vi. 14, “I have been crucified, by the Cross, or by Christ,” (δι’ οὗ). Rom. vi. 6, “Our old man was crucified, or hath been crucified, with Him,” (συνεσταυρώθη). In all these places, our Version has greatly obscured the mystical fact described.

Him upon the Cross, died<sup>g</sup> with Him in His Death, were buried<sup>h</sup> with Him in His Burial, with Him descended<sup>i</sup> into Hell, rose<sup>k</sup> again from the dead, and ascended<sup>l</sup> up to sit with Him in the heavenly places. Into the mysterious framework of that Body, under this, Its new manner of being, would men be henceforth ingrafted, by a real incorporation<sup>m</sup>; being made in Baptism of That Bone, and of That Flesh.

Upon that its new and mystical manner of being, moreover, would the natural Body and Blood of Christ, as at the first broken and shed upon the Cross, have an unceasing capacity for entering, so long as the earthly economy of the Church should last, thus "shewing forth His Death till He came:" and upon it They *would* enter, whensoever the ordained imitation of His Eucharistic Action should be duly performed. And thus, as by Baptism in the first instance, so by Eucharistic participation more intimately still, and to yet further purposes, would there come to

<sup>g</sup> Rom. vi. 8, "If we died with Christ," (*ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ*); vii. 4, "Ye were put to death in reference to the law (*ἐθανατώθητε*) through (or in, *διὰ*) the Body of Christ." Col. ii. 20, "If ye died (*ἀπεθάνετε*) with Christ;" iii. 3, "For ye died, and your life has been hidden or treasured up (*κέκρυπται*) with Christ."

<sup>h</sup> Rom. vi. 4, "We were buried with Him (*συνετάφημεν αὐτῷ*) by that Baptism of ours into His death." Col. ii. 12.

<sup>i</sup> See Eph. iv. 9, where the Descent into Hell is dwelt on in a passage certainly referring to the Mystical (comp. v. 4, 13, 16,) as well as to the Personal Body of Christ.

<sup>k</sup> Rom. vi. 5, 8, where "we shall be conformed (*σὺμφυται*) to His resurrection;" and again, "we shall live with Him," refer not to the future state, but to that of grace in this life, Eph. ii. 5. Col. iii. 1, "If then ye rose (*συνεγέρθητε*) with Christ."

<sup>l</sup> Eph. ii. 6, "Made us sit together" (*συνεκάθισεν*).

<sup>m</sup> Hooker observes (V. lvi. 7,) that the Mystical Body seems to be actually called "Christ" in 1 Cor. xii. 12: "He and they (the mystical society) having in that respect but one name." See above, p. 23, note l.



be a real Indwelling of Christ after this His new manner of being in Man and in the Church; and not of Christ only but also of the 'Triune Godhead'<sup>n</sup>. And the purpose of that mystical "setting forth" of the Body and Blood, as of the subsequent Indwelling, would clearly be, not to produce an object of worship, but to carry out the practical ends of the presentation and pleading of the One Sacrifice;—of the sanctification of men, and of the presentation of them and of the whole Church as an acceptable sacrifice to God.

Now these considerations throw great light upon the whole question of Divine worship or adoration proper; and of the existence, short of that, of an ordained attitude of mind in reference to the Divine Presence. Corresponding to the varying degrees or modes of that Presence, there must be, by the very nature of the case, suitable correlatives in human duty. And we obtain this clear and leading distinction, that, besides that feeling and action which is due to the Majesty of God as enthroned in Heaven, or what we may distinguish as the Majestic Presence of God; there is another degree or mode both of affection and gesture, which we are to hold towards other and secondary modes of the Divine Presence. The former of these is properly, and in the highest and strictest sense, Worship or Adoration; the latter comes short, in different degrees, of Worship, and is fitly termed Reverence<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> St. John xiv. 16, 20, 23.

<sup>o</sup> So Bp. Poynt, (1557,) after expressing his belief that the Body and Blood of Christ is produced by consecration of the Bread and Wine: "It is worth while to observe that the ancients, when speaking of the Sacraments, used various terms, such as honouring, venerating, adoring, by which they meant to signify *some other honour or reverence* suitable to sacred things, as well as that worship prescribed by God

And these are no fine-drawn distinctions of the brain, but enter instinctively into the theory and the practice, the nomenclature and the action, of all true religion. We *revere* the Presence of God as filling all space, and as penetrating all being; we reverence It in various degrees as It exists with more excellent manifestation than ordinary in spiritual and rational creatures; nay, we cannot without reverential awe contemplate the mystery of *life* even in the lower animals. We reverence It, again, as dwelling in places of Its peculiar abode, in "houses of prayer, holiness, and of benediction<sup>p</sup>;" in the Mystical Body of Christ, and the members thereof. We *revere* the Godhead as present in all these various recipients; but we **WORSHIP** God in **HEAVEN**.

And so as to the point which has given rise to this inquiry concerning Presence. The Body and Blood of Christ, present (according to the mysterious mode of His existence) on the altars of the Church, do indeed carry with them an especial Presence of His Divinity, else would they not be what they are. But this in nowise enforces proper worship, as distinguished from reverence, either of Them or of the Divine Presence attaching to Them. Nay more, except there were a special revelation from Heaven to that effect,

when He says, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.' So that a double worship is here defined: one, that which we pay to God; the other, that which we give to signs and divine mysteries, according to the saying, *Worship His footstool*; which some understand of the ark of His covenant, others of the Humanity of Christ." Further on, he seems disposed to concede the proper adoration of the Eucharistic elements, by reason of the Divinity to which it was united. See *Treatise on the Eucharist*, in Dr. Wright's "Real Presence," Part I. (1855), pp. 21—24.

<sup>p</sup> Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil, Prayer of Incense, (Neale, Gen. Introd., p. 395).

which none can shew, we are forbidden by the analogy of the whole Economy of religion from the beginning, to direct our worship thither. The Throne of the Triune Deity, the Majestic Presence of God, towards which the worship of all creatures should ascend, is still in Heaven, and not here.

Yet does this, in common with all other special instances of Divine Presence in holy places, in holy beings, in the Scriptures, in the other Sacrament, in the Mystical Body the Church, and in its members,—and, it may be in a higher degree than His Presence in any of these, claim and demand the most profound and intense *Reverence*. The mode of exhibiting that Reverence will differ in various persons and countries; nor will it always, to the outward eye, be distinguishable from proper Worship: a matter in which we must not be hasty to judge our brother. But Christian duty demands, we need not hesitate to say, that the distinction be mentally and really entertained; that while our utmost Reverence is directed towards the Holy Body and Blood, witnessed to as present by the visible symbols, and discerned as such with the spiritual eye, and hand, and mouth of the soul, we nevertheless direct no thought or act of proper Worship thither, but “lift up our hearts with our hands,” even at that mysterious hour, to Christ “set down upon His Father’s throne<sup>a</sup>,” and “to God in the Heavens<sup>r</sup>.”

XIV. It only remains to shew that the Church throughout the world, down to the period of the unhappy change of doctrine in the Western Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, never worshipped either the consecrated Elements on account of their being the Body and Blood of Christ, or the Presence

<sup>a</sup> Rev. iii. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Lament. iii. 41.

of that Body and Blood; nor, again, either Christ Himself as supernaturally present by consecration, or the Presence of His Divinity; neither have the Churches of God to this hour, with the exception of those of the Roman obedience, any such custom. This may be very easily demonstrated. It will be clearly understood that we speak now of true and proper *worship*, such as is otherwise accorded only to the Majestical Presence of God in Heaven. The distinction between this and Reverence even of the most intense character, which no Church ever refused to the Eucharistic Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, has been shewn to be substantive and important.

Now it has been before pointed out<sup>s</sup>, that for the determination of Eucharistic questions, the ancient Liturgies are more weighty and trustworthy than ecclesiastical writers. What, then, is their testimony on this point? Nothing can be more unequivocal, nothing more unanimous. And be it observed, that their testimony on a point of this kind is beyond suspicion; since there was confessedly a tendency, as time went on, in the Churches to which these Liturgies belong, to add to, rather than to diminish in the slightest degree, the reverence and awe with which the entire Rite, and especially the consecrated Elements were viewed. Whatever aspect they exhibit, therefore, in that form which they had acquired by about the sixth or seventh century, and still retain, is likely to be an intensification rather than a relaxation of the earlier mind in point of reverent expression towards the Elements.

What, then, took place on the consecration of the Elements, according to the Liturgies of all Churches

<sup>s</sup> Above, p. 30.

throughout the world for nearly twelve hundred years, and until a confessed<sup>t</sup> alteration was made in one of them? What takes place still, according to all Liturgies, and in all Churches, with that single exception.

Now it is clear, that if upon consecration a proper Object of Divine worship is forthwith present, and demands and exacts such worship without fail; if it be so, that the Majestical Throne of God is for the time transferred to the altar of the Church, or that the altar becomes His Majestical Throne; then of necessity must real worship be *from that moment* obligatory: nor could any feature be more indispensable, or more universal, than a provision for such immediate worship. But not only is such a provision not universal, but there is not, it is confessed on all hands, a single Liturgy in the world that, within the period specified, contains such a direction for the faintest gesture of worship to be offered to the Elements immediately on their consecration.

And if no proper worship took place at this juncture in the Office, this is decisive of the whole question. It is to no purpose to allege, that at a later stage of the Office the Eastern Churches express the most intense reverence, and use gestures of actual worship, and to claim this as an act of adoration of the Elements as God Almighty. If that which is upon the Altar after consecration challenges Divine worship at all, it does so from the moment of consecration: the lapse of time cannot make it more

<sup>t</sup> “Uti omnes inter Catholicos eruditi fatentur, *post Berengarii hæresiam* ritus in Catholicâ Romanâ Ecclesiâ invaluit, scilicet post Consecrationem elevare Hostiam et Calicem, ut a populo adoretur Corpus et Sanguis Domini.” Muratori, *De Rebus Liturgicis*, c. xix. p. 227. And again, “Adorationis ritus, post annum Christi MC. inventus.” See above p. 56, note a, and p. 87.

adorable than it is; nor can they be justified who withhold that worship for an instant. The Church of Rome wholly accepts this theory, and acts upon it. In vain, therefore, is the least shadow of countenance for the proper worship either of the Elements or of a Eucharistic Presence, sought for from any degree of reverence which was anciently rendered, or is rendered to this day, some time after the consecration has been completed. And in all ancient Liturgies it *is* some time after that event, in many cases a very long time after it, that a special act of worship is enjoined. In the Liturgies of the East from about the third or fourth century, prayers and intercessions of very great length (occupying from five to twelve or thirteen columns in the printed editions<sup>u</sup>) intervene between the consecration and the "Prayer of bowing down," at which the solemn prostration referred to takes place. The same was anciently the case, only that the interval was shorter, in all the Liturgies of the West, the Roman included. In the Roman, as originally constituted, the celebrant makes a profound "act of bowing down<sup>x</sup>," as in the Eastern rites, but not until some time after the consecration; and this, in all probability, was accompanied by the same on the part of the people.

Nor can anything exceed the intensity of the acts, call them of worship, of reverence, or of humiliation, which were made at this point of the Office in all Liturgies. In some the rubric prescribes—in all, the

<sup>u</sup> See, for example, Neale's *Tetralogia*, containing the Greek St. James', St. Chrysostom's, and St. Mark's Liturgies, pp. 139—169, or his *General Introduction*, pp. 570—630.

<sup>x</sup> "Profundè inclinatus, junctis manibus, et super altare positus." *Missale Rom.* "Corpore inclinato, et cancellatis manibus," (*Sarum, Ebor.*), "inclinat se devotè ad altare," (*Herford.*)

language used bespeaks—the most profound prostration of body and mind. “The Priest prostrates himself, and so do those who are present,” says the Armenian. “All fall on their faces,” the Coptic, or old Egyptian. “Here the Priest with body profoundly inclined,” the Roman. “With body inclined and arms clasped,” say the English Uses. “With the fear of God,” says St. Mark’s. “Let us fix our minds on God with fear,” the Coptic. “Let us attend,” St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. “Let us bow our heads to the Lord,” or “to Jesus,” say the Eastern Rites. “Humbly bow down your heads, or yourselves,” said all the West †.

Now let us allow for a moment, for supposition’s sake, that all this intensity of worship was directed towards the Elements, or towards a worshippable Presence of Christ, resulting from their consecration. In this case we are asked to believe that the Church of God for twelve hundred years knew that a Presence of God, or of Christ, absolutely demanding Divine worship, was upon her Altars, and yet deferred to pay that worship until a late stage of her service. This is simply and absolutely incredible.

But the truth is, as appears on the slightest examination, that the devout prostration and adoration, which thus took place, was not addressed to the Elements, or to any Presence of God or of Christ on earth. It was, so far as it found utterance in words at all, expressly directed to God, or to Christ, in *Heaven*: while its peculiarly profound character, and its outward gesture, were manifestly dictated by a sense of

† The Mozarabic still has “humiliate vos benedictioni” as a constant feature; as had the Roman and English during Lent.

awe in the prospect of immediate *reception* of the awful Gifts, and through Them of Christ Himself.

In the first place, this "Prayer of bowing of the head," and this profound prostration, *take place before the elevation*, (the real intention of which will be considered presently). This alone entirely differentiates the action from the novel Western elevation and worship immediately after the consecration, with which it has been usual to assume its identity or close resemblance. It is clear even from hence that it is not directed towards the Elements at all. But next, the exhortation to the action is, "Let us bow our heads to the Lord," or "to Jesus." And *whither* the prayer was directed, the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the present Greek rite, plainly declares: "Hear us, O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, out of Thy Holy Dwelling-place, and from the throne of the glory of Thy Kingdom, and *come* and sanctify us; *Thou that sittest above with the Father*, and here unseen art present with us; and *come* and *give us to partake* of Thy spotless Body and precious Blood." Nothing could more distinctly exhibit the mind of the Eastern Church in reference to the nature and degree of our Blessed Lord's intervention and Presence in the Eucharistic Rite, than this prayer. He is addressed as in Heaven, on the Throne of His glory; He is prayed to *come and give* the worshippers of His Own Body and Blood, then lying mysteriously on the altar. *They* are not deemed to be Christ Himself; They are clearly distinguished from Him. Yet all the time He is believed to be invisibly present: doubtless in that manner and sense in which He is present by His Divinity in all the ordinances of His Church; not in a peculiar manner, as the effect of the consecration of the Ele-



ments. Both He Himself, as thus present, and His Body and Blood as sacramentally so, are recognised and revered; but as in Heaven, and as there only, is He worshipped.

And that the peculiar and intense humiliation and awe expressed at this time arose from the prospect of *reception of the Gifts* is clear from the contents of the accompanying prayers, (as, for example, St. Chrysostom's just quoted); and from hence, that all that follows, in all the Liturgies, is by way of preparation for reception.

There is one striking action more especially—anciently common, as it should seem, to all Liturgies, though it has now disappeared from some, and is probably misconceived in all,—which tends to invest the reception with a very awful character, and to explain yet further the deep reverence here expressed. It is the “elevation” already referred to. The Elements, one or both<sup>z</sup>, were *lifted up* towards Heaven with mysterious words, desiring that they might be received up to God's heavenly and spiritual altar. The words generally used in the East, and which we find also in one Western Office, the Spanish, were, “The Holy (Things) are lifted up to the Holy (Places)<sup>a</sup>.” This desire was sometimes most distinctly expressed in the “Prayer of bowing down;” as, for example, in the Roman,—“We suppliantly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command these Things to be carried up by the

<sup>z</sup> The Bread only was actually *lifted* in the Liturgies of St. James (Syriac), St. Basil, St. Chrys., the Armenian, Coptic St. Basil, Roman, English, Mozarabic. But in St. James' (Greek) it is the “Gifts;” and in all they are named in the plural in the accompanying prayer: “*hæc*” (Rom., Sarum, &c.) i. e. the Bread and Cup.

<sup>a</sup> τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. That this is the real intention of these words is shewn at large below, Part II. ch. ii.

Hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy Celestial Altar in the sight of Thy Divine Majesty<sup>b</sup>." This, which occurs also, only a little earlier, in St. Mark's Liturgy, is to the same effect as St. Chrysostom's "Prayer of bowing down," namely, for profitable reception: but it specifies more distinctly the idea of the Gifts being mystically carried up to the Heavenly altar.

The rationale of this rite (derived visibly from the Jewish "heaving" of the peace-offerings<sup>c</sup>) is manifest from what follows in the Roman form more especially; namely, "that as many of us as by this participation of the altar, shall have received the most Holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be fulfilled with all *celestial* benediction; through the Same Christ our Lord, by Whom," (so it no doubt anciently proceeded, though the memento of the departed is now interposed,) "O Lord, Thou ever createst these good things, sanctifiest, quickenest, blessest, and givest them to us:" after which follows the "lifting up" itself, with the Lord's Prayer for right reception, and for freedom from all evil. The idea is that the Body and Blood of Christ, mysteriously exhibited here on earth, may by contact with the Heavenly Altar, on which Christ Himself is ever mysteriously presented<sup>d</sup>,—Himself as Victim offered by Himself as Priest,—be fulfilled with *celestial* efficacy; may partake of the virtue and glory of that Sacrifice, not only as it was offered at the first, but as It is in Heaven, having received

<sup>b</sup> No commentator on the Roman ritual has manifested the slightest perception of the real design of this prayer, or of the action of lifting up, which follows it. Pope Innocent III. declared it to be too profound for explanation. Bona refers it to the prayers of the faithful, which are "lifted up;" as did our Revisers of 1549.

<sup>c</sup> Bona recognises this, *Rev. Lit.*, P. ii. in loc.

<sup>d</sup> "A Lamb, as it had been slain." *Rev.* v. 6.

celestial ratification by being carried up into the Holy of Holies. It is, in truth, a further instance of that representation of Christ's own actions, of which we have before spoken:—not necessary<sup>e</sup>, that we have any reason for believing, to the validity of the Rite, but full of beautiful propriety and significance, It designs to place the Things consecrated on earth on a par with the glorious and complete Reality in Heaven. It seeks, on behalf of the mystic Sacrificial Gifts, the grace inherent in the original, meritorious, ever-abiding Sacrifice.

And we can now perceive the utmost fitness in the act of humiliation and reverential awe with which Priest and people accompanied this sublimely symbolical action in all Liturgies throughout the world. Whatever it actually effected or did not effect, it brought before them all the awfulness of *reception*. It exhibited, first of all, the Elements as no otherwise acquiring the fulness of their mysterious efficacy than by some real contact with the Very Sacrifice of Christ in Heaven; and next, it spoke plainly of a desire to be themselves, by the participation of the Gifts, lifted up, and laid for acceptance, in body, soul, and spirit, as a reasonable and accepted sacrifice, on the "heavenly and spiritual altar," before the immediate Presence of God Himself.

Such is the true explanation of this profoundly reverential action, practised to this day throughout the East, and anciently universal: an action which

\* This view clears up the difficulty with which Cabasilas pressed the Latins at the council of Florence, representing that this prayer was incompatible with the idea of consecration being effected by the words of Institution; though, indeed, whatever difficulty there is presses equally on the Greek rite as on the Roman.

has not unnaturally been supposed, on a superficial view, to express adoration of the Elements; though we see that, on examination, there is not the slightest pretext for so understanding it. The utmost that can be said is, that the peculiar sacramental and mystical Presence of Christ Himself, now about to take place in the souls of the faithful, and as it were drawing nigh to them, is as such, and in Its awful approach, adored.

It is almost superfluous to observe, that the self-same Liturgies which are thus devoid of any proper worship either of the Elements, or of the Body and Blood of Christ, or of God or Christ as locally enshrined and present,—do nevertheless set the highest example of most profound and intense reverence. The whole action which we have now been investigating is confessedly of this character. And besides this, such reverence finds expression, as is well known, in a variety of ways. More especially when (whether at the first Oblation, as in the West, or after the recital of the Institution, as in the East,) the consecrating power of the Holy Spirit is invoked or desired, a sense of the reality of His expected operation is expressed by bowing the head<sup>g</sup>, kneeling<sup>h</sup>, prostration<sup>i</sup>, and other tokens<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> St. James, both Greek and Syriac, (Neale, Gen. Intro., p. 371; Renaudot, t. ii. p. 31.) Roman, Milanese, and English Uses “*inclinatus* :” (“*inclinato corpore et capite*,” Sar.) And so the Mozarabic (Neale, Tetral., p. 62); and doubtless the Gallican, whose rubrics are lost.

<sup>h</sup> St. Basil and St. Chrysostom: “Both adore thrice before the Holy Table, praying secretly and saying, ‘God be merciful to me a sinner.’”

<sup>i</sup> Armenian, “The Priest prostrating himself, says ‘We beseech Thee . . . that Thou wouldest send down, &c. . . changing them by Thy Holy Ghost.’”

<sup>k</sup> “Up to this time,” (Armen.), “when the Priest prays, he lifts up his hands on high; but after this, not higher than his breast.” Compare the Roman rubric at oblation: “*Manus in altam porrectas jun-*

“How terrible is this hour,” the Syriac adds, “how fearful this time, beloved, in which the Living and Holy Spirit comes from the high places of Heaven, descends, and broods upon the Eucharist placed in this sanctuary, and hallows it; fear ye and tremble as ye stand and pray.” “Thus bowing down, he says the Invocation of the Holy Spirit.” And the titles and epithets applied to the consecrated Things imply the most awful and realizing estimation of them. They are called “the holy Body, the very precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, which was poured out for the life of the world<sup>1</sup>:” “the divine, spotless, life-giving, immortal, tremendous and heavenly mysteries<sup>m</sup>:” “the venerable gifts; the hallowed oblations; the celestial, ineffable, stainless, glorious, terrible, tremendous, divine gifts<sup>n</sup>:” “the tremendous, bloodless offering, the sacrifice, the pure, holy, immaculate sacrifice<sup>o</sup> (hostia):” “the holy bread; the holy things; the viaticum of eternal life.”

And it is surely most significant, that whilst these

gens, dicit Veni,” &c.; and the Sarum (Maskell, p. 70), “Manibus non levatis,” (i. e., apparently, not again,) “donec dicitur ‘Sursum corda.’” So the Coptic St. Basil: “He lifts up and stretches forth his hands, interceding for the illapse of the Holy Ghost;” and again, “he bows and points to the oblation;” as in St. Basil, &c. Comp. the English Use (which Maskell observes, p. 89, is the old Roman one also,)—before and during the words of Institution, “hic inclinet se parum versus hostiam,” (Herf.) “Hic respiciat hostiam cum magnâ veneratione,” (Sar., Ebor.) Here also, in the West, was the “washing of hands.” These correspondences of East and West are truly wonderful.

<sup>1</sup> St. Basil.

<sup>m</sup> Coptic St. Basil.

<sup>n</sup> St. James.

<sup>o</sup> The Roman, Milanese, English, Mozarabic, Gallican. The word appears to correspond to, and to be a translation of, the Greek *θυσία*.

terms and epithets are most freely used, and abound in every page of every Liturgy, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find in any really ancient Liturgy, or portion of a Liturgy, a single expression which *goes beyond* the recognition of the Elements as the Body and Blood of Christ; any which identifies them with Christ Himself, much less with the Triune God. It would not have been surprising, had the glowing language, which has been now quoted, here and there overflowed in the Liturgies the just bounds of the mystery, as unquestionably is sometimes the case with ancient writers on the Eucharist. But it should seem that the Church's conception of the true nature of that mystery was too fixed and clear to admit any such departure from correct Eucharistic language. Certain it is, that those who have searched most diligently for such expressions, and were every way concerned to produce them, if possible, have failed in the attempt. Thus Muratori, than whom few had a more exact acquaintance with the subject, has only been able to produce three or four such expressions; and these are found either in confessedly late Liturgies, bearing the marks of obscure and individual teachers, or in later additions to the ancient ones.

It is in a prayer<sup>p</sup> of comparatively late origin in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, the present Greek rite, that he finds even the words, "Thou art He that offerest

<sup>p</sup> It is the "Prayer said secretly while the cherubic hymn is being sung." Compare Neale's note, Gen. Introd., p. 432, "As the cherubic hymn was only composed in the time of Justinian, (527,) it is clear that the prayer of this hymn must be an insertion. And accordingly it is not to be found in the very ancient Barberini MS. to which Goar so often refers." Muratori overlooks this fact, (De Reb. Liturg. p. 203).

and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, Christ our God ;” expressions all defensible enough as the warm language of devotion, but a manifest departure from the general manner of the Liturgies, and not capable of being insisted on in their literal signification. It is among the *cantica*, or hymns, of the Syriac Liturgy of St. James, known to be of more recent origin than the general structure of the rite, that such expressions occur as “Whom Moses saw in the bush, and Ezekiel upon the cherubim, He Himself is placed upon the Holy altar, and the people receive Him and live<sup>a</sup>.” And again, a “prayer of St. James the Doctor<sup>r</sup>” has, “Father of truth, behold Thy Son ; a Victim well-pleasing to Thee ; receive Him Who died for me.” So in an obscure Liturgy attributed to St. James, “The living Lamb of God is offered on the Altar.” In that of James Baradaëus, “We offer Himself (Thy Son) for us ;” and similar passages are found in that of John of Bassora, (650). Lastly, it is in a very late Syrian Liturgy attributed to one Gregory (1220), that the words “Adore the Word, the Lamb,” follow shortly after the consecration<sup>s</sup>.

There is, indeed, in the regular Syriac Liturgy, though not noticed by Muratori, one passage of awful tenor. It is, however, among the private prayers of the Priest before reception, and is probably as recent as it is exceptional. The first three of these prayers, as some in the Roman rite, are addressed to our

<sup>a</sup> Muratori, *ibid.*, p. 206. See Renaudot, *Lit. Or.*, tom. ii. p. 7. The next part of the Liturgy is called “*Canticum aliud*,” shewing that both features are mere *hymns*.

<sup>r</sup> St. James of Botna, who died A.D. 522, was so called.

<sup>s</sup> For these obscure Liturgies, see Neale, *Gen. Introd.*, pp. 326—331. They contain occasionally, though rarely, elements of some value.

Lord; a circumstance in itself very unusual, such prayers being generally addressed to the Father:—“Grant me, O Lord, to eat Thee holily;” “Grant, O Lord, our God, that our bodies may be sanctified by Thy holy Body, and our souls illumined with Thy propitious Blood.” But the last, to which I allude, actually addresses the Element of Bread as God in these words: “I hold Thee, Who containest the ends of the world; I have Thee in my hands Who rulest the deep; Thee, God, I place in my mouth<sup>t</sup>.” It would be contrary to the analogy of all other Liturgies to doubt that this passage is of comparatively late introduction, as great part of the Syriac Order confessedly is. And the like account is doubtless to be given of certain private prayers of the Priest found in the ancient English Uses<sup>u</sup>, similar to the first three here spoken of. The awful profanity of the last is happily unknown to them, and I believe to the rest of the Western Church.

And when we turn in the last place to inquire what the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers have left on record of their mind and practice in this particular point of adoration, what do we find?

Now, even had numerous passages been forthcoming in which they seemed to recognise proper adoration as due to the Elements or to the Presence of Christ through them, we should still have to measure and check such expressions by the confessed language and tenor of the Liturgies: so incredible is it, as has

<sup>t</sup> Ordo Communis Liturg. Syr., Renaudot, t. ii. p. 23. So too in a late Syrian form, named after St. Xystus, (i. e. Pope Sixtus,) of the seventh century: “Te gesto, Deus, in manibus meis.” *Ib.*, p. 141.

<sup>u</sup> Thus in the Sarum: “Deus Pater, qui unigenitum Tuum carnem sumere voluisti, *quam* ego indignus [but the Hereford has *quem*] hic in manibus teneo.” Maskell, pp. 118, 121.



been before remarked, that, as faithful sons of the Church, they would really desire to outrun and depart from her mind, however strongly they might express themselves. But the truth is, that there is little need to call in the aid of the Liturgies for this purpose. Out of the whole range of Patristic literature, but *four* passages, two from Greek, and two from Latin Fathers, are alleged in proof of their holding any such opinion. Here Muratori is once more a valuable, however reluctant, witness. In his work already referred to, in which he has adduced from ecclesiastical writers almost innumerable passages in proof that the Elements bore the titles of the Body and Blood of Christ, and were profoundly revered as such, he is unable to bring forward, in proof of their having been adored with Divine worship, more than the four passages<sup>x</sup> referred to. St. Ambrose<sup>y</sup> speaks of the Flesh of Christ “*quam hodie in mysteriis adoramus, et quam Apostoli in Domino Jesu adoraverunt.*” And St. Chrysostom<sup>z</sup> similarly: “The Magi adored Christ in the manger; but we see Him not in the manger, but on the altar, and should shew Him yet greater reverence.” The strength of these passages lies in the identification for purposes of worship (in the latter passage more especially) of That which is upon the altar, with the living Person of Christ in the days of His Flesh. Otherwise the mere use of the terms *προσκυβεῖν* and *adorare*, well known to be ambiguous, would be of no great weight. St. Augustine<sup>a</sup>, again, says, “*Ipsam carnem nobis manducan-*

<sup>x</sup> The same four passages are commonly alleged by other writers: as, e.g. Wilberforce, on the Eucharist, pp. 301—303.

<sup>y</sup> De Spiritu Sancti, iii. 11.

<sup>z</sup> Homil. 24, in 1 Cor.

<sup>a</sup> In Ps. xeviii. n. 9.

dam ad salutem dedit; nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit: . . . et non modo non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando.” And Theodoret<sup>b</sup>, “The holy things are adored, as being what they are made and believed to be.” It is worthy of remark, that St. Augustine connects the “adoration” of which he speaks with the prospect of *reception*; and may the rather on that account be understood in accordance with the Liturgies as above explained.

But it is plain that—few and scanty as they are at best, out of the immense mass of patristic writings—these passages, one and all, must, under the circumstances, be either taken in the lower sense of reverence, however intense, or be classed among those passages of the old writers in which the warm language of devotion outruns the strict limits of truth.

It has been said, indeed, with some plausibility, that they carry weight as seeming to describe, not a passing feeling towards the consecrated Elements, but a *habit* of actual and proper worship of them. But this, for reasons already set forth, is exactly what they cannot possibly be held to convey. We know with the utmost precision what was prescribed in the matter of worship by the Eucharistic Offices of the Churches to which these writers belonged, and that no such acts of worship of the Elements are in any way recognised by them. We are under the absolute necessity, therefore, of giving up this view of the pas-

<sup>b</sup> Theodoret, Dial. 2. Muratori alleges also a passage from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, but it is only to the effect that the elements are to be received in a posture of adoration: “bending and saying in the way of worship, Amen;” the significance of which the reader of these pages is now able to estimate.

sages: and it remains, that no feeling or practice beyond that of the deepest reverence can be grounded upon them. To build upon them anything further, is to represent these holy men of old time as teaching what the Church had never taught them, and to set the testimony of these few and equivocal passages against the tradition of the whole Church from the beginning.

And yet it is on the strength of these passages, and of them alone,—since no countenance for it can be found from any other source<sup>c</sup>—from either Scripture or liturgies, or the general consent of Fathers,—that the attempt is made by some in the present day to revive the practice, unheard of until the eleventh or the twelfth century, of making an intense act of worship consequent on the consecration of the Elements, and directed towards a peculiar Presence of Christ Himself supposed to be produced thereby. Nay, it is represented (as in the middle ages of the West) as one very principal purpose, if not the supreme purpose of the entire Rite, to produce such a Presence as an object for adoration. And Christian men are encouraged to resort to the sanctuary for the sole purpose of offering such worship, without intending to take any further part in the rite by communicating.

<sup>c</sup> A few passages are alleged from English Divines to the same effect: chiefly the well-known one of Andrewes, based upon the words of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. He adds, “Christ Himself, the inward part (*res*) of the Sacrament, is to be adored in and out of the Sacrament, or wherever He is.” “The King (James) laid down that Christ was truly present in the Sacrament, truly also to be adored.” But such expressions of opinion must stand or fall with the authorities to which they appeal. Andrewes’ Eucharistic *Devotions* are markedly devoid of any practical carrying out of the view ascribed to him on the strength of these words; which indeed are so general, as to prove very little.

With all respect for the zeal and the high Christian character of those who have espoused these views, but with the utmost solemnity, in the name of the Christian Faith, and of the whole undivided Church for the first thousand years of its existence, I would enter a most earnest protest against the re-introduction of novelties at once so groundless and so fatal. That they are groundless has been sufficiently demonstrated. That they are fatal to the purity of Christian faith and practice is no less certain. Not only did they form, as is undeniable, no part of that heritage of faith and practice which the Apostles delivered to the Church, but they amount to no less than an entire subversion of the Apostolic theory of Christian worship; for they transfer the Object of that worship from That Heaven of heavens in Which It was ever deemed, for purposes of worship, to be enthroned. And besides this they properly involve, however latently, a train of terrific consequences; and throw, as has been proved, the entire conception and idea of the Eucharist into hopeless confusion.

Is it too much to ask, in a matter of such importance, that those who have hitherto unreflectingly acquiesced in the view and practice of which I have been speaking, will reconsider their grounds for adopting them, and the position in which by persisting in them they will be placed? It has been here shewn that the Presence of Christ is not, and cannot be, the result of the consecration of the Elements, and is therefore not to be worshipped; it has been shewn that the Church throughout the world for the first thousand years did not, nor does more than one branch of it at the present day, either acknowledge or worship such a Presence. Are they prepared to persevere in the

promulgation of doctrines, as the ground of ritual actions (for the question is not so much of actions as of the doctrines involved,) of which they cannot possibly give any coherent account; which, however reverently intended, cannot consistently stop short of the highest irreverence, that of worshipping the Elements themselves, — confessedly an idolatrous action; and by which they impugn or jeopardy great articles of the Christian Faith, overthrow the confessed and proper constitution of the Eucharist, and run counter to the practice of the Catholic Church?

2. There is yet one other difficulty supposed to be involved in the ancient view of the Eucharist, which must be briefly noticed. It concerns the reception, by the wicked, of the consecrated Elements. It is thought that a view which represents the Things received as in themselves holy, previous to reception, and as identified, indeed, with certain Divine Realities, labours under the objection that those Divine Things are thereby exposed to awful profanation by unworthy reception; if, indeed, it does not introduce a real confusion into the world of moral and spiritual existence, by making the unholy partakers of the holy, while yet remaining in their unholiness still.

Now, about the general principle there is in reality no difficulty. That there is such a thing as “giving that which is holy unto dogs,” is plain, else would our Lord not have warned us against it. As little doubt is there that “that which is good may be made death unto us<sup>d</sup>,” in its effects. The holy ark which enshrined for Israel a Presence of sanctification and

<sup>d</sup> Rom. vii. 13.

health, wrought judgment and disease, as the effect of that Presence, in the country of the Philistines<sup>e</sup>: the manna, sought according to the commandment, was supernatural and angelic food; sought otherwise, it carried in it the seeds of corruption and death. And, to come nearer to our point, the Presence of Christ Himself in the Temple, in the days of His Flesh, was for judgment and scourging to the profane, no less than for healing to the blind and lame<sup>f</sup>, coming to Him in faith.

It is therefore perfectly conceivable and analogous that the Eucharistic gifts should be such external realities, that the reception of them should be a thing possible for the wicked, only not to their benefit, but to their injury. And St. Paul very plainly teaches that such is the case; that "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily" is not merely liable to, but actually "*eateth and drinketh,*" receiveth into him by these actions, "judgment unto himself." "He is guilty," he had said just before, "in the matter of" no less a Thing than "the Body and Blood of the Lord<sup>g</sup>." The things which he receives are such as to work judgment upon him.

And we seem to see somewhat into the reason of these fearful effects of unrighteous reception, when we consider what the Things received, by the hypothesis, are. God, we are told, "has committed all judgment unto the Son," not as He is in His Divine Nature, or as an attribute of His Eternal Sonship, but as Incarnate, and "because He is the Son of

<sup>e</sup> 1 Sam. v.

<sup>f</sup> St. Matt. xxi. 14, "And the blind and lame came to Him in the Temple, and He healed them."

<sup>g</sup> 1 Cor. xi.

Man<sup>b</sup>." One part of the reward or dower of His Incarnation was, that He should "be honoured" as the Judge of the world<sup>i</sup>. It is quite in accordance with this Economy, that the reception of His Flesh and Blood, the Parts and proofs of His Manhood, as sundered from His Soul in His awful Sacrifice, should in an especial degree, when received amiss, and in virtual rejection and scorn, work judgment on the receivers. Such rejection or light receiving of Him, as come in the Flesh, and as exhibited in the very act, as it were, of redeeming Love, might well be expected to be most deadly.

And let it be observed that the difficulty, if such there be, or the mysteriousness, of such a view, has been gratuitously enhanced by that false supposition concerning the Things received which has been dwelt on in the preceding pages. What the wicked receive, after all, is not "Christ," nor does St. Paul affirm it to be Christ, but the "Body and Blood of Christ;"—a circumstance, it may be, equally awful, but involving somewhat less of mystery, as regards the question before us, than the other position. Were the Elements actually Christ Himself,—Christ existing under those conditions in which He is the Sustenance of faithful men, it might be difficult to faith to conceive that the wicked soul should, even unto judgment, become the receptacle of so holy and so properly life-giving a Guest. But seeing that the thing received by manducation is not Christ Himself, but the Body of His Death, and the Blood of His Death, the different effect which that reception has

<sup>b</sup> St. John v. 22, 27.

<sup>i</sup> v. 23. "That all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father."

for the faithful and unfaithful is in a manner more conceivable. To the one it may well be a savour of death unto death, as to the other of life unto life. In the Person of Christ Himself, indeed, and so to them that are like-minded with Him, the infallible issue of that Death was Resurrection; yet not according to a necessary law, but to a law of holiness and promise. And where no such holiness is found, no such promise is pledged, but rather a "certain fearful judgment<sup>k</sup>."

I have only to add, first, with reference to the authority chiefly relied on in this question, that the same St. Augustine who is quoted as saying, that "who dwelleth not in Christ, without doubt doth neither eat His Flesh nor drink His Blood<sup>l</sup>," also says, "that was no less the Body and Blood of the Lord to those also to whom the Apostle says, 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself<sup>m</sup>.'" So that his view is, plainly, that the wicked receive the Body and Blood of Christ, only not to grace, but to condemnation.

And secondly, that the article of the English Church on the subject (the 29th), though in its title it affirms that "the wicked eat not the *Body* of the Lord;" yet in the text of the article itself, which is surely the

<sup>k</sup> "If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment. . . . Of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing." Heb. x. 27, 29. There is no question that a Eucharistic allusion runs through this passage from v. 19. See above, Part I., note B, p. 412.

<sup>l</sup> Homil. in Joh. vi. 5, 6, cited in Article XXIX.

<sup>m</sup> De Baptism. T. ix. p. 146.



binding form of it, it makes—which St. Augustine did not—the correct distinction above referred to, saying, that “the wicked, though they press with their teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of *Christ*.” This, whether or not an intended correction of the more loosely worded passage of St. Augustine, is a just distinction, and may well be taken as an index to the real animus of the article.

XV. The sections immediately preceding address themselves, for the most part, to the tone of mind which is disposed to press beyond its ordained limits the supranatural side of the Eucharistic Mystery; though they are at the same time adapted to allay the apprehensions of such as, through fear of consequences supposed to be involved in the ancient belief, shrink from entire and unreserved acceptance of it.

The writer, however, is well aware that the latter phase of error is that which, from various causes, has long prevailed most widely among the more imperfectly instructed members of the English Church, and which, beyond all others, needs to be refuted and removed at the present day. The tendency of the English branch of the Church since the revision of her Eucharistic formularies in 1549, has unquestionably been far less to “add” to the Eucharistic Mystery, than “to diminish from it<sup>n</sup>.”

From whence this has proceeded it is not difficult to discern. Not indeed from any real countenance to be found for such views in the language of Holy Scripture, or in the teaching of the early Church and the ancient writers, or in the historically ascertainable mind of the English Church as embodied in

<sup>n</sup> Deut. xii. 32, prefixed as a motto to this Introduction.

her formularies. It is not by an appeal to any one of these standards, or to all of them together, that the general mind of a Church and nation is, practically, in the first instance, formed; but by the tone which pervades, or seems to the uninstructed eye to pervade, the ritual and devotional form provided for their use. Thus there was little risk in the middle ages of the West, of the authority of the ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church, as witnesses to Catholic truth and expounders of it, falling below its due place; because their expositions were so largely embodied in the old ordinary Offices, and were in consequence so much relied on in the teaching of the clergy. So, again, as little danger is there now, in this country, of any lack of deference to the authority of Holy Scripture: and this not because the Articles of the English Church proclaim the paramount nature of that authority, but because Holy Scripture itself enters in such vast and commanding proportions into the structure of her Offices. And the same truth must hold, always and everywhere, in the matter of Eucharistic belief. As I have already had occasion more than once to point out, it is inconceivable that any other influence, or set of influences, in the world, than the presence and continual use of a soundly constituted Eucharistic ritual, could have maintained the Christian world for a thousand years in one uniform belief on this mysterious subject. It was their BOOKS OF DIVINE SERVICE, not the decrees of councils, (of which there were few, or none,) that held clergy and people alike to the one Faith. When *they* were tampered with, as in the West in the eleventh century, the faith, too, was changed as a matter of certain consequence. The Councils of Constance, of Florence,

and of Trent, did but register the results, already existing, of a necessary and universal law. When the Service-books, on the other hand, as in the East all along, were left untouched, dogmas might change, but the faith remained the same. The decrees of the Council of Bethlehem remain a dead letter to the present hour.

Now so it is, that from causes which have been traced in these pages, the revised Eucharistic Office of the English Church, more especially from the date of the Second Book of Edward VI., though of its mind and doctrine there is no question whatever, has confessedly laboured under a certain faintness as to the ritual expression of that mind and that doctrine. Even the First Book of Edward, while retaining most *clearly* the enunciation, in the ancient manner, of the true Eucharistic doctrine, both as to its sacramental and its sacrificial aspect; yet, by the withdrawal of some of the old terms and ceremonies, detracted not a little from the ancient *fulness* of expression upon these points. The whole question of ceremonies had indeed been long and anxiously debated; and it may be that the retention of more would have imperilled the great purpose of the Revision<sup>n</sup>. The meaning of some of them was also at that day entirely unknown, for want of exact acquaintance with the corresponding Eastern rites, by which they are explained. But of the effect of so large a reduction of the ceremonial, in diminishing the ancient intensity of reverential expression towards the entire Eucharistic Action, there can be no doubt. The Second Book of Edward, whether unavoidably or not,—a point of which, at the present day, we are but imperfect judges,—only accom-

▪ See the document "Of Ceremonies" prefixed to the Prayer-book.

plished the Titanic labour of rooting up the inveterate error of five centuries as to the elemental substances, by yet further cession of the old Eucharistic language and action. The roots of Eucharistic truth were doubtless, in that great concussion, shaken also: and the recal, in subsequent Revisions, of the older language, though strengthening as far as it went, yet left, after all, a growth rather sound than strong, and such as had the appearance, at least, of giving shelter to defective views concerning the mystery.

The consequences have been such as might have been apprehended. While there have never been wanting those to whom the Communion Office of the English Church was all that the ancient Offices were to them of old time, and who have realized the full possession, through its means, of the whole body of Eucharistic truth; with others,—indeed, it must be said, with the mass of her children,—it has at times at least been otherwise. Her Office has proved to have rather a capacity for nurturing entire soundness of faith and practice, than an inevitable tendency to do so. The English Church at her Revision succeeded in securing the truth; but she did not succeed in securing herself against the presence within her pale of those who were in error. Her doctrinal position is properly unexceptionable; but her enunciation of it is not such as absolutely to throw off those who, entertaining a different mind, imagine they can reconcile that mind with the use of her formularies. That the English Church is designedly comprehensive, to the extent of both affirming and denying, or of neither affirming nor denying, that the Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ, is absolutely untrue. Traced historically, or examined gram-

matically, her formularies yield a clear affirmation of that point. But it *is* true that those who deny it find little difficulty in persuading themselves that their position as her professed members is tenable.

There are indeed limits to the strain which can be put upon her language and her rites, even in the hands of the most ingenious. Of the three leading varieties of Eucharistic error<sup>o</sup>, which were espoused by large bodies of Christians on the Continent in the sixteenth century, and which include all others, one only can, by any possibility or show of reason, be reconciled with membership in the English Church. The Lutheran view is, indeed, so far forth in harmony with the English, that it distinctly recognises the unreceived Elements as the Body and Blood of Christ. Its witness on this point is not without peculiar value. But that feature of Lutheranism, according to which the consecrated Elements "have no other efficacy than as a picture to confirm faith," is clearly contradicted by such expressions as "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful;" and by the assertion that, as a consequence of reception, "we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us." The Zuinglian opinion, which refuses to recognise the consecrated things as the medium, in any sense, of any benefit whatsoever, is yet more diametrically and hopelessly at variance with the English formularies. It can only be from a want either of consideration, of intelligence, or of honesty, that any one holding this opinion can continue a member of the English Church.

But the Calvinistic view, according to which the consecrated Elements are in virtue, and on reception,

<sup>o</sup> See above, p. 67.

the Body and Blood of Christ, so that they who receive them aright receive That Body and Blood; but which refuses to identify them therewith previous to reception:—this view (setting aside the question of particular election) has all along found favour in the eyes of members of the English Church, and makes some show of being compatible with her formularies, or is even proclaimed as the designed and exclusive sense of them. Its peculiar strength, and its attractiveness for the English mind, probably lies in the exalted office which it ascribes to faith; which is not merely that of accepting the consecrated Things for what Christ declared them to be, (which should seem to be the proper business of faith,) but of actually making them to be what they are. According to this view, the effect of contact with the believer's faith on reception is, to turn that which till then was nothing but the merest earthly element, into the very Body and Blood of Christ, or, however, to cause the simultaneous Presence of Them;—an act surely of equal power and pretensions with that of consecration by an appointed Order of persons, only ascribed to a less likely operation,—to the faith of man, not to the Word of Christ, or the operation of the Holy Ghost.

This view has the further recommendation for some minds, of seeming to diminish the mysteriousness and awfulness of the Eucharist, and of removing to an infinite distance (which it unquestionably does) the possibility of idolatrous or excessive regard being paid to the Elements; while yet it refuses not to view them, in consideration of their exalted spiritual functions, with a certain reverential feeling. It also falls in very peculiarly with the too prevalent view, of Christianity being *purely*—what, no doubt, it is *em-*

*phatically* — a *spiritual* religion: in other words, with that excessive spiritualism which ignores the earthly side of man's being, and the sanctification both of that and of all other material existences by the Incarnation of Christ.

Nor is it to be denied that the Calvinistic conception of the Eucharist has its element of truth. Considered merely as a negation of that against which it rose up, it was not without a cause. Though it failed to embody a truth, it pointed to one, and felt, though blindly, after it. It found the Western world possessed by a belief, that between the Elements received and unreceived, — between That which lies upon the altar after consecration, and That which dwells in the faithful soul after reception, — there is absolutely no difference; that as the one is Christ, so is the other Christ, — Christ in the entirety of His Person, God and Man. In protesting against this, Calvinism had a righteous cause, and spoke the mind of the undivided Church. Unhappily, the truth to be reinstated was less clearly discerned than the error to be dethroned. Instead of the Elements, received or unreceived, being recognised in the ancient manner as the Body and Blood of Christ, and no less, though no more; reserving as the sufficient privilege of faith, and of the rational and spiritual soul of man, the gracious Indwelling, through reception, of Christ Himself: the Elements were affirmed to be, except as received, *nothing*.

Neither, once more, would the Calvinistic view, really and honestly held, seem other than a noble faith, were there not a yet nobler, which is displaced by it. To believe with any reality that “the glorified Humanity of Christ, though locally absent, is vir-

tually and in effect communicated for the sustenance of the faithful simultaneously with the participation of the outward elements<sup>p</sup> ;” or yet more, to believe that “the Body and Blood of Christ are *verily and indeed taken and received* by the faithful,” (which is of necessity professed by members of the English Church, at any rate,) :—this is no mean act of faith. Only it is to be feared, that too often, as professed by the English mind at the present day, it is but a cloak for the absence of belief in any real communication of the Humanity of Christ, or of His Body and Blood, at all ; the convenient refuge of a vague and untheological pietism ; an index of the merest Zuinglianism, that is, of utter dissent from the language of the English Church, on the lowest interpretation of it.

But after all, even when held ever so sincerely and *boná fide*, it is much to be remarked that this view—the ‘simultaneous’ view, so to call it—does not in reality, as has been already implied, possess the advantages, for the sake of which it is perhaps chiefly taken refuge in. It is to the full as mysterious and wonderful, for aught that appears, that the Body and Blood of Christ, under a condition adapted for the sustenance of the human soul (which both sides hold in common) should, on the performance of a given act, (that of reception of bread and wine in a certain frame of mind,) be immediately present to and enter into the soul of man, effectually uniting him to Christ, and making Christ to dwell in Him, as that That Body and Blood, under the said condition, should be present on consecration, with the same results of reception guaranteed. He who has faith enough really to hold the one, has faith enough to hold the other.

<sup>p</sup> Helvetic Confession, Art. 36, as above, p. 67, note y.



And then there is, after all, in this faith, a certain unworthiness, so to speak, of the great Christian scheme. The design of the Incarnation was manifestly to sanctify anew the world which God had made, and which sin had defiled. The great and arresting demand which Christianity makes upon man, is to believe that God has done this. "To believe that Jesus Christ<sup>a</sup> was come *in the Flesh*," that "that which they looked upon and handled" was the "Incarnate Word of Life," was the form in which this demand was cast for the Apostles and first Disciples of Christ. And the same demand, in principle, was proclaimed to be a test of Christian belief by the Apostle who "leaned on His breast at supper." For the Christian world ever since, the form which that demand has taken is, peculiarly and supremely, no other than that of the two great Sacraments of the Gospel. The material element, the dust of our original formation, was so consecrated by the Holy Ghost as to become the Human Body of Christ. Christ in turn, consecrated, by His Word and Holy Spirit, certain of the elements to be means of union to Him; water to be the medium, by outward application, of incorporation into His Body; Bread and Wine, more marvellously still, *to be* His Body and Blood, *and* the medium, by inward reception, of participation in His sacrificial Death, His glorious and acceptable Priesthood. There was thus, as might have been expected, a progression in the demand made upon faith in the two Sacraments respectively; a nearer approach, in

<sup>a</sup> 1 St. John iv. 2. See a striking Sermon on this text in the Rev. T. Chamberlain's valuable and suggestive volume, "The Theory of Christian Worship;" a work to which I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations.

the second and more awful and mysterious one, to that which was made upon those who "saw Jesus Christ in the Flesh." One or both of these tests of their Christian faith, left doubtless by our Lord as such tests<sup>r</sup>, do they reject, who ignore the real sanctification of the creature in one or both Sacraments. And not a few who fully recognise in the Element of Water a *medium*, channel, or instrument of union to Christ's Body, start back from the no less certain affirmation of Scripture that the consecrated Elements of Bread and Wine *are* the Body and Blood of Christ, and *as such* a medium of union to His Sacrifice of Himself.

It might be further pointed out, that this doctrine is more closely akin, than would appear at first sight, to that of the annihilation of the Elements, and of Transubstantiation. Though setting out from different points, and with different motives, both views alike deny the ancient belief that God has elevated and sanctified the elements into a mysterious identity with the Body and Blood of Christ; not destroyed them, as the one party insists, nor yet done no work of grace upon them, as the other. And both alike, by evacuating the Christian Economy of this resplendent feature of it, disallow the undoubted powers, and narrow the ordained range, of the Incarnation.

<sup>r</sup> Comp. 1 St. John v. 6, 8, "This is He that came by *water* and *blood*, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood....And there are three that bear witness upon earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the Blood." This comes immediately after the laying down, as the test of Christian faith, the belief "that Jesus is the Son of God," (ver. 5,) or "Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh," iv. 2, 3; and is apparently, or even manifestly, a further unfolding of the manner in which the test is applied, viz. through the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist.

But the crowning and fatal objection to this doctrine remains to be stated. The question concerning it is not whether it has, or has not, this or that recommendation,—such as avoiding peril of idolatry, or reducing the startling and mysterious aspect of the Eucharist; not, whether it has, or has not, honestly held, some noble elements in it: but simply whether it be that which Christ delivered to His Apostles, and they to the Church. Now about this there is not the smallest doubt. The doctrine, however Christian a face it may wear, was simply *invented by Calvin three hundred years ago*, as demonstrably as the doctrine of annihilation was invented by the Western Church five hundred years earlier. This is as certain as that the sun is in the heavens. It is not difficult merely, but absolutely impossible, to reconcile these views with the language of Scripture taken in its plain meaning, or with the contents of the Liturgies or ecclesiastical writers. That language was never<sup>s</sup> so interpreted before Calvin's time; nor can it without the utmost violence be so interpreted now<sup>t</sup>. It may be affirmed, though I do not know that it is<sup>u</sup>, that the Liturgies have been tampered with, and those

• Whoever desires to be convinced of this, need only glance through L'Arroque's History of the Eucharist, so often referred to in these pages. As a Calvinist, he endeavours to make the best of the testimony of the Fathers. But the only argument by which he is able to dispose of their confessed assertions that the Elements are Christ's Body and Blood in truth, and not merely in virtue, is that they elsewhere say (which he proves abundantly, Pt. II., ch. ii.) that they are Bread and Wine; positions which he conceives to be incompatible. (See *Ib.*, chap. iii. p. 219, &c.) His view is, that all expressions of the former class are figurative.

<sup>s</sup> See above, pp. 17—19.

<sup>t</sup> L'Arroque, as above, *Hist.*, Pt. I. ch. vii., quotes the Liturgies as genuine.

writers deceived thereby : but unless the whole structure of each of the independent rites has been absolutely taken to pieces, and that at a very early period, and the significance of their every line reversed, it must be acknowledged that the doctrine of the Elements being, independently of reception, the Body and Blood of Christ, is their unwavering and unanimous testimony \*.

And the matter of the appeal to antiquity, as concerns the Roman and the Calvinistic view of the Eucharist, stands thus. That the ancient Church for a thousand years gave no countenance to the doctrine of annihilation, though capable of being amply proved, is far from obvious at first sight, because of the great predominance of warm and unreserved recognition of the Elements in their supranatural character. But this very circumstance shews the hopelessness of proving the Calvinistic position. In a word, *the weight of ancient testimony, which breaks the Roman theory in pieces, crushes the Calvinistic to powder.*

2. There is, however, one stronghold of this doctrine, to which the English mind has for the last two centuries been not unnaturally prone to betake itself, in default of other and more ancient authority.

The Calvinistic view of the Eucharist, it is generally conceived, (and to a certain extent truly,) boasts an illustrious advocate in the person of HOOKER. And it is probable that to his advocacy, real or supposed, more than to any other single cause, is to be attributed the hold which this doctrine possesses upon the mind of the present day. What Hooker believed, most men are content to believe likewise.

\* See above, p. 179.

Before proceeding briefly to examine what it was that this great divine held, and on what grounds he held it, let it be remarked that, as we have already seen reason, with reference to a single point of Eucharistic doctrine, for saying less than Andrewes, so we are not to be afraid, if the truth so require, of believing more even than Hooker.

Now, in the first place, there are two notes of difference which widely separate Hooker's view <sup>v</sup>, taken as a whole, from that of Calvin. He acquiesces, indeed, in the same conclusion,—that “the parts of this Sacrament are Christ's Body and Blood, for that they are so to us who, receiving them, receive That by them which they are termed.” But, first, as to whether the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood is or is not to be sought for in the unreceived Elements, he professes to leave *an open question* <sup>z</sup>. But next, to what power did he attribute it, that the received Elements were the Body and Blood of Christ? Not, as Calvin <sup>a</sup>, to the faith of the receiver; but to the consecration of them by a duly ordained priesthood. “The power of the Ministry of God . . . bringeth God Himself down from heaven: *by blessing visible elements*, it maketh them invisible grace; it *hath to dispose of* that Flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that Blood which was poured out to redeem souls.” And,

<sup>v</sup> Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, V. lxxvii. Compare ch. lxxvii. 1, 2.

<sup>z</sup> *Ib.*, sect. 5, 6, Keble's edition.

<sup>a</sup> This was the very essence of Calvin's system,—to “reject the traditional doctrine of the priesthood altogether. The difficulty was, how to ensure the promised grace attached to the sacraments. To obviate this, he conceived and taught that the faith of the receiver, not the act of consecration, is the cause of grace in the sacraments. Thus he constituted every man his own priest.” See the Rev. T. T. Carter's admirable volume, “The Doctrine of the Priesthood in the Church of England,” ch. iv. (Masters, 1857.)

again, "To whom (the clergy) Christ hath imparted power over that mystical Body which is the society of souls, *and over that natural, which is Himself*, for the knitting of both in one; a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christ's Body <sup>b</sup>."

These statements (which it is to be hoped will be allowed their due place by those who rest their Eucharistic faith implicitly on the authority of Hooker) would seem to shew that his view—for he has nowhere put it together as a whole—was that a kind of *grant* was made to the elements by consecration, in virtue of which they, on reception, ensured to the receiver Christ's Body and Blood: their condition, till then, being unknown and unimportant.

But how was Hooker induced to adopt his conclusion from premises so different from those on which a similar one was based by others? It is clear from his own words that it was as a kind of concordat or pacification; as a point up to which, all parties, he imagined, were agreed, and which he persuaded himself, not without some balancing and hesitation <sup>c</sup>, was all that was necessary. Surveying the several views of the Roman Church, of Luther and of Calvin, (that of Zuinglius he conceived to be identical with Calvin's,) he found, or imagined, that all were agreed that the Body and Blood of Christ, and the whole Person of Christ, are imparted to the faithful receiver <sup>d</sup>. And taking this to be the one great purpose of the

<sup>b</sup> V. lxxvii. 1, 2.

<sup>c</sup> "But seeing that by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown, for aught I can see, on all sides at length, to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material . . . consider by itself what cause why the rest in question should not be rather left as superfluous than urged as necessary." V. lxxvii. 7.

<sup>d</sup> lxxvii. 6—11.

Eucharist, as it is doubtless a very principal<sup>e</sup> one, namely, to nourish the being of man by the reception of Christ; he conceived, in evil hour, the idea of ignoring<sup>f</sup>, as unimportant, the condition of the elements previously to the moment of reception. Well might his opponents rejoin, that the English Church did not consider it a matter so indifferent; as appeared by her speaking of Transubstantiation as “overturning the nature of the Sacrament<sup>g</sup>.” But it is plain, that in his eager desire to find a common standing-ground for all parties, he shut his eyes to the importance which necessarily attaches, as is proved by the whole history of the Church, to right conceptions of the effects of consecration. Neither did he, after all, succeed in maintaining in his own person the negative and uninquiring position which he advocated. To be consistent, he ought to have offered no opinion, nor laid down any position, as to whether the Elements were or were not, before reception, the Body and Blood of Christ. Whereas he proceeded to affirm, and to argue for, the *negative*, that That Presence “*is not to be sought for in the Sacrament.*”

It further appears from Hooker’s language, that he was not aware of the important distinction to be maintained in accordance with all antiquity; namely, that the Presence which is connected with the Elements,

<sup>e</sup> For proof that it is not the only one, see above, Part I. ch. ii. sect. 2.

<sup>f</sup> “The fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of Christ . . . Sith we all agree that by the Sacrament Christ doth really perform His promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether . . . the Sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ, or no? *a thing which nothing can either further or hinder us, howsoever it stand.*” *Ib.*, sect. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Christian Letter, quoted in Keble’s note.

or by consecration, is that of the Body and Blood of Christ, and no more; while to the faithful receiver it is That of Christ Himself that is imparted.

Let us look, again, at the arguments from Scripture upon which he relies. "With this," he says, "the very order of Scripture agreeth; first, 'take and eat;' then 'This is My Body which is broken for you:' first 'Drink ye all of this;' then followeth, 'this is My Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His Body, or the Cup His Blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him that receiveth them." He relies, that is, on the *order* of our Lord's address, as absolutely determinative of the sense in which the second member of it is to be interpreted, and as sufficient to set aside the literal and unqualified, in favour of the improper and restrained, sense of it;—a slender presumption or impression, indeed, to bear the stress of so weighty a conclusion. And it is the more surprising that he should attach<sup>h</sup> such importance to it, since, on examination of the four accounts of the Institution, the order thus insisted on is by no means found to pervade all of them. In one, the giving of the Bread, in another that of the Cup, *precedes*<sup>i</sup> the information given as to the intent of the action; in one<sup>k</sup> of them no instruction is re-

<sup>h</sup> Not that it is an argument of Hooker's own devising: it had been used by Cranmer in defence of his later views of the Eucharist. See his "Responsio" at the disputation at Oxford, April 10th, 1554.

<sup>i</sup> St. Luke xxii. 19, "This is My Body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me." 1 Cor. xi. 25, "This cup is the New Testament in My Blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me."

<sup>k</sup> St. Luke xxii. 20.



corded as to the Cup, either before or after. It is impossible to found any argument on so slenderly supported an allegation. And the impression which the address conveys is, in reality, on a full consideration of the whole of it, (Hooker quotes but a part,) the very contrary of that which he would have us derive from it. The obvious sense is, that That which Christ had taken, and blessed, and which He now desired them to eat and drink, declaring It to be His Body and Blood, was *therefore* to be eaten and drunk, because It was already such. And it may further be safely asked whether, since the world began, any food was ever heard of which only became food at the moment when it was to be received, and with an absolute dependence on such reception as about to ensue? And if not, could the Apostles possibly conceive anything else from our Lord's words, than that what He was giving them was Heavenly Food already?

And here Hooker's own famous and weighty canon of Scripture interpretation comes in with telling force against him. "I hold it," says he, "for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that *where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst.* There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchemy doth or would the substance of metals, making of everything what it listeth, and bringing in the end all truth to nothing. Or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise, yet *in places which usually serve to be alleged for grounds and principles, less is permitted.*"

Another argument alleged by Hooker is this: "If on all sides it be confessed that by water we receive

the grace of Baptism, though it be neither seated in the water nor the water changed into it, what should induce men to think that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist before it can be in us that receive it?" This question has already been answered by anticipation. The answer simply is, that it is nowhere said that the Water in Baptism is the Holy Spirit; whereas it is distinctly said that the Bread and Wine are the broken and poured out Body and Blood of Christ. And on this is founded the difference of form and character between the two Sacraments.

Hooker's last argument is, that St. Paul interprets our Lord's words as signifying "The Communion of My Body," "The Communion of My Blood." But he has failed to notice that St. Paul does not say,— "The Bread which we *eat*, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" but "The Bread which we *break*," "the Cup which we *bless*:" thus clearly declaring the act of consecration to impart to the elements then and there whatever of grace or new character they possess.

Surely, then, seeing that Hooker thus inconclusively, and, on his own shewing, thus inadmissibly, argues; seeing that, without offering to harmonize its parts, he presents us with a Eucharistic theory "part of iron and part of clay," the old belief in a Eucharistic blessing incongruously matched with Calvin's 'simultaneous' theory of yesterday; seeing, finally, that all this is done under the visible influence of a desire to heal the dissensions of Christendom:—we can be at no loss what value to set upon this particular determination of our great and philosophic Divine. This great Master may be easily bound with his own spells.

We may safely appeal from Hooker seeking for peace, to Hooker asking after truth; from the heart of the man yearning over the divisions of Christendom, to the testimony of the faithful Priest and Doctor of the Church, handing on the traditions of Catholic Christianity.

And the truth is—with all respect for so great a name be it spoken—that the subject of the Holy Eucharist had not been mastered by Hooker in all its bearings: as clearly appears from his attaching little importance to it in its oblationary or sacrificial character; for which he is taken to task even by so moderate a writer as Waterland<sup>1</sup>. Had he been more fully acquainted with this side of the subject, more especially as it is presented in the Liturgies, he must have acknowledged the necessity of holding to the ancient views and language as to the consecrated but as yet unreceived Elements.

Lastly, the view now under consideration finds no real countenance in the formularies of the English Church. Of this a sufficient demonstration, perhaps, has been given in the historical examination of them made in the course of these pages. Even the Second Book of Edward VI., since it recognised the doctrines of the First, cannot be successfully appealed to: and subsequent Revisions did but bring out these doctrines with more distinctness. This is beginning to be ad-

<sup>1</sup> "The Fathers call usually the ministry of the Gospel Priesthood in regard of that which the Gospel hath *proportionable* to ancient sacrifices, namely, the Communion of the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it have properly now no sacrifice." (See Notes to Keble's Hooker, V. lxxviii. 3.) These words do not absolutely exclude the view of the Eucharist being a sacrifice, as Waterland admits; though he rightly says, "I commend not such new language: the Fathers never used it."

mitted<sup>m</sup> by the more intelligent and candid upholders of the Calvinistic theory.

XVI. The fact, however, that such a view should, in any quarter, however untruly, have been deemed compatible with the English formularies,—with her Communion Office more especially,—points out not obscurely what is the *exact* need of the English Church as concerns the setting forth and upholding of the Eucharistic Mystery.

It has appeared, on carefully comparing the positions maintained by her, with those of the ancient Church for a thousand years, that no departure from the true standard, either in the way of defect or excess, can properly be charged upon her. She holds, as the ancient Church throughout the world ever did, that the Eucharistic Elements, on consecration, are the Body and Blood of Christ; yet still, as did the Church for a thousand years, that they remain nevertheless true Bread and Wine. She does *not* hold, as neither did the Church of old, that the Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ in Their natural condition, but in one altogether inconceivable, spiritual, and heavenly; nor yet that the Elements are annihilated or lose any natural property, but only that they are exalted above their natural condition.—She holds, as the Church has ever done, that on the reception of the consecrated Elements by faithful men, not only are the Body and Blood of Christ received, but Christ Himself in His entire Person, God and Man, enters into them and dwells in them. She does *not* believe, as neither did the Church for a thousand

<sup>m</sup> See more especially the ablest work which has appeared on that side of the question, “Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance.” By J. C. Fisher, M.A. (1857.)

years, the elements themselves to be by consecration made *more* than the Body and Blood of Christ ; that the Human Soul<sup>n</sup> of Christ is made present by consecration, and consequently His entire and living Person in Body, Soul, and Divinity.—She holds with the Church, that Christ by His Divinity is mysteriously present, according to His promise, as at all other ordinances of the Church, so especially at the celebration of the Holy Communion, ministering by the hands of the clergy, and abiding in the midst of His people gathered together with them in His Name. She does *not* believe, as neither did the ancient Church, that He is present, in virtue of the consecration of the Elements, as an object of Divine worship, to be then and there directed to Him as so present ; but that, profoundly revered as present for the purposes aforesaid, it is as in Heaven, and as in Heaven alone, that He is to be worshipped.—She believes with the whole Church, that the Elements are to be profoundly and intensely revered as the Body and Blood of Christ. She does *not* believe that either as being such, or on any other grounds, they are to be worshipped with proper adoration.

And as she thus holds neither less nor more than was held by the Church of old, so neither does she upon any false premises base any novel practice. She directs no act of worship towards any other Object or Place than towards God and Christ in Heaven ; she makes not that act to be solitary which Christ ordained to be social ; nor of Christ's 'Two awful

<sup>n</sup> It is very remarkable that the Revisers of the Office were preserved from confirming this erroneous statement of the middle ages ; since it is improbable that they had any very clear perception of its fatal character.

Eucharistic Gifts takes away One; nor calls that a Sacrifice in which men are not made partakers of the Altar. And in all this she is perfectly at one with herself; no proper contradiction between her doctrines and her ritual practices, or between one of her Eucharistic dogmas and another, can be pointed out. All this has been clearly and historically established.

With the exception of one or two bodies in the East, there is not a Church in the world that can say as much. The Greek Church has indeed a noble and pure, and perfectly expressive ritual; but her dogmatic code is disfigured by decrees, of however late introduction, absolutely irreconcilable with her ancient and unchanged Liturgy. The Roman Church, it has been abundantly shewn, besides the utter contrariety of her doctrines and practices to those of the ancient Church, is absolutely irreconcilable with herself. Her dogmas contradict one another, her Eucharistic theory is a tangled skein of contradictions. She has utterly failed to harmonize the system of doctrine she has elaborated, or to justify her portentous departures from the ancient Eucharistic practice. The two doctrines in particular, by which she has revolutionized the Church's ancient system,—namely, the claim of Divine worship for the Elements, and the withdrawal of the Cup from the laity,—both alike rest on what are even by her own shewing pure and intolerable fictions, not merely unknown to the ancient Church, but incapable of being intelligibly held; those fictions being, that by the consecration the elements are destroyed, and that the Human Soul and the entire Person of Christ are substituted in their stead.

No such corruptions or contradictions are charge-

able upon the English Church. But it is plain that her formularies are not so clearly *didactic* as to that Eucharistic Presence which she certainly intended to recognise, as to have precluded hitherto the possibility of their being taken in another sense. It is true that as the Eucharistic question itself, and the historically ascertained *animus* of these formularies, come to be better apprehended, a juster conception of her doctrine must be continually on the increase; and that the erroneous one is even now all but intellectually extinct. But, from causes already pointed out, her real mind in these respects has need to be written yet more legibly, and beyond all possibility of mistake, in her form of ritual administration, if she is to win the generality of her children to a universal and habitual conformity, through her nurture, with the ancient mind of the Church Universal concerning the higher and supranatural side of the Eucharistic Mystery.





## MONITUM.

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IN bringing this work to a conclusion, the writer has to express his regret that a period of seven years should have elapsed between the publication of the First and the completion of the Second Volume. He ventures to hope, however, that the circumstances, which have retarded his labours, have tended to mature the fruits of them, and to render the present volume in some degree less unworthy of its great subject. It was perhaps not unfitting that a treatise designed to unfold, both theoretically and for practical use, the nature of our Offices of Public Worship, should, though begun in the comparative leisure of a Collegiate Institution, be completed amidst the ministerial and eucharistic cares of an English Parish.

In the first chapter of this Part, the basis of an inquiry into the true nature of the Holy Eucharist is laid in a careful exegesis of so much of the OLD TESTAMENT as bears upon the subject of SACRIFICE: it being manifest, that to ascertain the true relation of that Ordinance to the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, were to solve all principal questions relating to it. And it is shewn, that such an exegesis tends to bear out, in every particular, the ancient ecclesiastical conception of the Rite, as embodied for us in the early writers and Liturgies. Some apology is perhaps due for the length to which this chapter has reached: but

the importance of the subject, and the widely prevailing misconceptions respecting it, forbade a less extended treatment. Of the real nature of the Mosaic sacrificial scheme in particular, it is not too much to say that no writer, English or German, however laborious, from Mede, Outram, and Patrick, to Magee, Hengstenberg, and Bähr, seems to have formed even the most remotely just apprehension.

In the second chapter attention is drawn to two new and hitherto unexplored sources of liturgical illustration. First, the general form or outline common to all Liturgies or Communion Offices is traced—it is hoped convincingly—to a reverent following on the part of the Church of the entire course of events at the Last Supper, as detailed in the combined Evangelical narrative; and again, that course of events itself, so far as it was directly ritual, is shewn to have taken for its immediate basis not (as is commonly supposed) the annual Passover Service, but certain rites of the Jewish household and synagogue, observed in weekly memorial of the great national Redemption. Great assistance is obtained from these two sources in ascertaining the theoretical structure and practical design of all Eucharistic Service.

In the third chapter, the descent and history of the English Communion Office are traced out. It is shewn that a very serious change took place more or less in the *order* of all liturgies in the course of the second century; affecting, however, those of the West in a secondary degree only: and that both this disturbance, and others which the Roman, and through it the English Rite, subsequently underwent, were

(incidentally in a measure) remedied at the Revision of the sixteenth century. The result is, that the existing English Rite, though in some points less expressive than could be desired, is in point of order more exactly conformable than any other in the world to what seems to have been the primitive and Apostolic model.

In the fourth chapter, our existing Communion Office is viewed by the light of the previous investigations. Its continuity and oneness with the earlier forms is fully demonstrated: and the old sacrificial and liturgical principles are applied both to elucidate its structure, and to furnish practical suggestions as to the manner of taking part in it.

The entire work, with all its manifold imperfections, of which the writer is deeply sensible, is now humbly commended, not without anxiety, to the indulgent consideration of the Church of this country.

It only remains for him to record his most grateful acknowledgments to those who have in various ways assisted and encouraged him in the prosecution of his work. More especially to his early friend and *alumnus*, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., D.C.L., for the suggestion<sup>a</sup> of trains of thought here followed out, for the loan of ritual books, and much other valuable intercourse. To the Hon. G. F. Boyle, for similar assistance, and for the shelter afforded by his noble Collegiate Institution in the Isle of Cumbrae, Scotland, during the earlier stage of the work. Lastly, to the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of

<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 160.

Exeter, for many unsolicited and undeserved kindnesses, by which he has marked his favourable estimate of the endeavour here made, after his example, to clear for the English Church her ritual and sacramental position. The sense of that kindness has, next to the hope of doing good service to the Church, mainly upheld and encouraged the writer in the *labor improbus* of completing his undertaking.

May it tend to the glory of Almighty God, by the promotion of His truth, and of His true and pure worship among us.

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The following prayer, adopted from a predecessor in ritual studies, may best serve for a Dedication to this volume, and to the labours of fifteen years:—

“Dico Tibi et consecro opera mea, PONTIFEX SEMPITERNE, qui discessurus de hoc mundo ad Patrem, factus Sacerdos tuæ victimæ, et victima tui Sacerdotii, Corporis et Sanguinis Tui admirabile mysterium instituisti. Tuo fulgore, quemadmodum spero, illustratus, has rerum Liturgicarum disquisitiones aggressus sum, priscos Ecclesiæ Ritus perlustrans, quantum Tu posse dedisti, de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt. Intravi ubi aperuisti, asserendo et defendendo quæ certa sunt, incerta verò et occulta sollicitè exquirendo, donec Tu, qui hominem doces scientiam, latentem veritatem servis Tuis manifestes. Tuum nunc est hunc qualemcunque laborem benigno favore prosequi; ut Fideles Tui, ad quorum manus pervenerit, tantum mysterium impensius colant, et profectu accrescente frequentent: reliqui verò, qui erroribus adhæserunt, auspice Te, reducantur in viam à quâ infelicitè aberrârunt. Hoc votum meum est in Te et per Te, Jesu Christe Redemptor mundi, qui omnium desideriorum meorum scopus et meta es, et merces mea magna nimis. Amen.”

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# THE PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE.

## PART II.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### ON THE THEORY OF THE CHURCH'S EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP.

##### SECTION I.

It is difficult to imagine that anything can more nearly concern the well-being of the CHURCH of God, than that her members, in every age, should conceive aright of her highest act of Divine Worship and Communion, the HOLY EUCHARIST. To bring about such a result, or in any degree to contribute to it, no labour ought to be deemed too great; no research, especially into the mine of HOLY SCRIPTURE, too profound or extensive. "To seek" *there* "for knowledge" on this great subject, "as for silver, and to search for it as for hid treasures," is surely the dictate alike of piety and of wisdom.

Yet so it is, that, whether through despair of mastering a department of Scriptural study confessedly requiring much patient attention, or from not being duly alive to its paramount importance as a source of information, those who, in the later ages of the Church, have treated of Eucharistic questions, have left one vast and rich vein of Eucharistic lore but very imperfectly and superficially investigated.

I speak of the Scriptures of the OLD TESTAMENT,

considered as a record of religious, and specially of *sacrificial* ordinance, previous to the Coming of Christ.

Nothing is more common than to find, on the one hand, works treating expressly of the Holy Eucharist, which yet make either no enquiry at all, or enquiry of the most slender and partial kind, into the constitution of the old sacrificial system; or on the other hand, treatises on the old sacrifices, and their relation to Christianity, nearly or even totally devoid of any reference to the Eucharist. Whereas it may safely be affirmed that,—whatever else may be necessary to sound Eucharistic knowledge, as the study of the New Testament, of the Liturgies and ecclesiastical writers,—one thing there is which is necessarily presupposed in all recourse that may be had to those honoured sources of information: namely, a correct and thorough acquaintance with the ancient system of pre-evangelic SACRIFICE. And conversely, we are absolutely precluded from acquiescing in any view of the old sacrificial system, which fails to assign to it a most important bearing on the interpretation of the Eucharist. If it be asked, Why? I answer, Simply because it was on the vantage-ground of their nurture under that system that the Apostles and first Christians stood, when they received the Eucharistic Institution: thence, and thence only, proceeded their capacity for comprehending so much as the very terms of it.

That such was the case is manifest on the slightest consideration.

In the first place, the language of our Blessed Lord, on that occasion, plainly remanded them to the ancient sacrificial system for the elucidation of His meaning.

This is, as regards one clause at least of the Institution, perfectly indisputable. The words "This is My *Blood* of the *New Testament* (or Dispensation) which is *shed for you*," are incapable of any other interpretation. Questions might indeed arise as to the force of the second word in the sentence;—as to the relation here declared to exist between the Element and the Blood of Christ. But nothing can be more certain than the two following positions:—

1. That the term "*New Dispensation*" is a term relative and retrospective. And moreover, that by this expression, (since no further explanation is vouchsafed,) the character of the New Ordinance and Economy thus announced was made to rest on the known character of some previous and obviously parallel system.

2. That the words "My Blood which is shed for you" are *sacrificial*, and as such stamped the older system, which is the subject of the reference, as a *sacrificial* system; and one, too, whose sacrificial feature of *blood-shedding in behalf of man* would furnish the key to the nature and effects of the Blood-shedding now announced as a feature of the New Economy.

Our Lord, then, as regards this one clause, at any rate, plainly declared that His meaning was to be read by the light of certain earlier sacrificial provisions.

But if so, does it not follow, with the utmost probability, to say the least, that His language was to be interpreted *throughout* from the same source, and from no other whatsoever? And in full accordance with this supposition, we observe that all the other expressions used by Him are, without exception, found

to occur in the old sacrificial phraseology. Such are the terms "to bless," "to give thanks," "to give or offer" (to God) "a body," "for or in behalf of" others; "to break bread," "to pour out wine," as part of a sacrificial solemnity; to "eat bread," "to eat of a body," "to drink wine," may even "to drink blood," in a sacrificial connection; "a covenant or dispensation;" "to do or offer in remembrance," or "to make a memorial<sup>a</sup>." These terms are in themselves capable, it is true, of other than sacrificial interpretations. But their occurrence in such a context, that is to say in a formula, part of which is demonstrably to be expounded by the light of the old sacrificial system and nomenclature, seems to restrict us, in all reason, to expound them out of the same quarter.

It will be understood that it is not here affirmed that the Holy Eucharist was from the first declared to be a Sacrifice; but only that, by the distinct intimation of our Lord Himself, its nature was to be ascertained by reference to a system in itself sacrificial.

As to the *range* which that reference, or parallel, was to take, it may be observed, that though our Lord might not unnaturally, at first sight, have been understood to point exclusively, (as doubtless He referred very especially) to the Mosaic system, under which the Apostles were brought up, His words contain, in truth, no such limitation. No one dispensation or covenant is specified as having an exclusive commission to interpret the New Ordinance: much less is any particular rite of the Mosaic Institution so distinguished; such as, for example, the Passover. That high festival had, no doubt, very especial func-

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxxii. 38; Lev. vii. 15, ii. 6, 9; Heb. xiii. 10, 11.

tions to discharge in interpreting to man, through the medium of Jewish experience and nurture, some of the inner mysteries of the Eucharist. But to restrict enquiry (as has sometimes in later ages more especially been done) to that rite, is to narrow unwarrantably the breadth of allusion contained in the great Institutive Formula. Doubtless the Church, in reverently seeking out the meaning of those words, was to take into her view no single Mosaic ordinance or ordinances, but the Mosaic Dispensation in the entire extent of its sacrificial arrangements; nor that Dispensation only, but the equally sacrificial, though less developed system, vouchsafed "at sundry times and in divers manners" to the world,—to Adam, to Noah, to Melchisedek, to Abraham,—and including in the wide range of its incidence the whole human family. She was to apply to those words of her Lord, with the utmost universality, what St. Paul has said, in a more restricted sense, of certain words of Jeremiah: "In that He saith, A New Covenant, He hath made the first," even all former sacrificial dispensations, "old." And He referred to them all in their entire extent, as His interpreters. The Eye of the Saviour, in pronouncing those memorable words, glanced, we cannot doubt, over the whole religious experience through which He Himself had conducted mankind.

For, seeing that man has by nature no knowledge whatever of sacrifice, priesthood, and the entire cycle of conceptions belonging to them; God had vouchsafed, from the very first, by processes extending over the whole pre-evangelic period, though elaborated with peculiar adaptation to their purpose in the Mosaic system, to impart *a mental and spiritual training for the apprehension of the priestly and sacrificial myste-*

*ries of the Gospel*: a training such as, we may be certain, no other processes less prolonged in duration, or less elaborate in structure, could have supplied.

Nor had that preparation, as we shall see, in the case of either Jew or Gentile, failed of its purpose: whatever ignorance might prevail, in the one case, as to the position of the old Economy in the scheme of salvation; or in the other, as to the proper Object of sacrificial worship. And now that a new world of Facts, bearing on the salvation of man, was emerging to view, and a new era of religious experience was about to begin its course, the *receptivity*, so to speak, of the men of that day, their capacity for entering, under Divine guidance and illumination, into the sacrificial aspect of those Facts, was due to nothing else than to their training under the ancient sacrificial Economy.

Now, although the training thus undergone, and not in vain, by the human race, can never be repeated; nor that childhood and nonage of the Church of God be lived over again: it is nevertheless manifest to what source she ought to turn when, from whatever cause, her apprehension of the great verities connected with Christ's Priesthood and Sacrifice have waxed doubtful or dim within her. When disputations have risen up, as for the last 800 years<sup>a</sup> they have; disputations not as to the cardinal facts or events of the Gospel, but as to its structure as a *sacrificial scheme*; and specifically concerning the true relation of the Eucharist to the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ;—then it is manifest that the Church cannot too diligently or too humbly con again the lessons of her youth, or too profoundly steep herself once more, even to the very

<sup>a</sup> See above, Introduction to this Part, p. 7.

lips, in the teachings of the Old Testament, and of the old Sacrificial Economy. It is by the study, not hasty or superficial, but patient and deep, of the ancient law and practice of SACRIFICE and PRIESTHOOD, as they lie in the pages of the Old Testament, and even in those of classical antiquity, that she must seek to realise the old mental position on these subjects, and thus effectually lay again the old foundations of Eucharistic knowledge. Not, for example, until we entertain clear and correct conceptions as to the various sacrificial terms employed, and operations referred to, in our Lord's Eucharistic language,—as to what was effected by the “giving,” or “offering,” of the body” of a slain creature, and the “shedding of its blood,” in behalf of the subjects of the old Economy;—what were the benefits of “eating” and “drinking” as of a *sacrificial* meal, whether of the slain “body,” or again of “bread and wine;”—what the nature and the laws of sacrificial “memorial,” and of a sacrificial “covenant” or “dispensation;”—not till then can we be said to have mastered even the rudiments of Eucharistic truth, the very alphabet and vocabulary of Eucharistic language.

Unhappily, the vast majority of writers<sup>b</sup> on the Old Testament,—indeed I know of no consistent exception,—while they have so far pursued this course of enquiry, as to analyse with some care the structure and composition of the old sacrificial system, have committed the fatal error of denying to that system all proper reality and efficacy whatsoever. Misled, as it should seem, by certain single expressions of St. Paul,

<sup>b</sup> The Summa of Th. Aquinas (II. i. 102, al.) will answer for all previous writers; save only that he has overlooked the real tenour of certain passages of St. Augustine to be referred to hereafter.

which must in all reason be interpreted by the whole tenour of his teaching, they have conceived that the entire scheme of ancient sacrifice, the Mosaic included, was a mere picture void of all reality; a kind of divinely ordained drama enacted before the eyes of men, solely in order to foreshew, (as of course it did,) to them of old time, the fact of Christ's Death, and to furnish the later ages with an irrefragable argument in proof of the Divine pre-ordination of that event. That the offering of bodies, and shedding of blood, the eating and drinking of sacrificial food, had any real power vested in them of old time, whether to plead with God, or to benefit man, is all but universally assumed to be incompatible with right conceptions of Christ's Sacrifice of Himself. The entire subject will be entered into hereafter. At present I will only point out, that if this be so, then we are entirely deprived of any standard of reference for comprehending the words of the Eucharistic Institution. Unless the old sacrifices and sacrificial feastings were realities; unless they actually wrought certain effects both Godward and manward, both in the Divine and the human department of religious action;—how could they possibly expound by their nature and effects, within their own sphere, (as our Lord plainly signified that they were empowered to do,) His most real and supremely effective Sacrificial Action?

In what has been said hitherto, the necessity there is for a thorough examination of the old sacrificial system, in order to understand the nature of the Holy Eucharist, has been rested solely on the language of our Lord Himself at the Institution. But the same



conclusion follows from a view of all such passages of the New Testament as describe the work of Christ as sacrificial. For in them the old language is used throughout. It was evidently no part of the Divine plan to introduce into the world, at the coming of Christ, new sacrificial language or conceptions. All that was necessary was, that men should rightly apply the old. It was for this latter purpose only that Divine illumination was needed: and the result is embodied for us in the Apostolic teaching, and in the Liturgies of the Universal Church. Thus, the expressions<sup>e</sup> "the Lamb that taketh away sin;" "the offering of a Body;" "the shedding of Blood for the remission of sins," or "to make an atonement;" "an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour;" "to bear or take" (upon the person) "the sins of another;" "to cleanse or purify by blood;" "redemption," "priesthood," and countless others, employed to convey to us ideas of Christ's sacrificial work, are derived solely and entirely from the old system. They are simply an inspired application of its nomenclature to the Christian subject. Apart from the knowledge of that system they convey no information whatever. In a word, the New Testament, in the matter of Christ's sacrificial and priestly operation, is throughout *written in cipher*; and the key to that cipher is only to be found in the old sacrificial Economy.

Nor are there wanting express intimations, prophetic and apostolic, that the nature of the Eucharist

<sup>e</sup> St. John i. 29; Heb. x. 10, (Lev. xvii. 11); 1 Pet. i. 19, (Exod. xii. 5); Lev. xxii. 19—25; Eph. v. 2, (Gen. viii. 21, Lev. i. 9); St. James i. 29; 1 John iii. 5; Heb. ix. 28, (Exod. xxviii. 38, Lev. x. 17, Numb. xviii. 6, Isa. liii. 2); 1 John i. 7; Heb. ix. 23; Rev. i. 5.

in particular is to be understood solely by the light of the ancient sacrificial institutions. The prophet Malachi foretells that "in every place incense should be offered, and a pure offering (*minchah*)."<sup>d</sup> This has with great consent of ancient writers and Liturgies been understood of the Eucharist: and it is difficult to conceive what else it can refer to. But the announcement is entirely in terms of the old sacrificial system. What function, then, did "incense" discharge under the old religion? What did the "minchah" from the days of Abel to the coming of Christ, effect for the worshippers? It is when these questions are fully answered, but not until then, that we are in a position to derive from this passage any real conception of the nature of the Eucharist.—St. Paul, again<sup>d</sup>, assumes incidentally, as an obvious and admitted truth, perfectly familiar to those whom he is addressing, that the effects which accrued to the Christian from the consecration and reception of the Eucharist, and to the Israelite from the offering and eating of certain sacrifices, were perfectly parallel, and

<sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 21. The coherence of the passage is as follows. His object is to represent the awfulness of idolatry, as being a means of communicating the very nature of devils to men. "Flee from idolatry; I speak as to wise or intelligent persons; judge ye of what I say. The Cup which we consecrate, is it not a communion or means of partaking of Christ's Blood? The Bread which we break, is it not a means of partaking of Christ's Body? For one Bread, one Body are we, though many; for we all are sharers in the one Bread. Or, again, look at the fleshly Israel: are not they who eat the (personal or congregational) sacrifices, partakers of, or communicants in, the (one) altar?" and so, it is clearly meant, of the one *body*, and the one *bread* continually offered thereon; referring to the daily lamb and daily meat-offering, that great continual Burnt-sacrifice which (Exod. xxix. 38—45) was the secret and the means of their unification, and of their continual presentation with acceptance before God, and communion with Him. And even so, he says, idol sacrifices and feastings involve communion with devils.

of the same kind. The Christian mystery of Communion with the Body of Christ, through the Eucharist, has, he implies, its perfect counterpart and analogue in the Israelite's communion with the altar and its one Burnt-sacrifice, through the peace-offerings. Such an intimation as this, while it gives us the highest idea of the *reality* of the Israelitish sacrifices, ought to stimulate us to the utmost degree of diligence in seeking out the nature and relations of the offerings referred to: which are, be it observed, not those of the Passover only, or of any special occasion, but *all* such sacrifices as were partaken of by the worshippers; exactly as, in the original Institution, the whole field of ancient sacrifice is referred to.

So, once more, St. Paul instructs us, that when Moses was shewed in the Mount a "pattern," or "original," after which the Tabernacle was to be copied, the ultimate object of this Divine provision was, that the *ministry* of that Tabernacle might be a faithful copy, in every particular, of the Ministry of Christ as the High Priest of the Christian Church\*. Now in what did that older ministry consist, or what did it include? It manifestly included not merely those exalted sacrifices which were offered personally by the High Priest alone, or by his sons, on behalf of the whole nation,—such as the daily Burnt Offering, and the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement;—but also, as an integral and most important part of it, the sacrifices, personal or congregational, brought from

\* Heb. viii. 5. "Who serve unto," i.e., perform the service or ministry of, "the example," i.e., as the word meant formerly, "the copy or imitation, of the heavenly things. For see, saith he, thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount. But now He (Christ) hath obtained a more excellent ministry." It is the two *ministries*, therefore, that are the chief subject of comparison.

time to time by the people for presentation on the altar, and for the most part partaken of by them. And the existence of such sacrifices, as a part of the Tabernacle ministry, unquestionably guarantees to us the existence of similar personal and congregational sacrifices, to be offered and partaken of in the Christian Church, as a branch of Christ's Priestly Ministration. Nor does St. Paul fail, both in this Epistle and elsewhere, fully and distinctly to recognise the existence of such Christian sacrifices. Thus he calls Christ the "High Priest of our profession;" or, as the early Church<sup>f</sup> manifestly understood it, "the High Priest of *our offerings*:" the word rendered "profession" being one of the old sacrificial terms for certain personal offerings of the Mosaic system. The context both here, and in another place<sup>g</sup>, where the term occurs, plainly speaks of Christ's bringing to God, and presenting on our behalf, *some* offerings or other entirely analogous to those personal ones of the old Law. And lest we should doubt that these Christian offerings had, like their Mosaic counterparts, an outward form, however they might be a means of presenting inward and spiritual sacrifices, and were like them *partaken of* as well as offered, St. Paul expressly affirms that we *eat* of them. He says that

<sup>f</sup> Clemens Rom. ad Cor. i. 36 has "the High Priest of our *offerings*;" and it is plain that he is referring to St. Paul's words in the text, Heb. iii. 1. For he had just spoken of "the sacrifice of praise:" and *δουλογία*, used by St. Paul, is one of many terms in LXX for that sacrifice. It was evidently the same thing in St. Clemens' view to say "High Priest of our *πρόσφοραι*," as "of our *δουλογία*." So Origen too, c. Cels. viii. 33, and De Orat. c. 10: "For the High Priest of our offerings is the Son of God:" and St. Cyril Alex. in two passages, for which see Johnson's U. S., App., p. 225. Oxf. Ed.

<sup>g</sup> Heb. iv. 14—16, where *δουλογία* includes all manner of personal offerings and presentations through Christ.

“we have an altar,” and that so far from our falling short of the old system in the matter of “eating” of that which we present sacrificially to God, we go beyond it in that respect. For whereas the peculiar class of congregational or personal sacrifices called “sin-offerings” were *not* of old time allowed to be eaten (or only by the priest, and the *national* sin-offerings not even by him), but were burnt without the camp; *we* do eat of Christ, our Sin-offering, as presented continually in Heaven, and offered and partaken of, by the way of memorial and sacramental mystery, upon earth<sup>h</sup>. No other account can reasonably be rendered of the passage referred to. Were Christianity, indeed, a religion in which actual bodily “eating” to spiritual purposes had no place, we might allowably resort to a figurative explanation of the eating here spoken of; and must needs do so. But since the New Covenant was declared, at the first hour of its Institution, to involve such eating, as an essential and enduring element of it, there is no shadow of reason for any such setting aside of the literal meaning.

Thus does St. Paul, no less distinctly than our Blessed Lord, remand us to the old system for the explanation of the Eucharist. Nor only so, but he

<sup>h</sup> This is plainly the scope of Heb. xiii. 9—16. In ver. 9 we have the abolition of the old sacrificial meats, as inadequate to man’s spiritual needs. Then in ver. 10, 11 it is insisted upon that we have, notwithstanding, a privilege of “eating” of a Sacrifice, that of Christ. For though offered without the gate, He perishes not, like those other sin-offerings, but lives to be partaken of evermore. And thus our sacrificial system is the more comprehensive as well as fuller of benefit of the two. In ver. 15 we are exhorted to offer, accordingly, this sacrifice; of which the eucharistic and spiritual side is now dwelt on. In ver. 16 eucharistic alms are enjoined, as an acceptable feature of our sacrifice. See on this passage Bishop Cleaver, in Wilberforce on the Eucharist, pp. 357—364.

indicates the exact quarter whence to derive such explanation, viz., the whole class of personal and congregational offerings, as distinguished from those which were offered by the High Priest alone; and among these, chiefly, though not exclusively, the peace-offerings. Must it not be, then, that to have ascertained the exact nature and effects of this lower class of offerings, and its relation to the higher, were to have solved all principal questions concerning the Holy Eucharist, and its relation to the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ?

Enough has now been said to prove that nothing short of a thorough examination of the ancient system of Sacrifice and Priesthood, in its Mosaic development more especially, can conduct us to a just apprehension of the Holy Eucharist, by enabling us to understand the accounts and explanations of it vouchsafed by our Lord and His Apostles. I shall, therefore, make no apology for entering upon such an examination; at some length, indeed, but not more so than the case seems to require. And it is my full conviction (1.) that there is no real difficulty in ascertaining, by attention to the recorded effects of sacrifice and priesthood in old time, the nature and laws of their operation, nor yet in applying the knowledge thus obtained to ascertain the true nature of the Christian Eucharist: and (2.) that from the same source we may learn as much as it is possible for man to know concerning the nature of Redemption, Atonement, and other kindred mysteries;—problems which have so greatly harassed and perplexed the Church of later ages; though to them of earlier days, brought up as they were in the implicit acceptance of the old sacrificial principles, as developed and applied in the

Christian Liturgical system, they presented no difficulty whatever.

I purpose to deal with the subject in the natural, that is, the historical order: taking notice in what manner, and to what effects, sacrifice and priesthood are found intervening from time to time, under the Divine rule and ordinance, in the affairs of mankind; and deducing, as we proceed, those great sacrificial laws and principles, which were destined to pass on without alteration into the Christian system.

The original condition of man in Paradise, before and after the Fall, and the connection of sacrifice with his restoration, must first engage our attention.

## SECTION II.

1. On the condition of man in Paradise, it may be observed, first of all, that, previously to his Fall, he manifestly enjoyed a capacity for living familiarly and without fear in that Presence of God (whatever may have been the degree or manner of it<sup>1</sup>) which was then vouchsafed to him: and that by the Fall he lost that capacity. Under a sense, probably instinctive and well founded, that it would now be dangerous, or even fatal to him to appear in that Presence as heretofore, he fled from it and hid himself. And it may safely be laid down, that the one great and ruling purpose of all sacrifice was, *to restore to man by degrees, and ultimately to enhance immeasurably, his original capacity for enduring and enjoying the Divine Presence; and to furnish a medium for acceptable presentation*

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of various modes of Divine Presence, see above, *Introd. to Part II.*, p. 156, sqq.

*in It.* We shall find that an ever-increasing<sup>k</sup> measure of that Presence, joined to proportionately enlarged methods of safe and beatifying access to it, characterize the whole history of Sacrifice and Priesthood.

2. The secret of that original capacity for God's Presence was doubtless a real *holiness*, arising from God's dwelling in a very exalted measure within him, and from his being thus a very intimate "partaker of the Divine Nature,"—connatural and near of kin to God: so that it was as *natural* to him, at that time, to dwell in God's Presence, as it afterwards became fearful and foreign to his nature. And conversely, his subsequent incapacity for that Presence arose from the withdrawal of that intimate and exalted degree of the Divine indwelling<sup>l</sup> within him. Nor could anything fit him for re-appearing in, or having access to, any advanced degrees or modes of the Presence, short of a renewed impartation to him of indwelling Deity<sup>m</sup>, and of

<sup>k</sup> Some limitations or occasional exceptions with which this position must be guarded will be touched on hereafter. It may suffice here to observe, that, in the Israelitish period, the cloud which at the setting up of the tabernacle abode *upon* it, at the dedication of Solomon's Temple *filled the house*, as Patrick observes; (see also Isa. vi. 1—4): while, by an express promise, not only was the Presence vouchsafed ultimately to the second Temple, far more glorious than any former one, (Hagg. ii. 9); but even at the time, the Divine glory was specially extended to the *city*, (Zech. ii. 5); an anticipation of the heavenly Jerusalem, in which there should be no temple but a Presence only, (Isa. lx. 19, 20; Rev. xxi. 22, 23).

<sup>l</sup> "The strength of God's inner glory went from him." Newman, Sermon. viii. vol. v. (1840).

<sup>m</sup> On this subject of the inward Presence of God fitting man for meeting His external Presence, compare Newman's Sermons, vol. v. p. 65: "While He judges the world, He is in us also, bearing us up, and going out in us to meet Himself." The idea lies at the bottom of the profound passage in 1 John iii. 2: "It hath not yet been manifested what we shall be: but we do know that, when He is manifested, we shall be like Him; *for we shall see Him as He is;*" in His majestic Presence and Manifestation. And this involves likeness to Him; since, in order to see Him as He is, we must have His



corresponding degrees of holiness<sup>n</sup>. Sacrifice, therefore, if it was to be the means of fitting man to draw near to God's Presence, must do so by restoring that indwelling, or, which is the same thing, by removing the obstacles to it.

And the same account must be given of the casting out (which certainly took place) of the lower creation, the animal and material world, from the Presence in which they had dwelt hitherto. Their "curse," their unfitness to abide in that Presence, must have arisen from the withdrawal of a high and sanctifying degree of God's indwelling which they had previously possessed<sup>o</sup>. And it is evident that in their case too, as in that of man, the thing needed was to remove their unfitness for the Presence and Service of God. Whatever did this, whether for the human body or for any outward material things, might truly be said to "sanctify;"—a power which, accordingly, is freely ascribed in the Old Testament even to inanimate things, as an altar, oil, incense, and the like. And this St. Paul positively assures us the old sacrifices did for man, as touching his body or flesh, and for the material world. "The blood of bulls and goats and the ashes of a heifer," applied to those who were

Presence in us, and so be like Him. So too St. Matt. v. 8; Rom. iii. 23: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God," i.e. of fitness for His glorious Presence; but now are justified and re-admitted.

<sup>n</sup> Compare the prayers for cleansing, which lie at the threshold of all ancient Communion Offices, and of our own. When about to be admitted into the Holy of Holies, we need a corresponding inward sanctification, "ut in Sancta Sanctorum admitti mereamur." Lit. York and S. James.

<sup>o</sup> Compare the wise sayings in Ecclus. i. 9: "He created her, and saw her, and poured her out on all His works. She is with all flesh (*viventia omnia*, Bretschn.) according to His gift;" and the diffusive character of the same Wisdom in ch. xxiv. 3—6.

otherwise "unclean," that is, disqualified for drawing near to the Tabernacle Presence, "sanctified" them; removed, that is, their unfitness. The material Tabernacle and all the vessels of the ministry were "purified;" cleansed, that is, of *their* natural unfitness to abide the Presence, and were fitted to take their part as channels or media of worship. And to the last, the sacrificial work of Christ Himself was no other than, on the one hand, to remove from man his disqualification, arising from sin, for the highest degree of the Divine Presence; and on the other, to impart<sup>p</sup> to His Own Body, through His Death and Resurrection, and as the reward of His obedient suffering, a glorified condition, thus qualifying It to be the medium of man's actual appearance and presentation in that Presence. Both these effects were wrought, as in the case of the Tabernacle Presence, by the application of Blood. This "purged the conscience," or removed the conscious unfitness of mankind "to serve" (i.e. as to render worship to, *λατρεύειν*) "the living God; so that having their hearts *sprinkled* from that evil conscience, they might *draw near* in full assurance." And on the other hand, the ordained medium of approach, the Body of Christ, "the new and living way, His Flesh," was "consecrated for us," or made to be a way of access for us, "by His Blood<sup>q</sup>;" nay, even heavenly things or places themselves are said to be purified by the "better Sacrifice" of Christ; plainly in the same sense in which the Tabernacle was purified, i. e. made accessible for, and fit medium of,

<sup>p</sup> St. John xvii. 19: "For their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also may be sanctified."

<sup>q</sup> Heb. ix. 20, 12. Comp. Jackson, Creed, ix. xii. 2: "This drawing near to God is that 'perfection' which the law could not effect."

Divine worship. This conception of the work of sacrifice, including that of Christ, as removing disabilities for the Presence and service of God, has been unanswerably vindicated by a writer of our own Church<sup>r</sup>, to whom the reader may refer.

3. If we enquire, further, as to the *cause* of God's withdrawing His indwelling, or rather the original measure of it, from man and creation at the Fall,—the reason why He *could* no longer dwell with man as He had done,—it is to be found in the condition of *Death* into which man, and all creation with him, had now fallen. For whatever reason, whether as being the master-work of the powers of evil, or as marring the highest work of His Own creation, or as a result of moral evil, that dissolution of soul and body which we call Death is a condition highly offensive in the sight of God, and incompatible with the higher degrees of His indwelling and His Presence. This plainly appears from various sacrificial provisions of the old law<sup>s</sup>, of which I shall have reason to speak hereafter: but above all, from that shrinking from, and loathing of Death, as such, which was doubtless a chief ingredient in the Agony of Christ. This detestation of Death, on the part of the Divine Nature, extends, as it should seem, to all the processes and phenomena of it; and to the dissolution of any living or even inanimate organism. The exact disqualification, therefore, which had to be removed by sacrifice was this deathlike and deadly condition in all its degrees and effects, as well as in its ultimate and

<sup>r</sup> Johnson, *Unbloody Sacrifice*, i. ii. pp. 179—218. The writer by no means endorses all his opinions; but in the point now under consideration, his statements are unexceptionable, and furnish the undoubted key to Heb. ix., x.

<sup>s</sup> More expressly the ceremonies connected with the red heifer.

highest manifestation, namely, the permanent and eternal dissociation of the body and soul of man.

4. As concerns the means by which this condition of death was destined to be undone, and so the disqualification for God's Presence and worship removed, we seem to discern the rationale of it, to a certain extent at least, in the history of man's innocence and Fall. For we observe, that man's original capacity for immortality,—his *posse non mori*<sup>t</sup>,—was destined to be carried into act and fruition in Paradise through his eating of a fruit of the earth. Now this gives us, first of all, a very exalted conception of the sanctity, at that time, and of the possible future destiny, of the earth and the lower creation. For it could have been no mean existence that was a fitting channel for the immortality of man. And next, we are, for the same reason, not surprised at finding the lower creation spoken of as capable of a Fall or curse, and actually undergoing it simultaneously with man. But more than this: it fell, “not willingly<sup>u</sup>” indeed, as having no will capable of a rational assent, yet not without having been, ministerially, a copartner and accessory in the sin of which it shared the effects. The inanimate, and specially the vegetable world, as represented by a fruit of the earth,—the animal world, the world of lower life<sup>x</sup>, in the person of the serpent,—were in a wonderful manner Satan's instruments and partners for bringing about the Fall. And these were representative creatures, in a manner, as standing each one at the head of their kind. No product of the earth

<sup>t</sup> St. Augustine. See Bp. Bull on the State of Man before the Fall.

<sup>u</sup> Rom. viii. 20.

<sup>x</sup> St. Athanas. (Op. t. ii. p. 305): *Δύο γὰρ φύσεις ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ ἐπήγον τότε ἐπὶ τῶν προπατόρων τὴν ἐκπτώσιν, διαβολότης καὶ ὀφειότης.*

can compare for beauty, for pleasantness, for salubrity, with the nobler sorts of the fruit of trees: to which was added in this case a mysterious connection with intellectual power<sup>γ</sup>; an affinity, so far, to the higher order of creatures. As to the serpent, again, its affinity<sup>z</sup> to *all* the orders of animal existence is very remarkable, and is in part indicated by Holy Scripture itself<sup>a</sup>; while in point of intelligence<sup>b</sup>, it is, by the same authority, placed at the head of all, and second, though no doubt at a vast interval, to man alone.—The fruit of the tree, then, and the serpent, were well fitted to be representative things towards the lower creation, as Adam was towards the

<sup>γ</sup> Gen. iii. 6. “Differing from anything in the nature of [mere] bodily food, having a connection with the mind.” Williams in loc., Gen. iii. 6. It may be remarked that permission to eat of the fruit of trees, and not merely of the herbs, was a note of man’s superiority as compared with all other creatures in Paradise. And in the Eucharist, the loftier function of purifying the *soul* is assigned to the fruit of the vine; that of cleansing the body, to the Bread. (See our Prayer of access, and the Syr. Lit. of S. James.)

<sup>z</sup> The serpent is plainly allied, 1. to “creeping things;” 2. to fish, as is noticed both in sacred and profane zoology. “If he ask for a fish, will he give him a serpent?” St. Matt. viii. 10. “Vos anguilla manet, longæ cognata colubræ,” (Juv., Sat. v. 104); “the eel, cousin-german to the serpent.” 3. To birds, as being winged in one of its species; “the fiery flying serpent.” See Calmet in v. Serpent. 4. To beasts and cattle, as being a quadruped in some of its congeners, and as being so reckoned in Scripture.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. iii. 1, 14, where it seems to be classed indifferently among beasts or cattle.

<sup>b</sup> Very marvellous traditions and beliefs respecting the serpent were rife in the Gentile world, especially as to its *spiritual* nature, and capacity for transformation. Thus Eusebius (Præparatio Evangelica, I. x. p. 41) adduces Philo as quoting Sanchoniathon to this effect: “Tauut (the Egyptian Thoth, the Greek Hermes,) taught the divinity of the dragon and of serpents, and after him the Phœnicians and Egyptians; that it was the most *spiritual* of all the creatures, and swift by reason of its spirit; is very long lived, and at last is dissolved, for it does not die except through a violent blow.” These Gentile traditions doubtless reflect the fact of the originally lofty nature of the serpent, and specially of its mental supremacy.

human race ; and the fact of their being so may well have been, in part at least, the reason why that entire creation was involved in the Fall. That they were so is certain by clear declaration of Holy Writ. The ground was “cursed for man’s sake” in itself and in its fruits, bringing forth thorns and thistles. The serpent was cursed “*above* all cattle,” and “*above* every beast of the field ;” a plain indication <sup>c</sup> that *all* were cursed in their degree ; though wherein the curse consisted we are not able to say, not knowing what their condition was before the Fall. And St. Paul accordingly speaks of the “whole creation” having been subjected to the bondage of corruption. Now this being so, it was surely most consonant, that as *not without the lower creatures*, but through them, man had been tempted and had fallen, and as they had with him been punished ; so *not without them*, but through them and with them, he should be restored and set free. We might even beforehand, and as a matter of analogy and proportion, expect to find that the media of sacrifice—that is, of re-introducing man to the lost Presence of God—would be no other than the material <sup>d</sup> creation, animate and inanimate ; and, specially, the fruits of the earth and animals.

<sup>c</sup> Williams, in loc. : “Perhaps this curse came in its degree on all other animals.”

<sup>d</sup> Even the *mineral* world was not without its part in the sacrificial economy, *salt* being an indispensable requirement in all sacrifices, (Lev. ii. 13 ; St. Matt. ix. 49,) both of animals and fruits ; doubtless, not merely as a type, but as having an actual power imparted to it, co-ordinately with the animal and vegetable substances, to remove disqualifications for God’s Presence. Its antiseptic properties in the world of nature may well intimate such an office in the spiritual economy. It is well worthy of remark, that among the Jews the salt (Middoth, c. 5, sect. 2, ap. Patrick) was not provided by the worshipper, but at the public charge. God was thus represented as Himself supplying the corrective for the natural corruption and unfitness of the offerings, even as He provided the heaven-sent fire for their acceptable consumption.

Such, accordingly, has been the law of sacrifice throughout. Even in the latest and perfect stage of the Economy, *one only* of those media, namely, the lower order of animals, disappears, being superseded by the offering of the Body of Christ. The other, the fruits of the earth,—specifically, Bread and Wine,—remain still in the restored Church of God, even as in Paradise, as the outward and visible instrument of man's immortality; the appointed means for sustaining the Divine life within him, and for admitting him to a very exalted measure of the Divine Presence.

5. But there were, of course, other and more principal agents in the Fall besides the lower creatures; to wit, Man himself yielding his concurrence in body, soul, and spirit; and above all, the Evil Spirit directing all towards that dire issue. In lieu of that disobedient Will of man, then, there would need to be, in order to his recovery in any degree, a willing allegiance; the rendering perhaps, to express that allegiance, of something in his power to give or withhold. And to counterwork that spiritual power, the Holy Spirit of God must add to these material and moral media that strength which in themselves they possess not. And thus, as by a threefold agency,—material, moral, and spiritual,—the external creature, his own depraved will, and the Tempter,—in a word, through the world, the flesh, and the Devil,—man had fallen; so must he, by the threefold chain of material Sacrifice, moral assent, and spiritual power, be drawn up out of his Fall. By these had he lost, by the same must he recover, his capacity for the Presence of God, and the actual exercise of worship and service towards Him.

But by what processes should these various agents conspire to the end in view, the removal of the con-

dition of death, and unfitness for God's Presence, entailed by the Fall? Now here we light upon another, and deeply mysterious and inscrutable, but most certain law, in the matter of human recovery. It is this, that *by death alone can death be undone*. How this should be; in what way one death can act upon another death, so as to do away with it, or with any of its consequences; we are absolutely devoid of faculties for comprehending. It must be so. As we know not what life is, but only what its phenomena are; so we know not what death is either. When therefore we come to speak of one instance of death destroying or neutralizing another, we speak of the shock and onset of forces not only invisible to us, but also, as touching their mode of operation, perfectly inconceivable. Of the law itself, however, there is no doubt whatever. It is perfectly clear and certain, by the testimony of Scripture, in the highest instance; namely, the doing away of death in all its effects, by the Death of Christ. "Through death, He destroyed him that had the power of death<sup>e</sup>." But is it less certain or clear in the case of the old sacrifices? There, too, in order to any sacrificial effect, to the undoing or removal of disqualification for Divine Presence and worship, death must have intervened. The law of sacrifice, in its highest and most absolute enunciation, was that "without shedding of blood"—without a death by blood—"was no remission." The sole exception to this was, that fruits of the earth, provided their organism was entirely or by a representative part destroyed by fire, might in certain cases work the

<sup>e</sup> Our ancient and still preserved Easter Preface states it still more exactly: "Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit," (Missal. Sarisb. Prefat. in Die Pasch.); "Who by His death hath destroyed death."



same effects. But 1. this was in itself a dissolution : and 2. its efficacy appears to have rested ultimately, in all cases, (as will be shewn hereafter,) on its representing a slain sacrifice, and being identified with it.

This mysterious law, then, combined with the considerations already adduced, of the whole creation having fallen with man and man by it,—specially by the organised portion of it,—determined what the restorative process should be. It determined *what* man should render, as the expression of his desire to return to God, and as the effective medium of acceptance with Him. Not silver, or gold, or any lifeless or inorganic material. These might express his desires equally well, and would have their place in that character. But they were not adapted to the work of undoing death, or removing corruption. That medium must be chosen as his *gift*, which was also efficacious for his *recovery*, viz. living creatures, and fruits of the earth. And herein at once appears the correctness of St. Augustine's profound definition of sacrifice,—the master-dictum of antiquity on this subject: "Sacrificium est omne opus quod agitur, ut sanctâ societate inhæreamus Deo;" "Sacrifice is anything which is done to this end, that we may have a holy fellowship with God, and inherence in Him<sup>f</sup>." For it is manifest that nothing can have this effect, unless it has a capacity for imparting such fellowship by removing the obstacles to it.

By the intervention, accordingly, of the death or dissolution of certain of the lower creatures, sanctified to such a purpose by ways of His own appointment, and freely devoted by man, did God begin, even from the time of the Fall itself, to remove in a measure

<sup>f</sup> St. Aug., de Civ. Dei, x. 6.

the deathlike condition which shut man out from His Presence and worship; to destroy (Heb. 'swallow up') "the face of the covering that was cast over all people, and the veil that was spread over all nations<sup>g</sup>." By the peculiar ordinances imparted to His Own people, yet other folds of this veil were removed, and admission to a nearer Presence vouchsafed. At length, by the great death-destroying Death of Christ, "death was swallowed up in victory;" the veil<sup>h</sup> was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the Way into the Holy of Holies, the Very Majestic Presence of God, was "consecrated," or provided for man's use, for ever.

For this among other reasons it was—namely, because by death alone could death be done away—that the Saviour needed<sup>i</sup> for the purpose of human recovery to possess a Human Body, capable of death<sup>j</sup>; and yet though capable of it, not *subject*<sup>k</sup> to it, or

<sup>g</sup> Isa. xxv. 7, 8. The "covering" or veil is certainly the death-like condition of the nations, as appears by the interpretation in ver. 8. And that the removal of this veil was in order to their admission to God's worship and Presence, may be seen by comparing ver. 6—9 and xxvi. 1, 2. The "veil" probably alludes to the mortuary-cloth put upon the face and head of the dead. (Comp. St. John xx. 7.)

<sup>h</sup> The Hebrew for the Tabernacle veil is different from the term in Isa. xxv. 7, just referred to. But the signification of the mortuary veil is probably separation and *shutting out* from life: which is also the idea of the Mosaic veil (*parcheth*, from Arab. *parak*; Heb. *parach*, 'to separate').

<sup>i</sup> Heb. ii. 14: "He partook of the same" (flesh and blood), "that by death (or by His Death) He might destroy him that had the power of death." It is a second and distinct reason (viz. in order to human sympathy) that is assigned in ver. 17.

<sup>j</sup> Compare St. Ath., De Incarn., pp. 61, 73: "He takes to Himself a body which can die . . . that He may offer it for all as a thing of His Own." Hooker, v. 5: "He took manhood that He might be capable of death."

<sup>k</sup> Comp. Heb. ii. 1, 5: "And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime *subject* (ἐνοχοί) to bondage."

forfeited, as having neither inherited the corruption of Adam, nor sinned after his similitude. It was that He might have a Death, a dissolution, all His Own, wherewith to work the destruction of all other death. His Death alone of all deaths was not, strictly speaking, penal<sup>1</sup>: it was not a direct and necessary consequence of sin, but only an indirect one. Not as lying under any necessity, but as choosing of His Own free Will<sup>m</sup> to satisfy the mysterious law, that death alone could deliver from death, He yielded Himself to die. His Death, though perfectly the same as all other deaths as to the process of it, viz. the separation of soul and body, was unlike all in this, that it occupied a position external to the ordinary dominion and sphere of Death in general. Only such a Death could be applied to purposes of deliverance and purging, because all other deaths needed deliverance themselves<sup>n</sup>. This Death alone, accordingly, had no offensiveness in the sight of God, as not being directly the work of the Devil or of sin, but springing solely from the acquiescence of a perfectly Holy Being. In accordance wherewith it alone was unaccompanied by

<sup>1</sup> Comp. S. Leo, Serm. i. de Passione: "Crux de virtute est divini consilii, non de conditione peccati. . . . Hanc subire non erat conditio necessitatis, sed misericordiæ ratio." S. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. lxxxvii.: "Mortem non conditionis necessitate, sed miserationis voluntate suscepit." Id. in Joh., III. i. 13: "Munus misericordiæ, non pœna peccati."

<sup>m</sup> St. John x. 18: "No one" (our version has "no man," but the chief allusion is doubtless to Satan) "taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself." (ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ, as if *de Meo*, "of My Own proper Will.") Ib. xiv. 30, "The Prince of this world . . . hath nothing in Me."

<sup>n</sup> So St. Leo, Serm. xii. de Passione, says that "though the death of many saints was precious in the Lord's sight, yet was not the slaying of any one, however innocent, a propitiation for the world, for there were as many deaths to be undergone as there were persons in the world; nor did any one discharge another's debt by his own end."

any corruption. The dissolution of that Soul and Body was an operation as pure and holy as the joining together of Adam's soul and body, or of His Own at His Conception by the Holy Ghost. The Death was pure, because the Subject of it was innocent.

And hence too we see the fitness of the lower animals to remove, in their measure, by their deaths, some part of the death which lay on all creation, and on man himself. For their deaths too, though the effect of sin, were not the effect of their own sin. In this sense they were, as compared with man's, pure and innocent; not being the direct penalty of transgression. As such they had a capacity, though limited, for fulfilling the great sacrificial law, by providing a death for the undoing of death. The defect of "voluntary will," which of course could not be theirs, was probably supplied by their being voluntarily yielded by man, in whom God had vested full dominion over them. And all other unfitness was removed<sup>p</sup> by the application of the requisite degree of God's holiness.

And if it should appear unlikely that God should thus make use of the "beasts that perish," in the

• Comp. Levit. i. 3: "He shall offer it (any burnt-sacrifice) of his own voluntary will."

<sup>p</sup> As for example, in the Mosaic system, certainly, the altar "sanctified the gift," or sacrifice, having been itself sanctified by the application of accepted blood, (Exod. xxix. 36, 37,) and of a peculiar oil, (xi. 9,) which had been constituted by God as "most holy," (xxx. 22—33). On certain recorded occasions, (Lev. ix. 24, Judg. vi. 21, 1 Chron. xxi. 26, 2 Chron. vii. 1, 1 Kings xviii. 38,) and probably on others, (Gen. iv. 4, 1 Sam. vii. 9,) "fire from the Lord" at once purified and accepted the offering. But in all offerings, a sacrificial intent, and observance of the prescribed sacrificial rules, were, it should seem, an adequate "consecration:" that is, they ensured the communication of a sanctifying measure of God's Presence.

economy of restoration, let it be considered, 1. that there is nothing more mysterious, or to us more inscrutable, than the "life" of the sub-human creation; so that we cannot say either what it is, or what spiritual purposes it may be fitted to serve. 2. That God on one occasion made a solemn covenant between Himself and "every living creature," (Gen. ix. 9—17,) and at other times used their intelligence for directly religious ends<sup>q</sup>. 3. That in Paradise, and under the present economy, the fruits of the earth, though yet lower in the scale of the creation, were and are channels of life and immortality to mankind.

6. Why the Fall should have resulted in the exact event of Death, that is, in the dissolution of the soul and body of man, and other kindred effects, we do not know. But, amid much that is hidden from us, one thing plainly appears, and tends to place the entire subject in a new light. It is this; that neither sin nor death, neither the Fall nor its consequences, were either novel or isolated phenomena. They belong to a larger history, and are only parts of it; or an episode, however tremendous, in it. Before Adam was, there were sinful and fallen beings; and his sin, and fall, and death, were but a branch and offshoot of theirs. As his life and his original holiness stood not alone, but belonged to a scheme or economy of life and holiness, reaching downward to him from God; so were his sin and his death part of an economy of sin and death, reaching upward to him from the Devil and his angels. The proper domain and stronghold of death is elsewhere<sup>r</sup> than here. The Fall was

<sup>q</sup> Numb. xxii. 28—30; 1 Sam. vi. 10—12.

<sup>r</sup> It is represented in Scripture as a real place, and called the "gates of death," and "of hell." Job xxxviii. 17; Matt. xii. 18; Rev. i. 18.

but the addition of a fresh province to a kingdom already existing. As man's original uprightness had redounded to the glory of God, so did his fallen estate to the glory of Satan. And the history of his recovery resolves itself, accordingly, into a personal contest between God on the one hand, and Satan on the other.

How this state of things originated we are indeed very imperfectly informed. We do not know what right Satan had to present himself as a Tempter in the newly-created world; nor, again, why the success of that temptation should have yielded him so plentiful a harvest of dominion: why he was thenceforth recognised by God Himself as the "god or prince of this world, the prince of the power of the air;" the "world" his "palace," and himself a "strong one armed keeping it," and his hosts "rulers of the darkness of this world," spiritual powers of wickedness, yea, even in "heavenly places<sup>s</sup>." But certainly it is a *right* of some kind, pertaining to him, that is recognised in the history both of the subjection of the world to him, and of its final wresting from him<sup>t</sup>. It may well have been that in him, originally a glorious angel<sup>u</sup> of God, had been vested in the beginning some kind of government over the world; and that from this dominion, perhaps through some exaltation

<sup>s</sup> Job i. 7, (where "walking to and fro" implies dominion, Gen. xiii. 17); St. John xii. 31, xiv. 30; St. Luke iv. 6; Eph. ii. 2; St. Luke xi. 21.

<sup>t</sup> So Theophylact (on St. Luke xxiii.) says that before the death of Christ, μέγα δίκαιον ἦν τῷ διαβόλῳ κατὰ τῶν ψυχῶν, "the Devil had a mighty *right* over the souls of men."

<sup>u</sup> Isa. xiv. 12; 2 Cor. xi. 14. We observe that, at the Temptation, Satan boldly claims dominion, which is not disallowed by our Lord, over all the kingdoms of the earth: "All this power will I give Thee, for that is delivered unto me." St. Luke iv. 6.

of himself in the pride of it<sup>x</sup>, he fell: that nevertheless, for mysterious reasons, there remained to him, by the original law of his investiture, a possible dominion for evil and for hurtful interference, as before a dominion for good, and for beneficent operation; the actual exercise of that evil dominion, however, the re-annexation of that goodly province to his now accursed empire, being suspended on the standing or falling, the fidelity or unfaithfulness to God, of man the terrene lord of all. But thus much we do know: that as Satan himself had fallen into a state of Death, or whatever, corresponding to that, results in the case of a bodiless spirit from the loss of the Divine Presence; as he was under God's wrath, and hopelessly doomed to "destruction from the Presence of the Lord;" so, (however he came by that dread privilege and power,) there was permitted to him, immediately upon the Fall, an instrument for buffeting mankind. And that instrument (as we know from the language<sup>y</sup> applied in common to his case and man's) was no other than a degree, a participation so to speak, of that deathlike state of his; a casting of the "shadow" of that death over the universe, by the dissolution of the human and ultimately of all other organisms<sup>z</sup>. From this point of view, then, death, as revealed to us in Scripture, comes before us not as a mere consequence of man's sin, but as a part of an *economy* existing before the Fall. Nor does it merely follow as a result: it is inflicted by a person: a consideration of the highest importance for understanding the whole subject.

<sup>x</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. i. 6: "Not a novice, lest being lifted up with *pride* he fall into the snare of the *devil*." See Isa. xiv. 13.

<sup>y</sup> St. Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xx. 10, xxi. 8.

<sup>z</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 10.

On the failure of man under his trial, Satan entered immediately on the full exercise of his sway. A law existed thenceforth, of which nothing could preclude the actual carrying out, that all creatures must die, and ultimately the world itself be consumed by fire. But, meanwhile, one mighty question remained; namely, whether there should or should not be any counterworking of this power of Satan over the world: whether the involved deathlike banishment from the Presence of God should be mitigated now, and ultimately reversed altogether; or whether man should share to the utmost, in time and in eternity, the portion of the Devil and his angels. And this depended, as we have seen, on another question: whether there could be found, and applied to this state of death, the neutralizing powers of pure and innocent dissolution. This, though nothing else than this, might, either gradually or at once, restore life and acceptableness to the world, and destroy the dominion of Satan over it.

Hereupon, then, commenced that great series of spiritual events of which the Bible is the record, and the object and end the restoration of man to the Presence of God. Nor is that history there exhibited as a contest between abstract evil and good, or an adjustment between the Divine attributes, between the justice of God and the mercy of God;—a topic with which divines have been prone to perplex themselves to little purpose. The struggle throughout is a *personal* one, between the might of God on the one hand and the mysteriously permitted power of Satan on the other.

7. The hold which Satan thus has upon the world since the Fall is exhibited to us mainly under two figures,



or modes of conveying to us an idea of the nature of it. Law and the sword, or tenure legal and tenure military, are the two strongest forms of possession known to man. Now Satan's hold is represented to us as 1. a *legal tenure*, resting upon some such mysterious pre-contract as has been above spoken of. The relations between God, Satan, and man, acquire the aspect, and are spoken of in terms, of a judicial process. The condition of the world since the Fall has been, we are told, that of a legally condemned and imprisoned malefactor. Satan is the Accuser, continually presenting in heaven his awful indictment<sup>a</sup>, and pleading the ancient bond by which the world is his. Death is the prison-house, holding man and the world in actual durance<sup>b</sup>. For it is of great importance to observe that death is, properly speaking, a present condition; according as it was said, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die<sup>c</sup>." Dissolution is only the last step and consummation of that condition. And again, human death is not a thing *per se*, and discriminated; it was but the extension to earth of an already existing state of things.

But 2. Satan's hold on man is a *military possession*,

<sup>a</sup> See Job i. 2; Rev. xii. 10; Zech. iii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> St. Chrys., Hom. in loc. Gen.: "From thenceforth, as a prisoner led forth to execution, he is in chains and prison." And correspondently, his restoration to life is spoken of as a present and actually inchoate condition, in this life. St. John v. 24: "He that heareth My Word and believeth . . . hath everlasting life." 1 St. John iii. 14: "We have passed from death unto life." Comp. St. John xi. 26: "Whosoever liveth and believeth in Me, shall never die;" rather than, as our Burial Service renders it, "shall not die eternally."

<sup>c</sup> "Immediately Thou appointedst death on him and his generations," 2 Esdr. iii. 7. "His death was immediate, for death is the separation of the soul from God. Since God is truly life, alienation from Him is truly death. Sin(?), pain, and sorrow are all parts of death, not fore-runners only." Williams on Gen. ii. 17.

obtained indeed by cunning, but maintained ever since by force and violence, (whatever be the mode of exercising such violence in the spiritual world,) against all good agencies that would deprive him of it. Nor are the two modes of tenure, the legal and the forceful, as might seem at first sight, incompatible. God was pleased to respect the mysterious "bond;" to hold back His power from working the deliverance of man and the destruction of Satan, until the terms of it had been fulfilled. These terms, we are informed in Scripture, were that the awful "hand-writing" of the bond could only be cancelled, either in part or entirely, by the exhibition of pure and sinless death. Till then, the military possession and legal imprisonment, and consequent exclusion from God's Presence, would be unassailable. "The strength of sin was the law."

But the means of deliverance were forthcoming. Some portion of the bond was cancelled by the old sacrificial deaths. By means of these, Satan's death-like hold on man was partially relaxed. The deliverance of Israel, by the blood of a lamb, from the punishment of death, due to their idolatry in Egypt, was an instance of this. Under the Law, again, the various sacrificial provisions and purifications did away with so much of the bond as would have inflicted death as the penalty of approaching the lower Presence of God then vouchsafed. And when at last Satan the Accuser was to be cast out<sup>d</sup>, the first step was, entirely and finally "to<sup>e</sup> blot out the hand-writing (or bond) of ordinances that was against us<sup>f</sup>,

<sup>d</sup> Rev. xii. 9, 10.

<sup>e</sup> Col. ii. 14.

<sup>f</sup> St. Leo, Serm. x. de Passione: "Evacuatum est igitur generale illud venditionis nostræ et lethale chirographum; et pactum captivitatis in jus transit redemptoris." And Serm. iv.: "Sanguis immaculati agni antiquæ prævaricationis pacta delebat." That this "handwriting" was a universal bond against all mankind, and is not to be identified with the

that was contrary to us, and to take it out of the way, or abolish it." Not till then did the Great Warrior approach to touch the stronghold of the now powerless Accuser, whose strength had departed from him; and "spoiling principalities and powers, made a shew of them openly, leading a triumph over them<sup>g</sup>." The same order of conception obtains in Heb. ii. 14: "That by Death He might 1. *annul*, (καταργεῖν), or render powerless, in point of law and right, him that had the power of death, that is the Devil, and 2. *deliver* those who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime under *bondage*."

The application of the term REDEMPTION to the work of man's deliverance has its root in these two aspects of Satan's dominion, taken conjointly. It was the paying of a *lawful* or *legally appointed military ransom*, of which the nature and amount had been long ago settled by the Supreme Disposer of the laws of that spiritual warfare. The union of the two ideas appears in the language of the Prophets: "I will *ransom* them from the *power* of the grave; I will *redeem* them from death;" "The Lord hath *redeemed* Jacob, and *ransomed* him from the hand of him that was *stronger* than he<sup>h</sup>." An *enforced ransom*<sup>i</sup>, on the payment of

Mosaic law, (which is only a leaf and partial transcript from it,) is well maintained by Ellicott on Col. ii. 14; and, as he adds, "by most modern commentators." But he falls into the common view of tracing it directly to "immutable principles of justice and rectitude," instead of (as it manifestly should be) to an "economy," or pre-established relation between God and Satan; itself, of course, founded on those principles. See Newman, Sermon xi. vol. v. p. 164; with, however, the same reservation.

<sup>g</sup> The rendering "having stripped away from Himself" (Syr. Copt., and other vv., and Ellicott, q. v.) "the hostile pressure they would fain have exerted on Him," seems unnatural; but amounts to the same thing.

<sup>h</sup> Hosea xiii. 14; Jer. xxxi. 11.

<sup>i</sup> "I will redeem them from Death, and repentance shall be hid from

which Satan was by pre-existent *law* obliged to yield up his captive taken in war, is the proper theological notion of Redemption.

There is, however, another figure, slightly modified from that of *military* captivity, under which man's bondage to Satan is often represented. It is that of a servant or slave obtained by purchase, and capable of being redeemed or bought back again into liberty on the payment of the original price; with this condition annexed, however, that the re-purchaser or "redeemer" must be either the servant himself, having acquired the means to do so, or a *kinsman of his*, but no other<sup>j</sup>. This was probably a very ancient oriental law, or understanding, under which personal bondage had place. Under this figure God frequently speaks of His deliverance of the Israelites out of Egypt: "I redeemed them out of the house of slaves, or of bondage," (not from military captivity). It was as Father and nearest Kinsman that God claimed Israel "His Son, His Firstborn<sup>k</sup>."—More distinctly still was this idea the basis of the Mosaic law of redemption in connection with the year of Jubilee<sup>l</sup>. If a man had sold either himself or his land, he or a kinsman, though no other, had the right to redeem him at an equitable payment. If none could be found, God Himself redeemed at the year of Jubilee, as the carrying out of His work of redemption wrought for the whole nation by bringing them out of Egypt,

Mine eyes;' i.e. Death had no power to resist, [viz. because of a pre-existent decree,] and God would not alter his sentence." Dr. Pusey in loc. So Proclus, in his celebrated Sermon before Nestorius: "It was necessary that such a price should be paid in exchange, as could fully *claim* their release."

<sup>j</sup> See note on Hosea xiii. 11, in Dr. Pusey's Commentary.

<sup>k</sup> Exod. iv. 22.

<sup>l</sup> Lev. xxv.

whereby they became at once His servants and His sons.—Once again, this figure is the basis of the glorious language of Job, ch. xix. He there acknowledges the terrible truth of all that his friends, especially in the preceding chapter, have pressed upon him: the corrupted condition of his body<sup>m</sup> under the hand of Satan, and the likelihood that it would end in death itself<sup>n</sup>; his banishment meanwhile from the light of God's countenance<sup>o</sup>, of which all those things were but symptoms and consequences: to which he specially adds the desertion of him by all his *kinsfolk* and friends. In a word, he admits his condition to be one of utter exile and captivity in the hands of death<sup>p</sup>. Yet through all this he persists in a stedfast conviction, that this state of bondage could and would be overcome at last; that he had a Living Kinsman Who in the last days would stand up against the power of corruption, (or "dust," ver. 25); Who could and would pay the price which alone could buy him back from this condition, and so be his "Redeemer;" and that, this done, his very flesh would be delivered<sup>q</sup> from that death-like condition which now unfitted him for God's Presence and favour, and so "in his flesh<sup>r</sup> he should see God."—Lastly, this aspect of redemption is plainly referred to by St. Paul, Heb. ii. 14. It was not enough in order to qualify Christ to act as the Redeemer of man, that He should take on Him *a* body capable of death; it must be a *human* body,

<sup>m</sup> xviii. 12, 13; xix. 20, 22.

<sup>n</sup> ii. 5; xviii. 14—18; xix. 26.

<sup>o</sup> xviii. 5, 6; xix. 1—11.

<sup>p</sup> xix. 13—19.

<sup>q</sup> Cf. Phil. iii. 20: "We look for the Saviour, who shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto the Body of His glory."

<sup>r</sup> Or this may well mean that he should see God Incarnate—his Kinsman wearing his own flesh.

and so a human Death. Only as a real Kinsman could He claim to redeem: "Forasmuch as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He also took part of the same." For the same reason His Death could not redeem fallen angels, because "He took not on Him the nature of Angels."

8. There were other mysterious conditions required in this death-removing death or dissolution. 1. It might not be by the natural process of decay; probably because such natural death is a *direct* penalty of the Fall, and as such would be unfitted to do away with penal death. But, 2. it must be a death inflicted by the hand of man. If an animal was torn by beasts, for example, its death, though violent and not natural, would not operate sacrificially. Thus, in a marvellous way was the hand of man, which had at the first pulled destruction upon him, commissioned to loose the bonds of his death. Under the old economy, accordingly, the animal was not slain by the priest, but by the offerer<sup>s</sup>, or person to be benefited: except in the case of national offerings, when the priest still represented the offering party, the nation. This mysterious sacrificial law received its loftiest exemplification when the True Lamb was "*slain* by wicked hands;" that is, by man who needed the sacrifice; while yet, being *offered* to God by the pure and Holy Hands of the Victim-Priest, It was accepted to sacrificial purposes. 3. But again, it must be not only a violent death, but a death caused by shedding of blood. Hence, nothing strangled could be offered of old. Blood has been, from the first, the instrument of all redemption. It is not for us<sup>t</sup> to

<sup>s</sup> See Patrick on Lev. i. 5.

<sup>t</sup> St. Athanasius, (De Incarn., p. 76, &c.) and others, have sought to

render a full account of this feature of the economy. But it is clear, from countless intimations of Holy Scripture, that the *exhibition* (in separation from the body), and in some mysterious way the *application*, of the *blood* of the sacrifice was a real and indispensable part of sacrificial (i.e. of death-destroying) operation. The shedding, pouring out, sprinkling of the blood of old, *visibly wrought deliverance from death* before the eyes of men, by shielding them from destruction otherwise inevitable. The blood of the Passover lamb had this effect; and so had the blood sprinkled by Aaron before the Mercy Seat, to approach which without such remedy would have been certain death to him, and doubtless also to all Israel. We know, too, that this was because the life was in the *blood*<sup>a</sup>, and therefore the *death* was, in a manner, in the blood *shed*; and death has power to overcome

penetrate this mystery, as regards our Lord's Death. But it seems best to admit that it is an inscrutable feature of that original and mysterious law which regulates the whole economy of condemnation and redemption. Hence God is said to have "brought our Lord again from the dead through the *blood of the everlasting covenant*," (Heb. xiii.): i.e. the blood which the terms of the primeval covenant or scheme required. The term "blood of a covenant" occurs also Zech. ix. 11; Exod. xxiv. 8; Heb. ix. 4; and still in this sense. All other accounts of the expression, such as "blood that ratifies a covenant," &c., (see Estius on Heb.), fail to assign any intelligible office to the "blood."

<sup>a</sup> Levit. xvii. 11. This statement is thoroughly confirmed by modern science. "Blood is a mighty river of life. It is the mysterious centre of chemical and *vital* actions, as wonderful as they are indispensable." "The roaring loom of Life is never for a moment still, [the blood] carrying fresh fuel to feed the mighty flame of *life*." "*All the tissues* [i.e. the substances] of the body are nourished by the *blood*. As it rushes along the vessels, certain of its elements ooze through the delicate walls of the vessels, and furnish a *plasma* from which the tissues are elaborated." Lewes' *Physiology of Common Life*, vol. i., 1859. Besides which, the secret of *death*, as is well known, is the failure of a due supply of oxygen to the *blood*, in exchange for the carbon which it continually seeks to throw off, and to obtain compensation for.

death. More than this we do not know. But it was not more certain that Christ must suffer, than that His Blood must be shed, and in some true sense and efficacious manner *sprinkled*, (St. Pet. i. 2,) in order to counterwork death and deliver man. Hence, too, the blood is said to redeem; and all that is properly predicated of the death is predicated of the blood.

9. As to the position and bearing of sin, and of moral duty and holiness, in this economy, it may be observed, 1. that as Adam's sin involved his falling *ipso facto* into a condition of death, and of captivity under the hand of Satan; so has every return to sin on man's part been a relapse into that condition. "He that committeth sin is the servant (slave) of sin<sup>v</sup>." Sin brings into captivity to the law of sin; into a death-like condition, called by St. Paul the "body of death," i.e. death in its essential nature and power<sup>w</sup>. The actual sins of men are called "dead works," not as a mere term of detestation, but as possessing and conveying the condition of death. To be walking in trespasses and sins is to be "dead<sup>x</sup>." But, 2. as another effect of Adam's sin was that it unfitted him for God's Presence, heretofore enjoyed, so does sin appear in this character throughout the Bible. Sin is rarely exhibited there in connection with abstract principles of right and wrong, but rather in its effects as involving a privation or diminution of holiness; that is, of fitness for God's Presence, and of actual possession of it. Thus sin and holiness come to possess a *ritual*

<sup>v</sup> St. John viii. 34; Rom. vi. 16.

<sup>w</sup> See Schoettgen on Rom. vii. 24.

<sup>x</sup> Heb. ix. 14; Eph. ii. 1; Col. ii. 13; St. Matt. viii. 22.



aspect throughout. They have to do mainly with the question of acceptable worship and service. The one is viewed as a real disqualification, the other as a real and necessary qualification for it. This view of sin pervades more especially the whole book of Psalms<sup>γ</sup>. The misery of sin—so it is represented—is that it shuts out from God, removes His Presence from men, and men from His Presence; and the joy and good of holiness and duty lies in its being a restoration to these privileges. So, too, in the Prophets, if sin is forgiven, and death, or some of its present effects, done away, the resulting good<sup>z</sup> is the happy dwelling before God in Zion and serving Him.

It is to be observed, 3. that the laws of sacrifice above traced out were not, after all, absolute; but conditioned in all cases, and in every stage of the economy, by moral requirements in the bringer of the sacrifice. This is so plainly set forth in the history of Cain and Abel, and so strongly in the language of David<sup>a</sup>, Solomon<sup>b</sup>, and the Prophets<sup>c</sup>, that it has fostered the error of supposing that the old sacrifices had no power or office at all in the region of the spiritual relations between God and man. But the true view manifestly is, that they were not void, but only voidable. While they had, properly, all that position and effect which, as we have seen, the ancient records distinctly ascribe to them, their

<sup>γ</sup> See Pss. xv., xxiv.; and comp. xxiii. 6; xxvii. 4—7; xxxi. 19, 20; xlii. 4, 8; xliii. 2, 4.

<sup>z</sup> See e. g. Isa. xxiv. 1—12, compared with vers. 13—23; chap. xxv. 6—8, comparing xxvi. 1, 2; xxvii. 13; xxxiii. 17, 20.

<sup>a</sup> Ps. i. 16; li. 16, 17; xl. 6—10, where the *primary* sense is, (see Hengstenberg,) that obedience is the true sacrifice, and the substance of all sacrifices.

<sup>b</sup> Prov. xv. 8; xxi. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Isa. i. 11; lxvi. 3; Jer. vi. 19, 20; vii. 21—23; Hos. viii. 3.

efficacy was still liable to be neutralized<sup>d</sup> by unfitness in the offerer. The only question is,—and it is a very important one,—what was the *measure* of the holiness or moral fitness required in the worshipper? And the answer is, that it varied with, and was, as it should seem, proportioned to, the degree of God's Presence vouchsafed at different stages of the economy.

Concerning the exact degree of requirement in the pre-Mosaic period we are imperfectly informed. We know, however, that a corrupt mind, wanting in faith towards God, and containing the seeds, at least, of envy towards a brother, rendered Cain's sacrifice unacceptable; and that Job's friends had incurred exclusion<sup>e</sup> from acceptable service by unworthy apprehensions of God. Under the Mosaic system, a very full and exact code of moral duties is laid down<sup>f</sup> as the proper condition for abiding acceptably in the more awful and intimate Presence now vouchsafed: an advance, we can hardly doubt, on the moral terms of admission to the earlier and less intense degrees of Presence. At the same time that dispensation was, doubtless, as in its ritual, so also in its moral requirements, administered leniently. As there were dispensations<sup>g</sup> accorded by God from strict ceremonial rules, so, probably, was a degree of moral action, falling properly below the law, accepted as sufficient for receiving covenanted blessings: and a relaxation of its original stringency, on account of the hardness of the people's heart, was in one instance at least super-added to it<sup>h</sup>. On the other hand, the moral and

<sup>d</sup> Compare our Prayer of Access at the Holy Communion: "Grant us *so* to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean," &c.

<sup>e</sup> Job xlii. 7—10.

<sup>f</sup> Exod. xxi.—xxiii.; Deut. vi.—xxv.

<sup>g</sup> St. Matt. xii. 4, 5.

<sup>h</sup> St. Mark x. 5, referring to Deut. xxiv.

spiritual conditions for enjoying the Mosaic degree of the Presence fell far short, at their highest, of those required in order to the closer and more intimate Presence whereby God in Christ abides in His Church, and His Church in Him. This seems to be very clearly laid down by our Lord at the very outset of His Ministry<sup>i</sup>, in words<sup>k</sup> which our Translators, with others, have feared to render in their plain meaning, lest a varying standard of morality should be ascribed to God. But what if the standard set up of old time by God Himself for Israel *was* lower than would one day be required? This, which has been denied by some theologians, and but feebly vindicated by others, becomes, on the view here set forth, perfectly intelligible. The moral nature of God has indeed at all times been the same. But His requirements for entering into, and abiding acceptably in, His anciently vouchsafed Presence, fell short, by the nature of the case, of those laid down for entering into the "King-

<sup>i</sup> St. Matt. v. 20, &c.: "Except your righteousness shall exceed" (rather, abound far above the measure of) "the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees," apparently spoken of here in a favourable sense, "ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."

<sup>k</sup> St. Matt. v. 21: *ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐββέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*, "Ye have heard that it was said *to* (E.V. *by*) them of old time. . . . But I say unto you. . ." The older English versions (see Bagster's Hexapla) rendered it aright. Olshausen and others have endeavoured to vindicate our Version. But the obvious rendering is "to:" and after the fullest consideration, I do not doubt that our Lord is really contrasting what God—say rather what He Himself, as the administrator of the old system—had laid down as sufficient for acceptance (observe especially the laws of approach to the altar, vers. 23, 24) and admission to the then vouchsafed benefits, with what *His* new kingdom would require. The glosses of the Pharisees are indeed glanced at, (ver. 19,) but the precepts referred to as needing to be outdone, or carried out in a higher sense, are without exception those of God Himself. Even "Thou shalt hate thine enemy," ver. 43, is found in substance in Deut. xxiii. 6, "Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days for ever."

dom of heaven," that is, into the enjoyment of the highest degree of His Presence destined for man here and hereafter. The rules prescribed for them of old time exacted only, and that not rigidly, such a degree of moral attainment as God had been pleased to lay down, or as the degree of His Presence under that dispensation required. Meanwhile some, an eminent few, as Enoch, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or as Moses, rising in attainments of faith and holiness far above what was absolutely required under the old system, were admitted to proportionately more intimate degrees of the Presence and Vision of God. And those too of a lower flight, who of old time had qualified themselves by pure seeking of God<sup>1</sup>, (their disadvantages considered), for the "Kingdom of heaven" itself, would hereafter enter into it through the Redemption provided; though of the manner in which the "spirits of just men" would be "made perfect" at last, by application of that Redemption to them, we know but little<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Rom. ii. 7, 10.

<sup>m</sup> Into this, however, (viz. the *mode* of salvation through Christ of the persons described in Rom. ii. 7, 10,) St. Peter would seem to give some insight when he says (1 Pet. iii. 19) that Christ, in the intermediate state, went and preached (or announced deliverance) "to the spirits in prison" or under keeping,—whether of Satan or of God is not clear,—"which sometime had been disobedient" at the time of the flood: announcing to the more faithful among them, and it may be applying to them, salvation. Such is the old patristic notion, and at least a probable one, of this mysterious passage. There is of course the difficulty that they are called "disobedient." Yet it would be rash to conclude that "they were sinners above all men, because they suffered such things," and that none were salvable but Noah and his family. And indeed St. Peter in that very context is engaged in pointing out that Christ "suffered for the *unjust*," and would seem to name Christ's preaching to the "disobedient" ones of Noah's time as a signal instance of that mercy. "He went (*πρὸς τοὺς*) and preached even (*καὶ*) unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient," &c.

10. The positions above laid down seem to furnish a clear answer to the question so much discussed of late years, as to how far, and in what sense, the Sacrifice of Christ's Death was vicarious, and an Atonement. Plainly it was, first of all, so far *vicarious*, that it was an act of championship; the discharging, *for us*, of a work that we must else have done, had we been capable (which, however, we were not) of doing it. And since the very essence and definition of this work was, according to the mysterious law of the Economy, the undergoing of a death, and that, too, by shedding of blood, which of necessity is a death of pain; it follows that Christ truly suffered and died "for us, and for our sins." For us, and in our place, since we ought to have done the work and suffered the redeeming death<sup>n</sup>, if we could have done so: for our sins, since they necessitated this action and suffering. "He gave Himself," then, "for us; the Just," and therefore capable, "for the unjust," and therefore incapable: "He bore *our* griefs, and carried *our* sorrows;" griefs and sorrows properly ours to bear: "the chastisement" which alone could procure "our peace, was on Him," instead of on us; "and with His stripes we were healed." That the wrath of God thus fell on the innocent, is true. But this was, so to speak, an accident of the mysterious Economy. It was not so done in order that a vindictive wrath might have an object whereupon to wreak itself; but that the requirements of a law, the grounds of which are to us inscrutable<sup>o</sup>, might be

<sup>n</sup> Comp. Andrewes, *Preces Privatæ*, FERIA quarta: "Credo in Passionibus, *quas nos oportuit, ne nos*; cruce, maledictionem legis, morte, stimulum mortis, sepultura, corruptionem in sepulchris eternam, sublata."

<sup>o</sup> That is to say, that (as above explained) we cannot possibly know

satisfied. Plainly, too, the Death of Christ was, in perfection, what all previous sacrifices had been in their measure and sphere, an Atonement<sup>p</sup>, or means of reconciliation. By removing that which had shut man out from God's Presence, viz., a deathlike condition, it rendered his entrance into heaven possible: exactly as the old Mosaic sacrifices removed unfitness for entering into the tabernacle Presence.

But, on the other hand, it is plain that Christ did *not* so take our place by suffering and dying, that we should not, in our own persons, undergo each one the exact penalty originally attached to sin, namely, dissolution. Man was to be delivered from this, not by being allowed to evade it, any more than Israel was to escape the Red Sea, or Jonah the ocean: but, like them, by going down into it, and coming up out of it in a new condition, purchased for him by the Death of Christ, and applied to him by a real communion with that Death and with the ensuing Resurrection.

Thus man, both the race and the individual, bears<sup>q</sup>, after all, all that by his nature and position he is capable of bearing; and all that was at the first denounced as his punishment. The original doom,—the

*why* penal death should have required a voluntary death in order to the undoing of it. That it was so, is certain from Scripture. But this fact is the lowest stratum, so to speak, to which our theological knowledge extends, or can extend. On what that stratum itself rests, we are profoundly ignorant.

<sup>p</sup> The word "atonement" occurs but once in our Version; its equivalent, "reconcile, reconciliation," (*καταλλάσσω, καταλλαγή*), frequently. But in O. T. "atonement" is almost always used, representing Heb. *caphor*, and signifying restoration to God's favour and service by payment of a price (Exod. xxx. 16) or the intervention of a sacrifice. *Caphor* (whence perhaps *operire*, 'to cover') is literally to "smear over," (Gen. vi. 14.) hence to "obliterate" the cause of offence.

<sup>q</sup> See St. Aug., De Peccato, ii. 30—34.

universal, the inevitable, the involuntary, the penal death,—the death of the wrongdoer, and of the condemned, as such, falls still on every man. But the Death which alone could hinder that death from being eternal,—the special, the inimitable, the self-chosen, the curative Death, the Death of the Blameless and the Self-devoted,—is freely borne by Christ, that man might not perish everlastingly. In this sense, and to this extent, “by the grace of God He tasted death *for every man.*”

And it is especially to be observed, in contravention of modern and really shallow conceptions, however profound an aspect they may wear, that it was, in the strictest sense, by the *Death* of Christ, not by His *Life*, that the *Redemption* of mankind was effected. Directly, strictly and properly, it was not the holiness of that Life, however holy, nor the Divinity of that Life, however Divine; not this, but the Fact of that Death—that Death as an instrument, as being the Death of a Man perfectly pure and sinless—this it was that by satisfying the conditions of a pre-existent Law<sup>r</sup>, bought man back from everlasting destruction.

At the same time, the part assigned to that Holy Life in the matter of Redemption,—over and above its proper loveliness in God’s sight, for its holiness’ sake, and independently also of its functions for sanctification through mystical communion with it,—is most important. Its part was, manifestly, to constitute and exhibit him a holy and sinless Man, and having *power*, as such, to redeem, by offering a Death innocent, non-penal, and voluntary. His Life fulfilled the preliminary requirements or conditions of the ancient and

<sup>r</sup> St. Athanas., *De Incarn.*, p. 63: “By the sacrifice of His Own Body He put an end to the law which was against us.”

awful Law, "handwriting" or bond; and His Death was therefore of power to annul it, or do it away.

However, provided that we assign to the Death the supreme and prerogative part, we may safely view the Life as blending with it in one sacrificial and reconciling whole. Both the Life of Christ and His Death were well-pleasing to God, an acceptable Gift, "a sweet savour;" but in their several place and way. The holy Life and the obedience of it, for its holiness' and its obedience' sake: the Death for its mighty achievement's sake, as bringing back to God a world else alienated from Him as unholy, and offensive to Him as dead, but now restored to a capacity both for life and holiness. These taken together, and presented by Him to God both as Sacrifice and as Priest, constituted "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." All this cannot be better expressed than in the words of perhaps our greatest Divine, in his greatest work:—

" Christ was therefore sent  
That He might take upon Him the Seed of Abraham,  
And by the Oblation of His Life  
Might fulfil the obedience of the Law,  
And by the Sacrifice of His Death  
Might take away the curse of it; Gal. iii. 13;  
And by His Death  
Might redeem the world,  
And by His Resurrection  
Might restore it to life\*."

Thus far, then, of such points connected with sacrifice in general, and with Christ's Sacrifice in particular, as seem to be suggested by the narrative of the Fall. Other points of the highest importance, and absolutely necessary to right conceptions of the Holy Eucharist,—such as the relation of the offerer to his

\* Bp. Andrewes, *Preces Quotidianæ*, FERIA Sexta, or Friday.



sacrifice,—how he was conceived to be presented in it, and indeed actually was so, and was sanctified as well as “redeemed” by it;—the nature of priesthood;—the relation of the offerer to the priest, and of the bloodless kind of offerings or sacrifices to those consisting of slain victims;—these, and many other points, will be treated of as they arise in connection with the actual history of sacrifice, upon which we proceed to enter.

### SECTION III.

It has been deemed, with much probability, that the first footsteps of actual sacrifice may be traced within the precincts of Paradise itself. Nor can any presumption to the contrary be founded upon the holiness of that place. For where the Devil, and sin, and death could enter, there sacrifice was so far from being out of place, that we should naturally expect, when once we have apprehended its true nature and office, to find it. And the analogy of many subsequent occasions †, on which God instructed man, especially after some fall, to approach Him by the way of sacrifice, renders it infinitely probable that He dealt no less mercifully with our first parents: that He made known to them ‡, bowed down as they must have been with the misery and terror of their new

† Gen. xv. 9; Job xlii. 8; Judges xvi. 23.

‡ Comp. Lewis, *Origines Hebrææ*, iv. 4: “When sin had changed the scene, and mankind was sunk under a state of guilt, he was then to seek for a way to pacify God’s anger: and this was done by bloody and expiatory sacrifices. And as to these, it seems reasonable that they should be founded upon a positive institution: because pardon of sin being a matter of pure grace and favour, whatever was a means to signify and convey that, must be appointed by God Himself, first revealed to Adam, and by him communicated to his children.”

condition, a mode of acceptable and safe approach to Him. And there is at least one positive indication that He did so. That beasts were slain, or, however, suffered death, in Paradise, is certain; the only recorded transaction between God and the first pair between the Fall and the expulsion being, that He "made them coats of skins, and clothed them." This, taken in conjunction with the subsequent law, that even of whole burnt sacrifices the *skin* should be preserved and dedicated to God in the form of priestly clothing<sup>x</sup>, has with much reason been thought to indicate that sacrifice had been offered. And it would certainly be most harmonious, and full of memorial<sup>y</sup> teaching, that of the sacrifice which had re-admitted them in a measure to the forfeited Presence, a result and a record should remain in the form of a covering<sup>z</sup>, hiding their shame in the Presence of God and man. Their sacrifice would thus redound to their permanent and not merely to their temporary covering from God's wrath, and admission to His Presence<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Lev. vii. 8. The skins of sin-offerings for the whole nation, or for the priest, were, however, consumed, (Lev. iv. 11,) in token of the divine wrath.

<sup>y</sup> "If on the sinner's outward frame  
 God hath impress'd His mark of blame,  
 And even our bodies shrink at touch of light,  
 Yet mercy hath not left us bare:  
 The very weeds we daily wear  
 Are to Faith's eye a pledge of God's forgiving might."

CHRISTIAN YEAR—*Sexagesima Sunday*.

<sup>z</sup> Compare Exod. xx. 26: where the importance of the precept is marked by its standing alone in the brief rudimentary statement of the law, as a personal qualification for the priest's appearing in God's Presence.

<sup>a</sup> In perfect accordance with this, Christ our Sacrifice is the Clothing, the permanent hiding and sanctification, as well as from time to time the Food, of His people; "as many as have been baptized into Christ,

However this may be, the history of Cain and Abel furnishes incontestable proof of the existence of sacrifice shortly after the expulsion from Paradise; and when studied by the light of subsequent history, yields, notwithstanding the obscurity of some expressions, no inconsiderable degree of information on the subject of sacrifice.

1. There was at that time a Divine Presence vouchsafed, and most probably localised<sup>b</sup>; it being indicated by a Voice, and it may be also by some outward manifestation: perhaps, as some have thought, by the Cherubic Forms at the East of Eden. The benefits of this Presence were, it seems, confined to local bounds, namely to those of the *land* of Eden, as in after ages to those of Canaan. For Cain *goes out* from the Presence<sup>c</sup>, and dwells to the East of Eden; and his misery is, that he will hereafter be deprived of the protection of God hitherto enjoyed, and exposed to death at the hand of any one<sup>d</sup>. To the seat of this Presence it was that the two brothers

have," as priests unto God, "put on Christ." Gal. iii. 27. It is difficult to imagine, with Ellicott, that there is no allusion here to clothing.

<sup>b</sup> Hooker, v. 11. 1. See Blunt, Veracity of Moses, i. 1; and for an able Essay on the whole subject, Deyling's learned *Observationes Sacrae*, ii. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xiii. 23; xxiv. 20: "Through the anger of the Lord it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until He had cast them out from His Presence (i.e. out of the Holy Land, viz. by the Captivity), that Zedekiah rebelled against the King of Babylon."

<sup>d</sup> A clearer version of vers. 10—14 would be obtained by distinguishing between "the earth" and "the ground" throughout. "Thy brother's blood crieth unto Me from the *ground*," (*adamah*). "And now thou art cursed from the *ground* which hath opened her mouth. . . . When thou tillest the *ground* it shall not," &c. "A vagabond shalt thou be in the *earth*," (*erets*.) "Thou hast driven me forth from the face of the *ground*, (i.e. from its benefits when tilled); and from Thy Face (i.e. Presence), shall I be hid; and I shall be a vagabond on the face of the *earth*."

“brought<sup>e</sup>” their offerings, and, as it seems, to the door or entrance of it, (ver. 7). They came, moreover, at the same time, probably a customary one, and doubtless to *one* altar and priest. And it would seem to follow of necessity, that Adam was the priest to that altar, and offered up the sacrifices.

2. There were two distinct sacrifices, both recognised<sup>f</sup> as such, though consisting of different materials,—animals and fruits of the earth. For both are called by the same name, *minchah*, ‘gift;’ as if equally capable of acceptance, provided there was no defect in the manner or spirit in which they were offered. The idea that Cain’s was rejected because it did not consist of a lamb or other animal, is contradicted by the whole experience of later ages, in which the other kind of sacrifices enjoyed a distinct recognition<sup>g</sup>, and very exalted privileges; and also by the language of St. Paul<sup>h</sup>. It should be observed, however, that under the Mosaic system the acceptability and sacrificial efficacy of the offering of fruits of the earth was, as we shall see hereafter, conditional. 1. If it was a private sacrifice, the circumstances of the offerer must be such as to justify the simpler gift: and 2. it

<sup>e</sup> The word in Hebrew for “brought” is never used about domestic or private sacrifices, but always about those public sacrifices which were brought to the door of the Tabernacle. Patrick, in loc. See Lev. i. 4, &c.

<sup>f</sup> So Guéranger, a modern French writer: “Notwithstanding the difference of their sacrifices, and even in virtue of that difference, Cain and Abel attest by their offerings a pre-established order and ritual, though the sacrifice of the latter was bloody, and of the former not so.” *Institutions Liturgiques*, i. 19; also Williams on Gen., p. 413.

<sup>g</sup> Ebrard (on Heb. xi. 2) errs so widely as to say that fruits, which Cain offered, “were not things adapted for sacrifice.”

<sup>h</sup> In Heb. xi. 1 Abel’s is only called a *better* (or larger, *πλείονα*) sacrifice than Cain’s; it is not even hinted that Cain’s was no sacrifice at all, or that it was incapable of acceptance.

must in any case be conceived of as standing in lieu of, or in close relation to, a *slain* offering; that kind alone possessing, in strictness and *per se*, any sacrificial power. The first of these conditions Cain, as having no flocks of his own, fulfilled: but it is most probable that his rejection was caused by his disregard of the second; by his failing to acknowledge the necessary and proper inferiority of his bloodless offering to those of the class to which his brother's belonged; and so by his want of faith in the already revealed principle, that "without shedding of blood is no remission." A kindred fault, we may observe, to that which St. Paul charges the Corinthians with; the "not discerning" the true relation of the "fruits" to the slain Sacrifice. Cain's was, in the first instance, a ritual sin against God; and his anger, directed first against Him, afterwards vented itself upon his brother, as having, with whatever reason, found more favour with God by his sacrifice. This view accords well with the words of God, (especially as interpreted by the LXX,<sup>1</sup>) "If thou offerest aright, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou dost not, a sin-offering is at the door;" on offering which he might recover his position of acceptableness. It harmonizes also with St. Paul's saying, that "by faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which" (either the faith or the sacrifice) "he obtained witness that he was righteous, i.e. sound in ritual or religious faith; God testifying to the acceptability of his gifts;" and with St. John's, "And wherefore slew he him? because his own works," (or doings in the matter of the sacrifice, since the narrative speaks of no others,) "were evil, and

<sup>1</sup> "If thou offerest, indeed, aright, but dost not discriminate aright, (ὀρθῶς μὴ διελέγεις,) hast not thou sinned?"

his brother's righteous." It may, of course, well have been that Cain united from the first moral<sup>k</sup> to ritual disqualifications for acceptance with God.

3. The ruling conception of sacrifice, in this the first known transaction of that nature, is plainly declared to be that of an *acceptable gift* made by man to God. This appears from the generic name<sup>1</sup> given to both the offerings, signifying as it does a tribute offered to a superior; and from the answer of God to Cain.

4. At the same time, the indispensable *basis* is seen to be the shedding of blood; the removal, in a measure, by the death of a living and innocent creature, of man's unfitness for God's Presence. Sacrifice is *gift on the basis of atonement*.

5. *Faith* in this principle was, if we have read the narrative aright, indispensable likewise. And that faith, coalescing with faith in the promise of One who should altogether do away with the wrath of God and the unfitness of man for His Presence, may well have looked onward (though, for want of knowledge of the Incarnation, very dimly) to entire Redemption by the Blood of Christ. Such a view of Abel's sacrifice has ever prevailed very widely in the Church.

6. The offerer was understood, as we are distinctly told, to be implicitly *accepted* in and by his offering or gift. And that acceptance involved, as appears by the lament of Cain, 1. a blessing on the fruits of the earth, or other means of subsistence; 2. providential

<sup>k</sup> So Irenæus, Hær. iv. 18: "Quoniam (Abel) cum simplicitate et iustitiâ obtulerit," Cain not.

<sup>1</sup> *Minchah*, from *yanoach*, 'to deposit or leave behind,' as a present, generally for a superior, as tribute or to procure favour. See Gen. xxxiii. 10; 2 Sam. viii. 2; rendered in LXX, Gen. iv., and by St. Paul, Heb. xi. 2, by *δῶρον*, or *θυσία*, indifferently.

protection from injury; and 3. above all, right of worship<sup>m</sup> and service before God at the Sanctuary.

7. On yet closer examination of the narrative, we seem to discern, already in existence, the three classes of sacrifice so fully developed afterwards in the Mosaic Law. 1. The whole burnt-offering; 2. the sin or trespass-offering; 3. the peace or eucharistic-offering. Of the first there can be no doubt; some Jewish writers maintaining that no other kind was known before the law. As to the second, provided<sup>n</sup> under the Mosaic law for the expiation of any kind of transgression of ritual requirements, and for some few moral offences, we have seen that such an offering was very probably spoken of here by God Himself. And a reference to Lev. iii. will shew with what good reason some Jewish writers rely upon the special mention here of the "fat<sup>o</sup>," ("the firstlings *and* of the fat thereof,") as pointing to peace-offerings, of which the fat was pre-eminently the part reserved for the altar, the rest being eaten by the priest and the offerer. Thus would the earliest burnt-sacrifice on record seem to have been accompanied by its eucharistic offering and feast. One animal, at least, was wholly con-

<sup>m</sup> "From Thy Face shall I be hid," Gen. iv. 14; i. e. "I am banished from Thy blessed Presence, and shall not have liberty to come before Thy Glorious Majesty." Patrick, in loc.

<sup>n</sup> See Lev. iv. 1—vii. 7, and Outram, Patrick, &c., in loc. It is observable, that the mention of the door or entrance (*pethach*, 'an opening,' but in Gen. *deleth*, 'a door') is made more especially in connection with the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 3, 7, al.), though all sacrifices were brought thither.

<sup>o</sup> Heb. 'fats,' which is a peculiarly sacrificial form, indicating the presence of more than one animal slain as a peace-offering; for in that case the reserved parts were spoken of in the plural, as Lev. ix. 19. It is true the fat is specified in connection with the burnt-offering also (Lev. i. 8), but is far more prominent in the peace-offering (Lev. iii. 3, 4), of which it is said "all the fat is the Lord's."

sumed; another, or others, in part consumed, and the rest eaten with thankfulness.

The objection that animal food was not permitted before the Flood, cannot be sustained<sup>p</sup>; though it is not improbable that the permission was until then confined very strictly to animals solemnly offered in sacrifice, and received an enlargement after the Flood.

8. The view here taken of this primitive offering proceeds throughout upon the supposition of Sacrifice having been of Divine origin<sup>q</sup>. And in truth this is involved in the position taken up throughout this discussion, and borne out by the whole tenor of Holy Scripture; viz. that the object of all Sacrifice was to remove unfitness for the Divine Presence, and so reopen the closed-up communication between God and man. For how, it may be asked, can man conceivably have devised for himself any means which should have

<sup>p</sup> See the writers in *Poli Synopsis*, especially Bochart. It is inconceivable that flocks and herds would have been kept, as Grotius and others suppose, for the sake of the wool and milk only. Estius, in *loc.*, refers to Dominicus à Soto, l. v. 1, for solid arguments in proof of man's having used animal food from the Fall. See also Williams on Gen. iv.

<sup>q</sup> See above, Part I. p. 172. The whole question is ably discussed, and decided in the affirmative, by Deyling, *Observ. Sacræ*, ii. 4, where the authorities on both sides will be found. Among the early writers, strange as it may seem, Justin Martyr, Origen, Irenæus, Cyril, Jerome, and Chrysostom take the negative view, chiefly through the desire of discrediting the pretensions of heathen sacrifices. Eusebius (*Demonstr. Evang.*, c. 10) refers sacrifice to a divine intuition or instinct. The Jewish writers, as Abarbanel and Maimonides, also deny the Divine origin; as do Grotius, Spencer, Warburton, and, later still, Davison, whose work on the subject is unworthy of so able a man. The earlier Roman writers, as Bellarmine, Pereira, take the same side; but among ourselves, Shuckford, Patrick, and many others, uphold the Divine origin, as does the latest Roman ritualist, Gueranger, as referred to above, note, p. 47: "Liturgy dates from the commencement of the world. God deigned to reveal the forms of liturgy, as He gave man thought and speech." So too Mr. Williams, whom none will accuse of any disregard to the earlier writers, p. 404.



power to accomplish this? Or if, again, the ancient sacrifices, including that now under consideration, were, as is universally allowed, types, i.e. copies, or reflections, of the future Christian Economy, then the Divine origin of sacrifice is conceded. For to whom but God was the Original known beforehand, or by what Hand but His could the "copies" receive their shaping? Nor is anything more probable, considering the whole structure of the narrative, than that a very distinct and somewhat full body of ritual and sacrificial instructions had been imparted to Adam at the time of his Fall and expulsion<sup>r</sup>. Cain certainly had a distinct knowledge, as we have seen, of certain privileges, spiritual and temporal, attaching to the Presence and service of God. And besides various particulars of service already touched upon,—the sanctuary Presence; the two materials, and the three classes, of sacrifices; the "bringing" of them to a priest;—all more or less clearly intimated;—it is certain that the distinction of clean and unclean animals prevailed before the Flood, and therefore probably from the very first. And in truth it is well worthy of consideration, whether a revelation concerning sacrifice was not necessarily involved in the original promise, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed," &c. That great battle

<sup>r</sup> The only objection to this supposition, everything else being strongly in favour of it, is that it is not recorded in the Bible; but neither is any mode of communication between God and man, as prayer for example, recorded as having been provided at this period: and yet no one doubts that Adam prayed. And we have instances, in the New Testament especially, of absence of all mention of institutions no less necessary, such as the first ordination of the Christian presbyterate, while that of the first Deacons is recorded; of Baptism of infants; of confirmation. All things considered, could we have expected more than that sacrifice should emerge to view in the very first age, and as the first event after the Fall?

between seed and seed, though consummated in Christ's Victory on the Cross, was to be delivered all along the line of the generations from Adam. And what else but *sacrifice* was the weapon placed in man's hand to wage it withal? By what else did the first "woman's seed," Abel<sup>s</sup>, overcome the Wicked One, and his seed, but by his faithful sacrifice? And throughout, "the weapons of that warfare have been not carnal," not even mental merely, but "spiritual;" it is by the mysterious powers of sacrifice that the "strongholds" of the Devil have been "pulled down," and man has had access to God.

And all this would involve what in subsequent history is called a Covenant; a dispensation, that is, teaching certain mysteries and duties, and promising certain benefits to the faithful subjects of it. Nay, further; since we know of no age, from the Flood downwards, in which the mind of man was not allowed to rest *retrospectively*<sup>t</sup> on some great precedent sacrificial fact or set of facts, serving at once to remind God of His promises (so it is represented) and to re-assure man; it becomes probable that the sacrifices of the first ages also, from Adam to Noah, looked back to the one primeval sacrifice, of which they were at once the renewal, and the means of pleading it perpetually. And the peculiar commendation given to Abel's offering of a *lamb*, — the similar substitution

<sup>s</sup> See Gen. iv. 25.

<sup>t</sup> Thus from the Flood onward, to this hour, man's faith and God's truth have rested, as regards the preservation and blessing of the world, on the covenant made with Noah as the fruit of his sacrifice; from Abraham to Moses, on the accepted sacrifices of the patriarchs, culminating in that of Isaac and his substitute lamb; from Moses until Christ, on the Sinaitic dispensation, and through that, again, on the Passover lamb and the patriarchal sacrifices aforesaid; from Christ until now, on the One perfect Oblation, offered in time past, and now pleaded continually.

made for Isaac,—the selection made by God in the Mosaic period of a lamb both for the Passover and for the continual Sacrifice,—and, finally, the application of that title to Christ, all conspire to render it probable that the primeval sacrifice of all was essentially and chiefly no other than a lamb<sup>u</sup>, whatever other offerings might be conjoined with it. If this supposition be admitted, it imparts a marvellous uniformity and homogeneousness to the religious faith of the world from first to last. Always a covenant,—always memorial,—always a lamb slain long ago,—always ordained means of participation; surely we may say that, to all appearance, the main elements of Christian and Eucharistic belief and practice were familiar to mankind in all ages.

The next glimpse that we obtain of sacrifice, or sacrificial regulations, is in the command of God to Noah to take the “clean and unclean beasts” into the ark; followed, after the Flood, by a sacrifice of “every clean beast and every clean *fowl*.” This incident furnishes absolute proof that the distinction between clean and unclean was, 1. patriarchal, and not Mosaic, as to date; and 2. was primarily and properly a *sacrificial* distinction, and not, as Maimonides<sup>x</sup> and other writers have represented it, a merely dietetic or sanitary one. As animal life, taken by man, and

<sup>u</sup> This also derives some countenance from Rev. iii. 8, where, however, it is certain from the Greek, and from comparing xvii. 8, that we must not render “the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;” but, “and all shall worship the beast, whose names have not been written in the Book of Life of the Lamb that was slain, even from the beginning of the world.”

<sup>v</sup> Gen. vii. 2, viii. 20.

<sup>x</sup> More Nevochim, iii. 48. See Patrick on Lev. xi. 2, Michaelis and others.

dedicated in ways of God's appointing, had an exclusive permission to unloose in a measure the bonds of the primeval curse ; and *that*, as it should seem, by reason of the blamelessness, the freedom from proper moral taint, of the lives and deaths of all such creatures : so, among those creatures, was a selection made of such as are the most innocent and meek in disposition.

That there is such a higher and lower morality, so to call it, among animals, is undeniable : and the selection made in Holy Scripture of animals sacrificially efficacious and acceptable, corresponds with sufficient accuracy to the moral classification of them. The criterion under the Levitical, and doubtless under the more ancient system, was "the chewing of the cud and parting of the hoof<sup>†</sup>." Now the class of animals so distinguished, the *ruminantia* of modern science, provided they be not also whole-hoofed, have no upper *incisores*<sup>‡</sup>, and so are not carnivorous, or only accidentally so. And again, not having claws, as the rapacious animals, nor yet (like the horse, camel, and other "solid-ungulates") feet adapted for swiftness or defence, they are in their nature milder than the carnivorous and whole-hoofed genera<sup>‡</sup>. Thus constituted,

† Lev. xi. ; Deut. xiv.

‡ Patrick, Lev. xi. 3.

\* The *ruminantia* form the 11th subdivision of *mammalia* in the system of Cuvier : the *bisulca* or *pecora* of Blumenbach and Linnè. The *solipeda* or *solidungula* are the 12th subdivision. It is surely very remarkable that the sacrificial prohibitions of old time should have been based on real physiological distinctions, now elicited by modern science : and it proves incontestably that those prohibitions were not merely typical or instructive, but had reference to certain effects which, in the spiritual region, followed upon those physical characters. The *solidungula* are now more commonly remanded to the subdivision *pachydermata* : yet they have doubtless a physiological character of their own. Modern science, as the handmaid of theology, would do well to investigate these points more closely. It is observable that the *ruminantia*, if not *solidungulate*, the "clean" animals of Scripture, are born without their wea-

they had a threefold fitness for sacrificial purposes: viz. 1. the peculiar innocence of their lives, which imparted to their deaths by bloodshedding a closer conformity to the requirements laid down for removal of the ancient curse: 2. their superior though not exclusive fitness, in a moral<sup>b</sup> connection, for human food; it being an admitted fact that certain kinds of flesh have a direct effect on the disposition; a consideration of the highest importance when we remember that the eating of the sacrifices was a religious and spiritually-profitable action, a means of imparting to men the acceptance vested in the sacrifice, and a form of joyful religious service<sup>c</sup>: 3. their greater wholesomeness physically considered. This last consideration, though manifestly a secondary and accidental one, has by some<sup>d</sup> been elevated into the sole and principal object of the distinction between clean and unclean. Or at best this has been viewed as merely a means of keeping the Jewish nation apart from others, not of keeping them holy and fit for God's service. The former purpose it doubtless answered likewise, and was designed to do so. But its pre-Mosaic antiquity indicates a deeper and wider design.—It need only be

pons of defence, viz. the horns, and as such are peculiarly harmless when young. It has been said that the hare is wrongly classed in Holy Scripture among ruminants, as not having four stomachs. But the most recent inquiries prove that it *is*, nevertheless, an occasional and partial ruminant. (See Brewster's *Encycl.*, arts. *Anatomy*, *Mazology*.)

<sup>b</sup> Very wisely says an old Jewish writer, "The body being the seat of the soul, where it doth its business, the Law removes from us all those things which may hinder the soul in its operations. Such and such meats are forbidden as breed ill blood. Among which if there be some whose hurtfulness is neither visible to us nor to physicians, do not wonder at it; for the faithful Physician who forbids them, is wiser than any of us."

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xii. 7, 12, 18.

<sup>d</sup> As Maimonides, Michaelis, and a host of followers.

added, that in the Abrahamic<sup>e</sup> and Mosaic stage of the system, the sacrificially acceptable animals were, as far as we know, reduced to three,—oxen, sheep, and goats; a restriction corresponding probably to the advanced degree of Presence then vouchsafed, which demanded the purest and most domesticated even of the more harmless animals. Meanwhile the ancient prohibition against eating, even in a common meal, any other than the “clean” sorts, remained in full force: and even of these, the blood, for religious and sacrificial reasons to be treated of hereafter, might not be eaten.—With regard to birds, no criterion was given; but it has been justly observed that most and probably all of the birds forbidden<sup>f</sup> by name are carnivorous. By the Mosaic law, the only birds fit for sacrifice were the mild turtle-dove and pigeon.—The case of reptiles and of fish is peculiar: they were not offered in sacrifice, and yet they are divided into clean and unclean. Though none of them were, therefore, for reasons unknown to us, fit for sacrifice, doubtless certain of them, exactly as in the other orders of creatures, and for the like reasons, were in their nature more harmful and religiously defiling to man than others. And we observe that, among fish, those which, as being without scales or fins, were *akin* to the specially-accursed serpent<sup>g</sup>, are forbidden: while amongst reptiles, those only which were *furthest removed*, by physical formation<sup>h</sup>, from the serpent class, were allowed to be eaten.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. xv. 9.

<sup>f</sup> Lev. xi. 13—19. It is in some cases uncertain now what bird is meant. See Pictorial Bible, in loc.

<sup>g</sup> This affinity was remarked of old: see above, p. 21, note z.

<sup>h</sup> Viz. the locust, Lev. xi. 21, 22, where four kinds of locust (not beetle, as in A. T.) seem to be enumerated, (Kitto, in loc.) The unequal

It is not to be doubted that in the animals thus pronounced "clean" there was real capacity, as compared with the others, for receiving sanctification themselves through impartation of God's holiness, and for becoming a medium of it to man. Their closer affinity in point of disposition to moral goodness and holiness as seen in man<sup>i</sup>, marked them out as fit beyond others for this purpose. Nor—so inscrutable a mystery to us is all animal life—can we possibly pronounce, from any knowledge we possess, against the probability of such an economy; while the certain fact of our own consecration at the present hour through the yet lower organisms of fruits of the earth affords a strong *à fortiori* presumption in favour of it.

The "unclean" creatures, on the other hand, were no doubt, while the economy lasted, really unfit in themselves for being either the seat or the medium of such Divine effluences: and to partake of them was to contract a real unfitness<sup>k</sup> for drawing near to the Divine Presence.

legs of this tribe, enabling them to leap into the air, are spoken of as placing them, no doubt truly, in a different physiological category from all such as creep on the belly as the serpent, go on all fours as the lizard, or on any number of even legs (Heb. *multiply feet*) as many others, (ver. 42). The remarkable prohibition against offering *honey* in sacrifice is doubtless to be referred to its being the production of an "unclean" insect. "Ye shall burn no leaven nor any honey in any offering to the Lord," (Lev. ii. 11). It was not *only* because it was a favourite and natural offering in Gentile sacrifices.

<sup>i</sup> Comp. Hengstenberg on the old sacrifices, (Clark, 1860): "If in them man offers himself, then must he, to use De Maistre's expression, choose the most *human* offerings; those which are most nearly connected with men; and of these, again, the most meek, innocent, pure and valuable."

<sup>k</sup> It may seem, at first sight, as if our Lord's words in St. Matt. xv. 11, St. Mark vii. 18, forbade us to suppose that real "defilement" was

The foundation of these distinctions,—of this varying capacity for sanctification and acceptableness,—would seem to lie deep in that curse, to which the animal creation was, in various degrees, subjected at the Fall. The serpent was then declared cursed “*above* all cattle and beasts.” There were, therefore, degrees in that curse, though it was shared by all: and the varying degrees of moral goodness which we trace in them, may well be due to the lines of that curse having been impressed in varying measure and depth upon their nature. In full accordance with this, we observe that God Himself, in setting forth the table of prohibited creatures, applies far stronger terms of detestation as the creatures approach nearer to the supremely-accursed serpent. To eat of unclean animals is spoken of as involving uncleanness; but to eat of certain kinds of fish, or of flying or of creeping creatures, specially of whatsoever “goeth upon the belly,” is declared to be “an abomination.” And the language used in closing the table of prohibitions (Lev. xi.) is so solemn and awful, as to convince us that a profound religious mystery, of the utmost concernment at that time to man’s spiritual condition, was involved in these distinctions. “Ye shall not make

contracted by partaking of any kind of food. But though, no doubt, He glanced at the Mosaic rules for purification, and at exaggerated notions of their importance, the occasion of His words was not breach of a Mosaic rule, but only of a tradition of the elders, and they may have no reference to the distinction of meats, but only to bodily filth. Or at the utmost they may well be understood in the same way as “mercy, and not sacrifice.” These things could not “defile the man,” that is the entire man, in his highest aspect, his fitness for heaven, though they might have needed to be abstained from hitherto. St. Paul’s words, Rom. xiv. 14, are subsequent to the cleansing of all things by Christ: “I know and am persuaded, *in the Lord Jesus*, that nothing is unclean in itself:” a reference probably to h. l., and to St. Peter’s vision.



yourselves abominable<sup>1</sup> with any creeping thing, neither shall ye make yourselves unclean by them, that ye should be defiled thereby; for I am the Lord your God: ye shall therefore *sanctify yourselves*, and ye *shall be holy; for I am Holy.*" In a perfectly parallel manner, a certain product or phase, though a single one only, of the vegetable world, viz. leaven, as involving corruption, was forbidden in the most solemn language to be presented to God in sacrifice, or eaten as sacrificial food<sup>m</sup>; exactly as salt, the antidote to corruption, *was* to be offered. It conveyed real unholiness.

By the Incarnation<sup>n</sup> and Passion of Christ, that casting out of the lower creation from the Presence of God, which dated from the Fall, was brought to an end: so that henceforth no defilement or unfitness for God's worship resided therein, nor was contracted by partaking of those creatures. To this extent the curse was removed, though "the expectation of the creature" still "waits for the manifestation of the sons of

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew noun (*shekets*) is used of physical filth, (Nahum iii. 6, "I will cast filth upon thee"); then of idols, (1 Kings ii. 5,) as being in God's sight what such filth is in man's. The verb signifies to loathe such filth, (Deut. vii. 26,) "Thou shalt utterly detest it as filth."

<sup>m</sup> Exod. xxxiv. 25; Lev. ii. 11; Amos iv. 5. In Lev. vii. 13, indeed, leavened bread is admitted as an *accompaniment* to the peace-offering. Lyra thinks this cannot be meant, but only an additional gift *to the priest* of a kind of bread not admissible on the altar. But the words are, "Besides the unleavened cakes he shall *offer for his offering* leavened bread, with (or for) the sacrifice of thanksgiving." And thus doubtless indicated the sanctification of leavened through the medium of the unleavened, which certainly could not have been offered alone. It will be seen hereafter that the materials for the Eucharist were probably supplied by the provision thus made of *leavened* bread, as an accompaniment to Jewish peace-offerings.

<sup>n</sup> Bishop Andrewes, speaking of the Incarnation, says, "All the green things of the earth were the better for it."

God” and for some portion in it°. This was first announced by the rending of the veil of the Temple at the moment of Christ’s Death: signifying that all men, and all creatures, who “sometime were far off, were now brought nigh by the Blood of Christ,” and by the removal of their curse and unfitness, not only to the Mosaic, but to the heavenly Presence of God<sup>p</sup>. But the same truth was yet more distinctly conveyed in St. Peter’s vision<sup>q</sup>: “All manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air” were there exhibited as having been, in a deeply mysterious manner, admitted into some degree of heavenly presence. For “*from heaven*” are they “let down,” and thither “received up again.” By this was declared, as “the Voice” itself testified, the re-sanctification of those creatures, to eat of which, a few only excepted, had until now rendered man unholy, i.e. unfit for ritual service and acceptance with God. And this great fact carried in it the admissibility of the Gentiles,—exactly as they were, and without any outward purification, or abstinence from particular meats,—not merely into the Mosaic degree of access to God, but into that far loftier one which Christ came to lay open. And thus, by the removal of this “curse,” that became possible, which was beforehand all but inconceivable,

° On this deeply mysterious subject see the profound and touching discourses of Dean Ellicott, on “The Destiny of the Creature,” 1858. Also Williams on Genesis, pp. 386—398.

<sup>p</sup> The lofty height of re-sanctification to which the lower creation was restored and raised by the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, would seem to be indicated by His having partaken, in the wondrous period of His transition towards His glory-throne, of ordinary food: and especially of those very creatures which, from their having fallen more deeply under the ancient curse, had never been permitted to be brought near to God in sacrifice; viz. “fish, and the honeycomb,” St. Luke xxiv. 42.

<sup>q</sup> Acts x. 12.

and which accordingly ever filled St. Paul with such adoring wonder; viz. "that the Gentiles," remaining Gentiles still, "should be fellow-heirs, and of the same Body."

That this, and no mere typical teaching, was involved in St. Peter's vision;—and that the question of Gentile admission hinged on *a fact* then made known, the abolition of the distinction of meats;—is plain from hence, that at the Council, in giving his opinion as to that question<sup>r</sup>, he falls back solely on that vision as the ground of it: declaring that God, by giving them the Holy Ghost, had manifestly testified to the sufficiency of Christ's redeeming and cleansing work, joined to faith in Him,—without circumcision, bodily purification, or abstinence from meats,—in order<sup>s</sup> to such reception of God's Presence, and of salvation. This fact, he irresistibly argued, was a proof that the old defilement and disqualification was no longer contracted by Gentile ways of living in the matter of food: as indeed his vision had previously signified to him, by declaring that "what God had cleansed was no longer to be called common," or defiling. And this seems to account for the apparent vacillation of St. Paul, and indeed of the whole body of Jewish converts at Jerusalem<sup>t</sup>, as to the observance of the Law. Its purifications and abstinences were no longer *neces-*

<sup>r</sup> Acts xv. 6—11.

<sup>s</sup> "God," he contends, "which knoweth the hearts," as to man's fitness for His Presence and Gift, "testified to their fitness, giving them the Holy Ghost just as He had to us, and put no difference between us and them, *purifying* their hearts by faith." And again, ver. 11: "It is by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," not through any help of the Mosaic purifications, "that even we Jews look to be saved, just as they do." Cf. Gal. ii. 15: "Even we who are Jews, not Gentile aliens, rest solely for our justification on Christ, not on our Mosaic position or observances."

<sup>t</sup> Acts xxi. 20, 21.

sary for those who had embraced the faith of Christ: For such they were superfluous, their right of access to a higher Presence including access to the lower: so that circumcision or uncircumcision was nothing: But they might blamelessly conform *ex abundantia*, and as a token of nationality, to Mosaic rules, provided they did not conceive of them as having anything to do with salvation<sup>u</sup>.

The sacrifice offered by Noah is further remarkable for the first mention (1) of an altar; (2) of burnt-offering (*olah*) by name; (3) of a sweet savour accompanying it, and indicating probably (as will be seen hereafter) the presence, (4) of wine, and (5) of incense; and (6) of the number seven in connection with sacrifice: all which, therefore, would belong to the antediluvian sacrificial system. This is also the first *recorded* instance of a covenanted blessing, granted in connection with sacrifice. We have already seen reason for believing that such a covenant was vouchsafed from the first, and was the basis of subsequent sacrificial action and pleading, including that of Noah himself. And now, this purely voluntary act of his, his singular piety, and the unstinted<sup>v</sup> abundance of

<sup>u</sup> See Acts xvi. 3, xxi. 20—27; Rom. iii. 30; 1 Cor. vii. 19, comparing Gal. v. 2—6. It would seem that for adherents to the Law, who had not yet embraced the Gospel, Mosaic rites still retained their proper force as the mode of admission to the Temple Presence. The old religion and system was not destroyed as yet; it was only “waxing old and ready to vanish away.” See Rom. ii. 25: “Circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the Law.” Heb. viii. 4: “There are priests that offer according to the Law.”

<sup>v</sup> Gen. viii. 2: “Noah took of *every* clean beast, and of *every* clean fowl.” Now in Deut. xiv. 4, 5, ten clean animals are mentioned by name, and there must have been many more coming within the criterion. *All* non-rapacious birds were probably clean.

his offerings, draw forth from God an altogether new and additional assurance of mercies extending to all mankind and to all living creatures<sup>x</sup>. So that the blood of Noah's sacrifice proved to be "the blood of a new Covenant shed for many," as well as for those present, removing a curse, and including within its propitiatory effects all generations, and all terrestrial being.

Here then the features of Christ's Eucharistic Offering of Himself were imaged with marvellous distinctness, and on a scale of great magnitude. Upon His accomplishing that great Deed of purely voluntary Offering,—an Offering perfect in its piety, and priceless in its value, and involving the shedding of His Blood,—there arose forthwith so "sweet a savour" to His Father, that He was empowered, by His Divine Intuition and Knowledge of the Father's Will, to announce to the disciples a NEW COVENANT of mercy granted to Him for the benefit of the whole world. Having, by His "giving of thanks," yielded Himself "an Offering and a Sacrifice to God," He said, "This Cup is the New Covenant in My Blood . . . shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins," and so for the entire removal of the "curse," and for a blessing for perpetual generations. And as God's blessing was primarily to Noah and sons, and through them to their seed after them<sup>y</sup>, so did Christ pray first for the Apostles and then "for all them that should believe through their word."

#### SECTION IV.

THE sacrificial system which we have now traced down to the time of Noah, and which received so signal a ratification immediately after the Flood, would

<sup>x</sup> Gen. viii. 21, 22, ix. 9, 12.

<sup>y</sup> Gen. viii. 9.

be likely to be maintained, though it might be with some corruption, until the epoch of the Dispersion, in the fourth or fifth generation after; and would by that event be carried into all countries. Accordingly, it is impossible not to be struck with the perfect coincidence<sup>a</sup> of the main outlines, as well as of many of the details, of sacrificial worship, whether offered to the True God or to false gods, in all ages and lands; whether as disclosed to us by the Biblical records, or by the ancient classical writers. Confining our attention, in the first instance, to the Biblical records, and reserving for the present the consideration of the more developed sacrificial economy peculiar to Abraham and his seed, we observe that the histories of Melchisedek, of Job, of Laban, of Jethro, of Balaam, of Naaman, and of Jonah and his companions, furnish instances of sacrificial worship rendered to the true God at the hands of others than the chosen people. But the Scriptures also make known to us, incidentally, the manner of sacrificing to false gods among many nations, as the Egyptians<sup>a</sup>, Canaanites<sup>b</sup>, Moabites<sup>c</sup> and Ammonites, Philistines<sup>d</sup>, Syrians<sup>e</sup>, Babylonians<sup>f</sup>, Tyrians<sup>g</sup>, Greeks<sup>h</sup>, Lycaonians<sup>i</sup>, and others. And on a review of these instances of scripturally recorded Gentile sacrifices, idolatrous or otherwise, we find, as a general rule, a close accordance with the primeval laws

<sup>a</sup> Gueranger (Instit. Liturg., p. 22) speaks of "la ressemblance frappante des formes religieuses employées par la plupart des peuples Gentils, avec les rites liturgiques du peuple israélite;" and rightly inclines to view it as "un débris des traditions patriarcales."

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxxii. 6; 1 Kings xii. 32, comparing xi. 40.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xxxiv. 13.

<sup>c</sup> Numb. xxv. 2; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings iii. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Judg. xvi. 23.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Kings v. 17, xvi. 10.

<sup>f</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 30, 35.

<sup>g</sup> 1 Kings xvi. 31, 32.

<sup>h</sup> Acts xvii. 23.

<sup>i</sup> Acts xiv. 13.

of sacrifice as already adduced, and with what we afterwards meet with in the Mosaic system. Thus the animals offered, sheep and oxen<sup>k</sup>; the manner of offering<sup>l</sup>, by slaying and burning with fire on an altar; the accompaniments of fruits of the earth (meat and drink offerings<sup>m</sup>), and of incense<sup>n</sup>; the feasting<sup>o</sup>; the three<sup>p</sup> classes of offerings; the object of the entire action, permission to draw nigh to God's Presence with pardon and acceptance<sup>q</sup>; the power of offering acceptably, vested in particular persons<sup>r</sup>; the regard paid to the number seven<sup>s</sup>; are the same in both cases. In the sacrifices to false gods, indeed, there are notable departures from the Divine sacrificial rules; such as the offering of unclean<sup>t</sup> animals, of leaven and of human victims<sup>u</sup>, and the eating of things strangled, and the drinking of blood<sup>x</sup>. But the correspondence in all main points, and not the occasional diversity, is still the noticeable circumstance.

So, again, when we turn to the pages of classical antiquity we find there a full confirmation of the

<sup>k</sup> Job xlii. 8; Numb. xxii. 40; 1 Kings xviii. 23.

<sup>l</sup> See especially 1 Kings, *ibid.*, and xii. 32, 33.

<sup>m</sup> Gen. xiv. 18; Deut. xxxii. 38; Isa. lvii. 6, lxx. 11; Jer. vii. 18, xix. 13.

<sup>n</sup> 2 Chron. xxxiv. 25; 1 Kings xiii. 1; Jer. vii. 9, xlv. 17, xlvi. 35.

<sup>o</sup> Gen. xxxi. 54; Exod. xviii. 12 and xxxii. 6, xxxiv. 15; Numb. xxv. 2; Deut. xxxii. 38.

<sup>p</sup> Viz. 1. Burnt-offering (*olah*), Job i. 5, xlii. 8; Exod. xviii. 12, xxxii. 6; Numb. xxiii. 3; 2 Kings v. 17; and see Jonah i. 16. 2. Peace or feast-offering (*shelamim, zebach*), Exod. *ibid.* and xxxii. 6; Deut. xxxii. 38; 2 Kings v. 17; 1 Cor. x. 20, 21. 3. Sin-offering (though not so called), Job xlii. 8.

<sup>q</sup> Numb. xxiii. 3; Job, *ib.*; 2 Kings v. 17, 18.

<sup>r</sup> Gen. xiv. 18; Job, *ib.*; Exod. iii. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Numb. xxiii. 1; Job, *ib.*, with Numb. xxviii. 27, xxix. 32.

<sup>t</sup> Isa. lxvi. 3, 17.

<sup>u</sup> Isa., *ib.*; 2 Kings iii. 27.

<sup>x</sup> Ps. xvi. 4; Acts xv. 20.

account thus rendered in the Bible of Gentile sacrifice<sup>7</sup>. We trace too the same departures as have been just noticed, from the Divine ordinances in the matter. This was a natural consequence of the sacrifices having been perverted as to their object, by being offered to false gods. In seeking to propitiate, not beneficent powers, but powers of evil, they would be not unlikely to offer the very animals, and employ the very rites, which God had forbidden to be used in sacrificing to Him. Accordingly we find swine offered to Ceres, horses to the Sun, dogs to Hecate, fish, especially eels, to marine gods. So again, we read, exactly as in the Psalms, of the drinking of blood (so strictly forbidden in the Mosaic and doubtless also in the earlier systems) having been, though but occasionally, practised. But all this was plainly exceptional. The more ordinary usages of heathen sacrifice, as recorded by the classic writers, are exactly those which we have just gathered from the Bible, and the accordance of which with primeval and Mosaic sacrificial institutions is so striking: while such additional particulars as they make known to us are no less accordant with those institutions. Every classical reader will recal the twofold materials for sacrifice,—animals or birds, and the fruits of the earth; the mode of offering them by slaying and burning; the decided preference for oxen, sheep, and goats

<sup>7</sup> "In one particular," says an eminent authority, "the Greek mythological system stood indebted at least to a primitive tradition, if not to a divine command: I mean the *institution of sacrifice*. This can hardly be supposed to have been an original conception, in any country; and it distinctly points us to a common origin. Sacrifice was, according to Dr. Döllinger, an inheritance which descended to the Greeks from the pristine times before the division of the nations." *Studies on Homer*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, vol. ii. p. 15.



among animals, and for flour and wine<sup>z</sup> among fruits of the earth; the extraordinary efficacy<sup>a</sup> attached to the taking of the life, and to the blood; the pouring out of the blood, received into cups<sup>b</sup>, upon the altar; the purification of places of assembly by sprinkling<sup>o</sup> of blood; the outward purity required in worshippers, by the washing of hands, feet, and garments; the different treatment of the slain victims, some being entirely<sup>d</sup> burnt, others only in part, the rest being eaten by priest and people<sup>e</sup>; while a third sort were called piacular; the never-failing accompaniments of salt<sup>f</sup>, and frankincense, and the acceptance ascribed to the sweet smell<sup>g</sup>: and many other points of close resemblance with the Mosaic and Scriptural laws of sacrifice.

This correspondence, of which some further instances will be given presently, is abundantly sufficient to establish the oneness, as to derivation, of all sacrifice throughout the world. And there is one circumstance which strongly confirms this traditional and divine descent; viz. the strangeness and inadequacy, to human view, of the provision thus made

<sup>a</sup> Ovid, Met. viii. 274: "Primitias, frugem Cereri, sua vina Lyæo."

<sup>b</sup> Æneid. ii. 118: "*Sanguine* quærendi reditus, *animâque litandum*." Cf. Lev. xvii. 11: "For the *life* is in the *blood*, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an *atonement* for your souls."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Exod. xxiv. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Aristoph. Ecclesiaz.

<sup>d</sup> Virg. Æn. vi. 253: "Et *solida* imponit taurorum viscera flammis," i.e. the entire carcases. Servius, in loc.

<sup>e</sup> Ovid, Met. xii. 154: "Sacra tulere suam, pars est data cætera mensis." And in the curious oracle of Apollo, preserved by Porphyry, (Euseb. Præp. Evang. iv. 9,) *ἄκρα μὲν Ἡφαίστῳ δομέναι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάσασθαι* is the instruction given.

<sup>f</sup> Æn. ii. 133: "Fruges salsae;" also called "mica salis," (Ov.) "mola salsa."

<sup>g</sup> Ov. Met. xii. 153: "Et Dis acceptus penetrauit ad æthera nidor."

for approaching the Deity with acceptance. The ancients had a strong sense of this themselves. The scoffs of the satirist<sup>h</sup>, and the reasonings of the philosopher, were with much force directed against the system: yet it still maintained its ground. In vain it was urged that the slaying of animals, and burning of them on an altar, could not be acceptable to the Divine Nature: that duty and holiness were the *only*<sup>i</sup> sacrifice required. Chiefly from respect to the traditions of their fathers, though also, doubtless, from finding in the sacrifices an answer to instinctive cravings after *some* atonement, men still cherished this way of religious service. Nor, I venture to conceive, should we err in attributing to the heathen sacrifices, offered as they often were with pure intent, and in simple obedience to a genuine though now dimmed and perverted revelation, a certain acceptableness with Him, Whom by this means, though blindly, they “felt after<sup>k</sup>.”

<sup>h</sup> Persius, ii. 30:—

“Quâ tu mercede Deorum  
Emeris auriculas? pulmone, et lactibus unctis?”

<sup>i</sup> See this whole idea most elaborately worked out by Porphyry, as preserved by Eusebius, Præp. Evangel. iv. 7—15. He insists with much eloquence and beauty on the purity of the Divine Nature, Its abhorrence of death, blood, and slaughter: and hence concludes that no sacrifice should be offered to the *Supreme* Deity, but only to the lower gods. It is needless to say that in the system which has been above traced out the paradox finds its solution. The Divine abhorrence of death, considered as the result of sin, was the very cause of the merciful appointment of purer forms of death, duly invested by the Divine ordinance with a remedial power, to the function of admitting man to acceptable worship.

<sup>k</sup> Acts xvii. 27. From this point of view, nothing can be more beautiful or devout than the last words of Socrates, which have been condemned (as e.g. by Origen c. Cels. 6) as a relic of mere heathen blindness,—“We owe a cock to Esculapius,” (Phædo, c. 155);—a sacrifice of thanksgiving, that is, to the great Physician, who has made death itself to be the true restorative to life. See Fisch., in loc.

It is of the utmost importance to our present subject thus to have proved the existence throughout the world of an uniform sacrificial system, undoubtedly of Divine origin as to its forms, though in later ages entirely perverted as to its object, and in some degree corrupted as to the forms themselves. For there is every reason for saying, that the great Eucharistic Institution assumed as its basis, and as the security both for its intelligibility, and for its acceptance throughout the *Gentile* world, the existence of such a universally diffused sacrificial system. To that universal system, and not *merely*, though specially, to the Mosaic development of it, was our Lord's Eucharistic Action and Language adapted. Out of the Mosaic system indeed, and from that alone, as we shall see hereafter, could some particulars be fully apprehended. But for the comprehension of its general tenor, a basis had been widely and substantially laid in the *Gentile* mind also. In order to appreciate the extent to which this was done, it will be necessary to dwell on one or two further points in the *Gentile* system; features whose significance, though utterly beyond the reach of the *Gentile* mind at the time, may now, by the light of Mosaic and Christian revelation, be distinctly seen.

It is, then, much to be observed, as an unfailling feature of *Gentile* sacrifice, when properly performed, that animals were never offered alone, but always with an accompaniment of flour and wine. Nor only so.

May we not with reverence conceive that He who preached unto the "spirits of just men in prison," (above, p. 44, note m), brought to the pure-minded heathen philosopher some such message as this,— "Whom, not knowing Him, thou didst worship, Him declare I unto thee?"

The victim, though itself the efficacious element of the sacrifice, was offered *by means of the bread and the wine*. The bread was broken and sprinkled on the head of the animal while alive; and again wine, with frankincense, was poured between its horns. This done, the sacrifice was conceived to have been duly offered, so far as concerned the *gift* and dedication of it on man's part, and the acceptance of it by the Deity. This is proved by the fact that *immolare*, to sprinkle with the broken *mola*, or cake, was used, as is well known, to express the *entire action of sacrifice, the slaying and burning included*. So, again, *maclare*, 'to enrich or crown with the addition of wine,' (*mauctus* = *magis auctus*<sup>1</sup>), was likewise used for the whole action. This is an absolute proof of the immense virtue and implicit power attributed to the bread and wine in these sacrifices. They were held to carry within them, in a manner, the whole action. The presenting of them was the presenting of the slain sacrifice, the acceptance of them was its acceptance. And that, moreover, they were identified respectively, the broken bread with the body to be slain, the poured out wine with the blood to be shed, is both probable from the obvious parallel, and is countenanced by other parts of the system. Thus the poor, who could not afford slain victims, were allowed to do their part by providing cakes of bread<sup>m</sup>; and these were sometimes made in the shape of the ox to be sacrificed<sup>n</sup>, and might be

<sup>1</sup> Servius on Virg. *Æn.* iv. 57, x. 541.

<sup>m</sup> So Persius, Sat. ii.: "Hæc cedo, ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo;" i.e. 'give me pure deeds to offer, and I undertake to procure the favour of the gods by a sacrifice of bread only.'

<sup>n</sup> Scholiast. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, l. 85.

offered alone. And the drinking of blood was, though rarely, substituted for that of wine.

Now all this coincides marvellously with the Mosaic provisions, by which the animal sacrifice was held to be completed when the bread-offering had been laid on, and the wine poured out on the victim<sup>o</sup>; and, again, with the law allowing the poor to bring a bread-offering instead of victims. Another curious fact indicating the important functions allotted in Gentile sacrifices to the fruits of the earth, is that *θυσία*, the regular word for ‘sacrifice<sup>p</sup>,’ signifies properly the offering of odoriferous fruits or leaves, and has nothing to do with the slaying. Yet it became the universal term for slaying an animal in sacrifice, exactly as *immolare* and *mactare* did; because in the going up of the incense the animal sacrifice was held to be contained.

Observe, too, that the sacrifices were conceived of as *gifts*, being so-called in both Greek and Latin<sup>q</sup>; gifts, too, of the nature of *food*<sup>r</sup>, and acceptable as

<sup>o</sup> Lightfoot, Temple Service, vii. 2; Patrick on Num. xxviii. 9: “As soon as the drink-offering was poured out, the trumpets (on the Sabbath) began: but not till then, for the burnt-offering *was not perfect till then.*” There is so far a difference, that here the bread and wine were not poured on the living victim.

<sup>p</sup> From *θύα*, *θύον*, or *θύία*, a tree resembling the cypress, yielding a sweet smell when burnt. Homer *always* applies *θύειν* to offering fruits; and so Theocritus, *νῦν θύσω τὰ πύτυρα*, (ii. 33). Hence it has erroneously been supposed that fruit offerings were more ancient than animal ones, (Ovid. Fast. i. 337). But all that the etymology indicates is, that to offer the incense was in effect to present the slain sacrifice: *θύειν* is in fact, in modern language, ‘to cense, or incense’ the offering.

<sup>q</sup> Eurip. Med., *πέθειν δῶρα καὶ θεοῦ λόγος*: and so Plat. Resp. iii., *δῶρα θεοῦ πέθει*: Aristoph. Nub. 300, *οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρήματα*: Ovid., “Munera, crede mihi, capiunt hominesque deosque,” (compare above, p. 54, l): Heb. v. 1, “Gifts and sacrifices,” either as genus and species, or as synonyms. (Ebrard.)

<sup>r</sup> The deities are constantly represented as feasting on the smell of the sacrifices. Hom. II. A. 423.

such. Thus the worshippers were conceived to have actual *communion* with their gods, that is participation with their nature, by their eating and drinking at a common table with them. And in this, St. Paul awfully assures us<sup>r</sup>, they were not mistaken. Such at least as gave themselves over to the iniquities connected with these sacrifices, received through them a likeness to those whom they honoured thereby. "The meats used in the worship of devils," says S. Cyril, "being by nature mere meats, became accursed by the invocation of devils<sup>s</sup>," and conveyed an evil nature accordingly. That the deities, on the other hand, were conceived as really sharing in the sacrificial feasts, receiving with avidity and pleasure the portions assigned to them, more especially the sweet smell, is the universal testimony of classical antiquity. And surely this belief shadowed forth a deep and awful truth. Exactly as in the Mosaic system, as we shall see, God is continually represented as receiving that which was upon the altar as "His Bread," because in it He received with pleasure His people, their service and devotion; so through the "gifts" on heathen altars did the devils too surely receive that which they desired, the souls and bodies of men, given over to them in complete surrender.

We may notice also one or two points in which the Gentile practice differed from the Mosaic, though probably not from the more primitive type. Such was the "drinking" or "tasting" of the sacrificial wine<sup>t</sup> at the time when it was poured on the victim's

<sup>r</sup> S. Cyril, Cat. Lect. i.

<sup>s</sup> Here again etymology bears witness to sacrificial doctrine. The term *libare*, λείβειν, is commonly said to mean properly 'to pour out.' But since it is used of solid food as well as of liquid, and is apparently akin to *labia*, the 'lips,' I do not doubt that its primary meaning is

head. This was so universal that it seems probable that it was traditional, and that it was only as having been abused, and for fear of profanation through excess, that it was forbidden in the Mosaic Institute<sup>u</sup>: though the prohibition also served to set forth the truth, that the partaking of the blood, to which the wine corresponded, was not to have place till the True cleansing Blood should be shed.—The Gentiles, in proceeding, further, though on rare occasions, to drink the *blood*, (doubtless contrary to the original Divine law,) manifested still a correct anticipation, however ill expressed, of the destined Christian Ordinance.—We find also with the utmost certainty among the Gentiles, a custom of which among the Jews we have less positive assurance, though there is no reason to doubt that it prevailed amongst them<sup>v</sup>. I mean the habit of making a quasi-sacrifice and oblation at their more festal meals, doubtless with some reference to animal sacrifices offered on an altar. Of this I shall speak more at length presently. Let us proceed to consider what light is thrown on the Eucharistic Institution by the Gentile sacrificial notions and ideas which have come under our notice.

And first, we are enabled from this source to render an account of a difficulty which, more perhaps than we are aware of, indisposes the modern

'to touch lightly,' (comp. *levis*, and *labris primoribus attingere*.) So *oscula libavit natæ*, 'kissed lightly.' Ovid has "libare cibos digitis." Hence it is to 'taste' or give others to taste. *Libare diis* is to give the gods to taste of the food, whether liquid or solid.

<sup>u</sup> See Lev. x. 8, and Patrick on ver. 1.

<sup>v</sup> It will be fully proved hereafter, ch. ii., that the Jews had a perfectly similar custom, both at the table, and in their synagogue worship.

mind to receive the Church's ancient and uniform interpretation of our Lord's Eucharistic Action. The extraordinary simplicity of that Action, and the commonplace nature of the occasion on which it took place, may well seem, to modern conception, incommensurate with the vast effects, and the solemn character, which have ever been ascribed to it in the Church. It would seem at first sight unlikely that so transcendent an Action as the yielding up of Himself, by the Incarnate Son of God, to His wonder-working Death,—the presenting of Himself to God the Father for the Redemption and Salvation of the world,—should be performed through the medium of a little Bread and Wine. Nay, more, that that broken Bread, that Wine poured forth, should, with a tremendous precision of language which leaves no escape, be identified, in however profoundly mysterious a sense, with the Body yet to be slain and the Blood yet to be shed in sacrifice: insomuch that the presentation of the one to God involved and carried in it the presentation and acceptance of the other; and that a New Covenant could be immediately announced as having been solemnised thereby, and the benefits of it be then and there partaken of. And further, that all this vast and pregnant transaction should take place, not at some awful altar-side, but at an ordinary though festal meal;—this seems to some minds yet more inconceivable.

But on turning to the sacrificial system at that time in vogue throughout the world, all this becomes perfectly natural and intelligible. For 1st, we encounter, as a universal feature, however at first sight strange and unaccountable, this very regulation, that the presentation and acceptance even of the most



eminent and costly animal sacrifices, should take place through no other medium than that of broken bread and wine poured out. Simple *breaking of bread with sacrificial intent and gesture* was a sufficient “immolation,”—simple pouring out of wine with that intent was effective “mactation,”—of the yet living victim. The dedication, the “rendering up<sup>u</sup>” was completed thereby. The *nidor*, the ὄσμη ἐὺωδίας, “the sweet-smelling savour,” went up, according to all sacrificial law, from Abel to Moses, and from one end of the earth to the other, so soon as the bread and wine had been duly dedicated and blessed to their identification with the animal sacrifice, whether already slain or about to be so.

Nothing surely can be clearer. May we not say that God had for four thousand years been training the whole human family, and not the Jewish nation only, in His own sacrificial laws and mysteries, against the exigencies of that awful hour? For they had not merely been instructed as to the chief truth of all, the “first great” sacrificial “commandment,” namely, the indispensable necessity of the shedding of the blood, and consumption of the body, of a *creature endued with life*, as the means of acceptance;—but also as to the “second” sacrificial “commandment, like unto the first” and inseparably bound up with it;—the appointment of *fruits of the earth*, and specially of *bread and wine*, as the medium for the presentation of the slain sacrifice.

And if some account or rationale of so peculiar

<sup>u</sup> This is the proper meaning of the word which we render ‘betray;’ hence its occurrence in all Liturgies: “Who in the same night that He was rendered up, or rather (Liturgies of S. James, S. Chrysostom, &c.) surrendered Himself for the life of the world.”

a provision be demanded, the reader may be referred to what has been said above in connection with Paradise and the Fall. It may suffice here to recapitulate, that we are divinely certified, by that narrative, of the fitness, however to us inscrutable, of fruits of the earth to be the vehicle of eternal life to man: while it is even to human view analogous and righteous, that the creatures through which man fell, and which shared his curse,—the vegetable no less than the animal existences,—should all along have had such a part as this assigned to them; themselves first receiving back their original blessing, and then becoming, by their joint action, the medium of reconsecrating man also, and presenting his service to God.

It is of unspeakable importance to the cause of Eucharistic truth, that the relation thus subsisting, by the universal laws of sacrifice, between the vegetable and animal oblations, should be fully understood and established. For, in truth, the position that our Lord *did* present His Sacrifice of Himself,—of His Body broken and His Blood poured out,—*by means of Bread and Wine mysteriously identified therewith*, is the very key-stone of the Church's Eucharistic creed, (Introd., pp. 17—25). And I conceive that there cannot, after what has now been adduced, be a shadow of doubt either as to the principle or its application. The old sacrificial system, in the form in which it survived in the Gentile world, certifies to us, with the utmost precision and clearness, in this particular, the significance to be attached to our Lord's Eucharistic Action and Words. Not the Mosaic system itself, owing to the modification in it (apparently) of some old sacrificial features, is on this point so distinct an instructor. And this point once cleared and con-

ceded, the rest of those Words and of that Action accords so simply and manifestly with the conception and conditions of a *Sacrifice and a Sacrificial Feast*, such as the entire world was then familiar with, that no doubt can remain in any reasonable mind as to the interpretation to be put upon them. It is not too much to say that we then find the *Old* sacrificial system, in its Gentile form, interpreting for us, as with a sunbeam, the "dark sayings" and the "strange work" of the WORD made Flesh, when instituting the New.

Thus, does the ancient and universal belief of the Church represent that our Lord, designing to offer a great Sacrifice, and to establish at the same time a perpetual sacrificial Institution, took occasion by an ordinary meal, and made use of the materials of the feast or supper itself, for these purposes? And did the custom of the Church, for some time after, continue to attach her sacrificial Celebration more or less closely to such a meal? Unsuitable for such a purpose as an occasion of that kind may appear to those who have not been brought up in the old sacrificial habits, nothing could at that time be more accordant with the habits and the religious conformation of the whole civilized world, the Gentile world more especially. For though (I quote a writer on classical antiquities, who had no theological theory to uphold) "the more solemn sacrifices consisted of *θυμιάμα, σπονδή, ιερείον*, i.e. fruits of the earth, pouring out of wine, and a slain victim, it was lawful to use these separately. More especially the Greeks (and we may add, the Romans no less) offered drink-offerings of wine, not only at sacrifices, but also at the commencement of a journey, at the entertainment of strangers, at the

time of retiring to rest, or any other occasion. In short, in all the common affairs of life they desired the favour of the gods by oblations of incense, and *drink-offerings*," made at the table. Nor of drink-offerings only: they never tasted any *food* without consecrating it; usually by throwing part of it into the fire as an offering to the Lares. Thus, the table was regarded for the time being as an altar<sup>v</sup>; an altar of both meat-offering and drink-offering solemnly presented to the deity.

But further, the food and drink-offerings at the festive table stood in connection, on high occasions, with an actual slain sacrifice offered with all solemnity upon an altar. Thus the parallel between our Lord's action and the Gentile sacrificial ways is complete. For, as has been already pointed out, these simpler offerings, it is most probable, had in strictness, and according to the original conception of them, no standing ground apart from a slain offering, but presupposed and had some reference to it in all cases; and when the feast was connected with a sacrifice, the devout would make their offerings at the table with that particular sacrifice in mind.

And one especial purpose was answered, as we may remark, by thus causing the Eucharist to arise, as to its occasion, out of a common feast, and to retain for a while that association. The Divine Wisdom, by habituating past ages to such an arrangement, had enlisted man's natural inclination for social feasts on the side of religion; and the same provision now secured, on the part of that generation to which the Gospel was

<sup>v</sup> Ovid. *Amor.* i. 4. 27: "Tange manu *mensam*, quo tangunt more *pre-cantes*." On which Heinsius, "For the *table* among the ancients was counted for an *altar*."

first offered, a ready and habitual recourse to the supreme Ordinance of it. The actual conjunction of the rite with an ordinary social meal was destined, indeed, early to pass away : yet not until the Ordinance had effectually been stamped, to all ages, with the characters proper to a feast ; joyous participation of good, thankfulness to God, and abounding charity towards men ;—“praise, bounty, and rest<sup>x</sup>.” Hereby too was taught, that, in the Holy Eucharist, all the *ordinary* actions of life are to be gathered up for dedication and consecration : since it had come in the place of the old methods of presenting such things for Divine acceptance and blessing.

Again, to touch briefly on other points in the Institution which derive illustration from Gentile sacrificial ways. Was our Lord’s Offering of Himself on this occasion a purely voluntary one, and specially pleasing to God as such ; and do we find this feature of it much dwelt on by the Apostles and in the Liturgies of the Church ? There was more than one remarkable provision in the Gentile sacrifices indicating the importance of willingness and assent<sup>y</sup>, real or imagined, on the part of the victim ; specially the

<sup>x</sup> Hooker, V. 70.

<sup>y</sup> Thus it was led by a slack rope to the altar ; Juvenal, Sat. xii., Virg. *Æn.* v. 772. It was allowed to stand loose by the altar, and it was a bad omen if it fled away ; comp. Isa. liii., “He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter,” i.e. to the sacrifice. Again, stranger still, they tried whether the victim was a willing sacrifice by drawing a knife from its forehead to its tail ; if it struggled, it was rejected ; if it stood still, it was deemed an acceptable sacrifice. It was not, however, thought sufficient, unless it also *gave its assent by a nod*. It is, further, very curious, that in order to induce it to nod, and thus to attest its willingness, they poured water *into its ear*, and sometimes barley. There must surely be some connection between this and the much controverted passage in Ps. lx. 6, Heb. x. 5, “Sacrifice and burnt-offering Thou wouldest not, but mine ears hast Thou opened . . . lo, I come to do Thy will, O God.”

selection of a young lamb, the most unresisting of creatures, as the victim of victims, the most prevailing of all sacrifices<sup>z</sup>.—Did our Lord, according to the Church's view, tender His Oblation of Himself, by means of the Bread, in some solemn though verbally unrecorded formula of address to God, of blessing and thanksgiving; a form involving, however, (as appeared from the result of it presently announced to His disciples,) desire for the acceptance of the Offering to purposes of human salvation? And do the Liturgies all contain such forms of address, in imitation of Christ? The Gentile sacrifices commenced even so. When the victim, yet living, had been brought to the altar, the priest sprinkled it, as aforesaid, with meal (broken bread) and water. They then prayed, the priest exhorting them to join him. Their prayers<sup>a</sup>, commonly commencing with words and titles of adoration<sup>b</sup>, and attributes of the deity, were that he would accept their oblations and send them safety and felicity; adding a request for some particular favour.—Was this action of blessing and obla-

<sup>z</sup> So the oracle of Apollo, before referred to, prescribes a young lamb as the victim most acceptable alike to gods above and below:—

*ξυνὰ πέλει χθονίων καὶ ἐπιχθονίων τάδε μόνων,  
τετράποδα χθονίοις(?) ἔρρων νεοπηγέα γυῖα.*

<sup>a</sup> For the fullest account on record of the ancient Greek sacrificial ceremonies, see the Pax of Aristophanes, ll. 875—900. A lamb is supposed to be offered to the imaginary goddess Peace. The real forms are no doubt closely followed, though with occasional travesty. The prayer for acceptance of the sacrifice, after "Pray we, pray we earnestly," is as follows: *ὦ σεμνοτάτη Βασίλεια, Θεὰ πότνι' Εἰρήνη, δέσποινα χόρων, δέσποινα γάμων, δέξαι θυσίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν.* Then follow requests for peace, for removal of old quarrels, for plenty, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Compare with the acts of adoration the commencement of the Consecration forms of all Liturgies, after the "It is meet and right," &c.: e.g. Lit. S. Mark and S. Basil; "Jehovah, Master, Lord, God, Father Almighty;" the terms "to praise, hymn, give thanks, worship, glorify;" and the attributes, "ineffable, inconceivable, invisible."

tion *repeated* by our Lord over the Wine; and that too at some interval (“after supper”),—an interval occupied by converse with the disciples concerning the Events then transacting? And has this the appearance, at least to our eyes, of marring the oneness of the supposed sacrificial Action? Nay, even in the Greek and Roman sacrifices, the first act of oblation of the victim, that is, of its *body*, (as it should seem,) by means of the bread, was followed by an interval especially devoted to religious and reverent discourse<sup>c</sup>, during which the willingness of the victim was further tested, as above described. After this followed a fresh act of blessing, oblation, and prayer; and then the priest taking a cup of wine, of which *he and the rest tasted*, poured the remainder between the horns of the victim. By this means the *blood* of the victim, as before his body, was understood to be more especially offered.—And as our Lord, after offering His Sacrifice of Himself in this manner, contemplating it as virtually accomplished, once more prayed, a prayer of intercession,—so too all the Gentiles prayed when the sacrifice was completed and was burning on the altar.

Again, the *effects* ascribed by the Church to our Lord’s Sacrificial Action perfectly accord, in kind, with those ascribed, and doubtless originally attached, to Gentile sacrifices. The “Body” of the Divine Victim is declared to be “given,” namely, to the Father. This, as we have seen, is the pervading idea of heathen sacrifice. It is a “gift” to the deity to be pro-

<sup>c</sup> This, as is well known, is the proper sense of the famous *εὐφημεῖτε*, or *favete linguis*; on which Facciolati has “*Favere*, to utter words of good; to accompany or follow the priest, as he offers prayers and wishes, with vows and omissions for good.”

pitiated.—It is said, again, to be “given for” those present “and for many;” i.e. for the elect of God to the end of time. And Gentile sacrifices were offered for whole nations, and not merely for those present, who were in fact only representative persons.—The particular benefit announced in our Lord’s Institution as flowing from His Sacrifice of Himself, especially from the shedding of His Blood, is “remission of sins;” and expiation by blood was one leading purpose of Gentile sacrifices.—The effects of *participation* in the Sacrifice are not, in the Gospel narrative of the Institution, specified: but they are elsewhere declared to be mutual communion or intercommunication of natures, and even of being<sup>d</sup>, between the worshipper and the Sacrifice, and again, through the Sacrifice, communion with Him to Whom it was offered. Now such assimilation<sup>e</sup> of the worshipper to the *sacrifice* was certainly contemplated even by the popular mind in the Gentile sacrifices; and for such intercommunion of natures between the offerer and the object of worship, St. Paul vouches<sup>f</sup>. And the avowed purpose of the whole, was to lift the being of man into a higher sphere, namely the divine; to assimilate him to the supposed character of the gods, and exhibit him in high *communion* and honourable *acceptance* with them.—

<sup>d</sup> St. John vi. 50: “Whoso eateth . . . dwelleth in Me, and I in him;” xvii. 22: “The glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given them;” 1 Cor. x. 10: “Communion in the Body of Christ;” 2 Pet. i. 4: “By which (glory and virtue) have been given unto us very great and precious promised gifts, that by these ye might be partakers of the Divine Nature.”

<sup>e</sup> Thus in the Pax, the offering up of a lamb is expected to communicate to the worshippers lamb-like and peaceable inclinations: *ἵνα ἕσονται ἑσόμεθ’ ἀλλήλοισιν ἄμνοί τοὺς τρόπους.*

<sup>f</sup> 1 Cor. x. 20: “I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.”



Finally, on the hypothesis we speak of,—that is, according to the ancient Eucharistic belief of the Church,—our Lord on this occasion acted as a PRIEST. And no idea was more familiar to the old world than this of a special power to sacrifice and procure acceptance vested in certain persons; forming a clear addition to the prevailing power residing in the sacrifice, and coordinate with it. As to His right thus to act as a Priest, it rested, we know, on His Eternal Sonship; on His Headship over the human race as the First-born of every creature; on His Divine Royalty as having all power in Heaven and earth; on His sinless purity; on His consecration by suffering; on His calling of God; on His recognition<sup>§</sup> by man as alone having power to intercede. And it was in *eldest* sons, heads of families, and kings<sup>h</sup>, that the right of sacrificing was vested among the Gentiles; priesthood was held by inheritance, by lot, by designation of princes, or by popular election<sup>i</sup>: they were required to be of irreproachable life; to have been duly set apart; to be well versed in the ritual of the temple. A participation moreover, within certain limits, in these powers,—a ministerial priesthood for some, a personal priesthood to be exercised by every worshipper,—was by the last and farewell words of the Institution—(so the Church has ever believed)—solemnly committed to

§ It should seem that in the Divine counsels the priestly work of Christ could not have taken effect had there not been some, however few, who acknowledged Him as Priest and “believed that He came from God,” St. John xvii. 8.

<sup>h</sup> “Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.”

Virg. *Æn.* iii. 80.

<sup>i</sup> In most states of Greece the chief magistrates were frequently consecrated to the priesthood. At Sparta the kings immediately after their accession took upon them the two priesthoods of the heavenly and Lacedæmonian Jupiter. Robinson’s *Antiquities*, p. 199.

those present, and through them to succeeding generations, in the words, "This do in remembrance of Me." And even so in the Gentile system, although the supreme and public sacrifices for the safety of the commonwealth were offered by the priests only, yet, as is well known, and as we have seen in the matter of the convivial libations and offerings on ordinary occasions, "it was customary for others to offer prayers and sacrifices<sup>k</sup>."

Thus did the Eucharistic Institution, communicated indeed "to the Jew first," but destined after a short time to come abroad to all nations<sup>l</sup>, marvellously fit in to a framework of conceptions and practices placed ready by the Divine Hand to receive it. And this doubtless contributed greatly to the simple and unhesitating acceptance, by the Gentile world, of the Eucharistic Rite, and indeed of one whole aspect of Christianity, viz. its sacrificial and priestly side;—its character as a vast and complex ritual system, extending from Heaven to earth, and involving many mysterious conceptions; such as reconciliation, presentation in and by a slain sacrifice, sacramental participation, and the like. It accounts, as nothing else perhaps could, for a fact which has been dwelt on elsewhere<sup>m</sup>, the absence, in primitive days, of controversy on these mysterious subjects. Already in the days of the Apostles there had arisen those who denied that Jesus Christ was come in the Flesh, or that there was any Resurrection from the dead. But none called in question the reality of Christ's Sacrifice of Himself on the

<sup>k</sup> Robinson's Antiquities, ubi sup.

<sup>l</sup> "Videtur omninò Christus, in hoc sacramento, Se non Hebræorum tantùm, sed et gentium, in idem fœdus coaptandarum, captui accommodasse." Grotius on St. Matt. xxvi. 17.

<sup>m</sup> Introduction to Part II., p. 7.

ground of its being a Sacrifice, or stumbled at any other sacrificial feature of the system.

Thus, from the entire adaptation of the Eucharistic Institution, understood as the Church of old understood it, to the divinely moulded religious constitution of the human mind at that period, we derive the strongest possible confirmation of her estimate of it. But we are led to the same conclusion, if we consider the state of things which ensued in the times immediately *succeeding* the era of the Institution. For it cannot be denied, that from a very early time indeed,—even in the lifetime of some of the Apostles,—a sacrificial character was already attributed to the Eucharist. S. Clement of Rome (A.D. 65) says that Christ appointed “offerings” and divine services to be performed; and defines the function of the clergy as being “to offer the gifts<sup>n</sup>,” that is, in the language of those times, “the *sacrifices*.” Ignatius, at the beginning of the second century, speaks<sup>o</sup> of “One Flesh of Christ; of there being one Eucharist, one Cup, one *altar*, as certainly as there was one bishop with the presbytery and deacons.” Justin Martyr, fifty years later, speaks of “*sacrifices* as being offered in every place by us Gentiles, that is to say, the Bread and the Cup of the Eucharist<sup>p</sup>,” in accordance with the prophecy of Malachi. Nothing can be more explicit. Now all this is perfectly intelligible, if we recognise in our Lord’s Institution, were it in never so faint a degree, a real Sacrificial Action at the time, and a real Sacrificial Ordinance to be observed ever after. For

<sup>n</sup> Ep. i. ad Cor. c. 44: “If we should depose from the office of a bishop those who blamelessly and holily offer the gifts.”

<sup>o</sup> Ep. ad Philad., c. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Dial. cum Tryph., p. 137.

then the whole cycle of sacrificial ideas and accessories, the whole vocabulary of sacrificial language, familiar alike to Jew and Gentile, would naturally come into use and operation, so soon as the Church entered on her functions;—as naturally as, by the law of its being, the tree develops out of the seed in which it is potentially and germinally contained. But on any other supposition, it is perfectly inconceivable that so full an efflorescence of sacrificial thought and language would have burst forth so soon. It is to the last degree unphilosophical to suppose it even for a moment. Did these habits of thought, and this phraseology, emerge to view after a lapse of centuries, they might well be set down to a gradual divergence from the original Institution, or to an entire subversion of it. But there was not time for such a process of declension or overthrow. The men whom I have quoted as freely applying sacrificial language to the Eucharist, had seen the Apostles or their immediate successors; and to suppose that they misconceived the whole matter of Christ's Action, is to suppose that Christianity was corrupted at its very fountain-head.

Whereas the other, that is, the Church's ancient view, stands at this immeasurable advantage, that according to it, the Eucharistic Transaction reads smoothly into the context of the whole world's history. For we discern, on the one hand, sacrificial habits in the matter of religion prevailing down to the very hour of the Institution. We discern, on the other hand, sacrificial phrases and conceptions attaching to the Eucharist within thirty or forty years after. And between them both we discern the Institution itself, the link and point of transmission be-

tween the one sacrificial period and the other. Thus it may be affirmed of the ecclesiastical theory of the Holy Eucharist, that like the Newtonian theory of the universe, it accounts for all the phenomena, which no other theory does. And this is sufficient to establish its truth to the satisfaction of all reasonable men.

## SECTION V.

WE have now seen that the main principles and rules of sacrifice,—such as atonement, or removal, by blood-shedding, of disqualification for worship;—acceptable presentation to God in and by the body of the victim;—participation in the nature both of the sacrifice and of the deity by sacrificial feasting;—and, not least of all, the functions assigned to certain fruits of the earth,—to bread and wine,—as a means both of presenting the victim and partaking of it:—that these conceptions, together with a practical training in them, had been received and retained by the Gentile world down to the time of the Eucharistic Institution. And doubtless they largely contributed to the intelligent reception, by Gentile converts, of Christianity in its entire sacrificial aspect, and of the Eucharist in particular.

But there were other sacrificial truths and habits destined to enter largely into the Christian scheme, which could not, by the nature of the case, be committed to the world at large. The religious as well as the social unity of mankind had been shattered at Babel; and the disruption was perpetuated by the Dispersion of Nations. From that event onward, the sacrificial action of the world at large, however at one in its main principles, was of necessity divided in its

operation. There was no longer one worship, but many worships. Whereas, nothing was to be more strongly characteristic of Christianity than that it should be, in its every aspect, a Unity. That last and completest form of Theology would be based upon the ideas not merely of One God, but also of One Body, One Priest, One Sacrifice, One corporate sacrificial Action. Now it was impossible that any training in the conception and habits necessary for appreciating such a system, and for facile action under it, could be bestowed on the votaries of rival or differing religions. However much they might hold in common, or whatever glimmerings they might retain, in their several spheres, of the principle of religious Unity, they could not possibly be very deeply imbued with the idea, or prepared for that intense realization of it which Christianity would present for their acceptance.

It was necessary, therefore, that what the many could not be practised in, should be deeply inculcated on the few. To persons so imbued and trained, and to them alone, could the New Economy with safety be committed in the first instance. From them the rest of the world, aided by those sacrificial conceptions which were common to all, and which their dispersed condition was no bar to their realizing, might receive in due time the entire body of Christian Sacrificial Truth.

For this purpose it was,—namely, the habituation of mankind, in the person of Israel, to the whole cycle of conceptions and habits belonging to Christianity as One vast sacrificial System,—and not merely to keep alive a knowledge of the True God, and of His purpose of salvation towards man,—that the

elaborate and complex Mosaic scheme was instituted. Had the latter objects been all that was contemplated, a far less complex scheme might have availed for the purpose. A single line of descendants, handing on that simple deposit of truth, and exercised continually in the worship of God according to the primitive and universal sacrificial rules, would have sufficed still from Abraham to Christ, as it had done<sup>p</sup> from Adam to Abraham. The vaster and more profound purpose above indicated is manifestly the secret of the prolonged and more minutely elaborated process which was in fact employed. Habits of corporate religious action, parallel to and imitative of those which were to characterize the Church as the Body of Christ,—such as the fact and the consciousness of inherence in a supernaturally constituted Body; privileges of access to and dwelling in a beatifying Presence, and of having such a Presence indwelling; common functions, to be discharged by the whole and by each member, of self-presentation in and through and with the One Priest and One Sacrifice; in a word, the whole doctrine and discipline of the MYSTICAL BODY;—these required a nation for their sphere, an extensive code of laws to regulate the discharge of them, and ages for their effectual inculcation.

Accordingly, when the world had now run out, according to the common computation, about one-half of its destined four thousand years of training in

<sup>p</sup> I do not here enter into the question, whether or not any yet earlier dispensation had been committed to mankind, on the failure of which, the family of Abraham was called to carry out the Divine purposes. That there are indications of the kind in Scripture is shewn in an article in the "Christian Remembrancer," for October 1860, "The Mosaic System;" to which I may be allowed to refer.

sacrificial mysteries, such a sphere as was necessary for this purpose began to be provided by the call of Abraham.

For it is important to be observed, that, for the purpose in view, much more was needed than merely to send into the world a code of new sacrificial laws, or a development of the old ones. Nor, in truth, do we read of any new institutions of that kind having been committed to the Father of the faithful. The old sacrificial habits, familiar to Abel and Noah, were manifestly brought with him into his adopted land, and served, under Divine direction, for carrying out the designs of God during the lives of the first three Patriarchs. No: the first great work that had to be accomplished, was to *create a sphere* for the operation of the enlarged sacrificial scheme to be hereafter imparted. And this required time. It called for a long course of divinely controlled event and history. If that scheme of sacrifice was to be a counterpart of the Christian scheme of Redemption and Salvation, it must have for its operation a people possessing a moral and spiritual history parallel, point for point, to the history of mankind, considered as subjects of Redemption and Salvation. There must be, in the history of that people, something corresponding to man's creation at the first. There must be an age of innocence; a head of the race, upright at the first, but swerving from that rectitude, and carrying with him, both implicitly and in the way of example, by his own act and their corrupt following of him, the Fall of his posterity. There must be a Paradise and a Divine Presence given, lost, and restored. There must be a real Fall of a whole race, and a redemption of that race, followed by their exaltation to a yet higher



degree of privilege than before. And these must be real spiritual events, with whatever admixture of earthly elements. The fall must be a real falling from a blissful condition in God's Presence into the power and the deathlike dominion of the Devil. The redemption and restoration to the privileged estate must be by real spiritual agencies of the divinely-accredited type; by sacrificial shedding of blood, and offering of victims; by rendering up of body, soul, and spirit to the service of God, and by actual re-admission into an enhanced degree of His Presence. All this there must be, or the experience of the people placed under training could have no sufficient correspondence with that of the subjects of the archetypal Economy. Only thus could they learn, and be practised in, that grateful and adoring sense, kept alive by suitable commemorative acts, of redemption from bodily and spiritual ruin; that sorrow for the past; that delight in present duty and service; that elevating consciousness of a mysterious estate and of being encompassed with Divine favour and blessing, which are the staple of Christian being and experience.

Nor was this all. Little as this could have been looked for, the imitative and initiatory Economy was to carry in it the image, (shadowy indeed, but real and plainly discernible,) of those most lofty and awful Facts of the Christian scheme,—the existence, and the several operations on man's behalf, of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity,—and the presentation and perpetual pleading of a Human Sacrifice. The divinely-moulded history was so constructed, that the Law was to the devout Israelite, unconsciously indeed, but really, (as we shall see presently,) a gymnasium and school of exercise in those hardest feats of faith,—

Trinitarian belief, and the acceptance of One only Sacrifice and Mediator between God and Man, the MAN Christ Jesus.

And it may safely be asserted, that the fact of this twofold conformity;—that is, of the Jewish history having been first of all conformed and assimilated to the human history, and then their ritual to the processes of human redemption and salvation;—constitutes the entire story the most stupendous of recorded miracles, next to the Creation of the world and the Incarnation of Christ.

Let us then, in the first place, carefully note what was the part assigned to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in this wondrous and divinely-ordered drama of Israelitish history and service.

1. When Abraham received his call, certain *prospective* benefits, to be fulfilled to his seed, are promised to him. But it is at the same time evident, that both he and his two immediate descendants were to perform, *in their lifetime*, a work very closely connected with the entire design. They were not *mere* depositaries or channels of promises. On the contrary, it is manifest, from the subsequent history, that the whole fortunes of the race were suspended on a course of faithful action on their part. Had they failed in that course of action, the Divine purpose would, humanly speaking, have been frustrated. It was because they pleased God by performing the task assigned to them, that their posterity enjoyed the Divine favour. And if we enquire what their assigned work was, we may best gather it by observing what were the instructions given them, and what the tenor of their actions, so far as they differed from those of other men.

Their instructions then were, (1.) (as we gather

from a subsequent commendation<sup>q</sup> of one of them), to observe the holy rules of obedience which are the bounden duty of all men, including, be it observed, all the customary sacrificial service and worship<sup>r</sup>: and (2.) to “dwell in the land.” This is the *peculiar* command, and they are commended for keeping it<sup>s</sup>; while every departure from it is more or less marked with the Divine displeasure. But what sort of dwelling was it to be? Was it to be merely one of holiness and duty, of faithful expectation of future benefits? Not so. On turning to the recorded lives of these patriarchs we are able to fill up this general outline of duty with a distinctive and special work; and we thus obtain a greatly enlarged and corrected conception of the function assigned to them. No sooner does Abram enter the land, than God appears to him at Sichem; and there he builds an altar. Now this Presence and this sacrificial action recur, as is well known, frequently in the patriarchal history. And with a few exceptions<sup>t</sup>, easily accounted for, these instances are strictly confined, so far as we are in-

<sup>q</sup> Gen. xviii. 19: “For I know him, that he will command his children to keep the ways of the Lord;” xxvi. 5, “Because Abraham kept My commandments, My statutes, and My laws.”

<sup>r</sup> It will be shewn hereafter that “statutes” (see note q) always mean religious and sacrificial rules; as Abarbanel notices, in loc.

<sup>s</sup> Gen. xii. 1, xxvi. 2, 3; Heb. xi. 9.

<sup>t</sup> In Gen. xxxi. 3, God appears to Jacob in Padan Aram; but it is for the purpose of commanding him to return to the promised land. And in ver. 54 he offers a sacrifice on the eve of re-entering that land. These are hardly exceptions to the law laid down in the text. In Gen. xlv. 1—4, Jacob, on the eve of going down into Egypt, offers sacrifices, manifestly in token of farewell to the God of his father Isaac; God promises indeed to go down with him, but in terms that intimate that the old blessings were in some abeyance at least until He should “bring him up again.” Nor, accordingly, do we read of any *vision* of God before Moses. On the sojourn of Abraham and Isaac in Gerar, see below.

formed, to the promised Land. They occur, at the same time, at various spots within it: and the sites thus chosen, and carefully recorded, seem designedly to embrace the length and the narrow breadth of the land; extending from Northern Sichem to a site "having Bethel on the West and Hai on the East," and on to Southern Mamre and Beersheba. Nor was this accidental: it was a part of God's design, as we are elsewhere assured, thus "to lead Abraham throughout all the land of Canaan:" he was to "arise and walk through the land in the length of it and the breadth of it<sup>u</sup>."

But further, there is every reason for believing that the sacrificial service, thus set on foot at various points within the land, continued to be offered, at one or other of them, in all but unbroken sequence, during the whole period of 215 years, until the going down into Egypt. For at the spots thus designated, and at *these alone* within the land, judging by the record, did the patriarchs reside<sup>x</sup>. It is difficult to conceive that this can have been for any other purpose than that of *frequent*, and all but uninterrupted, *sacrifice*.

And the correlative on God's part to all this sacrificial action was no other than a large measure of His *Presence*, and of frequent vision of Him, vouchsafed personally to the patriarchs, and locally to the land, beyond the experience of the rest of the world. No less than twelve appearances of God personally, or

<sup>u</sup> Josh. xxiv. 3; Gen. xiii. 17.

<sup>x</sup> Abraham lived thirty years at Mamre, seventy-five at Beersheba; Isaac during his whole life of 180 years (it seems) at Beersheba and Mamre, (Gen. xxii. 19, xxvi. 33, xxxv. 27, 28,) except a stay of uncertain duration, and outside the proper limits of the land, at Beer-lahai-roi and Gerar; Jacob thirty-three years at Shechem, with a passing sojourn at Bethel, (xxxiv. 18, 20, xxxv. 1, 7, 27).

by His angels, are recorded; generally in close connection with sacrifices or the sacrificial sites, though at other times overflowing these limits: as at Sichem, Bethel, Mamre, Beersheba, Moriah, and at Mahanaim and Penuel beyond Jordan. And there is presumptive proof, as we shall see presently, that this Presence, at least in the latter part of the period, was a constant one.

Now what may we reverently conceive to have been the Divine purpose in ordaining this sacrificial service, thus continuous, thus confined to the chosen land, and yet, within that land, thus *migratory*; and in vouchsafing this corresponding Presence and Vision? First, as regards the persons, it was doubtless designed to maintain them in a high degree of sanctifying access to God; thus fitting them by a real consecration, and by the exercise of an exalted measure of faith and obedience, to be the first fathers of the promised seed, virtually carrying in themselves, and presenting with acceptance before God, a holy nation yet unborn. The patriarchs thus supplied the duly sanctified *bodily* element of that mystical sphere, which God was wonderfully preparing for the ingrafting of the members of His earlier and typical Church. They, taken collectively, were to the race then originating, what Christ singly was to be to the whole race of man, or to His Church,—a Second Adam. Separated from the mass of humanity, purged and sanctified objectively by sacrificial operation, and inwardly by faith, and by the exercise of an obedient will, they were by grace fitted to become, what by nature they were not, a Head and Origin to a sanctified people. And again, as regards the Land. Bearing in mind, on the one hand, the real withdrawal

from the earth, at the Fall, of the original measure of God's sanctifying Presence; and, on the other, the functions assigned to sacrifice in recalling that Presence: we can be under no doubt as to what was the purpose of those long years of sacrifice, pervading every part of the chosen territory. It was to cleanse and re-consecrate by the old methods—shedding of blood, and offering up of the bodies of animals, and of fruits of the earth,—and by a peculiarly abundant measure of them, the land wherein God designed to dwell with His people. Another Paradise, say rather an outer court of Heaven itself, had to be cleansed and prepared; and this was the method of preparing it. And the frequent and familiar appearances of God within it, most like to those of Paradise, joined to various indications which we possess of an *abiding* Presence, real though unseen, testify that the purifying work was done effectually. Thus it is worthy of remark, that though the personal faith of Jacob shone out far less signally than did that of Abraham and Isaac,—his history presenting nothing parallel to their amazing act of joint obedience on Mount Moriah,—yet the plenitude of God's Presence in the land, as indicated by that of His attendant Hosts, reached its highest degree in the time of Jacob. To him alone is vouchsafed the sight of the angels of God ascending, and descending, as if on familiar errands, upon the land<sup>†</sup>, and of “the Lord standing above,” as if watching continually over it. He gathered (no doubt rightly) from that vision, not that God's Presence, or

<sup>†</sup> Gen. xxviii. 12, 13. The connection of the Divine and angelic Presence with the land seems plainly implied in the narrative: “A ladder was set up on the *earth* and reached to Heaven;” and the promise was, “The *earth* (*erets*) whereon thou liest will I give to thee.”

that of His angels, was there shewn him only to be withdrawn, nor that what he had then seen was a *mere* vision; but that the spot and the entire land was “none other but the House of God, and the Gate of Heaven.” And we may most reasonably attribute this permanent inhabitation of the land by God to the now completed dedication of it by the first two patriarchs, specially by the sacrifice of Isaac: as is perhaps implied in the words, “I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it.” Nor, as it should seem, did this Presence ever after cease to dwell in the land. On Jacob’s return from exile, the hosts of God’s angels are found awaiting him as soon as he reached the border of it. And Moses assured the Israelites<sup>2</sup> in the wilderness that “the eyes of the Lord God were always upon it<sup>3</sup>.” So that not even its defilement by the guilty nations of Canaan had been able to outwear the impress of its sanctification, or to drive forth the peculiar Presence from it.

It may further be remarked, as strongly corroborating the view here taken of the patriarchal migrations and worship, that, on the re-occupation of the land by the nation, there ensued a perfectly parallel series of removals of the Divine Presence and attendant services from place to place: thus purging, we may conceive, the iniquity that had accrued in the interval. First through the whole region beyond Jordan, and then on the hither side, did the ark accompany the host. Afterwards it abode in successive resting-places at Shechem, (or Sichem,) at Shiloh, at various

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xi. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. 1 Kings ix. 3, where this expression is declared to be equivalent to God’s “putting His Name,” or dwelling there.

places in Judah, resting ultimately on Mount Moriah : a course wonderfully coincident with that of the migratory sacrifices of the patriarchs ; Sichem having been the first and Moriah the last site thus dedicated by Abraham. Nor, as may reverently be remarked, was it probably without significance, and a Divine intent, that our Lord Himself, in His personal ministry, pervaded and sanctified by His glorious Presence the whole land, ere by His Sacrifice of Himself on that very Moriah where Abraham ended his sacrificial work, He finally re-consecrated both that and the whole earth as a local habitation for the Church and for His abiding Presence therein. It is surely most remarkable that, beginning, like Abraham and Joshua, from Shechem (Sychar), and reverting whilst there<sup>b</sup> to the ancient religious memories of the place, "the worshipping of the fathers in that mountain," He proclaimed the impending abolition of local preferences by the inhabitation of One Spirit in the Church : and thereafter took His course first through Galilee, or the northern region, on both sides of Jordan, then through Samaria, and finally "throughout all Jewry," (or Judæa,) ending at Jerusalem.

2. But we shall more distinctly perceive the nature of the consecrative or dedicatory work thus assigned to the patriarchs, and the parallel between it and certain august features of Christianity, if we examine briefly that most stupendous transaction, the offering up of Isaac by Abraham. That this was the culminating act of patriarchal obedience and faith, and of all human faith whatsoever until the coming of Christ, is manifest. But it has not been sufficiently borne in mind, that it was not merely an act of obedience,

<sup>b</sup> St. John iv. 5. Ellicott maps out the Ministry similarly, *Life*, p. 199.



a readiness to do anything whatsoever at the Divine command; but also, by the very tenor of the command, an expression of most entire belief in the efficacy and acceptableness of divinely-ordained *Sacrifice*. "Take now thy son, . . . and *offer* him for a burnt-offering." The exact point on which his faith was tried, was whether he truly believed that, even Godward, "it is more blessed to give than to receive:" and that that which is given to God in a *sacrificial way* is not lost, but accepted and glorified, reaches then its ordained perfection, and will assuredly work some great purpose in the counsels of God. It was as a sacrificing person, and not only, however awfully, as a father, that he was tried.

What effects would follow from so implicit an act of sacrificial faith and duty, he was probably ignorant, though he could not doubt that it would have its exceeding great reward. And surely it sanctified him to a great religious Headship. The yielding up of Isaac's life by father and son, joined to the actual shedding of the blood, and offering up of the body, of a victim, divinely provided by God in his stead, and as an equivalent for him, constituted this a true and proper sacrifice. And if so, it was necessarily also a most powerful and efficacious one. Some great purpose connected with the economy was no doubt answered by the sacrifice, as a sacrifice, besides its purpose as trial of the faith of Abraham. And following the line of thought along which we have been led hitherto; observing that this was the latest of those sacrifices by which new sacrificial sites were marked out within the land, as well as the latest on record as performed by Abraham,—we gather assuredly that it crowned and completed the sancti-

fication and adaptation of Abraham and Isaac, as well as of the land, for their allotted part in the economy°. “By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing,”—wrought this great sacrificial work of faith; hast *given* unto Me, in My ordained and all-prevailing way of sacrifice, this gift of gifts,—“and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from Me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in thy seed shall all the earth be blessed.”

Is it not manifest, then, that the acceptableness and privileged estate, realized by the chosen nation in after ages, rested not merely on the faith of Abraham and the other two patriarchs, viewed as an isolated quality residing in them, but on the particular faith exhibited by them in sacrificial actions: and, ultimately and properly, on a sacrifice wondrously parallel to That on which the acceptableness and exalted state of the Christian Church rests at this hour? The august and awful sacrifice of Isaac, and of the ram accepted in his stead, doubtless gathered into it and superseded all the powers for sanctification heretofore exercised by less noble offerings; exactly as the Sacrifice of Christ gathered into it, at the same time that it infinitely transcended, all sacrificial powers committed to inferior agencies heretofore. It thus remained the one stupendous sacri-

° Various attempts have been made to assign an adequate reason for the sacrifice of Isaac; but as they all fail to recognise it in its sacrificial capacity, and view it *merely* as an act of obedience, or as a shadow of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ, they are necessarily defective and incorrect. Dr. Thomas Jackson sees in it a design of God to elicit from Abraham his consent that He should take of his seed for the future Atoning Sacrifice. (Comment. on Creed, Bk. viii. 30. 3.) Kurtz (vol. i. p. 205) thinks it was ordained in order that Abraham might thus yield up his son to covenant purposes, by willing away his natural interest in him. This is true, but falls short of the full truth.

ficial memory of the favoured people. "By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, *for because thou hast done this thing,*" was henceforth the preamble to the whole Charter of Israelitish privilege. The faith of Israel, (probably of the patriarch Israel himself, certainly that of the nation,) looked back henceforth, as one main aspect of it, to that event of highest sacrificial power;—that wondrous summary and epitome of the faith and obedience of their fathers: of course without prejudice to its looking on to a better Sacrifice than that of Isaac. This is remarkably recognised in the forms of worship, doubtless of very great antiquity, now used in the Jewish Synagogue. The offering up of Isaac is there continually urged as a plea. Thus in their Service for New Year's Day, they profess that "they depend on him who was *bound as a lamb;*" and, again, "Look Thou attentively upon the *ashes of Isaac heaped up upon the altar;*" (so entire was their identification of Isaac with the lamb;) "and *remember this day unto his seed* his being bound upon the altar<sup>d</sup>." To this also we may with all but certainty refer the Divine selection of a lamb in after ages as the one all-prevailing sacrifice for the nation both in the Passover and in the Daily Sacrifice<sup>e</sup>. This can scarcely be devoid of reference no less to Isaac who went before, than to Christ who was to follow.

And marvellously indeed was that transaction fitted, as we perceive the more closely we examine it, thus to take up a position corresponding to the Sacrifice of Christ. For 1. it was, in a most true sense, a human

<sup>d</sup> New Year's Day Services, in Dr. M'Caul's "Old Paths," p. 137.

<sup>e</sup> See also 1 Sam. viii. 9, where, at a great national crisis, Samuel took a sucking-lamb and offered it wholly unto the Lord.

sacrifice. A holocaust of two obedient human Wills was offered, "not without blood," on that altar, and might well avail, thus accompanied, to dedicate and sanctify the whole body of the Israelitish Church. In it too was shadowed forth the mystery of a Risen, as well as of a Slain Sacrifice, Abraham "receiving Isaac in a figure, from the dead." Nor only so: the agents in it imaged forth with great distinctness the Office of the First Two Persons of the Holy Trinity in the work of Redemption; and in a manner that of the Third: for we behold the father giving his son to die; the son willingly offering himself; and both concurring towards this great end in a perfect unity of spirit.

And there were progressive steps leading up to this work of complete dedication of a mystical sphere for the ingrafting and abode of God's elder family, even as it was with Christ. Both the patriarchs themselves and the land proceeded "from strength to strength" by a long succession of sacrificial actions, culminating in Mount Moriah, and were gradually filled and penetrated with the hallowing Presence. Now the Incarnate Word, uniting in Himself both the bodily and the local element of the mystical sphere, was at once the True Mystical Body or Head, and the true Promised Land. And in response to the unceasing and continually-renewed dedication of Himself, and offering of His voluntary Will, He was penetrated more and more, as touching His Manhood, with enlarged manifestations and irradiations<sup>f</sup> of the Indwelling Godhead. Upon Him, as upon the True Land of Promise, and the True Israel, the angels of God, as He Himself makes known to us, "ascended and descended<sup>g</sup>" con-

<sup>f</sup> See above, Part I. ch. ii. p. 176.

<sup>g</sup> St. John i. 51: comp. St. Matt. iv. 11; St. Luke xxii. 43.

tinually; ascended to present His Offering of Himself, descended to empower His Humanity to ever-fresh functions and purposes: until at last, by His crowning act of Obedience and Sacrifice, His Body reached the highest point of dedication. Then it was, namely at His Death and Resurrection, that, being throughout spiritualized, that Body became what, in Its *natural* capacity, when born of the Virgin Mary, it had not been: a sphere and home for the indwelling of spiritualized men; a "Body" for their ingrafting; a "Land" for their obedient walking in. This twofold conception of Christ, considered in His mystical capacity, is distinctly recognised in St. Paul's Epistles. Christian men are not only engrafted into Him as a "Body," or built into Him as a Temple, and so bound to "grow," and to "dwell," and "be edified or built up in Him;" He is also given to them as a larger sphere, co-extensive with the whole action and conversation of their common life. "As they have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so are they to *walk in Him*<sup>b</sup>."

And as the joint function of Abraham and Isaac was thus, with reverence be it said, parallel<sup>i</sup> to that of the Father and of the Incarnate Word, when dedicating His Body to mystical<sup>j</sup> ends by the continual action of a perfectly obedient Will; so was there assigned to the third patriarch, Jacob, the practical

<sup>b</sup> Col. ii. 6. Compare Ellicott, in loc.: "Christ is not here represented as an ὁδός, ('Way,') but as an ensphering *Leben's-Element* by which the περιπατεῖν, i.e. life in all its principles and developments, was to be circumscribed." So Gal. v. 25: "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit;" where the whole round of Christian duties is urged.

<sup>i</sup> So Dr. Thos. Jackson (Creed, viii. 30) draws out at length a parallel between Abraham and God the Father, and between Isaac and Christ.

<sup>j</sup> "Our Lord spake of His Death as the occasion of the development of His mystical Body." Sermons by Rev. T. T. Carter, p. 51. 1862.

consummation of the imitative or typical Economy ;— a function corresponding to that of the Holy Ghost in the Christian Church. The sphere for the abode of the privileged race was now ready. Within the land thus duly sanctified, as many as were, by birth or adoption, of the seed of Abraham and Isaac<sup>k</sup>, and were also duly admitted, by an ordained rite of purification (viz. circumcision), into the mystical sphere hallowed by their actions, were to enjoy all the benefits of the dispensation. And Jacob was the ordained instrument of their introduction into it. In the person of his twelve sons, the mystical sphere received its destined inhabitants ;—members of the body, inheritors of the land :—a first-fruits, carrying in them all those who should come after. In their obedient service, so long as it was obedient<sup>l</sup>, the great mystery of the typical Church was, in outline, fulfilled<sup>m</sup>. Looking

<sup>k</sup> Rom. ix. 7 : “In Isaac shall thy seed be called.”

<sup>l</sup> It is deeply interesting to observe that the first *seven years* (see dates in our margin, Gen. xxxiii., xxxiv.) of the abode of Jacob and his family in Canaan, after his return to his settlement at Sichem, seem to have been passed by them (since we have no record to the contrary) in dutiful and peaceful discharge of covenant duties, and reception of covenanted blessings. At the close of this period idolatry crept in, Gen. xxxv. 2. Observe also that Jacob and his family imitate very closely the migrations of Abraham and Isaac, beginning at Sichem, Bethel, Mamre, (Gen. xxxv. 1—27,) and ending at Beersheba. The members of the mystical body, guided by the Spirit, follow the course of their head.

<sup>m</sup> It is remarkable that whereas Abraham had no inheritance given him beyond a burying-place in the land, “no, not so much as to set his foot upon,” (Acts vii. 5,) Jacob purchased a parcel of land and bequeathed it to Joseph, (Gen. xxxiii. 19 ; St. John iv. 5,) thus realizing on a small scale actual fruition of the land. And it was in that parcel of land, as has been already observed (p. 104), that our Lord opened His Mission to the world : thus linking on the beginning of the New Economy to the most germinal stage of the Old. Observe also, that care was taken that the twelve patriarchs, no less than their three great progenitors, should be buried in the land, (Acts vii. 16) ; no doubt in order that in

back, as we can hardly doubt, to the one great sacrifice by which they had been presented acceptably to God, and installed in their present and future privileges;—keeping up, it may be, a continual memorial of that sacrifice by the offering of a sabbatic lamb, and from time to time holding eucharistic participation in it by peace-offerings;—dwelling in a mysterious Presence, and duly offering and dedicating themselves in it, and receiving present and prospective benefits in body and spirit; they would image forth on a minute scale, but with marvellous fidelity, the leading features of the Gospel Economy. Such was the glorious and happy position assigned to the twelve sons of Jacob. And accordingly the nation were ever after called “children of Israel,” rather than of Abraham or Isaac; just as members of Christ’s Church are not said to be born again of Christ, but “of the Holy Ghost.”

Nor did this remarkable trine provision fail to impress a Trinitarian character on the theological conceptions and nomenclature of the nation. The threefold title of the God of the race—“The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob”—could not but recal the memories of the great father, the obedient son, and the faithful accomplisher of the divine purposes, to whom they owed their position. The threefold work of God for man, in creation, redemption, and sanctification, and in some sort His threefold Personality, as reflected in this lower scale of things, became conceptions familiar to the mind of Israel; and thus doubtless contributed, far more than they were aware of, to the reception of those mysteries under the Gospel. And here again we observe them, mystically and implicitly, the whole race should there await the resurrection.

that in the Jewish Offices, already referred to, language wonderfully parallel to that of Christian faith is used continually. As God had promised that He would remember the covenant with the patriarchs, so have their posterity ever pleaded, with much particularity, (if we may trust to the antiquity of these forms,) the wondrous achievements of faith in old time. "Regard the merits of the first ancestors; justify through their righteousness those who hope in Thee;"—"They depend on the righteousness of the first patriarch, and rest in the *merits of the only peculiar son* (Isaac), and are secure in the perfect rectitude of the father of the nation (Jacob)." As these pleadings properly had reference only to the benefits of that dispensation, and in no way trenched upon the exclusive merits of Christ as the ground of eternal salvation, it does not appear but that they might innocently be employed. They are only adduced here as proof that the parallels, to which attention has now been drawn, were not without their effect in shaping the religious mind of the Jewish nation.

## SECTION VI.

AND now, to human view, it might seem that the organization of the typical economy was complete, and that no further experience would be needed by the subjects of it to qualify them for the reception of the Gospel mysteries. But it was not so. The patriarchal economy, exquisitely as it imaged forth the outline of the Gospel economy, was in one important respect wanting in the necessary fulness of experience. For it was not out of the depths of a *personal fall* that the patriarchal family had reached their exalted reli-



gious position. Now it was absolutely necessary, in order that the phenomenon of REDEMPTION might be justly mirrored in the experience of the race, and duly estimated by them, that such a fall should have taken place: otherwise their experience would not be perfectly parallel to that of mankind at large. And there were, besides, some other features of the destined economy which required to be copied in with a stronger and bolder hand, ere the ordinary mind could be duly impressed by them. The service due to God, no less than the needs of man, needed to be drawn out on a more elaborate plan, if the print of heavenly things was to stamp itself indelibly on the consciousness of the selected family. The patriarchal service possessed too little of the sensuous and visible,—it was, in its grand simplicity, even too like the heavenly pattern, to work the requisite convictions and impressions on the universal mind of the race. Looking at its simple sacrificial service, and its unenshrined Presence,—a Presence for the most part felt and believed in rather than seen,—it might be said of it, as of the reality ages after, “And I saw no temple therein, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb were the Temple of it, . . . for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the Light thereof.” For the feebler faith and grosser mind of those who came after the first three, something more tangible and more arresting was needed. For these two purposes, then, to give the race experience of a proper Fall and Redemption, and to work in them certain strict habits of service towards God, there befel, under divine ordering, those two great correlatives, the going down into Egypt, and the Redemption out of it; the Egyptian bondage, and the Mosaic economy.

Yet, ere that experience should have place, and so the imitative dispensation attain perfection in every feature, one great precaution was by the divine Foresight perceived to be necessary. There was imminent danger lest the copy should be taken for the reality: lest so august, and, as far as it went, so spiritual and ennobling a system, should be deemed to be to everlasting salvation. It was therefore ordained that at an early stage of the patriarchal period, the secondary and ancillary character of the entire economy should be unequivocally declared. The corrective for any such overweening estimate of the "weight of glory" undoubtedly laid upon the Elder Economy, was provided in the person of MELCHISEDEK.

Into the vexed question of the existence and functions of that exalted and mysterious personage, it would be beside our purpose to enter, further than to observe, that it was plainly given him to express, both positively and negatively, the true relation of the Israelitish to the Christian Economy. For, 1. the homage paid him, both as King and Priest, by Abraham himself, declared, in the most positive way, that all manner of kingdom and priesthood, all temporal or spiritual powers, that Abraham might carry in him, for himself or his posterity, were held in subordination to some greater Kingdom and Priesthood still. It was significantly told him, that, important as were the functions assigned him, he was only part of a larger system. In a holy city, in the very land that he had a commission to take and keep possession of, was shewn him a King and Priest of whom, as God's immediate Vicegerent, he held all that he had and was. But 2. the account given of this personage in Holy Scripture was so overruled as to signify to *later*

*ages*,—negatively, and by the way of reticence,—when its significance should be pointed out by the Spirit, the *particular points* in which the future and archetypal Economy would, by reason of the attributes of its High Priest, transcend the typical one committed to Abraham and his seed. In virtue of what is *not* said of him,—of the ordained and expressive silence of Scripture,—Melchisedek comes to view as a Priest before whom and after whom there was none else of the same order and line. In this sense, he issues forth from one eternity to enter into another<sup>n</sup>. Being, as far as the Scripture narrative is concerned, “without father, without mother, without descent,” to account for his exalted position as “Priest of the Most High God;” “having neither beginning of days nor end of life” recorded, and thus “likened unto the Son of God;” he “abideth,” as far as man’s knowledge extends, “a Priest continually<sup>o</sup>.” He is moreover, by interpretation, “King of Righteousness and King of Peace;” and, in virtue of Abraham’s tribute of the spoils of war, a great Conqueror. He imaged forth therefore a Priesthood, Sonship, and Kingdom, transcending those of Abraham and his seed in the essential and all-important characters of Eternity,—*ex parte ante et post*,—Divinity, and *everlasting* Salvation. He thus carried in his single person a greater number of the more lofty and unapproachable characteristics of the promised Deliverer than any one before or after

<sup>n</sup> Comp. Ebrard on Heb. vii. p. 213: “He comes forth from the darkness as a streak of light, only to disappear into the darkness again.”

<sup>o</sup> Similarly Dean Jackson sums up, (Creed, ix. 8): “As the greatness and height of Melchisedek’s calling serves as a map to represent the high majesty of the everlasting priesthood, so the omission of his genealogy is an emblem or shadow of the infinite duration or eternity of the Son of God.”

him. As such he was privileged to furnish the terms of that inconceivably mysterious address of the Father to the Son, the accents of which, falling on the ear of David, were indited by him in the 110th Psalm<sup>p</sup>, and constitute it perhaps the most luminous revelation ever made to man as to the Person and Office of Christ. As such, too, he was wonderfully fitted to stand at the threshold of the Abrahamic and Mosaic economy, proclaiming beforehand its transitory and subordinate character; and to be, in the mouth of St. Paul, in after ages, the most irrefragable proof of that position.

And there was yet one point, intimately connected with our present subject, in which the action of Melchisedek presignified the character, and specially the greater simplicity, of the archetypal Economy. His priesthood was indeed, we cannot doubt, like that of all other priests, exercised by offering up slain animals and fruits of the earth. Otherwise, as plainly appears from our previous conclusions as to sacrifice, "he would not have been a priest at all." But it was ordained that, on this particular occasion, the animal sacrifices should *sink out of view*; and fruits of the earth, "bread

<sup>p</sup> This is manifestly the construction of Ps. cx. David hears, as it were, the sublime address of the Father (who speaks *throughout*) investing the Son in His regal and priestly dignities, as the reward of His Passion. "The LORD (Jehovah) said" in my hearing, (comp. Isa. v. 9; Ezek. ix. 5,) "unto my Lord, (Adonai,) Sit Thou," &c. (Comp. Ps. xlv. 6; Heb. i. 8.) And it is the history of Melchisedek, not only as priest but as king, and as having triumphed, through Abraham, over the kings of the earth, and received their homage,—that furnishes the terms of the Divine address. The 2nd Psalm is of similar construction, except that it is the SON that speaks throughout, and reports the address of the Father to Him, (ver. 7,) the allusions being still, as it appears, to Melchisedek's history. (Comp. e.g. ver. 3 with Gen. xiv. 16; vers. 2—10 with Gen. xiv. 1—17. This subject is more fully worked out in an article entitled "Jerusalem" in the "Christian Remembrancer," Oct., 1849.

and wine," be the only material elements that should appear in the transaction <sup>a</sup>. And thus once more, the *silence* of Scripture is the means of rendering, with marvellous fidelity, the leading difference of *administration*—as before the difference of duration and dignity—between the two Economies. That Melchisedek, at the time or beforehand, presented the "bread and wine" sacrificially to God, and that his "blessing" was connected with these elements, the narrative does not permit us to doubt. "Melchisedek brought forth bread and wine: and (= for) he was the priest of the Most High God. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the Most High God: . . . and blessed be God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thine hands." This is surely a sacrificial blessing, like that of Aaron when offering his first sacrifice<sup>r</sup>. Doubtless too it operated, Godward and manward, *through both* the kinds of sacrifice which he habitually offered, (and which may well have been going up at that moment from the altar close by, at Jerusalem,) the slain victims no less than the fruits of the earth then "brought forth." But in virtue of the actual *exhibition* and *participation* of the "bread and wine" only, he stands forth a perfect image of the manner of operation of Christ's Priesthood, and of

<sup>a</sup> This is, in all important respects, the view of the Fathers: the point for which they contended being that Melchisedek's "bread and wine" were a real offering and communion, and so presignified the Eucharist. The view in the text, that he also offered slain victims, (which Eusebius and others doubted,) far from impairing this correspondence, completes it, and indeed is necessary to it. For Christ's Eucharistic offering stood in avowed relation to a slain Sacrifice, and conveyed the benefits of it. See passages from SS. Athanasius, Jerome, Theodoret, and others, in the Appendix to Johnson's "Unbloody Sacrifice." Also the Liturgy of S. Mark, and the Roman Canon, *Suprà quæ*, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Lev. ix. 22, 23.

the Christian Eucharist. For even so, at the great Institution, two things only were *exhibited*, the Priest and the fruits of the earth; for the Victim, though present, and declared to be so, ("This is My Body, My Blood,") was, *as* a slain Victim, present only in mystery, and invisibly. And this was to be the abiding law of the Economy. The bodies and blood of slain animals were to disappear, being superseded by the Body and Blood of Christ, present though unseen, and *exhibited* continually on the Heavenly Altar only: but the other material elements of the old economy, the Bread and Wine, were to the end of time to remain, mysteriously identified with those awful Realities, and endowed with all their power for blessing God and beatifying man.

In short, there was exhibited to Abraham on this occasion, in a truly marvellous manner, the outline of the Christian Eucharist in its every feature: namely, Consecration by Blessing or Giving of Thanks; Benediction; Communion; Bread and Wine identified with a slain Victim unseen; Gift, Self-dedication, Offertory; acknowledgment of King and Priest in One; special subject of Praise, as at the Church's festivals, and in her Eucharistic use of Scripture. In the action of Melchisedek, the ancient system of sacrifice is exhibited to us not only purified from its grosser and animal (or bloody) elements, but transfigured into the perfect image of the Pure Oblation of the Gospel<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> The view in the text sufficiently answers the question why St. Paul does not mention Melchisedek's offering of the bread and wine among the points in which he resembled Christ. For he was only concerned with the points in which that priesthood *transcended* Aaron's; not with the mode of its administration, which was indeed, except as viewed negatively, a far *less* distinct type of Christ's than Aaron's was. See Johnson, p. 12, &c.

## SECTION VII.

THIS Divine precaution duly taken, then, and the relations of the Law to the Gospel thus settled by anticipation for ever, the great Fall, which was the immediate cause of the Mosaic Law, was allowed to take place. That the going down to Egypt, and the abode and bondage there, constituted a Fall in the strictest sense,—a Fall moral and spiritual as well as bodily,—will appear more distinctly hereafter. But it is much to be observed that—so accurate is its correspondence to the Fall of humanity at large—it took place, in the first instance, in those who collectively were as a head to the race,—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Those whom we have seen bearing, in one point of view, and for the purposes of one stage of the economy, the awful image of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, have now to be viewed as taking, towards the new phase on which that economy was entering, a more humbling and more sorrowful part. As we may so say, they are now seen “bearing the image of the earthy,” who “had borne,” in another point of view, “the image of the heavenly.” They correspond now to “the first Adam, of the earth, earthy,” instead of to “the Second Adam, the Lord from Heaven.”

For so it was, that the possession of this second Paradise had been suspended by the Framer of it on the same condition as that of the first; and that condition had been broken. A single commandment, as we have seen, had been given, namely, “Dwell in the land.” To depart out of it was therefore to break the conditions on which it was held. In the temptation to do so lay the one sore trial of the patriarchs’

faith; and under that trial they all more or less failed. They whose faith in other respects "removed mountains," and who rose to serene heights of spiritual achievement never before attained by man,—they could not endure the simple prohibition which was the condition of their privileged estate. The Tree of knowledge of good and evil, the temptation to make trial of a world without, stood, for them also, hard by the Tree of Life. It was more especially in the form of the high material prosperity and civilization of *Egypt*, that this temptation assailed and overcame them. Abraham's one fault—duly punished by his falling into the snare of dissimulation, and by the rebuke of man—was his going down into Egypt; as afterwards into Gerar, with the same result. And this inclination was inherited by all his descendants. Isaac evidently desired to go down thither, and had reached Gerar on his way<sup>t</sup>, when he was forbidden by God to carry out his intention: and though permitted to sojourn (not dwell) there, felt God's displeasure in the same way as Abraham had done. In either case the fear of famine was the pretext; the real cause, mistrust of God's guaranteed preservation within the land, joined, probably, to vague desires of temporal benefit. Jacob fled earlier in life to Padan Aram, through mistrust of God's protection from the wrath of man; and there, together with much increase of goods<sup>u</sup>, (as in the case of his fathers,) saw much sorrow. The subsequent descent into Egypt was, like theirs, immediately through fear of famine, though complications arising out of past sin drew on the catastrophe. And the sum is, that one and all, fathers

<sup>t</sup> Gen. xxvi. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Gen. xii. 16, xx. 16, xxvi. 12—14, xxx. 43.

Compare Cain's prosperity, iv. 17; and Williams, in loc., p. 446.



and children, violated the condition of their privileged estate, and by their own act cast themselves out for the time from the peculiar Presence of God.

We are thus brought to the great Egyptian episode in the history of the chosen people. It is of the utmost importance to our purpose that we should attain to a just estimate of that entire series of events.

There can be no doubt, then, in the first place, that the Egyptian sojourn is to be viewed as *penal* in its entire extent, and not merely in its later stage, when its character as such was more pronounced and more severe. By the very law of the Abrahamic dispensation, if we have discerned it aright, absence<sup>x</sup> from the covenanted land was of necessity a serious privation and loss: being no less than the hiding of the covenanted Face of God; the suspension of the proper benefits, temporal and spiritual, of the dispensation. The "horror of great darkness" which God caused to pass over the spirit of Abraham, at the very time of assuring him, in a most solemn and mysterious manner, of the future possession of the land<sup>y</sup>, signified the shadow and eclipse under which

<sup>x</sup> So Baumgarten (Apostolic History, vol. iii. p. 131) observes that "in the view of Holy Scripture the *people* and the *land* of Israel form one entire whole, like soul and body: the exile of Israel can therefore be nothing else but the death of Israel."

<sup>y</sup> Gen. xv. 13—17. "The 'horror of great darkness' signified the dismal condition of Abram's posterity in Egypt, which God now represented to him. . . . The going down of the sun was a further signification of it." Patrick, in loc. The significance of the entire transaction would seem to be this. The divided sacrificial animals represented the family and the land, (i.e. the entire dispensation still presented before God, but as it were rent, and deprived of life; see note x): the undivided bird, and the trance-like sleep and darkness falling on Abram, the federal ancestor, the *suspension*, only, of the covenant favour. The length of time the pieces lay—probably from the first decline of the sun at 3 P.M. (the subsequent time of evening sacrifice, and of killing of

his posterity would lie until four hundred years from that time were completed. Accordingly, though Jacob's going down into Egypt was not unaccompanied by an assurance, (in answer to his farewell sacrifice at Beersheba<sup>z</sup>;) that God "would go down with him, and make of him a great nation;" it was still represented to him as the crowning consolation, that "He would surely bring him up again." And it is significant, that we nowhere read of any altar built, or sacrifice offered, during this period. There may have been such; since we can hardly conceive that Jacob, at any rate, would fail still to acknowledge<sup>a</sup> God in the ancient and usual way, though shut out from His full covenanted favour as the God of Israel<sup>b</sup>.

But it may be shewn, that the spiritual darkness, which the exile itself involved, was aggravated by positive departure, and that too at some early period, from the fundamental law against the worship of any other God; and that this, in fact, was the immediate cause of the long duration of their exile. For though

the paschal lamb) until the full sunset at 6 P.M. (ver. 17; comp. Exod. xii. 6, margin, and xxix. 39)—is the duration of the exile; perhaps an hour for each century or generation. (See also Kurtz's observation on the animals, each three years old.) But Abram drives away the fowls from the carcasses. God will not let the nation be destroyed by the powers of evil, for his sake. At length, at the darkest, the Glory of God, as it were a shining lamp, passes between and consumes the pieces—a token of His acceptance of them (S. Aug.) and the destruction of their enemies. This view of Abraham's vision is also adopted and well sustained by Kalisch, in loc. (*Hist. and Crit. Commentary on Genesis*. 1855.)

<sup>z</sup> Gen. xlvi.

<sup>a</sup> So Patrick, in Exod. iii. 16: "They had no doubt a form of religion, though we read nothing of it."

<sup>b</sup> See on this subject Kurtz, *Old Covenant*, p. 176. He concurs with the view in the text.

the sin of the ten brethren against Joseph may well account for the exile's lasting during their lifetime : after the death of all that generation, it is natural to suppose that a speedy return would have been vouchsafed, had there been no fresh cause for detention. Still less can we account, except on such a supposition, for the fact that the added affliction of *bondage*, which had been warded off from the guilty generation, should fall on their posterity. We are naturally led, then, to suspect, as the cause of this prolongation of the exile, some *unfaithfulness towards God* parallel to that which afterward prolonged the passage through the wilderness by nearly forty years. And, in truth, we have direct though long-subsequent evidence of such unfaithfulness ; so that the only question is *how soon* it commenced. Now, not to speak of that yet earlier outbreak of idolatry<sup>c</sup> in the land of promise itself,—perhaps of brief duration, and promptly and severely checked by the calamities at Shechem,—Joshua<sup>d</sup> distinctly upbraids the nation with it. And the Prophet Ezekiel<sup>e</sup>, when recounting the successive provocations of the Israelites, at each great stage of their history, expressly reckons first in order their “defiling themselves with the idols of Egypt after He had lifted up His Hand to bring them out of it.” Now there is considerable difficulty in referring this to the period of the Mosaic commission<sup>f</sup> to “bring

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxv. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Josh. xxiv. 14 : “Put away your gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt.” Warburton (Divine Legation of Moses, iv. 6) has fully established the fact.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. xx. 5—8 : “In the day when I made Myself known unto them in the land of Egypt . . . then I said, Defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt : but they rebelled against Me ; . . . neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt.” See also xxiii. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Warburton indeed, (Divine Legation, iv. 6,) understands it of this

them out." We read of no such appeal made to Israel at that time, nor do we detect any symptoms of unwillingness to comply with it. God Himself assured Moses that the people "would hearken to his voice." And accordingly we read that, when Moses did the appointed signs, "the people believed, and bowed their heads and worshipped<sup>s</sup>." It is inconceivable that, whilst Moses was doing all these wonders in Egypt, the people were persevering in idolatry.

It becomes necessary, then, to refer the appeal spoken of by Ezekiel to some earlier period of the Egyptian sojourn. And this is countenanced by another passage of the same prophet<sup>h</sup>, referring the Egyptian idolatry to the "youth" of the nation. But the Decalogue, moreover, seems to furnish a proof that it had commenced soon after the descent into Egypt. For the preamble, taken in connection with the second commandment, runs thus:—"I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt . . . Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image . . . For I the Lord thy God am" (as ye have seen, it seems to say) "*a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me*<sup>i</sup>." This may well be an appeal

period and refers it to Exod. v. 21, but he admits it to be "a thing altogether incredible, but that we have God's own word for it by Ezekiel."

<sup>s</sup> Exod. iii. 18, ii. 23—25, iv. 31.

<sup>h</sup> Ezek. xxiii. 3, 19: "And they committed whoredoms in their youth. . . . The days of her youth wherein she had played the harlot in the land of Egypt."

<sup>i</sup> It has been long ago observed (Maimonides, More Nevochim, i. 36, 54) that jealousy is only attributed to God with reference to idolatry; nor are any called His enemies or haters, except idolaters. The promise of "mercy to a thousand generations," on the other hand, belongs specially to the covenant with Abraham. See Deut. vii. 9, 10; Ps. cv. 8.

to their *experience*; for such was the number of the generations from the descent into Egypt: Moses (for example) being the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi<sup>k</sup>. And that the number of the generations is no casual circumstance, appears from its having been part of the original pre-ordination of the descent into Egypt, that "in the *fourth generation* they should come thither again<sup>l</sup>."

We thus seem to arrive at the true character of the Egyptian sojourn. While it was a penal sojourn throughout, we yet discern two eras of it, penal in different degrees: the later one being a period of *ritual* unfaithfulness, of which bondage was the punishment.

This conclusion is thoroughly confirmed by the events in the wilderness, when the Israelites manifest a continual proneness to relapse into ways of worship, which they could only have learnt in Egypt<sup>m</sup>.

Now this fact determined in a very great degree the character of the Mosaic economy. It is, from one point of view, the key<sup>n</sup> to its peculiar and distinctive

<sup>k</sup> Exod. vi. 2, v. Patrick. Korah, too, was the great-grandson of Levi. Num. xvi. 1. Kurtz (ii. 141) has vainly tried to prove that some generations are omitted: he admits, p. 142, that the Heb. text is against him.

<sup>l</sup> Gen. xv. 16.

<sup>m</sup> The worship of the calves was clearly of this kind. Thus Moses, when coming down from the Mount, recognised a feature of idolatrous worship in "the voice of them that sing." Hengstenberg shews ("Egypt and Moses") that singing to noisy instruments was an accompaniment of early Egyptian worship: as also was "dancing" and "playing," or unseemly jesting. Herod. ii. 60.

<sup>n</sup> So Eusebius, Demonstr. Ev., i. iv.: "For the Old Covenant was provided for the Jews who had fallen away from the religion of their forefathers, and had zealously adopted the Egyptian life and ways, and relapsed into the error of polytheism and superstitious worship of Gentile idols." Again, (Ib. i. vi. p. 17): "The whole Jewish nation was thoroughly infected with the disease of Egypt: *after the death of their godly fathers* they fell away into polytheism."

features. Whatever was novel in its aspect, as compared with the simpler dispensation under which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had walked with God,—such as its nearer and more intimate as well as outwardly-betokened Presence; its awfulness; its sternly-pronounced monotheism; its elementary character<sup>p</sup>, and continued restatement of the very first principles of all religion; its detailed condemnation of the most odious vices; its ritual detail and stringency; its burdensomeness: all these, though they carried out the original Divine purpose of sacrificially purifying and bringing nearer to Himself a portion of the human race, and served also to typify and mirror, in a thousand ways, the features of the final Economy,—yet originated, at the time, in the profound needs<sup>q</sup>, the deep and extensive degradation, spiritual and moral, of the race and the generation to whom God spoke by Moses<sup>r</sup>. If we would understand the Passover deliverance and the Mosaic ritual, either in themselves, or as setting forth Christian Redemption and Christian mysteries, we must grasp and apprehend the position of the people to whose necessities all these things were adapted. For the more degraded *they* were, the more correctly did their condition typify the lost condition of man, and *their* redemption *his*. Nor

<sup>p</sup> Comp. Gal. iv. 3; Col. ii. 20.

<sup>q</sup> So Patrick remarks (on Exod. xxxii. 6): “In general, it may be reasonably thought, that if they had not been perverse, they might have been left at liberty to do these things (offer sacrifice, &c.) at pleasure according to the law of nature (?). They might have been permitted to offer sacrifice everywhere, as the patriarchs did.”

<sup>r</sup> This, again, is recognised by Eusebius (as above referred to): “Moses, to draw them up out of the abyss of evils, turned them from polytheism, and proclaimed God the Creator of all, laying this as the first foundation of religion, (in the first four commandments); then he forbade murder, adultery, perjury, theft, and all unnatural crimes,” &c.

need we, from the same point of view, be surprised that an enlarged measure of Divine Presence and access, as compared with that vouchsafed to the three patriarchs, was evoked by the degraded condition of their posterity. For herein we recognise the very law of the archetypal Economy, in which "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." *Fallen* man is raised, in Christ, to a higher degree of Divine Presence than he enjoyed in Paradise.

The Israelitish position then, at this time, was a far more awful one than we are apt to realize: though the awfulness of it is written significantly enough in the tremendous and elaborate processes, *spiritual* as well as physical, employed to bring them out of it<sup>s</sup>. We are too apt to think of them merely as bondmen under the hand of *Pharaoh*. The chief impression which we derive from the story of the Exodus, is that of a vast exercise of miraculous power in the sphere of the physical and visible world, for the humbling of the king, and the deliverance of his captives. The one feature in the transaction which is *not* physical, but belongs to the sphere of the spiritual and the unseen, (viz. the Passover, and the bringing back of the people through that ordinance to their allegiance,) is too often viewed as an adjunct, merely, to the material miracles and the bodily deliverance. The Passover is commonly conceived of rather as an instructive ceremony, tending to impress the mind and memory of the people, than

\* Compare the expressions "outstretched arm," signs, wonders and *war*, (probably meaning spiritual war,) so frequently applied to this deliverance, (Exod. vi. 6; Deut. iv. 34, v. 15, vii. 19, xxvi. 8; 2 Chron. vi. 32; Jer. xxxii. 17—21). In this last passage it is applied also to the act of creating the world, and that act and the Exodus are spoken of as exertions of Divine power, not unworthy to be compared together.

as having discharged any real or important function in the mighty work then achieved. But this is exactly to reverse the true order of importance of these events<sup>†</sup>.

Striking as the physical miracles were, and were designed to be to all ages, it is nevertheless certain that a yet greater work of power, to which these were but accessories, was carrying on all the while in the region of the spiritual; in the high places of spiritual wickedness, and in the hearts of the people. The whole series of miracles which, reversing the Creation's six days' work<sup>‡</sup>, made Egypt a desolation, and overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host, were but the attendants and "outskirts" of an invisible "march of mystery." There was a spiritual slavery in which Israel was held, under the power of a yet more cruel master than Pharaoh: a yet profounder depth of spiritual perverseness and hardness of heart than his, to be probed and healed. To break that power by a signal and triumphant overthrow, defeating spiritual might by spiritual; to conquer that perverse will, and lead it forth in willing captivity to the obedience of God: *this* was the supreme work then accomplished. Let it be carefully observed what the process of that spiritual victory and deliverance was.

<sup>†</sup> Compare Kalisch on Exod. xii.: "The deliverance of Israel from Egyptian thralldom is only the negative element in that memorable event: the closer relation to God into which Israel as a people is brought thereby, forms its positive and more important characteristic." "The character of the Passover as a festival of (physical) liberty or redemption is only accessory."

<sup>‡</sup> We may observe that the creatures were smitten somewhat in the order of their creation: water by its turning into blood; earth by the frogs and lice; air by the flies; plants by the hail and locusts; cattle and men by the death of the first-born. The cattle and men were also smitten by the hail and murrain: light, out of its order, by the darkness.



It cannot fail, then, to strike the most careless reader of the history of the Exodus, that the last of the ten plagues was distinguished, in one respect, from all the others. Hitherto, exemption for Israel from the woes denounced upon Egypt had been the declared or implied law of these visitations. No precautions were necessary to protect them from them; nor could anything seem more unlikely, judging by the past, than that the chosen people should be in danger, even, of sharing the calamities of Egypt. The very lesson designed to be taught hitherto, was that God had put a division between His people and Pharaoh's people<sup>v</sup>. In this plague, on the contrary, there is one law for the Egyptian and for the Israelite, as far as concerns liability to it. Only by the rigid observance of a prescribed remedy can safety be found for the favoured nation. A singular law of selection is also observed in this plague. It is a discriminating judgment; not executed, as were the former ones, through the blind powers of nature, but by the direct act of the angel of the Lord. The *first-born* of men and cattle are singled out for destruction.

The reason of all this is doubtless to be found in the idolatry of Israel.

The preceding visitations were simply to punish the Egyptians for their unjust detention of the people. In that fault, Israel, by the nature of the case, could have no share, and was therefore exempt from its punishment. But there was another and more ancient sin of the Egyptians, now aggravated by their having enticed the adopted people of God into participation with them in it. It was the sin of idolatry. The last plague was accordingly announced as having

<sup>v</sup> Exod. viii. 23. The margin has "redemption."

a double aim : not only, like the rest, to bring Israel out, but also “against all the *gods* of Egypt to execute judgment<sup>x</sup>.” And the worship being common to the two nations, the punishment would be so too, with only such difference as their respective positions might prescribe.

But, next, why did the punishment of this sin take the form of the destruction of the first-born of men and cattle? Now, that there is an intimate and even necessary and eternal connection between *primogeniture* and *priesthood*, is manifest from the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>y</sup>. And again, once we admit the existence of such a thing as priesthood at all, in a patriarchal state of society, it is an arrangement which springs out of the very existence of the family, that its head for the time being, and his first-born after him, should be its priest<sup>z</sup>. And without affirming that this rule obtained universally, we may safely say that it was sufficiently recognised in ancient times to render it infinitely probable, that the threatened destruction of the first-born Egyptians was aimed at them as *priests*, as representatives of the idolatry of the nation. Of the Egyptian law concerning priest-hood, we know only that the office was confined to particular families<sup>a</sup> : but it is probable, that of the families thus privileged the first-born son would actually execute the priest-hood. We know also that Moloch-

<sup>x</sup> Exod. xii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Heb. i. 2, 3: “God has spoken to us by His *Son*: who, when He had by Himself *purged our sins*, sat down:” &c. Ib. v. 5: “Christ glorified not Himself to be an High Priest, but He that said unto Him, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.” Comp. vii. 3.

<sup>z</sup> On the priest-hood of first-born sons, see Selden, *Success. Pontific.* Hebr., i. 1: and Deyling, *Obs. Sacræ*, ii. 4. 16.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xlvii. 23. Diodorus Siculus, i.; Herod., ii.

worship prevailed in Egypt, since the Israelites lapsed into it in the wilderness<sup>b</sup>; and that first-born sons were preferred<sup>c</sup> for sacrifice to that deity, as the first-born of cattle were for other worship. The destruction of the first-born would include the existing *priests* and *victims* among men, and also the victims among cattle.

As to the Hebrew nation, again, it has been thought, with some reason, that Jacob coveted and obtained the family priesthood<sup>d</sup> among the rights of primogeniture. We find both Isaac (probably<sup>e</sup>) and Jacob sacrificing in their father's lifetime, when they became heads of families. This law would in all likelihood, when households multiplied, be still acted upon in Egypt, so long as the worship of God was maintained; and be continued when they fell into idolatry. Some sort of idolatrous worship, in short, conducted by the heads of families, constituted in all probability the religion of Israel (with the exception perhaps of the Levite families) just before the Exodus.

Viewed in this light, then, the first-born of Israel stood forth in an awful character as the direct exponents and representative persons of Israelitish apostasy; and accordingly they might justly, as in the case of the Egyptians, be singled out for exclusive destruction. And such is the impression which the narrative at first sight conveys. But it would seem, on more mature consideration, that though the first-

<sup>b</sup> Acts vii. 43; Amos v. 26.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Kings iii. 27: "Then he took his eldest son and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall." Micah vi. 7: "Shall I give my *first-born* for my transgression?"

<sup>d</sup> See Blunt, Veracity of Moses. The Jews take the young men who acted as priests before the Law (Exod. xix. 22, xxiv. 5) to be the first-born.

<sup>e</sup> p. 100, note.

born might be chiefly aimed at, the entire nation of the Israelites were in danger of perishing by the destroying Angel. It was their "houses," and not merely their first-born, that were threatened<sup>f</sup>. It was for all alike, and not for the first-born only, that the redeeming lamb was necessary. But this, too, becomes perfectly intelligible, when we consider the real position of Israel. The whole nation were, and that too in a very lofty and peculiar sense, *first-born* and *priests*. God had given them that position in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: and as such were they, in the very beginning of these transactions, claimed by Him at the hand of Pharaoh. "Thus saith the Lord, Israel is My son, even *My First-born*, and I say unto thee, Let My son go, that he may serve Me," (as a priest, *λατρεύσῃ*<sup>g</sup>). He claimed of them, as such, not only duties of natural piety, but the continual dedication to Him, by the way of faithful service and sacrifice, of themselves and their land. But what was the aspect under which they appeared now? They had not merely, by leaving the land, fallen back on their position as mere children of the God of Nature and Providence: they had separated themselves, not from their land only, but from their God, Who had promised to be with them, for certain purposes, wherever they went. They had sacrificed to

<sup>f</sup> Exod. xii. 27. So also Heb. xi. 28: "Lest He that destroyed the first-born should touch them," i.e. the Israelites; where Ebrard supposes a most unnatural hyperbaton: "Lest the destroyer should touch their first-born." The next verse shews that *all* Israel are meant.

<sup>g</sup> This passage is immediately followed by that obscure one concerning the circumcision of Moses' son by Zipporah, and the threat of *slaying* him by the Angel (LXX) of the Lord. The interpretation of this surely is, that the eldest son of Moses not having been circumcised in Midian, and so not being in covenant with God, was threatened, as a type of what was to follow in the case of all Israel, with death. Exod. iv. 24.

the idols of Egypt, that is “to devils<sup>h</sup>, and not to God:” and by this means were dedicated and given over to them. And we know from St. Paul that such sacrificing to the false gods involved a real, however mysterious, communion with the spirits of evil. It may be that they even frequented in Egypt, (for where else could they have learnt to do so?) as afterwards in the wilderness, “the tabernacle of Moloch<sup>i</sup>,” and offered, as their posterity did in Canaan, “their sons and their daughters unto devils.” Such fearful transgression of the spiritual and ritual laws, by which God had bound His people to Him, called for some special vengeance against them; or could only be expiated by their returning into the Covenant (as Jacob did at Bethel<sup>j</sup>) through some new and specially provided sacrificial action. If Egypt was to be smitten in their religion, the same measure must be meted to their co-religionists, the children of Israel. And so it was; yet with these two points of difference, 1. that as *all* Israel were, in a mystery, first-born and priests, so were they all included in the woe; but of the Egyptians, the natural first-born only: and 2. that, as God’s elder family, the angels, fell without remedy, while for the later one, mankind, a ransom was found; so would the destruction, denounced in common on

<sup>h</sup> 1 Cor. x. 20: “The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God: I would not that ye should have fellowship (communion) with devils.”

<sup>i</sup> It is probable that Moloch (from Heb. *maloch*, ‘to be a king’) is a generic name applied to the favourite deity of various nations, as Saturn, the Sun, Baal, Osiris, &c. Comp. Jer. xxxii. 35 with xix. 5; Amos v. 26. See the learned dissertation of Deyling on Acts ii. 43, Obs. Sacræ, vol. ii. 36. In Hosea xiii. 2 some render “Let the sacrificers (our margin, ‘sacrifices’) kiss the calves,” which tends to connect Moloch worship with Baal and Egypt, ver. 4.

<sup>j</sup> Gen. xxxv.

both nations, be in the case of Israel expiable, while on Egypt it would fall without redemption.

But we must look higher than to the offerers of this idolatrous worship and self-dedication,—even to the powers of evil who were the objects and recipients of it, and to the judgments inflicted on them,—if we would apprehend the matter aright. It is in connexion, then, with the destruction of the first-born, and with the Passover, that we for the first time find mention of God's purpose of executing judgment not on Egypt only, but on Egypt's *gods*<sup>j</sup>. That purpose was indeed, it is probable, carried out in a measure by the earlier plagues, smiting various objects of her veneration<sup>k</sup>. But here it is announced as an express part of God's design. And it consisted mainly in the blow inflicted on the worship of the gods by the destruction of their priests, and of the victims wont to be offered to them, both of man and beast. It may also have been accompanied, as the Jews believe, and as in the case of the Philistine gods long after, by dishonour put upon the idols and temples. But the most signal judgment upon them, and victory over them, would lie in snatching from them their worshippers, the children of Israel, whom they had seduced from God's peculiar service. Never but once,—at the Fall of man in Adam,—had so noble

<sup>j</sup> Exod. xii. 12: "It is the Lord's Passover. For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and I will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both of man and beast, and *against all the gods of Egypt* I will execute judgment." So, again, Numb. xxxiii. 4: "On the morrow *after the Passover* the children of Israel went out with a high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians: for the Egyptians buried their *first-born*, which the Lord had smitten among them; and *upon their gods also* the Lord executed judgment." See 1 Sam. vi. 5.

<sup>k</sup> It is doubtful, however, whether this veneration is of so early a date as the Exodus.

a captive fallen to "the Prince of the power of the air:" nor ever again, but once, would so mighty a rescue be enterprised and taken in hand. With that signal exception, none had fallen from such a height, or needed so powerful a deliverance. Doubtless "there was war in heaven;" a contest between the powers of spiritual wickedness in high places, and the spiritual powers wont to be put forth by God to counter-work them.

And now, as it had been from the beginning, and as it was destined to be unto the end, it was by innocent life poured out unto death, that the victory must be won. By the blood of a hundred thousand<sup>1</sup> lambs, freely given, and shed and sprinkled in accordance with a new and special ceremonial, was the power of death over Israel (in full accordance with principles above traced out) to be neutralized and done away. The blood, "wherein was the life," was visibly endued<sup>m</sup> with a real protecting and redeeming power. Nor was this all. The *offering up* and *partaking* of the lamb, with faith in God's promises of deliverance, and in accordance with the prescribed rules (renunciatory, as we shall see presently, of idol worship,) translated the children of Israel, by a real and effective though highly mysterious transaction, from the fellowship of devils to restored communion in the ancient sacrificial covenant of God<sup>n</sup>; "from the king-

<sup>1</sup> The Israelitish nation were at least twelve or fifteen hundred thousand in number, and allowing twelve or fifteen to each passover company we obtain the number of companies and therefore of lambs.

<sup>m</sup> This seems to be maintained, though timidly and ambiguously, by Kurtz, (O. T. Covenant, vol. ii. p. 298): "The only inference that can be drawn is, that the blood was regarded [by whom?] as possessing an expiatory virtue, by which their sins were covered and atoned for, though otherwise they would have exposed them to the wrath of God."

<sup>n</sup> Accordingly Jonathan thus paraphrases Exod. xii. 21: "Withdraw

dom of" Egyptian "darkness" to that of "light, and from the power of Satan unto God." And thus was wrought at once a mighty deliverance and exorcism upon the people of God, and a heavy judgment upon the gods of Egypt.

This design of *transferring*° the chosen people *from one active religious service to another*, seems to be clearly indicated in various minute provisions made for the celebration of the Passover. Care was taken that it should be a signal act of *renunciation of idolatrous worship*, as well as of obedience to God's commands, and faith in His promises<sup>p</sup>.

First, the Passover lamb, (which was declared to be of the nature of a sacrifice<sup>q</sup> from the first,) was to be taken out from the sheep or from the goats. Now it is certain that in some parts of Egypt it was forbidden to sacrifice sheep, and in others goats<sup>r</sup>. This act, then, was a renunciation of a law of Egyptian

yourselves from the idols of Egypt, and take a lamb," &c. And this view is fully recognised by S. Cyril of Alexandria in his Commentary on St. Luke (chap. xi.), lately translated from the Syriac: "For as long as they were in bondage in Egypt, and lived according to the customs and laws of the Egyptians, which were full of all impurity, and led polluted lives, an evil spirit dwelt in them. But when by the mercy of God they had been delivered by Moses, and received the law, calling them to the light of the knowledge of God, *the impure spirit was driven out.*"

° Comp. the Post Communion (or prayer following reception) in the old English Office for Monday in Easter week: "Impleatur in nobis *Sacramenti Paschalis sancta libatio, nosque de terrenis affectibus ad cœleste transferat institutum.*" Miss. Sar., Fer. ii. post Pascha.

<sup>p</sup> Heb. xi. 28: "Through faith he kept the Passover, and the sprinkling of blood, lest He that destroyed the first-born should touch them."

<sup>q</sup> Exod. xii. 27: "It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover." The sense in which it was such is considered below. Josephus (ii. xiv. 6) and other Jewish writers fully recognise it as such. See the opinions on both sides in Deyling, Obs. Sac., i. 59. In Exod. xii. 26 it is called a "service." Maimonides, Mor. Nev., iii. 40, init.

<sup>r</sup> Herodotus, ii. 42: Patrick on Gen. xliii. 32. Diodorus, lib. ii., says



idolatry.—“The *head* with the *legs* and inward parts” were to be eaten; whereas the Egyptians held it unlawful, on some religious grounds, to eat the head or the feet of any animal<sup>a</sup>.—It was to be eaten with certain bitter herbs. The Egyptians, in later times, certainly paid a superstitious reverence to some herbs of this kind, and may have had such a feeling against eating them in the time of Moses.—*Leaven*, again, is forbidden with extraordinary stringency in connection with the Passover, as it also was subsequently with any sacrifice that was to be partaken of. Now it has been already shewn<sup>t</sup> that there was an essential unfitness in leaven for sacrificial uses. But besides this, we have incidental proof, in subsequent Jewish history, that the offering of leavened cakes<sup>u</sup> with sacrifices was a distinctive feature, and a specially attractive one, of that worship of the calves which was confessedly re-introduced from Egypt by Jeroboam. Hence the seven days’ abstinence from leaven. It was at once a renunciation of Egyptian ways of service, and a sustained realization of a sacrificial position towards God.—Other circumstances peculiar to the ordinance, the reason of which is unknown to

they deified the goat; Juv., Sat. xv. 11, that they ate neither sheep nor kids:—

“*Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis  
Mensa; nefas illic fœtum jugulare capellæ.*”

<sup>a</sup> Sextus Empiricus, lib. iii. c. 24: “Of those who are accounted wise among the Egyptians some hold it to be irreligious (*ἀνόμιμον*) to eat the head of an animal, others the shoulder-blade, others the feet.” Patrick, on Gen. xliii. 33, quotes this, but not in this connection.

<sup>t</sup> p. 65.

<sup>u</sup> Amos iv. 4: “Come to Bethel and *transgress*, bring your sacrifice every morning . . . offer a *sacrifice of thanksgiving with leaven* . . . for this *liketh you*, O children of Israel.” In Jer. xlv. 15—19, “cakes,” doubtless *leavened* and eaten, are spoken of by the Israelites *in Egypt* as “offered to the queen of heaven.” Maimonides, Mor. Nev., iii. 40.

us ; such as the roasting with fire,—whereas in all the other sacrifices the parts that were to be eaten were “sodden<sup>x</sup> with water,”—the not eating it raw, the not breaking a bone of it, nor leaving any of it until the morning, (probably a protest against reservation of it for superstitious purposes,) may all have had reference to contrary practices prevailing in Egypt. It was to be killed in the evening, (at about 3 p.m. it is believed,) and this was confirmed as the *great* sacrificial hour for all future time in Israel. Whereas the favourite hour for Egyptian, and generally for Gentile sacrifice and feasting, was in the morning, as we learn from Aaron’s sacrifice to the calf<sup>y</sup>. In this instance, however, the powers of evil had probably for the time usurped features which properly and originally pertained to God’s own worship. Hence, though a protest was needed at the time, the Gospel has restored the old usage, by re-dedicating the holy morning hour to Eucharistic offering. It is also true that these things carried in them significations of purity, repentance, entire dedication, unity; as well as prophecies of our Lord’s actions. But it cannot reasonably be doubted, that they took their rise, at the time, in the Almighty’s design of drawing forth from the Israelite the renunciation, by a counter-ritual and by his own act, of his idolatrous ways. And when we bear in mind the degrading practices which were the constant accompaniments of the

<sup>x</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 13: “While the flesh was in seething,” viz. all the parts which had not been laid on the altar. 1 Kings xxi. 9; 2 Chron. xxxv. 13: “And they roasted the Passover, but the other holy offerings sod they in pots.” Patrick shews from Athenæus that the Athenians boiled the sacrifices offered to the Horæ; a worship derived probably from Egypt.

<sup>y</sup> Exod. xxxii. 6; Amos iv. 4.

worship abjured by Israel in the very act of the Passover, it is not too much to say that that act involved a renunciation of the world and of the flesh, as well as of the devil<sup>2</sup>.

It is needless to point out the precision with which the Passover, viewed as we have now been viewing it, becomes an event strictly parallel, both as to the fact and the manner of it, to the Redemption wrought by Christ. That God should translate an entire people from a real spiritual bondage and service to the devil, into a service towards God no less real and spiritual in its nature, though imperfect in its character; snatching them as a forfeited prey from death both of body and spirit; "spoiling principalities and powers and triumphing over them;"—should do this by death, the death in a manner, of a single victim, though, owing to the number of households, the blood was costly in the extreme;—that victim, too, peculiarly harmless and innocent in its nature, and totally innocent of a participation in the sin to be atoned for, and in its kind "without blemish;"—that the deliverance should actually and visibly be effected by exhibition and (as it were) pleading of the *blood* of that death:—all these things assimilate this deliverance, in an astonishing degree, to the great and universal Redemption. The transaction becomes not only a type, as the passing the Red Sea was, of the great spiritual Rescue, but an actual instance of such a rescue. The experience of Israel was hereby made actually of

<sup>2</sup> Very striking in this connection is our Epistle for Easter Day, our high Passover Feast, from Col. iii. 5, 7: "Mortify therefore your members, &c.; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is *idolatry*. . . In which ye also walked some time when ye lived in them." This was the Epistle for Easter Eve in the Sarum Use; only as far, however, as ver. 4.

*the same kind*, in respect of the benefit received and the faith evoked, as that of the redeemed Christian.

Nor are the ritual means, by which man was to be made partaker of Redemption, less closely imitated. The slain victim, as slain, protects indeed the duly ingrafted and covenanted household by the very shedding and sprinkling of its blood; even as Holy Baptism ingrafts, saves, and cleanses now. But within that shielded estate, there was an act of conscious and willing priesthood to be done by each and all. Each member of the entire household, being of age to do so, must concur in presentation of the lamb, with full faith in the promised benefits, and must also partake of it: expressing by the whole action acknowledgment of his part in its death, full dedication of himself to God, and renunciation of all other service; and receiving mysterious incorporation into the accepted sacrifice. Otherwise he would have fallen back into a condition of death, not being transferred by his own deed to God's service, and have been cut off from the people. It completes the resemblance to the Eucharist, that even that first Passover, though destined to become the starting-point of a new scheme of memorial, was in itself a memorial transaction. It re-admitted them into an ancient covenant, effected ages before, as we have seen, by the blood (in a mystery) of Isaac, the true lamb of that covenant. It was, further, a new step of return towards the Presence lost by the Fall. For we find that a new and peculiar mode of that Presence set out with them<sup>a</sup>, and accompanied them continually, till it brought them to the full fruition of their privileged estate. The sprinkled blood, and their

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xiii. 7.

participation of the lamb, had doubtless, according to sacrificial laws before traced out, removed their unfitness for such a Presence.

It was thus that the Egyptian deliverance, taken altogether, was fitted to supply, beyond any other series of events even in Abrahamic or Mosaic history, the images and the phrasology employed to set forth Christian Redemption and the Christian Eucharist. That Redemption is a bringing back and ransoming of man not from a merely passive condition of captivity, but from an active, energizing devotion to the service of the Evil One. Man, since the Fall, is not merely the devil's bond-slave, he is his worshipper; he naturally loves his service, and takes pleasure in it. To turn that perverse will of his back again to God was the masterpiece of God's work in Christ; and this stands correctly imaged in the Passover deliverance, and in that alone.

Thus man, in the person of Israel, came up out of Egypt not as he went down, but with an added heritage of knowledge both of good and evil; and with intensified spiritual and ritual conceptions. It had been given him to measure, more nearly than before, the depth of his own Fall, and the answering abyss of God's counsels of deliverance: the terrible effects of sin, and the vast capacities of sacrifice. The nation was now a more exact copy, and on a larger scale, of the religious history of man. And if we would fix more precisely the ideas which were wrought into the mind of Israel and of man, by the Descent into Egypt, the Passover, and the Exodus, they may be summed up into these two, 1. the consciousness of a *Fall* and *Redemption*, and 2. of having become a *Priesthood and Church of the First-born*. On the former of these

enough has been said : the latter calls for some further observations.

That earthly paternity and sonship are a reflection of Divine, and derive from thence their being and character, is manifest to every thoughtful mind. And hence the especial fitness of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity to restore us to the position of sons of God, by engrafting us into Himself. Thus made partakers, in our measure, of His eternal, essential, and perfect Sonship, we cannot fail to be accepted of the Righteous Father in the Well-beloved Son. But we know that, besides His Sonship, we are also made partakers of His *Priesthood*<sup>b</sup> : and it is natural to enquire whether this, no less than His Sonship, be not an essential and eternal attribute of His. As His Human and economical Sonship, by partaking of which we become sons, flowed out of that ineffable mystery, His Sonship essential and eternal ; so will not His economical Priesthood, by partaking of which we become priests, be an effluence from some mysterious attribute of His, akin to priesthood, and pertaining from all eternity to Him? And St. Paul seems to assure us that it was so ; dwelling no less forcibly on the eternity of His Priesthood *ex parte ante*, than on His abiding a Priest continually ; and making it coeval with that Sonship which we know was from all eternity<sup>c</sup>. And he seems, further, to give

<sup>b</sup> Rev. i. 6 ; 1 Pet. ii. 5. See above, Part I., pp. 173, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. viii. 3 : "Having neither *beginning of days* nor end of life, abideth a Priest continually." (Heb. vii. 3.) "He glorified Him to be an High-priest, that said unto Him, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee," (ver. 5). We cannot properly, with Dean Jackson, (Creed, ix. 4.) *restrict* this glorification of Christ to be a High-priest to the time of His resurrection, or to the Economy : that is to say, though fulfilled in time, it was, like the Sonship, possessed as an attribute from

us a clue to the particular attribute which constituted Him in some true sense a Priest from eternity, and fitted Him to become such in time, and to all ages. For he connects His "purging of our sins," and His sitting down, as Priest, on the Right Hand of God, with His attributes as the "Brightness,"—whether we understand thereby the beam, or the reflection,—“of the Father’s Glory, the express Image of His Person<sup>d</sup>, and the Word of His Power.” It is difficult to believe that this is a mere contrast. It is far more natural to suppose it is causation that is indicated. The Father, we learn, contemplated from all eternity, in His First-begotten and Only-begotten Son, the perfect Image, Resemblance, or Expression, of His Own Essence and Glory, and heard the Resonance, or Word, of His unuttered Mind; the Son rendering back<sup>e</sup> to the Father that Expression of Himself, and that Glory. And this reciprocity was doubtless—so we gather from what took place when the Son of God was in the Flesh<sup>f</sup>, when combined with intimations of the Old Testament—full of joy ineffable on eternity. Priesthood was, in kind, an eternal accident of the eternal Sonship.

<sup>d</sup> Heb. i. 3. I render with Ebrard (nearly) “Who, being the Beam of His Glory, and the Expression of His Essence, and sustaining all things by the Word of His Power;”—where, though *ῥῆμα* is used, there is distinct recognition of Him as the *λόγος*,—“and as such, having purged our sins, sat down,” &c. The reader will do well to consult Ebrard’s profound exposition; though he has misconceived the Apostle’s purpose in bringing forward the Sonship.

<sup>e</sup> St. John gives us an undoubted glimpse of the same truth, when he says that the Word was *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*: that is, “before,” “in the Presence of,” as it were “looking towards.” So the Targum of Onkelos paraphrases Exod. xx. 19: “Ne loquatur nobis per Verbum quod est *coram* Domino.” And certainly *πρὸς* never loses its sense of “direction towards.” It is only in the sense of being “before,” or “in presence of,” that it comes to mean “with.” See St. Matt. xiii. 50; 1 Cor. xvi. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Comp. St. Matt. iii. 17, St. John iv. 34, with Prov. viii. 30, Ps. ii. 7.

either side. Essentially and delightedly<sup>g</sup>, from all eternity, did the Father receive Glory, even His Own Glory, from the Son; and the Son render it to the Father<sup>h</sup>. And thus was there from eternity, and ere creation was, a manner of praise, no less than of love, in heaven<sup>i</sup>; the Holy Spirit being the eternal bond of that reciprocity. And it is as having rendered "Glory" from all eternity to the Father, that the Son was essentially fitted to discharge, when Incarnate, functions of worship and priesthood<sup>k</sup>. And seeing that He is not only *a* Son, but the First-born and the Only True Son, He absolutely excludes all other beings from worship and priesthood but such as He may be pleased to impart to them<sup>l</sup>: Sonship and Priesthood are both alike exhausted in Him. Hence the capacity of angels in Heaven, or man in Paradise, for worshipping God, must have arisen from

<sup>g</sup> Prov. viii. 30. Origen. ap. Athan., t. i. p. 277: "If we deny that the Word was ever with the Father, οὕτω οὐδὲ ἀεὶ χαίρων νοηθήσεται."

<sup>h</sup> Very striking in this connection are the first clauses of the Lord's Prayer. We first claim our sonship in Christ, ("Our Father,") and then render to the Father His proper glory, ("Hallowed be Thy Name, &c.,") and we end with the doxology.

<sup>i</sup> So Gueranger, somewhat boldly, and without theological precision: "Dieu, dans la contemplation de ses perfections infinies, se loue et se glorifie sans cesse, comme il s'aime d'un amour éternel. Toutefois, ces actes accomplis dans l'essence divine, n'ont eu d'expression visible, que du moment où une des Trois Personnes, ayant pris la nature humaine, a pu dès-lors rendre les devoirs de la religion à la glorieuse Trinité." Instit. Liturg., p. 17. See Bp. Bull, Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Hence, in the Gloria in Excelsis, the Church links closely together "the *Only Begotten Son*, Jesus Christ, Lord God, *Lamb of God*, Son of the Father." The Eastern hymn, "Only Begotten," is of precisely the same tenor. So, too, in the leading passage of Holy Scripture concerning Christ as First-born, (Col. i. 12—20,) that idea is placed in the very centre of an exposition of His universal Priesthood, or absorption into Himself and presentation by Himself, to God, of all being.

<sup>l</sup> St. John xiv. 6: "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me."



their being, as "sons of God," in the image of the First and Only-Begotten. All priesthood imparted to man after the Fall was an emanation from the same source. And when Abraham and his seed were called, as we have seen that they were, to peculiar sacrificial functions, this was in reality a special fiat of primogeniture issued in their favour. Of that primogeniture, Isaac, the first, and (for purposes of the economy) *only-begotten* of his father, was the especial type and depositary. In his image Jacob and all Israel were born, and hence are also acknowledged by God as His first-born and His priests.

These profound relations underlie the whole narrative of the Exodus, so far as it touches on the subject of the first-born. In his *eldest son*, provided he is his *first-born child*, man beholds, and beholds exhaustively, so that nothing can be added to the idea, (the female being conceived of as in the male,) his own image; the re-expression, so to speak, of himself. This is the nearest resemblance on earth to Divine Paternity and Sonship. It was, therefore, under the guidance of a sound instinct or tradition that priesthood was so generally associated with primogeniture; and that, in the widely diffused worship of Moloch, the first-born of man and cattle were esteemed the most acceptable victims. It was on precisely the same deep principle that the Israelites were instructed<sup>m</sup> to dedicate to God, ever after, all the first-born eldest sons, to sacrifice the first-born males of cattle, and to kill, or redeem by payments, the firstlings even of unclean animals, and to offer up the first-ripe fruits of the earth: it being further provided that the priests alone should

<sup>m</sup> Exod. xiii. 11—16, xxii. 29, 30, xxiv. 26; Deut. xxvi. 2, xviii. 4; Num. xviii. 12—18.

eat the first-fruits whether of cattle or of the ground. All this rested, unquestionably, on a real, however mysterious relation of all first-born things to the First-born of every creature. As bearing in a peculiar manner His image, as the First-born, they possessed a fitness for God's service beyond the rest of creation, and in them were all the rest to be consecrated and accepted. Thus did He, by the gift of primogeniture,—ere yet He became Incarnate,—pour out upon the creature—upon man as offerer, and upon the cattle and fruit of the ground as offerings—a measure of His Own acceptableness as the First and Only-Begotten and Well-Beloved Son.

And thus, too, light is thrown upon a profound and important question in Theology, namely, whether it is as God, or only as Man, that our Blessed Lord enters into the ritual work of the Economy: and if so, how this should be. Doubtless the Church has ever believed that for purposes of rendering worship to the Father, no less than for the work of Redemption in the first instance, “He hath mingled His Divinity with our humanity, our humanity with His Divinity.” He, as God, is in us in our approaches to God<sup>n</sup>. And why should He not be? For, in the sense above elicited from Holy Scripture, the Son has been a Priest from all eternity. The Majesty of His estate forbids not the verity of His Operation: nay, it is the very ground of it. The Eternal Priesthood lies embedded, germinally at least, in the depths of the Eternal Sonship.

Accordingly, even the ministerial priesthood, which was afterwards established for Israel, was according to primogeniture. For Reuben, Simeon, and Levi<sup>o</sup>, the

<sup>n</sup> See above, p. 16, note m.

<sup>o</sup> See Gen. xlix. 3—7; 1 Chron. x. 1, 2; Deut. xxxiii. 8—11.

eldest sons of Jacob, having been disinherited for their sins, the rights of priesthood appertaining to the first-born were afterwards restored to *Levi*, as represented by the house of his second son Kohath<sup>p</sup>. As the reward, possibly, of the faith of Amram and Jochebed in hiding Moses, powers of priesthood were at first vested provisionally in Moses<sup>q</sup>, and by him devolved in due time upon Aaron his *elder* brother<sup>r</sup>. Aaron was at this time the first-born and head, the recognised senior member, of the family of Israel: Kohath's line having been preferred to Gershon's, as Jacob had been to Esau. He was the real eldest son of Amram, the real eldest son of Kohath, the (preferred) eldest son of Levi, the (preferred) eldest son of Jacob. And thus was he by joint birth and adoption a first-born high-priest; an image of Him, the great High-Priest, the "First-born of every creature," the "Only-Begotten," not by adoption or grace, but by nature, and essentially. Aaron's sons were henceforth (as being in him, the first-born) the ministering priests of Israel, and his eldest son the proper high-priest. And the rest of the tribe of Levi, not descended from Aaron, were admitted to the third order of ministry; partly as having been in the loins of Levi, partly as

<sup>p</sup> The genealogy stands thus:—

1. Reuben. 2. Simeon. 3. Levi. 4. Judah.

|  
 ───────────┬──────────  
 1. Gershon. 2. Kohath. 3. Merari.

|  
 Amram.

┬──────────┬──────────  
 1. Aaron. 2. Moses.

<sup>q</sup> As to the priesthood of Moses, see below, (in this chapter,) and comp. Ps. xcix. 6: "Moses and Aaron among His priests."

<sup>r</sup> Aaron was three years older than Moses, (Exod. vii. 7).

substitutes for the first-born of all Israel, who were spared in the land of Egypt. Thus was the principle of primogeniture, as involving rights of priesthood, and the remembrance of the Egyptian events connected with it, stamped in various ways on every part of the Mosaic Ministry.

All these, however, were arrangements either prior to the Passover and Exodus, as the selection of Moses and Aaron; or subsequent to it, as the actual appointment and consecration of Aaron and his sons. What God emphatically took to Himself at the Passover was, not a selected or ministerial priesthood, but an Assembly or Church of first-born priests. One of the most striking characteristics of the original Passover was that there was no ordained intervention of a selected order of priesthood. "The *whole Assembly* of the congregation of Israel were to kill it." "In this festival," says Philo, writing at about the Christian era, "there is not, as at other times, a sacrifice made by priests of things brought to the altar by private persons; but, by the express injunction of the law, *the whole nation collectively is the priest*: every man bringing and offering his own sacrifice, the whole people rejoices and is glad, each one deeming himself to be honoured with the functions of priesthood." And thus was laid down an important axiom, (which has been enlarged upon elsewhere<sup>s</sup>), that the personal priesthood of the people of God is prior, both in conception and importance, to the ministerial priesthood by which it is gathered up for presentation to God. The first care of God for His people in bringing them out of Egypt was to recal their perverted *wills* to Himself, by urging on them an act of proper self-

<sup>s</sup> See above, Part I. ch. ii. pp. 208—211.

dedication. "I spake not with your fathers," says God by Jeremiah, "nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I commanded them, Obey My voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be My people<sup>t</sup>." And accordingly, before Moses went up into the Mount to receive the details and ritual ordinances of the Covenant, the nation was solemnly reminded of its priestly standing before God, as if their obedient service was, after all, the main thing; the ministerial ordinances being only a medium through which it was henceforth to be presented: "Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests and a holy people<sup>u</sup>."

Thus, then, did the typical or foreshadowing Church of God acquire, at the Exodus, certain aspects and titles destined never to be laid aside, but only to pass on, with loftier applications, to the Church in her archetypal form: such as "the general assembly and Church of the First-born," "redeemed unto God from their vain conversation received from their fathers . . . with the blood of a lamb without blemish;" "kings and priests unto God and their Father;" "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation<sup>x</sup>."

<sup>t</sup> Jer. vii. 22, 23.

<sup>u</sup> Exod. xix. 5, 6. There appears to have been a brief period of obedience at this time, after the chiding at Meribah and the defeat of Amalek. Exod. xvii.; comp. Deut. xxxiii. 3, referring to this same time: "Yea, He loved the people; all His saints are in thy hand; and they sat down at His feet; every one shall receive of His words."

<sup>x</sup> Heb. xii. 23; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19, ii. 5—9; Rev. i. 6, v. 10. It will of course be understood that Israel is not said in the text to have been "redeemed" from all iniquity into a state of salvation, but only from the ritual service of devils to a certain position of acceptableness with God.

It is material to add, however, that even the Passover involved, by the necessity of the case, a quasi-ministerial office, a patriarchal priesthood, vested in the head or "first-born" of each household, who naturally took the lead in the entire transaction. And out of this order of householders or "elders" thus accustomed to preside at the Passover, as well as to guide in other respects, both secular and religious, the households of God, sprung the first<sup>7</sup> generation of Christian Priests, Presbyters, Elders, or "First-born." It was from among heads of families,—as we learn from their name, and from St. Paul's instructions<sup>8</sup> about the choice of them,—that these were taken. Thus are the ministering persons in the Church of Christ called, in the New Testament, by a name implying sacrificial functions, though not by the old title of *ιερείς*. The name Presbyter or Priest stamps them as the adopted "first-born" among their brethren, bearing the image of "the First-born of every creature;" and as the appointed channels, accordingly, of the earthly sacrificial powers of the Economy.

### SECTION VIII.

AND now the nation, thus re-admitted into the position from which they had fallen,—that is, into the privileged estate covenanted to them in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,—are to be restored to the privileged land also, there to exhibit the features, and to be exercised in the functions and habits, of an imitative<sup>a</sup> Church.

<sup>7</sup> On this subject I venture to refer to an article in the "Christian Remembrancer," entitled "Household Religion and Worship," Jan. 1853, pp. 40—46.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5; Tit. i. 6.

<sup>a</sup> I have here and elsewhere used on occasion the term "imitative,"

But, in order to this, certain new institutions had now been rendered necessary, partly by the backsliding in the Egyptian sojourn, but also by the greatly increased proportions to which the nation had attained. The dispensation committed to Moses was, in the strictest sense<sup>b</sup>, the old Abrahamic or patriarchal one; but had to be expanded to cover the enlarged area, and to meet the altered moral character, of the nation.

Now the instructions given to the patriarchs were, it will be remembered, 1. in a general way, and as a matter of ordinary personal duty and holiness, "to obey God's voice, and keep His charge, His commandments, His statutes, and His laws<sup>c</sup>;" and 2. to "dwell in the land;" nor only so, but to take possession of it for God by certain sacrificial methods, and by those methods to present it and themselves continually to Him. And in a precisely parallel way, when Israel comes out of Egypt, acknowledged as God's people and Abraham's seed through the restorative Passover, there is given them,—

#### I. In the Decalogue and accompanying precepts,

in preference to "typical:" only because the latter word has, through long abuse, come to be taken in a sense foreign to its real meaning; and that in two ways. 1. It is constantly used as if the Mosaic "type" was a *pattern*, to which the Christian scheme was conformed; whereas it is exactly the contrary. Christianity is the pattern, of which, as already existing in the mind of God, the Mosaic scheme was a copy, impress, (*τύπος*), or imitation. 2. It is taken to mean unreal, imaginary: just as "legal" also is: as when men speak of "mere typical" or "legal purifications and sacrifices:" meaning there was no effective purification or sacrifice at all. So "spiritual" is often applied to the Christian mysteries, in the sense of "imaginary."

<sup>b</sup> Comp. Ps. cv. 9: "Even the covenant which He made with Abraham, and the oath that He swore unto Isaac, and appointed the same to Jacob for a law, and to Israel for an everlasting testament" or covenant.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxvi. 5.

a renewed charge as to the ordinary duties towards God and man: and,

II. In the Tabernacle and its ministrations, an expansion of the simpler ritual provisions contained in that charge, and familiar to the patriarchs long ago: a special Presence, a peculiar sacrificial system, whereby, when they should come to dwell in the land, they too were to dedicate themselves and it continually to God, and receive the covenanted blessings.

In this manner it was that,—God's purposes and man's perversity concurring in one end, and running up into one result,—was framed an imitative polity or body, exhibiting, on a miniature scale, all the features of the future redeemed Church of Christ. And thus, as we may remark by the way, are easily reconciled two aspects under which "the Law" is exhibited in Holy Scripture. On the one hand, "it was added because of transgressions," and was the badge of a fall; and, like all *mere* law, was a kind of provocative to disobedience: while, on the other hand, "the advantage of the Jew was much every way, because to him pertained the *adoption*, and the *glory*, and the *service*," i.e. the sonship, and the Presence, and the priesthood;—a lovely and gracious "shadow of good things to come, though not the very image of the things<sup>d</sup>."

Let us proceed then to consider, first, that solemn renewal and republication of the ancient covenant, which is emphatically called the "LAW."

The LAW, then, (Heb. *Torah*, 'Instruction<sup>e</sup>;) or body of precepts to be observed by Israel as the con-

<sup>d</sup> Gal. iii. 18; Rom. iii. 2, ix. 4.

<sup>e</sup> From *Yarok*, "to direct aright," as an aim, or to "set upright," (Ps. lxiv. 4; Gen. xxxi. 15). Comp. Prov. i. 8, "The law (*torah*) of thy mother."



dition of the covenant between God and them, falls into three several Edicts, or sets of precepts. These manifestly correspond to the distribution made in the original covenant<sup>f</sup>, and frequently elsewhere, into 1. "Commandments," (*Mitsvoth*, specially used of prohibitions<sup>g</sup>), chiefly natural and moral; 2. "Statutes," (*Chukkim*<sup>h</sup>), or ritual ordinances; and 3. "Judgments," (*Mishpatim*<sup>i</sup>), chiefly secular and judicial laws, regulating the actions of common life.

i. The first Edict<sup>j</sup> was a republication, in the form of Ten "words" or Commandments, of the great unchangeable law of duty towards God and man: yet with two new and characteristic features. First, that it was couched almost throughout in stern *negative* precepts<sup>k</sup>, corresponding to the perverse and fallen condition of the people; and secondly, that though, in its essence, of universal obligation, it was in several points adapted, as to its form, to the Israelitish

<sup>f</sup> Gen. xxvi. 5: "Because Abraham kept My charge," consisting of (says Patrick) "My commandments, My statutes, and My laws;" *torathai*, here equivalent to *mishpatai*, Deut. vi. 1, where the solemn repetition of the Law as a whole is called "commandments, statutes, and judgments." So, again, in the great final charge by Malachi iv. 1: "Remember ye the *law* of Moses (= the commandments), with the statutes and judgments." In Deut. xii. 1 "statutes" clearly applies to ritual laws following; and it rarely means anything else: but in chap. vi. 24 it is used in a general sense.

<sup>g</sup> From *tsavveh*, 'to order or prohibit with authority.'

<sup>h</sup> From *chakok*, 'to engrave, dig, mark out' *arbitrarily*, as land, or a task, (Exod. v. 14,) hence fitly applied to ritual ordinances, as being not necessary or invariable, but *positive* institutions.

<sup>i</sup> From *shaphot*, 'to judge:' a strictly legal and judicial term.

<sup>j</sup> Exod. xx. 1—17.

<sup>k</sup> Comp. the positive precepts, "Walk before Me, and be thou perfect," "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," &c. It is remarkable that it was characteristic of Egyptian sacred precepts that they ran "Thou shalt not." See a valuable volume on Egypt published by the Religious Tract Society.

nation only. By these links it was woven up or bonded together into one with the ritual and social precepts which followed. Thus the moral basis was not separated by any rigid line from the ritual and secular superstructure: the three Edicts together, blended into one whole, were the law of life, and condition of privilege, to the Israelite. Yet the thoughtful mind would easily discern, by observing which branch of this "Law,"—viz. the Decalogue,—was alone heralded with awful circumstances, and uttered by the Voice, and "written with the Finger, of God," the estimate to be formed as to the comparative importance in God's sight of the eternal laws of duty and of particular ritual observances.

ii. The second Edict<sup>1</sup>, consisting of "statute" or ritual law, propounds very briefly, and in an undeveloped form, the supreme and central ritual principle of the renewed dispensation; namely, that there should be—so it is implied here, and expressly ruled afterwards—1. a *single* ALTAR constructed according to certain rules<sup>m</sup>, for the whole nation, and 2. a *peculiar* PRESENCE guaranteed to that altar and its sacrificial services<sup>n</sup>. Neither these<sup>o</sup> nor the "judgments" which

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xx. 22—26.

<sup>m</sup> The altar of *earth* (afterwards cased with wood), or virgin stone, ("the work of God untouched by man,") was doubtless in order to the sanctification of the land. Compare Naaman's request for two mules' burden of the earth; and the Jewish belief in its sanctity. On the injunction in ver. 26, comp. what has been said above of "the coats of skins" in Gen. iii. 21.

<sup>n</sup> Ver. 23 is a brief preamble reiterating the substance of the second commandment.

<sup>o</sup> Exod. xx. 18—22; Deut. v. 22: "These (ten) words the Lord *spake unto all your assembly* out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a *great voice*, and *He added no more*: and He wrote them on two tables of stone."

follow were, like the Decalogue, addressed to the people with terrible circumstances, or by the Voice of God Himself, but conveyed to them through Moses, who thus began to act as the mediator of the renewed covenant in those things which were peculiar to it.

iii. The third Edict containing precepts of a social and national character, is of much greater length, occupying Exod. xxi.—xxiii., entire. It evidently takes for its basis the old patriarchal or family law, as the former groups had taken the old *natural* and *ritual* laws respectively. It regulates the duties of masters, servants, and children; the law of injuries and trespasses, and of other transgressions of natural and moral law, considered as punishable by man; and enjoins kindness to widows, fatherless, and poor. But here appear also rules of national duty in various matters of a *ritual* kind: the offering of first-fruits, the observance of the Sabbath and the Sabbatical year, of the Passover, and the other great feasts measured from it. The paschal prohibition against leaven, and against leaving the sacrifice till the morning, is renewed, and one singular precept<sup>p</sup>, having a mixed moral and ritual bearing, is added. The peculiar interest of this third Edict for our purpose is, that it exhibits the common life of the nation, in all its details, as taken up into the preternatural *sacrificial* system of the dispensation: its complex whole being designed to be evermore presented to and accepted with God, by regulated recourse to the one altar. These judgments are afterwards more largely developed into a variety of

<sup>p</sup> "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk." A precept doubtless directed against an idolatrous usage, (see Cudworth, p. 25,) though founded also on principles of humanity and good feeling. It is thus a good specimen of the mixed character of this third edict.

mixed ritual and social rules scattered through the rest of the Pentateuch.

Such, then, was “the Law of Moses” in its primary form<sup>a</sup>: such the terms of the covenant between God and Israel, now become a nation. But it is one thing to lay down the *terms* of a new relation between God and man, and quite another to admit man into that relation. From our previous investigations we should expect to find sacrifices intervening, on such an occasion, as the medium of admission. And in this expectation we are not disappointed. As Abraham had offered sacrifice from the first hour that he rested in the land covenanted to him, and had been afterwards yet more solemnly put in possession of it by a deeply mysterious sacrificial transaction;—as his fallen posterity had been re-admitted sacrificially at the Passover into the forfeited or impaired covenant position:—so now, when the covenant received its final expansion, involving many new and exalted privileges, it was by sacrifice that they were instated into it. It could not be otherwise. If there was a new manner of Presence vouchsafed, into which the nation was to be admitted, nothing but blood could, by the universal law of Presence, remove their unfitness for entering into it. “Blood of the covenant,” then,—that is, blood availing to admit into covenant by removing disqualifications,—there must be. And in order to full reception of the benefits of it, there must also be sacrifices *extern*, that they might in the highest degree be “par-

<sup>a</sup> So Kalisch on Gen. xxxiii. 20: “The sketch of the fundamental law is concluded: the most necessary moral, religious, and civil precepts have been enjoined, (= the commandments, statutes, and judgments,) and the little and original Book of the Covenant is completed.”

takers of the altar," and of the Presence. All this; accordingly, was done. Moses having written the entire Law in a book, caused certain sacrifices, "burnt-offerings and peace-offerings of oxen," to be offered on an altar having twelve pillars. Half of the blood was sprinkled on the altar; and the "Book of the Covenant" (as it was called) was read by Moses, and obedience to its commands promised by the people. The remaining half of the blood, put into basins or cups, was then sprinkled on them, with the words, "Behold the blood" (or "This is the blood," Heb. ix. 20) "of the covenant which God hath made with you concerning all these words."

Then Moses and Aaron, with Nadab and Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel, as representatives of the people, were admitted to the Presence and glory of God in the Mount, and ate and drank solemnly before Him; doubtless of the peace-offerings<sup>r</sup> before mentioned.

The bearing of this event on the interpretation of the Holy Eucharist is most important and immediate. The privileged condition of Israel, in respect of admissibility into the new Presence, dated from that hour. The imitative Church had begun its course. And accordingly we cannot be surprised to find, that this occasion exhibits a more exact parallel than any other in sacrificial history to the Institution of the Eucharist,—the inauguration of the very archetypal Church itself.

Thus, we have in the New Dispensation, no less than in the Old, 1st, the recital of a new law<sup>s</sup>, which yet was the "old commandment which was from the beginning:" 2nd, a Burnt-offering, for it was wholly

<sup>r</sup> See Patrick, in loc.

<sup>s</sup> St. John xiii. 34.

“given;” and a Peace-offering, for it was partaken of: 3rd, an announcement, in *the selfsame words*, (“This is the Blood of the covenant,”) of the effects of the sacrifice, viz. the setting on foot of a new covenanted relation between God and man: 4th, the peculiar stress laid on the *blood*, as the precise instrument of the reconciliation and admission now effected: 5th, the application or sprinkling of the blood on the whole<sup>t</sup> Church; visibly and externally in the one case; invisibly, but with certification of the fact, (“shed for you and for many for the remission of sins;” comp. 1 Pet. i. 2, “sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus,”) in the other: 6th, the “pouring out” (*ἐκχυνόμενον*) into a cup: 7th, the eating and drinking of That which was offered, and that, too, 8th, by representative persons; their number being that of the twelve pillars of the altar in the Mosaic narrative: lastly, their admission at the same time, in and by that sacrificial feast, into the fruition of the Divine Glory<sup>u</sup>.

#### SECTION IX.

THUS then was the Israelitish Church solemnly and personally admitted by a baptism of blood—or rather, as St. Paul assures us<sup>v</sup>, of “water and blood”—into the privileges of a new degree of covenant with God; and also, by their representatives the Elders, into actual Eucharistic communion with God through

<sup>t</sup> St. Paul, Heb. ix. 19, dwells on the sprinkling of the blood upon “all,” and our Lord says “shed for you and for many;” which St. Paul interprets “all,” 2 Cor. v. 14.

<sup>u</sup> St. John xvii. 22: “The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them.” That this refers to His having given them to partake of the Eucharist there can be no doubt whatever. See St. John vi. 56.

<sup>v</sup> Heb. ix. 19: comp. St. John xix. 34; 1 John v. 6.

eating of sacrifices. A transaction every way corresponding, in its sphere, to our Lord's original Eucharistic sprinkling and feeding of His Church in the persons of the Apostles had passed upon them. It only remained, in the one case as in the other, to give full form and development to the ritual scheme under which they were to exercise their allotted functions, and abide in their new and glorious position.

For this purpose the single and simple "statute" of the Law, as given on the Mount at the first, concerning the PRESENCE and the ALTAR, needed, as has been said, to be expanded into a vast code of provisions and precautions flowing out from these two great Correlatives, and designed to secure to the people the fruition of the one through the means of the other. This was the immediate object; the ulterior design, ever kept in view by the Almighty Author, being to mould the national mind into a capacity for the reception of the corresponding Christian mysteries and position.

Before entering, however, upon an examination of the ritual system instituted for these ends, it may be necessary to remove some popular misapprehensions respecting it. Thus, alike in ancient and more recent times, a tendency has been manifested to magnify unduly, and indeed to invent, points of *difference* between the Christian and the Mosaic systems; to expound Christianity, especially in the matter of sacrifice, rather by contrasting it with the law of Moses, than by drawing out the parallel between them. Whereas the structure in the two cases is the same, and was declared by God to be so; modified only by the entering in, in the greater system, of the unique and inimitable elements of the Incarnation and its

consequents<sup>x</sup>. The comparison is between a weak system and a strong one; between a far-reaching, eternal agency, and one which is limited and temporary: not between two essentially diverse systems, nor between a real agency and no agency at all.

Another very generally prevailing misconception is, that the Mosaic system differed from Christianity in *not* having (in its own sphere, and for the purposes embraced by it) one prevailing and supreme Sacrifice, in and through which all other sacrifice and service was offered and found acceptance. This is such a cardinal feature of Christianity, that, were it wanting in the Mosaic scheme, it is hardly too much to say that all capital resemblance between them would be at an end. Where, in that case, would be the divinely guaranteed parallel? Or how, it may be asked, could men learn reliance on One Only Sacrifice, and One Only Priest, by their nurture under a system exhibiting no such singleness and centralization of sacrificial and priestly power? And accordingly there is, in reality, no feature in the Mosaic scheme more clear or more characteristic than this,—*the centralization of the entire sacrificial power of a vast system in one altar; nor only so, but also in one sacrifice, once offered and for ever after continually exhibited and pleaded before God.* The only reservation to be made as to the latter part of this statement is that which St. Paul dwells on<sup>y</sup>; that the continual exhibition and pleading

<sup>x</sup> This is plainly the scope of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The *parallel* is urged throughout as the basis of argument; the differentiating elements being the loftier sphere (ix. 11—24), the transcendent power (ix. 14—23), and the perpetual validity (x. 10—18) of a Divine Sacrifice. A *single* point of contrast as to *structure* is dwelt on in xiii. 10, 11; and even this arises out of the fact of our sin-offering, Christ, being divine and eternal.

<sup>y</sup> Heb. x. 1, 11.



was effected, in the Mosaic system, by *repetition* and renewal, yearly and daily, of *fresh* sacrifices of the same kind; not by the literal continued presentation (which of course could not be) of one and the *same* sacrifice. The scheme is manifestly this:—The faith of Abraham, which is by universal confession the ground of Israel's position with God, resolves itself, as we have seen, as its highest and all-inclusive manifestation, into the sacrifice of Isaac. And that august sacrifice was ever after, in a mystery, presented on the altar, in the form of the originally substituted *lamb*. To secure inherence in that one sacrifice was the object of all other sacrifices, sprinklings, religious feastings, washings, forbearance from particular kinds of food; of all ceremonies, precautions, and remedies whatsoever.

We have here the perfect resemblance and image of Christ's Sacrifice of Himself, offered once for all on the Cross, like Isaac's on Moriah, and perpetuated before the True Presence in Heaven. We have circumcision as the exact counterpart of Baptism, not merely "putting away" as doubtless it did "the filth," or ritual unfitness, "of the flesh," and imparting strength to serve God under that economy: but also enfeoffing and engrafting the chosen seed one by one into the mystical sphere<sup>z</sup> provided for them, into a mysterious relation of spiritual kindred to Abraham the great father, and to Isaac the well-beloved and only-begotten son; and laying<sup>a</sup> each one with acceptance, in a mystery, in the one lamb, before the Presence. We have to all intents and purposes (in the Passover and in other personal sacrifices brought to the altar) eucharists, memorially presenting the one

\* See above, pp. 104—110.

\* Exod. xxviii. 38—46.

sacrifice, and making them partakers of it, and in it of all covenanted blessings. We have (in the sin-offerings and other purifications), as will be seen presently, absolutions removing from time to time incidental unfitness for approach to the sanctuary.

And it is, unquestionably, the part of faith to believe that every single particular, however minute or apparently trivial, laid down in the Mosaic law, had a real capacity and a commission to these purposes. Our belief alike in the goodness and wisdom of God forbids us to suppose, that a single ceremony, or feature of a ceremony, was superfluous. They were ordained because they were necessary; not in order to burden men, but because in no other way could the provided blessings be realized. And it may be added, that thus viewing them, we need not be disquieted at finding that the exact design of some of them baffles our discernment, and was perhaps entirely unknown to those who were the subjects of them. They doubtless answered their purpose at the time, whether understood or not. Whereas the mere typologist, who recognises in this elaborate system a mere bodiless reflection of the Gospel, is unable to render any account of very many of its features. But let them be acknowledged to have had some task to perform, however humble or to us unknown, in an august scheme of realities, and they at once take their place among the effective and admirable works of God.

Having thus vindicated the Mosaic system, as to its general structure and character, from some prevailing misconceptions, we may proceed to consider the manner in which it was adapted to carry out its purpose.

It may conduce to clearness, then, to observe that the ritual system delivered through Moses, though forming in itself a compact unity, is properly separable into two departments, the higher and the lower : the one consisting of the loftier and never-failing work carried on *by the high-priest and priest, on behalf of the people*, and independently of any personal action of theirs ; the other of the methods by which the people from time to time entered personally into connection with it. It was concerning the *former* of these only that Moses, when, after the solemn inauguration of the Covenant lately described, he went up into the Mount for forty days and nights, received instruction. These are contained in chapters xxv. — xxxi. of Exodus : and the remainder of the Book is occupied (with only the episode of the calf-worship) with the formation of the tabernacle and the setting on foot of its ministrations. The manner in which the people both as a nation and as individuals should draw near in person to avail themselves of that ministration, formed the subject of a fresh communication proceeding out of the tabernacle Presence, and is reserved for the Books of Leviticus and Numbers.

Let us therefore first consider the mode of the Tabernacle service, in the loftier department of its ministration, and apart from the actual approach of the people to it.

Two things, then, were provided, 1st, a Home and Dwelling Place for the awful yet beatifying Presence ; 2ndly, certain means of access to it through sacrificial and priestly media.

I. The inner chamber of the Tabernacle, the Sanctuary or Holiest Place, was beyond all question an

actual special abode of God Almighty, enjoying a degree of His Presence transcending all other spots on earth. That any writer<sup>b</sup> should have been found to deny this only shews how perverted has been on occasion the theological vision of well-meaning men. The Scripture is express<sup>c</sup> on the subject. The only question is as to the exact purpose of that Presence. But neither on this point are we left in any doubt. The Presence was no vague irrespective one. Its purpose was declared by the manner of its dwelling<sup>d</sup>. It was a Presence, as of Majesty, so also and emphatically of Mercy; and having special and exclusive reference, in both characters, to the subjects of the lately given Dispensation. The Shechinah or Glory, and the Cherubim (formed in imitation of the revealed<sup>e</sup> media of God's Presence and Insession as the Governor of the world), and the gold overlaying both them and the ark, bespoke the present Majesty. But the cloud protecting from the fiery Glory, and the concealment within the ark (by means of the solid golden cover, "mercy-seat," or "propitiation") of the "Ten Words" so lately imparted in thunders, be-

<sup>b</sup> As e.g. Johnstone, *Israel after the Flesh*. Ebrard (in Heb. ix. 1—10, p. 261,) first allows and then explains it away: see p. 208: "Of course the atonement was only symbolical and typical, as was the representation (i.e. the Shechinah) of the Presence of God, and the beholding of God." Comp. Exod. xxiv. 11: "They saw God."

<sup>c</sup> Exod. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 11, 12: "Let them make Me a Sanctuary, that I may dwell among them;" "and I will dwell among the children of Israel;" "and I will walk among you, and will be your God."

<sup>d</sup> Exod. xxv. 10, 20.

<sup>e</sup> Ezek. i., x., xi. 22; Rev. iv., v. On this subject see Bähr's "Symbolism of the Mosaic Worship," s. 31; Hengstenberg, "Egypt and Moses," p. 153. And for proof that the Cherubim are not due to Egypt, but are a Divine reality, see an article in the "Christian Remembrancer," Oct. 1860.

spoke no less the merciful connivance<sup>f</sup> of God at imperfect obedience to that Law<sup>g</sup>. It was, then, 1st, as the Covenant<sup>h</sup> God of Israel that He was present there; and 2ndly, as administering that covenant with mercy.

Thus, then, for all purposes connected with the Covenant: that is, to admit the chosen people to a special measure of His Presence, to accept their service and their persons, and be their oracle and guide,—to make them holy and happy in the degree in which they were capable of holiness and happiness under that dispensation;—to a degree, that is, beyond the rest of mankind, though still far short of the Gospel measure;—in order to these purposes, God

<sup>f</sup> That this was the significance of these arrangements is admitted by the best commentators. Thus Ebrard: "The words of the testimony," (i.e. the decalogue,) "must needs be 'covered,' so that the eye of God might not fall on those words which were an act of accusation against the people. The dead cover, however, did not suffice to turn away penal justice. For this there was necessarily an actual atonement for guilt, the priest must every year carry the blood and sprinkle it," &c. He proceeds to say, with the strange inconsistency shared by all writers on this subject, that "of course this atonement [which he had just called "actual"] was only symbolical and typical, as was the representation of the Presence of God."

<sup>g</sup> An allusion to these arrangements runs through the penitential introduction to our Daily Service: "Hide Thy Face from my sins . . . : not to dissemble or cloke them before the Face of Almighty God; . . . to accompany me to the Throne of the heavenly grace, (Heb. iv. 16). . . We have offended against Thy holy laws."

<sup>h</sup> So Ebrard, rightly; adding, "not as the Creator and Governor of the world; as such He dwelt in Heaven;" and this perhaps is the solution of that well-known difficulty respecting the sacrifices offered to God in "high places," (see Calmet, *Hauts Lieux*; Smith's Dictionary, "High Places.") It was forbidden, not as being in itself sinful, or altogether unacceptable to God, but as undervaluing and failing to procure the peculiar blessings attached to the Tabernacle Presence and Altar. It was, like the descent into Egypt, a falling back on the privileges of merely natural or Gentile religion.

dwelt in the Holy of Holies. Such was His Own gracious promise: "There will I meet thee, and commune with thee: . . . there I will meet with the children of Israel, and Israel<sup>1</sup> shall be sanctified by My glory . . . and I will dwell among the children of Israel and will be their God."

But by what means should this Place, thus furnished, be fitted to become, what as a mere structure of earthly elements it was *not*, a special abode of God, though still, as St. Paul says, His "*earthly* sanctuary?" And how, again, should the "golden cover" acquire its power to ensure the continuance of that Presence, notwithstanding the sins of Israel, by hiding them from the Divine Eye?

1. In common with the less holy Place, the Holiest<sup>k</sup>, "and all that was therein," was anointed with an oil compounded under Divine direction and called "the *holy* anointing oil." The application of this would, it was promised<sup>l</sup>, impart (doubtless by the operation of the Holy Spirit) real holiness or fitness for God's abode and use.

But 2. since, by contact with the sin of the people among whom it was placed, it was liable to contract<sup>m</sup> fresh unfitness, it was at the first, and year by year<sup>n</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So the margin, rightly. Exod. xxv. 22, xxix. 43—46.

<sup>k</sup> Exod. xxx. 26—38, xl. 9.

<sup>l</sup> "Thou shalt anoint the Tabernacle therewith, and the ark of the Testimony, . . . and thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be *most holy* . . . whatsoever toucheth them shall be holy." xxx. 29.

<sup>m</sup> Lev. xvi. 15, 16: "And he shall sprinkle it upon (rather towards) the mercy-seat, and he shall make an atonement for the holy (i.e. holiest) place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel: . . . and so shall he do for the tabernacle of meeting (with God) that dwelleth among them *in the midst of their uncleanness.*"

<sup>n</sup> It would seem that the original institution was that the Holiest Place should be "purified" by the application of the blood of a yearly

ever after, to have that fitness preserved to it, notwithstanding that sin, by the blood of animals slain as sin-offerings and sprinkled within it, towards the Mercy-seat more especially. Perfectly parallel to this was it, that, when the Lord of Glory pitched the True Tabernacle among men, the nature which He took was at the first, and sufficiently for His Own indwelling therein, consecrated by the operation of the Holy Spirit at His Conception. But when the question was, further, of that Holy Body being brought into close contact with man's sin, and specially of Its adaptation to come, like the precious "golden cover," between man's sin and his God, and to hide it from His Eyes;—then the True Tabernacle itself and the True "Mercy-seat" had to be sprinkled once for all, or "purified," (adapted, that is, for the purpose) with the Blood of the One True Sin-offering°.

II. But next, as to the means of access to this Holiest Place. By what means was the nation to be

sin-offering to the horns of the altar of incense, (Exod. xxx. 10): that altar being at the first placed there, (Heb. ix. 4, where it is called "censer"). But when Nadab and Abihu sinned by offering strange fire upon it, (Lev. x. 1,) the altar, and with it the *daily* incense, was removed outside the veil; and thereupon a new ordinance of a more stringent kind was organized for the yearly purification of the Holiest Place. The blood of those offerings was still to be applied to the horns of the altar of incense; but it was now to be sprinkled, *besides*, seven times before the mercy-seat within the Holiest Place; and also seven times upon the altar of incense. Lev. xvi. 12—19.

° One word as to the sense in which this term "True" Tabernacle, and the like, is used by St. Paul, and by our Lord Himself. Dean Trench, in his valuable Commentary on the Seven Epistles in the Revelation, (iii. 7,) points out with much force the sense of "True" (ἀληθινός) in all such cases: "That is ἀληθινός which fulfils its own idea to the highest possible point, . . . as contrasted with all imperfect and partial realizations of the idea. Thus Christ is the true Light, true Bread, true Vine. The antithesis is not between true and false, but between perfect and imperfect."

brought to abide continually (which was the great matter after all) in this continual Presence? I speak not now of their approach by acts of their own, and in their own persons;—that, by its very nature, could not be continual, but only intermitted:—but of their mystical approach; of divinely provided, unfailing, and ever-sustaining media of presentation, bearing them up in a deep mystery before the Presence, and beatifying them in it? These we must seek in the furniture and the arrangements for the *continual service* of the sanctuary, provided in the outer Holy place, and in the court of the Tabernacle.

i. The centre and core of these arrangements was, as the brief Sinaitic code had presignified, the *Altar of Burnt-offering*. As to the manner in which it was to discharge its mysterious function, it is to be observed, that it stood not alone. A manifold and august apparatus of powers, vested in persons and things, gathered about it, and co-operated with it. These will be found conveniently summed up in the instructions to Bezaleel and Aholiab in Exodus xxxi. 8—11, and in the record of the first setting up of the Tabernacle by Moses, Exodus xl.

The material apparatus, then, was as follows:—  
 1. The altar of Burnt-offering itself. 2. The Altar of Incense. 3. The Table of Shew-bread. 4. The Candlestick with its seven lamps: (all these had certain vessels and instruments, or “furniture”). 5. The Laver. 6. The holy anointing oil. 7. The continual Burnt-offering of a lamb. 8. The continual “Meat-offering” of bread and wine, salt and frankincense. 9. The perpetual fire. 10. The peculiar perfume or perpetual Incense. 11. The Shew-bread. 12. The oil for the candlestick.—The personal apparatus, again,



consisted of 1. The High Priest. 2. The Priests. 3. Their garments.—To these there was added, in a manner<sup>q</sup> which tends to assign to it an important office among the actual powers of the dispensation, and not as a mere law, the observation of the Sabbath by abstinence from all labour.

All these appliances were, as is well known, matter of exact Divine ordinance, as to substance, form, and arrangement. As to the last point, the altar of burnt-offering was set in the court of the Tabernacle, midway in its nearer or eastern end, and near the door of entrance;—the laver between it and the Tabernacle;—the altar of incense, at first, as it seems<sup>r</sup>, in the

<sup>q</sup> It is specified in Exod. xxxi. 13, after the other media of sanctification, and as if to be reckoned among them: "Speak thou *also* . . . It is a sign between Me and you; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you."

<sup>r</sup> This is a point naturally much debated amongst theologians: St. Paul distinctly affirming, Heb. ix., that the altar of incense was part of the furniture of the Holiest Place: and yet as distinctly teaching, that none but the High-priest ever entered the place, and he *but once a-year*: so that the *daily* incense *cannot* have been burnt there, nor the altar have had place therein. Many solutions have been propounded, and may be seen in Ebrard in Heb. ix. (p. 264, Clark's Trans.) Ebrard adopts, with others, the nearest to the true one: viz. that "the altar stood indeed in the holy place, but referred so especially to the Holiest" that it might be reckoned to belong to it. But he vainly attempts to explain away St. Paul's saying that the holiest "had" the altar of incense. The entire account of the matter is,—as closer examination renders all but certain,—that Moses *did*, at the *first making* of the Tabernacle, (and this is what St. Paul is describing, ver. 2,) put the altar there. Such at least is the more natural rendering of Exod. xxx.: "Thou shalt put it before the veil," and yet again, "before the Mercy-seat" . . . "where I will speak unto thee." Again, xl. 5, "Thou shalt set the altar of incense before the ark of the testimony;" and xxx. 36, "Thou shalt put of it (the incense) before the testimony." It is true this *might* still mean with the veil intervening, as in the case of the table and candlestick; but in xl. 22—26 a clear distinction is made between the positions: they two are *without* the veil, one over

Holiest Place, midway, and just within the vail; afterwards in the holy place, just outside the vail, but still midway, and so in a line between the great altar and the mercy-seat,—on the great highway, as we shall presently see, of sacrificial power, and a most important element in it. The table with its shew-bread was set on the north side of the outer place; the candlestick on the south side.

ii. The next step was<sup>s</sup> to remove from these things and places their natural incapacity for the divine service, and to endue them with sacrificial powers for the discharge of their distinct functions. Accordingly, Aaron and his sons having been washed with water and clothed in their garments, the holy oil was applied to the place and to all the furniture, and also poured largely on Aaron's head. Then (Moses acting as priest throughout) a *sin-offering*, into the virtue of which these persons were admitted by laying their

against the other; but the altar is *before* the vail. This is all but conclusive.—Here, then, I doubt not, Moses burnt incense, xl. 27; as did Aaron at the first, (Lev. ix. 16, with Exod. xxx. 7), and his sons, till two of them offering strange incense (Lev. x., xvi.) perished; whereupon (xvi. 2—34) the personal access to the Holiest was limited to once a-year, and the altar of incense placed outside it: the incense, however, still *penetrating* to it, and carrying the slain sacrifices with it. St. Paul was not concerned to notice the change which furnishes the key to his apparent self-contradiction. Thus, as in so many other cases, the sin of man modified, not indeed the counsels of God, but the mode of carrying them out, (see Acts iv. 28). The access of man to the Presence was thrown back a stage. To the original and simple anointing of the horns of the altar once a-year, the scape-goat and the rest of the awful ceremonies of the great Day of Atonement were now “added because of transgressions;” and the new arrangement furnished a new note of inferiority in the Law; personal access into even the earthly holy of holies being not yet fully but only intermittently laid open.

<sup>s</sup> The *mandate* for the consecration is given Exod. xxix. 1—37, xxx. 22—37, xl. 9—15; the consecration itself in Lev. viii. entire. All these passages should be carefully studied, with Ezek. xliii.

hands on it, "purified the altar and sanctified it, to make reconciliation upon it;" i.e. to endue it with powers for reconciliation co-ordinately with the sacrifices which should be offered upon it:—a *burnt-offering* presented them and all these things with acceptance for the discharge of all sacrificial work:—and a *peace-offering*, divided and partaken of in the usual manner, between 1. the altar, 2. Moses as priest, and 3. Aaron and his sons as worshippers, admitted the new priesthood to full consecration by application of the blood to the right ear, hand, and foot; by the filling of their hands<sup>†</sup>, as offerers; and by communion; the anointing oil and the blood being also sprinkled on them.

Such was the "consecration" of the tabernacle, altar, and priests, by holy oil, and water and blood; renewed daily in the case of the priests by washing hands and feet in the consecrated brazen laver, and of the High Priest by a daily meat-offering. A process, be it observed, not merely corrective of natural unfitness for any service, but also imparting new and real powers for "bearing" and neutralizing sins against the covenant. This consecration corresponded throughout to that of Christ, the True Tabernacle, Altar, and Priest, to His Office, by "the Spirit and the Water and the Blood"<sup>‡</sup>,—by His Conception, Baptism, and Passion;—and specially by the application of His Own Blood to His Own Body by Himself<sup>§</sup>, through

<sup>†</sup> See margin of Exod. xxix. 9, 22, 31, where the Hebrew is "to fill the hands" with the parts of the peace-offerings.

<sup>‡</sup> 1 St. John v. 6: "This is He that came by Water and Blood, Jesus the Christ;" i.e. whose designation as He that should come, or "the Anointed One," was attested and conveyed by His Baptism and Passion; "the Spirit also bearing witness."

<sup>§</sup> St. John xvii. 19: "For their sakes I sanctify Myself." Heb. ix. 14.

the Eternal Spirit. Profound as the mystery is, it is not to be doubted that, since other consecration there could be none, He consecrated Himself by His Own Blood:—Himself His Own Sin-offering, not to purify Himself, for this He needed not, but to impart to Him new functions and powers, enabling Him to “bear the sin of many;”—His Own Burnt-Offering, presenting His Human Nature with full acceptance for all purposes of Priesthood;—His Own Peace-Offering, filling His Own Holy Hands<sup>7</sup> with His Offering of Himself:—nay, as many of old have held, *partaking*<sup>8</sup>, in profoundest mystery, of the Sacrament of His Own Body and Blood; and so not baptized only, but eucharistized also, into the High Priesthood of the world<sup>a</sup>.

iii. All was now ready for the august work of the continual presentation of Israel, with full acceptance, in the covenanted Presence: for the fruition of God by man, and of man by God. The mode in which this exalted economy was actually carried out demands our closest attention, and may properly form the subject of a separate section.

<sup>7</sup> So the Liturgies of the East, with one consent, make much of the “taking into the Hands:”—“took bread in His Holy and spotless and pure (S. Jas., S. Mark, S. Chrys.), immortal (S. Jas.), divine (Armen.), blessed and lifegiving (Copt. S. Bas.) Hands.”

<sup>8</sup> See the authorities of SS. Irenæus, Jerome, Chrysostom, and certain Egyptian and Syriac Liturgies for this opinion, ap. Neale, Gen. Introd., p. 476.

<sup>a</sup> Our Lord’s Passion certainly had a threefold power. 1. It was the crown and completion of His consecratory sufferings: the same action perfected His priesthood and discharged the work of it. 2. It was the means (so Aquinas, Anselm, Estius, &c.) of bringing Himself again from the dead, through the blood of the everlasting covenant (Heb. xiii. 20), that is, the blood of a Sinless One, to which by the ancient “hand-writing,” or bond, such power had been promised. 3. It delivered all mankind from everlasting death.

## SECTION X.

I. IN the LAMB, then, offered morning and evening, and burning slowly day and night without intermission upon the ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING, all Israel in a deep mystery, yet in profoundest reality, lay and was perpetually presented before God. Yet was the lamb not offered by itself, apart from another vehicle; but, as the manner had been in all ages, through the accompanying offering of fruits of the earth; corn, and wine, and oil, and frankincense. And the whole, again, was presented by the voluntary will and manual action of an accredited person as priest.

Now what was the effect, the beneficial result, accruing to Israel from this mysterious presentation? And first of all, seeing that the altar stood not, like the altar of incense, within the curtains of a peculiar tabernacle, but in the open face of heaven; therefore the sacrifice had doubtless, like all other and earlier sacrifices, a direct relation to God as the Lord and Creator of heaven and earth, prior to its relation to Him as the God of Israel. From heaven, albeit through the Tabernacle (perhaps), the fire which consumed it had come down<sup>b</sup>; and up to heaven, not to the Tabernacle Presence, did the flame and the sweet savour, and in it the consumed and accepted sacrifice, ascend. The universal Father, and not the God of Israel only, was acknowledged, and for certain purposes appeased and well pleased thereby. Hence the Gentiles might offer, as has ever been held, on that altar; though they might not eat of offerings con-

<sup>b</sup> Lev. ix. 24.

nected with it, nor make any advance towards the peculiar Israelitish privileges<sup>o</sup>.

Hence too, for all purposes of worship, the Israelite, like the rest of the world, still lifted his eyes to heaven, and thought of God as supremely there, whither the sacrifice ascends, as "his Father in heaven<sup>d</sup>." Though his face was to be towards the Covenant Presence, and his choicest gifts must flow to him through that channel, yet the reservoir of them was in heaven still. This is much to be observed. The Mosaic system, rightly understood, did not abolish the older religious position of man, nor narrow and bring down his mental habit of worship; it only added privileges to the one, and intensity and variety of operation to the other. The joy of admission into the Presence on earth lay, after all, in its being a step nearer to the Presence in heaven<sup>e</sup>.

2. But the Presence into which the sacrifice was *specially* designed to carry the nation and the land, was, of course, that which abode in the Tabernacle. It was an earthly, and not a heavenly Presence that man could have fruition of as yet: it was only into

<sup>o</sup> This seems to be fairly established by Numb. xv. 3 compared with ver. 14. For in ver. 3 instructions are given in detail to the *Israelites* about *two* classes of offerings; those partly eaten, and those wholly consumed: but in ver. 14 the instructions for the *stranger*, whether sojourner or visitor, ("whosoever be among you in your generation,") are about "offerings made by fire," without mention of eatable offerings, and most probably excluding them. In vers. 29, 30, the stranger is, as we might expect, bound by the same law as the Jew as to sin-offerings and presumptuous acts, tending to exclude him from service. The Jewish tradition that Gentiles might not offer *meat-offerings* with their burnt-offerings, is simply incredible.

<sup>d</sup> This reference to heaven, as the place whither prayer should ascend, is constant in the Jewish Services. Comp. above, Introduction, p. 159.

<sup>e</sup> See Exod. xxxiii. 18, and for an exquisite commentary, The Christian Year, Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity.

“a worldly sanctuary” that he could have real access. And this was effected, first, by the blood of the lamb. This, in itself a thing of power even in virtue of the old sacrificial laws, had a tenfold capacity for operation in the sphere of the covenant; not merely as having been expressly ordained of God, but as being the memorial and the virtual repetition and continuation of the great Sacrifice on Moriah, the ground and basis of the nation’s acceptance with God. It was, in truth, one ages-long Moriah Sacrifice,—a sacrifice not merely of a lamb, but of two human wills, and one pure human life;—the mighty faith and obedience of Abraham, in yielding up his son, the yet mightier faith and obedience of Isaac in yielding up himself;—it was this that in a mystery was enacted for fifteen centuries long in the continual Burnt-offering of the Mosaic system. The *blood* of the lamb no sooner flowed than He Who sat on the mercy-seat remembered His covenant with Abraham, with Isaac and Jacob; and the powers of evil, the enemies of His people, were baffled and cast out by the cancelling (in part<sup>f</sup>), through the might of a meekly rendered life, of the bond which they held against the world. The blood “was accepted for them to make an atonement for them<sup>g</sup>,” so that, notwithstanding all their transgressions, God would abide with them still, and they with Him.

This was one step, then, towards the Presence;—the removal of unfitness by the shedding of the covenant blood. But they needed, next, to be duly *presented* there. And in the *body* of the lamb, they who had thus been purged of their unfitness were actually,

<sup>f</sup> See above in this chap., p. 34.

<sup>g</sup> Lev. i. 4, in the account of the burnt-offerings.

though in a mystery, presented and accepted. This, too, was a matter of memorial, and of mystical ingrafting and inherence, as well as of sacrificial power. They were, as we may so say, in the loins of their father Isaac when he lay bound, and in a figure was slain, upon the altar; and they were still viewed by God as in him. Thus did the powers properly inherent in the sacrifice, as a sacrifice of a slain animal, joined to its power as a memorial, and that which had been imparted by consecration to the entire tabernacle, to the altar, and to the priest,—avail to “bear the sins” of Israel, neutralizing them by intensity of divinely imparted holiness. And then, in that one Offering, they with their imperfect duty, obedience, and faith, were gathered up for acceptance as the Food of God<sup>h</sup>. The fire which, at the first presentation of this sacrifice, “came out from before the Lord,” from the Covenant Presence, and which had burned ever after on the Altar, took them up into itself. A special emanation of the Holy Spirit thus took possession of them and theirs for the service and glory of God, and as a “sweet savour” and acceptable gift.

3. Nor was it in the lamb only, but in the High-priest, that they were present with acceptance. As the lamb was a representative sacrifice, so was the high-priest a representative priest. The people were in Abraham when he offered his mighty offering. And Aaron represented Abraham now; in him all the people *offered*, as they *were offered*<sup>i</sup> in the lamb. And he offered with power. For “the right of the First-born was his.” In virtue of the deep

<sup>h</sup> The Heb. rendered “consume” is simply and properly “to eat.”

<sup>i</sup> “Ecclesia offert atque offertur.” St. Augustine.



mystery of primogeniture<sup>k</sup>, sealed and attested by his call and consecration, his religious service was supremely acceptable. And again, his garments, as we shall see hereafter, witnessed to and conveyed representative powers. On his head, his shoulder, his breast (in respect, that is, of the thought, the manual labour, and the inward affections inseparable from the work of priesthood) were the people borne.

This availed (as we may conceive, and as God in part has expounded<sup>l</sup> to us) to purposes of "bearing away the iniquity" or imperfection adhering to their "holy things and gifts," or acts of service, specially, it may be supposed, the sin of wandering *thoughts*;—of bringing them before God with forgiveness for imperfect *labours*;—and of procuring a merciful judgment, above all, on their lack of *love*. In all this we see the perfect image of our own Divine High Priest.

4. But though the sanctified people were by these means brought *near* to the Covenant Presence, they were not yet admitted *into* the immediate shrine and abode of it. The altar of burnt-offering stood without the Tabernacle, and therefore was of itself, with all its powers, unequal to the accomplishment of the mighty purpose in view.—And, again, the High-priest himself, in offering the great sacrifice, stood as yet afar off. He too must draw nearer, bringing the people in a mystery with him, or his work for them was incomplete.—To this end, then, a further step in the economy was provided. In all sacrifices, over and above

<sup>k</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>l</sup> See for the powers of the mitre, Exod. xxviii. 30—36; of the stones of memorial on the shoulders, vers. 9—12; of the breastplate of judgment, vers. 21, 29, 30.

such fruits of the earth as are *partaken of* by man, yet another kind had been in use from the beginning<sup>m</sup>; those namely which, though not fit for food, are *sweet to the smell*. These, when burnt, constituted *incense*. And the office of all incense doubtless was to present<sup>n</sup> in a sweet and fragrant cloud the more gross materials of the consumed sacrifice. The incense was the main, though not the sole cause, of the “sweet savour” which went up to heaven. The continual burnt-offering, accordingly, as it went up heavenward from the great altar, was accompanied by frankincense, the leaves of a particular tree<sup>o</sup>, serving the purpose of incense. But besides this, a peculiar perfume<sup>p</sup> was compounded, under divine direction, of four peculiar spices, frankincense being one; and endued with sanctity and sanctifying powers, in order to its being burnt on the altar of incense *within* the tabernacle. And its function was to *carry the great covenant Sacrifice into the covenant Presence*. Placed originally, as has been said above, within the veil, the altar of incense was afterwards set just outside it, in the midst; in the line, therefore, joining the Altar of Burnt-offering and the Mercy-seat. The incense itself was intended to penetrate into the Holy of holies<sup>q</sup>. And in it the whole of the sacrificial powers which gathered round the Altar of Burnt-offering were

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 68.

<sup>n</sup> It has been explained above, p. 77, note p, that the Greek *θύειν*, ‘to sacrifice,’ signifies properly to offer a certain fragrant tree, *θύον, θύλα*, anciently used for incense.

<sup>o</sup> See Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible, in v. Frankincense.

<sup>p</sup> Exod. xxx. 34—38. For the altar of incense see vers. 1—10.

<sup>q</sup> Ebrard on Heb. ix. 1—10, p. 268. He denies, however, (*ibid.*) all reality to the transaction, and to the entire system, of which he makes sad confusion.

summed up<sup>r</sup>. By it the covenant people were at length brought, in profoundest mystery, into the very Presence Itself<sup>s</sup>. And as it was offered by the high-priest<sup>t</sup> himself, or by his sons for him, the people were at the same time brought a step nearer by a *personal*, though representative appearance, to the Presence. Not however, save once a-year, into the Holiest of all. Then, indeed, filling his hands with the peculiar incense<sup>u</sup>, and taking with him also a censer full of coals from off the altar of burnt-offering, he entered into the Holiest Place. There, for once, the Burnt-offering and the Incense and the High-priest of the Imitative Economy, were gathered together in the full might of their conjoint and co-ordinate ministry. The nation was for a few moments carried, in the person of the high-priest himself, and by his hands, and not merely upon the breath of incense, into the Presence of God. The perfect image was once for all seen upon earth of "Christ's entering into the Holy Places not made with hands, even into heaven itself, to appear in the Presence of God for us:" True Priest, True Sacrifice, presenting His Church in Himself through His all-availing INTERCESSION.

<sup>r</sup> So Ebrard, rightly: "In the altar of incense the total result of the entire *cultus* of the tabernacle was represented."

<sup>s</sup> The Liturgies fully recognise this as the function of incense of old time. Thus, the Rom., Eng., and Moz. "prayer of incense" before the introit,—the ancient Aaronic place for the incense, (see below): "Take away our iniquities, that we may be worthy with pure minds to enter into the Holy of Holies." And the Coptic S. Basil prayer of incense after the oblation: "Grant that we may offer unto Thee reasonable sacrifices and *spiritual incense*. Let it *enter within the veil*, into the place of the Holy of Holies."

<sup>t</sup> So Athanasius (*Contra Arian.*, iii. p. 378) defining very correctly the high-priest's position, says, "He stood midway, in a manner, between the vision (*θεωρασία*) of God, and the sacrifices of men."

<sup>u</sup> Lev. xvi. 12.

For the Incense was manifestly the *intercessory* element, the penetrative ingredient, of the ancient system, of the Mosaic especially; a kind of acted prayer or will, which applied with power all else that was done. In ordinary sacrifices all the other things offered remained still in the lower and earthly region: the incense alone, in conjunction with the flame, soared to heaven, and manifestly enjoyed privileges of a peculiar acceptance. Into the mystery of that acceptance we cannot penetrate far. But it should seem that, as all light and flame is doubtless a special emanation of the True Light, and all beauty of the Divine Perfections, so all sweetness came, at the creation, (with reverence be it spoken), of the pouring out, upon the fewer and more privileged things in which it resides, of Him whose entire Being and Action had ever been <sup>x</sup> a "sweet-smelling savour" to the Father. And thus the sweet-smelling incense of old was supremely fitted to become in very truth a sacrificial power, for the sake of Him from Whom its sweetness flowed. That it had such power, in the Mosaic economy at any rate,—that it was the vehicle of a tremendous mystery of life and death, and of vast sacrificial efficacy,—there is no doubt. Aaron, if there is any meaning in words <sup>y</sup>, would but for it *have died* on entering the Holiest place. And when the plague had begun among the people, the rehearsal <sup>z</sup>, so to speak, of the mysterious action of the great day of atonement

<sup>x</sup> Comp. what is said above of the eternal Priesthood of Christ, p. 142.

<sup>y</sup> Lev. xvi. 3: "He shall put incense upon the fire, that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy-seat, *that he die not.*"

<sup>z</sup> "Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, . . . and make an atonement for the people. . . . And the plague was stayed." Num. xvi. 46.

availed to stay it. And this could arise from nothing else than from the fact of the incense embodying in it the whole power of the great covenant sacrifice.—This intimate relation of the daily incense to the daily burnt-offering is further vouched for by the coincidence of the *time of offering* the two. Aaron burnt the incense the first thing in the morning<sup>a</sup>, as soon as the preliminaries of the Burnt-sacrifice began; and again in the evening when he lighted the lamps of the candlestick, and when the sacrifice was on the point of being completed by the pouring out of the drink-offering. Thus the sacrificial work of the day began and ended with the incense, which was called too, like the sacrifice itself, “perpetual<sup>b</sup>.”

Nor can we doubt that the place of the Mosaic incense, accompanying the great continual offering, is supplied in the Christian scheme by the Intercession of Christ—by that intercessory Will<sup>c</sup> of His, that Willingness to be offered, that Desire to save,—which, using the sacrifice as its instrument and plea, wrought the redemption and sanctification of the world. It is much to be remarked that, at the Eucharistic Institution, while certain of the old constituents of a sacrifice are vouched for as having place, either visibly or invisibly,—the Priest, the Body and Blood of a Victim, the fruits of the earth adapted for food and drink,—others, as the fire and the oil, the altar and the incense, obtain no men-

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxx. 7, 8; Mishna, Yoma, iii. l. 5; Smith's Dictionary, in v. Incense.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xxx. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. x. 7: “Then I said, I come to do Thy Will, O God,” viz., by the concurrence of His Own Will therewith. “By the which Will we are sanctified, by the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all.”

tion. But as the place of the two former of these was unquestionably supplied by the direct operation of the Holy Spirit<sup>d</sup>; so doubtless were the two latter by the direct action of the intercessory Will of Christ. Christ's Altar was His Own Heart; His Incense, His Own Intercession. Conceivably,—and it is well to bear this in mind,—it might have pleased Him that in these instances too, as well as in that of bread and wine, the ancient vehicles should survive with new and intensified powers. And the Church has to a great extent<sup>e</sup>, as a matter of fitness and expressiveness, adopted them out of the ancient ritual, though no one imagines that they are essential, or divinely empowered. It was His good pleasure to simplify to the uttermost, in the Christian economy, the *indispensably necessary* media of worship, that it might be the better understood that the service, though it includes outward bodily things and relations, is emphatically a reasonable (λογικῆ<sup>f</sup>) and spiritual sacrifice. Meanwhile, and as if in compensation, the sacrificial media which thus disappear from the earth, are caught up into heaven, and in the heavenly exhibition of the Church's service they still in a deep mystery survive. In the Revelation, the bread and

<sup>d</sup> Heb. ix. 14: "Who through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God." For the oil, comp. Ps. xlv. 7; Isa. lxi. 1; Dan. ix. 24.

<sup>e</sup> "The incense" (which involves fire) "for the time of oblation," is recognised in the Apostolic Canons (iii.) as well as "oil for the lamps:" but this will not prove its use earlier than the second or third century. It is perhaps mentioned by Hippolytus, c. 220; more certainly by St. Ambrose. (Bingham, viii. 6—12.) Oil and salt are used in the bread by the Syrians. The altar or table (θυσιαστήριον or τράπεζα) is of course universal, but without any ascription to it of sacrificial power.

<sup>f</sup> Some early writers connect this with the Divine Λόγος, but the interpretation seems strained.

the wine, and the table of shew-bread, of the old system find no mention, as being now on earth: but the "Lamb as it had been slain" is in the midst of the throne, and before the throne "seven lamps of fire" are still "burning," and the golden altar is still "standing;" and there is a sea of glass (like the brazen "sea" of old), and the Cherubim; and much incense is offered by the Angel, (probably our Lord Himself,) to impart efficacy to the prayers of the saints<sup>h</sup>. Thus the heavenly and the earthly departments of the Church's service complement each other, and nothing that was imaged forth of old time is wanting.

Nor can we fail to observe that, alike in the Mosaic and the Christian economy, it was, strictly and properly, by a *silent* power, transcending all speech, that the Sacrifice was carried into the Holiest Place. No words are prescribed for Aaron's use; and though tradition reports, it may be correctly, a customary formula, it was manifestly of secondary consideration, being not prescribed by the Law. So too, when our Lord, in what exact words we know not, "gave thanks and blessed," and therewith gave Himself to God for a "sweet-smelling savour;" and when, again, His pure Offering completed, He made intercession, and commended the Church to the Father<sup>i</sup>; the words in both cases were doubtless secondary to that surrender of His Will, and that unutterable intercession of His Spirit, which were all in all<sup>k</sup>. The mystery of redemption and salvation, like the

<sup>g</sup> 1 Kings vii. 23.

<sup>h</sup> Rev. viii. 3, 4.

<sup>i</sup> St. John xvii.

<sup>k</sup> Comp. St. John xi. 42: "And I knew that Thou hearest Me always; but because of them that stood by I said it." And Rom. viii. 26: "The Spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered."

mystery of the Incarnation, was, and continues at this hour, among the number of the things which, in the sublime language of St. Ignatius, “were wrought in the silence of God<sup>1</sup>.”

## SECTION XI.

THE altar of incense, however, did not complete the furniture of the tabernacle. In the outward or less holy place there stood also<sup>m</sup> the Table of Shewbread and the Sevenfold Candlestick; both discharging mysterious functions peculiar to themselves, yet falling harmoniously into the scheme already delineated. They have been the subject of much speculation; but a moderate degree of attention to facts and general principles will suffice to decide upon their real nature. They were, then, first of all *twin* ordinances. Both were, outwardly at least, of pure gold, and both are called “pure<sup>n</sup> ;” both are described, as if akin to each other, immediately<sup>o</sup> after the ark and the mercy-seat; and are afterwards<sup>p</sup> made jointly the subject of a separate edict; and they occupied corresponding positions, over against each other, in the less holy place, just without the veil. We may expect therefore to find them discharging, with whatever difference, parallel functions.

And thus much is plain; that they were, properly, for the Lord God, and not for man: for spiritual and

<sup>1</sup> Ign. Ep. ad Eph. c. 16: *μυστήρια, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη.*

<sup>m</sup> Exod. xxv. 23—40, xl. 22—25; Lev. xxiv. 1—9.

<sup>n</sup> Lev. xxiv. 4—6: “the pure candlestick,” “the pure table.”

<sup>o</sup> Even the altar of incense, though standing in the holy place, is not described here, but further on, after that of burnt-offering; no doubt because its office was only intelligible in connection with that.

<sup>p</sup> Lev. xxiv. 1—9.



religious, not merely for bodily or mundane purposes. The shew-bread, it is true, when eaten by the priests, nourished their bodies; and the candlestick gave them light at their holy work. But the position of both, so near to the Presence,—nearly or quite in the same (transverse) line with the altar of incense,—and the provisions made concerning them, bespoke them as both alike of the nature of *offerings to God*<sup>a</sup>, and as having, under all aspects, a spiritual function.

But let us consider them separately. (1.) The shew-bread, then, accompanied by its salt and frankincense, (tradition says by wine also<sup>r</sup>), was “set in order” (a sacrificial term<sup>s</sup>) before God every Sabbath morning, and there remained until the next Sabbath, when the frankincense which had stood upon it was burnt “for a memorial of the bread,” i. e. representing it: whence it was called “an offering made by fire unto the Lord.” It was then eaten by the priests as “holy,” at a spot called “the holy place” in the

<sup>a</sup> The whole tabernacle and its furniture, indeed, partook of this character. See Exod. xxv. 2: “That they bring Me an offering, (lit. heave-offering, ‘lifted up’), . . . gold and silver . . . oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and sweet incense,” &c.

<sup>r</sup> The *scriptural* grounds for supposing the wine are, 1. the analogy of all other meat-offerings, Num. xv. 5; 2. the “bowls to pour out withal,” Exod. xxv. 29, marg., LXX; 3. The obscure words of Zech. ix. 15, “they shall drink and make a noise as through wine, and be filled like bowls, and as the corners of the altar;” for there was no wine to be *drunk* at the altar of burnt-offering: whereas the analogy of the shew-bread would require the wine to be in part or wholly kept for drinking. It is probable that drinking this wine led to the fault of Nadab and Abihu, Lev. x. 1—9, and that the wine ever after was either poured out or drunk elsewhere. The Gentile custom of pouring wine between the horns of the victim, combined with Zech. ix., makes it probable that the shew-bread wine was poured between the horns (Ex. xxx. 3) of the altar of incense.

<sup>s</sup> Exod. xl. 23; Lev. xxiv. 8. Heb. *ngaroch*, ‘to arrange,’ used Gen. xxii. 9, Lev. i. 7, of laying the wood and fire on the altar.

tabernacle-court. And the name "bread of Presence," or "of the Face" of God; the number of loaves, twelve; their being provided by the people out of the fruit of their land<sup>†</sup>: all this, joined to the analogy of the altars of burnt-offering and incense, fully proves that the shew-bread loaves and wine served to present before the Lord in an additional form, and for special covenant purposes, the chosen *nation* and their *land*. While the altar of burnt-offering spoke more especially of the mighty faith of Abraham and Isaac, the table of shew-bread,—itself also an *altar*<sup>‡</sup>, no less than a table, — bore upon it more especially the completion of the economy, in the person of Israel and his twelve-fold progeny. It was an assurance that, however scattered, none of them was forgotten before God, or cast out from His Presence; a means whereby all were continually "brought near" in a mystery for service<sup>×</sup> and acceptance. That altar, too, was overlaid with brass only; this, like the altar of incense, with gold: intimating a greater preciousness in God's sight in that which lay thereon; some mystery of nearer approach to Him and participation of Him.

But what, it may be asked, could the shew-bread effect for the nation, beyond what the altar of burnt-offering accomplished? For there, too, were the self-same elements, bread and wine, frankincense and salt<sup>‡</sup>, constituting the meat-offering, and serving to

<sup>†</sup> Lev. xxiv. 7: where we should render, "the frankincense shall be to the bread for a memorial." "They seem to be considered one thing; instead of the bread the frankincense is burnt." Patrick, in loc.

<sup>‡</sup> Patrick on ver. 9: "As the altar is called God's table, (Mal. i. 12,) so this table was really God's altar."

<sup>×</sup> Comp. Acts xxvi. 7: "our twelve tribes instantly serving day and night."  
<sup>‡</sup> Exod. xxix. 40, 41; Lev. ii. 1, 13.

present the nation in the burnt-sacrifice. And that offering was consumed as God's Food by the perpetual fire, and carried by means of the incense into the Holiest. But I answer, the shew-bread availed to bring Israel in *substantial and bodily form* nearer to the Presence; besides that, equally with the burnt-offering, it was carried by the incense into it. But further, it imparted a higher kind of *communion*, or mutual communion rather, with Him. For first, the communion through the shew-bread belonged to a higher sphere than communion through partaking of the altar of burnt-offering. It was as represented by the high-priest and his sons, and in a region inaccessible to them personally, that the nation held this communion. Next, it was far more frequent, being weekly; and was closely connected with the mystery of the Sabbath;—that important feature in their position towards God. And, again, the burnt-offering, being wholly consumed as "God's Food" by the fire, as well the bread and wine<sup>2</sup> as the slain victim,—could not be *really* partaken of by man. In order to that, a further economy, to be considered presently,—namely the identification of the people's many offerings with that one offering,—had to be provided: it was not literally, but only in a certain sense and in a mystery, the *same* thing that was received by God and man. But the shew-bread was *so* taken and received by God as His Food, as to remain nevertheless, to be partaken of by man. For it is declared to be "His offering, made to *be* His by fire<sup>a</sup>," exactly as the burnt-offering is: yet it was

<sup>2</sup> See Numb. xxviii. 5, 7. The order in Lev. vi. 16, that the priest should eat the greater part of the meat-offering, refers only to private offerings: so Patrick.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. xxiv. 7.

not, either wholly or in part, consumed or destroyed, but was actually eaten in its entirety by the High-priest and his sons. This then was the highest, most perfect form of combined *sacrifice* and *communion* known to the Mosaic scheme; and as such it has, even visibly, a special commission to set forth to us the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. And accordingly it is, as is well known, specially and distinctly accredited to us as such by God Himself, through the Prophet Malachi. For there is no reason to doubt that the shew-bread in conjunction with the incense is supremely, if not exclusively, referred to in the words, "In every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering." For 1. the priests are specially addressed by Malachi; and this rite was confined to them; 2. it is particularly charged upon them that they "offered polluted *bread* upon God's altar," which is also called a "table:"—now these conditions meet in the table of shew-bread, and in that only<sup>b</sup>: for though the term bread may well include the slain sacrifices of the great altar, that altar is never called a "table;" 3. the destined Christian offering is discriminated as "pure;" doubtless with reference to the "pure table" (i.e. of pure gold) and the "pure" frankincense of Jer. xxiv. 6, 7, and intimating its preciousness, perhaps also its bloodless character. And as this shew-bread "memorially" (i.e.

<sup>b</sup> In Ezek. xii. 22, where Ezekiel is shewn a restored temple and sanctuary, we read, "The altar of wood . . . this is the table that is before the Lord." It seems to answer to altar of incense and table of shew-bread in one:—a further approximation, in this later and half-spiritualized exposition of the Mosaic economy (see Poli. Syn., Ez. xl.) to the Gospel rite, in which all is reduced to one action. This table is spoken of again: "They shall enter into My Sanctuary, and come near to My Table to minister unto Me;" ch. xlv. 16.

representatively) included the slain sacrifices, the reference to these in the context of Malachi (i. 8, 13, 14) is abundantly accounted for. *They*, it is intimated, would pass away, being superseded (as we now know) by a more excellent Victim. But a material and all-including Offering would still remain to the Gentile or Catholic Church (now made "a kingdom of priests") out of the ancient system: even the self-same elements of bread and wine, (together with a more glorious Incense,) which were of old presented and partaken of in the Jewish sanctuary. The shew-bread and the wine, the supreme meat and drink-offering—the *immolatio* and *mactatio* of Gentile sacrifice—were to pass on, not changed, but only glorified, into the Gospel economy.

The shew-bread, then, carrying in it the whole body of the nation, was 1. offered or given acceptably to God by the high-priest, *or his sons*, through the application to it (with due "memorial" reference to the great national sacrifice,) of the frankincense and the sacred fire; and then, 2. partaken of by them as "most holy," and as making them such. Bearing in mind, then, the divinely guaranteed parallel between the old and new systems, we see that it sets forth to us, 1. the *Church in Christ*, as a royal Priesthood, *giving herself* acceptably to God<sup>e</sup>, in Bread and Wine; the identification of these with that Body and Blood being effected by the application to them (with due "memorial" reference to Christ's Sacrifice) of His priestly Intercession, and of the sanctifying fire of the

<sup>e</sup> S. Aug. De Civ. x. 20: "Ecclesia seipsam per Ipsum discit offerre." Ib. 6: "In ea re quam offert, ipsa offertur." "The bread represents the body of Christian people, as well as the Body of Christ." Johnson, U. S.

Spirit. And then, 2. inasmuch as the same things were, in the Mosaic rite, received back from God to purposes of sanctification and of all covenanted blessings, it sets forth to us the Church *receiving the same gifts back again*<sup>d</sup>, as the Body and Blood of Christ,—mysteriously identified therewith by the same media, viz. the touch of incense and of fire, as before,—and obtaining, by participation in them, full sanctification, and communion through Christ with God<sup>e</sup>.

This account of the nature of the Christian Eucharist, and of its double aim, deduced simply from consideration of the Mosaic Shew-bread, its divinely accredited exponent, coincides in a truly marvellous manner with that which the ancient Liturgies embody; and serves especially to clear up the important and much-disputed question as to the nature and essentials of valid Consecration.

In all Liturgies, the Church has manifestly two distinct though closely connected objects in view. The first is, *to offer herself in Christ to God*; or rather, in strictness and as the highest conception of her aim,

<sup>d</sup> This is that “admirable commerce” or *exchange* between heaven and earth, so frequently dwelt on in the Liturgies, especially in the Eastern prayer before reception, and the Western *Secreta* or prayer of oblation. Thus Lit. S. Jas. and S. Chrys.: “That our God having received them unto His heavenly altar for the savour of a spiritual sweet smell, would send down in return (ἀντικαταπέμψη) the Gift of the Holy Ghost.” And the Leonine Sacramentary *Secreta*, (Muratori, p. 303): “Exercising a glorious commerce, we offer those things which Thou hast given, that we may be found worthy to receive Thyself.” “We offer earthly gifts, that we may obtain heavenly.”

<sup>e</sup> This is well expressed by Parkhurst, in γ. πρόθεσις: “Since the frankincense put upon the bread and wine was to be burnt upon the altar [of incense] ‘for a memorial,’ (scil. of the bread, to represent it,) and Aaron and his sons were to eat it, this bread typified Christ, first presented as a sacrifice to Jehovah, and then becoming spiritual food to such as in and through Him are priests to God.”

to procure that she may be offered by Christ Himself, and as in Christ, to the Father. And the second object, as the crowning and completing feature of the rite, and woven up with the other into one unbroken chain of service, is to obtain communion through Christ with God; or, more precisely again, that Christ may Himself give her, through Himself, such Communion.

1. In order to the former of these objects, she first gathers herself up, so to speak, for presentation. After the bringing in of the Elements<sup>f</sup>, and after due sanctification of herself by reception of the truth<sup>g</sup> in the Holy Scriptures and Creed, and confession of her unworthiness, she first, by the offertory and prayer of oblation dedicating her substance,—by fervent prayers for the unity of the One Body,—by commemoration of the departed as still one with her in Christ,—by the *Sursum corda*, bespeaking the co-operation of the body of the faithful,—by the *Ter Sanctus*, associating her worship with that of all the company of heaven,—in a word, by the whole body of Eucharistic worship, commendation, and intercession,—sums up her gift of herself, and her needs for herself. These things, with some variety of order, and some repetitions, form the substance of all Liturgies down to the words of Institution, or beyond it. The idea of Communion does, of course, present itself more or less<sup>h</sup> in this part

<sup>f</sup> It will be shewn hereafter (Chap. iii.) that this originally took place, in all Liturgies, at the *beginning* of the rite, or nearly so.

<sup>g</sup> St. John xvii. 17.

<sup>h</sup> Thus in the Roman (not in the old English rites, Maskell, p. 56) at the oblation: "Grant us by the mystery of this water and wine to be partakers of His Divinity." And the "Secreta" or "Super oblata" frequently refer to reception. But the oblation, as in our own Office, is generally, and as it should seem more properly, devoid of mention of reception. It is pure gift, and not benefit, that is then chiefly in the Church's thought. However, the Coptic S. Basil and the Armenian (Neale, pp. 387,

of the rite, only, in some sort, by way of anticipation. Not that the purest and most primitive forms of this half of the Liturgy by any means confine themselves strictly to the idea of offering or sacrifice. That idea is, however, predominant: well gathered up in the words of the Liturgy of S. James, "Receive Thy Church approaching Thee in Thy Christ."

But how shall the Church accomplish her great purpose of thus approaching God in Christ? He Himself has taught her: by His own mouth, by His instructions delivered to His Apostles,—but not least, by the ancient image of the shew-bread, making clear whatever is obscure in those two sources of instruction. When the Israelitish Church of old would, week by week, on her high day of service, give herself most effectually to God, in and through her one perpetual Sacrifice, and by her one high-priest, then bread and wine, provided by the people, and numerically identified with them, were laid before the sanctuary. The hallowing touch of frankincense and of fire, applied by the high-priest or his sons with memorial intent,—that is, with a reference to the one great sacrifice of the system,—secured their personal acceptance as "a sweet savour." For the bread and the wine were thus in a mystery identified with the slain body and poured-out blood of the great national Sacrifice, once shed on Moriah, and evermore renewed. Her proffered gift of herself had thus passed, in virtue of that identification, into a sphere of acceptance for all purposes of the

444) have, "that they may be to us the medicine of our souls," &c. So the "second prayer of the faithful," in the Lit. S. Chrys., before consecration, prays "that we may without condemnation partake of Thy holy mysteries." We have in our own Service, before consecration, passages bearing upon reception; as in the exhortation, the prayer of access, and the prefatory part of the prayer of consecration itself.



Covenant. Thus she offered herself not in her own strength, but as being in the high-priest, and in reality by his hands, her priesthood merging in his. In like manner did Christ Himself, at the great Institution, make memorial or reference to His Sacrifice of Himself, then in a mystery going forward, thus identifying the Bread and Wine with His Body and Blood. And the Church was to make, ever after, the same memorial or reference to that Sacrifice, both as once offered, and as going forward continually: ("This do ye, with memorial reference to Me.") The only question was, *How* was she to make it? This is the point upon which, the New Testament being silent, the tradition embodied in the Liturgies is our guide; and about which the shew-bread at once confirms and elucidates the teaching of the Church in her Liturgies. Not, then, by her own ministry or power, but only as being in Christ, and ceding all to His priestly operation, was she to make her memorial, and consecrate her gift. In all Liturgies, without exception, a strange and perfectly unique phenomenon,—or having a parallel only in the rite of Baptism<sup>1</sup>,—may be discerned at this juncture. Taught, doubtless, by her Lord Himself and His Apostles,—so universal is the remarkable feature referred to,—the Church so frames her memorial, by a change in her mode of expression, as to withdraw from the action, as far as may be, her own personality. Hitherto she has poured forth, with bold heart and lavish hand, all manner of direct

<sup>1</sup> In no Church is Baptism conferred by prayer, but always by pronouncement of the accredited formula, "I baptize thee in the Name," &c. So the Western and Alexandrine families, (another singular instance, as Neale observes, of their agreement,) "N. is baptized:—" so the Constantinopolitan family, with one or two exceptions. Neale, p. 952, &c.

address and service to God. But now she suddenly ceases from her own words. Struck with awe at a task so transcending all human speech, she stands reverently aside, and, for all sufficient memorial, recites the Words and imitates the Action of the Great High Priest when giving Himself for the life of the world. It is His Voice, His Hand, that she summons to action now. In all churches her own voice is silent, her own hand still. "The Lord is in His holy Temple, and all the earth keeps silence before Him." In hushed and awful silence<sup>k</sup> on her part, as of old, does the True Incense carry the True Sacrifice, and the Church herself therein, into the True Holy of Holies. The great river of her Eucharistic praise and prayer, flowing in such mighty volume hitherto, is suddenly arrested, as Jordan of old "rose up and stood upon an heap, while the Ark of the Presence of the Lord, the Lord of all the earth, passed by<sup>l</sup>." Then, indeed, she resumes with fresh faith her work of service; "the waters return and flow over all their banks, as they did before<sup>m</sup>." But one thing is evident, that the divine mystery of identification, consecration, or whatsoever it be called, *is now accomplished*. No words, no prayers of hers can add aught thereto; no lack of

<sup>k</sup> The few and faint traces of an exception to this only prove the rule. As to the universal "Amen" of the people, it is only the Church's assent to her Lord's work for her. In Lit. S. Mark the deacons exhort, "Pray earnestly."

<sup>l</sup> Josh. iii. 13—16.

<sup>m</sup> Josh. iv. 18. There is an interesting analogy between the two miraculous passages through the waters, and the two Sacraments. A lower degree only of Presence, corresponding to that in Baptism, (above, vol. i. pp. 182—184,) had as yet been vouchsafed, when Israel was baptized unto Moses in the sea. When they passed the Jordan, the more awful Sinaitic and Tabernacle Presence was among them, corresponding to the higher Presence in the Eucharist.

them can diminish from it. Such is manifestly her own mind. The absolute cession and abdication, though but for a brief space, of her own function of prayer, can mean nothing else than this. The Elements have *now* become, through her memorial, and the Priestly operation of Christ, and sanctification of the Holy Ghost, the Body and Blood of Christ. In and with that Sacrifice her gift of herself is accepted already. Already has she done that which is commanded, by making her memorial. The consecration and acceptance cannot be suspended on any words of hers yet to come. To offer any such, with the idea of supplementing that perfect work, were indeed *actum agere*; 'to gild refined gold;' to seek to add a sweet savour to essential sweetness itself. As well might the Jewish Church have attributed the acceptance of herself in the shew-bread, not to the memorial touch of the frankincense and the fire, not to the passing of the incense within the vail, but to some prayer of hers following upon them. Fitting indeed such prayers may be, as expressions of assent to the mighty work, but essential they cannot be.

Such, accordingly, has ever been the belief of the whole Western Church as far back as we can trace. Though she has possessed, from a very early period, post-memorial oblations and prayers, she has ever strenuously denied their necessity, and ascribed the consecration solely to the words and operation of Christ<sup>n</sup>. Such, we may with some confidence say,

<sup>n</sup> The restriction of the efficacy to the *five* words, "Hoc est," &c., is, however, of late date; Paschasius, in the ninth century, ascribing it to the entire words and action of Christ, very nearly in accordance with what is said in the text: "Ecce, usque ad istum locum sunt verba Evangelistarum; porro deinceps *verba sunt Dei, potestate et omni effici-*

was the belief of the Apostolic times: since Justin Martyr<sup>o</sup> expressly ascribes the consecration to “the prayer of the words delivered by Him;” and St. Gregory<sup>p</sup> assures us that the Apostles used nothing else in consecrating, beside the institutory formula, but the Lord’s Prayer. Such, distinctly, is the belief embodied in our ritual, *both before and since our Revision*: no prayers either before or after the words of Institution having ever been required as essential to consecration<sup>q</sup>.

The Eastern Church, then, cannot maintain the position which, as represented by her doctors of the last four hundred years, and alleging the authority of S. Cyril, she has taken up<sup>r</sup>; that there is no consecration till there has followed, 1. a prayer of obla-

*entia et plena, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, hoc est enim corpus meum.*”

<sup>o</sup> Apol. i. 66: τὴν δι’ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, which he explains to mean the Words of Institution, “For the Apostles delivered that Jesus had so enjoined them,” &c. It has vainly been attempted (e.g. by Bunsen, Anal. Ante-Nicena, iii. p. 15) to shew that the Lord’s Prayer is here meant.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. ad Joann. Episc. Syrac.: “Orationem dominicam mox post *prece*m [the εὐχὴ λόγου, or “consecration prayer,” of Justin] dicimus: quia mos Apostolorum erat, ad ipsam solummodò Orationem [i.e. with the Lord’s Prayer as the sole accompaniment, or prefix ratner, to the ordained formula of consecration] oblationis hostiam consecrare. Et valdè inconveniens mihi visum est, ut *prece*m, quem scholasticus composuerat, [i.e. which received its form as a whole from some human composer, see St. Aug. al. ap. Suicer, in v.] super oblationis hostiam diceremus, et ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super Ejus Corpus et Sanguinem non diceremus.” This seems to be the real meaning of this much-discussed passage: for which see Bona, Muratori, and Daniel, Cod. Lit., pp. 41, 42.

<sup>q</sup> This is proved by the instructions for consecrating additional Bread and Wine in our present ritual, derived from those laid down in the middle period for a similar case: for which see in Maskell, Anc. Lit., p. 172, ed. 1840.

<sup>r</sup> See the whole question discussed by Neale, Gen. Introd., p. 492.

tion, and 2. one of Invocation of the Holy Ghost. In truth, the view refutes itself; for it disqualifies the oblation for the very purpose for which it is avowedly placed there, namely, to make offering of the already consecrated Gifts, i.e. of the Body and Blood of Christ; thus reducing it to a level with the oblation at the beginning of the Office<sup>s</sup>. The only view, in short, that can be taken of these very ancient prayers, is that they are to be conceived of as offered simultaneously<sup>t</sup> with the recitation of the Institution. The Church, through reverence, has forborne to offer them so, yet sought to satisfy her prayerful desires by this expedient<sup>u</sup>. To conceive that some time elapses ere the intercessory Work of Christ takes effect, is a position which hardly commends itself to the mind of faith.

2. The Church, then, has now given herself to God in Christ. It remains that she should seek

\* In other words, the Eastern Church, to be consistent, or even intelligible, ought to have the prayer of Oblation *after* the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; as, in fact, the Syriac form has, (Neale, 490). It is in vain to say that they consider the consecration as "in a certain sense" completed by the words of Institution, (so Neale, p. 501). This were, in fact, to concede the whole point at issue. The fact that two of the most ancient offices in the world, the Greek and the Syriac Lit. of St. James, have the Oblation and Invocation *in a different order*, is most instructive. It cannot, with Mr. Neale, be attributed to a different view in the Syriac Churches. It proves that the order and the very existence of such prayers is a matter of indifference, having no effect on the validity of the consecration.

<sup>t</sup> This feeling is embodied in the words peculiar to the Syriac Lit. of S. James: "How terrible is this hour, in which the Holy Ghost hastens to descend from the height of heaven, and broods over this Eucharist and sanctifies it. In silence and fear stand and pray."

<sup>u</sup> Renaudot has pointed out that the East indulges elsewhere in such *ex post facto* prayers; as e.g. after Baptism, for regeneration; after marriage, for the marriage blessing: Neale, p. 495; who endeavours, without success, to shew that the cases are not parallel.

communion through Christ with God. And this she does, according to the Liturgies, by receiving back again<sup>x</sup> from God, to this new purpose, the same Elements in which she had offered herself. And the question will naturally arise, Whether any new consecration is required, to constitute them spiritual and divine Food for man, besides what they have already received, in order to their becoming an acceptable Gift to God? And here, again, the analogy of the Shew-bread distinctly answers in the negative. One consecration, one touch of frankincense and fire, sufficed to fit the Shew-bread to carry Israel into the Presence of God, and to bring the Presence of God to Israel. The loaves which on one Sabbath were "set in order," and so far presented to God, were on the following Sabbath consecrated by fire, and so sacrificed; and then eaten, without any fresh sanctification, to all covenant purposes. Even so, at the first exercise of Christ's High-Priesthood, one Divine memorial Action, identifying the Bread and Wine with His Body and Blood, constituted them vehicles both for the presentation of man, in Him, to God, and for the communication of God, in Him, to man. And the same ever holds, whensoever the Church makes her memorial Offering. One intervention of her High-Priest sends up her Eucharistic Gift to God in Christ, and brings down Christ, her Eucharistic Food, from God<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 190.

<sup>y</sup> Hence there is no need for the theory, (devised by modern ritualists, seeking to account for the phenomena presented by the Eastern Liturgies,) that the words of Institution make the Elements the *symbols* only of the Body and Blood of Christ; the Invocation of the Holy Spirit making them further to be such in virtue and reality. I refer to Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, passim; Brett, Collection of Liturgies, and

And on a review of the position of the three great divisions of the Church, in the matter of consecration, it appears, 1. that the theory of the Eastern Church, as embodied in her catechisms and current teaching, is utterly untenable; 2. that the *Liturgies* of the East and of Rome, rightly understood, embody the true theory, but are liable, owing to their having post-institutionary prayers, to misconstruction as to the essentials of consecration; a snare which, of the two, the Roman Church only has avoided; and 3. that the English Church has restored what seems to have been the Apostolic model in this respect, not having any such prayers: and thus, while sound, in common with the rest of the West, in her theory, leaves no room for misapprehension. Her disadvantage, on the other hand, is that she expresses less distinctly, to the common apprehension, the Church's oblationary and sacrificial action in the matter. And her danger, not altogether avoided in practice hitherto, has been that of undervaluing the Sacrifice in her zeal for Communion, as that of Rome has been of undervaluing Communion in her zeal for Sacrifice.

And in one point more,—though I should be unwilling to insist upon it as of equal clearness or importance with those spoken of hitherto,—the Shewbread seems to be not without its significance. Its *weekly recurrence* may well have foreshadowed the association of the Church's Eucharistic Celebration, as her *general* though by no means her exclusive law, with the weekly Lord's Day. If it be said that such a view savours of the oldness of the Mosaic letter, let it be borne in mind, that this is the

various writers on the Scotch Communion Office; e. g. the very learned Mr. G. H. Forbes, in his "Christian Sacrifice."

very ordinance which, alone out of the ancient system, has passed on almost without any *change* into the new; and that a probability arises hence, that its law of recurrence might be destined to be preserved also. Taking also into our consideration the appearances of our Lord to His Apostles on the Sunday of His Resurrection and its octave, we cannot escape from the conclusion that earthly time, as measured out at the Creation,—that is, the institution of “the Week,”—is still of high account before God; and that the Christian Weekly Festival has its recognition, even in heavenly places, as the day supremely fitted<sup>2</sup> for Eucharistic Offering and Reception. Nor is it without significance for us, that though the *sacrifice* and *reception* were but weekly, the *dedication* was continuous. What time the priests offered and ate the “hallowed bread,” they “put hot bread before the Lord.” The Oblation, and with it the *dedicated* people, lay in a deep mystery, the livelong week, before the Majesty in Heaven. Though this part of the Shew-bread ordinance was not destined to survive<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> It is not, then, a mere “poet’s dream,” but a sustaining verity of the Divine life, that

“On Sunday heaven’s gate stands ope,  
Blessings are plentiful and rife.”—GEORGE HERBERT.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, that no fresh oblation or “setting in order” of new elements has ever been made on each Sunday, to remain before God all the week, and be consecrated the next Sunday. Yet the *pain béni* of modern times, the *Eulogie* of the West, the *Antidora* of the East, carry back to very early or even primitive days, as a local custom, (perhaps peculiar to *Africa*), the recognition of some benefit attaching to the merely *offered* (not consecrated) bread. To this, it is infinitely probable, rather than to reservation of the *consecrated* elements, Tertullian refers, in speaking of “that which the believing wife would eat before any other food,” (Ad Ux. ii. 5). So Cyprian speaks of a woman’s keeping the “*sanctum Domini*” (not *Corpus*) in her chest. And S. Augustine: “Quod accipiunt catechumeni, quamvis *non est Corpus Christi, sanctum*



in a material form in the Christian Church, yet do we—the English especially—offer ourselves afresh<sup>b</sup> ere we leave the sanctuary. And the Sacrifice of each returning Lord's Day has a special commission to sum up the offerings of the previous week, and to present them with acceptance. (Comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 2.) So, too, the Reception of that day would seem to be specially designed as a spiritual refectio*n* to sustain the soul of man through the week of his natural toil. Certain it is that, for the mass of mankind, weekly Eucharist has been, and ever must be, the maximum of attainable privilege. On one day of the week only are our "twelve tribes" at leisure, as of old, to accompany in person, by "holy convocations unto the Lord," the mystical offering of them, made on earth and ratified in heaven, by the True Shew-bread.

(2.) The Golden Candlestick, the twin Ordinance to the Table of Shew-bread, may be discussed more briefly. As in the one the people were presented before God, as His Divine Food, in the eatable fruits of the land, corn, wine and oil; so in the other, filled with that special produce of the land which yielded

est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur, quoniam sacramentum est." De Pecc., ii. 26. It is vain to interpret this, with Bona and Bingham, x. 2. 16, of the *salt* given to catechumens. Our own Beveridge understands it of the offered bread; and the Third Council of Carthage, Can. 5, at which S. Augustine was present, A.D. 397, distinctly says that even on the solemn paschal days, the catechumens should *not* change their ordinary "Sacramentum" of salt for any other. Now this clearly implies that a habit of using something else, namely the "bread," had existed more or less hitherto. And the same is implied by Theophilus of Alexandria (A.D. 385) when he denies the *Eulogie* to the catechumens, Can. 7. See Neale's Introd., p. 525.

<sup>b</sup> "And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, &c., to be . . . a sacrifice unto Thee." Compare too, in this connection, the continuance of the same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, throughout the week; and on the whole subject see above, vol. i. pp. 188—193.

*light*, they made as it were their light to shine before God. For it was specially ordained<sup>c</sup> that the people should provide the oil no less than the shew-bread. It was *as* light that they were now presented and accepted<sup>d</sup>. Fire has its double function of *consuming*, and of *yielding light*. In both characters it is an emanation of the Holy Spirit. As then by the *consuming* touch of fire Israel was presented as Food on the "pure table" of shew-bread; so by its *illuminating* touch were they presented as Light in the "pure candlestick." The devout action of man, consecrated and presented by the Spirit, is Light and Joy to the Eyes of God; no less than, as presented in the Body of Christ, it is to Him acceptable Food. And as the shew-bread gift returned in food to the giver; so did the gift rendered to God by man in the oil of the candlestick come back in light for the discharge of his own holy duties. Thus, as the Table of Shew-bread sets forth in all respects the Eucharistic Action of CHRIST and His Church, so does the Candlestick the several and the more ordinary work of the HOLY SPIRIT on her behalf, apart from Eucharistic operation. The Spirit, we know, as well as the Son, has His proper office of "making intercession<sup>e</sup>:" and on those who yield themselves to be "light in the Lord," their gift returns again in "comfort, life, and fire of love;" at once guiding and cheering them in their duties heavenward. "If any man will do His Will, he shall know of the doctrine." And this imagery of the

<sup>c</sup> Lev. xxiv. 2.

<sup>d</sup> The same term is used for the "ordering" or "setting forth" of the Candlestick and of the Shew-bread: both were to be presented "continually," and as a "perpetual statute." Lev. xxiv. 1—9.

<sup>e</sup> Rom. viii. 26.

sevenfold Candlestick, setting forth the Church as “sometime darkness, but now Light in the Lord,” “walking in the Spirit,” “walking in the Light, as God is in the Light,”—is continued in the Christian economy. Here on earth “the seven golden candlesticks” are still the “seven Churches,” One, manifold; and “before the Throne” of God in Heaven are not only the “golden altar” and the “golden censer” with “much incense,” but also “the seven lamps of fire, which are the Seven Spirits of God.”

## SECTION XII.

WE have now completed our survey of the Furniture, within and without, of the Mosaic Tabernacle; and considered the mode of operation of the higher department of its Service. And from this survey we may perceive with what wonderful truth and fulness the promise of God “that He would dwell in them<sup>f</sup>,” was made good to His people. It has often been observed<sup>g</sup>, that His Holy House was not a mere enclosed space, but was supplied, after the manner of human habitations, with fire and food, both of slain animals and fruits of the earth; with light and grateful odours; and had furniture corresponding to these respectively. It is uniformly represented, however<sup>h</sup>, that all this was merely to convey to man, as by a picture, the idea that God really dwelt there. But the awful and mysterious appliances of the Mosaic Tabernacle were in truth no such empty toys; nor

<sup>f</sup> Exod. xxix. 45.

<sup>g</sup> See Patrick on Exod. xxv. 30.

<sup>h</sup> E.g. Abarbanel: “There was in the Temple a Table, &c., that it might be thoroughly impressed on the mind of the people that God dwelt in the midst of Israel.”

the system any such mere show. The people whom God had taken to Himself were not merely as a House to dwell in; they were also all that makes a house to be a satisfying and gladdening abode. Their being was to Him a Place of Rest<sup>1</sup>, "a living Home where He could dwell<sup>k</sup>;"—their redeemed and re-sanctified service and love were to His essentially Holy Being as satisfying Meat and Drink; a sweet Perfume to His Nostrils; Light and Joy to His All-Holy Eyes. And all this, doubtless, because that service and that redeemed and purified being were, after all, the work of His Son and of His Spirit: yea His Own Holy Work, wrought by Himself in perfect unity of Will with Them, though with diversity of operations; His Own mighty and gracious Acts returning back to Himself, "from Whom, and by Whom, and to Whom are all things: to Whom be glory for ever. Amen."

Nor can it need to be pointed out, how beautifully these ordinances expound for us in detail the lofty and mysterious language of the New Testament, and of the Liturgies of the Church, on the subject of our presentation before God in Christ, as at all times, so supremely in Eucharistic Celebration; of our access and that of our offerings to the Holiest Place<sup>1</sup>; our being mystically in Christ, Who by His personal appearance, His One Sacrifice, and the Incense of His Intercession, has carried us in thither; our "dwelling with Christ in heavenly places;" our being a sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 14, 15; 1 Kings ix. 3.

<sup>k</sup> See Christian Year, Annunciation of B. V. M., last stanza. It will be understood that it was by a lower mode of His Presence that God thus dwelt in His elder people.

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ix. 8, x. 19. For the Liturgies, see above, p. 179, note s.

really "acceptable" to God; our being to God "a sweet savour of Christ,"—Christ, Who is supremely "an Offering and Sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour;" our being "sometime darkness, but now light in the Lord;" and the like expressions. And the same may be said of the subject of God's "dwelling in us," and "taking up His abode in us."

Indeed, it would be easy to multiply points on which a careful view of this department of the Mosaic ritual illustrates and interprets for us our Christian position. Two only, on account of their extreme importance, must be touched upon here.

1. And first, the glorious supremacy and soleness of the One Sacrifice once offered by Christ, and by Him pleaded evermore, is fully vindicated, and the relation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice to it defined, by comparing the position and functions of the altars of Burnt-offering and of Incense on the one hand, with those of the table of Shew-bread on the other. *The* Sacrifice, containing all sacrificial power, and fountal to all sacrificial blessing, was that of the lamb, presented through the bread and wine,—consumed by the fire,—and borne in upon the incense into the Holiest place. That sacrifice was the *only* perfect whole burnt-offering; in it alone the bread and wine, no less than the lamb, were entirely consumed for God, and as His Food. So was the whole Church, and in and with her the whole sphere of being to which the curse had extended, once for all cleansed<sup>m</sup> and accepted and received up by Christ's Offering of Himself to God at the Last Supper; an Offering already in active

<sup>m</sup> Comp. what has been said above (pp. 65, 67) of the lower creation having been in a manner "received up into heaven," and "cleansed" by the Passion.

and effective progress, though waiting to be consummated on the Cross. The great work of Redemption, of Recovery, of Re-admission, was in its essence, in the implicit and mystical sense, fully accomplished then. The great Burnt-Sacrifice of Himself, and in it the accepted Church, was forthwith borne in, in a profound mystery, by the Incense of His Intercession, into the Holiest Place. The giving of Himself *to man*, though an unspeakably important branch of that Work, and forming one whole with it, was still but a branch, a dependency of it. Nothing could more strongly mark this, than the fact that the great highway of sacrifice, as I have ventured to call it, leading directly to the mercy-seat, was solely and exclusively occupied by the altars of burnt-offering and of incense;—the copies of the Sacrifice and the Intercession of Christ respectively. The institution of the shew-bread, the instrument of man's ever-renewed dedication and refection through the one sacrifice,—however in itself sacrificial,—nay, albeit performed by the high-priest himself, yet stood humbly aside from that path of victorious power. It was manifestly, as a sacrifice, a tributary to it; as a feast, a stream flowing out from it.

And even so was it at the Last Supper. To describe in terms of the Mosaic system what was done on that august occasion:—our Lord may be conceived of as having just offered His great Sacrifice on the Altar of Burnt-offering, the Cross,—in the Divine view present already; an Offering preceded and followed up by the “sweet savour” of His Intercessory Will, presented on the true Altar of Incense, His Own Heart;—then to have gone aside, if reverently we may say so, to the Table of Shew-bread; where, how-

ever, it needed not that He should offer again in Bread and Wine, "for this He did once, when He offered up Himself,"—but only that He should give of the Elements already offered, and which, though as a Burnt-offering consumed, yet as Shew-bread were unconsumed still. The "blessing and giving of thanks" whereby the Offering was given to God at the Altar of Burnt-offering, was followed by "Take, eat" and "Drink ye all of this," as at the Table of Shew-bread. And in fact, if we go back to the inaugural sacrifice of Aaron, (which of course was to the Old System what Christ's Sacrifice of Himself was to the New,) we shall find that the very next act of His ministry, within a few hours of that offering, was no other than the presentation and eating, by himself and his sons the priests, of the shew-bread;—the next day being, as it seems, the sabbath, (cf. Lev. ix., Num. ix.) : one among many forecastings of the exact frame and order which the sacrificial work of Christ was destined to assume.

2. Again, we obtain from this source some light as to the sense in which Christ presents continually in Heaven His Sacrifice of Himself. That in some true sense He does so, were it only in the sense of pleading it, all must allow. But we are nowhere told in Holy Scripture that He actually and literally carried the Sacrifice of His broken Body and poured-out Blood, by a local translation, into the Heavenly Places. When He gave Himself at the Last Supper, and when He was offered on the Cross, the Sacrifice abode still, locally, upon earth. When He ascended to Heaven, it was as Risen, and with a reunited Body, Soul, and Spirit. And though it is said, in the Revelation, that there appeared in the midst of the Throne a "Lamb as it

had been slain<sup>n</sup>," the language is qualified, meaning apparently "as if it had once been pierced or slain:" and the context refers to the Sacrifice as a past event; "Thou wast slain, and didst redeem us unto God by Thy Blood." It should seem, therefore, (to speak with caution of a deeply mysterious subject,) that the Sacrifice of "the Body and Blood" is in Heaven, in the sense in which the Mosaic burnt-offering entered into the Holy place by means of the incense at the time of its offering, and by the personal appearance there of the High-Priest once a-year: that is to say, by the Intercession of Christ, availing at the time, and continued ever since, and by His appearing there as High-Priest. And accordingly in this very scene<sup>o</sup> in the Revelation, the "Angel" (i.e. Christ, as it should seem) offers up not, as we might have expected, the Body and Blood of the Lamb, but "much incense," as the accompaniment and vehicle of the prayers of the saints, upon the Golden Altar that is before the Throne. It is as borne upon the Incense of His Intercession, and as presented evermore in a mystery in His Holy Hands<sup>p</sup>, not locally, that the once broken Body and poured-out Blood of the Sacrifice is pleaded. So the sprinkling of His Blood towards the True Mercy-seat, which, from the analogy of the Mosaic scheme, doubtless took place in some sense, would seem to have been accomplished, though really, in

<sup>n</sup> Rev. v. 6: *ἀρνίον ἑστῆκεδς, ὡς ἐσφαγμένον*. The context, it need not be said, shews that the Lamb was now seen as alive.

<sup>o</sup> Rev. viii. 3, 4. This is of course (see ver. 1) a continuation of the scene in ch. v. 6. The "prayers of the saints," in the form of "golden cups full of incense" held by the twenty-four elders, are spoken of in ch. v. 8: and in ch. viii. they are presented on the Golden Altar by means of the "much incense" of the angel.

<sup>p</sup> Comp. Ps. cxli.: "Let My Prayer be Incense set forth in Thy sight, and the lifting up of My Hands an evening Sacrifice."



mystery only, not physically or locally. And accordingly St. Paul does not say it was *with* His Own Blood, but “*by it*, that He entered in once into the Holy Place<sup>¶</sup>.” While, therefore, the Natural Body of Christ, in its natural capacity and condition, and as Risen, has entered locally into Heaven, and there abides: His Body and Blood, considered as a Sacrifice, were literally and locally offered on earth once for all, and but once; and are only in a mystery, though still in deepest reality, offered now on earth or in Heaven. Hence no inference can be drawn, as has been attempted of late years, to the effect that the consecrated Elements, whether separately or conjointly, are the Living and Risen Body of Christ. What the Living and Risen Christ presents and pleads evermore in Heaven, is His mighty wonder-working DEATH, undergone ages ago; not, as some would have us believe, His Resurrection, which was not His Labour, but His Reward. And so, too, what the Church evermore pleads and presents, is His Body and Blood, such as they were when the One was broken and the Other poured forth upon the Cross; which condition of them is in a mystery perpetuated still: “The same Body as now, but not the Body *as* it is now<sup>†</sup>.”

¶ Heb. ix. 12.

† Bp. Andrewes: “*Epulemur*, ‘let us feast,’ doth here refer to *immolatus*, ‘sacrificed.’ To Christ, not every way considered, but *as when He was offered*. Christ’s Body that now is. True; but not Christ’s Body as now it is, but as then it was when it was *offered, rent, slain, and sacrificed for us*. Not, as now He is, glorified; for so He is not, He cannot be, *immolatus*, ‘sacrificed,’ for He is immortal and impassible. . . . We are in this action not only carried up to Christ, *Sursum corda*, but also back to Christ as He was at the very instant and in the very act of His offering. By the power of His Eternal Spirit, He, as at the very act of His offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate into His

## SECTION XIII.

BUT we shall more fully understand the priestly and eucharistic Work of Christ, and of His Church in Him, by surveying the second of those two great departments into which, as has been said above, the Tabernacle Ministry is divisible. For it must be borne in mind that, in all that has been described hitherto, the people were, strictly speaking, passive. In the presentation of the daily Offering, of the incense, of the shew-bread, of the candlestick, nay even in the consumption of the shew-bread, they took their part by representation only, and implicitly, not literally and in person. In order to understand how they were admitted to their personal share in the work, we must investigate, somewhat more exactly than has been done hitherto, certain distinctions and principles involved in the old sacrificial system. Thus, for example, frequent mention has been made not only of twofold materials used in the sacrifices,—animals and fruits of the earth; but also of three kinds or classes of them,—Burnt-offerings, Sin or Trespass-offerings, and Peace-offerings. It has been assumed again for the most part, and may be thought to call for more exact proof, that these sacrifices were real gifts to God: that they had a commission to purify, and were adapted for that purpose; and the like.

1. Let us consider, then, in the first place, the Burnt-offering, Heb. *Olah*; the sacrifice which wholly “went up,” being entirely consumed by fire. This

Death. Thither we must repair, ever *ad cadaver*.” The writer had unconsciously used nearly the very same language above, *Introd.*, p. 152, q. v.

was the chief and king of all sacrifices; the other two kinds being in a certain sense (to be explained presently) contained in it, and having no existence but in relation to it. In it the religion of the old world, the Mosaic world included, stood and had its being; even as the religion of the new-created world has its standing and existence in the One True Burnt-offering, the Sacrifice of Christ. It was the one threefold golden chain let down from heaven to earth from the hour of the Fall: availing, indeed, to purposes far short of the needs of humanity, yet sufficing to keep open a communication between God and man to certain spiritual purposes, by carrying on within certain limits a work of self-gift and dedication on the one hand, and of acceptable admission to the Divine Presence and Service on the other. Whence it derived its capacity for the *latter* of these two purposes, we have already enquired at some length in the earlier part of this treatise<sup>a</sup>. But we have yet to consider it under the other character, of a *gift* on the part of man. A discussion of this point must precede our enquiry into the laws of administration of the ancient Burnt-sacrifice.

Now it may safely be affirmed, that as the design and effect of all sacrifice, on God's part, was to restore man to His Presence; so the purport of it, as rendered by man, was to *present a gift to God*. This is manifest even from etymological considerations. The two<sup>b</sup> most usual generic terms for 'sacrifice'

<sup>a</sup> pp. 17, &c.

<sup>b</sup> 1. Corban, from *karob*, 'to draw near;' in Hiph. 'to bring near,' as a gift or present. It may be seen in Judg. iii. 18, vi. 18, Mal. i. 8, that it properly means any "present;" not necessarily an offering to God. 2. Minchah, from *yanoch*, to 'cause to rest,' or 'leave behind one.'

in Hebrew, mean simply gift or present, whether to man or to God. In the New Testament all manner of sacrifices are still called gifts<sup>n</sup>, and declared to have the nature of acceptable presents; as well those of the Elder system as that which, under the New, is presented to God in Christ: and this language has passed largely into the Liturgies. And accordingly in the old burnt-offering, when we examine its structure, we find man exhibited supremely and emphatically in the character of one making a gift; and that too the most valuable within his reach.

Next to the rational soul and body of man, which confessedly stand at the head of all existences, material and immaterial, in the lower world, the most excellent undoubtedly are, 1. the mysterious *life*, and 2. the marvellous *physical structure*, of the higher domestic animals. And next after these come such products of the vegetable creation as are useful, whether for food, for light, or for fragrance, to man. These things, in truth, lie at the foundation, and are essentially the substance, of all property. "The king himself is served by the field<sup>x</sup>." Now the law of the burnt-offering was, that from among these choicest works of God, and possessions of man, the best and the choicest still,—the quintessence of this world's

In Gen. xxxiii. 10, Jacob's present to Esau is called *minchah*. So 2 Sam. viii. 2. So the less usual terms *methanah*, (Exod. xxviii. 38, see Gen. xxv. 6, comp. Mal. i. 7, 8,) and *mashah*, (Ps. cxli. 2, comp. 2 Sam. xi. 8,) are terms of gift.

<sup>n</sup> St. Matt. v. 23, xxiii. 18. In viii. 4, "the gift that Moses commanded" was two lambs for a sin-offering and burnt-offering, (Lev. xiv. 12, 19). In Heb. v. 1, viii. 3, the offering of "gifts and sacrifices" (where gift is the generic term, see viii. 4, and sacrifices = peace-offerings) is manifestly ascribed to Christ. In Rom. xii. 1, 1 Pet. ii. 5, the "acceptableness" of our sacrifices, doubtless as gifts, is affirmed.

<sup>x</sup> Eccl. v. 9.

good,—should be selected; and, in respect both of their *life*, and of their *physical structure*<sup>7</sup>, be devoted to destruction.

Now on steadily contemplating this action, in its entire extent, we can arrive at but one conclusion: namely, that while, in the spiritual region, the thing so dealt with would operate to certain effects, above traced out; the essential thing designed on man's part was, that he should make a free and not ignoble *gift*. He must *make away* entirely, on behalf of himself and others, all interest and advantage in a possession of some value, and yield it wholly to God.

It may be objected, however, that though man may be a giver, in the sense of alienating from himself a portion of his goods, it is impossible that God should be a Receiver; and that therefore the essential correlative to a person giving, viz. a person receiving benefit or increase, is wanting. Hence the notion has been devised that sacrifices were called "gifts," because they were a contribution towards the maintenance of the service ordained by God. But the view cannot be sustained. It is constantly affirmed that the offerings were accepted *by God* in the same sense as a gift is accepted by one man from another<sup>2</sup>.

Nor, to speak with all reverence of a mysterious

<sup>7</sup> It is remarkable that even the vegetable substances were to be beaten small, pounded, and crushed. The *corn* of first-fruits was to be "beaten corn," (Lev. ii. 14); the *flour* of the meat-offering (Exod. xxix. 40, Lev. ii. 5,) to be "fine flour," (*soleth*, from *saloth*, Heb. to crush, or Arab. to divide); the *oil* both for the meat-offering (Exod. l. c.) and the lamp (Exod. xxvii. 20) to be "beaten;" the *incense* "beaten very small." This was doubtless with the view of defacing and destroying the physical *life*, residing in the cellular tissue (according to modern science), previous to consuming the entire *substance* by fire.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages above, p. 211, note k.

subject, is there in truth any such unfitness or impossibility as has been supposed, in man's appearing in the attitude of one who can really *give* somewhat to God. All things indeed belong of right to Him; nor is there anything over which He does not, in this sense, challenge to Himself perfect possession. But to His actual possession of all things there is, by His Own ordinance, as long as this lower frame of things shall last, one mysterious exception or limitation. Over the material and merely animated world, considered in itself, His possession is as absolute as His Right. To all rational creatures, on the contrary, their Will is made over in absolute freedom. Whether this shall be really and effectually His, or no, is left, awfully left, to the possessors of it to decide. *And in the giving of that which may be thus withheld*, stands the service and duty of rational creatures.—It has further to be considered that in the case of man, this free will of his, this power to give or withhold, covers a large extent of existences, material and immaterial. It extends to his whole being, actions and possessions, external and internal: to all that he is, or does, or has. As the constituted lord of creation, and as nature's priest, he may in a very true sense give to God, or withhold from Him, as far as its rational and willing presentation is concerned, the homage even of the external creation. In this sense, not even they are of necessity given to God. Much more is this true of his own heart and actions.

There is, therefore, no such objection as has been supposed to the idea of man's making, in a very real sense, a *gift*, and that, too, no mean one, to God. It is, on the contrary, the privilege of all rational creatures so to give. In such giving, by angels and men,

stands the perpetual increase of God's glory. And after all, the *inclination* to give or offer, no less than the *acceptableness* of that which is offered, must proceed<sup>a</sup> from God. In the angels both these exist in perfection. In man as he now is by nature, both are wanting. At the Fall, the will of man was confessedly turned aside from its native inclination to give itself to God: while at the same time the acceptableness of the whole province of being, to which that will extends, ceased likewise. And to restore to Himself this large and comprehensive department of being, to recover the allegiance of this vast province of the Divine Empire, has ever since been the great work of the Author and Ruler of all. Nor did He ever cease from that mighty labour, until He had provided a means whereby the *whole* being of man, external and internal,—his body, soul, and spirit, with all his external possessions,—might be once again “presented acceptably” by the “service” of a “rational” will entirely “conformed to the good and perfect Will of God<sup>b</sup>.”

But the work of restoration was to be gradual. Man was in the first instance instructed in a method of rendering back to God, in limited measure, the homage of the world vested in him, as well as of himself both in his bodily and internal relations, by alienating from himself, as has been said, certain of the choicest things within his dominion. And what made this to be no merely symbolical or imaginary surrender or acceptance, was that the appointed gifts had a real supernatural capacity for rendering to God with ac-

<sup>a</sup> Eph. ii. 8: “By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that (viz. the faith or willingness to accept salvation) not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.”

<sup>b</sup> Rom. xii. 2.

ceptance that lower sphere of being, by taking off the curse which rendered it unfit for His Presence. The proof that this was so, in the case of the Holy Land for example, is that in virtue<sup>e</sup> of the sacrifices continually offered there, it was delivered from a portion of the primeval curse, brought forth abundantly beyond other lands, and enjoyed<sup>d</sup> a peculiar degree of the Presence of God. But the same may be traced very distinctly in the sacrifice of Noah<sup>e</sup>, and also, though more faintly, in the post-Paradisaal region<sup>f</sup> from which Cain was cast out. And doubtless the like blessing, temporal and spiritual, attended in a measure on all faithful sacrifice of old time.

But the thing that was supremely given and accepted was no other than the offerer himself. It was not the mere parting with an outward possession, that was effected, but the maintenance or restoration, as the case might be, of *personal acceptableness*. This is plainly inscribed on the scriptural accounts of the sacrifices of Abel, of Noah, of Job, and of the Mosaic system<sup>g</sup>. And this acceptance certainly extended to the whole being of the offerer; to his inward affections<sup>h</sup> as well as to his outward and bodily

<sup>e</sup> Comp. Mal. iii. 10, 12: "Bring ye all the tithes into My storehouse, that there may be meat, i.e. sacrifice, in Mine house, and prove Me now herewith, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and *pour you out a blessing* . . . and ye shall be a delightful land," viz. to God.

<sup>d</sup> See above, pp. 101—109; and add 2 Kings xiii. 23, xxiv. 20, where the Presence is evidently co-extensive with the Land.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. viii. 21, ix. 8—17; above, p. 69.

<sup>f</sup> Above, p. 51.

<sup>g</sup> See especially Ex. xxviii. 38, where the removal of the imperfections of Israel's offering is in order "that they may be accepted before the Lord." Lev. i. 4 declares once for all the universal law of the burnt-offering: "It shall be accepted" or "well-pleasing" for Him. Hosea ix. 4. The "sweet savour," of course, is to the same effect.

<sup>h</sup> Ps. xix. 14, l. 23, li. 17, 19 1 Sam. xv. 22; Hos. vi. 6; Micah vi. 6—8.



relations. The worshipper presented, and God was pleased to receive, *in and through the sacrifices*, man's "reasonable service." No other view than this can possibly reconcile the strong statements<sup>i</sup> of Holy Scripture on the one hand that God had no delight whatever in sacrifices, and on the other that He had the greatest possible delight in them. It is clear that, if they conveyed the tribute of holy affections and actions, He delighted in them; and only failed to do so if these were wanting. Hence, in the Psalms, sacrificial language is freely applied to the thoughts, words, and actions of man<sup>k</sup>. Yet not as disallowing the capacities of the material sacrifices, (as is commonly said,) but indicating what their inward substance must ever be. St. Augustine insists with great force on this view of the old sacrifices, calling them "visible sacraments and signs of invisible offerings;" and that these offerings consisted of the actions and passions of men<sup>l</sup>. Thus only, as is manifest, could they be, what they are so solemnly and repeatedly called, "The Food of God," and an object of holy Desire to Him.

#### SECTION XIV.

BUT it may still appear to some persons improbable that all this should be wrought through the inter-

<sup>i</sup> S. Aug. Civ. Dei, x. 5: "Intueamur quemadmodum, ubi Deum dixit nolle sacrificium, ibi Deum ostendit velle sacrificium." (Sc. Ps. l. 17, 19.)

<sup>k</sup> Ps. xix. 14, "acceptable," (Lev. i. 4); xl. 5, "set in order," (Lev. i. 7, 8, al.) On Ps. cxli. 2, Hengstenberg says: "he who prayed brought the substance of the incense."

<sup>l</sup> De Civ., x. 5, 6: "Quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est (i.e. efficax signum) veri sacrificii." "Homo Deo votus sacrificium est." He understates, however, the powers of the old sacrifices as means of cleansing.

vention of the lower creation,—the beasts of the earth and the fruits of it. They would prefer to trace the undeniable religious access, and the confessedly acceptable spiritual attainments, of the old world, to direct influences of the Holy Spirit, rather than to sacrificial and sacramental media. It may be well, therefore, though something has already been said on this point, to dwell for a moment on the marvellous adaptedness of the lower creation, even to our view, for the discharge of the functions here ascribed to them.

1. In the first place, then, all life is, as far as we can judge, strictly homogeneous. There is, it should seem, not only affinity but real oneness in the whole aggregate and mass of life that lives through all creation. The outward tokens and manifestations of life, such as motion, growth, development, are closely akin in all cases, while the ultimate condition of it is absolutely the same. *Cellular structure*, science informs us, is the ultimate condition of life; and that too alike in the vegetable and in the animal creation. The zoophyte is the connecting link between two really homogeneous or kindred worlds of life. And “there are besides,” says a recent profound writer<sup>m</sup>, “certain things without which life (of any kind) becomes impossible. No animal *or plant* can live *in vacuo*; and so air is necessary: desiccation soon reduces all living tissue to dead ashes, and so water is necessary. And certain functions, as respiration and pulsation of the heart, are absolutely indispensable conditions of (the higher) animal vitality, as *some analogous functions are of vegetable life.*” Now all this indicates that it is one and the same precious vital substance,

<sup>m</sup> See the “Ecclesiastic,” Aug. 1861, p. 355.

so to call it, that is manifested in all cases ; since the caskets which contain it, however various their degrees of outward glory or meanness, are, as if by some necessary law, of one organization. The ancient dreams of an *anima mundi* receive, so far, a confirmation ; and a mysterious brotherhood is established between all manifestations of life whatsoever. And therefore all antecedent improbability that the life of the lower world might, in ways of God's appointing, discharge certain functions in the matter of the life and death of man, is at least greatly diminished, if not removed altogether.

2. But this is not all. It is universally confessed that when we have arrived at the fullest and most accurate knowledge of the *conditions* of life, we are as far as ever from having the faintest conception of what life itself *is*. And in the silence of human wisdom, the theologian and the believer springs at once, beyond the regions of conjecture, to the divinely attested Verity, that "in Him, by Whom all things were made, and without Whom was not anything made that was made,"—that "in Him *was*" and "the Life:" that the mighty secret "of all life from its lowest form to its highest," lies in a special gift of Himself, or emanation<sup>n</sup> from Him, over and above mere existence. And thus the sacrificial operation of the life of the lower world resolves itself into the

<sup>n</sup> "As time is born out of eternity, and space out of infinity, and yet we cannot say that they are truly parts of that which has no measure, so the life of all living creatures is hewn out of the Life of their Creator, and yet no creature is God. . . . It is His Life by which the whole animal world is vivified." Ecclesiastic, *ibid*. So is it well said of God, but emphatically of God the Word, that He

"Lives through all life, extends through all extent,  
Spreads undivided, operates unspent."—*Essay on Man*.

operation of the Divine Self-Existent Word, through one of His special and most admirable manifestations of Himself. A cause, surely, abundantly adequate to all the results, including the spiritual ones, to be accounted for. And this doubtless is the secret of that extraordinary reverence<sup>o</sup> for all life which is enjoined in Scripture, side by side with the permission and injunction to take life, for certain purposes, away.

As to the mode in which this lower life, or rather the extinction of it by dissolution, operates sacrificially, we are indeed profoundly ignorant. But then we are no less ignorant how the Life of Christ Himself, and the deprival of It, operate sacrificially for our salvation; and yet we accept without hesitation, on the authority of God Himself, the assertion that it is so.

3. And if it be further contended, as rightly it may, that the analogy of the work of Christ demands a closer affinity<sup>p</sup> between the media of sacrifice and the objects of it, between animals and man, than is involved in the mere possession in common of the gift of life,—such affinity is by no means wanting. There is, first of all, that wonderful conformity of physical structure, that reproduction in man of all the lower “typical forms<sup>q</sup>,” which modern science has so marvellously laid open, and which, vindicating the old belief that man is a microcosm, the epitome of the types and forces of the world, establishes also a special brotherhood between him and the *higher* orders of the inferior creatures. A brotherhood shadowed forth,

<sup>o</sup> Gen. ix. 4; Lev. xvii. 14; Acts xv. 29.

<sup>p</sup> See Heb. ii. 14, and the remarks above, pp. 36—38.

<sup>q</sup> See McCosh, “On Typical Forms;” “The Master Builder’s Plan;” and many other modern works on physiology.

be it observed, and expressly recognised in its religious aspect, in the mystery of the fourfold Cherubim: in which the four highest types of animal being, inclusive of man, are exhibited as co-ordinately and co-equally<sup>r</sup> bearing up the Presence of God in the lower universe, and shewing forth His praise. And the truth is, that man, taken singly, is but a very imperfect exponent or specimen of animal power or existence: being as inferior in many points (such as strength, speed, sight, scent,) to the next kinds, as he is superior to them in others. Add to which, that all his perfections, be they greater or less, even to his mental ones, are maintained from no other source than these same lower creatures, received as food. The *Homœomeria* of Anaxagoras, by which he meant that nothing but like could nourish like, was a shrewd guess and a true. There is, in short, between man and the animal and vegetable worlds, such a real community both of structure and substance, as brings home to the thoughtful mind the strongest possible conviction of at least their physical affinity.

4. But there is yet one degree more. This brotherhood is one not merely of life, of structure, and of substance, but of mental and emotional conformation. The mental emotions, so to call them, of the higher animals, differ only in their objects and degree, and not in their quality, from those of man<sup>s</sup>. Hope, joy, fear, love of kindred, of superiors and inferiors; nay, the more com-

<sup>r</sup> Ezek. i. 5—28, especially vers. 10, 16; Rev. iv. 7.

<sup>s</sup> See the recent work of M. de Quatrefages, "Unité de l'Espèce Humaine:"—"Man is identical with animals in structure and functions. He has similar tissues, organs, instincts, *affections*, *intelligence*. However superior to animals in one or all of these points, it is clear that he differs from them only in degree." See the "Saturday Review," Nov. 23, 1861.

plex emotions of shame, of jealousy, of revenge; and, again, habit, memory, invention, calculation of means to an end;—all are, in a measure, discernible in them. It may almost be said, looking at all these marvellous affinities, that as man, in the higher part of his being, is created in the Image of God, so are the animals, in their higher aspects, created in the image of man. And accordingly they are set before us in Holy Scripture as exemplars of all manner of duty. “Their labours are virtues,” and, on occasion at least, not without a certain morality. In point of fidelity, of diligence, of parental affection, of obedient discerning of times, above all, of uncomplaining meekness under injuries, the animal world are man’s accredited teachers. And even the passive and negative virtues of the herbs of the field read to us a lesson of trustfulness: to be like them in that respect is a high attainment in the kingdom of grace.

But in truth nothing can more completely stamp with Divine recognition the exemplar virtues, and the consequent meetness for sacrificial purposes, of the animal creation, than the fact that the Incarnate Word is pleased to take to Himself, as the loftiest expression of His Own Sacrificial Work of meekness and might, the Name of the LAMB, and to receive under that title the adoration of men and angels.

5. Nor let it be forgotten, that were the range of their attainments never so limited: in one respect, at least, they enjoy at once a superiority over man as he now is, and a fitness for sacrificial purposes; namely, they are at any rate without sin; marvellous types and reflections of the Sinless One. Let it also be borne in mind—to remove the last lingering objection to their sacrificial capacity—that it is not contended, after all,

that in their natural condition, and merely as having life, they can discharge functions of that nature. There is no proper or inherent power in them for such a work, but only fitness to be made the medium of it.

Whence any degree, or shadow even, of sacrificial power accrued to them in old time, has been much debated. The most common view has been, that the old sacrifices, having no power at all vested in themselves, were effectual, even to the salvation of the offerer, through faith in the yet future Sacrifice of Christ. But this is an improbable statement. The faith of the offerer may well have looked on more or less clearly, through the sacrifices then present, to a Deliverer and a Sacrifice to come; and this would be one element in his religious acceptableness. But the supposition that the earlier sacrificial events owed their vitality and power to the later One, is open to two serious objections. 1. It is contrary to analogy that events should thus work backwards<sup>†</sup>; and 2. it ascribes *too much* power to the ordinances. If these, as is often incautiously represented, served to put man in actual possession of salvation, then were they on a par with the Christian sacraments, and Israelites with Christians. Whereas it is certain that "they of old time received not the promises;" neither was justification or perfection attained under the law; it was conveyed to them in mysterious ways<sup>‡</sup> after the Passion. It seems far better, then, to recognise, as has

<sup>†</sup> The passage so often alleged in behalf of this, Rev. xiii. 8, "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," is, it is well known, a mis-translation. It should be, "Whose names, from the foundation of the world, were not written in the Lamb's book of life." See xvii. 8, A. T.

<sup>‡</sup> This is the universal belief of antiquity. See above, p. 44, note m.

been already done incidentally, that the Son, as yet unincarnate, poured out on these media, qualified in so many respects by nature for receiving it, of His essential Priesthood.

This view, that CHRIST—that is, God the Word, as the anointed and designated Worker-out of man's deliverance from first to last—was the pervading and inspiring power of the ancient sacrificial system, seems to be fully recognised in Holy Scripture. It is indeed very generally admitted that the *external* and visible Presence which was vouchsafed to them of old time was emphatically that of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. And it would also seem to follow, from the analogy of the Christian scheme, that the secret of all their *means of approach* to that Presence, was the indwelling, in the ordinances, of the same Blessed Person, or, however, their administration by Him. None but Himself could bring them to Himself, even in His lower manifestations. As the Shechinah was an instalment of that higher Presence, external to himself, into which man would ultimately be admitted in Christ; so, it might even be presumed, were the old ordinances an instalment of His Sacrificial and Priestly Presence and Work, being full of Him, and administered by Him. But we are not left to conjecture in the matter. The fire which transmuted the sacrifices, and presented them with acceptance, whence did it proceed? Whence, but from the self-same Presence into which it availed to bear them? He Who afterwards, and as Incarnate, coming forth from the Bosom of the Father, "through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself to God;" Who came, by that Spirit, in fiery tongues, to baptize and take to Himself His people; had long ago come forth, by the



same Spirit, to touch with accepting fire the oblation of His Elder people.

But, in truth, He was in all the ordinances. In the Book of Proverbs, the Wisdom or Word of the Father seems to be clearly spoken of as administering the old ritual. "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. . . . She saith, Come, eat of my bread, and drink of my wine which I have mingled." And yet more distinctly does this recognition appear in another writing, which, though not canonical, undoubtedly represents the conception of their ritual entertained by the superior Jewish minds some hundreds of years before Christ. In Ecclesiasticus xxiv.,—a chapter which may from internal evidence<sup>x</sup> with probability be referred, as to its substance, even to the days of Solomon, and which stands out with such remarkable prominence for its extraordinary power and beauty of language,—Wisdom describes herself as the indwelling and inspiring principle of the entire Israelitish economy<sup>y</sup>, of its priesthood and ordinances of service, no less than as its local and sanctifying Presence. First, as to the Presence: "I came out of the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth as a cloud: I tabernacled in high places, and my throne was in a pillar of a cloud<sup>z</sup>."

<sup>x</sup> Thus it seems to recognise "Jacob," and "Israel," as a yet unbroken unity: and it speaks only of the Tabernacle, not of the Temple, as being as yet on Mount Zion. It would belong then to the earlier days of Solomon's reign. Comp. Bretschneider, Proleg. in Sirac.: "One might conjecture that ch. xxiv. was written not by the son of Sirach, but by some other, and more ancient composer." See the Prologue to the Book, referring the contents, in part, to earlier days.

<sup>y</sup> "It is perfectly clear," says Bretschneider, "that the subject here spoken of is the sacred economy of the law."

<sup>z</sup> It is impossible to disallow (with Bretschneider) any allusion here

... In every people and nation I got a possession. With all these I sought rest, and in whose inheritance I should abide." (There seems to be clear allusion here to the pre-Mosaic Presence vouchsafed in connection with worship.) "The Creator of all things gave me a commandment, and caused my tabernacle to rest, and said, 'Let thy dwelling be in Jacob, and thine inheritance in Israel.'" But in what follows she identifies herself no less closely with the priesthood and sacrificial work of the sanctuary. It will be remembered that a holy anointing oil was prescribed<sup>a</sup> for the high-priest and priests, the tabernacle, altar, and vessels, consisting of certain spices; and, again, a specially compounded perfume for the incense. Now the smell of the very spices thus contained in the oil and the incense taken together, Wisdom declares to be hers: "In the holy tabernacle I served before Him, (ἐλειτούργησα,) and so was I established in Sion; I gave a sweet smell like *cinnamon* and as *aspalathus*, like the *best myrrh*, as *galbanum* and *onyx*, and sweet storax, (Gr. *stacte*,) and as the fume of *frankincense* in the tabernacle<sup>b</sup>." And in sacrificial and covenant language, wonderfully anticipating that of Christ Himself, and probably referred to in it, she proceeds, "For *my memorial* is sweeter than honey. ...

to the Mosaic "pillar." But earlier manifestations of God might well be assumed to have taken that form; the "cloud," indeed, is a pervading, and not merely Mosaic token of Divine Presence. Exod. xix. 9; Isa. xix. 1; Ezek. i. 4; Luke ix. 34, xxi. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxx. 22—38.

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xxx. 23, 34: "Take thou principal spices, *pure myrrh*, sweet *cinnamon*, sweet calamus (= *aspalathus*?), cassia," for the oil: "*stacte*, *onycha*, *galbanum*, with pure *frankincense*," for the incense. Bretschneider strangely misses this undoubted reference, and weakly generalizes the whole passage.

They that *eat* me shall yet be hungry, and they that *drink* me shall yet be thirsty." These latter expressions, taken in connection with our Lord's words in St. John vi. 56, 57, point very significantly to a participation of Wisdom, or the Word, as being involved in the ancient "memorial" sacrifices,—the shew-bread and the peace-offerings,—the eucharists of the old covenant. And all this is implicitly countersigned by St. Paul, when he tells us that in the manna and the water the Israelites "ate and drank spiritual meat and drink;" and that the substance of that sacramental participation was "Christ." For it is inconceivable that those temporary provisions excelled the ordained and abiding ones of the dispensation. St. John also seems to speak plainly of "grace" having been enjoyed under the Law, differing only in degree from that of the Gospel<sup>c</sup>.—And one important respect in which the Mosaic system prepared the way for Christ's Coming in the Flesh, might of itself almost avail to prove that no other than Himself was the Administrator of that mysterious ritual. St. Paul<sup>d</sup> dwells upon the fact, that "when the fulness of time was come," and the "elements of the world," that is, the old ordinances of the Law<sup>e</sup>, had served their time and purpose, "God sent forth His Son made of a woman, *made under the law*." Anterior to all *personal* qualifications, possessed by her whom all generations were to call Blessed, for becoming the Mother of her Lord,

<sup>c</sup> St. John i. 16, and St. Chrysostom's comment, "Grace for grace, i.e. one grace in lieu of another, the higher grace of the Gospel for the lower grace of the Law: ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τὴν καινὴν." Ver. 17 does not deny *any* degree of χάρις to the Law, but only χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια, i.e. the highest and perfect grace, (above, note o, p. 167.) So St. Aug.: "Pro legis gratiâ, quæ præterit, gratiam Evangelii accepimus." Cf. ch. iii. 34.

<sup>d</sup> Gal. iv. 4.

<sup>e</sup> vers. 9, 10.

was that of her pertaining to a *race* exalted by divine operation to an exceptional purity among mankind; even to that "peculiar<sup>f</sup>," or dearly-bought and prized people whom God the Word had "purified to Himself" by His Own real though lower and secondary Indwelling. The Flesh which He took to Himself "of the Substance of His Mother" was not in the condition in which it was left by the Fall. By the old ordinances "sanctifying to the purifying of the flesh," He had all along cleansed it of a portion of its taint inherited from that Fall, and made it meet for His Presence. More especially was the chosen people already "a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use<sup>g</sup>." Not in vain, for two thousand years from the call of Abraham, had He Himself "sat as a Refiner and Purifier of silver, purifying the sons of Levi, that they might offer to the Lord an offering in righteousness," even a purified and accepted nation: so that when "the Lord whom they sought should suddenly come," by His conception of the Holy Ghost, to take up a more glorious abode than heretofore in that chosen "Temple" of His, He might find it not unmeet for His Inhabitation.

## SECTION XV.

THE consideration dwelt on in the last Section, of the real intervention of God the Word in the old ordinances, removes all objection that might otherwise be

<sup>f</sup> The term is applied to Israel, Exod. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 6, xxvi. 18. The Heb. term *segoullah* means "a thing acquired by purchase, and so precious." Rabb. *sagol*, 'to acquire.'

<sup>g</sup> Hence, among other reasons, the extraordinary importance attaching to the maintenance of the Mosaic ritual in its integrity until the Incarnation, Mal. iv. 4.

entertained to recognising in them a capacity for cleansing, in their degree, from *moral* impurity. That they did so is certain, since they availed to restore men to God's favour and to admit them nearer to His Presence. And, once it is understood that the Son and the Spirit wrought in and by them, there is no possible reason why they should not be thus effective in the moral region.—But does not St. Paul, it will be said, limit their capacity to “purifying *the flesh*,” and deny to them any power “as pertaining to *the conscience*?” A careful consideration, however, of what is meant by “purifying the flesh,” and by “the conscience,” in this passage, will evince that St. Paul's meaning is other than has commonly been supposed, and fully establish the view of the sacrifices here contended for. 1. By the “purifying of the flesh,” then, St. Paul meant, as is manifest from the whole tenour of his discourse in Heb. ix. 1—22, the removal of unfitness for entering<sup>h</sup> the “worldly sanctuary,” as he calls it, of the Mosaic system. Why he should denominate this the “purifying of the *flesh*,” is not so obvious. Thus much, however, we know, that “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God<sup>i</sup> ;” that is, as the context shews, cannot enter into or endure the Presence of God to be revealed hereafter. The earthly, natural body, the body of this world, must

<sup>h</sup> So Grotius, almost alone among commentators, on Heb. xii. : “They of old time were sprinkled with the blood of victims, to the sanctifying of the *flesh* ; i.e. so that they could enter into the *earthly* sanctuary.” Johnson, U.S., p. 197, says, admirably, (up to a certain point) that “purifying is a relief or releasement from that inaptness which all terrestrial nature is under, for being employed in the service of God.” But he errs in denying to the old ordinances “any internal purification from moral guilt.” Had they possessed none such, they could not have admitted man even to the lower Presence of God.

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 50.

first undergo a mighty change and become a spiritual body. "Flesh and blood<sup>k</sup>" must become other than they are, ere that can be. But into the "worldly sanctuary," composed of elements of this world, however inhabited by a peculiar Presence of God, "flesh and blood" *could*, with certain precautions, enter. And the ordinances which did this might well be called "ordinances of the flesh<sup>l</sup>," and their effect described as the "purifying of the flesh." In truth, by the "flesh" in these phrases is meant that whole sphere of inferior and corruptible being to which the flesh belongs<sup>m</sup>. For "purifying" this, by fitting it for God's abode, and for ritual approach to God, the animal sacrifices enjoyed, as we have seen, a special commission. 2. And again, by the "conscience" in these passages is meant, as the context once more evinces, that instinctive<sup>n</sup> and divinely implanted faculty within us which passes sentence on our fitness or unfitness for God's Presence and Service. Man, from the hour of the Fall, has had a deep inner "conscience" of unfitness for that purpose: and the more he is enlightened the more he is convinced of it; "by the law is the knowledge of sin." And what is to remove that con-

<sup>k</sup> It is very remarkable in this connection, that our Lord does not ascribe to Himself, after His Resurrection, as the test of His Proper Humanity, "flesh and blood," but "Flesh and Bones." So too St. Paul, Eph. v. 30, "We are members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His *Bones*," adopting the language of the original mystic union, Gen. ii. 23. The exact significance of this we cannot pretend to fathom. But it manifestly belongs to the whole subject of the spiritualization of the human body as a condition of its future bliss in God's Presence. I am indebted for this profound observation to the Bishop of Exeter.

<sup>l</sup> Heb. ix. 10.

<sup>m</sup> vers. 21, 22.

<sup>n</sup> Compare what is said of Adam, above, p. 15: and the numerous instances of instinctive fear in the realized Presence of God, or holy beings, Gen. xxviii. 17; Exod. iii. 6; Deut. v. 25; Judges xiii. 22; Isa. vi. 5.

sciousness, and reassure the trembling aspirant after admission into heaven? What but the mighty *à fortiori* argument,—the mixed appeal to experience and reason,—which God had been building up for four thousand years, and which is so tersely, yet so irresistibly, stated by St. Paul? “*If* the blood of bulls and of goats,”—poor beggarly elements, animated with but a feeble spark of the divine attribute of Life,—provided only they were physically unblemished, and were duly offered, and their blood duly shed and pleaded according to the commandment;—*if* the ashes of an heifer, sprinkling the unfit, or unclean, sanctified to the purifying of the flesh, or whole lower sphere of things, by taking away its death-like condition in God’s sight;—*if* the visible deliverances wrought by these, removed, from year to year, the consciousness, otherwise refusing to be reassured, of the danger of approaching the Presence of God:—how much more shall the Blood of Christ,—as God, the very fount of Life, as Man, “offering Himself without spot,” in the power of a divine and eternal Priesthood, to God,—purge the entire being of humanity, and remove the “consciousness of dead works,” or of a death-like condition, so that he may “henceforth serve without fear” in the Presence of the *Living* God;—of God, that is, in His highest<sup>p</sup> and essential manifestation? The contrast, it will be seen, is not between the purification of the conscience and that of the flesh, but

◦ St. Luke i. 74.

<sup>p</sup> “The most exalted Name of God which is revealed to us contains the idea of perpetual *life*, a life eternal in the past, present, and future. The most sacred of all oaths, too, is when the ever Living One swears by Himself, ‘As I live, saith the Lord.’” Ecclesiastic, *ut supra*. See in the concordances the wonderful array of passages which speak of the “Living God.”

between *two degrees of relief* afforded to the conscience from a sense of natural deadness and impurity in God's sight, and consequent unfitness. Both processes bore upon the inward being, but raised it up to different stages of sanctification.

Neither, again, it will be seen, is there any such *contrast* as has been supposed, but only a gradational parallel, between the "dead works" or offensiveness of operation and condition from which Christ cleansed man *under* the Law and *after* the Law. The ashes of the red heifer, after it had been slain and burnt with extraordinary solemnity, were used, mixed with water, to remove the taint of death, and consequent unfitness for the sanctuary, contracted by the touch of a *dead body*<sup>a</sup>. Now there is no doubt that this taint

<sup>a</sup> The ordinance (Numb. xix.), as traditionally said to have been performed, was of a most awe-inspiring character, and would seem to have had, 1. a special bearing on original sin; and a very close analogy, 2. to the Agony of Christ; and 3. to Holy Baptism. It was plainly a sin-offering, (i.e. remedial,) being burnt without the camp, and its blood sprinkled seven times, (1 Kings v. 14). It must be perfectly red, intimating a mysterious connection with the name and even the bodily substance of man. (Gen. ii. 7: "God formed *Adam* of the ground," *adamah*, lit. *red earth*, from *adam*, to be red. See Gen. xxv. 25, 30, where Esau, the *natural* man, is twice connected with the colour red, whence "Edom.") The high-priest or priest was kept apart seven days in a north-east chamber, looking across the Kedron, called "the house of stone vessels," kept there with a view to his purification from defilement; (cf. St. John ii. 6). The heifer was led by him over the valley of Kedron to Mount Olivet, and stood upon the edge of the hill; as nearly as possible therefore at the scene of the Agony. Here it was killed, the blood being sprinkled seven times towards the Sanctuary, and burnt together with the blood; and so more entirely consumed than any other expiatory offering. "The ashes of this one sacrifice were sufficient for many generations," and for the whole land. Mixed with water and applied with hyssop, (the allusion Ps. li. 7 is to *this* water,) they were sprinkled, on the third and seventh days, on any one who had touched a dead body. The marvellous analogy to the Agony, and to the "one Baptism" into Christ's Sufferings and Death, need not be pointed out. See for further



was a *real* and not merely imaginary participation in the condition of death or deadness in God's sight: and as the body was not outwardly or visibly affected by it, it follows that the taint was in the region of the unseen, of the soul and spirit. The man's whole being was so affected by it, that his religious service was rendered unacceptable with God, and could only be re-dedicated by the application of that dread sin-offering. Even so does holy Baptism,—the application, by *water* still, it will be observed, and the Holy Ghost, of the power of Christ's Death considered as a Sin-offering,—remove all unfitness for the heavenly Sanctuary. Both processes admitted the subjects of them, though in vastly different degrees, into the Presence and Communion of God.

It is in full accordance with all this that St. Paul only says <sup>r</sup> that the old offerings “could not make him that did the service *perfect*, as pertaining to the conscience,” or consciousness of unfitness; consisting as they did only in abstinence from “meats and drinks, and divers washings, and in ordinances applying only to the flesh” or the lower sphere, and having no bearing on admission into the *heavenly* Presence. This was one note of their weakness; and another was, that they had to be repeated again and again <sup>s</sup>. It was plain that “they could not make the comers to them perfect,” in this respect either, of *permanently* relieving the worshipper's apprehensions, even in the lower sphere to which they applied: “for then would they not have ceased to be offered? since the worshipper, once for all purged, would have no more conscious-

details Lewis' Origines, iv. 7, from which I have quoted; but specially Deyling, Obs. Sacr., iii. 9. p. 89, sq.

<sup>r</sup> Heb. ix. 9, 10.

<sup>s</sup> ch. x. 1, 2.

ness of sins," i.e. of unfitness for drawing near? And when he adds<sup>t</sup> that "it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should *take away sins*," it is evident that he is speaking still of *perfect* and *permanent* removal of sinful taint. He does not, he *cannot* mean to unsay the very thing which he had affirmed before<sup>u</sup>, viz. that this very "blood of bulls and goats" could and did "purify." His eye is fixed still on the heavenly Sanctuary, and on that entire and perfect removal of unfitness for God's highest Presence, which alone can satisfy the needs of humanity, and which is bestowed only in Christ. What we need is nothing less than "boldness to enter into the Holiest," in a mystery here, in person hereafter: and this we possess<sup>x</sup>; the Blood of Christ, once shed, making the way of approach open and safe to us; and His Flesh supplying a mystic vehicle for our actual admission. We have only<sup>y</sup> to draw nigh to that Sanctuary with full assurance of acceptance through use of the appointed means, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. The one having already (perf. ἐρραντισμένοι) "cleansed our hearts," by sprinkling of Christ's Blood, from an evil conscience<sup>z</sup>, or sense of unfitness through

<sup>t</sup> ver. 4.    <sup>u</sup> ch. ix. 13.    <sup>x</sup> vers. 19—21.    <sup>y</sup> vers. 21—25.

<sup>z</sup> Hence may be best interpreted the difficult passage in 1 Pet. iii. 21: "Baptism doth save us, . . . not the mere putting away of the filth of the flesh,"—like the Mosaic baptisms,—in order to an admission to a mere earthly sanctuary, but a "confident address and access to God Himself in Heaven, based upon consciousness" of all unfitness having been removed now that Christ has suffered (iv. 1) and risen, and sat down (and we with Him) at God's Right Hand in Heaven. This sense of ἐπερώτημα, 'an asking with certainty of a favourable answer,' the "full assurance of faith" of St. Paul, Heb. x. 22, has been fully established, though with a view to another interpretation, the sponsorial. Thus Grotius, ἐπερωτᾶν, 'to ask for a thing to be done or given in the ordinary words of the law,' i.e. as a mere matter of form, and with certainty of its being done. I owe the suggestion of this view to the Bishop of Exeter.

original sin, and having also “washed our bodies with pure water,”—pure and purifying, far more than the old ashes and water, as containing the virtue of Christ’s Death as a Sin-offering: the other is a means of continually “holding fast, by a public profession” and rite<sup>a</sup>, to the admission already vouchsafed here, and to be consummated hereafter.

Lastly, it is, doubtless, said by St. Paul, that “the Law had but the shadow of the good things to come.” But in what sense? Not as a shadow cast by the sun is wanting in all reality, being but a negative thing, and the mere privation of light. Not so. The “shadows” of the Old Testament were sometimes historical events, sometimes ritual actions; and as the historical events were real, so too were the ritual actions real. The sacrifices and cleansings were real events<sup>b</sup>; real transactions within the ordained sphere of their operation. It is this, in truth, that gives them their peculiar strength and fitness as pre-significations. Just so the existing moral government of God by rewards and punishments is (as our great moralist shews<sup>c</sup>) a shadow or presignification of a perfect state of things hereafter, where the tendencies of this imperfect one will be completely carried out. It is so because, as far as it goes, it is a *real* moral government. It is an instalment, and as such a shadow cast before, of the future and equitable award. Even so the old ordinances were shadows of the in-

<sup>a</sup> Vers. 23, 25. For this sense of *δμολογία* see above, notes to p. 12.

<sup>b</sup> No surer proof of this could be needed than that the effect of the “washing” (which St. Paul therefore, Heb. ix. 10, must not be understood to be speaking slightly of except by comparison) entailed *death*: e.g. in the priests, Exod. xxx. 20, 21: “So shall they wash their hands and their feet, *that they die not.*”

<sup>c</sup> Butler, Analogy of Religion, Pt. I. ch. iii.

tended Economy, not in that they in themselves lacked reality, but that they were realities of such a kind, so akin to that which was to come, as to be just representatives, in their degree<sup>d</sup>, of its nature and effects. So childhood is a shadow of manhood, not in that its exercise of its faculties is unreal, but in that it is feebler, and occupies a lower sphere of action. The chosen nation discharged, only with the feebleness and limited reach of children, the functions of spiritual manhood.

### SECTION XVI.

HAVING thus vindicated the powers ascribed to the ancient sacrifices, to the Burnt-offering more particularly, from some plausible but really ill-founded objections, I may proceed to describe the manner of offering that sacrifice under the Law. 1. The offerer<sup>e</sup> brought the victim, a male of the flock or herd, just within the door of the Tabernacle or Temple court, and there “offered<sup>f</sup>” or yielded it up “of his own voluntary will:” probably specifying what kind of sacrifice he designed it to be. This done, it was already accounted, as far as he was concerned, an accomplished offering, or “gift,” and is thenceforth, in the divine instructions, called by its name, a “burnt (or whole) offering.” 2. He next laid his hand upon its head. This action, common to all the kinds of sacrifice, was

<sup>d</sup> Even Outram (de Sacrif., i. 18. 2) allows a faint degree of virtue to the “shadow.”

<sup>e</sup> See for the laws of the Burnt-offering, Lev. i., and the various commentators, especially Outram and Lewis, Origines Hebrææ; who, however, does not distinguish the traditional from the Scriptural rules.

<sup>f</sup> To this corresponds the first oblation of the elements, (if we may reckon it as one,) by the bringing of them into the sanctuary; the “Great Entrance” of the Liturgies.

doubtless designed to establish a real though mysterious relation between himself and it, and to commission it, so to speak, to *all*<sup>g</sup> its functions in his behalf, (which of course varied according to the kind of sacrifice intended,) but specially to its expiatory ones. Taken together, these two actions of the offerer were a recognition of two great principles of sacrifice, —the blessedness of being allowed to present oneself to God, and the need of some pure medium for doing so. And accordingly, the promised effect of them<sup>h</sup> was, i. that the victim should “be accepted for him,” (lit. be *pleasing*<sup>i</sup>, as something which accords with the desire), and ii. “make atonement for him,” (lit. “cover from sight<sup>k</sup>” his sinfulness). 3. Lastly, the *bringer*<sup>l</sup> of the sacrifice “killed it before the Lord;” that is, tradition says, with his face, and the face of the victim, toward the holy place: thus with his own hands, and as it were through his own sin, effecting a violent breach in the life of creation, and making tender of that out-poured life, in awful mystery, to God. This action expressed faith in the necessity for blood-shedding as the basis of sacrificial gift.

The offerer’s part was now done. It remained for the *priest*, 1. to “sprinkle the blood round about upon

<sup>g</sup> So Hengstenberg in his most recent work on Sacrifice, (Clarke’s Theological Library). Tradition reports a formula, “I have sinned, but now I repent, and let this victim be my expiation.” But it is very unlikely that a form expressing so narrow a view of sacrifice should be enjoined. The action was probably silent, except, perhaps, at the sin-offering. <sup>h</sup> Lev. i. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Heb. *ratsoh*, ‘to be pleased,’ as with something in accordance with one’s wish or good pleasure, (*ratson*, Ps. cxlv. 19, xlv. 9). Hence in Niph., ‘to be pleasing.’

<sup>k</sup> Heb. *caphor*, ‘to overlay,’ as for example with pitch, (Gen. vi. 14).

<sup>l</sup> This is fairly proved by Patrick, in loc., after Maimonides. The probable *rationale* of it has been touched on above, p. 38.

the altar which stood at the door," (lit. "which [is] the opening") of "the tabernacle of meeting" with God. By this action the obstacle to the offerer's personal approach to God was removed by the joint operation of the victim and priest. This, however, his offering would have effected for him independently of his Israelitish position. But coming now to that altar and that priest, he was admitted to participation in the peculiar powers of the blood of the great Continual Sacrifice, which opened for him the way into the Mosaic Holy of Holies. 2. The priest having thus effectually offered the blood, next "laid in order<sup>m</sup>" the body of the victim: placing the fire upon the altar, the wood upon the fire, and the victim upon the wood<sup>n</sup>. The body was, for this purpose, cut up by the offerer into many parts, but these were arranged, tradition says, after being sprinkled with salt, in their natural order; the *head*, however, is mentioned separately<sup>o</sup>: and it was the inferior members only, "the legs and inwards," that were washed with water. Plain intimations all, of relations subsisting between Israel and their mystical head Isaac, parallel to those which should thereafter ensue between Christ and His members. For so are they presented unto God as One Body; once separated indeed by sin, but re-united now by grace, and sprinkled with the salt of His incorruption. Yet He as the Head, they as the members; and they accordingly "washed with pure water," while He alone needed no purification.

<sup>m</sup> This is the same word as is used for the "setting forth" or oblation of the shew-bread: see above, p. 185, note s. To this answers the *second* Oblation of the Liturgies; the laying in order upon the altar of the "selected gifts," (*secretæ*, from *secerno*: see Maskell, *Anc. Lit.*, p. 69).

<sup>n</sup> Comp. Gen. xxii. 9.

<sup>o</sup> Lev. i. 8: "The parts, the head, and the fat."

But, 3. this offering, in order to its acceptance, and as the medium of its presentation, must be accompanied <sup>p</sup> by fruits of the earth,—meal and wine, oil and frankincense. 4. Then, all being now ready, the priest was to “burn all upon the altar,” with the heaven-descended fire out of the Presence, “to be a whole sacrifice, an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord.”—And now the work was done. The offerer, in the body of his victim-gift, was brought nearer, even for that offering’s sake, to the common Father of all, even as the smoke ascended towards heaven. But further, seeing it was no common altar, but the peculiar Altar of the Continual Burnt-offering;—no common fire, but that which came out from the Presence: the offering, and in it the offerer, were actually received, borne upon the Incense of the great Sacrifice, into the holiest place. In a profound mystery, he and all that he had of faithful service became the “Food of God,” by His gracious consumption of it on His Table. In his whole conversation, and in all the relations of life <sup>q</sup>,—for the Presence into which he was admitted overflowed the limits of the sanctuary, and filled the Land,—he was taken up into a higher sphere than that of nature or of ordinary sacrificial blessedness, and abode in a deep mystery of communion with God.

Such was the *personal* burnt-offering of the Mosaic system. And here let it be observed, 1. that the description which has been given of it will apply, with scarcely a single alteration, to the burnt-offering of the pre-Mosaic period. This has been already pointed out <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Numb. xv. 1—12, supplementing Lev. i. and comp. p. 155.

<sup>q</sup> Above, p. 102,

<sup>r</sup> Above, pp. 71—73.

The differences are so slight as rather to confirm the essential resemblance.

But 2. the great national Offering of Israel, the morning and evening lamb, was simply the ancient burnt-offering, or the Mosaic offering of private persons, lifted into a new sphere of power and activity. The directions given in the two cases are, as far as they go<sup>s</sup>, perfectly coincident; even to the quantity of flour, wine, and oil. Insomuch that the lofty powers wielded by the continual Sacrifice might well seem at first sight unaccountable. But they are fully accounted for when we call to mind the august circumstances with which, as above traced out, this particular offering was surrounded<sup>t</sup>. These, joined to the direct command and promise of God in respect of it, render an abundant account of the transcendent powers which are ascribed to it. And though we might on some accounts rather have expected to find the ox or the ram selected, for their physical superiority and greater value, as the national and all-containing sacrifice, we easily perceive, from the standing-ground of the Gospel, the superior fitness for this purpose of the feeblest, meekest, and most unresisting of creatures. At the same time,—even as the Divine “strength was made perfect in the weakness” of Christ,—so this outwardly simple and single sacrifice was seen, on occasion, to carry within it all that was noble and powerful in the sacrificial sphere. On each Sabbath it expanded into two lambs, offered morning and evening; at the new moons, and other feasts, it became seven lambs, two young bul-

<sup>s</sup> Comp. Numb. xxviii. with Lev. xv. 1—12.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 168, and sections ix., x.



locks, a ram, and a goat; on each day during the feast of Tabernacles, fourteen lambs, from eight to thirteen bullocks, two rams and a goat;—became, in a word, “fat burnt sacrifices, with incense of rams, bullocks and goats.” By all these was manifested forth the might that was veiled under the meekness of the lamb. It might be said of the God of Israel, as manifesting His power through that sacrifice, “He had horns coming out of His Hand, and there was the hiding of His power:” “His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are the horns of unicorns<sup>u</sup>.” There was might in that sacrifice to overcome, for the purposes of the covenant, all the powers of evil: the “horns” of that altar were a strong refuge. In just sequence with this, “the Lamb as it had been slain,” in the Revelation, has “seven horns;” the full mystic complement of sacrificial power<sup>x</sup>: and this Lamb is also the “Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and has prevailed,” not only to redeem the world unto God, but to “open the book” and to achieve the final victory over “the beast having seven heads and ten horns.” The uniformity of the imagery in which the story of Redemption is thus couched, from Abel’s sacrifice to the last chapter of the Revelation, is surely most remarkable.

It is of the utmost importance thus to have pointed out the function and capacities of the ancient Burnt-Offering, because the sacrificial work of Christ is to

<sup>u</sup> Hab. iii. 4; Deut. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>x</sup> Rev. v. 6. See the numerous passages which speak of God’s exaltation of Israel under the image,—doubtless *sacrificial* as well as physical,—of a horn or horns. In St. Luke i. 69 we cannot fail to connect the “horn of salvation” with “the remission of sins,” ver. 78. In Ps. lxix. 31, praise is said “to please the Lord better than a bullock with” all his sacrificial might of “horns and hoofs.”

so great a degree interpreted to us by it, and specially by that loftily empowered instance of it, the Mosaic Continual Sacrifice. To this is to be referred whatever is said in the New Testament, and in the Liturgies, of His “*giving*” Himself, as a most unspeakably acceptable Gift, to God; as discriminated either from His “*giving*” or delivering Himself over, for suffering and death, to wicked men and powers of evil, which is more especially set forth by the Sin-Offering; or again as distinguished from His giving Himself to man as the Life of his soul, which was represented by the Peace-offering. The wholeness of that Gift of Himself, in Body, Soul, and Spirit; its voluntariness; its exceeding value as of the noblest and best created Existence, and as being, moreover, Divine; its sweet savour, or infinite acceptableness, from its perfect accordance with the Will of the Father; its unresisting meekness, as of a lamb; its victorious might, in that It ascended whole and entire into the Heavens, in a sublimed and glorified condition, and “opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers;”—all these characters appertain to It as the great archetypal BURNT-OFFERING, from which all others took their form.

And now let it be observed, by way of transition to the other two classes of sacrifice, that the Burnt-

‡ The term used for this is different from that for Christ’s giving Himself to God; not *δοῦναι*, but *παραδοῦναι*, which signifies ‘to pass from hand to hand,’ (*παρὰ*, ‘along’); hence ‘to place in the hands for safe custody,’ whether as a treasure or trust (= *παρὰ* *ἰθιμι*, as, e.g. “to yield up the spirit,” St. John xix. 30, cf. St. Luke xxiii. 46; or “the kingdom,” 1 Cor. xv. 24), or for punishment; as imprisonment or death. Hence its sense of ‘betray.’ It is *never* used of presenting a sacrifice to God. Sometimes *δοῦναι* covers both senses, as Gal. i. 4, cf. ver. 20.

Offering contained indeed, *in kind*, a supply for all the needs of man under the older dispensation,—atone-ment, access, and even communion. For it could not be but that admission to the Presence would, apart from sacramental reception, involve a measure of such communion. And this was perhaps intimated by the regulations about a secondary kind of burnt-offering—for such it seems to have been<sup>2</sup>—called the “meat-offering,” consisting of flour and oil, baked or otherwise; sometimes made of the first-fruits of the corn. Of this, part only, representing the rest, and called the “memorial,” was burnt on the altar, and secured, no doubt, the acceptance of the bringer of it. The rest was *eaten* by the priests. Thus it was, for the bringer, a burnt-offering, and accordingly is placed in that class; but for the priests it was, like the shew-bread, a means of communion also, and, like it, is called “most holy.”

This might well suggest that the mere presentation of himself in the burnt-offering would not impart to the bringer full and exhaustive fruition of the divinely vouchsafed benefits. There was evidently an internal mode of reception, and this, analogy would suggest, would transcend the external mode of it.

And again, there would arise occasions when the offerer, having transgressed some law, ritual or moral, of the economy, would be disqualified for taking his place in it without special cleansing.

For the latter of these two purposes, (to take this first in order,) i.e. to restore the worshipper after a fall,

<sup>2</sup> Patrick, in loc., Lev. ii. Some suppose it to have been a sin-offering; but its position, next to the slain burnt-offering, forbids this.

the *atoning* and pleading element of the burnt-offering was disengaged and intensified in the form of the *Sin-* (or *Trespass*) *offering*.

i. And for the former purpose, as we shall see in section xix., the element of *communion* was in like manner disengaged and intensified, in the form of the *Peace-offering*.

This is the manifest *rationale* of these two subsidiary or ancillary offerings, as will appear from the manner of their administration, which we proceed to consider.

## SECTION XVII.

THE Sin-offering (*chattath*<sup>a</sup>, literally ‘error,’) was, up to a certain point, the same as to its ritual as the burnt-offering. The offerer brought his offering and laid his hand upon its head, with the addition of *confessing the sin*<sup>b</sup> for which he brought it, and slew it, “in the place where they killed the burnt-offering;” language indicating its affinity to that supreme sacrifice. Other points of difference were, 1. that whereas the personal burnt-offering was purely voluntary<sup>c</sup>, or rested only on the general sense of religious obligation, the sin-offering was obligatory, if any transgression had been committed. 2. It is not directed

<sup>a</sup> *Chato* is literally ‘to slip,’ or ‘stray,’ that is, ‘to sin with the feet,’ whether wilfully or not. For the laws of this offering see Lev. iv., v., vi. to ver. 7, 24—30; Num. xv. 22—29: with the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi.; of the red heifer, Num. xix. 1—10. Note that in Lev. iv.—vi. the private sin-offering is described last, iv. 27, &c., but should be studied first, as being the normal one.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. v. 5, which is doubtless to be extended to all sin-offerings: see Patrick and the Jewish writers *in loc.* It is not said *when* the confession should be made, but this is the most likely time.

<sup>c</sup> Lev. i. 3.

to be "offered" by the offender, but only "brought<sup>d</sup>," he being in truth, by his own confession, unfit to offer sacrificially. Neither was it said to be "accepted" or pleasing, but only to "atone," or cover sin. 3. It was a fixed, and in actual money value a trifling offering: not a "male of the herd or flock," the best and choicest, such as men choose for a *gift*; but, for private persons, "a female kid," the cheapest offering of the lowest class, or at best a lamb; and even for the ruler a male kid; for the priest or whole congregation a young bullock "little bigger than a calf<sup>e</sup>." And even for the kid might be substituted two turtle-doves or young pigeons, or an ephah of fine flour. All this was, doubtless, because, though an expression of sorrow for the fault was required in the shape of an offering, the restorative virtue of the sacrifice was derived, in an overwhelming proportion, from its connecting the offerer with the one burnt-sacrifice. Almost anything which gave the lapsed person renewed contact with that, brought into operation the mighty machinery of the system on his behalf. Nor were men allowed to choose or to multiply<sup>f</sup> their sin-offerings, as if there could really be any proportion between their gift and the privileges

<sup>d</sup> Lev. iv. 4, 14, 23, 23. In ver. 14 the term "offer" is indeed applied to the sinning congregation, but only in the sense of providing the sacrifice; since they first "offer," and then "bring" it before the Tabernacle.

<sup>e</sup> Heb. *par ben-bachar*, Patrick in Lev. iv. 3. Whereas the peace-offering "bullock" is called *shor*, an ox.

<sup>f</sup> On even great occasions, as Num. xvi. 16, only the single kid or calf was offered. Only on the greatest, as when Hezekiah and Ezra restored the service of the sanctuary, after its entire suspension, were offered (2 Chron. xxviii. 21, 23) "seven he-goats for the Kingdom, for the sanctuary, and for Judah:" and again, "twelve he-goats," (Ezra vi. 17, viii. 35).

to which it re-admitted them ; lest they should dream of compensating for so much sin by so much sacrifice. It is remarkable that *females* were enjoined for the sin-offering of private persons : and the awful “ red heifer ” for the whole nation is a similar instance. This points, doubtless, to the mystery of original sin having been brought into the world by a woman, and to its being destined through her, (as giving birth to Him Who “ should save His people from their sins<sup>g</sup>,”) to be ultimately done away. But, 4. the blood was differently disposed of in the sin-offerings : not sprinkled<sup>h</sup> in all directions about the altar itself, as if boldly claiming and appropriating its benefits ; but put by the *finger* of the priest (not with his whole hand, as in sprinkling) on the horns of the altar, as if tremblingly seeking refuge there. And all the rest was poured at the *bottom* of the altar, as if to lay anew, in the humblest guise, the foundation of atonement. 5. The atonement being now made, a small portion, the fat only, was burnt on the altar, “ for a sweet savour unto the Lord<sup>i</sup>.” Yet though so called, as having a bare acceptance with God, it was unaccompanied by either meat or drink-offering, or frankincense ; and so availed not, like the burnt or peace-offering, to bring a man with acceptance into the holiest place, but left him still in

<sup>g</sup> St. Matt. i. 21.

<sup>h</sup> Lev. iv. 25, 30. In the sin-offering for the priest, or the congregation, the blood was sprinkled (vers. 6, 17) before the vail. And the blood of trespass-offerings was sprinkled about the altar ; but, says tradition, (Middoth, iii. 1.) about the lower half of it.

<sup>i</sup> So also if a pigeon was brought as a sin-offering, this was to be eaten entire by the priest, and a second to be added as a burnt-offering ; a bird being too small for both purposes. That the sin-offering included a burnt-offering, however humble, is clear from Ezra viii. 35.

a manner at the door of the tabernacle. The offerer was thus restored only to a very humble and humbling station of privilege within the covenant. It was said to him, "The Lord hath put away thy sin." But he was significantly taught, to the casting down of all antinomian notions, that his sin-offering was in itself no occasion of triumph, or high spiritual joy, such as was expressed by burnt-offering or peace-offering; though it might fitly be followed by either or both of these, and generally was so<sup>k</sup>. But, 6. it resulted from these provisions, that the whole body of the sacrifice remained unconsumed. Of this, however, no portion accrued to the bringer, as in peace-offerings: it was eaten by the priests "in a holy place;" who thus in a deep mystery *neutralized*, through the holiness vested in them by their consecration, the sin which the offerer had laid upon the victim, and upon them. Thus, in the ancient phrase, "they bore the iniquity" of the offerer<sup>1</sup>. This is the undoubted effect of this action; since it was so explained, on one occasion, by Moses himself. For Aaron being

<sup>k</sup> This has been well pointed out by the Rev. W. H. Johnstone in his "Israel after the Flesh," (1850, p. 49 al.); a work in which the three classes of sacrifices are ably discriminated. But he entirely misconceives the structure of the system as a whole; denying that the burnt-offering atoned (p. 59), or had any connection with Israelitish privileges (!), simply because it was adopted from the older sacrificial systems: that God's Presence was really behind the Vail (p. 84), or that Israel was really holy. The whole scheme was purely imaginary, "to lead men to contemplate God."

<sup>1</sup> This is admitted, though with the usual hesitation and qualification, by Patrick, on Lev. x. 17: "Indeed, the very eating of the people's sin-offering argued that the sins of the people were *in some sort* laid upon the priests to be taken away by them." Whether it was a joyful feast for them, as he supposes, may be doubted. But he well adds, that "the priest thus receiving the guilt upon himself, prefigured One Who should be both Priest and Sacrifice for sin."

unclean by reason of the death of his sons, on the very day, as it appears, of his offering the inaugural sacrifices of the Tabernacle, forbore, on account of his recent sorrow, to eat of the goat which had been offered as a sin-offering for the congregation, and ventured to burn it instead. Moses asked why it had not been eaten, seeing God had given it them "to bear the iniquity of the congregation:" but was content with the manner in which it had been disposed of. This incident proves what was the object of the priest's eating of the ordinary sin-offering; and also interprets for us the intent of another and most awful feature in certain kinds of it. For, 7. all such<sup>m</sup> as were for the high-priest, and some (though as the instance just referred to proves, not *all*) of those for the congregation, had this peculiarity, that the blood was taken into the outer holy place, and sprinkled seven times—still with the finger—before the vail, and also put on the horns of the altar of incense; the rest being poured, as before, at the bottom of the great Altar: the body, after the altar had received its portion, was *burnt* entire, upon wood, "in the place of ashes" without the camp. The sin-offerings of the awful Day of Atonement, (a calf for the high-priest, and a goat for the people,) had the further peculiarity, that the blood of them alone was sprinkled *within* the vail, towards the mercy-seat. Thus the sacrificial virtue of these *public* offerings was more penetrating: but the wrath of God was in the same proportion more fearfully manifested, by the consumption of the body apart from the sanctuary in the awful valley of Hinnom. It was no gracious, accepting, subliming emanation of the Holy Spirit, no

<sup>m</sup> Lev. iv. 3, 13.



perpetual fire out of the Presence, that consumed these offerings, but ordinary unhallowed flame, yet itself also perpetual<sup>n</sup>; a dread image and foretaste of the undying fires of the wrath of Almighty God.

The correspondence between these greater and national sin-offerings in the Mosaic system, and the *atoning* aspect of the work of Christ, is manifest, and is fully recognised in the New Testament. Thus, when our Lord is said to “bear our sins in His Own Body;” to be “once offered to bear the sin of many;” to be “made sin, or a curse, for us;” or again, to be “the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world,” to be “manifested to take away sins,” (the phrases “bear” and “take away” represent the same Hebrew term<sup>o</sup>); or again, to have “entered in once, not by the blood of goats and calves,” (that is, by the yearly repeated sin-offering of a goat and a calf for the people and the priest,) “but by His Own Blood:”—in all this it is emphatically as a public and congregational Sin-offering, rather than as a Burnt-offering, that His Sacrifice is set before us: it is by studying those sin-offerings, that we attain to a full conception of what is meant. For it is in them that we behold the awing spectacle of an innocent victim, not slain and consumed only, but cast out of the sanctuary as accursed, because of its bearing on it the sins of

<sup>n</sup> So it is said. Maimonides has mistaken the purport of this burning; which expressed, not so much “the utter deletion of sin, so that it should be remembered no more,” (*that* was the gracious work of the *Altar-fire*), as the consuming *wrath* of God against sin and sinners. See Ps. civ. 35; and xc. 7, a psalm of Moses, possibly on the destruction of Aaron’s sons by fire; see vers. 3, 6—8, 15—17.

<sup>o</sup> Heb. *naso*, ‘to lift up and carry:’ represented in LXX, as a sacrificial term, by *ἐξαιρεῖν*, Exod. xxviii. 38 (34); *ἀφαιρεῖν*, Lev. x. 17, *λαμβάνειν*, xvi. 22; or *ἀνάγειν*, Isa. liii. 12.

men, and there consumed as unclean; its blood meanwhile penetrating the sanctuary to obtain the pardon of the guilty. And so St. Paul interprets for us; saying that Christ's "suffering without the gate" of the holy city was in order that, enduring there, in the Body of His Flesh, banishment from God's Face, and His wrath against the sins laid upon Him, "He might by His own Blood," penetrating into the Holiest Place, "sanctify the people<sup>p</sup>."

And there are two especial rites of the older system, which though not, strictly speaking, sin-offerings, since they had no contact with an altar, yet were manifestly of like nature; and which interpret to us some of the most awful features in the atoning work of Christ.

These are, 1. The burning of the red heifer, already dwelt on<sup>q</sup>. Tradition represents that the blood of all sin-offerings, being poured at the bottom of the altar, descended into the valley of Kedron<sup>r</sup>; and that the bodies of them, and specially of the red heifer, were burnt there also. There are thus strong grounds for interpreting the Agony of Christ, which took place in the same spot, by reference to these awful ceremonies. And what we discern, specially in the case of the red heifer, is the wrath of God, not accompanied, as in the burnt-offering, by alleviating circumstances of acceptance and access, but by removal to a distance from God's Face, and endurance of unconsecrated fire. And we gather from hence that the peculiar poignancy of the Agony, as distinguished

<sup>p</sup> Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

<sup>q</sup> p. 232, note.

<sup>r</sup> It is added that it was sold to the gardeners to enrich their soil. This again reminds us of our Lord bedewing the natural soil, and the soil of humanity, with the Blood of His Agony.

from the suffering on the Cross, lay in its comfortless and abandoned estate. It was there, as it should seem, that the hiding of the Father's Face, and the inconceivable horror with which sin and death affect the Divine Nature, were felt in all their power. The Soul, not upheld, as on the Cross, (if we except the temporary sense of desertion expressed in "My God," &c.,) by the sweet sense of sacrificial suffering and comparative nearness to the Face of God, of oblation and acceptance, — was delivered over to the pressure of sin and death in all their dreadfulness. Hence the difference of the prayers and the gesture of the Redeemer in this case: the shrinking from death; the yearning for human company and sympathy; the prayer for deliverance; the being sorrowful and very heavy, even unto death; — all contrasting with the calm acquiescent<sup>s</sup> tone of all but every word and action on the Cross. And such accordingly is the view which the best divines have taken of this awful transaction: but it is satisfactory, in a subject so full of mystery, to find it confirmed by the analogy of the Jewish ordinance. Nor can we fail by the light of that analogy to ascribe to the Blood of the Agony a mighty virtue, in its degree, in the work of Redemption: since the blood of the heifer, though not shed in regular sacrificial wise, was sprinkled seven times

\* Christian Year, Tuesday in Holy Week:—

"For when was joy so dear,  
As the deep calm that breathed, 'Father, forgive,'  
Or, 'Be with Me in Paradise to-day?'  
And, though the strife be sore,  
Yet in His parting breath  
Love masters Agony; the Soul that seemed  
Forsaken, feels her present God again,  
And in her Father's Arms  
Contented dies away."

directly before the tabernacle of the congregation, and so evidently had a certain power, though it did not penetrate, like the blood of the sin-offerings on the Day of expiation, to the very mercy-seat.

2. The other quasi sin-offering referred to is the scape-goat. On the Day of expiation, "two kids of the goats were brought by the congregation for a sin-offering and "presented" before the Lord. One only, however, was dealt with according to the law of public sin-offerings; hands being laid on its head, its blood applied to the purpose of purifying the tabernacle and the people from their unfitness for God's service, contracted in the preceding year, and its body burnt without the camp. On the head of the other, also, the iniquities of the people were expressly put by laying on of the high-priest's hands, and confession of them over it. It was thus placed fully on a par with the other as a representative, and accordingly was "offered" or solemnly presented as a sacrificial gift. But this victim, strange as it may seem, was not *sacrificed* at all, nor even put to death. It thus forms an apparent exception to the great and universal law that "without shedding of blood," and taking of a life, "is no remission." But in the first place, viewing the two kids as making up (ver. 5) but *one* sin-offering, the usual conditions were fulfilled. Yet it still remains to be asked, Why this strange ceremonial, of an offering having two members<sup>x</sup>, of which the one

<sup>†</sup> Heb. *ngamod*; Hiph, 'to make to stand;' which is never used of sacrificial presentation. Lev. xvi. 7—10.

<sup>‡</sup> Ver. 20: "When he hath made an end of reconciling, he shall offer (*karob*) the live goat." The A. T. wrongly renders this "bring:" probably as not seeing how there could be any sacrifice in the case.

<sup>x</sup> So, too, the leper was cleansed by two birds; the one being killed "over running water;" that so there might be water and blood; the

is slain, the other suffered to live:—and that, too, on no trivial occasion, but as a part of the ceremonial on which the yearly renewal of Israelitish existence before God was suspended?

The solution lies deep down in the mystery of animal sacrifice. We know that in human suffering, especially when connected with sin, the body takes but half the burden; the mental suffering forms no small part of the curse entailed by the Fall. And accordingly it was not ordained that a Death involving bodily suffering only should ultimately take away the sin of the world: deep and varied mental anguish, “even unto death,” was to enter largely into the consecratory<sup>y</sup> and saving sufferings of the True Sin-offering. Now in the animal world, mental as distinguished from bodily suffering can only exist, it is true, in a very modified degree. Still, it does exist; as terror in the presence of danger: whence even the sacrificial deaths, however humanely conducted, involved some mental suffering. But all animals suffer, in a high degree, from a sense of loneliness and desertion; as at separation, when young, from parents, when older from offspring<sup>z</sup>; all gregarious sorts at segregation from their kind; all domestic ones at removal from the presence of man. And these are the very pains which the surviving “kid of the goats” or “scape-goat” was called upon to undergo. While one of these tender animals bore the doom of dissolution and consumption by fire, the other was sent forth to endure, in its capacity of “bearing away,” or neutralizing the sins

other dipped in the blood and let go. The parallel arises no doubt from the peculiar affinity of leprosy to sin. <sup>y</sup> Heb. v. 7—9.

<sup>z</sup> See the beautiful lines of Lucretius describing the desolation of a cow deprived of her young.

laid upon it, certain mental as well as bodily sufferings. "Carried away by the hand of a fit man,"—rejected by man himself,—“into the wilderness, into a land not inhabited,” and there let loose<sup>a</sup>, it was never more likely to have converse with its own kin, its own kind, or with man. That it would perish, the hardy habits of the animal render improbable. But it would suffer, in the way above described, and in a degree of which, from our ignorance of brute nature, we can take no measure. And even so did the One True Sin-offering of the Gospel undergo *two* distinct departments of suffering; the one consisting in His sacrificial Death, the other in His no less sacrificial Life. These inward sufferings, so full of sacrificial virtue,—which the Church accordingly pleads in her Eucharistic Litany,—extending through His entire sojourn in the Flesh, yet dated more especially from the hour of His Baptism. There, taking upon Him, as it should seem, the sins of all the people, lately confessed and washed away in the waters of Jordan, and now in a mystery laid upon Him by the Baptist, (who salutes Him accordingly, after the Temptation, as the Lamb of God Who “beareth or taketh away”—in the present tense—“the sins of the world,”) He is carried forth into the wilderness<sup>b</sup> to

<sup>a</sup> So Patrick, ver. 22, no doubt correctly, against the absurd fiction of the Jews, that this goat also was *killed* by throwing it from a rock; which is destructive to the whole idea. “It seems contrary to the intention of the law, which was that one only of the goats should be killed.”

<sup>b</sup> This point has been admirably worked out by Dean Jackson (On the Creed, vii. 2. 65); referred to by Patrick in Lev. xvi. 21: though he has not carried the idea on to the Agony. He gives strong reasons for placing the Baptism of Christ on the Day of Atonement. He also draws out an excellent comparison between the Temptation of Christ and of Israel: and observes that the Jews always confessed the sins of their forefathers with their own, as our Litany still does.

strive alone with the powers of evil. But that solitary strife was lifelong, and only reached its height in that second and later casting forth into the wilderness of sin and Satanic power, in that desolation of soul,—that sense of banishment from sympathy human and Divine,—which made up His Agony; and in those *ἄγνωστα παθήματα*, that mental anguish, “to us secret and unknown,” which found final utterance in the bitter cry upon the Cross.

### SECTION XVIII.

WE have now seen the bearing of the public and more solemn among the Mosaic sin-offerings upon Christian doctrine. Of the private sin-offerings a somewhat different account must be rendered.

It is often objected, explicitly or otherwise, to the Church's doctrine concerning the remission of sins through Christ, that it is involved in some inconsistency; in that it ascribes that effect, on the one hand, to the due reception of the sacraments; while yet, on the other, it recognises a personal commission, vested in a body of duly ordained men, to convey by word of mouth the same blessed reality. If the Sacraments contain in themselves full power for remission of sins, by application of the Blood of Christ; to what purpose, it is not unnaturally asked, is “power and commandment” given to Christ's ministers to “declare and pronounce to the penitent,” and thereby actually to convey<sup>o</sup>, the “absolution and remission of their sins?” Or, again, if this latter be effective, what place remains for the operation of the Sacra-

<sup>o</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 314.

ments in the matter? Why do we, after such absolution, still seek, in the Holy Communion, "remission of our sins" among the "other benefits of the Passion?" Nor, in truth, is there any point of theology requiring more of guarded statement in theory, and delicate adjustment in practice, than that of the powers committed severally to the Sacraments, and to the Ministers, of the Gospel.

Now it is undeniable that our Lord did give<sup>d</sup>, over and above the commission to administer the two Sacraments, a separate one "to remit and retain sins," by the power of the Holy Ghost. And though it might be alleged that this was only to be exercised through the administration of the Sacraments, it is certain that the Church has never understood it so. She has always had verbal absolutions; and never more solemn ones than in the prospect of celebration of Divine Service, or in the course of it; and specially at the celebration of the Eucharist. But this latter feature of the case, which at first seems to bring out the anomaly more strongly, in reality points to the true *rationale* of it.

A glance at the provisions, already described, of the private sin-offerings, and the more ordinary congregational ones, will assist us to a clear apprehension of the matter.

The means by which the individual or the congregation obtained access, of old, to the peculiar *Presence*, have been already dwelt upon. The *altar*, it is manifest, was the way to the Presence. But which was the way to the altar? by what rules was that way fenced about, and to whom was the guardianship of it committed? The answer is, that the "way"

<sup>d</sup> St. John xx. 23.



was through "the door" of the Tabernacle court, and that it was freely open to every Israelite not disqualified by breach of covenant laws: but that in case of such disqualification, of which the conscience of the worshipper was the judge in the first instance, the priest was constituted, in a very marked manner, the dispenser of absolution from it. The offender, on becoming aware, through self-examination or the warning of others<sup>e</sup>, of his fault, was to bring a stated offering; and the priest, by the prescribed methods of offering and *eating*, procured, and probably announced, his forgiveness. As to what constituted disqualification, there were certain plain rules laid down; while in cases of doubt or difficulty, recourse was to be had to the priest for counsel, as well as for remission. This is plainly written on the provisions, already detailed, for the personal sin-offering; joined to those for the trespass-offering, which was a variety of it; and to the general instructions<sup>f</sup> to resort to the priest for directions about the law. The stress, however, is by no means laid on this latter point; indeed, it is not mentioned in special connection with the sin-offering. All that is laid down is that confession of the fault must be made<sup>g</sup>,—evidently in a public manner,—and the prescribed offering brought. As to the range of faults contemplated by the ordinance, it is manifestly very wide; extending indeed to *any*<sup>h</sup> breach, moral, or ritual, of the entire law of Moses. It is true that certain faults are specified;

<sup>e</sup> Lev. iv. 27, 28, v. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Lev. x. 11; Mal. ii. 6, 7.

<sup>g</sup> This is prescribed at the first mention of a sin-offering for a specified fault, (Lev. v. 5; and again, Num. v. 7).

<sup>h</sup> Nothing can be more wide, or more express, than Lev. v. 27, Num. xv. 22.

but it is only because there were two classes of them, requiring a difference in the offerings, and it was therefore necessary to explain what faults fell under either head. The distinction was this;—if the fault did not involve any *damage* done to property, sacred or secular, a kid only, or its recognised substitute, was to be brought: but if damage had been done, a ram, together with the amount of damages in money, adding also a fifth part to be given to the priest<sup>1</sup>. It was further required that the fault, in all cases, should be one of inadvertence<sup>k</sup>, or at the lowest, committed through impulse, and regretted. If committed “with a high hand,” or “presumptuously<sup>1</sup>,” there was no remission; he was “cut off,” by excommunication or death, “from the people.”

Interpreting then from this source the “absolving and retaining” powers committed to the ministers of the Church, we gather that these have reference,

<sup>1</sup> This is plainly the whole matter, about which so much has been written, and such confusion made. *Chattath*, ‘sin,’ and *asham*, ‘guilt,’ are both alike applicable to all sorts of sins, (Lev. iv. 27, al.): and both are applied to the ordinary *sin-offering*, (ch. v. 6, 9,) which involved no damages. But in the case of a sin which involved *damages*, (*mangal*, Lev. v. 15, ‘lifting up’ and ‘taking away,’ fraudulently or not, from *ngaloh*, —unfortunately rendered “trespass,” vi. 1,—comp. the Scotch phrase “lift” i.e. to *collect* revenue, and our “shop-lifting;”) the offering was called *asham* rather than *chattah*: because this root carries in it, properly, the idea of material injury. See Gen. xxvi. 10, xlii. 21. Accordingly the offering in this case was costly; a ram, with a payment in money “to make amends, (*shallem*, to ‘complete,’ ‘make good,’) for the harm he hath done,” (*chattath*).

<sup>k</sup> Heb. *shegagah*. The root seems to have something in it of ‘losing oneself,’ and so becoming incapable of self-guidance; which is really the cause of all ordinary sin. Thus it is used of being ravished or entranced in the delights of affection. pure or otherwise; or overcome by drunkenness, (Prov. v. 19, 20). In Deut. xxvii. 18 it is, in *Hiph.*, “to cause the blind to lose himself.”

<sup>1</sup> Num. xv. 3.

strictly and properly, to the admission of men *not to salvation*,—or only indirectly,—but to the *means of salvation*; and to exclusion therefrom. It is theirs to remove, through the Holy Ghost committed to them by Christ for that especial end, the sins of repentant men, *sufficiently for their entrance without fear or harm upon the work of Divine Service*. This is the limit of that power. For the great and transcendent work of the entire removal of sin, renewal by the Holy Ghost, and presentation with acceptance, they commit them once more to Christ working through the Holy Eucharist, (as the old sin-offerings were followed by burnt and peace-offerings); and giving them complete union to Himself therein<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> So did Christ Himself, at the Institution of the Eucharist, divide His great work of remission into *two* several steps. He first washed the feet of the disciples, assuring them that this was necessary for their having their part in Him. They had been engrafted by Baptism into Him; they were about to partake eucharistically of Him: between the two, as a qualification for the second, must come their absolution from certain stains incident to man. And they in their turn were hereafter, “to do to others as He had done to them;” to be among Christ’s people “as those that served,” and specially in this matter of remitting sins, which might well seem to be one of lordship and superiority; humbly and gladly washing the feet of penitents, that they might enter in, and partake sacramentally of Christ, and be saved. See this whole transaction admirably expounded, and in the same sense, by the Rev. T. T. Carter, in his volume of Sermons, published while these sheets were passing through the press, pp. 93—98. “This example,” he says, “was primarily intended to symbolise the Apostles’ ministrations as Priests, theirs and their successors’ for ever, in applying the virtues of His precious Blood. It refers to a washing that has previously taken place, and can never be repeated. Baptism contains not in itself the power of remedying all after falls. It imparts a covenanted claim to ministries which are ordained to renew the forfeited purity of baptismal grace; but other means are provided to meet the case of sin after baptism; prayer, confession, &c. The absolving power of the Church is the special ministerial agency, which, having relation respectively to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, repairs the losses of the first grace, and removes the hindrances to the ever-increasing fulness of grace in the

With this view of the subject the phraseology of Holy Scripture, and the practice of the Church in her purest periods, are thoroughly accordant. The Scriptural language runs throughout upon the ideas of "fastening and unfastening;" which seems always, from the mention of *keys*, to refer to a "door<sup>n</sup>." This is countersigned by the sin-offering ritual, which so emphatically brought the offerer to the *door*, and there committed him to other means, to burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, for his admission to the holiest place. And since this door lay awfully between the Kingdom of God and of Satan, the throwing of it open to any given person was to "unlock" also, as far as he was concerned, the gates of hell, and to let him go free from thence. Hence the action is called a "binding and loosening," as of a prison or chains; literally "leaving tied," or "untying."

We have indeed no faculties for understanding how sins should be sufficiently "loosed," in order to a certain degree of access to God, and yet not entirely

Communion of the Lord's Body. These exercises and ministries of repentance are 'the washing of the feet.'"

<sup>n</sup> In St. Matt. xv. 18, the Church is set forth as a belligerent city, which can resist all the power of the "gates" or stronghold of hell and Satan. That this city also has its "gates" we learn by inference from Rev. xxi. 12, xxii. 14. Admission to the perfected city and to the tree of life (Gen. iii. 24) is through its gates, for "those that do the commandments," while others are without. Of these gates *twelve angels* are the guardians or porters. To St. Peter, and the *twelve* through him, it is the "keys" of the Church or kingdom of heaven *on earth* that are promised, ("Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth"); and their "opening and shutting," it is promised, shall be ratified at the gates of the heavenly city. The Heb. for "bind and loose" (*asor* and *pathoach*) certainly means "lock and unlock;" generally for the purpose of confining to and letting out from prison. We must therefore recognise, as in the text, the idea of "leaving bound" in the prison of hell, and "letting loose from it."

done away. But this arises from our ignorance of the whole sphere of things to which these actions belong. And we are somewhat helped towards the recognition, if not the conception of it, by observing that the Mosaic rites did certainly remove some effects of sin, while it left others untouched. It was apparently from not understanding this point, that the Church of the middle ages was driven to define the proper function of absolution, as distinguished from that of the Sacraments, to be the forgiveness of certain *kinds* of sins, instead of—what was certainly the ancient doctrine—the remission, sufficiently for admittance to the means of grace, of *all* kinds of sin, if duly repented of. The degree of repentance and amends to be exacted is a question, about which the Church has ever used her own judgment.

The sum is, that there is in the Christian Church now, as in that of old, a “going from strength to strength, until to the God of gods appeareth every one of us in Sion.” The clergy, by announcing and conveying pardon by word of mouth, bring men to the altar; the altar brings them to Christ; and Christ brings them to God. And most important, though thus strictly subordinate, is the ordained manner of approach to the sanctuary, performed of old through the sin-offering, and by corresponding means now. The Levitical priests received their consecration, in order to powers of binding and loosing, by eating of a sin-offering; and ever after discharged this part of their office by the same means, viz. eating of the sin-offerings of the people. The Apostles received the like powers for themselves and others by our Lord’s *breathing* upon them: and they exercise them by the analogous power of *speech*, made effective, by that one

Breathing, to the loosing of sins. Nor can we fail to mark the gracious care of God for His wandering sheep, in thus making the re-admission of the fallen or the timorous a *personal* work: a work leaving an opening, if desired, for personal communication, reassurance, counsel, comfort. As to the Sin-offering now to be brought to the sanctuary, it is no other than Christ Himself, presented and pleaded through faith, sacramentally or not, with confession and repentance.—As to the actual working of the Mosaic system as regards the sin-offering, we are but scantily informed. But it would seem likely that devout persons would bring them on all high occasions; and also that sin-offerings for the whole congregation were then offered<sup>o</sup>, and administered (as in Nadab's and Abihu's case) by the priests. But however this be, we cannot fail to justify the Church's ancient and still retained provision of frequent and duly graduated acts of this nature, designed to bring her children to a due and safe approach to God in Divine Service. The East and West of old had their solemn daily Absolution at Morning and Evening Prayer<sup>p</sup>, besides others interspersed in the Offices. The English Church of this day has concentrated hers into fewer but more intense formulæ.—It is sometimes asked why, when confession and absolution have taken place in the Morning Office, there should be yet another in the Communion Office. But it is plain that reverence dictates a belief in the necessity for fresh degrees of cleansing, when holier mysteries are to be approached. So did the priests, who at their consecration were washed all over with water, yet wash

<sup>o</sup> See above, on the occasion of Aaron's inaugurative sacrifices.

<sup>p</sup> See vol. i. p. 103.

their hands and feet daily at their first entering into the Tabernacle, and yet again when they offered burnt-offerings.

### SECTION XIX.

WE now approach the third kind of Mosaic Sacrifice, the Peace-Offering: the offering which presents the closest resemblance of any to the Christian Eucharist, and is properly, though not exclusively, its type and analogue.

We have seen that the continual Burnt-offering, presented by the High-priest or his sons, was the standing instrument of a continued acceptable presentation before the Divine Presence: nor only so, but of access in a deep mystery to it, and even of a certain communion with it. The congregational and private burnt-offerings, stated or volunteered, were further a means of making a personal appearance in the Presence, and of more intense realization of its benefits. Nor was there wanting, besides, a certain daily dedication of themselves through the one Offering: the hours of the morning and evening sacrifice being ordinarily used, probably from the first, for private prayer. Besides which, in the synagogues throughout the land, from some early period<sup>a</sup>, there was service<sup>r</sup> at those hours three days in the week.

<sup>a</sup> There is reason for believing that "houses of God" similar to the Synagogues existed long before the captivity. See the Christian Remembrancer for Jan. 1853, No. 79, p. 43. So the Davidic Psalms lxxxiii. 12, "Let us take the houses of God in possession;" lxxiv. 8, "They have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land." (*sic* A. T.) Hengstenberg vainly tries to explain these passages of the Temple.

<sup>r</sup> See above, Part I. p. 69, and Prideaux's Connection, i. 6—8.

Thus were "the whole multitude of the people," in a manner, "praying without at the time of incense," day by day and everywhere; and not only on high Festivals, and at Jerusalem.

It might have been expected, perhaps, that thus to dwell with acceptance in the Presence, which in reality overflowed the limits of the sanctuary, and gathered under its shadowing and healing wings the people and the land, would constitute the entire Israelitish position.

Nevertheless, so it was, that a yet more intimate fruition of the Presence, through the media of the sacrifice and of the high-priest, was provided for Israel in the Peace-offerings *partaken of* by them.

That the action of *eating* should perform so important a part in the sacrificial scheme, as to be the indispensable requisite for entering upon the highest degree of religious privilege destined for man, will seem strange to no one who reflects upon the mysterious nature of this part of our animal constitution\*. All manner of animal existence is preserved, not by the mere Will of God, acting without means, but by His blessing accompanying certain means and a certain constitution. To assimilate some substance external to itself, is the one requisite for vital continuance and growth. But this law extends to spiritual being also. We have no reason to suppose that any being, below the One Self-Existing Being and Substance, is necessarily and *per se* immortal. "He only *hath* Immortality." All they, the rest, live of His exhaustless Substance, howsoever supplied to them. The angels live really, and not in figure only, by "angels' Food." And the sustenance of man's

\* See Dr. Mill's Sermon on St. John vi.



*spirit*, in all stages of his religious privilege, must be that same Substance, through whatever media conveyed. And it has ever pleased God to use *kindred* media: to make the mysterious machinery, which assimilates sustenance for the earthly life, the occasion and the instrument, more marvellously still, of assimilating sustenance for the heavenly. That the eating of manna was so empowered we have the sure warrant of God's Word: and we may safely and surely extend that capacity to all heaven-descended and supranaturally ordained food.

Accordingly, we discern, in very early times, a connection between sacrifices and *feasting*; and there is every reason for believing that it existed from the first, though we are imperfectly informed as to the laws of it. The heathen nations sometimes reserved a part of their nominal holocausts (i. e. *whole* burnt-offerings) to feast upon<sup>†</sup>. But this was no doubt the exception: nor have we reason to suppose that slain burnt-offerings presented to the true God were *ever* otherwise than wholly consumed on the altar. Whence, then, the materials for sacrificial feasting in the patriarchal period? The most probable supposition is, that other animals were at such times slain for food, with some degree of solemnity, before the altar: whence they received the name of "victims," (*zebachim*), though not strictly speaking sacrifices, and partook in a measure of the sanctity of the altar. This view is confirmed by the fact that still, in Mosaic times, all animals for common food were, if possible, to be slain at the Tabernacle<sup>‡</sup> or Temple,

<sup>†</sup> Patrick on Lev. i. 3.

<sup>‡</sup> Deut. xii. 5, 21, &c. The Greeks also called animals slain for food, *ἱερεῖα*.

and were called "sacrifices" or "victims," though not viewed as actual peace-offerings; since they might be eaten by the unclean. This will account<sup>x</sup> for the "burnt-offerings and *sacrifices*" spoken of by Moses in Egypt, and for those of Jethro and Naaman; and for the manner in which peace-offerings are for the first time mentioned, after the giving of the Decalogue, as if familiar in some form to the Israelites: "Thy burnt-offerings and thy peace-offerings<sup>y</sup>." They were now, however, exalted to the *status* of regular sacrifices.

The Mosaic peace-offering, then<sup>z</sup>, (*shelem*), consisted of a slain animal, male or female, which the offerer presented and slew at the door of the Tabernacle court, after laying his hand upon its head: when the priest sprinkled the blood round about the altar; all as in the case of a burnt-offering. The body was divided<sup>a</sup> into three parts. 1. The fat and inward parts were burnt upon the altar by the priests; and it is more distinctly ordered<sup>b</sup> than in

<sup>x</sup> Exod. x. 25, xviii. 12; 2 Kings v. 17. Outram rightly appeals (i. 10. 1) to the two former of these passages in proof that actual peace-offerings existed before the Law. Johnstone (p. 44) denies this; because the term is not there applied to them, but is first used when Moses offers the first actual peace-offering on record, viz. at the original rehearsal of the Covenant, Exod. xxiv. 7; but he has overlooked Exod. xx. 24, where they are called *Shelamim*, though not yet *Zebachim-shelamim*, and are spoken of as something already known: nor does he explain what the "victims" of Jethro were. Patrick on Lev. i. seems to acquiesce in the view of most Jewish writers, that there were none but burnt-offerings before the Law. Yet, on Deut. xii. 7, he admits the previous existence of peace-offerings.

<sup>y</sup> Exod. xx. 24.

<sup>z</sup> The laws of the peace-offering must be sought in Lev. iii. entire, vii. 11—28, xxii. 17—33, Numb. xv. 8, 14; the circumstances of its first being offered in Exod. xxiv. entire, comparing Lev. ix. entire. See Johnstone's "Israel, &c.," pp. 48—50.

<sup>a</sup> Hence some derive the name of these offerings from *shaleem*, (in Pihel,) 'to render to each his portion.'

<sup>b</sup> Lev. iii. 5.

the case of any other personal offering that it should "be burnt upon the Burnt-sacrifice," (that is, the daily sacrifice,) "which is upon the wood, which is upon the fire." 2. A second portion, the breast and shoulder, was given to the priest after the one had been lifted or "heaved" up, and the other "waved" to and fro, the priest putting his hands under those of the offerer<sup>c</sup>. 3. The remainder, forming by far the greatest part, was eaten with rejoicing by the *offerer* and his household<sup>d</sup>. From the time the Israelites entered the Holy Land, besides a meat-offering of *bread*, (flour and oil,) a drink-offering of *wine* was required to be added to the peace-offering, as well as to the personal burnt-offerings<sup>e</sup>. Of this meat-offering a handful, called the "*memorial*" as *representing* the whole, was burnt upon the altar: the rest eaten by the priest.

Now it is to be observed of this kind of sacrifice, that besides that, like the other personal or congregational sacrifices, it served in a general way to present and to plead, on behalf of the worshipper, the virtue of the continual burnt-offering, it contained in it, in a measure, the powers of the other two kinds. Inferior<sup>f</sup> to the burnt-offering in expressing self-dedication and worship, since it was burnt but *in part*; and to the sin-offering in respect of atonement, because the blood was not applied to the horns of the altar, nor yet poured out at the foot of it; it nevertheless was marked as of kin<sup>g</sup> to the one by the

<sup>c</sup> Lev. vii. 28, 34; Num. vi. 19, 20.

<sup>d</sup> Deut. xii. 11, 17.

<sup>e</sup> Lev. vii. 12; Num. xv. 2—12.

<sup>f</sup> On this account it was not, like the other two kinds, killed in the "most holy place," the north of the altar, but anywhere in the court, unless it were for the whole congregation.

<sup>g</sup> It is even called a burnt-offering in Exod. xxix. 25, where see

*sprinkling* of the blood, and to the other by being partly eaten by the priest. While therefore the offering of *all three kinds*<sup>b</sup> constituted the most complete act of personal priesthood, this one was best fitted to survive in the Christian scheme as the representative of all, and carrying the powers of all in it. Nor is it to be doubted that the Christian Eucharist possesses in perfection the powers of the personal or congregational burnt-offering, sin-offering, and peace-offering, all in one; and stands in the same relation to the Original and Continual Sacrifice of CHRIST, as all of them together did to the Mosaic Continual Sacrifice.

As to the division made of the victim, we observe that the richest part of all, the fat of the inward parts, was given to the altar, expressing and conveying the dedication of the worshipper in his best gifts and powers. Nor only so, but in a mystery, as in the case of the burnt-offering, the heaven-descended fire consumed it on God's behalf, as representing the will and being of the worshipper, which He ever desires for Himself. Moreover, it was very expressly *by being laid upon* the One Continual Sacrifice, that the consumed part of the peace-offering, representing the whole, found acceptance. Certain choice parts, again, given to the priest, (viz. the breast and shoulder<sup>i</sup>,) besides expressing dedication of heart and hand to God's service, also enhanced, as in the case of the sin-offering, the acceptance of the whole through the

Patrick. The "sprinkling," as compared with pouring out, implied freer sacrificial access; see above.

<sup>b</sup> See Johnstone's *Israel*, &c., p. 49. Comp. Exod. xxix. 1—32; Lev. ix., xxiii. 17—19; Num. vi. 4—17, vii.; 2 Chron. xxix.; Ezek. xliii. 18—27.

<sup>i</sup> Lev. iii. 11. Comp. Num. xxviii. 2.

sanctification possessed by the priest. They served also to carry on the mysterious reality of a Feast shared by God and man. By the priest, as representing God, the offering was, not in mystery but in simple reality, partaken of. To the same effect were the singular ceremonies of heaving and waving. The "heaving" of the part given to the priest was a lifting it towards heaven, to signify<sup>k</sup> a desire of its being accepted as the Food of God's Table, to be eaten by His representative. The "waving" of other parts given to be burnt upon the altar, together with a loaf of bread, was only a more elaborate kind of heaving; consisting in moving them up and down, and to right and left, and forward and backward<sup>l</sup>. And in fact the heaving and waving were performed at one time. The design of the waving was not so much (as the Jewish writers say) to acknowledge God's *universal* lordship, as to express a desire for the consecration and acceptance of their peculiar land<sup>m</sup> and possessions; since *first-fruits* formed an important part of what was heaved or waved: whence the raising up and "waving" of Christ, the "First-fruits of them that slept<sup>n</sup>." At the same time, this lifting

<sup>k</sup> Heb. *terumah*, from *roum*, in Hiph., 'to heave up.' Patrick on Num. xv. 20: "They were heaved or lifted up to Him as the Creator, and then given to His Ministers, who had them in His right." For the laws of the heave-offering and wave-offering, (*tenuphah*, from *nouph*, 'to shake,') see Lev. vii. 29—36; Num. vi. 19, 20, xv. 17, 21, xviii.; Exod. xxix. 22—28.

<sup>l</sup> So the Jewish writers, as Abarbanel, in Patrick on Exod. xxix. 24. "Up and down, and then to all the four quarters of the world; to signify that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." Moses Egyptius in Outram, i. 16. 9.

<sup>m</sup> Comp. Gen. xiii. 14; Deut. iii. 17, where it is said to Abraham and to Moses with reference to the *land*, "Lift up thine eyes westward and northward, and southward and eastward." Comp. above, p. 100.

<sup>n</sup> See Bp. Andrewes, Sermon ii., Of the Resurrection. It is very

up, as to a heavenly altar, for consumption (representatively) by God Almighty Himself, of a portion of the same food as the worshipper was about to eat of, was plainly in order to mysterious communion. Nor should it be omitted that the same rite exhibited the worshipper as exercising, in his degree, full powers of priesthood: since "the filling of the hands" with the heave and wave-offerings was the means by which the consecration<sup>o</sup> of Aaron and his sons was completed by Moyses<sup>p</sup>.

Now it is impossible that we can be mistaken in assigning the very highest importance in the Mosaic system to the peace-offerings. They were no mere *tokens* or testifications, as is commonly said, of peace between God and the Israelites. They were a matter of Israelitish life or death. On the faithful rendering and participation of them was absolutely suspended

remarkable that the consecration of persons, as e.g. of the Levites, included "waving," or causing them to move to and fro. Num. viii. 11: "And thou shalt wave the Levites before the Lord, for a wave-offering of the children of Israel, that they may execute the service of the Lord."

<sup>o</sup> Exod. xxix. 22—28. The word rendered "consecration" in vers. 22, 27, is no other than *milluim*, or "filling," from *malea*, to fill: generally joined with "the hands," Exod. xxxii. 29. The "filling" also signified that the priesthood was hereby *completed*, (R. Solomon ap. Patrick in loc.,) this being the last rite of consecration.

<sup>p</sup> How remarkably these singular rites were perpetuated in the Liturgies has been shewn elsewhere, (Introd. to Part II. p. 175). It is still more curious, that in the English rite, just before reception, the deacon, representing the people, received into his hands the paten, *lifted it* with outstretched arms, the priest raising his arms at his side. Then he "waved" the paten from side to side, to the four quarters. Sar. rubr.: "Ponat ad sinistrum oculum, deinde ad dexterum; postea *faciat crucem cum patena ultra caput.*" Moreover, *three* portions were made of the Bread; (1) united to the wine, to signify the Resurrection; (2) eaten by the priest; (3) the largest, distributed to the communicants. Maskell in loc., Anc. Lit., p. 109.

the nation's and each man's part in the covenant. Three times in the year must all the males, by the Sinaitic covenant, appear before the Lord. And their proper business, when there, was to offer and partake of this kind of sacrifice. Other sacrifices they might add of their own voluntary will; as burnt-offerings, or additional peace-offerings, according to their piety and their means: or a sin-offering might have become necessary for some violation of the covenant, real or apprehended. But the particular service which could not be withheld without being "cut off," and was the formal cause of covenant existence, was, 1. the offering and eating of the great national Peace-offering, the Passover; and 2. the bringing and partaking of other<sup>a</sup> peace-offerings, as the tithe of the flock and the herd. And as the Passover was a sort of *yearly* renewal of their original relations of service towards God, so did the offering and eating of the other ordained peace-offerings, consisting of animals and bread, thrice a-year, maintain those relations in full action, and really convey to them<sup>r</sup> the temporal and spiritual blessings of the covenant.

It is further to be observed,—and it tends to throw ever-increasing light on the nature of the Christian Eucharist, and on the elements of service uniformly exhibited in the Liturgies,—that there were *three* varieties<sup>s</sup> of peace-offerings.

1. The leading and most comprehensive one was the EUCHARISTIC; the sacrifice, that is, of "Thanksgiving

<sup>a</sup> Nothing can therefore be more infelicitous than Calmet's statement (in v. Sacrifice) that "no law obliged an Israelite to offer a peace-offering:" he was misled by the term "voluntary" applied to one kind of peace-offering.

<sup>r</sup> Deut. xvi. 7.      <sup>s</sup> Lev. viii. 11, 12, 16; Outram, i. 11.

and Praise<sup>t</sup> for some signal benefit, mercy, or deliverance. This kind is mentioned first, and is distinguished by some significant features from the other two sorts. It was also accompanied by a peculiar provision of various kinds of unleavened cakes, in addition to the offering of meal and wine common to the three classes. But what is most remarkable of all, and entirely without parallel in the whole range of sacrifices, there were added also, besides the unleavened cakes, loaves of *leavened bread*. These, though not offered on the altar, were presented, and one loaf "heaved" for the priest's use; the rest consumed by the worshippers: a wonderful provision, as we shall see, for the growth of the Eucharist out of this rite. And this bread was traditionally called by the name of "Bread of Thanksgiving or of Eucharist<sup>u</sup>." This particular kind of Peace-offering was, moreover, to be eaten on the self-same day that it was offered; whereas the other two sorts might be eaten on the morrow: a regulation designed to promote<sup>x</sup> charitable and liberal communication of the sacrificial feast.—In this class of Peace-offerings, and as the chief of them all, the PASCHAL LAMB, with its unleavened bread, is to be reckoned. Originally instituted before the existence of the great

<sup>t</sup> Heb. *Zebach-todah*, from *jadah*, "to throw or thrust forth," (Jer. l. 14,) thence "to put forth" an open confession or acknowledgment whether of sin (Josh. vii. 19, Lev. v. 5) or of mercies (Ps. cvii. 1). The LXX render it, unfortunately, by *θυσία σωτηρίου*, instead of the literal *θυσία εὐχαριστίας*; which has greatly obscured the parentage undoubtedly subsisting between it and the Holy Eucharist. The Greeks called such sacrifices *χαριστήρια*.

<sup>u</sup> R. Levi, ap. Patrick on Lev. vii. 12.

<sup>x</sup> Outram, i. 17. 11. "The Eucharistic peace-offerings were to be eaten sooner than the other two sorts: because they were an acknowledgment of benefits received, and therefore to be celebrated less sparingly, every one that was fit being invited."



Mosaic system, with its central Presence and all-controlling Burnt-offering, it subsequently took its place harmoniously under that system. "Its exact similarity to an individual peace-offering," says a recent able writer<sup>†</sup>, "is evident, with the single exception that the one was personal, the other national." He points out that it was killed in the same place by the offerer himself, and that the portions which God took for the altar were the same: add to which, that the priests sprinkled the blood as usual on the altar; and the offerer ate the rest with his friends. "There was no part," he correctly adds, "reserved for the priest, as in other personal peace-offerings, because the priest had a personal feast of his own."

Thus did the mighty and mysterious Passover, which at the first was the actual instrument of delivering Israel out of the spiritual bondage of devils to the worship of God, survive as a perpetual memorial of that deliverance; and yet at the same time, in virtue of the part burnt on the altar and the sprinkling of the blood, take up its relative position towards the Continual Sacrifice, and through it towards the original offering of Isaac.

To the Eucharistic peace-offerings belonged also the first-born of cattle: another result, indeed, of the original passover deliverance. These, however, were given entire, after being offered in the usual way, to the priest<sup>‡</sup>. Not so the *tenth* of the flock and herd, which it is believed were to be slain and offered, but only the usual parts given to the altar, and none at all to the priest<sup>§</sup>. And hence would accrue a supply of

<sup>†</sup> Johnstone, *Israel after the Flesh*, chap. ii. p. 52. See 2 Chron. xxx. 17, xxxv. 11—14.

<sup>‡</sup> Exod. xiii. 15; Numb. xviii. 17, 18.

<sup>§</sup> So Maimonides, &c., ap. Outram, i. 11. 7.

*obligatory* eucharistic peace-offerings of animals, besides similar tenths of fruits of the earth, at the great Festivals.

2. But besides these peace-offerings (the paschal lamb and the tenths) which were of obligation<sup>b</sup>, particular persons would bring their "sacrifice of thanksgiving," or eucharist, for personal deliverances, as David promises to do on recovery from sickness; as Hezekiah did on the restoration of the Temple worship, and Manasses on recovering his liberty and kingdom<sup>c</sup>.

There were two classes of these *volunteered* peace-offerings. (1.) The one was *votive*<sup>d</sup> or *vowed*; performed, that is, as the fulfilment of a vow or promise made in the day of calamity. Such were "the vows" which David "promised with his mouth when he was in trouble:" such the vows of Jephthah, of Jonah's companions, and of Absalom<sup>e</sup>: such the "calves of the lips" (i.e. promised by the lips) which God by the prophet Hosea instructs His people to promise and to pay. The "vows" or vowed peace-offerings were often accompanied by burnt-offerings likewise: but the essential performance of the vow in Mosaic times consisted in offering and partaking of the peace-offering, and the term 'vow' is applied to that only.

<sup>b</sup> Compare our Communion Office, "Although we be unworthy . . . to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our *bounden* duty and service;" and the old Western rite, "*quam oblationem adscriptam, ratam*" (i.e., as it seems, reckoned to the worshipper as a bounden debt or duty discharged) "*facere digneris.*"

<sup>c</sup> Ps. cxvi. 17: comp. Ps. cvii. 17—22; 2 Chron. xxix. 31, xxxiii. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Heb. *Neder*, 'a thing vowed,' from *nador*, 'to promise conditionally.' See Lev. vii. 16; Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17.

<sup>e</sup> Ps. lxvi. 13—15: Judges xi. 30; Jonah x. 9; 2 Sam. xv. 7, 8.

(2.) The other kind was called the "voluntary" or free-will offering<sup>f</sup>, and so was of a more noble character than the last mentioned; because it was not vowed in danger, but given as the outpouring of a devout and grateful heart, from a sense of God's mercy, general or particular. This kind of peace-offering was not, indeed, as its name might seem to import, left entirely to the Israelite to give or to withhold. It was required<sup>g</sup> that he should bring *some* free-will offering at all the three great festivals, over and above the other stated peace-offerings. But the amount was regulated by his means and inclination. And the peculiar beauty and acceptableness of this kind of peace-offering lay in its being, as to its *amount*, spontaneous: whereas peace-offerings of the first kind, whether paschal lamb, or tithes, were of obligation both as to the thing and the quantity. Though accepted, therefore, as acts of dutiful homage, they lacked the character of gifts properly free. And for the expression of this feeling it was that the two other kinds of Eucharistic peace-offerings, especially the last described, were instituted.

We have now completed our survey of the sacrifices, both personal and congregational, wont to be brought by Israel to the Altar of Continual Sacrifice.

<sup>f</sup> *Nadab*, from *nadob*, 'to be liberal, free:?' comp. Ps. li. 12, "The Spirit of liberality" or princeliness.

<sup>g</sup> Deut. xvi. 10: "Thou shalt keep the feast of weeks . . . with the tribute of a *free-will-offering* of thine hand which *thou shalt give*, according as the Lord thy God hath blessed thee." Ib. ver. 16: "'Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God in the place which He shall choose, . . . and they *shall not appear* before the Lord *empty*, every man shall give as he is able." Comp. 2 Cor. ix. 7.

On a review of them, we perceive that the sacrificial service of a devout Israelite, or of the congregation, at one of the Festivals, properly and strictly consisted of an ordained and bounden sacrifice called a "Sacrifice of Eucharist or Thanksgiving:" whether the paschal lamb, as at the Passover; or, both then and at the other two feasts, the tithe of the flock or of the herd, of the corn and wine and oil; to which might be added a sin or burnt-offering, to give fuller expression to the ideas involved in the peace-offering. By this sacrifice, *offered* and *eaten of*; not offered only, or eaten of only, but both offered and eaten of,—he secured his position, and took his part as a priest unto God. His action, moreover, was strictly a relative one. It had no standing-ground of its own, but relied absolutely for its virtue upon the great continual Oblation. This was the case with all peace-offerings (or quasi-peace-offerings, i.e. victims sacrificially slain for food) from the earliest days; they presupposed a burnt-sacrifice. Much more stringently was it the law of the Israelite's peace-offering. He hereby (1.) joined with the high-priest or priests in *presenting* and *pleading*, with thankful memorial of the wonders wrought by it, the great Covenant Sacrifice. And next, (2.) he partook of it. For the sacrifice of which he literally ate was mystically united and identified with the other. Through the same medium, he was also mystically united and grafted into the person of the high-priest or priests who offered, by their partaking of the same animal. So united, he both was presented and presented himself acceptably, as being in the priest and in the sacrifice, before the Presence. He received, conveyed through these mysterious channels, the ever-flowing benefits of the covenant.

## SECTION XX.

SUCH, then, are the results, for purposes of Eucharistic illustration, of an examination of the ancient sacrifices. In a subject of such magnitude, it were vain to attempt a recapitulation. It may suffice, therefore, to observe in general, that a rigorously conducted analysis of that system has resulted in bearing up and substantiating, at every point, the ancient ecclesiastical conceptions of the Holy Eucharist. As we have glanced down the course of ages, our eye has rested on a succession of august sacrificial events; a widely spread tissue of sacrificial usages. And in the events and usages alike, we discern, as in the variously inclined facets of a multiplying mirror, one image a thousand times repeated;—and its features are those of the Church's Eucharistic celebration. In the offerings of Abel and of Noah; in the universal sacrifices and sacrificial feastings of the Gentile world; in the mystic action of Melchisedec; in the peculiar sacrificial and memorial structure of the patriarchs' service; in the Passover deliverance of their seed; in the inaugural sacrificial feasting of the Mosaic economy; in the various ways provided for joining in and partaking of its one Offering, once made and ever renewed; in the shew-bread; in the personal and congregational offerings of whatever class, though specially in the Peace-offerings;—in all these we have found this one image repeated. No reasonable doubt therefore can remain in the mind of any one, as to what the real and ordained nature of the Holy Eucharist is: and this antecedently to and apart from the concurring testimony of the early Church.

One or two remarks only I would make, in bringing this prolonged discussion to a close. The first is, that the view here taken of the ancient system, of the Mosaic especially, as it is unquestionably far loftier than is commonly entertained, so will it doubtless appear to some to be excessive. Few, however, I venture to think, will deny, that if that system is unduly elevated here, it has in time past been unduly depreciated. A system of nominalism, a non-natural mode of interpreting those passages of the Old Testament, which distinctly ascribe powers of atonement and sanctification to the old sacrificial economy, has too long prevailed among us. It has, I conceive, been shewn in the preceding pages, that the frank acceptance of all such passages in their literal sense is liable to no such objections as have been supposed to lie against it; and furnishes, moreover, the true basis on which to rest an unanswerable vindication of the Church's ancient conception of the Sacrificial Work of Christ.

Another remark is, that among the results of this investigation we cannot reckon the faintest trace or intimation of any worship to be paid *to a sacrifice*. This is indisputable. The worship is throughout presented *by means* of the sacrifice, not directed to it. There is no countenance then, from this quarter at least, for the mediæval opinion, lately re-introduced by some earnest minds among us, that the supreme purpose, or, however, a very principal one, of the Eucharist, is to provide in the ordained media of the rite,—the consecrated Elements,—an object of Divine Worship. However ingeniously it has been endeavoured to invoke the countenance of Fathers and liturgies to such a view, it would seem absolutely fatal to it, that the

ancient sacrificial system, divinely accredited to us as an exact type or copy of the Gospel scheme, gives not the remotest hint of such a feature as destined to have place in it.

But it will perhaps be contended that this is among the number of the things in which the Old system could not justly mirror forth the New; arising as it does out of the Divine Nature of the Gospel Sacrifice and Priest. But to this there is the fatal objection, that St. Paul, when setting forth to the Hebrews the points in which the Gospel sacrificial system transcends that of the Law, makes no mention of this as one. Nor is there, confessedly, a single word in the New Testament, any more than in the Old, of direction or instruction to the effect contended for. It is purely a matter of inference; an inference the unsoundness of which, as well as the fearful conclusions which (by the admission of the upholders of it themselves) follow from it, has been pointed out elsewhere<sup>b</sup>.

Neither, again, does the ancient system, rightly understood, and taken in conjunction with Christ's own ordinance, lend any support to another mediæval habit, closely allied to the former one, of taking part, as it is called, in the sacrifice, without receiving. In the old system, the kind of offering which, and which alone, was of power to retain the people in the covenanted estate, was the peace or eucharistic offering. This, offered and partaken of thrice a-year at least, was, as has been shewn, the condition and channel of Israelitish life. Sin-offerings and burnt-offerings came in, on these occasions, as the preparation for

<sup>b</sup> See Note at the end of the volume; and above, *Introd. to Part II.*, pp. 142—145.

this, or as an enhancement of it. It is true they might be offered independently. But on what ground? as an inference from the nature of the peace-offering, in which they were in kind contained, and by an arbitrary dissociation of its sacrificial from its receptive features? No: there were rules which provided for separate offering. Now this is exactly what there is *not* in the Gospel system. Our Lord ordained but one rite, and that one Eucharistic: doubtless because there was to be but one all-containing service. And whoever undertakes to dis sever what God in that rite has joined together, is surely guilty of most unwarrantable and dangerous presumption.

It is enough for us that the Holy Eucharist is all that the ancient types foreshewed that it would be: that in it we present "memorially," yet truly and with prevailing power, by the consecrating Hands of our Great High Priest, the wondrous Sacrifice once for all offered by Him at the Eucharistic Institution, consummated on the Cross, and ever since presented and pleaded by Him, Risen and Ascended, in Heaven; that our material Gifts are identified with that awful Reality, and as such are borne in upon the Incense of His Intercession, and in His Holy Hands, into the True Holiest Place; that we ourselves, therewith, are borne in thither likewise, and abide in a deep mystery in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus; that thus we have all manner of acceptance,—sonship, kingship, and priesthood unto God; all our whole life, in all its complex action, being sanctified and purified for such access, and abiding continually in a heavenly sphere of acceptableness and privilege.—Enough for us, again, that on the sacramental side of the mystery, we who have been thus privileged to give to God of



His Own with acceptance, receive back from God His Own Gift of Himself to dwell in us, and we in Him ; —that we thereby possess an evermore renewed and dedicated being,—strengthened with all might, and evermore made one with Him. Profoundly reverencing Christ's peculiar Presence in us and around us in the celebration of such awful Mysteries, we nevertheless take as the watchword of our deeply mysterious Eucharistic worship, “*Sursum corda ;*” and, “*Our life is hid with Christ in God.*”

## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE PRIMITIVE FORM OF LITURGY.

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#### SECTION I.

THUS far, then, of the *nature* of that Service and Worship which the Church renders to God through Christ in the Holy Eucharist; and of the unspeakable Gift which she receives thereby. We are next to enquire concerning the *form and manner* in which this Service has been conducted from the earliest times; to contemplate the setting of the “apples of gold in pictures of silver;”—the enshrining of this excellent deposit in forms and words, as in caskets not unworthy of it.

And here it is to be observed, that we are, after all, incapable of forming beforehand any conjecture as to the form which the actual administration of this great Rite would assume. The knowledge which, (as has been shewn in the preceding chapter) we possess, through the combined testimonies of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as to the glorious functions which it was destined to discharge for man, does not enable us to conceive *how* it would be celebrated. No sooner do we endeavour to do so, than two conflicting conceptions of what was likely to be the case press upon the mind. When we contemplate, on the one hand, the vastness of the work to be accomplished by it,—so infinitely loftier in its reach and results than that which was committed to the elder ordinances,—we cannot but expect to find a scheme of service prescribed, hav-

ing something at least of the grandeur of the Mosaic system. But when, on the other hand, looking at the Scriptural record of the Institution, we mark the simplicity of the occasion, of the outward media, and of the language, made use of by our Lord Himself for celebrating the Rite, we are no less disposed to look for the utmost simplicity of ritual in the Church's way of service from the beginning.

Of one thing, however, we might be assured, namely, that there would be continuity<sup>a</sup> of some sort between the forms prescribed under the elder and the newer Dispensation. The new formulary will be sure to touch the old at some point, perhaps at more points than one. Some familiar lesson of Jewish lore will furnish the point of departure for the Christian scheme of service. And what we seem to need as such a point of departure,—as the model after which our Lord framed His Eucharistic gesture and words at the time, and as the germ of the liturgical Services afterwards,—is something at once *social* and *sacrificial* (like the heathen table-sacrifices and libations, spoken of above<sup>b</sup>), and also closely connected with the Passover: a household rite, yet an ecclesiastical rite also; and capable of expanding, in due time, into a Ritual for the Church and Household of God.

Now though the Mosaic system proper provided nothing answering to this description, yet there is good reason for believing that precisely such a rite, and easily capable of such development, was in use among the Jews of that day; and that it really furnished the basis, and ruled the structure, of the Eucharistic Institution.

<sup>a</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 60.

<sup>b</sup> pp. 80—85.

In order that the reader may clearly understand the nature of this rite, it will be necessary to go back to the early times of the Jewish economy.

It is well known, then, that the observance of the Sabbath is, in two different places in the old Law, based on two different grounds. The one is the fact that on that day God ceased from the labours of Creation, and blessed and sanctified it: the other, that He had brought Israel out of Egypt with a mighty hand. And though it is not said that this latter event was connected with the Sabbath Day, it is most natural to conclude that such is the coherence of the commandment. And accordingly the best interpreters<sup>c</sup> understand that that deliverance extended from Sabbath to Sabbath; from the 14th of Nisan to the 21st, when the overthrow of Pharaoh took place. This is rendered extremely probable by the fact that on the Sabbath Day an additional lamb was offered, morning and evening, for the continual burnt-offering: and that while it was being offered,—at the very hour of killing the Passover<sup>d</sup>,—they sang (so the Jews report) the Song of Moses at the Red Sea; as in the morning they sang his other similar Song from Deuteronomy. And the national belief, embodied in their existing ritual, is that they passed safely through the Red Sea on the night of the Sabbath, and emerged with the next morning's light on the sea-shore.

The seventh day commemorated, therefore, for Israel, a *two-fold* work of Divine Power and Love. And this, as we may remark by the way, is doubtless the true solution of the otherwise hopelessly perplexed question of the obligation of the Sabbath. That the

<sup>c</sup> See Mede al., ap. Patrick.

<sup>d</sup> Patrick on Numb. xxviii. 9.

seventh day was marked by God from the beginning, as in some way to be honoured by man, no one, who has not suffered himself to be blinded by the supposed difficulties of the case, can for a moment doubt. A seventh-day *cycle*, a habit of paying some regard to the number seven in the reckoning of days, certainly existed from very early times<sup>e</sup>. And the most natural sense in which to take the solemn words in Gen. ii. 3, is that God did, when He had completed His six days' work, pronounce upon the seventh day an *effectual* blessing, as He had upon those works, and poured out upon it, as He had upon them, a special measure of His Presence, and made it indeed holy; so that that day would abound thenceforth, beyond all others<sup>f</sup>, with acceptance for man's religious service. The name "Sabbath" was not yet, that we know of, given to it: nor was rest, or mere cessation, so much as spiritual service and blessing, its prime characteristic. That it was dedicated to such purposes by devout men, as Noah, Job, Abraham, and the patriarchs, is most probable; perhaps in this latter case, as has been before conjectured, by the weekly offering of

<sup>e</sup> The instances of Noah, of Laban, of eighth-day circumcision, and of the classical and Saxon week-days, are sufficient proof of this. It is certain, too, that the Israelites observed or knew of a *seventh day*, though not by the name or in the character of a *Sabbath*, before they came out of Egypt. For not only is it significantly said "seven days were *accomplished*," (words which imply a cycle, St. Luke ii. 21, Acts ii. 1,) "after the Lord had smitten the river" (Exod. vii. 25), but we read of their going out on the *sixth day* to gather manna. What made it to be the "sixth," if there was no cycle existing? It was on that occasion, the very first week of their freedom, that it was announced as a new thing, "To-morrow is the rest of the HOLY SABBATH unto the Lord." Thus the observance was *first* made known in its character of having a double portion of "spiritual meat" (1 Cor. x. 2); and *afterwards* embodied in the fourth commandment.

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 200.

a lamb. But when Israel came out of Egypt, and a more sternly-imposed ritual was given to them, the ancient seventh day of free and voluntary observation was, in a corresponding manner, straitened into the awful and penally-binding "Rest-day" or Sabbath of Him Who had brought them out of Egypt. He would have them to understand that that act was a work of Divine might, physical and spiritual, second only, or even equal to<sup>g</sup>, that six days' Creation, after which He mysteriously "rested and was refreshed." This is a great mystery. But so far as the six days' work of Creation was a vindication of the Divine Will against opposing spiritual enmities<sup>h</sup>, as doubtless it was; in that proportion would it bear the semblance of a toil, though a victorious one. And such too, and perhaps in a greater degree, is the aspect of the deliverance out of Egypt. Each, therefore, would be followed by "rest;" and, since the casting out of evil is a joy to the Holy One, by "refreshment." And to be wanting in sympathy with that Divine Rest, was really ungratefully to undervalue and dishonour the mighty salvation of which it was the memorial. Along with the fearful Presence which had wrought their deliverance, they were to respect the Day on which it had taken place; "Ye shall keep My Sabbaths, and reverence My Sanctuary; I am the LORD."

From this point of view, then, the Sabbath was a perpetual *weekly* memorial of the deliverance out of Egypt, as the Passover was the *yearly* memorial of it: exactly as is the case now with our Sunday and Easter-Day in reference to Christ's Resurrection. And this being so, nothing is more likely, than that

<sup>g</sup> This seems to be the connection of vers. 12—17 of Exod. xxxi.

<sup>h</sup> See the Christian Remembrancer, July, 1861, "Biblical Cosmogony."

thankful acknowledgment of that deliverance should be found stamped in some way upon the public rites, and even upon the more private religious practices, of the Jewish Sabbath. We have, accordingly, just noticed one fairly-attested instance of this. The double burnt-offering of the Sabbath marks a double commemoration. And the nature of the addition,—a lamb, with its canticle concerning the Exodus,—bespeaks it as a Passover memory that is superadded.—The shew-bread is undoubtedly another instance. The corn, wine, and oil of the land which God had given them as on that day of deliverance,—(for the passage of the Red Sea was virtually<sup>1</sup> the bringing of them into their promised land),—were therein sacrificially presented and partaken of every *Sabbath*.—But there is yet another rite, both domestic and public, which bears this character more distinctly still, and whose antiquity, modern Jewish practice, countersigned by certain intimations of Holy Writ, seems sufficiently to vouch for.

It is, first of all, a matter of reasonable inference from the New Testament, that the Jews of that day used certain “graces,” or “benedictions and giving of thanks” at their ordinary meals. To this practice of theirs may be traced, without hesitation, the benedictions employed by our Lord Himself at the feasts with which He miraculously fed the multitudes. He elevated on those occasions, we cannot doubt, the customary “grace” of the Jews, into an instrument of extraordinary benediction. The forms in which

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xv. 13—17: “Thou hast led forth the people which Thou hast redeemed: Thou *hast guided* them in Thy strength to Thy holy habitation. . . . Thou shalt bring them in, and place them in the mountain of Thine inheritance,”—i.e. the land.

<sup>2</sup> Renaudot, Lit. Oriental.

these acts of household or social religion were cast, are, we may venture to assume, (at least in their outline,) known to us from the tradition of ancient Jewish writers, joined to the coincident practice of the Jews at this day. They were not solitary, but responsive; and a separate "grace" was said over certain kinds of meat or drink, especially over bread and wine. But on the eve of every Sabbath the ordinary "grace" rose to the dignity of a domestic sacrifice. "On that occasion," says a modern writer<sup>1</sup>, "at supper, the master of the family says grace with a *cup of wine* in his right hand<sup>m</sup>, and his left resting on *two loaves of bread*, covered with a napkin:" the two loaves being thus placed on the Sabbath *morning* also. After the supper they sing certain songs of praise. Now as to the origin and significance of this rite, the modern Jews are but imperfectly informed. "The two loaves," they say, "are in remembrance of the double portion of heavenly bread or manna which they gathered every Friday, and partook of on that day and the Sabbath, in the wilderness." This is, in itself, most probable. But the rite has also an undoubted connection not only with the manna, but with the *shew-bread*. It has been long ago observed<sup>n</sup> that the quantity of flour in *each* of the twelve shew-bread loaves, was exactly the same as the "double portion" which each man was to gather *on the sixth day and eat on that day and the Sabbath*, viz. two omers or tenth parts ("tenth

<sup>1</sup> From "The Book of Religion, Ceremonies, and Prayers of the Jews, as practised in their Synagogues and families on all occasions." Translated from the Hebrew by Gamaliel Ben Pedahzur.

<sup>m</sup> Comp. Hab. ii. 16: "The Cup of the Lord's Right Hand." Ps. xvi. 5, 11: "The Lord is my allotted portion (of food) and my cup; . . . *iz* Thy Right-Hand (LXX. and Vulg.) are pleasures for evermore."

<sup>n</sup> See Lightfoot and Patrick on Lev. xxiv. 5.



deals," Lev. xxiv. 5) of an ephah. The shew-bread, therefore, was to the priests in the sanctuary<sup>o</sup> what the manna was to all Israel: their supernatural food, received for a perpetual memorial of their seventh-day deliverance; and a mode of maintaining sacramentally their mysterious relations to God. Both these kindred ordinances, at the first, went on together. The manna was received personally by every Israelite; the shew-bread representatively by the priests for all. Would there not arise, then, some sense of loss, when the "spiritual meat" of the manna ceased on their entering the land, unless some corresponding mode of weekly religious and spiritual participation were substituted? Now in the domestic rite above described, two loaves (corresponding to the two rows of shew-bread, and *covered*<sup>p</sup> like them) are blessed and dedicated to God, on the Sabbath eve and morning, with the accompaniment of wine. This may well have been from the first recognised as a substitute for the manna; and as a means by which the laity in their households, as the priests in the mystery of the shew-bread, performed a weekly act of *Passover memorial and reception*. Indeed, it is infinitely probable that *many* details of Jewish household<sup>q</sup> life and religion

<sup>o</sup> Exod. xl. 23. The shew-bread was doubtless continued, with the other ordinances, during the forty years. It is a mistake to suppose that the Israelites had not wherewithal to offer sacrifice and to furnish the shew-bread in the wilderness: they had very numerous flocks and herds; and some parts of the peninsula are very fertile, and might be cultivated at intervals, as now by the Bedouins. See Kalisch on Exod. xvi. 2.

<sup>p</sup> See the commentators on Exod. xxv. 29.

<sup>q</sup> It is at least worth mentioning as an illustration, that the Jewish custom is for the women to "consecrate" the dough which they prepare for the Sabbath or any holy day, by pulling off—it must not be cut, lest the unity of the lump be violated—a piece or "cake" of dough, of the

were regulated by Divine direction or counsel, though only the more public ritual is recorded.

Here, then, we have exactly such a basis as we need for our Lord's Eucharistic and sacrificial action of *blessing bread and wine at an evening meal*, or supper, with profound reference to mysteries of deliverance and salvation, corresponding to those of the Passover.

And now, what were the words of the "grace" used on this occasion? Combining the forms used before and after partaking, which in reality form one ritual, we have the following formula:—

If there are ten men, or at lowest three, at the table, (thus constituting the household a little church<sup>r</sup>), one says, "Blessed art Thou, O Lord God, King of the world, that hast brought forth *bread* from the earth." And again, "who hast created the *fruit of the vine*." *Reader*. "Let us give thanks to God, of Whose food we have eaten. *Ans*. Blessed is our God of Whose food, &c. *Reader*. Blessed is He Who feedeth all the world

size of an olive. A grace is said meanwhile,—“Blessed art Thou who hast commanded us to separate the cake:” which is thrown into the fire. Now this, which at first sight is a mere superstition, is 1. exactly consonant with the universal Gentile custom above described, (p. 84,) and 2. seems to be the literal and legitimate carrying out of a Mosaic household law, Numb. xv. 17: “When ye eat the bread of the land, ye shall offer up a heave-offering unto the Lord; a *cake* of the first of your dough for a heave-offering.” The heave-offerings, it is true, were due to the priests, but they were said to be “reserved from the fire,” (Numb. xviii. 9); and this may have been allowed as an alternative: as in the case of the sin-offering, (above, p. 248). This, and not Lev. xxiii. 10, is surely what St. Paul alludes to, Rom. xi. 16, “If the first-fruits be holy, the ‘lump’ also is holy:” see 1 Cor. v. 7. It will be observed that the command of God is boldly claimed for this ceremony. There is a like “grace,” rested on a Divine command, said by women when they light “a lamp with seven wicks” for the Sabbath. Surely this again is a sanctification and presenting of light to God, like that of the Seven-fold Candlestick. See Pedahzur, 285, 6.

<sup>r</sup> St. Matt. xviii. 20; 1 Tim. ii. 8: “I will that the *men* pray everywhere,” &c.

with His goodness. *Ans.* For His mercy," &c.: and so on responsively for three stanzas. *Reader.* "We will give praise to Thee for that Thou hast made our fathers inherit the good land, and for that Thou *hast brought us out of the land of Egypt*, and from the house of bondage; and for the *covenant*, and for Thy law, and Thy statutes, and for the life, favour, and grace with which Thou hast favoured us." Then, on the Sabbath or its *eve*, "It was Thy pleasure to make it a resting-day for us, and that there should be no afflictions or groanings on it (as in Egypt);" and on festivals (as e. g. on the Passover days), followed, "O our God, let it (the burnt-sacrifice) ascend and be seen, and accepted, and heard, and be thought on, and be *remembered in remembrance* of us, and of our fathers, and in *remembrance of the Anointed Messiah the Son of David*. Remember us O Lord on this day for our good." *Congr.* Amen.

Now this is, as far as it goes, fully to our purpose. It is at once a thankful memorial of Passover deliverance, and a means of presenting or pleading the continual burnt-sacrifice of the nation; both performed at a social evening meal, and through the medium of *bread and wine* offered and partaken of. It might well therefore furnish the basis of our Lord's Eucharistic Action in every particular. When our Lord, anticipating by one day the customary action of the Sabbath and Passover Eve—(in that year it would be a *double* Passover Eve, weekly and annual, "for that Sabbath Day was an high Day,")—"took bread and wine" and by His gesture invited the twelve to take part in a "grace," or act of "blessing and thanksgiving" (*εὐλογήσας, εὐχαριστήσας*) familiar to them as to its form, but speaking here of another Deliverance and a worthier Sacrifice;—they were not without a key to His meaning. It will be observed, 1. that the Apostolic company fulfilled, though it barely exceeded, the traditional requirement for being a Church complete in itself: and that as such a Church they are

pointedly treated by our Lord<sup>a</sup>. 2. That the "grace" above cited, beginning with general and temporal benefits, proceeds to particular and more spiritual ones, as the Church's Consecration Prayers afterwards did. 3. That it makes special mention of the *Old Covenant*, as our Lord did of the *New*. 4. That the "memorial" made had a threefold aspect: looking backward to the great deliverance, but also referring to the continual sacrifice then going on; and looking forward to the coming of the Messiah. It had therefore a perfect analogy to the Christian Eucharist considered as 1. thankfully making memorial of the Lord's Death; and 2. pleading and presenting it before God; and that, too, 3. "until His coming again." So that while we are unable to say what were the actual words used by our Lord, we can easily conceive how His "blessing and giving of thanks," duly modified from this one, would intimate another and better *Passover* and *Burnt-offering*. And thus, as far as concerns the words of Institution, this domestic rite yields a very sufficient account of the Form employed by our Lord.

But the Church's Eucharistic ritual is very far from being confined to the words of Institution; and we naturally enquire further, whether any clue can be obtained to its wonderfully uniform structure from any other parts of our Lord's language and action on that memorable night; and whether these again were still based upon Jewish ritual. And for satisfaction on this head, we turn from the *social* rite just examined to a closely kindred one of a more public nature, attached by immemorial usage to the selfsame evening of the week. I mean the *Sabbath Eve Service of*

<sup>a</sup> St. John xvii.

*the Synagogue.* The attention of the reader is especially requested to the order of service of that evening, which will be detailed in the next Section.

## SECTION II.

IN the Jewish Synagogue, then, the Service of the Friday evening, as an *evening*, being ended, that of the Sabbath Eve, as such, commences as follows:—

1. Psalms xciv.—xcix., adding xcii. as a Sabbath Psalm, xciii. as a canticle, and ending with Psalm xxix., for the sake of the words “The Lord shall give His people the blessing of *peace*.”

2. A prayer of thanksgiving for the creation of the evening and the night, and a commemoration of the *law* and the *commandments*, and God’s everlasting *love*, which they promise not to forget for ever.

3. A prayer for acceptance of the *evening burnt-offering*: “Our God be pleased with our evening offering: sanctify us in Thy commandments, and *make clean our hearts* to serve Thee with faithfulness. Let it be constantly acceptable, the service of Israel Thy people.”

4. The Blessing from Numb. vi. 24, in reference to the sacrifice, “Our God bless us with the blessings that are three times written in this law, from the mouth of Aaron and his sons, the priests of His holy people, as is said,

“The Lord bless thee and keep thee.” *Ans.* “It is His will. Amen.”

“The Lord make His Face,” &c. *Ans.* Id.

“The Lord lift up, &c., and *give thee peace*.” *Ans.* Id.

5. Prayer in reference to this peace:—

“O grant *peace*, goodness and blessings, favour and compassion unto us and unto all the children of Israel, Thy People.—Bless us *O our Father, all as one*, with the light of Thy Face; for Thou hast given unto us, O Lord our God, the *law* of life and the *love* of grace and righteousness, and *peace*: and it was agreeable in Thine eyes to bless Thy people at all times and at all hours with Thy *peace*†.”

† This is a combination of the morning and evening prayers for peace: curiously corresponding with the Western collects on that subject.

6. After this the reader *takes a cup of wine*, and holding it in his right hand, sings the following blessing, called "the Consecration:" "Blessed art Thou O Lord God, King of the world, Who hast created the *fruit of the vine* . . . He hath made us inherit it on the *first day of the week*" (this is very remarkable as a recognition of *Sunday* under the law), "for that was the first day of calling anything holy. O *remember the going out of Egypt*, for of us didst Thou then make choice, and the *sabbath*, Thy holiness, Thou didst make us to inherit." (N.B. This same "consecration" was said<sup>u</sup> at the Passover by the master of the family and the rest in concert. The synagogue service was therefore, in respect of these words, an extract from the Passover ritual.)

7. After this consecration, the reader *tastes the wine in the cup* (comp. the Gentile usage at sacrifices, above, p. 87) and gives the *remainder of the wine to the little children*, while he again sings the consecration, to which the congregation, led by the reader, thus respond:—

"It is meet for us to praise the Lord of the universe; and we do praise, bless, and worship, and confess or *give thanks*<sup>x</sup>, before the King of kings: . . . the seat of His glory is in the heaven above . . . in the height of the uppermost heavens. Wherefore we do hope unto Thee. Lord our God, all the inhabitants of the world shall *know* and shall partake of the yoke of Thy *kingdom*, and Thou shalt *reign* over them<sup>y</sup>."

8. Then *an orphan* proceeds, "He shall be magnified and sanctified;" or (to enlarge out of the Morning Office<sup>z</sup>), "We will sanctify Thy Name in the world, as they do sanctify it in heaven above: we will sanctify Thee in the mystical words of

<sup>u</sup> Jewish Services, Pedahzur, p. 51.

<sup>x</sup> Compare the Gloria in Excelsis, "We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we give thanks to Thee:." . . . and S. Polycarp, *αἰνῶ ζῆ, ἐὺλογῶ ζῆ, δοξάζω ζῆ*. Martyr. c. 13.

<sup>y</sup> Comp. the Western Canon, after the Tersanctus: "Wherefore we pray Thee for Thy Holy *Universal Church*, which mayst Thou keep, unite, and *reign over*." So St. Paul, after giving glory "to the King eternal, invisible" . . . desires "first of all supplications and prayers, &c. to be made for all men; . . . for that God will have *all men* to be saved, and to come to the *knowledge* of the truth."

<sup>z</sup> Pedahzur, p. 158.

the Seraphim, as it is written by the Prophet;" (or, "and one cried to another and said" . . .)

*All.* "HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, (al. is the) Lord of Hosts, the (al. whole) earth is full of His glory."

(The congregation *rise* upon tiptoe three times, and repeat the words "Holy," &c. Compare *Sursum corda.*)

*Ans.* "Blessed is the Lord out of His place<sup>a</sup>," &c.

Now it will not be difficult to shew that in this *Sabbath Eve Service of the Jewish Synagogue*, viewed in its character of a *weekly memorial of the Passover and the Exodus*, we have 1. the basis of our Lord's entire action and discourse at the Last Supper; and 2. the scheme or frame-work upon which the Liturgy of the Church, following in the track of Christ's Action, was constructed.

But before proceeding to shew this in detail, it will be well to point out that, though it is from the modern<sup>b</sup> Jewish Synagogue that we derive our knowledge of the existence of such rites, either domestic or public, as are here described, there are passages of the

<sup>a</sup> It may be added in the way of illustration, 1. that the habit of dwelling on the worship of God by the heavenly hosts, as an argument and pattern of earthly praise, is by no means peculiar to this service. It is probable that it found a place in Jewish worship from the time that the fact was made known by vision to Isaiah (vi. 3), or soon after; and we find it actually in use in Neh. ix. 6, "The host of heaven worshippeth Thee," followed by a long prayer commemorating the Exodus and other national mercies. And 2. that the cup of wine, with its blessing, forms a prominent part of the *yearly* Passover service as traditionally preserved (Mishna, Treatise Pesachim, ch. x.); which also contains the remarkable formula, "It is meet for us, and our bounden duty, to thank, praise, adore, glorify, extol, honour, bless, exalt, and reverence Him who," &c.

<sup>b</sup> Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* i. 229, observes that "the footsteps of the *Tersanctus*, to say the least, are found in the old prayers of the Jews (see the form above); the antiquity of which, as the learned are aware, is very great; and if we except a few, all the best have *been handed down from the old Synagogue*: so that they may well have some affinity to the first prayers of the Christians."

Old Testament which fall in with it and even require it, as making mention of “a cup,” and “a cup of wine,” in a sacrificial connection. Thus David, while rejecting the drink-offerings of the heathen, says that “the Lord is the portion (of food) which he has inherited, and his *cup* :” that “he will receive the *cup* of salvation, and pay his vows in the presence of all the people.” It is vainly contended<sup>e</sup> that all this is metaphorical. Hosea, again<sup>d</sup>, speaks of “offering wine” to the Lord, as a separate thing. Now reasons have been already given for believing that wine was presented and drunk by the priests as a part of the shew-bread ceremonial; and these passages seem equally to recognise the practice for the laity. These allusions to a sacrificial cup greatly countenance the supposition here made as to the ancient date of this domestic and congregational ritual<sup>e</sup>.

It may be added, that there is a considerable presumption that the Sabbath eve rite of the Synagogue reflected the action and language of the *Temple Sacrificial Service of the Sabbath*; especially that of the Shew-bread and the peace-offering. For I. The Psalms are exactly complementary<sup>f</sup> to those which,

<sup>e</sup> Hengstenberg in loc.

<sup>d</sup> Hos. ix. 4.

<sup>e</sup> The earliest distinct mention of a cup as actually offered at a *sacrifice*, is in the apocryphal writing called the 3rd of Maccabees, vi. 27, where the Jews in Egypt, at a feast in memory of their deliverance from Ptolemy Philopater (B.C. 213) are said to have “offered the cup of salvation,” *κἀθῶνα σωτήριον συστησάμενοι*. The 3rd Macc. is recognised in the Apost. Can. as scripture, and is anciently quoted as such by the Greeks. This proves its antiquity, though it is now agreed that it is spurious. Grotius thinks it is as old as Ecclesiasticus. See Calmet in vv. “coupe” and “Maccabees.”

<sup>f</sup> See vol. i. note B, p. 402. If we take in the Psalm there set down for Wednesday (xciv.), we have the entire cycle from xci.—xcix. Psalms xcii. and xciii. are also appointed for Friday and Saturday.



according to a Jewish tradition believed to be well founded, were used by the Levites on the successive days of the week at the burnt-offering. 2. There is a prayer for the acceptance of the evening burnt-offering, which may well have been borrowed from the Temple. 3. The Aaronic blessing here prayed for, was, we can hardly doubt, used continually before both the morning and evening sacrifices, as it was at the inaugural ones<sup>g</sup>. 4. There is on record<sup>h</sup> a prayer alleged to have been used at the sacrifices offered by Nehemiah and Ezra at the rebuilding of the Temple; and this, as far as it goes, closely resembles in expression these synagogue prayers.—These are not sufficient data, it is true, for reconstructing the lost verbal ritual of the Temple sacrifices: but they justify the belief that this part of the Synagogue worship may have stood in the same relation to the regular Sacrificial Service, as our own abridged Office, when there is no celebration, stands to the Communion Office itself; or as the similar abridgments in use throughout the East do to the Eastern Liturgy. And it is deeply interesting to perceive that, according to this view, our Lord's Eucharistic Action approximated (we cannot say in what degree) to the actual Sacrificial Service of the Temple. For this circumstance at once invests the simple Rite of the Last Supper with all that loftiness of sacrificial position which is claimed for it by the belief of the Church Universal. It would then be a matter of legitimate growth and development, that the Service should clothe itself with that greater fulness of contour, yet without laying aside the primary framework, which we discern in the Liturgy of the Church.

<sup>g</sup> Lev. ix. 22, 23.

<sup>h</sup> 2 Macc. i. 24—30.

But it may be asked, if our Lord's Eucharistic Action was thus based on the Sabbath Eve Service, viewed as a weekly Passover memorial, in what relation did it stand to the *yearly* Passover feast itself, with which it so closely, in point of time, coincided? Now this point, it is well known, is involved in much perplexity. The difficulty is, that while the first three Evangelists seem to say that our Lord ate the Mosaic Passover with His disciples on the Thursday evening, St. John says most distinctly that the Jews would not enter into the judgment-hall the next day, lest they should be defiled, and so hindered from eating it. And again, that the supper was on the "preparation" or Passover-eve; and that the transactions of that night took place "before the feast of the Passover<sup>i</sup>." This is so strong and clear that we must needs reject, as wholly untenable, the supposition, popularly and vaguely entertained, that the Passover lambs for the whole nation had been slain on the afternoon of Maundy Thursday, and that our Lord and the disciples, at the "Supper," partook of the lamb with which they had provided themselves. But then the difficulty is to explain how it comes to pass that language so *nearly approaching* to an assertion that the Passover lamb was partaken of by them, is used both by the Evangelists and by our Lord Himself? And much ingenuity has been expended in the endeavour either 1. to reduce the strength of this language, or 2. to find a sense in which our Lord may have eaten a Passover in the preceding evening, whether by anticipation, or in a spiritual sense, or the like<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Chap. xviii. 28, xiii. 1.

<sup>k</sup> See the masterly dissertation of Deyling, *Obss. Sacr.* i. 51, "De die Christi emortuali." For the ablest defence of the "anticipation"

Now there is this great advantage in taking St. John for our guide as to the order of events, that, according to him, our Lord suffered on the *day*, as well as at the *hour*, of the killing of the Passover lamb. For the Death upon the Cross being the awful turning-point of the world's spiritual history, it would seem consonant that it, of all events, should fall on a day marked out ages before by the corresponding slaying of the lamb, not on a day having no such fitting associations; which the Friday, on the other supposition, would be. And there is the further advantage that, according to the apparently correct Jewish tradition above referred to, the killing of the original Passover fell on a Friday likewise<sup>1</sup>.

But what account can we then render of the language of the first three Evangelists? Now we read that "on the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover, the disciples came to Jesus, saying, Where wilt Thou that we go and prepare that Thou mayest eat the Passover?" The day here meant

theory which has yet been put forth, see the *Biblical Journal* for Oct. 1861. It endeavours to establish that the *original* time for the Passover was at the *eve* or beginning of the 14th Nisan; that then, not on the evening of it, the Passover was killed and eaten; that an orthodox party among the Jews still kept it so, and that our Lord followed that usage. So that the mass of the Jews had *not*, though our Lord had, partaken by the next day. But it is simply incredible that there can have been two such different times recognised.

<sup>1</sup> P. 284. It is also deeply interesting to observe that the Mishna (Pes. v. 1) ordained 1. that on the day of killing the Passover, if that day was also a *Friday*, the daily sacrifice was to be killed half an hour after the *sixth* hour, sacrificed after the seventh; and the Passover killed half an hour after the eighth, and sacrificed half an hour after the *ninth* hour. If this may be relied upon, the darkness "from the sixth hour to the ninth" must have utterly *precluded the offering of both sacrifices*. Thus did the true Continual Offering and Paschal Lamb "cause" the Mosaic "to cease" on that wondrous day, Dan. ix. 27.

is manifestly, as is on all hands allowed, the fourteenth Nisan, which received the name here given it, not from the *eating* of the unleavened bread, but<sup>m</sup> from the solemn *preparation* of it, as is clear from the Passover being *killed*, not eaten on that day. But the question is, what time in that day is meant? And the words, in a Jewish writer, may perfectly well mean no more than that the sunset of the thirteenth Nisan was come, and so the fourteenth had set in. And that they do mean this is almost certain from hence; that the search for leaven (which was the first step in the preparation) was as a rule made on the evening before<sup>n</sup>, though it might be deferred till the next morning. And indeed the third Evangelist implies as much, saying, "Then *was come* the day of unleavened bread," as if it had only just set in. The disciples, then, are not only perfectly in order, but are embracing the *preferable* time for making preparation. They would "prepare" the Passover now, so far at least as searching and preparing the room to be used; intending to have their lamb killed on the morrow, and to partake of it on the morrow evening. Now the work of preparation would occupy, in ordinary cases, some considerable time<sup>o</sup>, and indeed could not be completed until some time in the following day. But so it was, that on proceeding to obey our Lord's directions, they found all the *preliminary* steps,

<sup>m</sup> Deyling: "Dicitur dies azymorum, non a comestione, sed a præparatione."

<sup>n</sup> R. Jehudi in Mishna, Tr. Pesachim i. 3: "It is necessary to search on the *evening before* the 14th (Nisan), or early in the morning of that day."

<sup>o</sup> Deyling: "Præparatio multo ante instituenda erat. Expurgandum erat conclave, ponendæ mensæ, parandi panes fermento carentes, emendus agnus," &c.

such as cleansing, &c. performed for them: "a large upper room furnished all ready *to their hand*," as the Greek emphatically implies. Here, accordingly, they would "make ready," as far as could be done on the eve, for the morrow evening's festival. We know from St. John that they had only done this in part: for the apostles thought that our Lord commissioned Judas to "buy those things which they had need of against the feast." So far, nothing can well be clearer.

But now we come to the somewhat unexpected circumstance that "when the evening was come, our Lord sat down with the 'Twelve' to a *supper*. Why a supper, or a feast, at all? It is at this point of the narrative that criticism has mainly stumbled. The conclusion has seemed irresistible, that this, after all, must have been either the real or an anticipated Passover. But a little attention to facts will set the matter in a different light. It was, be it remembered, already "the day of preparation," and that too for a double solemnity, the Passover and the Sabbath. The *pridie* of both Passover and Sabbath had set in. Now it was customary, and indeed was provided for by the original law of the feast, that such as were able should bring, beside the passover lamb, other victims "of the flock or of the herd<sup>p</sup>," to be offered as burnt, or peace-offerings; the latter, of course, to be partaken of: and these were, no less than the paschal lamb itself, called "passovers<sup>q</sup>." They were in strictness, *perhaps*, to be offered *after* the passover lamb,

<sup>p</sup> Deut. xvi. 2, where see Bochart, Hieroz. i. 2, 50, and Patrick, who suggests that St. John xviii. 28 may refer to eating of these. But this is improbable; nor would it then have been "the preparation."

<sup>q</sup> *Pesachim*, rendered "passover-offerings," 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—9.

and eaten as accompaniments to it. But this is by no means certain: and it would be putting no great strain upon the ordinance, to suppose that they might, without losing their character of "passovers," be offered and partaken<sup>r</sup> of at any time, after the day for killing the passover had set in. Here, then, would be the materials for a supper, provided, it may be, by those who "ministered to the Lord of their substance;" just as, we know, Josiah at his great Passover<sup>s</sup> gave the people and priests other victims as well as lambs. This supper would thus be a feast of the old economy, a feast in fact upon a "eucharistic sacrifice," yet having a distinct passover character. It would, moreover, not improbably consist of a *lamb*, rather than anything else, that being the humblest form of peace-offering; accompanied, as all eucharistic peace-offerings were, by bread, *leavened*<sup>t</sup> and unleavened, and perhaps, as a custom, (see p. 296, note e,) by wine.

And there was a peculiar reason why our Lord and the Apostles, more than other persons, would be likely to have a supper on that evening. For it is a curious fact, that whereas among the Jews of Judæa it was customary to continue work until noon on the day of killing the passover, the *Galileans* were prohibited<sup>u</sup> by their doctors from working on the evening before, and made that too a part of the festival. It was therefore "feria" or holy-day already with them; and nothing was more natural than that they

<sup>r</sup> Mishna, Treatise Pesachim vi. 4, "The festive offering might be eaten during two days and one night:" it does not say whether before or after the slaying of the lamb.

<sup>s</sup> 2 Chron. xxxv.

<sup>t</sup> This is of importance, as the eucharist was certainly celebrated primitively, as still in the East, in *leavened* bread. See above, p. 272.

<sup>u</sup> Beth Shammai in Pesachim iv. 5.

should usher it in with a feast. Though, indeed, our Lord's Divine desire to keep, in some sense, a Passover feast of the old order, would amply account for any anticipation, in point of time, not forbidden by the law.

We are now, then, in a position to account for all that otherwise might seem to militate against the position that our Lord did *not* eat the Jewish Passover. When He said, "I (will) keep the Passover at thy house with My disciples," or, "where is the guest-chamber where I shall eat it?" the words were in part literally fulfilled, but, for the rest, carried in them a meaning which only the event could unfold. The Passover solemnities,—real as far as they went,—begun in the Mosaic sphere, were to lead out into those of the kingdom of God.—When we read, "when the hour was come He sat down:" we understand by "the hour," not that of the Passover, (which indeed might be eaten at *any* hour before midnight\*), but either their customary hour of supper, or the hour of His own appointing on that occasion.—When He says, "with great desire have I desired to eat this passover with you, *before I suffer*," there breathes through the words an unmistakeable air of anticipation; the stress is manifestly, and now quite intelligibly, on the last words. It is as if He had said, "Because I cannot eat of the proper Passover, therefore have I greatly desired beforehand, *in this form*, to eat it with you: and this My desire is now fulfilled." And surely the supposition that it was none other than a lamb, and that too, as above explained, a *passover* lamb that furnished the feast, imparts abundant force and fitness to the words "this passover."

\* Mishna, Tr. Pesachim.

And now, combining this with what has been said of the weekly Passover memorial, made at the table on the Sabbath eve, by means of a cup of wine, we obtain a clear view of our Lord as i. solemnly taking leave of the ancient legal ritual, and ii. superseding it by that of the Gospel. i. Having eaten with them of the "passover," "I say unto you," He proceeds, "that I will no more eat of it again, (*οὐκέτι*,) until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God." And yet again, ii. having drunk of the wine (as we may reverently suppose) at the supper, "He took the cup, and after giving thanks, said, Take this and divide it among yourselves; for I will not drink" again, in our wonted solemn way, "of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God be come<sup>y</sup>." There was here a wondrously symmetrical leave-taking of the two great elements in the old sacrificial system: of the slain sacrifices as represented by the flesh or body of the *lamb*; of the offering of fruits of the earth, as represented by the *wine*. Both indeed were destined to re-appear, in more glorious form, in the New Economy; but, as *elements of the Old*, He would partake of them no more.

### SECTION III.

THIS point cleared then, let us proceed to enquire into the particulars of the connection, manifestly subsisting, between the *weekly* Passover-Eve service, and what took place on the great Eucharistic Eventide.

<sup>y</sup> Williams in l., p. 390. "The eating of the Passover, and the drinking of the Cup are both formally mentioned, and both of them followed by a similar expression, "I shall no more, &c." . . . If it was the case that a lamb was eaten, it is here that we would suppose it to have been."



Now we have in the former chapter seen abundant reason, from consideration of the old sacrificial laws, for holding without hesitation to the uniform belief of the Church, that our Lord, when He “took bread and wine and gave thanks, or blessed and consecrated,” offered thereby His all-prevailing Sacrifice of Himself to the Father. And accordingly, whenever we turn our thoughts towards that momentous hour, we are filled with adoring wonder and love at the glorious spectacle of a Sacrifice at once so loving and so stupendous. The Redemption and Salvation of the world,—this, and nothing less than this,—hangs visibly, *for us*, on that great transaction. But can we with any probability suppose that all this was present to the minds of the Apostles at the time? The manifestly imperfect condition of their faith and knowledge, nay, the language of our Lord Himself, alike forbid it. During the forty days, or after the descent of the Spirit, all this would be “brought to their remembrance” and realized. “He had many things to say to them; but they could not bear them now.” “What He did they knew not,” or but imperfectly “now, though they would know hereafter.” Meanwhile, however, there was one aspect of the Holy Rite which they were particularly in a position to appreciate; and to this, there is reason for saying, did our Lord more particularly address Himself, both in the old ritual associations with which He connected the Institution, and in the discourses with which He accompanied it.

Nothing is more striking to the thoughtful reader of Holy Writ, than the profound air of *sadness*,—the unutterable pathos,—which breathes through the entire Eucharistic narrative, and through St. John’s exhibition of it more especially. Compare in this respect

the presentation of this greatest and most acceptable of all burnt-offerings with that of any memorable one of elder days, as Solomon's or Hezekiah's; observe the *jubilant* feelings associated with such occasions of old time, and with the Church's celebrations ever since: and the contrast is most remarkable. The truth is, that the Apostles had at length realized, what they had so long put from them, that "the Son of Man was about to be delivered into the hands of men, and to be crucified." And yet, while their faith in Christ's words reached to this, it reached apparently no further. That He should rise again the third day, and that then His Death should be the Life of the world; this, as the after events proved, was as far from their conception as ever. The attitude of their minds, therefore, was one of unmingled sorrow. And this sorrow was summed up in a sense of impending *bereavement*. He for Whom they had left all, and Who was to them father and mother and kindred and home, was about to leave them desolate. Stunned by that one grief, they seem incapable of any other feeling.

In what character then should He consider them, in presenting to their view His saving work, so as effectually to meet and console this feeling? None surely could be conceived more suitable than that in which they had been accustomed, in the weekly recurring Sabbath eve ritual, to view themselves. It will be remembered that the cup of wine, in the Synagogue service, was given to the *little children*, who stood round for the purpose; and further, that the response to the "grace," or "consecration," was said by an *orphan*. Now whence this singular provision? It was doubtless because the nation had been taught to view their condition in Egypt as one of orphanhood and deso-

lation. In the great Psalm which especially embodies the national feeling on this point (the 68th) we read, "A Father of the orphans, and a defender or advocate of the widows, is God in His holy habitation. . . God makes the solitary to dwell in houses, He brings the prisoners to prosperity<sup>z</sup>." They were taught, again, to remember, that "they were strangers in Egypt;" therefore "they were not to afflict any widow or fatherless child<sup>a</sup>." On the weekly recurring eve, therefore, of the day of their deliverance, they are in like manner represented as orphans and desolate. And this is the reason why *wine* was the more especial, and in the synagogue the *sole* "outward visible sign" in this memorial action; though in the household ritual bread was also employed. For so was the national and Oriental custom to give to mourners, and especially to orphans, the "cup of consolation for father and for mother;" and thus to "comfort them under their loss<sup>b</sup>." "Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts; let him drink, and remember his misery no more<sup>c</sup>." However, bread was also given for the same purpose, and has place accordingly in the domestic rite. But the expression to "break bread" was appropriated, as it should seem, to eleemosynary giving of it, including specially the case of children and of mourners. It never means taking an ordinary meal, but giving food to the sad or destitute; as, e.g.

<sup>z</sup> Hengstenberg; who seeks causelessly to dilute the reference to Israel. He allows that some reference to the suffering Church is demanded, and compares Hosea xiv. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Exod. xxii. 22, 23.

<sup>b</sup> Hengstenberg.

<sup>c</sup> Jer. xvi. 7; Prov. xxxi. 6. See Calmet, and Kitto, Pictorial Bible, on Jer. xvi.

“neither shall men break bread for them in mourning;” “The young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it to them.” It was, then, as orphans brought out of Egypt that the Israelites were taught to appear week by week before God. It was out of that profoundest depth that they were to lift up their hearts to God in the “height of the uppermost heavens<sup>d</sup>.” As a commentator on Ps. lxxviii. most appositely says,—though unconscious of what is here pointed out,—“*Sursum corda*’ is for the fatherless<sup>e</sup>.” In a perfectly parallel manner does our Lord adopt, throughout His whole discourse, the strain of *consolation*; and that too as towards *orphans*: actually calling them by that name<sup>f</sup>; addressing them in His very first words as “little children<sup>g</sup>;” speaking of God as the FATHER forty times in His discourses, and six times in His prayer; soothing their sorrow, and promising a place in His Father’s House, and the presence of more than one Comforter; “breaking to them the bread” of mourners, and “giving them to drink the cup” of consolation. This He did, both as balm for their present bereavement, and as a pledge of His restoration to them by His coming again. Even on this last point their Israelitish nurture had been an appropriate training for them. For it was not solely to keep alive a sense of gratitude for their great original deliverance, that the nation were thus taught to see themselves or orphans and destitute. The true Jewish temper looked forward as well as backward, and “waited for redemption in Israel.” And this feeling, no less than that of grateful memorial, is impressed on the Sabbath-eve ritual. For

<sup>d</sup> Jewish Service, above, p. 294.

<sup>f</sup> St. John xiv. 18, marg.

<sup>e</sup> Hengstenberg.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. xiii. 33.

after the orphan had said his part, the congregation "sung a hymn," or "prayer of praises," called the "Song of the Only 'True God," concluding thus: "He *will send* at the end of the days our anointed Messiah to *relieve* those who hope for that end with His salvation<sup>h</sup>: *the dead He makes to live again*; blessed for ever and ever is the Name of His Praise."

We are now in possession of a clue to the entire course of our Lord's Eucharistic Action, including those memorable discourses in St. John; which have been too frequently interpreted apart from that connection with the Eucharist to which they owe their entire form and contents. And in tracing that course we shall also, as has been already intimated, find ourselves tracing the outline of the Church's Eucharistic Service throughout the world<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Comp. Heb. ix. 26, 28: "And to those that expect Him, shall He appear unto salvation."

<sup>1</sup> As a necessary help for following the course of thought here suggested, the reader must be referred to the ancient Liturgies, now happily very accessible in Mr. Neale's valuable reprints and translations of them. See also his able Dissertations in vol. i. of his "General Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church," pp. 317—526. The *originals* of those of S. James, S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. Clement, are given by him in a small volume, (Hayes, 1859,) the translations in another; the first three of these and the Mozarabic in his *Tetralogia Liturgica*, (Svo. 266 pp.) His Introduction adds to these,—all in parallel columns,—the Armenian, Copt. S. Basil, Nestorian; and separately, p. 704, the Syr. S. James as abbreviated in 1591. The entire Syrian rite, the Egyptian, and Nestorian, see in Renaudot, *Liturg. Oriental. Collectio*. For the West, see the Roman, Ambrosian, Gallican, Mozarabic, in Daniel, *Codex Liturg.*, Fasc. i., Lipsiæ, 1847: for the English Uses, in parallel columns with the Roman, Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy*, 1840. He adds the Clementine, and the 1 B. Edw. VI.; for which see also Cardwell and Keeling. See also Trollope's *Lit. of S. James*, with useful English notes; and the Sarum rite in Proctor on the *Common Prayer*, ch. iii. 3: but above all in the Sarum Missal, now republishing by Mr. G. H. Forbes, Burntisland.

## SECTION IV.

Absolution—Prayer for Purity—Lord's Prayer—  
Kiss of Peace.

It was, we are significantly told, "before the Feast of the Passover," and, as it were, at once antedating and superseding it by a better, that the Incarnate Son, "knowing that His hour was come for His own departure out of the world to the Father," embodied His enduring love for those whom He was about to leave, in a parting Gift of surpassing adaptation to their necessities. Taking occasion by their habitual conception of their position, as members of the chosen people, He would signify to them by expressive actions, with whose import they were perfectly familiar, the opening of a new fount of happiness every way like to the old, but every way transcending it. The supper on passover peace-offerings, (as it should seem,) which He designed to make the occasion of these new felicities, was well on its way, and so the old Passover-tide of the Mosaic economy had fairly set in, when He first of all took a solemn farewell of that economy, under which He had, as Man, been nurtured. Having, in a certain sense, eaten a Passover with them on the lamb, He would, He announced to them<sup>k</sup>, eat no more of it in its old typical form, but only in its glorious fulfilment in the kingdom of God. And, again, anticipating the weekly custom of the following evening, He saying the usual grace, and they responding thereto, as the manner was, He divides the cup—whether tasting it Himself or not—among them. All this we have traced already. But

<sup>k</sup> St. Luke xxii. 15, which Williams rightly places here.

this done, He proceeds by another gesture to bid them welcome,—“as a Son over His own Household,” giving admission into His Father’s House,—to a better Festival. For the washing of their feet could, consistently with Eastern custom, mean nothing else than such an invitation and admission. The deep mystery which lay hid in it, of their being prepared thereby for the highest mysteries, was hid from them until explained by Himself. By the light of that explanation, however, they would perceive that some solemn religious action and service was drawing on. The washing of the priest’s feet before entering the sanctuary, and the parallel purifications of even lay persons, would occur to them.

And thus we have the first step of the parallel between His Action and that of His Church afterwards. An example and a rule concerning sacerdotal cleansing and absolution, when approaching Eucharistic Mysteries,—(corresponding to the old sin-offering provisions<sup>1</sup>),—as well as concerning ministerial lowliness and love of the brethren, had thus been given. And accordingly, forms are provided for this purpose by all churches in this position, or nearly so; either before the entire rite, or somewhat later in it<sup>m</sup>. And the washing of the hands<sup>n</sup>, though not universal, was

<sup>1</sup> So Bona on the *confiteor* of the Western rite: “It was perhaps in imitation of the Jewish usage, that a Confession of sins appears at the beginning of the Christian Liturgy.” He refers to numerous instances, Lit. ii. 2, 4, 5. See above, ch. i. sect. 18.

<sup>m</sup> So in the Roman and the English Uses.

<sup>n</sup> This is ordered in Lit. Syr. p. 1, and Lit. S. Chrys. in the office of Prothesis; Neale, *Introd.*, p. 341: referred to by St. Cyril, *Cat. Myst.* 5, but only as a symbol. It is curious that the Mozar. and the York, alone of the West, prescribe the washing at the first, and have the same prayer to accompany it. (Leslie, *Mozar.* p. 217, in the *Præparatio*; Maskell, pp. 3, 4, and note.) The Roman has thrown it, with much

with much fitness used at the opening of many Liturgies.

The next event<sup>o</sup>, viz. the solemn scrutiny submitted to by each one, on our Lord's announcing that one of them should betray Him; followed by the self-confident boast of St. Peter and the rest, and by the rebuke administered to them for their lack of charity in striving which should be greatest:—all this has left its distinct impress on Eucharistic Service. There must be an opening of every man's conscience to Him "unto whom all hearts be open, and from whom no secrets are hid." "Lord, is it I?" must be asked by each invited guest as in the sight of God; and he to whom it is answered, "Thou hast said," must repent, or come not to that holy Festival, or come to his condemnation. The prelude to all Eucharist must be a prayer for purity of heart and conscience in order to acceptable service. The old Liturgies accordingly, at their very commencement, are very full to this purpose. The cases of Judas and St. Peter, both tempted by Satan, though in different ways, and the strife for precedence, seem to be referred to in some<sup>p</sup>. Others acknowledge the privilege of admission to the Father's House<sup>q</sup>; preceded herein by the entrance prayer to all

other preparatory matter, into the "præparatio missæ." Of old the communicants washed their hands, (S. Maximus). Hence the prayer is in the plural in the Moz. and York. Renaudot says the old Eastern rule is for the priest to wash his *feet* also, i. 176.

<sup>o</sup> Williams, Gospel Harmony, pp. 393—401.

<sup>p</sup> Thus Lit. S. Mark, first prayer: "All *envy*, all temptation, all working of *Satan*, all *plotting* of wicked men, drive away from us and Thy Church. . . . If we have offended in word, deed, or thought, . . . deliver us from the Evil One and his works." The Moz. again deprecates, "the spirit of pride and arrogance," rebuked in St. Peter.

<sup>q</sup> Syr. S. Jas.: "I am entered into Thy house, and have fallen down before Thy throne: forgive me," &c. . . . Jewish Syn. Prayers: "I am



Jewish services. Others, again, as our own<sup>r</sup> from the earliest times, lay open the heart to the all-knowing God. And all this humble desire for access to the FATHER'S HOUSE, and for a duly prepared condition of the heart, was in the vast majority of Liturgies, probably (as will be shewn hereafter) in all, summed up in the LORD'S PRAYER: an especial emphasis being laid on the first clause, as recognising the FATHER IN HEAVEN; and on the last, as seeking deliverance from the Evil One.

There was yet one other act of preparation to be made by the disciples for admission to the feast in their Father's House. They must draw near as *brethren*, and must have their want of charity rebuked and removed<sup>s</sup>. It was at this point accordingly that the exhortation to peace, and the kiss of peace, were, in the earliest arrangement of the Liturgies, given. One most lucid witness to this is the old English (Sarum) Use<sup>t</sup>, which alone of all Western Uses orders the exchange in this place of the kiss of peace and love between the ministering clergy, "that they may be meet for the Divine service of the altar." But

come by Thy great grace into Thy house, and do bow down to the Altar of Thy holy Temple in fear of Thee." The Syr., Rom., and Eng.: "I will enter unto the altar of God;" three Kyries and Lord's Prayer. Moz.: "Father, I have sinned, &c.; . . . How many servants in my Father's house, &c. . . . I will arise;" Lord's Prayer.

<sup>r</sup> Lit. Sarum, Maskell, p. 4. The Roman, and probably our other diocesan Uses, threw this prayer (or rather a very similar one) into the preparation for the Priest alone; but its plural form testifies that this was a departure from the original intention of it. Conf. Copt. S. Basil: "God Who knowest the hearts of all," &c.; Syr. S. Jas.: "Grant that with hearts sprinkled, and cleansed from all evil conscience, we may offer," &c.

<sup>s</sup> St. Luke xxiii. 24.

<sup>t</sup> "Deinde sacerdos deosculetur diaconum et subdiaconum." Miss. Sar. sub init.

this, with other features of the Sarum Use, was doubtless imported from the East, probably by Abp. Theodore of Tarsus; for the Syriac has nearly the same order in this place<sup>u</sup>, with the addition that the celebrant turns to the people and asks their pardon for any offences against them. The kiss was in some liturgies placed just before the oblation of the Elements<sup>x</sup>; and ultimately in the West deferred<sup>y</sup> until the reception.

## SECTION V.

### Introit—Gloria in Excelsis.

THE “scrutiny” was followed, according to the best harmonizers, by the going out of Judas: which was in a manner the signal for the new and heavenly feast to be brought forward. For no sooner had he gone out, than our Lord announced, in language<sup>z</sup> of assured

<sup>u</sup> Ren., p. 2. After the *Introibo*, “kissing the altar, he invokes a blessing on the right hand and on the left.” The kissing of the altar is prescribed in the Rom. and all the Eng. Uses: and doubtless signified originally the giving of the kiss to Christ: a custom with the Apostles, of which the kiss of Judas was only the abuse. The later Rom. Use turns it into a kiss to the relics deposited in the Altar. The mutual kiss was afterwards divorced from this one, and deferred till after consecration. The rite of Seèz, quoted by Le Brun, (i. 110,) and of Verdun, (Martene, i. p. 210,) places the kiss given by the Bishop to the clergy earlier still, before the *Introibo*; and so does the famous Missal published by Flaccius, supposed by Martene to belong to Salzburg; ib. p. 178.

<sup>x</sup> Justin M. i. Apol. Const. viii. 11; S. Cyril, v. 3. Or there may have been a kiss of peace in both places.

<sup>y</sup> Apparently by Innocent I. circ. 402. Ep. ad Decentium. Sala on Bona, iii. 352, fails to disprove this.

<sup>z</sup> So too Olshausen in l.: “Upon the withdrawal of Judas, the Saviour felt that the crisis had arrived; and, full of joy on account of it, He expresses Himself in language of the highest triumph.” The different opinions of the early Church as to Judas having gone out before the Institution, may be seen in Williams in l.

triumph over all spiritual powers arrayed against Him, that the work which He came into the world to do was on the very eve of accomplishment. And how was it to be accomplished? Doubtless by His giving Himself, as He was on the point of doing, in that sacrificial feast, to God on the one hand, and to man on the other. The idea of that feast, therefore, as imminent, here first comes distinctly to view. And at this point accordingly *in all Liturgies* (as a general rule, after the penitential preparation, sometimes before it, as will be shewn hereafter) took place originally the *bringing in*, or the bringing forward, of the *Elements*; called universally the "Entrance<sup>a</sup>." This action has always been performed with considerable solemnity: and not without reason, if we consider the profound symbolism which it involves, and which the words of our Lord at this point tended to invest it withal. For what were those words, and what did they import? "When therefore he was gone out, Jesus said, Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God be glorified in Him, God also will glorify Him in Himself, and will straightway glorify Him." Can we doubt that in these words He reverted to His Incarnation, and to the assurances of future "glory"? of the glorification, that is, of His Human Nature, which He then took? promises in part fulfilled by the angelic hymn at His Birth; and by repeated accessions of glory in the days of His Flesh, as at His Baptism, at His Transfiguration, and when the Voice was heard from heaven saying in answer to His prayer, "Father, glorify Thy Name," "I have both glorified it and will glorify it again"? Or can we fail to connect these expressions

<sup>a</sup> Gr. εἰσοδος; Rom. Introitus; Ambros. Ingressa.

with those of His prayer *after* giving Himself for the life of the world<sup>b</sup>? But there it is accomplished glory that is spoken of; here a fresh step<sup>c</sup> in the ascent leading up to that final glorification. And how could the Church more reverently and affectionately tread at this point in the path of Divine precedent in her Eucharistic service, than by such a Hymn of the Incarnation and Passion as she uses throughout the world in this place? The fine "Hymn of the Only-begotten Son" in the East, the far nobler "Gloria in Excelsis" of the further East and of the whole West, takes up the theme which the great Master has prescribed in His memorable words:—

"Only-begotten Son, and Word of God, who being immortal didst deign for us to be incarnate of the Holy Virgin Mary, and being made Man wast crucified, Christ, God<sup>d</sup>, by death having trodden down death, glorified with the Father and Holy Ghost, save us." [Eastern Hymn.]

And in the West—

"Glory be to God in the highest . . . we praise Thee . . . we glorify Thee, for Thy great *glory*. O Lord God . . . Father Almighty, O Lord, Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father . . . have mercy upon us . . . most high in the *glory* of God the Father."

<sup>b</sup> St. John xvii. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Olshausen in l.: "Though Christ according to the human Nature was sinless, His humanity contained a certain weakness: it did not possess immortality, it wanted perfect glorification. It was glorified gradually by the Indwelling of the Father in Him."

<sup>d</sup> It was, beyond doubt, either to this Hymn or to the Gloria in Excelsis, that Pliny's informant referred in saying "that they met together to sing a hymn to Christ as God." It is strange that Mr. Neale should pronounce it to be later than the Council of Ephesus, because of some allusions in it as sung at present. The same argument would prove the whole Nicene Creed to be later than the Councils of Constantinople or Toledo. The Armenian, just as we should expect, has not the inserted words.

The close correspondence of topics between the Eastern and Western forms, though with widely different expression, is most remarkable. Both go back to the Incarnation; the East by statement, the West by taking up the Angelic Hymn. The West uses the terms "glory" and "glorify" with the same abundant iteration as our Lord Himself in the archetypal passage; and in that degree renders His mind more fully:—as it also does by ascribing this "glory" equally to the Father. Both alike "strike mightily on the key" of the "Only-begotten Son," "Christ," and "God:"—thus duly ascribing the eternal Filiation, Deity, and designation as the Anointed One. Both go on to the Passion, and desire "mercy" or salvation by means of it.

And this is, in strictness, and was primitively, the Church's first<sup>e</sup> burst of *song* in connection with the Holy Eucharist: all that has preceded is matter of anxious preparation and desire. Very correctly does the best informed of all writers on Eastern ritualism say<sup>f</sup>, "The *Introits* of the Liturgies of S. Mark<sup>g</sup> and S. James, and of the Armenian, *consist* of the Hymn 'Only-begotten Son:.'<sup>h</sup>" he might have added, that the Introit or initial hymn of all other Churches consists properly of the "Gloria in Excelsis." The anthem or hymn, varying with the season, *called* in the West

<sup>e</sup> So Lit. S. Jas. rubric: "Then the Deacon *begins to sing* at the Entrance" (doubtless of the elements, though now understood to refer to that of the Gospels) "the Hymn Only-begotten."

<sup>f</sup> Neale, *Introd.* p. 363. He disallows, however, any connection between the Western term "Introit" and the Eastern Entrance.

<sup>g</sup> The Copt. S. Basil seems to have incorporated the substance of the hymn into its first "prayers of Oblation" and "of absolution to the Son:—" "O Lord Jesu Christ, Only-begotten Son, who wast made a Lamb of God." (So MS. Renaudot.)

“the Introit,” always comes just before the “Gloria,” &c., and is doubtless ancillary to it. It is commonly represented, indeed <sup>h</sup>, that it derives its name from its being said at the first entrance or approach of the priest to the altar. But the objection to this is that he has been now for some time at the altar, and has said his ‘Introibo,’ or corresponding words of humble approach. It is far better to connect it immediately with the more solemn and important event, symbolically considered, of the coming in of the Elements. With this, indeed, it is intimately bound up in the old English rite, according to which the “bringing in” is to follow the Introit, and so to synchronize exactly with the “Gloria in Excelsis<sup>i</sup>.” Thus viewed, it finds its perfect counterpart in the three antiphons which the Greek Church connects with the “Hymn Only-begotten,” subjoining it to the second of them. The “Introit” was in like manner repeated three times in the English <sup>k</sup> Uses, and probably in the Roman also, since it is accompanied by thrice three “Kyrie Eleisons.” And the true account of the Western Introit probably is, that it is due to the communications between the East and Rome in the beginning of the fifth century<sup>l</sup>. A much simpler and unvarying form is

<sup>h</sup> There is much difference of opinion about it, some making the “entrance” of the entire rite, others of the people. See Sala on Bona iii. p. 51.

<sup>i</sup> Rub. Sar. : “After the Introit, let him bring in the bread, wine and water. The choir may be entered for this purpose until the end of the first collect,” which followed the Gloria in Excelsis.

<sup>k</sup> Also in the French rites of Rouen, Sens, Laudun, Premontrè. Sala on Bona iii. 56.

<sup>l</sup> See above, vol. i. p. 251. It will be shewn hereafter (ch. iii.) that the Western system of Gospels was imported from the same quarter. Mr. Neale arrives at the same conclusion as to the *date* of the Roman Antiphon (or Introit), which he refers to Pope Celestine, circ. 430,

found in the Syr. S. James, consisting of Ps. xcv. 1—6, with Alleluia, Kyrie, Sanctus, each repeated three times, and Gloria Patri; but interwoven with prayers. To this, again, the Mozarabic is closely allied, having a varying verse of a Psalm, with Alleluia twice or thrice, and Gloria. The purpose of all this varied song was, doubtless, to herald in the symbols of the Incarnation, and to prelude the great hymn on that theme. Another widely-prevailing mode of doing honour to the action, was by the burning of incense, the materials of the Church's sacrifice being now in view. To this purpose there is in this place a rubrical direction or prayers, or both, in every known Liturgy<sup>m</sup>.

It was thus, then, that the Church throughout the world carried out, for her part, the Divine precept to the angelic hosts of which St. Paul speaks; "When He bringeth the First-begotten into the world He saith, And let all the angels of God worship Him." The coming in of the Elements ever sent her back in thought to the wondrous time when "the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His *Glory*, the Glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father."

It only remains to observe that the Western Church has suffered a great loss of ritual expressiveness by her treatment of the "Gloria in Excelsis." It has from some early period been used on Sundays and Festivals only, and not at all in Advent or Lent: and a further restriction was that it was only said by a

(Introd. p. 224, see Bona iii. 48,) who would doubtless act through his Archdeacon Leo. Mr. Neale also recognises the three antiphons of the Greek Church as corresponding to the Roman introt.

<sup>m</sup> Gr. S. Jas., 3rd and 5th prayers; Syr. Jas., rubr. and prayer; S. Mark, prayer after the Hymn; Copt. S. Basil, 7th prayer; Armenian, rubric, (Neale, p. 381, note); Nestorian, 3rd prayer; Mozar. init.

Bishop, except at Easter<sup>n</sup>. It is difficult to believe for a moment, after what we have seen of the widely spread use of it or its equivalent in the East, as a *constant* feature of the Liturgy, that it was at the first only used thus occasionally in the West. Such a supposition leaves her without any adequate expression of her mind in reference to the bringing in of the Elements. Indeed, it is certain<sup>o</sup> that these restrictions were successively imposed with a view of doing honour to Festivals and to the hierarchy. The English Church at her Revision, after restoring the great Hymn at first to continual use, was most infelicitous subsequently in placing it *after* consecration and reception. Even as placed there, indeed, it cannot but serve an excellent purpose; as did the Agnus Dei—an extract from the Gloria in Excelsis—placed of old in our own and in the Roman Use between consecration and reception. But ritually speaking, the transposition is as clear a departure from the

<sup>n</sup> See Bona, i. 82, &c., and Sala.

<sup>o</sup> Thus Amalarius (9th cent. ap. Mabillon, Anal. ii. p. 103) says that in his time “the omission of the Te Deum and Gloria in Excelsis in Advent and Lent was only observed by some Churches, and not at all by monastic or collegiate bodies:”—and even the Roman Order of Service written in the twelfth century says that they were in use in Rome on Sundays in Advent; (Mabillon, Iter. Ital. ii. p. 120). The very ancient Irish Missal of Dr. O’Conor of the tenth or eleventh century contains the Hymn (preceded by an anthem or introit) without any restriction as to its use to Sundays, exactly as it appears in Syr. Lit. S. Jas.—Martene (i. p. 132) strangely affirms that the Gloria in Excelsis was never used in the Liturgy of the French Church, whereas he himself gives several instances of it in the rites of Tours, Verdun, Mande, and in an ancient “*expositio missæ*” of the time of Charlemagne, (i. 159); besides that the Gallican Sacramentary (v. Mabillon, Mus. Ital. i. 281) appends the Hymn as to be used “*ad missam*,” doubtless in the usual position. Mr. Palmer has wrongly cited this as countenancing the present incorrect position of the Hymn in the English Office. John de Beleth, Bishop of Paris in 1162, describes it as a regular part of the Missa.



ancient method of using it, as its restoration to constant use was accordant therewith.

## SECTION VI.

### The Litany.

BUT there are other emotions and actions, besides those of joy and praise, which are prompted by the thought of the Incarnation. The great Economy, in all its course, is at every step suggestive of "prayers and supplications," no less than of giving of thanks. The first introduction of the idea of the Incarnation has not failed, accordingly, to draw after it, in the liturgies, very solemn pleadings, intercessions, and *Litanies*.

We have seen that two principal ones, S. James and S. Mark, have no "introit" to herald in the Gloria in Excelsis and the Elements. But both have initial prayers, governed by the same numerical law as the introits of Constantinople and Rome. Thus S. Mark has *three* prayers, (1. a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, 2. for the King, 3. for the Patriarch,) with three Kyries before each. S. James has *nine* prayers<sup>p</sup>, seven before the Hymn, and two after it, adding a brief litany of *three* petitions. These prayers plainly recognise the bringing in of the Elements, and there is reason for saying<sup>q</sup> that they once did so more distinctly. In a word, they are *introit prayers*. And such Churches as had introit hymns failed not to

<sup>p</sup> Neale, pref. to Tetral., p. 42, and Introd., p. 360.

<sup>q</sup> On comparing two prayers of the same tenor in Gr. and Syr. S. Jas., we find the one offering incense, but the other the *oblations*: "God Who didst receive the gifts of Abel, Noah, and Abraham," (Gr. adds "and the *incense* of Aaron," as Syr. S. Jas. alio loco,— "and Zachariah,") "receive this incense" (Gr., but "these offerings," Syr.) "at the hands of," &c.

add prayers or litanies also. Thus in the Syriac, as we have seen <sup>r</sup>, the two are mingled. The Use of Constantinople, besides that it joins prayers to each of the three antiphons of its introit, commences with a litany of *nine* petitions <sup>s</sup>. This example was followed in the West, which certainly had an initial litany from the first, and as late as the ninth century <sup>t</sup>, as a constant feature.

At what exact point the Western Litany—the grandest in the world—originally stood, is not quite clear. But it is most probable that the order was, 1. Prayer for purity; 2. The Introibo, with Ps. xlii.; 3. Kyrie and the Lord's Prayer; 4. Litany; 5. Introit, with the Elements; 6. Gloria in Excelsis. (There was no Confiteor as yet.) Nor can it be too strongly insisted upon that the Litany *was* thus a strictly Eucharistic feature; and that its ejection from the rite was a grievous loss, which the English Church in the sixteenth century righteously and nobly repaired. It had at that time ceased to be used at any Festival celebration in the West. In connection with the Eucharist it was only said at Ordinations and on Easter Eve. In England, however, during Lent, a part of it was used, before the entire celebration, on all Wednesdays and Fridays <sup>u</sup>. It was hence that, at our First Revision, it was appointed <sup>x</sup> to be said before celebration on these days, as well as on Sundays in lieu of a Bidding Prayer.

<sup>r</sup> Viz. Ps. xcvi. 1—6, penitential prayer of incense, three Kyries, Trisagion, Gloria Patri, litany, prayer of approach: above, p. 319.

<sup>s</sup> There are apparently ten, but the fourth and fifth manifestly form but one.

<sup>t</sup> Goar on Lit. S. Chrys., n. 62; Bona, ii. 4, 3.

<sup>u</sup> Transl. of Sarum Psalter, p. 406; from the Sarum Processionale.

<sup>x</sup> Injunctions of Edw. VI., 1547; see above, Introd., p. 115.

It will be well worth our while to dwell for a moment on the rationale of this admirable feature of our Eucharistic service ; more especially as its real nature has been very imperfectly apprehended. It is only by due consideration of its ancient position, as ancillary to the bringing in of the Elements, that its marvellous power and depth of meaning can be appreciated.

We have said, then, that the Litany followed, most probably, the Kyrie Eleison (or short litany) and the Lord's Prayer. Accordingly, all the earlier part of it is simply a development, 1. of that trinal invocation, and 2. of the first and last two clauses of that Prayer, —the "Pater noster," and the "ne inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo<sup>v</sup>." Beginning with "O God the Father, of heaven," it proceeds with solemn invocation of the whole Trinity. The first petition in all varieties of the Western Litany, and in our own, is, "From all evil, Lord deliver us," which furnishes the *form* of all the deprecations. In fact, we clearly have here what the Eastern Churches call an *embolismus*<sup>z</sup>, or "enlargement" of the final petition, using it, now, just before reception ; but anciently<sup>a</sup>, doubtless, in the position we are now con-

<sup>v</sup> The originals of our Litany may be seen, in Latin, in the *Portiforium Sarisb.*, (Leslie, 1843,) p. 111 ; in English, in the translated *Sarum Psalter*, (Masters,) p. 407, with the important variations of the York and Hereford Uses.

<sup>z</sup> Literally "intercalation." Latin writers render it "excrementia, supraugmentum." *Bona*, iii. 305. For specimens, see Neale, *Introd.*, pp. 626, &c.

<sup>a</sup> It will be shewn hereafter that the Lord's Prayer was transposed from the beginning to the reception. It did not *always* carry with it the embolismus, as e.g. S. Chrys. has none ; S. Mark a very short one ; but the former has a single petition of the kind in its earlier Litany, "That we may be delivered from all tribulation, wrath, danger, and

sidering. The particular evils which the Litany proceeds to deprecate, are precisely those which, as we have seen above, are suggested by our Lord's warnings to Judas, St. Peter, and the twelve, and which are referred to in the opening prayers of other Communion offices; "From the snares of the devil, from pride, vain-glory, hatred, and all ill-will, deliver us."

But now follows, in all Western Litanies, a feature in some sense peculiar to them. It has been remarked elsewhere<sup>b</sup> that the West has distinguished herself by her zeal in expressly *pleading* the work of Christ on behalf of His Church. And this, accordingly, is the purpose to which, in her Eucharistic Litany, she has turned the thought of the Incarnation, brought to view by the entrance of the Elements. If we revert for a moment to the East, we find several Liturgies making *commemoration* at this point in the service, or a little later, of that great Economy and of the several steps of it. Thus in the very ancient Armenian rite, in preparing the Elements before bringing them in, the priest says, "In commemoration and on account of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ<sup>c</sup>." Others accompany<sup>d</sup> the putting on of the veil which covers the Elements—a symbol of the Word taking the Flesh—with the words "the Lord hath reigned, He hath put on glorious apparel." And in this undeveloped form the *pleading* of the Economy found place in some Western Litanies. Thus in one<sup>e</sup> of the

necessity;" and the latter has left a paraphrase of the *whole prayer* as the first of its three opening collects.

<sup>b</sup> Above, vol. i. p. 373.

<sup>c</sup> Neale, *Introd.*, p. 355.

<sup>d</sup> *Syr. S. Jas.*; Renaud., *Lit. S. Chrys.*, "Office of preparation; Neale, *Introd.*, p. 351.

<sup>e</sup> Printed by Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, Appendix, from a MS. of Cardinal Chigi.

tenth century, the single pleading is, "That by Thy Incarnation Thou wouldest open the entrance for us into the Holy of Holies." But in one at least of the Eastern rites the successive steps in the Economy, *nine* in number, are enumerated, and made a ground of intercession. In the Syriac<sup>f</sup>, very early in the rite, just after the Elements have been placed ready on the altar, and the veil removed, we have,—

"O pure Lamb, and without spot, who didst offer Thyself to Thy Father an acceptable Sacrifice, for the salvation and propitiation of the whole world; Grant that we may offer ourselves to Thee a living sacrifice, O *Christ*, our God."

Then taking the paten and cup, containing the Elements, into his right and left hand, he says, "We make remembrance of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the whole of the saving Dispensation for us. For behold, we now celebrate the commemoration, according to His Divine precept, over the Eucharist<sup>g</sup> which lies before us, of 1. His Annunciation by the Archangel; 2. His Nativity in the Flesh; 3. His Baptism in Jordan; 4. His saving Passion; 5. His lifting up on the Cross; 6. His Life-giving Death; 7. His glorious Burial; 8. His renowned Resurrection; and 9. His Session at the Right Hand of God the Father."

Then particular persons are remembered, especially the departed, at some length. The Elements are set down again on the Altar, and a supplication made for all; for rich and poor, widows and orphans, for distressed and sick, and all who have desired to be remembered, and for the departed, ending with three Kyries and the Lord's Prayer.

Now here we have all the leading features of the Western Litany; the invocation of the Lamb; the "memorial" of every step in the Economy; the deprecations, and the Lord's Prayer. The chief points of difference are that the Lamb is invoked at the

<sup>f</sup> Viz. in the second of the three forms of the introductory part, as given by Renaudot, p. 16.

<sup>g</sup> So the Elements are called "Eucharistia" in the English rites; Maskell, p. 32, rubric for bringing in the Elements.

beginning instead of at the end, and that the language throughout is more pointedly Eucharistic. But all this only interprets for us the better the pleadings contained in our Western Litany. It is manifest that the design of this corresponding portion of the Syriac rite, was to carry out, even in this very early stage of the service, the precept of Christ concerning "making remembrance" of Him and of His Divine Actions: and we learn from hence to use the pleadings in our own Litany in the same sense. And it is specially worthy of remark, that whereas the staple contents of all Liturgies, and of this among the number, are addressed to God the Father, this portion is addressed to the Son: and that in our Litany exactly the same change of address is observable. The reason in both cases is to be found in the structure of the Gloria in Excelsis, to which the Litanies lead up, and which, beginning with "Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty," turns next to "Jesu Christ, O Lord God, Lamb of God." It is the prolongation of the latter address which gives substance and shaping to the Litany.

And that this Eastern specimen of eucharistic pleading, though a solitary one, was highly esteemed, appears from its having been, in the fourth century, rendered into a very solemn hymn, by Ephrem Syrus, "the sweet singer" of the farther East<sup>b</sup>. It passed,

<sup>b</sup> Part of this hymn as given by Bona, *Rer. Lit. i. 9*, in Latin, may be thus translated: the Syriac is in seven-syllable metre:—

"Glory to the Trinity,  
The perpetual and eternal,  
Over this sweet-smelling savour,  
Which we offer to Thy honour;  
Lord, forgive thereby our trespass.  
We remember, in our pleadings,  
Over this sweet-smelling savour,  
Lord, Thy blest Annunciation.

moreover, in a very quaint and singular form, and at some early period, into the farther West. It should be explained that in the Liturgy of S. James, both Greek and Syriac<sup>i</sup>, the manner of preparing the bread for the altar, is to have *five*<sup>k</sup> small and flat loaves on the paten, round, but each having a smaller square projection above; from one of them this projection is cut off horizontally, and divided crosswise into four parts, which are arranged in the form of a cross. There are thus *nine* portions of bread in all; and these again are, in the Greek rite, subdivided; the use made of the portions being to offer them for various persons. In the Syriac there is no subdivision; but the *nine* portions are what the celebrant has in his hand when he says the pleadings and Litany above described. Now it will be remembered, that the number of steps into which the Dispensation is there divided is *nine*, and there can be no doubt that these were intended to be associated with the nine portions over which memorial was made. In the Coptic rite of S. Basil, again, the number of nine portions is produced, *after* consecration, however, by simply dividing one loaf by two cross incisions

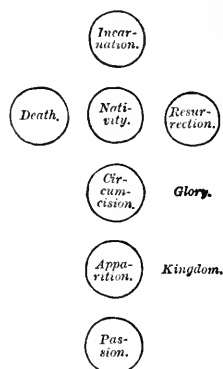
Thy Nativity and Nurture,  
 And Thy Crucifixion for us,  
 And Thy precious Death and Burial,  
 And Thy glorious Resurrection,  
 Thine Ascension into Heaven,  
 And Thy Session there in glory,  
 And all that Thy Dispensation,  
 Which Thy Will hath wrought among us."

The exquisite Rhythms and Homilies of St. Ephrem have lately been translated.

<sup>i</sup> Neale, *Introd.*, p. 342; *Tetral.*, 260; *Renaud.* i. 3, 13.

<sup>k</sup> In remembrance of the five loaves blessed by our Lord in the wilderness. So the Mozarabic prayer, when the bread was brought: "Bless this bread, as Thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert." Neale, p. 431. See the shape of the loaves, *ibid.*, p. 342.

⊕ each way. All these portions are then arranged in the form of a Latin cross: the middle portion, retaining its position, is called the Lord's Body, and symbolizes the Incarnation. And it is probable that, anciently, the other portions represented the successive Actions of Christ in the Flesh. Certain it is that this singular treatment of the Bread passed over to the Spanish Church with this express application. Of the nine portions<sup>1</sup>, seven are arranged in a cross, two left separate; and each one carries as its signature some one of the steps of Christ's work for man. These differ slightly, as will be seen, from those in the Syriac; but they are so much the nearer to the most usual forms of the Western Litany. Moreover, commemoration and pleading are made over the portions on behalf of the living; followed by the



<sup>1</sup> Produced exactly as in the Greek and Syriac S. James. So the rubric: "Let him break the Oblation in the middle (i.e. horizontally), and put the middle part on the paten and divide this into five, the other into four."

<i>Syr. S. James.</i>	<i>Mozarabic.</i>	<i>Eng. Primer.</i>
Dispensation.		Mystery of Thy Holy
1. Annunc. and Concept.	1. Incarnation.	1. Incarnation.
2. Nativity in the Flesh.	2. Nativity.	2. Holy Nativity.
3. Baptism in Jordan.	3. Circumcision.	3. Circum. & Baptism.
4. Saving Passion.	4. Apparition (Baptism.)	4. Fasting and Suffering.
5. Lifting on the Cross.	5. Passion.	5. Passion and Death.
6. Lifegiving Death.	6. Death.	6. Blessed Burial.
7. Glorious Burial.	7. Resurrection.	7. Glorious Resurrection.
8. Renowned Resurrect.	8. Glory.	8. Marvellous Ascension.
9. Ascensioa. Session.	9. Kingdom.	9. Grace of Holy Ghost the Comforter.



Lord's Prayer with the *embolismus*. "Delivered from all evil<sup>m</sup>, confirmed in all good, may we be able to serve Thee, &c. ; . . . give redemption to the captives, health to the sick," &c. This, then, is the form in which the Spanish Church has received the pleadings of the Litany. We may specially notice the mention of the Circumcision, which, as far as we know, is found nowhere else in East or West except in the *English* Litany, both in the Public Office, and in one of the Primers. It is from this last source<sup>n</sup> that our present pleadings are derived, rather than from the old public litanies, with which they accord less closely. And the more immediate parent of that Primer Use, again, is obviously, from the close correspondence of the two, the Spanish form just described. The number of Actions in our litanies is still nine ; or, however, may be so reckoned, though it is improbable that our Revisers intended it. A tabular view of the pleadings is given below.

<sup>m</sup> Compare Western Absolution retained in our Communion Office : "Pardon and deliver you from all your sins ; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness."

<sup>n</sup> It is printed by Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, ii. 95, 102. Another, in p. 217, has only these five pleadings—"The Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Grace of the Holy Ghost." It is from these two litanies that our *order* of praying for 1. Kings, 2. Bishops, was derived ; these being most popularly known. This order obtains also in a Litany of the eighth century, printed by Mabillon, *Anal.*, ii. p. 674.

<i>Eng. Prayer-book.</i>	<i>Sarum.</i>	<i>Roman.</i>
Mystery of Holy Incarnation.	Mystery of Holy Incarnation.	1. Mystery of Incarnation.
2. Nativ. & Circumcision.	1. Nativity.	2. Coming.
3. Bapt., Fast., Temp.	2. Holy Circumcision.	3. Nativity.
4. Agony & Bloody Sweat.	3. Baptism.	4. Baptism and Fasting.
5. Cross and Passion.	4. Fasting.	5. Cross and Passion.
6. Death and Burial.	5. Cross and Passion.	6. Death and Burial.
7. Glorious Resurrection.	6. Precious Death.	7. Holy Resurrection.
8. Ascension.	7. Glorious Resurrection.	8. Admirable Ascension.
9. Coming of the Holy Ghost.	8. Wonderful Ascension.	9. Coming of Holy Ghost the Comforter.
	9. Grace of Holy Ghost the Comforter.	

## SECTION VII.

## The Epistle and Gospel.

CONTINUING our survey of the Divine Action on the night of the Holy Institution, we find that the *words of glorification*, so to call them, in which the whole course of the Economy was summed up, and which gave occasion to the Church's hymns "Only-begotten" and Gloria in Excelsis, were immediately succeeded<sup>o</sup> by the address, as of an Elder Brother, "Little children;" the announcement of their impending orphanhood; and the giving of a "new commandment," which that event would render more necessary than ever, "to love one another as He had loved them." And this keeping of His commandments is, in the discourse which occupies St. John's next chapter, reiterated once and again<sup>p</sup> with the added motive or adjuration, "If ye love Me, keep My commandments."

Now here we recognise, 1. an exact parallelism to the Jewish Service above sketched out, (p. 293). For, after the evening psalms, and a thanksgiving for the creation of evening and night<sup>q</sup>, and just before the prayer of oblation of the sacrifice, follows a commemoration of the *law* and *commandments*, and of God's everlasting *love*, which Israel promises never to forget. And, 2. it is also at this very point in her service, after the Gloria in Excelsis, that the Church

<sup>o</sup> St. John xiii. 33.

<sup>p</sup> Vers. 15, 21.

<sup>q</sup> With this we may perhaps compare the emphatic remark of this Evangelist, that "it was night" when Judas went out. Add to this the frequent mention of "this night," and the "night much to be observed," Exod. xii. 42; and the occurrence in almost all Liturgies of "on the same night, &c."

throughout the world interposes her *reading of Holy Scripture*. The universality of this arrangement, as to the position of the Eucharistic Scriptures, is truly astonishing. But the reason of it in all probability lies before us. In the old ritual, in synagogue or Temple<sup>r</sup>, before they drew near to the offering of the morning or evening sacrifice, Israel was taught to listen obediently to the commandments of their God, and to avow their belief in Him, and their stedfast purpose to abide in His love. Our Lord, in like manner, ere He offered His Sacrifice of Himself for His Church, would require from them obedience to one all-comprehensive commandment of love,—urge upon them a lesson of answering love for the love wherewith He had loved them. And hence the Church too, at this point in her service, bethinks her, diligently and lovingly, of all “that Jesus began both to do and to teach.” And this perhaps is the reason why, in the great majority of Liturgies<sup>s</sup>, there appears never to have been in this place a “Prophesy” or lection from the *Old Testament*, except on certain days, but only an “Epistle and Gospel.” The peculiar duty of the Church in her Eucharistic Office was to call her Lord’s words, and those of His Apostles, to remembrance: she might well place the reading of the *Old Testament* in the introductory or ordinary office<sup>t</sup>. It is difficult to suppose, with

<sup>r</sup> See Prideaux, Connection.

<sup>s</sup> Scil. Syr. S. Jas., S. Basil, S. Chrys. (only Psalms, Ep., Gosp.); S. Mark, Coptic S. Basil; Rom., Eng., Milanese. The exceptions are Gk. S. Jas., Arm., Moz., Gall., African.

<sup>t</sup> This is probably the account to be given of Justin Martyr’s saying, (and the Ap. Const. after him,) that the reading of Scripture at large preceded the bringing forward even of the elements. It is inconceivable that the “Epistle and Gospel” system would have become so universal,

some ritualists<sup>u</sup>,—though it may have been so,—that the Old Scriptures were originally read here, in all Liturgies, but afterwards in most of them laid aside. Whereas some, having special affinities<sup>x</sup> with the elder system, might have been peculiar in having Old Testament Scriptures as well as New.

There is some little difficulty, indeed, it is true, in imagining how the *place* of the New Testament Scriptures was filled up, and as it were kept for them, before they were written. We cannot but observe, however, that a brief “Gospel” proceeded from the lips of Christ Himself at the point which we have reached in the Eucharistic narrative, and occupies, in some form or other, a corresponding position in every Liturgy. After the commandment to love one another, the Saviour proceeded at once to unfold the objective Faith, which was to be the stay and solace of the world till He should come again. This was *His* “Gospel,” the detailed and clear announcement of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of their several Offices henceforth towards man<sup>y</sup>. The Father to receive them to many mansions; the Son to return, and the Father in Him, so as not to leave them “orphans;” the Holy Ghost to be a yet further Comforter. And all this was marvellously and soothingly summed up in the threefold “Peace.” “Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I (peace) unto you.” And certain it is, that all Liturgies sound more or less fully

had they not already in his time existed, at least in germ. And this the brevity of his narrative allows of.

<sup>u</sup> Palmer, Neale, &c. *Sala*, on *Bona*, i. 108, takes the view in the text.

<sup>x</sup> As the Gk. S. Jas. and Armenian.

<sup>y</sup> *St. John* xiv. 1—26.

this note of "peace" at the reading of the "Gospel," while some render it with peculiar fulness<sup>z</sup>. The more usual form is "Peace be with you," or "to all," or "to thee that evangelizest<sup>a</sup>." And the Office hereabouts is otherwise full of the idea of peace. There are litanies for peace after the Gospel; one Church<sup>b</sup> prays for the presence of angels of peace, and "the peace which passeth all understanding:" and all have some prayer of the kind. Our "Bidding Prayer," between the Gospel and its exposition, the Sermon, is no other than a litany whose especial burden is peace<sup>c</sup>; and our evening collect for peace is generally included. But above all the Kiss of peace, whether primitively or not, has certainly from very early times been used here.

It would easily follow that when Epistles first, and afterwards Gospels, were written, portions of them would fall into the position thus marked out from the beginning. The "Epistles," as being of earlier date<sup>d</sup>, would naturally be assigned the earlier place,

<sup>z</sup> e. g. the Moz.; just before "It is very meet, right, &c." The order is, "For Thou art our Peace. . . . The Grace of God the Father, the peace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, the fellowship, &c. ✠. As ye stand, give the peace. R̄. My *peace* I give unto you, My *peace* I commend to you (*sic*, not as in the text of St. John), not as the world giveth give I peace (*sic*) unto you. A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another. ✠. My peace, &c., (thrice repeated)." These variations in the passage as it stands in St. John are highly curious, and lend some countenance to the conjecture in the text, as indicating a separate tradition; exactly as in the case of the slightly varying words of Institution in the Liturgies.

<sup>a</sup> St. Chrysostom.

<sup>b</sup> Armenian.

<sup>c</sup> See the interesting collection of Bidding Prayers from 1349 downwards, Parker, 1840. In one form, the Sarum Processional, 1545, it is ordered to be said in parochial churches "post evangelium et offeritorium." *Ib.*, p. 70.

<sup>d</sup> See above, Part I., p. 139.

that so the "Gospel" and its "Peace" might serve as a climax, and immediately precede celebration. It may have been long ere a full scheme of selected and varying Epistles and Gospels were adopted. There is a Western Communion Office<sup>e</sup> dating as late as the sixth century, and probably in use for several ages after, which has but one Epistle and Gospel for the whole year. These are respectively from 1 Cor. xi. and St. John vi.

## SECTION VIII.

### The Creed—The Trisagion.

THUS far, then, of the Church's universal habit of introducing the Scriptures of the New Testament at this juncture in her service. Of the Creed, we can speak far less positively. In its present fulness, of course, the Eucharistic Creed now used throughout the world cannot have been known to the early Church. The date of its insertion in its completed form, in most Liturgies, is fairly attested<sup>f</sup>. But this leaves the question open, whether there was in the primitive Church anything of that nature. The readiness, and on the whole, the uniformity, with which the Nicene Creed was admitted and placed between the Gospel and the Oblation of the Elements, would seem to suggest, 1. that in all Churches the Creed *element* existed already, and 2. that this was felt to be the proper place for the enlarged form of it.

<sup>e</sup> The famous Irish Missal published by Dr. O'Connor.

<sup>f</sup> In the East it would seem to have been recited at first only on Good Friday, when the Bishop catechised the candidates for Baptism. It was not used constantly at Antioch in 471, in Constantinople in 510, in Spain in 559. At Rome (it is said) not until 1014. See Bona, ii. 8; Bingham x. 4. 17.

Now, what is a Creed? As distinguished from all other forms of religious expression, it is an assent to truth made for its own sake. While *they* are, essentially, acts of worship, accidentally acts of faith; this is in its essence an act of faith, and only accidentally of worship. It *may* be offered as a hymn: and the Church has been ever wont so to use it. But in its proper nature it looks down into the depths of man's own consciousness, and has for its purpose to secure and express his religious fidelity. It also contains in it, more strongly and more consciously than other forms, an element of negation and renunciation. It puts away, with thoughtful resolve and steady voice, all other allegiance. In it man speaks to God and the world his convictions about things Divine. Now forms to this effect were of exceedingly frequent use in the old Jewish Offices. That constantly recited summary and injunction, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love," &c., had its response in short but strong and hearty creed-like formulæ pervading the whole services, and sometimes gathered up into a veritable "Creed." Their prayers took to a great degree the vocative form of reiterated assent to the perfections and doings of God: such as "Thou art holy, Thou art," &c.; and reiterations to this effect in the third person are also of constant occurrence. Herein, indeed, they did but follow the heavenly type shewed<sup>§</sup> to Isaiah and St. John, in which the affirmations of God's attributes is the substance of the worship. But there were also certain terms of frequent occurrence, in which they were used to sum

<sup>§</sup> Isa. vi. 3; Rev. iv. 8: where the third person is preserved throughout in the LXX, and in St. John. Comp. Exod. xxxiv. 6.

up all that God had done for them as a nation, as distinguished from His essential attributes or more universal operations. And what the Exodus had more peculiarly impressed upon them, as the Song of Moses testifies<sup>b</sup>, was the sense of His *power* in bringing them out, and His superiority to all other gods or powers as the *living* God, the Source and Lord of all life, and capable of preserving or destroying for ever<sup>i</sup>. To recognise God, "the strong God, the living God," was virtually to acknowledge Himself and all His work for them. And these terms would have especial fitness when they recited the law, or recalled to the memory their deliverance. In this connection, accordingly, we find them; not least in their evening prayers, when after the "Hear, O Israel," they recited with one voice,—

"*Omnes.* The Lord our God is true and faithful in all this, for He is the Lord our God, and King, who hath delivered us from the fist of the *strong* ones; who is like unto Thee among the gods, *strengthened* in holiness? He divided the Red Sea; this is my *strong* God, King *for ever and ever.*"

And again in the Eighteen prayers:—

"For Thou art a *strong* God, and a great King: blessed art Thou, the *strong* God who is holy (2<sup>ce</sup>);" with further thanks for the gift of knowledge and of the law, (Nos. 2—4).

Now there occurs in all ancient liturgies, and in connection more or less close with the reading of the Scriptures, a brief formula to the like effect. This is the famous "Trisagion" hymn, into the especial purpose

<sup>b</sup> Exod. xv. 2, 3, 6, 11.

<sup>i</sup> Compare the Eighteen prayers, Nos. 1 and 2: "The strong, the great, the mighty, the fearful, the highest strong God, performer of good and gracious actions. Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord, Thou art the restorer of life to the dead. . . . Who is like unto Thee, O Lord of mightiness, who killeth and reviveth. . . Restorer of life to the dead."



of which, as distinguished from the Gloria in Excelsis or the Tersanctus, no writer appears to have entered. Its form is, "Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis, miserere nostri." Its Jewish derivation is sufficiently vouched for by its Hebraic cast, and by its identity in subject with the prayers just referred to. And its purpose seems still to be the same: to acknowledge those attributes of God which were exerted in the work of Redemption, as recorded *in the Scriptures*. Thus in the great Greek liturgies it is sung after the bringing in of the Gospels, and is followed by a prayer<sup>j</sup> of thanksgiving, varying in each Liturgy, for the gift of divine knowledge, but always desiring grace to offer the Trisagion, and concluding with a hymn and ascription of "Glory to the Father," &c., thus translating the Trisagion into the language of Christian praise<sup>k</sup>. In the Roman rite it is now sung only once in the year, viz. on Good Friday. But this is a relic, probably, of a more universal earlier use. It is said first in Greek and then in Latin, (a proof of its antiquity,) directly after the Gospel and its ninefold Litany, twelve times, interwoven with the "Popule Meus;"—a remonstrance (put in the mouth of our Lord) with His ancient people, in the form of a contrast between His work done for them at the Exodus, and their treatment of Him at His Crucifixion. Nothing could more fully illustrate the design of the Trisagion, than this weaving together of the great Jewish and Christian events of Redemption. The ancient Gallican Use sung the Trisagion thrice: before the Prophecy, and before and after the Gospel. The

<sup>j</sup> The Greek and Syr. S. James alone do not mention the Gospel.

<sup>k</sup> So in the Eastern Nocturns (see vol. i. p. 66) it is followed by "Glory be," &c., and "Holy Trinity."

Syriac has it before the Gloria in Excelsis, but also again before the Scriptures. It also occurs in the Eastern Nocturns and the English Prime in connection with the Creed<sup>1</sup>.

These facts seem abundantly to establish the position that the Trisagion was, as has been well said of the Te Deum, "a creed set hymnwise;" having special reference to the work of God for man as set forth in the Scriptures. That the Church of old entertained this conception of it is clear from the Trisagion prayers. It would be natural, therefore, for them to admit into this position the Nicene Creed, even if there was no Creed there before.

And in truth, the exact attributes which the Trisagion hymn gives thanks for, as having been exerted by God in the work of Redemption, are dwelt upon no less in other great Christian formulæ, and in the Creed itself. Thus the almost unvarying<sup>m</sup> Western Tersanctus Preface runs, "It is meet, &c., O Lord, *Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God;*" (*Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis*): and this, again, is of frequent occurrence as the exordium of prayers, as in our third morning Collect, "O Lord . . . Almighty, Everlasting God." And in the Creed itself, the one attribute which scarcely ever fails<sup>n</sup>, and with a single exception is the most unvarying, is that of

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. ii. pp. 66, 99.

<sup>m</sup> It is slightly varied in the Benedictio cerei on Easter Eve, during Easter, and on Feasts of Apostles, and also, though rarely, in the Spanish and Gallican rites.

<sup>n</sup> See the valuable *Harmonia Symbolica* of Dr. Heurtley, Oxford, 1858. The word "Almighty" is found in fifty of the sixty forms given by him. The *Unity* is almost confined to the Eastern Creeds. *Ibid.*, p. 127. The clause "Maker of," &c., does not appear in the West until the seventh century, save in Irenæus and Tertullian.

“Almighty.” Not even the unity of God is so universally predicated. Nor was it as being “Maker of heaven and earth” (a clause of late insertion in the West, as a protest against heresy) that His Almightyness was thus dwelt upon, but rather, following the Jewish type, on account of His work of Redemption; as St. Augustine<sup>o</sup> expounds it. And thus we obtain, by the light of Jewish lore, a well-based exposition of one of the most ancient and universal expressions of the Christian Church’s Creed. The one Name of God which has been referred to as more unfailling still, and which is not left out of *any* Creed<sup>p</sup>, is that of “Father;” the Gospel having revealed to us, as the supreme characteristic of *our* Redemption, the *Love* of God in giving His Only-begotten Son.

If it be asked, however, whether an actual Creed, in something like its present form, however scanty, had place in the liturgies before Nicene days, we cannot answer the question with certainty<sup>q</sup>. On the whole, I incline to the belief that it had: chiefly for the following reasons. 1. The Eucharist being the *τέλος* of Baptism, the supreme occasion for exercising all Christian privileges, it is hardly conceivable that the “Credo” should have been so diligently inculcated on candidates, if it was not to be used in the Liturgy. And, 2. following the line of illustration adopted in this chapter, we seem to find our Lord

<sup>o</sup> Serm. 213, In Traditione Symboli: “Credo, &c., Omnia de Ipsius *miseriordia* promittimus, quia Omnipotens est. Ideo in Deum Omnipotentem credimus.” So our (Gelasian) Collect: “Who declarest Thy Almighty *power* most chiefly in shewing *mercy* and *pity*.” Bishop Andrewes: “Credo in . . . Omnipotentem potentiam *salvificam*.”

<sup>p</sup> Heurtley, as above, *passim*.

<sup>q</sup> “Incertum prorsus videtur, num tribus primis ecclesiæ sæculis, Apostolorum Symbolum in Missis decantatum fuerit.” Sala on Bona ii.

Himself dictating an actual Creed for Eucharistic use, in the terms which the Church has ever employed. For immediately after His "new commandment," and at the point at which (see p. 293) the Jewish service prescribed the "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord," He says to them, "Ye *believe*," or "Believe ye, in *God*; believe also in *Me*: in My Father's house, &c. . . . He will send the Comforter, which is the *Holy Ghost*." It is difficult to question that this is the origin of the great formula, so familiar to us now, but heretofore unknown, "I BELIEVE in GOD; the FATHER; and in JESUS CHRIST, HIS ONLY SON; and in the HOLY GHOST." Thus would our Lord Himself have been the first to put into the Church's mouth her glorious Creed, and to proclaim at the very institution of Christianity its leading psychological verity, that "this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our *faith*." And if it be objected that in this case we should rather have found the formula to be in the plural number, it is remarkable that in the earliest forms it was so. With one exception, no Creed has been found in the singular until the middle of the fourth century<sup>r</sup>. And in the least changed of the Eastern rites, the Syriac, as well as in the Spanish, the eucharistic recitation of the Creed runs in the plural, "Credimus." In other Churches, the catechumenical system would seem to have had the effect of remanding the Creed for two or three centuries to baptismal use. Hence, when it was reinstated at the period of the Nicene Council, it returned, generally,

<sup>r</sup> See the Creeds of Irenæus, Lyons (c. 180), Carthage (c. 203), Rome (c. 260), in Heurtley, pp. 8—16. The exception is Carthage (255). S. James has a second plural creed at reception: "One Holy Father, One, &c. . . . truly *we believe* in Thee, as the Church believes."

in the singular form. Yet still, in one clause, the Nicene Creed itself is plural: "For us men, and for our salvation."

## SECTION IX.

### The Oblation.

DURING many ages of the Church, the Gospel, with its attendant litany or bidding prayer, was immediately followed by the dismissal of the catechumens, with prayers for them and for the faithful; and this, again, in most Eastern Liturgies, by the bringing in of the Elements. All these however, as will be fully shewn hereafter<sup>s</sup>, were disciplinary arrangements of post-Apostolic date, and therefore need not be considered here.

After the reading of the Eucharistic Scriptures then, (or whatever at the first corresponded thereto,) and probably a brief Confession of faith, the Church addressed herself to the actual *presentation* first, in order to *consecration* afterwards, of the gifts which she had provided. In making two distinct actions of these, she would be following the pattern set before her in the Mosaic system; in which the set and solemn delivering up and slaying of the victim at the door of the tabernacle court, by the *bringer* of it, constituted, for his part, the offering; the consecration and consumption of it being left to the priest, and to the heaven-descended fire of the altar.

But this general deduction from the entire system would, for the Apostles, be countersigned by the occurrence of an express form of *oblation*<sup>t</sup> in that Passover-eve service, to which our Lord seems designedly to have

<sup>s</sup> Below, chap. iii.

Above, p. 293.

conformed both His Own Eucharistic action and theirs. This, it will be remembered, was a prayer for the acceptance of the evening burnt-offering, and of the service of Israel conveyed therein; and that God would make clean their hearts to serve Him. Accordingly, a prayer upon these and kindred topics, called variously "the presentation" or "oblation," "the prayer over the offerings," or "of the things set apart," (*secretæ*), is found in all liturgies. None is simpler than the Syriac, "Alleluia, Receive our oblations;" and the revised English, in the prayer for the whole Church, "We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to accept our oblations, which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty."

The difference between this "oblation" and the subsequent "consecration" is manifest. In this the Church sums up, and expresses her desire to yield up to God, through the medium of the Altar, all that she has gathered together for sacrifice, as well her material gifts as her reasonable and spiritual service. Hence Eastern liturgies desire that the gifts and the offerers themselves may (scil. when they come to be offered presently) "be received with acceptance on the heavenly altar; and that we may receive the gifts unblameably." The numerous Western "Secretæ," both fixed and variable, are to the same effect. Hence, too, the Greek S. James prays in this place for the whole Church, as the Roman anciently did<sup>x</sup>; in which it is followed by our present ritual. In some rites<sup>y</sup> the prayer of oblation is addressed to the Son as Priest, which the consecration never is.

<sup>x</sup> S. Jas., Gk. and Syr., S. Chrys.      <sup>x</sup> This is proved below, chap. iii.

<sup>y</sup> Syr. S. Jas., but especially Copt. S. Basil.

This act of oblation, or rendering up of the Church's Gifts, together with prayer for their acceptance, was anciently accompanied by certain expressive ceremonies, more especially the uncovering<sup>z</sup> of the Elements, and the spreading of the corporal, or cloth, upon the altar. The former action was more prominent in the Eastern forms. The latter found its way into the West also,—the Mozarabic, the Gallican, the Ambrosian<sup>a</sup>, and finally the Roman; where, however, it occurs earlier, and, strange to say, in the very midst of the Creed<sup>b</sup>, at the words, “and was incarnate.” But this is easily explained. The signification of the spreading of the cloth is, doubtless, that at this point the Church begins distinctly to contemplate Christ as the Bread of the world. The feast is now being spread by man<sup>c</sup> for God, in the oblation of the gifts of bread and wine, conveying his reasonable service; by God for man in the same gifts, as the Body and Blood of Christ.

Accordingly, the Church throughout the world says fitly, in this place, her ALLELUIA: the third great hymn which has come under our notice. For the one occurrence and one application of this sublime hymn or mutual exhortation to praise (“Praise ye

<sup>a</sup> This is variously interpreted. In the Syr. S. Jas. (connected with the “Lord hath put on His apparel”) of His putting off, indeed, His glory, but girding Himself with sacrificial might. In the Gk. S. Jas., of His “consecrating a way through the veil.”

<sup>b</sup> Moz. after the Gospel: “Demittendo patenam super corporales pallas.” Gall. v. Mabillon, p. 39; Ambrosian, “Oratio super sindonem.”

<sup>c</sup> Ritus celebrandi Missam, vi. 7: “At the words, ‘And was incarnate,’ he takes the burse from the credence to the middle of the altar, and spreads the cloth.”

<sup>e</sup> See above, p. 269.

the Lord") in the New Testament<sup>d</sup>, is when "the marriage supper of the Lamb" is announced as "ready." Four times is the Alleluia repeated, with the ascription of "Salvation and Honour" to God, because "the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth; and to His Wife is granted that she should be arrayed in *fine linen*<sup>e</sup>, pure and white."

In the East this is called the Cherubic hymn, and has a prayer attached to it, having special reference to the fearfulness of taking part in such mysteries<sup>f</sup>, to the need of purity, and to the Coming of the King of Kings to be slain for us, and partaken of by us, and to the Cherubic and celestial powers as leading the Church's sublime worship. In the Mozarabic and Gallican, the Alleluia is wrought into the varying Offertory hymn "*lauda*" after the Gospel. In the Ambrosian, Roman, and old English, it comes *before* the Gospel, but doubtless with the same reference to the oblation.

The Western Church in the sixteenth century had entirely lost all knowledge of the significance of the Alleluia. It had long ceased to be associated, in her idea, with the oblation; and hence the profusion of hymns, (called variously Sequences, Tractus, or Tropes,) which had resulted from the prolongation of the last

<sup>d</sup> Rev. xix. 1—9. So S. Germanus on the old Gallican rite in Le Brun, tom. i.

<sup>e</sup> Compare the "super sindonem" (Ambros.), and prayers for cleansing. So the Gallican rubric: "Palla *pura* linea est super quam oblatio ponitur." S. Germanus.

<sup>f</sup> Gk. Lit. S. Jas., and S. Chrys. The Syr. S. Jas. interweaves the four Alleluias into the oblation (as above), and Ps. xciii., adding quaint hymn-like prayers concerning Christ as coming to be the Bread of Life, and of the future bliss of those who have eaten His Flesh and drunk His Blood. Renaud., p. 10.



note of the Alleluia, were banished by her. And in the English Revision, the Alleluia itself was, to our great loss, from the same cause, i.e. ignorance of its true bearing, omitted altogether. Happily, she has it in her power, by the use of suitable hymns at this juncture<sup>g</sup>, to restore, with its rightful application, this beautiful feature of Divine Service.

If it be asked whether we trace in our Lord's own Eucharistic Action anything corresponding to this "oblation," with its prayer and Alleluia hymn, or suggestive of them, as distinguished from the subsequent consecration; it would seem that it can, at the best, be but very dimly discerned. We may well conceive, indeed, that as our Lord, after various intimations (such as the washing of their feet, and the assurance that God would presently glorify Him) of some great event as impending<sup>h</sup>, drew towards the act of Institution itself by taking the Bread into His hands, the disciples would, so far as they conceived what was about to follow, accompany Him with some such words or thoughts as those of the Psalm, "The Lord hear Thee . . . remember all Thy offerings, and accept Thy Burnt Sacrifice:" words actually embodied in the English Use at the Oblation<sup>i</sup>. But as regards the Great Priest Himself, the Action corresponding to

<sup>g</sup> There is a well-recognised interval between the Sermon (or Creed, if there is no Sermon) and the Offertory. This is commonly filled up with the notes of the organ alone, and most appropriately, if the Alleluia idea be kept in view. The Offertory, it need hardly be said,—whether we mean thereby the words used, or the contributions of the people,—is but a department of the Oblation.

<sup>h</sup> Williams, p. 451: "But now, doubtless, with eager and adoring watchfulness, their eyes were fixed on all He did. . . . He had taught them to expect something gracious at this Supper. Great, therefore, was their attention when He took Bread. . . ."

<sup>i</sup> York Use. So Amalarius on the Western Office, (circa 820).

the "bringing near," "presentation," or "oblation" of the Sacrifice, would be internal and in the Will. And again, as regards the Church, she had not, at that time, knowledge how to make tender of her spiritual service. Yet, as regards the material offering, as has been above suggested, the very Bread and Wine at that great primary celebration were probably due to the alms of the faithful; or indeed, we may say, must have been so: and the perseverance of the Twelve was, in itself, their "reasonable service." It would be for the Church to supply in due time, as she afterwards did, out of the old familiar ritual, a prayer for the acceptance of the Gifts brought by her for consecration.

## SECTION X.

### The Benediction before Consecration—The "Comfortable Words."

BUT now we approach the deeply interesting question of the exact juncture, in the Discourses recorded by St. John, at which our Lord actually instituted the Holy Eucharist. In the foregoing investigation, the case has been in some degree prejudged. And, while it becomes us to speak with all diffidence as to so debatable a question, it would seem that we are led by many considerations to the conclusion about to be presented here; differing but slightly from that which revered writers of our Church, following in the steps of earlier ones, have arrived at as the most probable.

It has never been doubted, then, 1. that the Institution was fully completed when our Lord offered the sublime hymn-like prayer which forms St. John xvii. But 2. we cannot place the *whole* of the Institution

*immediately* before this ; because the Cup only was instituted “after supper,” the Bread “while they were eating.” We *have*, however, 3. good reason for placing that of the Wine at this point ; not only because it was “after supper,” and a final act, but also because it is said that our Lord in His Prayer “lifted up His eyes to Heaven ;” which it is most natural, at least, to view as the continuation of that gesture, which in nearly all<sup>k</sup> Liturgies He is represented, doubtless on grounds of Apostolic tradition, as having used when He consecrated the Bread ; and again (as some<sup>l</sup>, though almost needlessly, specify) at that of the Wine also. But 4. there are indications in chapter xv., that our Lord, when he uttered certain words in it, had *already* given Himself, in some overt way, for the life of the world. For He speaks of Himself as having already “kept His Father’s commandment ;” and seems to appeal to His having *already* “laid down His life for His friends<sup>m</sup>.” And indeed it may be observed, that from the beginning of chap. xv. a change of phraseology is discernible ; implying that the disciples had already entered into some relation to Christ, in which they were to “abide.” “The branches” were “in Him” now, and all that remained was to bear fruit<sup>n</sup>. This would lead us to place the consecration of the Bread *not later* than just before chap. xv., at

<sup>k</sup> All the Eastern, except S. Chrys., &c., and Syr. S. Jas. (Assem.) : in West, all but Moz.

<sup>l</sup> Viz., the leading Litt., S. Jas., S. Mark.

<sup>m</sup> St. John xv. 13.

<sup>n</sup> St. John xv. 2—8. It may be thought that these considerations prove that *both* elements had been given. But it is a sufficient account of these allusions to suppose that our Lord “now rose up” (see Mr. Keble’s Sermon, Eucharistic Offices) with the Cup in His Hand, in act to complete His sacrificial work.

which point there is an obvious and acknowledged break in the events, announced by "Rise, let us go hence." But this—the close of chap. xiv.—is the very point at which our downward investigations hitherto have led us to place it. For it is here that the three-fold word or message of "Peace" occurs; the preceding discourse having unfolded, as aforesaid, the revelation of the Holy Trinity.

This arrangement differs but little from that of the revered authorities<sup>o</sup> above referred to, which would place the Bread at a yet earlier break, just *before* chap. xiv., and the Wine at the break just indicated. And on closer examination, we seem to have very cogent reasons for the modification here adopted of that view. For it is from analogy probable that, before admitting the disciples to the highest mystery of the Dispensation by the reception of either element, He would unfold to them, at least in a measure, the doctrinal mysteries of it, and require at least their silent assent to them; now this He does in chap. xiv., but not before. But further, if we carefully weigh the last two verses of this chapter, we may perceive in them a wonderful fitness to usher in the sublime and world-embracing action of the Eucharistic giving of His Body for the Salvation of mankind. He had given, as has just been said, His threefold parting "peace," as it were, from Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;—He had brought round His gracious consolatory discourse, addressed to the "little children," the representative "orphans" of the world, to the point from which He had set out, "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid . . . I

<sup>o</sup> Rev. I. Williams, *Holy Week*, pp. 451—490; Rev. J. Keble, *Sermon x. on Eucharistical Offices*, 1847.

go to the Father<sup>p</sup>.” Then He breaks off, saying, “I will not talk much more with you,” (οὐκέτι). And do not the next few words bespeak a Divine perception that even then the awful crisis in the world’s history was come? that the Prince of this world was drawing near for the dread final onset on Him; Him, at once the self-devoting Champion and the sole Ransom for all? “The Prince of this world cometh;”—(who shall fathom or conceive all that was involved in that dread intuition?)—“And on Me indeed,” on Mine Own account, as being without sin, “he hath no claim<sup>q</sup>. Nevertheless, that the world may know that I love the Father, even as the Father hath given Me commandment, so I DO.” ‘I yield myself, that is, even now and here, to accomplish all My Father’s will. I yield Myself into the power of the Evil One, and so give Myself as a *Sacrifice* for the world.’ Considering that He had said long before<sup>r</sup>, in a passage strikingly parallel, that “His Father *therefore* loved Him, because He laid down His life . . . that no one had power to take it from Him, but that He laid it down of Himself; and that He had received commandment so to do from His Father;” considering, again, the solemn sacrificial word ποιῆν, ‘to do;’ by which, in the closing words of the Institution itself, He enjoined the perpetual memory of His sacrifice of Himself;—laying these things together, can we reasonably doubt that the words before us were indeed the immediate prelude and signal of His Eucharistic offering of Himself? In confirmation of this, let it be

<sup>p</sup> St. John xiv. 27, 28.

<sup>q</sup> Compare what has been said above, p. 30, of the claim of Satan on mankind, Christ alone (p. 27) excepted.

<sup>r</sup> St. John x. 18.

borne in mind that St. Luke, in his account, speaks as if He had just taken farewell of, and in a manner annulled, the old Economy, and *then* immediately inaugurated the New: and let this be put by the side of what St. Paul says,—possibly with actual reference to this august occasion, certainly with wonderful applicability to it: “Wherefore, when He cometh into” (or, unto<sup>s</sup>) “the world,” He saith, “Sacrifice and burnt-offering Thou wouldest not,” (which are offered by the law); “then said I, Lo, I come to do Thy Will, O My God. He taketh away the first, that He may establish the second. By the which Will” (i.e. by the doing of it in offering Himself) “we are sanctified, through the offering of the Body of Christ, once for all.” It is hardly possible to doubt that in this passage the Eucharistic Institution, especially as narrated by His own disciple St. Luke, floated, to say the least, before the vision of St. Paul, and shaped the phrase in which he summed up his account of the Sacrifice of sacrifices. In full accordance with which, he still goes on to speak of the “New Covenant,” whose basis was “remission of sins:”—of the new and living “Way” (a conception drawn from these discourses of Christ<sup>t</sup>) “through the veil, His Flesh, or Body”—of “drawing near” to make our offering<sup>u</sup> by our High-Priest; of mutual provocation to keeping the new commandment of love; of cleaving to our gathering together into One Body in

\* Grotius in loc., referring also to St. John i. 9: “Christ *came* (officially) into or *unto the world* when, issuing forth from a private life, He began to act in the Name of God for, or towards the people.” So iii. 19: “I am come for a light unto the world;” i. 11: “He came unto His own,” sc. the world; i. 10, v. 19: “The Prophet that should come into (or unto) the world.”

<sup>t</sup> St. John xiv. 6.

<sup>u</sup> For the grounds of this interpretation, see above, p. 12.

Christ, and “so much the more as the day approaches;”—in other words, of the duty of “shewing the Lord’s Death till He come.” And the main body of the Epistle closes with a strong contrast between Israelitish and Christian answerableness in case of rejection of the Blood of the Covenant.

Let it be permitted then to assume, as a most probable fact of much interest, that it was at this point that the Institution took place. And one advantage immediately follows upon it; that we can then render an account of the peculiar benediction which in most Liturgies precedes the “Lift up your hearts.” In Lit. S. Mark, indeed, and in most Western Uses, it is simply the ordinary “The Lord be with you.” But in all the rest there is a peculiar and unusual plenitude of several Benediction, from Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, poured out at this point on the faithful. It is in fact no other,—though varying in a remarkable and interesting way in the various rites,—than the form so familiar to us, “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,” &c.

Now it is well known that a threefold form of blessing was prescribed for the use of Aaron and his sons<sup>v</sup>. We know also that at his first and inaugural offering of sin-offering, burnt-offering, and peace-offering, Aaron blessed the people, doubtless in the words appointed. And that Benediction took place *after* the sacrifices—apparently the evening ones<sup>x</sup>—had been solemnly presented or offered, but *before* the actual consecration and consumption of them by fire<sup>v</sup>. The same order we observe again in the synagogue Sabbath-eve services above drawn out, the counter-

<sup>v</sup> Num. vi. 22.

<sup>x</sup> So Patrick, in loc.

<sup>v</sup> Lev. ix. 22—24.

part, we have reason for believing, of the Temple sacrificial ritual. The prayer for the acceptance of the evening burnt-offering is immediately followed by a desire for the Aaronic blessing. The same order, once more, we find (according to the harmony here advocated) in our Lord's Action. The threefold Peace<sup>z</sup> is, on His Lips, at once a "Gospel" and a Benediction; and it immediately precedes the actual consecration. Here accordingly, in all lands, the Church has a benediction; in most a threefold one; and that, too, a visible and undoubted expansion of the Aaronic.

The forms which this benediction assumes in the various rites are subjoined. It will be seen that no two rites have precisely the same form; that the theological order of the Persons of the Holy Trinity is preserved in all the primary Liturgies, but in the secondary ones, as that of St. Chrysostom, the order adopted by St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. ult.; that the gifts ascribed to the Father and the Son are—in all the forms, *love* and *grace* respectively, except in the Clementine and Mozarabic, which interchange them; and that the Syriac is the simplest of all. Taking the more usual form, then, we have in it a manifest expansion of the Aaronic: "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," (= "the Love<sup>a</sup> of God the Father," the supreme source of blessing and protection,)—"the Lord make His *Face* to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee," (= the "grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," as *revealing* the Father<sup>b</sup>, and as the reservoir

<sup>z</sup> Lev. xiv. 27.

<sup>a</sup> So it has been observed above, that in our Creed the term of love (Father) has become the leading thought; not, as of old, that of power.

<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 6: "To give the light of the glory of God in the Face of Jesus Christ;" and St. John i. 14, 18.



*Syr. S. James.*

The love of the Father,  
the grace of the Son,  
the fellowship of the Holy Ghost,  
be with us all. Amen.

*S. Clement.*

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

*St. Paul (2 Cor. xiii. ult.)*

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

*Rom. (Episc. Ben. before reception.)*

The blessing of God the Father,  
and of the Son and the Holy Ghost,  
and the peace of the Lord,  
be with you all evermore.

*Gr. S. James.*

The love of the Lord and Father,  
the grace of the Lord and Son,  
the fellowship and gift of the Holy Ghost,  
be with us all. And with.

*Armenian.*

The grace of the love and of  
the divine sanctifying power  
of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,  
be with you all. And with.

*S. Basil, S. Chrys., Nestor.*

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

*Sar. (Episc. Ben. before reception.)*

The blessing of God Almighty,  
the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,  
descend upon you and remain  
always. (Abp. Pecham.)

*S. Mark (at end).*

The love of God and the Father,  
the grace of the Son our Lord Jesus Christ,  
the fellowship and gift of the Holy Ghost,  
be with us all, now and ever.

*Mozarabic.*

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

*Sarum (Sund. Terece), Prayer-book.*

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

*Prayer-book, (Episc. Ben.).*

The peace of God . . . and  
the blessing of God Almighty,  
the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,  
be amongst you and  
remain with you always.

of all pardon and grace); "the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and *give* thee peace," (= "the fellowship or communication of the Holy Ghost," as *the Gift*<sup>c</sup>, and the means of *communicating* all blessing.)

It is further interesting to observe that St. Paul in 2 Cor. xiii. ult., while assigning the gifts in the same way as the principal liturgies do, departs from the theological order, and substitutes for it the economical, so to call it. Now we have here an all but absolute proof, that the form of benediction in the liturgies was adopted and fixed before St. Paul wrote. For it is inconceivable that, had the liturgical benedictions been suggested by the apostolic, they would have departed from that which he had laid down. Whereas the Apostle would be free, in the exercise of his inspired authority, to vary the received ritual order: and the analogy of his other Writings would lead us to expect the very change which he has made. To magnify the peculiar work of the *Son*, and to assign it its place as the *beginning* of all human recovery, is his special habit. "*Grace*<sup>d</sup>, mercy, and peace," is the order most natural to him. There is, however, one striking contrast, at first sight, between the use made by St. Paul, and by the liturgies, of this benediction. With him it is a farewell; while in them it is the prelude to the solemn part of the service. But in truth, on examining the context of this and other of his Epistles, (all of which contain some similar though shorter form, such as "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all,") we observe phenomena which

<sup>c</sup> See the forms in S. Jas. and S. Mark.

<sup>d</sup> Pastoral Epistles, (vid. 2 John): elsewhere "grace and peace." Comp. Phil. ii. 1, "If there be any consolation in Christ; if any comfort of love; if any fellowship of the Spirit." See Trench, Synonyms, in v. *χαρις*.

tend fully to reconcile this difference, and to furnish strong presumptive proof of the identity of the liturgical habits prevalent in the Church in St. Paul's day, and those exhibited in the liturgies. These Epistles were to be *read*<sup>e</sup> in the churches: and (we may safely conclude) would be read in the position ever since assigned to "the Epistle." What then more natural than that the Writer should couch his concluding blessing in the usual Eucharistic formula which would presently succeed? But St. Paul has done more than this. He has in a great number of his Epistles added one or both of two other Eucharistic formulæ, and always in the exact order of the liturgies: 1. the words of peace; 2. the kiss of peace<sup>f</sup>, followed always, 3. by a benediction. We cannot doubt, from this wide range of exact coincidences, that St. Paul's design was in every instance to commit the Churches addressed in the several Epistles to the safe keeping of the priestly and Eucharistic work of Christ, which would follow the solemn reading of them "to all the holy brethren."

The Roman rite, alone of all liturgies, is now altogether devoid of the great trine eucharistic benediction, "The grace of," &c. For S. Mark, which the Roman follows in only having the simple "The Lord be with you" in this place, has the fuller form at the end of the Office: and the Coptic S. Basil, which is

<sup>e</sup> Col. iv.; 1 Thess. v. 27: above, Part I. p. 139.

<sup>f</sup> Rom. xv. 33, xvi. 10, 24; 1 Cor. xvi. 26, 23; 2 Cor. xiii. 11—13; Gal. vi. 16, 18; Eph. vi. 23, 24; Phil. iv. (a quasi conclusion) 21, 23; 1 Thess. v. 23, 26, 28; 2 Thess. iii. 16, 18; Heb. xiii. 24, (the kiss not named): comp. 1 Pet. v. 14; 3 St. John 15. In 2 Tim. iv. ult. we have a further point of liturgical exactness: "The Lord Jesus Christ be with thy spirit: grace be with you. Amen." The former being proper towards the clergy, and therefore addressed to Timotheus; the latter from them to the people. Part I. p. 362.

a modification of S. Mark, has prefixed it, freely paraphrased<sup>g</sup>, to *reception*. And this latter circumstance gives the clue as to what has become of the formula in the West. It was removed in the beginning of the fifth century, together with the "kiss of peace," (doubtless under *African* suggestion,) to this same position<sup>h</sup>, before reception; where it is found also in the French<sup>i</sup>, Spanish, and English Churches in the sixth century. The form varied slightly, (see table, p. 353); and in all these Churches it was customary for a fuller and more detailed trine benediction, founded on the Epistle and Gospel, to be pronounced by a Bishop alone, (except in Spain,) doubtless as more directly representing Christ<sup>k</sup>. It consisted of three clauses, ending with the final Benediction. In the English and some French Churches these Benedictions were in use down to the time of our Revision: and it would seem that shortly before that date it had become usual<sup>l</sup> for the celebrant,

<sup>g</sup> Neale, *Introd.*, p. 632. Prayer of bowing down: "The *grace* of Thine Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, . . . hath abounded towards us. We yield Thee thanks, Lord God Almighty, for that Thy great *love* towards us. . . Bring us to Thee by our *fellowship* of Thy Divine mysteries, that we may be filled with Thy Holy Ghost."

<sup>h</sup> See the well-known Epistle of Innocent I. to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, defending the removal of the kiss. For Africa, see below, ch. iii.

<sup>i</sup> St. Germain, Bp. of Paris, sixth century, ap. Le Brun, vol. ii., "Ante Communionem benedictio traditur."

<sup>k</sup> On these Benedictions see Bona, ii. 16. In one Vatican MS. the Dean, holding the Bishop's pastoral staff toward the people, says, "Prince of the Church, Shepherd of the sheep, deign to bless us." See specimens of the Roman episcopal Benedictions in Pamelius, ii. 478; Muratori, ii. 362; the French, in Mabillon, *Lit. Gall.*, p. 189, sq.; the Spanish, in *Lit. Moz., passim*; the English, in Maskell, *Anc. Lit.*, p. 198; Exeter Pontificale, (edited by Ralph Barnes, Esq., 1847,) p. 152, &c.; Pusey's *Avrillon*, for Advent, Preface.

<sup>l</sup> In the document called "Ceremonies of the Mass" put forth by

though a priest, sometimes to give the *unvarying part* of the episcopal benediction at the *close* of the service, instead of before the reception. And this, made a constant feature, and somewhat expanded, became our present final Benediction; which has thus, through strange vicissitudes, passed in the course of 1,800 years from the beginning to the end of the more solemn part of the Communion Office.

And at the same period, the more rich and perfect Eastern form of the Benediction was (rather as it should seem by a happy chance or conjecture, than from any adequate conception of its claims on ground of ancient usage) restored to its rightful position at the beginning of our rite, or rather preserved in that position. For in truth, the *English Church* had never lost it; it had always been retained in the form of the *capitulum* at Tierce (or 9 A.M.) on Sunday morning; thus immediately preceding the celebration: as it did also in the rite of Milan. And though at our first and second Revisions it was dropped out altogether, it was in 1559<sup>m</sup> reinstated as the closing feature of the Litany, now as of old appointed to precede Holy Communion. It thus succeeded to precisely its old English position. And that it was derived through this channel, and not, as might otherwise seem probable, from the form in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom,—which it is nearly identical with, and which probably suggested its restoration,—is proved by its being an *exact* translation of the old English *capitulum*, and of no

authority in 1541, it is said, “The priest gives us at our departure, sometimes, the benediction in the Name of the whole Trinity.” Collier, i. 196.

<sup>m</sup> See the Litany as used in the Queen’s chapel, in “Liturgical Services of Queen Eliz.,” Parker Society, p. 17.

other form in the world, and by its having the superscription 2 Cor. xiii. : in the old Tierce Office, "2 Cor. ult." "

Nor is it less remarkable, or less a matter for thankfulness, that in the exact position in the service which the great Eucharistic Benediction originally occupied, and still occupies throughout the East, our second Revision placed a *threefold* word or message of comfort and peace from Christ Himself and His Apostles : — a brief "Gospel and Epistle," as we may say, answering in all respects the same purpose as the original threefold "Peace" of our Lord, and as the Church's subsequent benedictional rendering of it. I refer, of course, to the threefold "comfortable words" then prefixed to the "Lift up your hearts:" the first from the lips of Christ Himself, the other two from St. Paul and St. John. They speak to us the very language of the whole of our Lord's discourse to His disciples : the language of comfort and refreshment, addressed as to the sorrowful and orphans ; inviting us, as of old, to our Father's House, and to the fruition of His Love, declared in "His Only-begotten Son," and assuring us, again, that we have an Advocate (or "*Comforter*") with the Father, through Whom, as "the propitiation for our sins," we have peace. And I venture further to believe that it was not without consulting the ancient Liturgies, but with a conscious intention of assimilating our Office to them, that these passages were introduced. For it is certain that Cranmer, when bringing the old Litany into its present form in 1544<sup>n</sup>, for use

<sup>n</sup> This earliest phase of our revised Litany is printed at the end of "Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth's Reign," edited by the Rev. W. Clay, Parker Society, pp. xxiii., 365.

before Festival<sup>o</sup> celebration, drew from the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom, word for word, the prayer now known to us as "A prayer of St. Chrysostom;" placing it in the same position as it occupied there, viz., at the end of the litany, and before the celebration. This source, then, was not unknown to our original Revisers; and since the second Revision proceeded for the most part from the same hands<sup>p</sup>, would be likely to be resorted to again. And accordingly, not only are these sentences placed exactly in the ancient position, but the selection of the principal one of them seems to have been suggested by its occurrence in the said Liturgy of S. Chrysostom<sup>q</sup>, very close to this part of the Office.

## SECTION XI.

### The "Sursum Corda"—Preface—Giving of Thanks.

PROCEEDING now to consider the great Eucharistic Action proper, to which all else was preparatory, we must admit that, notwithstanding the light thrown upon the subject in a general way by the Jewish Sabbath-eve Office on the one hand, and the uniform tenor of the liturgies on the other, we are still greatly in the dark as to the actual terms of the *εὐλογία* and *εὐχαριστία* used by our Lord. That the "blessing" or "giving of thanks"—the two terms are so used

\* So Cranmer calls it, "Certain processions," (i.e. supplications or litanies,) "to be used on Festival days." Letter to Henry VIII., Oct. 7, 1544. Collier, ii. 206; Clay, ubi sup., p. xxiv. The Injunctions of Edward VI. (1547) made this clearer, ordering it "immediately before high Mass."

<sup>p</sup> See above, Introd., pp. 128, 129, note d. Procter, p. 34, 2nd ed.

<sup>q</sup> Viz., immediately after the Tersanctus. "Holy art Thou, Who didst so love Thy world (*sic*) as to give," &c. . . . down to "everlasting life."

by the sacred Writers as perfectly to identify<sup>r</sup> them one with another—was of some length; that it was *responded* to by the disciples; that it gave thanks and praise in exalted language both for the Being and essential Attributes of God, and also in some measure for His Work in past or present time for men;—gave, that is, both Tersanctus and Trisagion praise<sup>s</sup>; on these points there can, from the joint evidence of our two sources of information, be no reasonable doubt. As little doubt can there be, for the same reason, that some such form as “Lift up your hearts,” with its response, “It is very meet, right,” &c.; and, again, some commemoration of Angelic worship, ending with “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and earth are full of Thy Glory,”—found a place in that “giving of thanks.” Beyond this point, however, the Liturgies are found to be as widely divergent in expression, as they are absolutely coincident hitherto. We conclude, that it was *not* ordained that the actual words of the Divine Master’s Blessing should, beyond this, be preserved to the Church, or employed by her. The outline, we may say, was bequeathed to her, but not the filling in of it. In truth, the main substance of the destined “filling in,”—that is to say, the completed work of the Economy,—was

<sup>r</sup> St. Matthew and St. Mark apply “blessed” to the Bread, here and at the miraculous feeding; “giveth thanks” to the Cup: but St. Luke, who, like St. John, has “blessed” at the miraculous feeding, has “gave thanks” for both bread and cup; as also has St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. ; but in 1 Cor. x. “blessing” for the cup. “The terms were convertible.” Rev. T. S. Green, *Developed Criticism of New Test.*, p. 29—a high authority.

<sup>s</sup> For the distinction, see above, p. 338; and vol. i. p. 355; where it will be seen that the first half of the Te Deum is comparatively irrespective praise, like the Tersanctus; the other half Trisagion praise, for the work of redemption.



not at that time capable of being embodied in a thanksgiving; certainly not so as to be intelligible to the disciples. And we shall most probably, in forming our conceptions on this mysterious subject, find our best guide in the analogy furnished by that other great act of Benediction, second only to this, and all but guaranteed to us as interpretative<sup>t</sup> of it, by which our Lord multiplied the loaves. In that case the "blessing" or "grace" was doubtless an ordinary Jewish grace before eating bread, but operative, according to the good pleasure of His Will, to new and miraculous effects. And so too here, in like manner, the vast and momentous effects attached by the Divine Will to that Blessing, and ensuing immediately upon it, may well have lacked any outward expression. By some adaptation of the language of the Passover-eve ritual it probably was that our Lord "gave thanks:" the question of the exact terms employed we must leave in the obscurity which Scripture has drawn over it.

We cannot, however, but notice parts of those forms of service, which were fitted, by their tenor and pregnant character, to express the great mysteries now in hand. Such are, in the domestic rite, the words in which it is prayed that the evening sacrifice<sup>u</sup> may ascend, and be accepted and heard in behalf of those present. This is said with reference to the bread and wine—it is the *εὐχαριστία* belonging to both. It was a real presentation, as observed before, of that sacrifice through those media. Nothing, therefore, could better express the Eucharistic work of Christ. Viewing the Action of that evening and of the fol-

<sup>t</sup> The great Eucharistic discourse in St. John vi. flowing out of that miracle.

<sup>u</sup> p. 291.

lowing day as one *timeless* Transaction, so to speak ; understanding that His Sacrifice of Himself on the Cross was already in a deep mystery present ; the two things are perfectly parallel.—In the parallel part of the *public rite*, again<sup>x</sup>, the service is viewed as that of God's people Israel, and it is prayed that God would “sanctify them through the commandments,” and that they may have clean hearts to serve Him acceptably. And so did our Lord pray for His Church, “Sanctify them through Thy truth ; Thy word is truth ;” and declare that He had *therefore* “sanctified Himself” by His Sacrifice, that His Church might be “sanctified,” that is, made fit for acceptable service, through union with Him, “the Truth.”—So, again, there are thanks for the Old Covenant : imparting emphasis, it may well seem, to the words, “This is My Blood of the *New Covenant*.”—There are thanks for “the law and the statutes, grace, life, and favour, and inheritance of the good land bestowed on them ;” and so our Lord, in His Hymn of Thanksgiving, declares that His Work has been to give them eternal *life* by the *knowledge* of the Father and the Son, and that He has also given them “glory” now, and wills to bring them to their true Inheritance hereafter.—There is remembrance made of the “bringing out” of Egypt and from Satanic “bondage ;” and so, too, there is a prayer for His own ; for those whom God “had given Him out of the world,” that He should “keep them from the Evil One.”—There is mention of the Anointed Messiah as yet to come ; for which was to be henceforth substituted the perpetual remembrance of His First coming as past, until His coming again.—There is a special prayer for the *unity*, as well as the peace

<sup>x</sup> p. 293.

of Israel; and that, too, in the remarkable form, "Bless us, O Lord, *all as one man*,"—an expression occurring elsewhere in their services, and a plain instance of the training of the nation in the doctrine of mystical incorporation: and our Lord's prayer is conceived in this very form, "That they also may be One in Us."

This survey of our Lord's own Divine comment, so to speak, on His preceding Action, adds greatly to the presumption that we have indeed, in the Jewish forms referred to, the substance of His consecratory Blessing. And there are some features in that Blessing, thus conceived of, which it will be instructive briefly to dwell upon; such as, 1. The responsive form of it, and the large proportion of the verbal action, so to speak, assigned to those present. Such at least is the case in the Jewish forms. The reader of the "grace" leads indeed, and in part is the sole speaker; but the bulk of the ritual is what he elicits from them, or utters jointly with them. We seem to gather hence what is the true nature of all Eucharistic consecration. There were at the first, there ever must be, two parties to it. The one is the solely empowered High-Priest Himself, Who alone can powerfully and meritoriously present the Gift with acceptance, and make it all it is in the sight of God, and for the benefit of man. But the other is the body of the faithful, assenting with glad acclaim to the mighty work of their gracious Priest. Not without drawing forth this assent was the great Sacrifice offered at the first. And now, as then, our part in the matter is neither less nor more than to render that assent. The Consecrator is still no other than Christ, presenting effectually, though by the hands of

earthly ministers, the Gift. "Be present, be present O Jesu, good High-Priest, in the midst of us, as Thou wast in the midst of Thy disciples, and sanctify this Gift," (viz. by presenting it with power,) is the Church's desire; and it is with the full belief that He will do so that she makes rehearsal of His Eucharistic action and words. And we see, 2. from our ignorance of the exact words employed by our Lord, though we have a sufficient clue to their tenour, that consecration is not suspended, as the later Roman Church has daringly ruled, on the pronounciation of certain words and syllables. While nothing can be more fixed than the *general* outline of the Church's consecratory formula,—the invitation, the hearty response, the fellowship claimed with angelic worship, the Tersanctus, the commemoration, more or less at length, of the Economy, the recital of the Institution with suitable handling of the Elements;—nothing, on the other hand, is more varying than the actual words and the precise actions employed. No two Churches in the world have even the same words of Institution<sup>2</sup>. It is manifestly, throughout, the unity of mind and purpose between the Church and her Lord, her desire and endeavour to do all as He did, and as He left her a general instruction to do; it is this that secures His consecrating Presence and Operation, and so brings about the great end to be accomplished. Yet, 3. there is a point at which this Divine Operation is conceived to reach its peculiar and culminating, and, so to speak, its solitary stage. As there were certain things and words which the Priest in the Temple, or the leader of the synagogue service, took

<sup>1</sup> Mozarab. Lit., just before the words of Institution.

<sup>2</sup> See for examples, Neale, Gen. Introd., pp. 554—561

to himself alone,—as the presentation of the sacrifice, and consumption of it by fire, or the taking in hand and presenting of the bread and cup, and probably certain words of sacrificial prayer;—so does the Church at a certain point in her service, conceive of herself as standing aside<sup>a</sup>; and, ceasing from her own words and aspirations, confine herself to simple rehearsal of what Christ did; thus leaving the work, accompanied only by her now hushed and awful assent, to the Great High-Priest Himself.

## SECTION XII.

### The Words of Institution—The Great Intercession.

THE Words of administration of the Elements, which followed the “blessing and giving of thanks,” or “consecration,” derive much illustration from the sources indicated in this chapter. In the first place we read, He “brake.” Now, antecedently to mystic significations or effects which this action possessed, its primary aspect at that hour doubtless was, that it was the “breaking of the bread of consolation” to the mourners and “orphans” around.—Next, on the above-made supposition, that the supper had actually been upon the flesh or body of a *passover peace-offering*, as a lamb or a kid, we are justified in discerning allusions, in our Lord’s words, not only to the *passover* rites, but to those of the *peace-offering* also. And this indeed is one strong recommendation of that view. For the *passover* proper, though a sacrifice, is nowhere said to be “given” first, then “eaten of,” and therefore furnishes an insufficient basis for those expressions. Whereas His having said that He “had

<sup>a</sup> Above, p. 193.

greatly desired to eat of that passover (peace-offering) with them before He suffered," would lead up very naturally to the injunction, "Take, eat, this is My Body, which is now given (as a peace-offering) for you." The parallel or contrast is most complete, and in a high degree explanatory. For the rule of the eucharistic peace-offering was that it should be "eaten" in the same day that it was "given" or "offered<sup>b</sup>." It was, therefore, as if He had said, "Lo, I give you to eat of the Body, or Flesh, of another Peace-Offering, which is now offered for you, in place of that Mosaic one, which I have just taken leave of." Thus the "bread of mourners" was elevated into a joyful feast; for such was the character of all feeding upon peace-offerings. The "meat-offering," again, consisting of bread, was in part a "gift<sup>c</sup>" to God, and the rest "eaten" by the priest. So, too, when we connect our Lord's Action with the domestic rite above described, His words become pregnant<sup>d</sup>, as we should expect that they would be, with allusions to the *shew-bread*; which, no less than the peace-offerings, was first "given" to God for "a memorial," or as a means of presenting and pleading the continual offering, and then "eaten" by man.—The word "take" is also, most probably, of special significance. When priests were consecrated, their hands were "filled" with a portion of a ram slain for a peace-offering, together with bread; and they were, under the guidance of

<sup>b</sup> Lev. vii. 5 (or 15): ἡ ἡμέρα δωρεῖται, βρωθήσεται. This was peculiar to Eucharistic peace-offerings. See above, p. 272.

<sup>c</sup> See Lev. ii. 61, &c.: "If a soul bring a *gift*, or sacrifice to the Lord, his gift shall be fine flour, (or baked bread, ver. 5, 7), and the priest shall burn the *memorial* (i.e. a handful, to act sacrificially) on the altar; and the remnant shall be Aaron's and his sons'."

<sup>d</sup> Mal. i. 11.

the priest, putting his hands under theirs, to "wave" and present this before God as an act of self-dedication, and afterwards to eat their own portion. This completed their "consecration," because it involved a primary and inaugural act of priesthood on their part. Our Lord's own taking of the bread into His Hands was for Him a consecration<sup>e</sup> of this kind: and the similar action thus enjoined on the Apostles would be at once their inauguration as sacrificial persons, and their first Communion. It was doubtless hence that in Ordinations in early days, the candidate, taught by the ordaining Bishop, held a part of the Elements in his hands during the consecration<sup>f</sup>. The same action was prescribed for the offerers of private peace-offerings; who thus were admitted to the exercise of personal priesthood, by the very act of reception. It is therefore with a loss of fitness and significance, that in every Church in the world (as it should seem) in the present day, the English only excepted, the original divinely-appointed method of administering the Elements has been more or less abandoned. Throughout East and West alike, the officiating clergy, and they alone, receive in the ordained manner<sup>g</sup>. To the laity the Bread and Wine are nowhere given into the hands; worse still, they are in the East given not even separately, but mixed; saddest of all, and most fearful to think upon, in the Roman West the Wine is never given at all. The English Church, meanwhile, has not only restored the divine mode of administering the elements, but also embodied in her

<sup>e</sup> See above, ch. i. p. 172.

<sup>f</sup> See Morinus, *De Sacris Ordinationibus*; and an article in the *Christian Remembrancer*, on the Bishop of Oxford's Ordination Addresses.

<sup>g</sup> See Neale, p. 524.

formula for reception what may be used as a special recognition of the priestly character of the act of receiving. The words, "Take and eat this, or drink this, in remembrance," however they originated<sup>h</sup>, (a point now of no importance,) do unquestionably well remind us that as our hands are then "filled," so should we make an act of priestly memorial and self-dedication, no less than of communion.

Observe, again, that in the Liturgies the most usual version of our Lord's Words concerning the Bread is, somewhat singularly, that which St. Paul alone has given; "which is *broken*<sup>i</sup> for you." This is, from one point of view, the carrying on of the idea of consolation. But "broken" is also a sacrificial term; and when in conjunction, as here, with "for you," asserts to itself that meaning. Now it was ordained that the "anointed High-Priest" (ὁ Χριστός) should on the day of his consecration, and daily ever after, make an offering of bread, *broken* into many pieces<sup>k</sup>. To this offering St. Paul refers when he says that Christ "needed not *daily*, as those high-priests, to offer up sacrifices first for His own sins and then for the people, for this He did once when He offered up Himself." Of course in this instance, the sins for which the High-Priest's offering was made were the people's which He had taken upon Him. And from the double significance thus involved in the word "broken," the "breaking of bread" naturally became the customary term for the celebration of the Eucharist.

<sup>h</sup> Above, *Introd.*, p. 135.

<sup>i</sup> S. James, S. Mark, Arm., Nest., Milan, Syr. S. James and Copt. S. Basil, "broken and given."

<sup>k</sup> κλάσματα, 'fragments,' from κλάω, 'to break;,' the term here used by our Lord, and by St. Paul. The ordinance is in Lev. vi. 20—22.



For the rest, we may observe that almost all Eastern Liturgies derive the words, "Take, eat," from the two first Evangelists and St. Paul; "this is My Body," from all four authorities; "which is broken for you," from St. Paul alone; some adding "for many," and "for the remission of sins," from St. Matthew's words for the Wine; one family alone (S. Mark, Copt. S. Basil, with the Spanish and Gallican) subjoining, as we do, with St. Luke and St. Paul, "This do in remembrance of Me." The Roman alone has exclusively the famous five words, "For this is My Body." At our Revision, the English Church followed St. Luke exactly, only prefixing "Take, eat," from the other three. It is infinitely probable that the Roman form was originally fuller, like all the rest; and if one might offer a conjecture as to the origin of the present brief and meagre formula, it may well have proceeded from the deference felt in the Roman Church, in the fourth and fifth centuries, for the great doctors of the African Church, especially Tertullian and Augustine. Thus, we can hardly doubt, that it was hence that the kiss of peace was placed just before the consecration; since the African Church alone had it there previously, and both these writers dwell<sup>1</sup> upon it as a point of importance. May not the strange and exceptional brevity of the Roman words have been founded, in like manner, on the *dictum* of Tertullian, "Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, Corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est Corpus Meum dicendo<sup>m</sup>." That she had at

<sup>1</sup> See Palmer, Diss., p. 135.

<sup>m</sup> Adv. Marcion, ii. 40. Again, De Orat., c. 6: "Corpus ejus in pane censetur, Hoc est Corpus Meum." This passage, however, proves that Tertullian did *not* understand the words "Hoc est," &c., to *effect* the consecration, but to announce it as a thing accomplished.

one time a fuller form, is probable from the fact that her present one, as far as it goes, agrees precisely with S. Mark's, (to which she owes so much of her Canon,) and with that alone. The word "for" is not found in connection with the *bread* either in Scripture or liturgy, save in these two rites *only*. The S. Mark's runs thus, "Take, eat, *for* this is My Body, which is broken for you, and distributed for the remission of sins." Now, it will be observed, that Tertullian has the word "distributed," which is also quite peculiar to S. Mark. It would seem to follow that the three Churches,—the Alexandrian, African, Roman,—had this form in common; and that, by a too narrow apprehension of Tertullian's words, the Roman Church was led to abridge it.

Again, as to the words, "This do in remembrance of Me, or for My memorial." On the arrangement before advocated, there is, as has already been pointed out, a luminous sequence between "So I Do," and "This do ye." And a reference to the Jewish habits furnishes a clear *primary* conception to be attached to the word "remembrance" or "memorial," antecedently to those deeper ones which flow from the consideration of the shew-bread, or the peace-offerings, or the entire sacrificial system. It will be observed that it was said, in reference to the Cup, "This do, *as oft as ye drink*, for My Memorial." Now of this no satisfactory explanation has ever been given. And there is but one key to it, namely, to assume an existing *habit* (*ᾠσακίς ἄν πίνητε*) of "drinking in memorial." And so St. Paul says emphatically<sup>a</sup>, and as if in contradistinction to some less eminent memorial

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. xi.; so our Lord thrice uses "this," vv. 24, 25.

bread and cup, "As oft as ye eat *this* bread and drink *this* cup, ye shew forth" nothing less than "the Lord's Death, till He come." Our Lord's words, then, were as if He had said, "Hitherto ye have blessed and offered,—eaten and drunk,—bread and wine, on your Sabbath Eves, in remembrance of the six days' Creation, and of the completion, on that day, of your week-long deliverance from Egypt: henceforth, keep and do, week by week, this new sacrificial Service, for a loving and thankful Memorial of Me, and of My new and glorious six days' Work of love and power, of Creation and Redemption, of Death and Resurrection." It is surely most remarkable that the Creation, the Exodus, and the Redemption should have run so exactly a six-day course; measuring the last-mentioned from the early morning of Palm Sunday (when "the Lamb of God," by His entry into Jerusalem "on the tenth day of the first month<sup>o</sup>," entered upon the "Great Week") to the early morning of the Resurrection. And will not this parallel furnish the rationale of a circumstance otherwise not very easily accounted for, viz. the selection, even in Apostolic days, and ever after, of one day in the week, and that the First, for Eucharistic Celebration? Why not, rather, the weekly recurrence of its Institution? or why, though at the first on the *eve*, so soon after on the early *morning*, of Sunday? It is not fully to the purpose to say that the Resurrection of our Lord marked out the day: for, the celebration was not at first in the morning at all. But the ancient Jewish habit explains all. The wonted time for a "memorial" of deliverance was at a supper on the *eve* of the day. And the

• Exod. xii. 2, 3.

habit of Eucharistic memorial, begun at first on the eve of the Resurrection-day, was easily on occasion prorogued (as at Troas) to the early morning; where we find it in Pliny's time: and thence it would easily gravitate towards the old sacrificial and shew-bread hour, and the hour of the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

Between the giving of the bread and that of the wine there was certainly an interval. The words "even so I do" were followed by the consecration of the bread, and this again by "Arise, let us go hence," and by the discourses in St. John xv., xvi. But, ere they departed, there was to be one more crowning and farewell Action and Gift. No sacrifice of old, Gentile or Jewish, was held to be complete until the *wine* had been poured out upon it. Then it was that, on Jewish Festival days, the crash of trumpets announced the overthrow of the hosts of the Prince of the power of the air, as now the like "pouring out" was duly accompanied by the great Epinikion of Divine victory, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." Then it was too that, in the Gentile ritual, the "immolation" effected by the breaking of the bread was ennobled and crowned by the "mactation<sup>p</sup>," or plentiful outpouring of the wine. Accordingly, rising<sup>q</sup> from the now completed supper, and they with Him, (whence probably in the Eastern liturgies<sup>r</sup> the warning, "Let us stand," and the ancient position of re-

<sup>p</sup> Above, p. 76.

<sup>q</sup> Comp. Mr. Keble's Sermon on Eucharistical Offices: "Our Lord had risen from the Table, where, a few minutes before, He had ordained the Sacrament of His Body, to leave the room; and on rising turned the parting Cup into the Sacrament of His Blood."

<sup>r</sup> S. Jas. Gk. and Syr., S. Chrys., Arm.; the Copt. has "stand fear;" Moz., "As ye stand, give the peace."

ception, viz., standing<sup>a</sup>;) holding in His Right Hand the Cup “of consolation” for “His friends,”—“of trembling” to His enemies, because “full mixed<sup>t</sup>” with His victorious Blood,—He turns the discourse from the ingrafting into His Body<sup>u</sup>, and the strengthening imparted by the Bread, to the bringing forth<sup>x</sup> of fruit and receiving of refreshment through being in Him as the Vine. This retrospective character of the earlier part of chap. xv. has been already remarked upon. In the remainder of it (vers. 18 to end) and in chap. xvi. 1—11, He prepares them for trials and persecutions, of which He had hitherto said nothing; defines more clearly than before the Office of the Comforter, towards them and the world; promises joy out of tribulation; and finally, returning to the great theme with which He set out<sup>y</sup>, of His return to His Father, *draws from them* at length the stedfast “Creed,” uttered with one voice, for which He may well seem to have been waiting ere He could finish His Work,—“WE BELIEVE that Thou camest forth from God.” Hence surely, in many liturgies, the brief Creed at *reception*, “We believe<sup>z</sup>, O Lord, with truth and certainty; we believe, yea, we believe in Thee, as the Holy Catholic Church believeth, that

<sup>a</sup> See Neale, p. 514; Sala, iii. 396, for early Western practice. The Eastern *bowing down*, however, approximates to the now universal Western practice of kneeling.

<sup>b</sup> Psalm lxxv.

<sup>c</sup> Comp. xiv. 20: “Ye shall know that I am in My Father, and *ye in Me, and I in you*;” and ver. 27: “Peace I give unto you: let not your heart be troubled.”

<sup>d</sup> Ib. xv. 1—8; xvi. 33: “Your heart shall *rejoice*; and your *joy* no man taketh from you:” “Be of good cheer.”

<sup>e</sup> Ib. xiii. 1, 33.

<sup>f</sup> Syr., Copt. S. Basil; S. Chrys. has, “I believe and confess,” &c.

Thou art One Holy Father, One Holy Son, One Holy Ghost<sup>a</sup>.”

And now the Saviour, while receiving, doubtless, with holiest joy, their confession of present faith, yet foretells (in words in which His Foreknowledge as God blends wondrously with pathetic sense of desertion as Man) that their faith would presently fail them, and that He must “tread the wine-press alone.” “Do ye now believe? Behold, the hour cometh, and now is, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave Me alone: and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with Me.” Yet to the last, He “will not leave them comfortless.” He has reserved a blessing for that hour. “After Supper, He took the Cup . . . of the New Testament in His Blood, and gave it to them,” when first He had given it to God. But ere He did so, He assured them once more of His abiding peace; and announced, for their everlasting comfort, that by virtue of His victorious Passion, then in a mystery touching upon completion, they might, in despite of the assaults of the world and the devil, “be of good cheer, for He had overcome the world<sup>b</sup>.”

<sup>a</sup> This Trinitarian form appears to be the primary one; as in S. Mark, Copt., Nest. Others adopted, manifestly from the Gloria in Excelsis,—so strong has been the tendency in East and West to draw upon that great Hymn for language connected with reception,—“One Holy, One Lord, One Jesus Christ, *to the glory of God the Father.*” So Gk. S. Jas., S. Chrys., Arm.

<sup>b</sup> It is impossible not to see manifold allusions to all this in St. John iv., v. Besides countless reiterations of the law of love as laid down by our Lord, he rests all our confidence on this, that our position and powers towards the world and the Evil One are assimilated and identified with those of Christ Himself, in the days of His Flesh, and even as He is now in glory. “As He is, so are we in this world,” (iv. 7). “This is the victory that overcame (*ἡ νικῆσασα*) the world, even our faith:

There is yet one remarkable action in the Liturgies connected with reception, and apparently at one time universal; and which, therefore, probably had its origin in our Lord's own gesture. It is the solemn raising up of the Bread, with the word *τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις* or "Sancta Sanctis." This is prefaced mostly<sup>c</sup> by a prayer that God would receive this "hymn," and followed by the short Creed just described. It cannot, therefore, primarily, have meant "holy things are for holy persons," which indeed would require *ἅγια ἁγίοις*. It was rather a renewal, with reference to *reception*, of the lifting up which had before been made, either at oblation or consecration; an acknowledgment of the awful relations of nearness in which the Gifts, being what they were, stood either to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, or to the Holiest Place. This would act as a warning to the unfit, and as such it had come to be used. Such would seem, at least, to be the nature of the singular action and words in question, though there is some uncertainty about it<sup>d</sup>.

As to the blessing with which the Cup was offered, we can only conjecture, that by reason of the full benediction previously used for the Bread, it may have

who is he that overcometh the world, but he that *believeth* that Jesus is the Son of God?" (iv. 14, v. 3.) And then in the Received Text follows that far-famed Trinitarian declaration, which is as manifestly countenanced, or even demanded, by the context and grammar, as it is steadily repudiated by critical science; and which derives, as I conceive, no small countenance from its completing the parallel between the Epistles and Liturgies. "For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One."

<sup>c</sup> SS. James, Mark.

<sup>d</sup> See above, *Introd.*, p. 175, &c. The Moz. connects the "Sancta Sanctis" with the mixture of the Bread and Wine. The Armenian has simply "The Holy of Holies;" which countenances the view in the text.

been comparatively brief. We can hardly suppose that the responsive acclamation was again called forth; at least at any length. It is in accordance with this supposition, that the custom of the Western Church has never been to repeat the entire act of "giving of thanks," but, reckoning that as performed once for all, to make rehearsal of the Institution of both Bread and Cup under one "preface" or introduction.

### SECTION XIII.

THE completion of the great Act of Sacrifice and Sacrificial Communion was followed, according to our reckoning, by that sublime hymn-like prayer which forms the xviiith. chapter of St. John. With "Eyes" once more "lifted up to heaven," (as before at the giving of thanks, so the Liturgies<sup>e</sup> deliver,) He claims, in language of unutterable sublimity, the reward of His Work of *Redemption*, as already virtually accomplished; and commends to His Father, the Holy and the Righteous<sup>f</sup>,—to the Sanctifier and Justifier of them that believe in the Name of Him whom He hath sent, —the consummation of that Work in the eternal *Salvation* of all believers. It is marvellous that commentators should so little have perceived the purely and exclusively *eucharistic* character of this sublime Prayer. It refers, not to Christ's Work in general, but to that which He had just wrought: and to the position of the disciples, as having now "believed," and received in the Holy Eucharist the great gifts of,

<sup>e</sup> S. Jas., S. Mark, Clem.; Rom., Ambros., Gall.

<sup>f</sup> St. John xvii. 1, 11, 25.



1. Divine and saving knowledge unto life eternal<sup>s</sup>; 2. participation of the Divine Nature<sup>h</sup>,—"The glory which Thou gavest Me, I have given them;" 3. unification thereby into One Mystical Body<sup>i</sup>,—"That they all may be One, even as We are One." The Prayer abounds in perfects<sup>k</sup>, bespeaking finished work: and again in aorists<sup>l</sup>, pointing to definite words and acts done on some easily recognisable occasion; and that occasion, visibly, no other than the Supper just concluded.

And if it be asked, How could they already have received "glory" from Christ when He Himself "was not yet glorified?" The answer is that, doubtless, from the hour indicated in ch. xiii. 31, His Spiritual Body, of which the germ<sup>m</sup> had ever lain hid in His Natural Body, had begun to be developed; and so inherence in it was even now communicable to man.

But there remain two things to be observed concerning this Prayer. 1. That it would seem to abound in allusions to the *Song of praise with which the Jews concluded their Sabbath-eve Service*. We read<sup>n</sup> that "when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives." This does not so well describe (as is commonly supposed) the Hallel Psalms used at the Passover, as the Praise song "after the supper of

<sup>s</sup> St. John xvii. 2, 3.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 22.

<sup>i</sup> Ib.

<sup>k</sup> Ἐλήλυθεν, τετηρήκασι, δεδώξασμαι, πεπληρωμένην, ἵνα ἡγιασμένοι ᾧσι δόξαν δέδωκα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα ᾧσι τετελειωμένοι.

<sup>l</sup> τὸ ἔργον ἐτελείωσα (cf. xiv. 31, xvi. 33), ἐφανερώσα σοῦ τὸ ὄνομα (sc., specially, by revealing the Trinity in chap. xiv.—xvi.); ἔλαβον τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι με ἀπίστευλας, (scil. chap. xvi. 27—33).

<sup>m</sup> See Olshausen on St. John xiii. 31. Comp. above, Introd. p. 163.

<sup>n</sup> St. Mark xiv. 26, ὑμνήσαντες, a *hymn*; not, as our margin gratuitously suggests, a *Psalm*.

the Eve<sup>o</sup>." Now that song, as now used, contains the following passages :—

"The *living* God, He shall be praised: He is before all things that were created, there is no time when He was not; ("That Thy Son may glorify Thee: . . . This is eternal *life*, to know Thee the only true God: . . . Thou lovedst Me before the foundation of the world.") He is One, and there is no Oneness like His; ("That they may be One, as We are.") He is Lord of the world, over all things; ("Thou hast given Him power over all Flesh, . . . that the world may know," &c.) He gave the blessing of His prophesying unto the Man, His Beloved and Beautified: . . . God gave the law unto His people by His prophet, the faithful one; ("I have finished the work Thou gavest Me to do. . . . Glorify Thy Son; . . . the words which Thou gavest Me, I have given them.") He rewardeth the obedient, and gives to the wicked one evil, according to his works; ("I will that they be with Me where I am: . . . None of them is lost but the son of perdition.") He will send at the end of days the Christ the Messiah; ("The hour is come . . . that they may know Jesus the Christ Whom Thou hast sent.") The dead He makes to live again; ("This is eternal life.")'

It must be acknowledged that these correspondences are remarkable, and perhaps are sufficient proof of the supposed allusion. The "Hymn" was probably sung just after the Institution, and the Prayer followed as a Divine commentary upon it, announcing its fulfilment.

2. A more important point is that this Prayer has undoubtedly been the key-note, and in a degree the model, of the Church's Eucharistic Intercessions; more especially of her prayers for the good estate and salvation of the One Body. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that in no liturgy are such intercessions made in the exact position occupied by the Prayer, viz., *after reception*; but either, at latest, shortly before it; or far earlier in the rite, before consecration,

<sup>o</sup> Pedahzur, Cerenonics, p. 59.

or even at oblation<sup>p</sup>. One solution of this would be to suppose that the great Prayer was uttered before the Consecration of the Wine. But its contents imply that the eucharistic impartation was already completed. Another view, therefore, which is perhaps preferable, is that the Prayer, having preceded the *Passion*, and so having been said *inter sacrificandum*, was deemed by the Church to be best represented, as to position, by intercessions made while the Memorial Sacrifice was proceeding; whether in the earlier or later stages of it.

<sup>p</sup> It is shewn below, ch. iii. sect. 2, that this was anciently the case in the Western Office, as now in the English.

## CHAPTER III.

### ON THE ANCIENT EUCHARISTIC OFFICE OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

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#### SECTION I.

THE Eucharistic Offices of the Church throughout the world, from the earliest times, form one great race or brotherhood, the relationships and interdependencies of which may be traced by internal evidence, exactly as affinities are traced in comparative philology or ethnology. The investigations of ritualists during the last two hundred years have gone far to clear up these relationships, and have tended more particularly to throw the Liturgies into a few groups; in the same way as languages and nations, the further we go back, tend to group themselves into fewer stocks or families. Thus it is now thought by the ablest philologists, that all languages may be reduced to three heads or stocks. And in like manner the Liturgies are found to be reducible to some four or five groups<sup>a</sup> or families.

It may be doubted, however, whether this theory, though in the main well founded, has not been pushed too far in some instances, and in that degree hindered, rather than promoted, the science of comparative ritualism. Not content with indicating close affinities between certain rites, our comparative ritualists have proceeded to select some one out of each group

<sup>a</sup> See Palmer, *Orig.*, p. 8. Neale, *Introd.*, p. 317, ably advocates the claims of a fifth stock, the Persian.

so allied, as the actual parent of the rest ; calling it the normal rite, and considering all variations observable in the others as so many departures from it. Now this is to misapprehend the real state of the case. It is infinitely probable that the utmost that philology and ethnology, for their parts, will ever effect, will be to shew that the languages of the world were *planted out* in three<sup>b</sup> groups, each having some bond of affinity causing all the members of a group to resemble each other ; not that there was one single head to each group which gave birth to the rest. But however this be, the liturgies in the several groups are certainly too diverse for any one among the number to have originated the rest. It is not sufficient proof, for example, of the original identity of two Communion Offices, or of the derivation of one of them from the other, that the order of parts<sup>c</sup>, e.g. the position of the intercessions, is the same in both. This resemblance may have been superinduced by the influence of some powerful Church or sée ; and we know that assimilation has in various instances been brought about through such influences. And when we come to examine more closely the contents of some Office thus referred to a particular parent, we always find, together with much resemblance, such strong points of difference both of structure and contents, that we can only recognise a kindred or simultaneous origination in the two cases ; the one having also, perhaps, been subsequently modified by the

<sup>b</sup> Three such groups would be likely to result from the development, before the Confusion, of the three Noachian stocks, each with its peculiarities : the confusion and dispersion would only intensify and stereotype the differences, the grouping still remaining.

<sup>c</sup> See Palmer, Orig. Lit., Dissertation *passim*.

other. Thus, for example, it is no doubt correct to place the Greek Liturgy of S. James in the same group with the Syriac S. James. But the differences between the two rites are so radical and extensive, that they cannot, as has been commonly assumed<sup>d</sup>, have been derived one from another. The same may be said of S. Mark's and the Coptic S. Basil. Instances of the entire independence of these kindred or twin rites have been incidentally given in the preceding pages. So, again, though St. Gregory the Illuminator doubtless introduced into the Church of Armenia (A.D. 300) many features of the Office of the Church of Cæsarea, i.e. S. Basil's, the Armenian rite has so many peculiarities, that we must perforce recognise it as of far earlier date, and quite independent origin.

The true theory, in fact, of the origination of the Liturgies would seem to be, that there were many more *centres of primary liturgy* than has been commonly supposed. The early Apostolic history would of itself lead us to this conclusion. It may be perfectly true that, as ecclesiastical tradition reports, the Apostles confined their personal ministrations for about twelve years to the Holy Land. And this at first sight seems to involve the further conclusion, that the Church during that period had one unvarying form of liturgy; that, namely, which the Apostles used; and that this was the parent of all others. But

<sup>d</sup> See Palmer, and Neale's *Genealogical Tree of Liturgies*, Introd., p. 317. One great error which runs through Palmer's work, and is shared in a degree by Neale, is that of ignoring, or holding very cheap, the introductory portions of the Liturgies, especially that of the Syriac S. James. Abundant reason has been given in the preceding chapter for recognising the primitive character, in the main, of that introduction; the "sedras" and other variables of course excepted.

had this been so,—had the mode of celebration stiffened into one form, and that, too, stamped with exclusive apostolic mintage,—it is simply inconceivable that the subsequent varieties of liturgy could have arisen. And the truth is, that the slightest reflection on the events of the Day of Pentecost must convince us, that neither the Church nor the Liturgies were restrained during all that time within such narrow limits. The great Jewish Feast had brought together “Jews, devout men, out of every nation under Heaven.” The several countries which furnished their contingent to that assemblage are enumerated. And the impression conveyed by the narrative (to say the least) is, that it was from this vast area that the primary three thousand, the first-fruits of Israel unto God, were gathered in. “The field was the world.” “Judæa” is only mentioned as one country out of many. And this being the case, what would result, when the inhabitants of these countries returned to their several homes; still, indeed, Jews by nation, but now also baptized, confirmed, and *eucharistized* Christians? What but that, for their maintenance in that condition, they must have carried away with them all the outward essentials of life in Christ; persons duly qualified to administer the Sacraments, and rules for their valid administration; in a word, a Priesthood, a Baptismal Office, and a *Liturgy*? The only alternative, which seems infinitely improbable, is that the new converts from a distance returned no more to their homes; since to do so would have been simply an act of religious suicide.

And we have indications elsewhere in the Apostolic history of this early dissemination of the Gospel; to

which every succeeding Pentecost would be likely to make additions. Thus there is a well-known difficulty in accounting for the existence of a Church at Rome, and that, too, a flourishing one, "whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world," at the time when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, (A.D. 62). But indeed we may, with the utmost probability, carry back the existence of that Church to a far earlier date. Commentators are "about equally divided<sup>e</sup>" as to whether Priscilla and Aquila were or were not already Christians when they came to Corinth (A.D. 54) from Rome. The fact that St. Paul lodges with them; that there is no mention of their conversion by him afterwards; and that they themselves, with a confidence unlike that of neophytes, undertake to enlighten the great teacher Apollos, are all in favour of the supposition. That Aquila is called "a Jew" is of little moment, since St. Paul calls St. Peter so<sup>f</sup>. But, further, St. Paul salutes certain persons at Rome as "having been in Christ before him." Now if he was converted A.D. 35, this salutation places the conversion of these persons very early indeed: and Grotius accordingly supposes them to have been amongst the first Pentecostal "strangers at Rome." It cannot, of course, be proved that they were originally inhabitants of Rome, but contrary supposition is gratuitous. And "the most reasonable way," as Olshausen says, "to account for the foundation of the Church at Rome, is to suppose that Christianity was early conveyed to the capital by travellers, *if not even by the Romans who were present*

<sup>e</sup> Baumgarten on Acts xviii. Olshausen, *Introd. to Romans*, thinks they were already converted.

<sup>f</sup> Gal. ii. 14.



*at the Feast of Pentecost.*" In this and in like cases the "Churches" would be at first feeble and sporadic, existing by "households," so often mentioned, or slowly spreading from them as centres. But presbyters and a *liturgy* they must have possessed: and their distance from the central Apostolic authority would allow of the growth of liturgical peculiarities; such as the place, or degree of development, given to the intercessions; or the commemoration, at more or less length, of Divine acts at the "giving of thanks." Particular Churches would, through the influence of first converts or of local affinities, develop a strong Jewish complexion, as is certainly the case with the liturgies of Egypt and Armenia. The Roman rite might chance to be curt and fixed; the further West and the Syrian East prolix and abounding in "variables;" the nearer East holding the mean between the two. And when, in process of time, the several Churches were visited by an Apostle, they would receive from him, indeed, "spiritual gifts<sup>g</sup>," and a fuller organization: such as the Ordination of fresh Elders, (which meanwhile they must have fetched from Judæa); the "laying on of hands," a highly profitable but not necessary endowment, in Confirmation; and the Episcopate itself, by having a Bishop set over them, as were Titus and Timothy at Ephesus and in Crete. But their established liturgical traditions would be respected, even by Apostles; enriched, it may be, but not superseded. And thus would arise, and be perpetuated, that variety of forms, yet with essential unity of structure, which we encounter in the liturgies.

On the whole, we may lay this down as the first postulate of the science of historical ritualism, that

<sup>g</sup> Rom. i. 11.

many Churches received, independently, at an *exceedingly early period*, a form of liturgy; and that the correspondences which have been traced out as characterizing wide regions subject to principal patriarchates, are mainly due, 1. to origination under similar circumstances, as when two neighbouring regions were evangelized at the same date; 2. to subsequent assimilations.

## SECTION II.

THERE is another leading position of great importance, more especially for appreciating the condition, past and present, of the English Communion Office. It is that, at a comparatively early period, probably in the course of the second century<sup>h</sup>, a principle or habit was developed within the Church, which exercised a very material effect upon the *order* of certain features in all liturgies throughout the world. This was the *disciplina arcani*, or system of reticence; which it was found necessary, after a while, to resort to, in order to conceal from the unbaptized the more especial mysteries of Christianity. Such a design would evidently necessitate the removal from the *earlier* part of the Office (to which it was thought good still to admit the generality, and specially those preparing for baptism) all clear enunciations of the higher Christian doctrines: and this would be likely to result in very serious dislocations of the original liturgical order. Nor is there the least reason to doubt that such has been the case. In the preceding chapter reasons have been given—founded on the

<sup>h</sup> That we cannot place the system of concealment earlier, appears from the very unreserved enunciation made by Justin Martyr and Irenæus of the Eucharistic mysteries.

order of events on the night of the Institution—for recognising a certain succession of features as the original and normal one of the liturgies. The Lord's Prayer, for example, according to that view, stood originally in the forefront of the Offices. The bringing in of the Elements followed, at latest, very shortly after. But so it is, that while the *far* Eastern (as the Syriac and Nestorian, or Persian) and certain Western liturgies (as the English Uses and the Mozarabic) exhibit these features in the position indicated, the great *dominant* rites of the East and West, the Jerusalem, the Antiochene, the Alexandrian, the Constantinopolitan, the Roman, have one or both of them in a totally different situation. The Lord's Prayer has disappeared altogether from the beginning of the rite, and does not occur until just before reception. The Elements are not brought in until after the reading of the Gospel and the dismissal of the catechumens; the "Great Entrance" (in technical language) preceding the "Little Entrance." The Roman rite, though the elements are brought in at the beginning<sup>1</sup>, has lost the initial Lord's Prayer.

Now it may be said that the parallel drawn out in the last chapter is not a sufficient ground for recognising such important and widely pervading change of order in the liturgies specified. It may seem more probable that it is the other liturgies that have made the change, or that these are but two accidental variations of order, both equally primitive. But there is abundant evidence that the case is as has been here represented. It is, 1. far more conceivable that that change should have been made, in some liturgies, which tends to carry out the *disciplina arcani*, than

<sup>1</sup> Ritus celebrandi missam, ii. 1.

that, in the face of that system, high doctrines and mysteries should, in others, have been thrown back into an earlier and more public position. But, 2. the Eastern liturgies in question carry internal evidence of the change having been made in *them*. Thus the Greek S. James, in its very first prayer, recognises the *presence* of the Elements on the altar, in the words, "This Thy sacred and spiritual Table, on which Thy Son Christ is in a mystery set forth for sacrifice<sup>k</sup>." But the Armenian, again, to the great bewilderment of the ritualists, has, "The Holy Body and Blood of our Lord are before us;" when, according to the present text, the Elements are not as yet brought in<sup>l</sup>. So carelessly had this rite adopted the Cæsarean reforms of St. Gregory. In S. Chrysostom's, again, such lofty language<sup>m</sup> is used just before the entrance of the *Gospels*, as to awaken a suspicion that it originally applied to the more solemn event of the entrance of the Elements. But, further, two rites of the Alexandrian family, the Coptic S. Basil and the Ethiopic, fairly desert their family traditions in this respect, and coincide with the West and further East in bringing in the Elements at the very first<sup>n</sup>. Now this furnishes a strong presumption that S. Mark's, the remaining kindred rite, also had this order originally.

<sup>k</sup> Mr. Bright (Anc. Collects) supposes this to be said anticipatively.

<sup>l</sup> "This," as Neale observes, "is a most strange anomaly;" until it is explained as in the text

<sup>m</sup> "Grant that with our Entrance there may be an entrance of holy angels ministering with us, glorifying Thy goodness;" (this surely refers to the entrance of the Elements and angelic hymn); "Blessed be the Entrance of Thy Holy Things," (τῶν ἁγίων, al. "Saints," al. "Gospels;")—both very improbable).

<sup>n</sup> Neale, pp. 363, 387.

So, again, as to the absence of the Lord's Prayer from the opening of the Eastern liturgies. Not to insist on the very reasonable expectation of finding that Divine form thus set in honoured place; we actually discern in the first prayer in S. Mark's Liturgy a very thinly veiled paraphrase of it<sup>o</sup>. And there is, further, reason for believing that the "embolismus<sup>p</sup>," or development of that Prayer, now found in the Eastern liturgies before reception, originally occurred here, at the beginning of the rite. For the Coptic S. Basil, which we have just seen bearing witness in one respect to the original condition of S. Mark's, comes to our aid in the same manner here. That is, it exhibits at its *commencement* some very peculiar language<sup>q</sup>, which S. Mark's now associates with the Lord's Prayer at *reception*. We might conclude even from hence, on the same principle as before, that all the liturgies have transposed the Lord's Prayer with its "embolismus" from the beginning to its present place. And there is this strong reason for thinking that it is so, that the so-called Clementine Liturgy (conceived by many, however improbably, to be the most Apostolic rite of all) has *not*<sup>r</sup>, as is well known, the Lord's Prayer at all before reception, or indeed anywhere; the part before consecration being lost. Now this is exactly what we might expect to find, if this was not a primitive arrangement. For it is gene-

<sup>o</sup> Thus we have in it, "*Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, give us this holy day to spend . . . Things good and expedient grant us, (comp. English Catechism paraphrase, 'All things that be needful,') and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the Evil One,*" &c.

<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 323.

<sup>q</sup> "Thou hast given us the power of treading on serpents and scorpions." Copt. S. Basil, Neale, p. 353; S. Mark, p. 628.

<sup>r</sup> Palmer, i. p. 40.

rally agreed that this liturgy was never used in any Church; it would therefore not be under the same necessity as the genuine and living liturgies were of adapting itself to catechumenical exigencies\*.

And when we turn to the West, we find, as a matter of historical fact, that the Lord's Prayer was first inserted in the Roman Canon by St. Gregory in the seventh century†. It was probably long before this, and in deference to the system of concealment, that it had been removed, together with the prayers for purity, from the *beginning* of the rite into the preparatory or Sacristy Office, where both are still found; so that for long ages these two primitive features were wanting in the Roman Office. Both were retained, however, in the old English Uses, and in our own.

On the whole, it cannot be doubted that the disturbing impulse derived from the system of concealment, originating (as should seem likely) with the great patriarchal sees, and carrying all before it, with little exception, in the regions adjacent to them, revolutionized in these two respects all the more famous liturgies. Its force, though not unfelt in the remoter East and the West, sufficed only to the expulsion of catechumens before consecration, not to the deferring of the "Great Entrance," nor (if we except the Roman Church) to the removal of the initial Lord's Prayer. And we thus learn, what ritualists have hitherto been entirely unsuspecting of, that the more celebrated and more widely diffused liturgies are, in

\* Palmer recognises the absence of the prayer as a proof of antiquity.

† See above, p. 196, note p. The Sicilians having complained of his inserting the Prayer "mox post Canonem," after the example of Byzantium, he admits the fact, but justifies it.

point of order, less primitive and Apostolic than those of inferior note. It is to the Syriac S. James, to the Mozarabic, or to the ancient English, not to the rites of Jerusalem, of Constantinople, or of Rome, that we must look, in these respects at least, for the normal and primary order of Liturgy.

But the instances thus unexpectedly disclosed by no means stand alone. There is a well-known prayer in some liturgies, after consecration, having reference to the consecrated Elements; that God, "having received them up to His Heavenly Altar, would<sup>u</sup>," &c. : or, in the Roman, "That He would command these things to be carried by the hand of Angels unto His sublime Altar, in sight of His Divine Majesty." Now there is manifestly, and by the confession of most ritualists, considerable difficulty in imagining what can be the object of this prayer in this place. Has not God already "received them up to His Heavenly Altar<sup>x</sup>" in virtue of their consecration? What further exaltation of this kind can possibly accrue to them? Is it not then natural to suspect some transposition here also? Such a prayer would be in place, and be most beautiful and fitting, *before* Consecration. And there accordingly, in the body of the Consecration prayer itself, in S. Mark's liturgy<sup>y</sup>, we find it. Pursuing this clue, we observe that S. Chrysostom's, though otherwise exactly following S. James, prays that "He who *hath* received (*ὁ προσδεξάμενος*) the Elements up, would," &c. And in this sense, the Greek being ambiguous, S. James must clearly be understood also :

<sup>u</sup> S. Jas., S. Chrys., Armenian. Neale, *Introd.*, pp. 612, 618.

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 190, note d, and p. 205, note m.

<sup>y</sup> Neale, *Tetral.*, p. 120: see also his more recent editions (Hayes) in Greek and English. It is omitted for shortness in his *Gen. Introd.*

not as desiring that they may *now* be received. And in fact, that Liturgy has already had, at the oblation, as has also the Syriac<sup>z</sup>, "Receive this proposed gift (*πρόθεσις*, viz. by consecration) to Thy heavenly Altar:" so that when it proceeds to say, a few lines after the prayer first quoted, "Thou that *hast* received the gifts," this refers doubtless to the consecration itself. So, again, we find the "prayer for receiving up," word for word, in the preparatory Office (used in the *prothesis* or sacristy) prefixed to S. Chrysostom's Liturgy.

We conclude, without much fear of error, that the original position of this prayer was *not* where we now see it, but either at the oblation, or even at the first bringing in of the Elements: and that when that feature was removed to a later position, the S. James and the Armenian placed this prayer after the consecration; while the S. Chrysostom remanded it, exactly as the Roman Church did the Lord's Prayer, to the sacristy. The case of the Armenian is very patent: for the words are, "Let us pray unto the Lord respecting the divine gifts *which have been brought here*, and which are now lying on this holy Table."

Nor is it less clear that the similar Roman prayer has been removed from some earlier position. That the Roman rite is largely indebted for its contents to *S. Mark's*, or to some common source with it, we shall have occasion to observe presently. Now we have already seen that S. Mark's has this prayer in

<sup>z</sup> Ren. i. p. 13: "Receive our spiritual sacrifice on Thy rational altar, . . . Thy altar which is above:" and p. 21, (2nd form): "Holy and adorable Trinity, receive this sacrifice . . . on Thy holy and heavenly altar."



its Preface to Consecration. Though indeed there is reason to suppose that it originally occurred earlier still. For there is a prayer now applied to the burning of *incense*<sup>a</sup> before the Gospel, which has every appearance of having originally referred to the *elements*, being the same, word for word, as other liturgies apply to *them*. In one of these earlier positions, then, most probably at the oblation, did the prayer for receiving up (common also, of course, to the old English rites) originally occur in the Roman Office.

This conclusion is confirmed by our observing that the next preceding prayer in the Canon, referring to Abel and Abraham, is in a great measure a literal translation of the next following<sup>b</sup> sentence in the S. Mark's Preface; with the addition of a reference to Melchisedech, found also in the entrance prayer of the Syriac. The like reference to the sacrifices of Abel, Abraham, Noah, Aaron, Zachariah, &c., is found in the Greek and Syriac S. James; still at the very beginning. This prayer of the Canon manifestly, therefore, like those before mentioned, belongs to an earlier part of the rite.

Nor do I hesitate further to affirm, after the fullest consideration, that the Eastern liturgies have gone

<sup>a</sup> Neale, Tetral., p. 37.

<sup>b</sup> In the Ambrosian rite, as subjoined, the *order* of the two prayers, even, is the same as in S. Mark: and the words *hanc oblationem* are absolute proof of the meaning of "ἡγε" in the Roman form; and also countenance the view that the whole belongs to the *oblation*.

*Consecration Prayer of S. Mark.*

τὰς προσφορὰς πρόσδεξαι  
εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον σου θυσιαστήριον  
διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς λειτουργίας  
... ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα  
τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἀβελ, τὴν  
θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ.

*Roman and Ambrosian Canon.*

Hanc oblationem suscipias  
in sublimi altari tuo  
per manus angelorum tuorum,  
sicut suscipere dignatus es munera  
pueri tui justī Abel, et sacri-  
ficium patriarchæ nostri Abraham.

yet greater lengths in inverting the original order, and placing after the Consecration words and prayers belonging to the Oblation. What possible meaning, nay what reverence can there be, if we well consider the matter, in saying *then*,—after that accomplished work of mysterious identification,—“Before Thee, O Lord God, we have set Thine Own of Thine Own;” “we offer Thee these gifts of Thy *good things*”? Is it not perfectly plain that this belongs to the *Oblation*, where indeed much the same things are still said, but now meagrely and imperfectly, and where the Syriac<sup>c</sup> and Mozarabic have it still, instead of here? And the same must be said of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, about the position of which the Orientals are not agreed among themselves, and which the West<sup>d</sup> has in an earlier position. These are indeed vast revolutions; but the evidence for them is irresistible.

Meanwhile, the immediate interest, for us, of the conclusion arrived at respecting “the prayer of receiving up” (independently of its value as clearing up a confessed obscurity<sup>e</sup> in the old Western rite) is this. Our original Revisers made the best they could of this prayer, retaining it in its position, but rendering it, “We beseech Thee to command these our *supplications and prayers*, by the ministry of Thy Holy Angels, to be brought up to Thy Holy tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty.” But it is absolutely certain, from the parallel cases alleged, and

<sup>c</sup> “Receive the things which *we have separated* ;” Moz., “this sacrifice prepared by my hands.”

<sup>d</sup> Sar., “Veni Creator” at beginning; Rom., York, Heref., at oblation: Rom., York, Heref., “Veni Sanctificator” at oblation.

<sup>e</sup> To which we may add its disjointed and fragmentary character.

from early testimony, (though later Roman writers have naturally tried to disprove it,) that “hæc” in the original meant the Gifts<sup>f</sup>. This was therefore only to evade the difficulty. And we now see that the only solution of it was that which the next Revisers, probably on Scriptural grounds, adopted; namely, to remove the prayer from its usurped place after Consecration. But as they had not sufficient ritual knowledge wittingly to restore it to its proper place in the Office, we ran some risk of losing altogether a beautiful feature of early and Apostolic liturgy. Happily, they were guided to reinstate the old words, in part, in exactly the rightful and ancient position, viz. at the Oblation. The words, “which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty,” (in the “Church militant prayer,”) are a translation of “in conspectu Divinæ Majestatis Tuæ,” in the prayer “for receiving up.”

And the same may be said of another change made at our second Revision. The first had so far innovated on the old rite as to omit all intercessions or commemorations after consecration, retaining only those before it, and expanding them. The second went further; throwing back even those to the *Oblation*. Now both these alterations are, as it proves, justified by the earlier condition of the Roman Canon. First, as to the position of the intercessions. If S. Mark’s liturgy was the type, we observe that it is a peculiarity of that rite that they occur *entirely* before consecration; instead of, as in most rites, both before

<sup>f</sup> So Amalarius, ninth century: “Precatur sacerdos, ut præsens *oblatio* ita sit accepta ut, &c. Magna fides Ecclesiæ: credit *sacrificium præsens* per Angelorum manus deferri,” &c. In loc., c. 25; and so Paschasius.

and after it. And it has been well observed<sup>s</sup> that the Gelasian or earlier draught of the Roman Canon (*circ.* 490) has the intercessions entirely before consecration, with a manifest repetition of part of them afterwards. Again, as to the expansion. The learned Roman writers, Muratori<sup>b</sup> and Sala, are of opinion, "that the Roman Canon was originally much longer than at present, and contained full intercession for all estates of men, such as are used to this day on Good Friday immediately after the Gospel." It is generally admitted that these Good Friday prayers are of great antiquity; and Sala even presumes that they were really the original Roman intercession, but were afterwards suppressed, except on that day, and the present shorter form substituted. There is much probability in this conjecture. The present Roman intercession, far from being any example to other Churches, is, without exception, the most meagre and perfunctory in the world. It consists of but three or four topics, dismissed in as many lines—the Church, the Pope and bishop, and the faithful. Of kings even, notwithstanding the Apostolic injunction, there is no mention. Now it is incredible, on view of the large and minute intercessions of the East, that this can always have been so. And on examination, we observe that these few intercessions, such as they are, are simply extracts, almost word for word, from the Good Friday prayers: brief headings, corresponding to the first three. And Sala's conjecture rises into absolute certainty, when we further discover—what he was not aware of—that those prayers themselves

<sup>s</sup> See Neale, *Introd.*, p. 506.

<sup>b</sup> Muratori, *Liturg. Rom.*, p. 14; Sala, notes to Bona, in *loc.*

are, for the most part, a literal translation from the long intercessions in S. Mark's consecration prayer. The specimens given below are an ample proof of this<sup>1</sup>.

But did these intercessions occur originally in the Roman *consecration* prayer, as they do in S. Mark's? Their form—that of a bidding prayer and collects—renders it highly improbable. And we observe that, as used on Good Friday, they come immediately after the Gospel. Now the Creed is not now said on that day; but the first of the prayers being “that the Church scattered throughout the world may persevere with steadfast faith *in the confession of God,*” we may safely conclude that their *proper* place was after the Creed. That is, in fact, that they were oblationary

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that the Latin translation is in part barbarous, e.g. *diaconibus* and *subdiaconibus*: *infirmare*, for “to be sick.” It would seem certain, too, however strange, that Rome has applied to the *Church* what S. Mark's desires for *the King*; and that this, dictated perhaps by hyper-ecclesiastical feeling, is the reason of the extraordinary omission of any prayer for Kings in the Roman Office. The figures refer, 1. to Neale's ed. (Hayes), 2. to his Tetral.

*Consecration Prayer, Lit. S. Mark.*

μνήσθητι τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας  
καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς,  
τοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι περάτων.  
κύριε, τὴν εἰρήνην βραβεῦσον, 18, 111.  
ὑπόταξον (βασίλει) πάντα ἐχθρὸν,  
ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτοῦ  
ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν  
ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ. 20, 117.  
τὸν μακαριώτατον Πάπαν Δ.  
ὣν προέγνως προχειρίσασθαι,  
καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον ἡμέτερον,  
συντηρῶν συντήρησον αὐτοῦς.  
τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπισκόπων,  
πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων,  
ὑποδ. ἀκόνων, ἀναγνώστων,  
ἀεπαρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν.

*Roman Good Friday Prayers.*

Pro Ecclesiâ sanctâ  
(catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei,—*Canon*)  
toto orbe terrarum diffusâ;  
ut Dominus pacificare dignetur,  
subjiciens ei (Regi?) principatus.  
Detque nobis quietam et  
tranquillam vitam degentibus  
glorificare Deum.  
Pro beatissimo Papâ nostro N.,  
ut Deus qui eum elegit in Episc.  
(electum nobis antistitem)  
salvum et incolumem custodiat.  
Pro omnibus episcopis,  
presbyteris, diaconibus (*sic*)  
subdiaconibus, . . . lectoribus,  
virginibus, viduis, et omni populo.

prayers: for the Creed is properly followed<sup>j</sup> by the oblation. At the *oblation*, then, we may with some confidence place the original and full intercession of the Roman Church. And we have a singular proof that we do not err in thus placing it; or in identifying it, in the main, with the Good Friday prayers. For an African writer<sup>k</sup>, Optatus of Milevi, (*circ.* 368,) says, “Ye speak of offering for the Church *scattered* throughout the world.” Now these precise words occur, not at the consecration, but in the Good Friday prayers; and the words “Ye offer” point to the Oblation. At the same time, it is very possible that the Roman Church may have always had, as now, a *brief* intercession just before consecration, besides the fuller one at oblation; just as S. Mark’s has the converse.

It appears then that our second Revision, in throwing back the intercessions to the Oblation, was in fact, however unconsciously, restoring the ancient Western practice. And in prefixing, moreover, the bidding, “Let us pray for the whole state of Christ’s Church,” it only retained the words which the *English* Church<sup>l</sup> had ever used before her Good Friday or oblationary prayers. And even for the additional words, “militant here on earth,” recourse was had to customary forms of the day, one of which has accidentally survived<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>j</sup> Indeed, in the Roman Use (see above, p. 343) the preparations for the Oblation commence *while the Creed is reciting*.

<sup>k</sup> Contra Parmen., ii. p. 45: “Offerre vos dicitis pro una Ecclesia (comp. “adunare” in Rom. prayer) quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa.” Quoted by Sala, and Palmer, i. 137.

<sup>l</sup> Miss. Sar., Fer. sexta in die paraseev., fol. lxxviii.: “Oremus: et primò pro *universali statu Ecclesiæ*.”

<sup>m</sup> “A generall and devout prayer for the good state of oure Mother the Church militant here in erth.” From a Sarum Horæ B.V.M.,

The result of the foregoing investigations into the earlier order of the liturgies, especially of the Roman, in respect, 1. of the Prayer for the receiving up of the Elements; 2. of the Lord's Prayer; 3. of the Western intercessions; is to justify, to a degree far exceeding all expectation, some of the principal changes made at the Revision of our Communion Office in the sixteenth century. In all these points, and in others which we shall meet with hereafter, it may be confidently and thankfully affirmed that the English Church of the sixteenth century did not, as has been alleged<sup>n</sup>, "violate," but in part retained, in part rehabilitated, "the tradition of fifteen hundred years."

### SECTION III.

ONE of the most interesting results of modern ritual inquiry, especially for the English Church, is the discovery of what has been called "the Ephesine liturgy." This rite, originally used in the exarchate of Ephesus, (and doubtless, though no trace of it has been discovered, elsewhere also,) died out, after a while, on its native Eastern soil; being finally superseded in the fourth century by the rite of Constantinople; but not before it had planted out vigorous offshoots,—or was represented, however, by kindred Offices,—in Gaul and Spain, and other regions of the further West<sup>o</sup>.

an. 1531, quoted by Rev. J. Purchas, *Directorium*, p. 46. It has—which is highly curious considering the title, and completes the parallel to our own—petitions for the *departed*.

<sup>n</sup> John Henry Newman.

<sup>o</sup> See Mr. Palmer's ingenious proof of these points, *Dissertation on Liturgies*, sec. ix.; and Messrs. Neale and Forbes' "Gallican Liturgies," Preface.

Assuming the correctness of this discovery,—and there seems no reason for calling it in question,—what account can we give of so peculiar a phenomenon in ritual history? For it must be understood that the structure and other circumstances of this expatriated and naturalized liturgy are very singular. Thus, it had, apparently, no catechumenical prayers; in which it stands quite alone. It had various features altogether peculiar to it; as the Benedictus before the “Prophecy,” and the Benedicite after the Epistle. It had a strange nomenclature; calling the introit “officium missæ,” or “prælegere;” the offertory “sonum,” or “lauda;” the oblation “sacrificium;” the Preface “contestatio” or “illatio.” But its leading characteristic, as seen in the Gallican and Spanish liturgies, was its almost boundless variableness. Whereas the Eastern rites are unvarying, or interpolate sparingly on Festivals, and Rome had originally perhaps no variables at all, and has but few and brief ones now; of this rite the whole substance was variable. The number and order of features was indeed always the same; and the great monuments of Service, the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Tersanctus, the words of Institution, were of course unvarying. But the Prefaces, the numerous prayers, the benedictions,—all of considerable length,—were never the same any two days in the year. And the most singular feature of all, perhaps, was a short homily (like those in the Roman *ordinary* office on Sundays) inserted soon after the Gospel; called in Gaul “Præfatio,” in Spain “Oratio,” and treating of the subject of the day. Another very remarkable circumstance in these Western liturgies,—which, however, I have not seen noticed,—is that the rubrics



are conceived throughout in a different *mood* from those of the whole world beside. The rubrics of all other Churches, Jewish or Christian, Eastern or Western, orthodox or otherwise, from Rome to Malabar, are in the *indicative*. "The Priest doth" so and so. In the Gallican<sup>p</sup>, Spanish, *English*, and in them alone, the *imperative* is used throughout: "let the priest do so and so." This may seem a trifling circumstance, but important results for the English Church are involved in it, as an evidence of ritual affinity.

It must be admitted, then, that this is an altogether singular and exceptional type of Liturgy. While its framework is perfectly the same with that of all others, its peculiar phraseology, and its habit of infinite variation, proclaim that it can owe its origin to nothing less than a new fount, so to speak, of liturgical types, cast at some other period, and under some other inspiration, than the Pentecostal one.

And there is one event, though there is *but* one, in the early history of the Church, at all answering to the requirements of the case. Over and above the original communications to the Twelve, whether at the Last Supper, or in the Forty days, or at Pentecost, there was an independent fount of liturgical knowledge and rule which sprang up within the bosom of the post-Pentecostal Church. I speak, of course, of the revelation made on this subject to the Apostle

<sup>p</sup> So we find it in the famous Missa published by Flaccus Illyricus, in the S. Denys (temp. Charlemagne, c. 900), Troye, Rheims, Corbaye, Verdun,—also the Salzburg and Basle, to which French usages would be likely to extend. For these, see Martene. Other missals, as Arles, c. 1500, Marseilles, 1530, Rouen, Lyons, collated for me by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, have also the imperative rubric. Sometimes it is in the second person, or impersonal; "*Cogita pro mortuis;*" "*Hic datur pax.*"

St. Paul. We are distinctly assured by him that the *liturgical* traditions and rules which he "delivered" to the Churches he had personally "*received* of the Lord<sup>a</sup>." In this, as in other respects, "he conferred not with flesh and blood, nor with them that were Apostles before him," but imparted independently his own "tradition." That that tradition would accord, in all leading features, with the already received rule of the Church, we might be well assured. But it was at the same time most probable that the fervent and energetic soul of St. Paul would fuse into some peculiar form, and stamp with some special character and mintage, the rites which he delivered. And though we could not in the least have conjectured beforehand what that stamp would be, it must be admitted that the peculiarities of the rite now under consideration accord sufficiently well with the known characteristics of his mind and teaching. It is to this great Apostle that the Scriptural exhibition of Christianity owes its fulness, its variety, its cosmopolitan adaptation. For him the lore of all ages, Jewish or classical, historical or ritual, moralist or spiritual, was a storehouse whence he drew materials to build up and adorn the fabric of Gospel truth. Above all, personal appeal, oral communication, or "preaching," was the special weapon of his ministry. That a *liturgical* exhibition of the same great system of verities should present these same characteristics of richness, varied method, and homiletic teaching, is strongly in favour of the supposition of its having proceeded from him.

Nor are we without strong presumptive proof, derived from his own Writings, that it was indeed he who originated, and exclusively employed, a *variable*

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. xi.

method of Eucharistic celebration. In a well-known passage, which the best writers have agreed to interpret ritually, he says, "when thou shalt bless," eucharistically, "with the spirit," i.e. in a rapture and in an unknown tongue, "how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say the accustomed 'Amen' (τὸ ἀμῆν) to thy giving of thanks" or eucharistic blessing; "seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou indeed givest the eucharistic blessing well, but the other is not edified." Now the state of things here implied,—that is, a Eucharistic Office in a condition of flux and *ad libitum* variety as to its prayer of consecration,—is one which the existing phenomena of all other offices in East and West not only give no hint of, but forbid us to suppose can ever have had place in those rites. If, as some imagine, the Eucharistic forms were at the first variable at the pleasure of the celebrant, what has become of them all? How is it that every known rite but this has its *one* Consecration Prayer, and no more? The Spanish and French Offices, on the other hand, agree in having exactly such a varying consecration prayer as St. Paul seems to refer to. It is further remarkable that the one rite in the world which, on the whole, delivers, with slightest variation, St. Paul's form for the words of Institution, is no other than the Spanish: the Gallican is unknown to us. And may we not remark, as regards the rubrical peculiarity of these rites, that St. Paul continually gives directions<sup>r</sup> which may well have led to the use of the *imperative* form in the rite delivered by him?

On the whole, the probability that St. Paul, and

<sup>r</sup> "Let every one of you lay by;" "Let all things be done," &c.; "Let the prophets speak two or three," &c.

none other,—since none else was in a position to do so,—originated the “Ephesine” type of liturgy, is very considerable. That it should bear sway at Ephesus more especially, is exactly what we might expect from the long and close connection of the Apostle with that city and neighbourhood. It is true that the Churches which received this rite traced<sup>s</sup> it uniformly to St. John; but this is easily accounted for, and resolves itself, in fact, into the same view. For St. John, as having presided over the Churches about Ephesus after St. Paul was removed from the scene, would naturally be referred to as the author of the liturgy which went forth from thence, whether by the hands of Irenæus, or of yet earlier evangelizers in France or Spain, Britain or Ireland. Some surprise may indeed be felt that we should find no trace of this liturgy in any other of the Churches founded in the East by St. Paul: especially at Corinth, to which he had certainly imparted it originally. But the influence of the patriarchal sees in suppressing other rites than their own will sufficiently account for it.

#### SECTION IV.

THE bearing of these investigations on the history and origin of the ancient English liturgy is very important. We have seen reason, in a former part of this work, for believing that the ORDINARY OFFICE introduced by St. Augustine into this country was not the Roman, but a sister rite, formed in the south of France by the joint action, probably, of St. Leo and Cassian, about two hundred years before, (420); having a common basis, indeed, with the Roman Office,

<sup>s</sup> Palmer, *Orig.*, i. 154.

but strongly tintured with Gallican characteristics derived long ago from the East; and probably enriched also, at the time, by fresh importations of Oriental usages. And though at one time this seemed to me doubtful, the result of more mature study has been to convince me that a perfectly parallel account must be rendered of the EUCHARISTIC OFFICE which St. Augustine brought over. No other view can account for its peculiar phenomena. And we must recognise yet other influences and vicissitudes to which it was subjected after its importation.

Marvellous, in truth, is the story of the mixed influences which made the English rite what it was when it reached the hands of its sixteenth century Revisers. To read that story aright, we must go back to the Day of Pentecost, when the "strangers of Rome" would seem to have carried a liturgy at once thither. This liturgy was no doubt in Greek<sup>t</sup>, that being the usual liturgical language of foreign Jews; and probably continued so for three hundred years. Of much greater length than at present, and embodying all that at a later day was remanded to the sacristy, or disused except at special seasons, or on a single day in the year; rich, therefore, with prayers for purity, Lord's Prayer, "embolismus," Litany;—with Gloria in Excelsis, Alleluia, Trisagion, Tersanctus, the four great universal hymns;—with brief Creed and brief unvarying oblation, but with regular "offertory" of alms, full oblationary intercession "for the whole state of the Church;" and (here or earlier) a prayer for "the receiving up to the heavenly altar;"—having, probably, like the rest of

<sup>t</sup> Above, vol. i. p. 238.

the world, "a giving of thanks" at some length,—now perished utterly<sup>u</sup>,—and terminating in fuller<sup>x</sup> words of Institution than at present; proceeding *at once*, probably, from the Consecration to the Reception;—or with only the Sancta Sanctis, now lost;—with portions of the Psalms as variables, but not possessing as yet regular Epistle and Gospel, nor therefore the system, dependent on them, of Collect or Secreta, Gradual or Offertory Hymn, Communio or Post-Communio adapted to them;—it was, though wanting in variety, in all essentials a far nobler rite than now; and symbolized more nearly with the Eastern liturgies. The Catechumenical system supervenes, and effects the transpositions already described. Meanwhile, the Roman Church covers as yet but a small area; only the southern part of the Italian peninsula. Further north, the rites of Milan and Apuleia, to the west the Ephesine family, have sway, and have traditions of their own. It is not the time yet for Rome to act upon other Churches, but to be acted upon by them.

Now in the muster-roll of the great Pentecostal Dispersion,—if such it is conceded to have been,—we find enumerated, next before the "strangers of Rome," "Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene;" and the foundations of the subsequent liturgical relations between this more Western group of Churches may well have been laid at that time. Those of Egypt and Africa became eminent for learning, and for the part taken by them in the great controversies of the Church, at a time when Rome was undistinguished in either

<sup>u</sup> Unless, indeed, the single primitive Preface and Thanksgiving of the Roman Church lurk among the countless ones banished by Gregory.

<sup>x</sup> Above, p. 369.

respect<sup>7</sup>. To Egypt accordingly, as we have already seen, Rome turned at some very early period for the form of her Oblation prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, and for the reference to Abel and Abraham now contained in her Canon. To African doctors, again, she seems to have hearkened<sup>z</sup> in reducing her words of Institution to their present form; and perhaps for the Latin<sup>a</sup> form in which she adopted the S. Mark's intercessions. In many other particulars, as Mr. Palmer has shewn<sup>b</sup>, there was close accordance: arising, however, from kindred origination, or from Roman imitation of Africa; not, as he supposes, from African imitation of Rome.

But these were minor matters. A revision and reinforcement, on an extensive scale, of the Roman eucharistic ritual was impending; and, simultaneously with it, the casting into shape of what afterwards became the ENGLISH Communion Office. For four centuries long, Constantinople and Alexandria, France and Spain, the convents of Palestine and the Cænobia of Egypt, had been "nursing their store, with hers to blend." The medium of communication comes in the person of Cassian. How the Ordinary Offices of the West were enriched through his means, in co-operation with the Great St. Leo, has been shewn in the former volume. But the obligations which the Western Eu-

<sup>7</sup> See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, i. ch. ii.: "Rome had no Origen, no Athanasius, no Augustine, no Cyprian:" it may be added, no Cyril, no Tertullian, no Optatus.

<sup>z</sup> Above, p. 369.

<sup>a</sup> That is, that Africa had the same prayers in Latin as Egypt had in Greek, having derived them thence. Optatus (368) refers to the Oblation prayer of the African Church, and the words quoted by him are the same as in the Roman Good Friday prayers. See above, p. 398, note k.

<sup>b</sup> *Orig. Lit.*, viii.

charistic Office is under to him, or rather through him to his great masters, St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom, are no less certain or considerable. The exact point in which the West was replenished at this time from the East, was her Epistle and Gospel system; which in its completed form, especially as regards the *Sundays after Trinity*, dates, there can be no doubt, from this period.

The general principle of the "Epistle and Gospel," and the marvellous uniformity with which the system prevails throughout the world, have been touched on heretofore<sup>c</sup>. But nothing can well be more varying than the manner in which the principle was carried out in various Churches, by the actual selection of passages. After some considerable research, I have been unable to find that, with one or two necessary exceptions<sup>d</sup>, the same passage is appointed for any day in the year in any two Churches or liturgies in the world. In that half of the year which contains the great Festivals and Seasons, from Christmas to Whitsunday, there is, of course, much resemblance in the selections made; but always with such variety as to indicate independence. In the other half of the year, there is no sort of agreement at all. The very Sundays are grouped and named in different ways; or oftentimes have no name or selection of Holy Scripture allotted to them. Thus, the Spanish rite and the Milanese have but *seven* Sundays after Pentecost; the Gothic *six*; the Gallican<sup>e</sup> only *one*. In these cases, no doubt, the few Gospels provided were repeated,

<sup>c</sup> Above, p. 331.

<sup>d</sup> Thus, St. John xx. 19 is naturally appropriated to the first Sunday after Easter; and is so used in East and West, and in the Mozarabic and Gallican, (Mab., Lit. Gall., p. 148). And so of many other cases.

<sup>e</sup> Mabillon, Lit. Gall., p. 157.



either after a rule, or *ad libitum*. But the Armenian and Nestorian calendars, after counting six Sundays "after the Descent," i. e. Pentecost, began a fresh cycle. The one fills up the period until Advent by six Sundays named from the Transfiguration, two from Assumption, two from Holy Cross; the other with Sundays "of Summer," of "Elijah," of "Moses," &c. The one calls Advent "Second Pentecost," i. e. the fifty days before Epiphany: the other "Sundays of Annunciation<sup>†</sup>." It is evident, therefore, that the Churches acted independently in framing their cycles: manifesting, however, a predilection for the number *seven*; probably as a recurrence of the seven weeks' cycle between Easter and Whitsunday. And the Gospels for the Sundays, it need not be said, are infinitely varied also.

If, then, we find two widely separated Churches agreeing very closely in the manner of reckoning and naming the Sundays "after Pentecost" or "Trinity;" nor only so, but making the same selection of passages as Gospels for the period, though not appropriating them to the same Sundays:—it is manifest that this must have been by concert and derivation one from the other. Now such correspondence (see the tables given below) we do find between the rites of Constantinople, or the Greek East, on the one hand, and those of Rome and England on the other. The Eastern, and the Roman and English schemes, and these alone, absolutely agree in making *twenty-eight* Sundays<sup>‡</sup> after Pentecost, inclusive of the Octave.

<sup>†</sup> See Neale, *Calendars of the East*, Introd., p. 729, &c.

<sup>‡</sup> Missal. Rom., rubr. in Dom. 23, Post Pentecost.: "Si fuerunt Dominicæ post Pentecosten xxviii.," &c. Calendar of Constantinople, as given by Neale, p. 738, from the *Typica*. In the *Evangelistarium*, or

Another title for these Sundays in the East, used in the "Apostolos," or book containing the Epistles, was "Sundays of All-Saints;" the Octave of Pentecost being called the "First Sunday of All Saints;" and so on.

The English rite followed this mode of naming the Sundays from the Feast allotted to the Octave of Pentecost, with only this peculiarity, that she calls that day Trinity Sunday. Thus Rome and England received with a difference, but manifestly from the same source. It will be observed that the cycle is of *four sevens*. It completes the resemblance, that, in the East, if there will be fewer than twenty-eight Sundays after Whitsunday in any year, the omitted Epistles and Gospels are used in the Epiphany period preceding: just as, in the West, conversely, Epiphany is provided with Gospels which are to be used, if needed, to supply the extra Sundays after Trinity. Though indeed it is probable that, in the first instance, the Eastern plan prevailed in the West, of providing the Trinity Sundays, and borrowing, if necessary, for Epiphany. For even now, the fifth and sixth Epiphany Epistles, from Col. iii., 1 Thess. i., Rom., take up the series just where the Sundays of Trinity left off, viz. at Col. i., and complete the reading of St. Paul's Epistles.

Thus far of the manner of reckoning the Sundays. Next, as to the selection of passages. The Gospels for the Sundays after Trinity, in our Western Use,

book of Gospels, the cycle is subdivided into two, St. Matthew's and St. Luke's. In the tables here given, the Eastern Sundays run on *beyond* 28, that being one way of counting them, (sc. in the "Apostolos"); but in the Typica, as in Neale, all after the 28th have proper names.

are at first sight taken at random; now from one Evangelist, now from another. The Epistles, on the contrary, are taken in their order<sup>b</sup>. But the rationale of the scheme is, by the light of Eastern lore, easily discernible. In the East, both the Epistles *and* the Gospels are selected in the order of their occurrence in the New Testament. Thus, portions from St. Matthew are appointed, in that order, for Saturdays<sup>1</sup> and Sundays (Saturday being a great festival) from Pentecost to the "Exaltation," (Holy Cross, Sept. 14); from St. Luke, for eleven weeks more, until near Christmas. Side by side with these are read portions from St. Paul's Epistles, also in their natural order. (The week-days were also provided with Epistles and Gospels, but on a far less orderly plan, and as if by an after-thought.) Here, it is manifest, there cannot well be any adaptation of the Epistle to the subject of the Gospel, or *vice versa*. But when the Eastern system was communicated to the West, an improvement was made upon it. The *Epistles* were still read consecutively, and to a great extent, though not always, the very same portions of them, as appears upon comparison; (see the table of Epistles). But from among the Eastern *Gospels* was selected, Sunday by Sunday, one which harmonized with the subject of the Epistle. Thus for the first Sunday after Trinity,

<sup>b</sup> i.e. from the 4th after Trinity onwards. Up to that time the object is to complete the course, begun at Easter, of the Catholic Epistles. The 5th Trin. is abnormal, going on with 1 Pet. The 18th is an after-thought, having long been a *Dominica vacans*, i.e. one which had no Gospel assigned to it because the Ordination, taking place usually the Saturday before, encroached too far upon it to allow of a second Missa.

<sup>1</sup> It is curious, and a relic of Jewish reckoning, that the Saturday Gospel is always *further on* in the Evangelist than that of the Sunday which follows.

the Epistle being from 1 John iii., laying down love to man as the test of love to God; the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (belonging in the Greek scheme to the twenty-second after Pentecost) is chosen to illustrate the doctrine. And so of the rest. Of the twenty-five Trinity Gospels, *every one* (see the table) is *exactly*, or with very slight variation of length, taken from the Greek scheme; which also supplies all the other Sunday Gospels but two, and those of twenty holydays besides. We see also, in the structure of the Greek scheme, the reason of the otherwise unaccountable fact, that St. Mark furnishes but two Gospels in our Sunday scheme: and even these are found in the Eastern. As regards St. John's Gospel, it will be seen that the West did *not* follow the Eastern habit of using the *historical* parts of it during Easter, but assigned them, more fitly, to Lent; and distributed among her Sundays in Easter the portions of our Lord's eucharistic discourse which the East allots to the last days of the season. The Greek Gospels, moreover, begin with "At that time," or with "Jesus said:" the Latin with one or both of these forms.

These things, it is submitted, all furnish incontestable proof of derivation. They serve at the same time authoritatively to expound to us the structure of our system. While, in the doctrinal half of the year, the Epistle is adapted to the Gospel or to the Season,—the servant following ever in the Master's steps; in the practical half, the Gospel is chosen to illustrate the teaching of the Epistle,—the Master still, according to the promise, "confirming the word" of the servant, "with signs following."

There is strong traditional confirmation of all this,

1. in the fact that Pope Damasus (384) certainly adopted *some* Greek usages<sup>k</sup> at the instance of St. Jerome; 2. in the floating belief in the West, embodied in the two spurious letters<sup>l</sup> ascribed to Damasus and Jerome, that the latter arranged the Scriptures for the year; but 3. above all, in the curious Lectionary, or Book of Epistles and Gospels, entitled the “Comes<sup>m</sup> Hieronymi.” The great antiquity of this book is certain, since it is mentioned<sup>n</sup> in the charter or endowment deed of a Church in France in 471. Its authenticity (i. e. its being St. Jerome’s) has been called in question; perhaps with reason. But of its genuineness and trustworthiness we have very curious evidence. It had been observed long ago<sup>o</sup>, and this had thrown discredit upon it, that the arrangements in it differ in several points from the Roman; as, for example, in giving Gospels for twenty-five Sundays after Trinity and five Sundays in Advent. But above all, (what I have not seen remarked on hitherto,) the scheme of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays after Trinity, and during Advent, is greatly at variance with the existing

<sup>k</sup> e. g. the Alleluia, (St. Greg., Ep. vii. 64); i. e. probably, a peculiar mode of singing it.

<sup>l</sup> In Hieron. Opp., t. v. 415, ed. Paris, 1706. They are visibly spurious, from the style of address, (see the Benedictine editors, in loc.); but they witness no less to the belief of later times.

<sup>m</sup> Printed in Pamelius, tom. ii.

<sup>n</sup> For the Charta Cornutiana, see Mabillon, Lit. Gall., Pref., c. 7. The *Preface* to the Comes, purporting to be St. Jerome’s, is probably spurious; but the early date of the book itself is confirmed by its contents. Thus it generally calls the Epiphany “Theophania.” Now this name is found in the Gelasian Calendar, circ. 492, and earlier; but had been superseded by the time of the Gregorian, circ. 600; (see the Calendars, Muratori, p. 46).

<sup>o</sup> By Amalarius, Berno Augiens., &c. See Pamelius, Prolegom. to the Comes, p. 2.

Roman order. But on comparing the Comes with the *English* in all these respects, we find that they *agree exactly*. The English scheme had Gospels for twenty-five Sundays after Trinity; it had also, practically, five Sundays in Advent; the twenty-fifth after Trinity having been called, in the Sarum Use<sup>p</sup>, the "Sunday next before Advent," and evidently belonging, in spirit, to that season. But above all, the Epistles and Gospels are, point for point, exactly the *same as in the Comes*, where the Comes and the Roman differ. It is evident that, at some early period, the Roman Church withdrew from the first Sunday after Trinity its proper Gospel, (the Rich Man and Lazarus,) which the Comes and English agree in having on that day. To supply its place she borrowed the Gospel for the *fourth* after Trinity. Into the vacancy thus made, she drew back the Gospel proper to the *fifth*, and so on to the end of the Trinity season. The consequence is, that the existing Roman scheme for this period is in dire confusion: the old combinations of Scripture are utterly disturbed; so that the Collect and other variables no longer correspond with them. In the English Use alone, the ancient order remains. And if ever a Revision is made of the Roman Use, it must be by return to the English order.

As to the Sundays in Advent, again, our Epistles and Gospels, differing widely from the Roman, agree perfectly with the Comes. It is further curious, that the Comes has Wednesday and Friday Epistles and Gospels for the Epiphany, Easter, and Trinity periods, and that the English has them also, (in Trinity for Wednesdays only,) and mostly, though not always,

<sup>p</sup> Miss. Sar.: "Dom. proxima ante Adv." It would seem to have been *also* called the 25th after Trinity, as it now is.

the same passages. All this the Roman Use has long ago lost: for that it originally had them is most probable from hence, that the Comes is essentially a Roman book as to the Festivals and other particulars; such as calling the Sundays "after Pentecost," and not, as the Sarum, "after Trinity."—It will be perceived that tradition thus tends to throw back the introduction of the Eastern Gospels into the West somewhat earlier than the time of Cassian's residence in France, (416—433,) ascribing it directly to SS. Jerome and Damasus, (380—420). Our investigations fully allow of this; and it has been observed<sup>a</sup> that from the time of Damasus the ecclesiastical writers first begin to refer to fixed lections from Holy Scripture.

But though these Fathers may have introduced the scheme of Epistles and Gospels, for the Collects the Church must be indebted to later hands. The phenomena presented by these absolutely require that they should be ascribed to persons of the date, and in the position, of Leo and Cassian. Among the characteristics of the Western Collect are, 1. its peculiar position, between the Gloria in Excelsis and the Epistle; 2. its reference, almost always plainly discernible, to both Epistle and Gospel; 3. its Leonine terseness and turn of expression; 4. its frequent allusions to the Pelagian controversy<sup>r</sup>. The two last characters are pretty decisive as to date. The first points, unquestionably, to the French and Spanish type of liturgy as direct parents of the Western Collect. It is not improbable, indeed, that the Roman rite had

<sup>a</sup> Joannes Beleth, (11th cent.,) ap. Pamel., Pref. to Comes.

<sup>r</sup> See the numerous collects for *Grace*, and supply of human weakness: as 4, 5 Easter; 1, 4, 9, 13, 15, 17, 19 Trin.

from the first had some prayer in this position. Thus the ancient rite of S. John Lateran<sup>s</sup> had the Lord's Prayer in this place: and this may have led<sup>t</sup> to the rule that there should never be more than seven collects, the number of petitions in that prayer. The famous Irish Missal has fixed intercessions here. But for a prayer varying with the day, we must recur first to the Syriac<sup>u</sup>; where the Gloria in Excelsis flows out into a mixed hymn and prayers of this sort: next, to the Spanish, where it approximated much more nearly to our Collect. On great Festivals that Hymn is expanded, with application to the season. Beginning, like the Collect, with hymn-like phrases, it terminates with proper petitions<sup>v</sup>. We have here a distinct state of transition from the more Eastern or hymn-like to the Western or prayer-like form.

One step, however, remained to be taken. These quasi-collects belonged not to a single day, but to a season, the same serving for all the Sundays in it. This practice, accordingly, survived in the English Church more especially: the Collects for Easter and

<sup>s</sup> Joann. Diacon., ap. Mabillon, Mus. Ital. ii. 566; Durand. iv. 37.

<sup>t</sup> So Micrologus, ap. Sala on Bona, iii. 112; and Sar. Rubric, Dom. I. Adv.: "Because the Lord in His Prayer instituted seven petitions only."

<sup>u</sup> Renaud. ii. pp. 5, 6: "A hymn for the solemnity, with intercessions: to these according to the season are added various prayers, hymns," &c.

<sup>v</sup> Thus on the Circumcision: "To Thee be glory, O Lord Almighty, Jesu Christ, whose praise is in heaven and earth: since to Thee in heaven 'Glory in the highest' is sung, and peace announced to men on earth. We pray Thee grant a *good-will* to Thy servants. Give Thy *peace* to us and to all people. Amen." In Advent: "God, who by angel-choirs, &c., dost announce 'Glory to,' &c., grant that peace may be restored to the earth." Easter: "We sing glory to Thee, O Lord God; and beseech Thy power . . . that as Thou didst vouchsafe to die for us sinners, and didst rise after the third day, so we may have perpetual joy in Thee, &c. Amen." See Leslie, Miss. Mozar., pp. 1, 221.



Trinity being repeated<sup>x</sup> on each Sunday in these seasons. But a legitimate development of the principle of the Spanish Collect—(the French Church had the same habit of expanding the Benedictus)—was to provide a collect or collects for each Sunday. This we may without much fear of error ascribe to the Cassiano-Leonine ritual movement. The Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Secreta, Communio, and Post-communio, were probably added about the same time.

Of the changes made by Gelasius (494) and Gregory (600), the successors of Leo in the work of revision, all that we know with certainty is that in Gelasius' time there were two collects<sup>y</sup> for each Sunday: of which Gregory retained but one, generally the first. It is most probable that Gelasius' scheme represents very nearly that of St. Leo<sup>z</sup>; the interval between these two popes being little more than thirty years. The single collect had evidently become the rule when Augustine introduced the rite into England.

There was yet one more beautiful and ornamental feature of the scheme, which appears to have been of purely Gallican origin, and which we unhappily have lost,—the Episcopal Benedictions<sup>a</sup>. It has been fully proved that these were not properly Roman, but were received by St. Gregory from France, and rejected, probably, by Pope Zachary, (742). Besides their

<sup>x</sup> Sar. Rub., Dom. I. Pasch., Dom. I. Trin.

<sup>y</sup> See, for instances, Muratori, *Sacr. Gelas.*, p. 687 &c., comparing the Gregorian, *ib.* 167, &c. Note, that the Gelas. Services I.—XVI. correspond to the Gregor. 6th to 23rd after Trin.

<sup>z</sup> Leo died 461; Gelasius succeeded 492. The so-called Leonine Sacramentary given by Muratori is little else than a *Commune Sanctorum*, containing very few great Festivals or Sundays. "The Sunday Collects," Muratori justly observes, "are far more beautiful and devout" than those for Saints' days; which are also very corrupt in doctrine.

<sup>a</sup> See above, ch. ii. p. 356, note k.

intrinsic beauty, their value to us is considerable, proving as they do, conclusively, that the English is the true ancient arrangement of the Gospels: the allusions contained in them being perfectly distinct, and always recognising the English order.

## SECTION V.

SUCH, then, is the history of the Eucharistic Office which St. Augustine introduced from the south of France into Kent. That it was the French variety of the Cassianic or Leonine rite that he imported, not the Roman, is incontestably proved by the English Diocesan Uses: the contents of which are, on occasion, utterly different from the Roman; while in very many particulars they are found to correspond with usages preserved in various French and Spanish Churches. The *imperative* rubrics are alone a proof of their independence and their relationship. Though, indeed, even as regards the *contents* of the rubrics, it may be safely affirmed that there is not one in the whole Office exactly agreeing with the Roman. Besides which, it contains, as we have already seen, curious rites quite peculiar to it, and derived probably through Cassian from the East.

Among the peculiarities of the English rite we may notice the *Veni Creator* at the opening of the Sarum<sup>b</sup>; the first kiss of peace; the name "*Officium Missæ*" for the Introit<sup>c</sup>; the bringing in of the elements after

<sup>b</sup> The York and Hereford deferred it to the Oblation: (Mask., pp. 64, 65). It would evidently be a very proper hymn in the present English Service, between Litany and Lord's Prayer.

<sup>c</sup> Sar., York, Heref. So also in the Churches of Ambrun, Glandéve, and of Normandy. "C'est nominé l'Office, parcequ' c'est par là que le

the Introit, (that is, during the Gloria in Excelsis, or at latest by the end of the first collect<sup>d</sup>); the ancient<sup>e</sup> use of an entire Psalm after the Epistle, (instead of the later Gradual,) retained in first Sunday in Lent and Palm Sunday. As we approach the Oblation and Consecration, the differences become more striking and interesting. In the Roman Use the "Bread and Cup" are "offered" separately, but in the English, as in the East, and as in the French, the Irish, and the Monastic Uses, *simultaneously*; as our own practice is to this day. A beautiful custom obtained in the York Use<sup>f</sup>, of the choir's saying to the Celebrant, at this juncture, "The Lord hear thee, &c., remember thy offering, and accept thy burnt-sacrifice<sup>g</sup>:" the other Uses and the Roman having a similar prayer at the Tersanctus, and at the words "Accept these gifts." The English Uses enjoin raising of the arms: as afterwards, before reception. Here, too, in some Sarum editions (as 1533) are special instructions as to whom the Celebrant is to remember in prayer: 1. himself; 2. father, mother, and relations, natural and spiritual; 3. friends and parishioners; 4. all pre-

chœur commence l'Office de la Messe." Le Brun, Explication, i. 161. In Mozar. it is "Ad Missam Officium."

<sup>d</sup> "Post introitum Missæ deferat panem vinum et aquam. . . Chorum licet ingredi usque ad completorium primæ Collectæ." (Mask., p. 34.) The elements were received by the Acolyte, and placed by him on the altar, and the corporal spread. *Ib.*, p. 36. All this is widely different from the Roman Use, where the Celebrant himself places all on the altar at the very first, and the corporal is not spread till the Creed: but agrees with the French and Spanish, (Le Brun, 306,) where also the elements are prepared and set on before the Gloria in Excelsis. *Miss. Moz.*, Leslie, p. 219; Neale, *Tetral.*, pp. 6, 22.

<sup>e</sup> So *Syr. S. James, Ren.*, p. 8, and the African.

<sup>f</sup> Also in French Churches in the ninth century: so Amalarius.

<sup>g</sup> Psalm xx.

sent; 5. all Christian people. These are interesting, from their plain practical character, and apply equally well to our own Office. The wholesome counsel is added, "Let him not, however, dwell too long herein, as well to avoid distraction," &c.

When we come to the Institution, our Uses with one accord enjoin that the Elements should be "lifted up<sup>h</sup>," in the manner of one offering a sacrifice, *at the words* "He took Bread and gave thanks," &c. Now this plainly recognises the true theory of Consecration, so often dwelt on in these pages: to wit, that it stands in the imitation, to the best of our power, of our Lord's Action and Words, such as we gather them from Scripture, from tradition, or from analogy,—not in the charm-like repetition of words only<sup>i</sup>, and those too viewed as our own words. The Roman Use, on the other hand, has no such direction as this, having, we can hardly doubt, purposely removed it for consistency's sake. For in her next rubric, and happily *in hers alone*<sup>k</sup>, she has, "He uttereth the *words of Consecration*, 'Hoc est enim Corpus Meum.'"

But now there follows the vast and crucial divergence of the two rites, dwelt upon elsewhere<sup>l</sup>, in that no English Use contains one word of the Roman order for the Celebrant to "kneel and worship the Consecrated Bread." All that is said is that it is to be lifted up so as to be seen by the people: and even

<sup>h</sup> Sar., Bang., York. "Elevet hostiam dicens," Heref.

<sup>i</sup> Maskell, p. 93, speaks of "the efficacy which the Church of Rome attributes, in excess, as he thinks, and erroneously, to the repetition of the Words of Consecration."

<sup>k</sup> The so-called Bangor in Maskell has a rubrical note, "Hæc sunt verba consecrationis," but it is the single exception, and doubtless properly Roman.

<sup>l</sup> See Introd., pp. 84—91.

this is confessedly of late introduction<sup>m</sup>. What has been now said of the Bread holds equally of the Cup; save that Rome has incautiously allowed the slight elevation of the Cup, before the words "For this Cup," &c., to remain in her rubric, thus witnessing unconsciously to the earlier arrangement.

The next variation of interest is in the gestures (of which the Roman has but few traces) enjoined upon the Celebrant and Deacon before reception, and described in a previous page<sup>n</sup>. It may be sufficient to remind the reader here, that they represent in all probability the ancient Jewish ceremonies of heaving and waving the parts of the sacrifice, both of animals and fruits of the earth, intended to be partaken of by the priest as representing God, or to be consumed on the Altar. As such they were a witness to the solemn verity of our being mysteriously allowed to furnish forth a Table for the Almighty: of the service offered to God through Christ by His Members being to Him as acceptable Food. These actions undoubtedly pertained, originally, to the oblation. They were left out altogether by our Revisers: and, though they were expressive enough, their quaintness is such, that we can hardly regret the omission of them.

The kiss of peace followed, with "Peace to thee and the Church;" (Rom. "to thee" only); and, if a Bishop was present, that peculiarly far-Western feature, the rich and beautiful Episcopal Benedictions<sup>o</sup>. The exact effect of these was to call down on the communicants, as such, and through the medium of Reception, particular blessings, evoked, as it were, from the Eucharistic Scriptures of the day: thus welding finally and inseparably together the "knowledge" of

<sup>m</sup> See Introd., pp. 84—91.    <sup>n</sup> p. 270, note p.    <sup>o</sup> Above, pp. 417, 356.

Christ, and the partaking of Christ, both of which are "life eternal."

The numerous discrepancies in the words connected with the *administration of the Elements*, not only between the Roman and English, but among the English Uses themselves, suggest a general remark as to the cause of all these inter-diocesan variations. The true history, then, of the Augustinian rite on English ground is plainly this. At first it had possession only of the southern parts: the midland, western, and northern regions having, as far as history informs us, been evangelized by missionaries from Ireland and Scotland<sup>p</sup>. These would bring with them an Office closely akin to the Augustinian, but yet distinct from it. For "the course of the Scots or Irish," says a writer<sup>q</sup> of the ninth century, "was derived from St. Mark: and being *brought to Gaul by Cassian*, and received into the monastery of Lerins, was used by Germanus and Lupus, (432,) who preached in Ireland and Britain<sup>r</sup>." The tradition preserved by this old writer is confirmed by the contents of the Irish Liturgy before mentioned. For though it exhibits the Roman Canon, it differs from Rome in many other respects<sup>s</sup>, and *agrees* with the far-Western Uses; as in offering the elements simultaneously: and has doubtless been assimilated.—If we go yet further back, to the Apostolic evangelization of this

<sup>p</sup> See this set forth with admirable clearness in Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Absps. of Canterbury," vol. i.

<sup>q</sup> Ap. Usher and Stillingfleet: v. Palmer, i. 177.

<sup>r</sup> Palmer considers that St. Patrick's rite was different from the British, and symbolized more with the Roman: but we do not know what his rite really was.

<sup>s</sup> Palmer, i. 183, who errs in thinking it originally identical with the Roman.

country, (which doubtless<sup>†</sup>, through whatever hands, really took place,) we find the probability to be exceedingly great that it was the Pauline Liturgy that was received. For to St. Paul, and to no other, can the planting of the West be on any reasonable grounds assigned. That his purpose, twice expressed, of taking his journey into *Spain*, and his hope of being brought on his way thither by members of the Roman Church<sup>‡</sup>, were both alike fulfilled, we have strong historical and documentary grounds for believing. It is affirmed by early writers; and the Liturgy of Spain is remarkable, among other Pauline affinities, for the coincidence of its words of Institution with those in 1 Cor. xi. Of the extension of his personal labours to Britain, however, we have no evidence. But that representatively, though not in person, he reached thither also, we have very curious and all but positive proof. It is at least remarkable, that the period assigned by the native historian Gildas for the evangelization of Britain, “before the victory of Suetonius over Boadicea,” which was about the eighth year of Nero, coincides with that of the liberation of St. Paul. But by whom did St. Paul act? Now of all the claims which have been set up<sup>‡</sup> to the personal evangelization of Britain, there is but

<sup>†</sup> We have the positive testimony of Eusebins, (a careful enquirer, as Collier observes,) that “some of the Apostles (which would apply to others beside the Twelve) sailed over to the Isles called the British.” He might have ascertained this, or the constant tradition of it, from Constantine, whose father was proclaimed emperor in Britain. Theodoret, again, makes Britain to have been converted in Apostolic times: “Our fishermen, and publicans, and *the tentmaker*, induced the Romans, &c., and Britons to receive the faith.” It is not true, however, as some have said, that he assigns Britain to St. Paul.

<sup>‡</sup> Rom. xv. 24, 29.

<sup>‡</sup> See Collier's *Eccles. Hist.*

one that can for a moment stand the test of enquiry, and which is also corroborated by independent and unsuspecting testimony. It is that of ARISTOBULUS. In the Epistle to the Romans, his household is saluted ; but not in any close connection with the Spanish journey. We have therefore no reason to suspect a fabrication, when we read in the Greek Menæa (Saints' Day Calendar) " that he accompanied St. Paul as his minister in his preaching throughout the world, and was by him sent to Britain as a Bishop, where he founded Churches and suffered martyrdom<sup>7</sup>." It is here said that he was *sent* to Britain, not that he went thither with St. Paul. Now this is singularly confirmed by the *Welsh Triads*. These "triple songs," or ballads, purport to be memorials and records of events in Britain from early times to the seventh century<sup>2</sup>. And there is no reason to doubt that, at whatever time they were put together, they frequently, like the so-called Apostolic Constitutions, embody genuine fragments of ancient history. They record, then, that Bran the "Blessed" or "Saint," first brought the faith in Christ into this Island, from Rome, where he had been imprisoned. This was, according to Tacitus, in the year 58 : just at the end of St. Paul's two years of imprisonment, as reckoned by Jerome and Eusebius. And the Welsh calendar names four who accompanied him : three of them Jews, but the fourth "a man of Italy, by name *Arwystli*." Now "the formation of this name from the Greek Aristobulus, is in perfect accordance with the analogy of the Welsh language<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, that he was the head of the mission, appears from his being

<sup>7</sup> Menæa, March 15.

<sup>2</sup> See the Ecclesiastical History of the Cymry, by Archd. Williams, ch. i. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *ibid*.



called, in the same document, "the spiritual instructor of Bran." All this accords marvellously with the Greek tradition. We have the name,—the "man of Italy,"—the imprisonment coincident with St. Paul's, from whom therefore the faith might have been received—the pastoral position. And the Greek and Welsh records are, as has been well observed, "wholly independent witnesses: collusion is out of the question<sup>b</sup>."

But further, not only the imprisonment but the release of St. Paul is coincident with that of Bran. The "journey into Spain" may well have been taken at this time, and Aristobulus with his company have been sent on, as the *Menæa* imply, to Britain. This would harmonize all the phenomena. And the Welsh records are no less remarkable for their moderation in *not*<sup>c</sup> ascribing the conversion of Britain personally to St. Paul, than for their testimony, however unconscious, to its Pauline origin. One of our most recent chronologers<sup>d</sup>, accordingly, names Aristobulus as the evangelizer of Britain.

We now hold, then, the clue to our old diocesan variations: and especially to those which concern the reception of the Elements. The *popular* features in a rite are these which are with most difficulty uprooted. And accordingly, when the Roman Church in the eighth century pushed her ritual conquests, as

<sup>b</sup> Archd. Williams's *Cymry*, p. 57.

<sup>c</sup> "Our native documents are silent as to the alleged arrival of St. Paul in Britain; the only hint of it is in the headings of certain Triads called 'Paul's,' but this only indicates that the British missionaries received some of their instructions from the Apostle at Rome." *Cymry*, p. 61.

<sup>d</sup> *Genealogies of Sacred History*, by the Rev. F. Martin, Chaplain to the Bishop of St. David's.

it is evident that she did, to the north and west, and imposed her Canon and much else, word for word, she found more than one variety of phrase in use at *reception*: and these she was unable to eradicate. We can only remark here on one or two characteristic terms. In giving the Cup, the York and Hereford, as also the Irish<sup>e</sup>, used the term “preserve unto eternal life” (*conservet*) in place of the Roman “keep or protect,” (*custodiat*); and this has been retained in both our formulæ. But it is far more curious that, in the York, the Bread was administered *before*, the Wine *after*, the words of reception; which were first said in two separate formulæ, and then in a conjoint one<sup>f</sup>. Now this, which is otherwise perfectly without parallel, is found to exist exactly in the *Spanish* rite: save only that the conjoint formula alone is used. This is absolute proof of the original affinity of the York and the Spanish rites; and a very strong presumption of the Apostolic and Aristobulian date of the former. It will be further observed that in the conjoint York formula, the Body and Blood have apparently distinct offices ascribed to them towards the body and the soul respectively. Now this is a very ancient distinction, and made much more clear in other liturgies, and (probably from the hint given in the York Use) in our own. The Syriac has “Grant that our bodies may be

<sup>e</sup> Sir W. Bethune, *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, p. 55.

<sup>f</sup> “Hic sumat Corpus, cruce prius factâ cum ipso corpore ante. Deinde ad [qu. et] sanguinem, dicens, Corpus J. C. sit mihi remedium, &c. Amen. Corpus et sanguis D. N. J. C. custodiat corpus meum, et animam meam in vitam eternam. Amen.” The Spanish: “Hic consumet particulas, et dicat. Ave, &c. corpus et sanguis,” &c., as in the York. Leslie, p. 7, Adv. Dom. It is to be observed that in another part of Leslie’s Ed., p. 233, the order is altered: no doubt under Roman influence.

hallowed by Thy Body, our souls made clean by Thy atoning Blood:" almost the very words of our Prayer of Access. The Armenian, "May Thy pure Body be unto me for life, Thy holy Blood for cleansing and pardon." The distinction is well founded and important. In the old sacrifices, the shedding of the *blood* was emphatically in order to reconciliation, by removing of unfitness and blotting out of guilt; while the presentation of the *body* was in order to mysterious incorporation or unification of the offerer with his sacrifice, and so to his actual admission to a nearer access to God: and the sacrificial eating and drinking, as e. g. of the shewbread and wine, was doubtless an enhancement of these two privileges severally. So Hilary the Deacon, (354): "For the Flesh of the Saviour was given for the salvation of the body, but the Blood was shed for our souls: as had been prefigured by Moses: for he saith, The flesh is offered for your bodies, but the blood for your souls <sup>g</sup>." While on the subject of the Prayer of Access, we may observe that the words, "Grant us *so* to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies," &c., which have been thought to imply that the Elements derive their character from the faith of the recipient, are clearly a rendering of the old Sarum prayer for the Celebrant <sup>h</sup> before reception, and, like it, assume that the Elements are already, in a deep mystery, the Body and Blood of Christ.

Lastly, the Sarum Use is distinguished from the Roman, and indeed from the other English Uses, by

<sup>g</sup> Dr. Pusey's *Catena*, p. 400, cf. Lev. xvii. 11.

<sup>h</sup> "Da mihi hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem *ita digne* sumere, ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum, . . . et pacem tuam habere." Sar., *Mask.*, p. 114: and *Mozar.*

having an act of final *thanksgiving* and prayer for profit from reception. This is remarkable, and indicates that the Sarum was enriched at some period from an independent source. Though, indeed, the marvel is that the West generally should be devoid of so becoming an action: the rather, as the Eastern liturgies abound with them. And when we come to examine the form provided, we cannot but be struck with astonishment to observe, that while it is totally unlike the thanksgiving of any other rite, it accords, almost word for word, with that of an obscure Mesopotamian Liturgy ascribed to St. Marutas<sup>i</sup> in the fifth century. It probably reached us by the hands of Theodore of Tarsus<sup>k</sup>, an early successor of St. Augustine in the See of Canterbury: to whom indeed other Eastern peculiarities of the English rite, such as the "waving and heaving," may be due. The thanksgiving, we observe, though singular in the Sarum, is in all other Liturgies plural, and probably was so originally in the Sarum also. It is needless to remark that we have retained and expanded, not invented, as some have imagined, this act of service. The Sarum was also peculiarly full in the acts of thanksgiving for the Clergy after leaving the altar; prescribing not only the *Benedicite*, as the Roman does, but also Ps. cl., *Nunc Dimittis*, and *the Lord's Prayer*. It was hence, doubtless, that at our second Revision the Lord's Prayer was introduced as a thanksgiving immediately after reception.

The Sarum form of our final Benediction, "The blessing of God," &c., has been already given<sup>l</sup>. To what ritual source, if any, the addition peculiar to us (from Phil. iv. 6) is due, I have been unable to dis-

<sup>i</sup> Renaudot, ii. 269. <sup>k</sup> See Neale, *Introd.*, p. 17. <sup>l</sup> Ch. ii. p. 353.

cover. It is perhaps a sufficient account of its selection, that the original refers specially to *Eucharistic Service*: "In everyting, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving (eucharist), let your requests," &c.,—a striking parallel to the highly eucharistic<sup>m</sup> passage, 1 Tim. ii. 1,—“and the peace of God which passeth understanding shall keep your hearts and minds by Jesus Christ.” It is however a remarkable, though no doubt accidental coincidence, that the Coptic S. Basil<sup>n</sup> has this closing “Benediction:” “Lord, keep them in the *love*” (the peculiar addition made in our form is “in the knowledge and *love* of God”) “that is above all things, and the peace that passeth all understanding.”

<sup>m</sup> See St. Aug., Ep. 149; Palmer, Diss., p. 138.

<sup>n</sup> Neale, Introd., p. 694.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ON THE STRUCTURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORDER FOR THE HOLY COMMUNION.



#### SECTION I.

THE true majesty of the Church's Eucharistic Ritual can only be apprehended by viewing it in its entire extent, and as gathering into it every other species of worship. In proceeding, therefore, in conclusion, to take a brief survey, which is all that can now be needed, of the actual Eucharistic Service of the English Church, I shall comprehend under it, and as a real and substantial feature of it, her ORDINARY WORSHIP. This, in accordance with the professed rule of the whole Church<sup>a</sup>, she never lays aside on her days of Eucharistic celebration. And it is most earnestly to be contended, that this secondary act of worship is not *prefixed* merely to the Eucharistic, but absorbed, as an enriching and most acceptable element, into it. Indeed, it must be said, that only on this view—that is, on the supposition that the Ordinary Service, the psalmody, the canticles, the hearing of Holy Scripture, and the devout descant upon it, are reckoned to the Eucharistic Ritual—can the existing condition of that Ritual throughout Christendom be justified. There *is* one Church—I believe there is but one<sup>b</sup> in the world—which *embodies* the Psalms at

<sup>a</sup> See above, Introd., p. 116.

<sup>b</sup> The Armenian; Neale, Introd., p. 384: "The first part of the Psalms for the day is sung by the choir." The rubric of S. Jas. (above, vol. i. p. 342) perhaps includes Psalms, but does not mention them.

large in her Eucharistic Office. Where then, in the Church generally, is that faithful use of "psalms and spiritual songs," at her highest act of worship, which St. Paul<sup>e</sup> so emphatically associates with it, unless the Psalms in the Ordinary Office be eucharistically used? Did Israel, in David's days, sing Psalms at their sacrifices; and shall the Church of Christ sing none, or but the merest fragments? So, too, of the reading at large of Holy Scripture, used of old<sup>d</sup> in the closest eucharistic connection. The Epistle and Gospel are indeed, especially as digested into the Collect, of singular adaptation to the eucharistic nourishment of the soul; but they were never meant to supersede those "large pastures" in which the Church fed at the first, and was meant to feed unto the end of time, at her high Festival.

Happily, in the English Church, there is no need, as elsewhere, to bring back the practice of linking together, *in point of time*, the Ordinary and the Eucharistic Service. But very great loss ensues, if we fail to give the former its due place on these occasions, as a real and important contribution to the sum of the service laid for acceptance upon the altar.

Having premised thus much, I would now ask the reader's attention to a Table in which the derivation of our Eucharistic Ritual from the older forms of the English Church is exhibited, including, in a brief summary, the Ordinary Office. For a fuller proof of the descent of the Ordinary forms from the older ones, the reader is referred to the former volume<sup>e</sup>. It will be perceived that the parallelism and derivation do not run so smoothly here, as in that instance.

<sup>e</sup> Eph. v. 19, 20; Col. iii. 16.    <sup>d</sup> Above, vol. i. p. 342.    <sup>e</sup> P. 288.

But this is easily accounted for. In both cases there were, in the original Revision of the older forms, only omissions, or additions and expansions made; the old *order* being retained, with the slightest possible exception, throughout. This has been substantiated, as regards the Daily Office, in the former volume. Nor did the subsequent Revision of *that* Office introduce any organic change, or such as to affect the conception or structure of the rite. The mere removal of the Confession, for example, to the beginning of the Office, does not amount to this. But the second and subsequent Revisions of the *Eucharistic* Office did involve real and organic disturbance of the existing order. That disturbance has been fully justified in the preceding pages; as being, in fact, only a return to the primitive order of the whole Church, and specially to that of the Western Church in very early days.

The organic change consisted, 1. in the entire rejection of all *memorial* action, after the consecration has, by due rehearsal of the Institutive Words and Action of Christ, been effected; and 2. in the removal of the post-consecration prayer,—allowed even by Roman writers to be perfectly unintelligible in that position,—for the “receiving up to the heavenly altar:”—both of which had been retained at the First Revision. The memorial action is thus thrown entirely on the prayer preceding the rehearsal: an arrangement which, if different from that of most Liturgies, is 1. that which least imperils the true theory of consecration acknowledged in the West, and really countenanced by the East also<sup>f</sup>; and

<sup>f</sup> Above, p. 196.



2. has the distinct concurrence<sup>g</sup> of the Spanish Office, a rite akin in so many respects to ours. As to the manner of making sacrificial memorial in the consecration prayer, it may suffice to remark, in accordance with principles traced out in the first chapter of this volume, that it is all *memorial*, and therefore all *sacrificial*. In this respect it is perfectly on a par with the old rite and with all Liturgies. Whether, as in our old form, we say, "We therefore, in remembrance of the Passion of Christ, offer;" or whether, as in our present one, we acknowledge, by referring to Holy Scripture, the duty of making such sacrificial remembrance, and so proceed to the rehearsal, can make no difference in the nature of the action. As to the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the Elements, it is, as is well known, external to the Canon<sup>h</sup> in the Roman rite, and so non-essential; and in the Sarum it had no place at all. It might be well that there were direct expression, both of memorial and invocation, in our present rite; but this is all that can be alleged. As to oblation, again, the *verbal* expression is thrown back entirely to the "oblation" technically so called, when the Elements are first placed upon the altar. But the fact that oblation *is* then expressly made, fully certifies to the sacrificial intent of the whole action. In respect both of this and the "memorial," therefore, if we desire, as reasonably we may, fuller expression, it is not from any shadow of doubt

<sup>g</sup> The single prayer after the rehearsal, varying with the day, and called the "post-pridie," is not one of "memorial," but either of oblation, or for profitable reception, or for the Descent of the Holy Spirit, as the case may be.

<sup>h</sup> At oblation, "Veni Sanctificator, omnipotens æterne Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium."

that can be entertained as to the nature of that which our Church designs to do, but only as being more *didactic*, and precluding misconstruction. And here too, as before, the ancient Spanish rite is, like our own, devoid of any express act of offering<sup>i</sup> embodied in the consecration prayer, or following (unless accidentally<sup>k</sup>) after it.

Another change made, but not one involving any principle, concerns the position of the intercessions. It will be found that the whole amount of variety between the old order and the new is this. Our present Use has borrowed from the old consecration prayer, for use in the oblationary and Church Militant prayer, certain intercessions; and *vice versâ*, from the old oblation prayers, for use in the course of the consecration prayer, certain words of "humble access."

A similar interchange (which indeed is natural, intercession being in place alike at oblation and consecration) we have already discovered on comparing the old Roman Office with S. Mark's, from which it is so largely derived. And it should be especially remarked that the "prayer of access," which has so often been commented on as out of place, is in reality only the expansion (see the table) of the opening words of a prayer in the same position in the old Office. The "Te igitur *supplices* rogamus et petimus" strikes in exactly where "We do not presume," &c., is found now, viz. after the *Tersactus*; and doubtless suggested both the position and the humble tone of it. It presents the same phenomenon of a complete prayer (ending with the usual pleading, and

<sup>i</sup> That is, of the words "we offer," &c., or the like.

<sup>k</sup> Above, p. 433, note g.

“Amen”) interrupting, as it were, the flow of the great Eucharistic “giving of thanks,” begun at the *Sursum corda* and already carried on to the *Tersanctus*. This is almost without precedent in the Church elsewhere: even the S. Mark’s intercession occurring *before* the *Tersanctus*. However, it has been the Roman and English Use from the beginning. And, remarkably enough, (for it is impossible to suppose any conscious imitation,) the turn given to this intercalated prayer in our Revised Rite, making it a prayer for profitable reception, finds an exact parallel, once more, and in the selfsame position, in the Spanish Office, “Be present, O Jesu . . . sanctify this oblation, that we may *receive* the sanctified things by the hand of Thy Holy Angel<sup>1</sup>.”

Another variation from the First Revision was the introduction, as an alternative, of a second form of thanksgiving (now placed first), making renewed tender of our sacrifice, and specially of self-dedication, after reception. But this is based (see the table) on a perfectly similar prayer used throughout the West in this position<sup>m</sup>. There is, therefore, no ground whatever for the strong prejudice entertained by many against

<sup>1</sup> Mozarabic, after *Tersanctus*, and just before the Institution.

<sup>m</sup> “Placeat tibi, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meæ, et præsta ut hoc sacrificium, quod indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile, mihi que et omnibus pro quibus obtuli sit, te miserante, propitiabile. Qui vivis et regnas:” (Sar. adds), “per omnia sæcula sæculorum.” The old *Ordines Romani*, as Maskell observes, in loc., do not contain this prayer; but it is nevertheless very ancient. It comes after the “*Benedicamus Domino*,” which was used on occasion (see Maskell, p. 139, note) instead of “*Ite, missa est*;” and is immediately followed by the final Benediction itself, “*In nomine Patris*,” &c., or in the Roman, “*Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus*.”—The Spanish has also “*Solemnia completa sunt; votum nostrum sit acceptum in pace*.” (Leslie, I. Dom. Adv., p. 55.)

it: as if it was incorrect to make any request for the acceptance of our service, after the rite is, as to all essentials, ended. We see that, on the contrary, though somewhat unusual<sup>n</sup> in the East, it is a Western habit so to do. And the exact thing of which the West has always made renewed tender in this position, is the spiritual sacrifice, the "bounden duty and service," (*obsequium servitutis*); a repetition, as nearly as possible, of the words used by her at the consecration itself: "*Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ accipias.*" And she has always added, as now with us, acknowledgments of unworthiness. All that our second Revisers did, therefore, was, 1. as in the case of the old Confession and Absolution, the Ten Commandments, and the second Lord's Prayer, to restore a feature which the First Revision had omitted; and 2. to expand the old materials. Hence, from the old oblation<sup>o</sup> forms and the memento, the words "Accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," (*hoc sacrificium laudis*): and from the Consecration, "We offer ourselves . . . a reasonable sacrifice," (*oblationem rationabilem*), "beseeching Thee that all we who are partakers, &c., may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction." The expression, "that we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission," &c., seems to represent the language of the old final prayer, "*omnibus pro quibus obtuli sit propitiabile,*" and the "*oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ Tuæ*" of the Canon. And the rest of the

<sup>n</sup> Yet comp. Syr. S. Jas. ad fin.: "*Deus qui suscepit oblationes Abraham, &c. . . suscipiat vestras.*" repeating, as the West does, the language of the oblation. And again, p. 26: "*Per sacrificium quod obtulimus hodie, placetur Dominus;*" nearly the Western words.

<sup>o</sup> Maskell, pp. 63, 84.

prayer is a literal translation of the words “non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ largitor,” &c., and of the great final ascription of glory to the Holy Trinity, with which the Canon concludes, and which is also repeated partly in the old final prayer; “Per Ipsum, et cum Ipso, &c. . . . per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.”

A similar account may be rendered of the other final prayer, retained in both Revisions, and confined to the two topics of thanks for the reception, and prayer for grace as the effect of it: and having, therefore, abundant precedent in the other liturgies<sup>p</sup>, as well as in the Sarum, from which it is in part translated. The other English Uses, and the Roman, are, strangely enough, devoid of any thanksgiving. The varying Post-communio supplied, however, a prayer for benefit from reception. The Sarum thanksgiving is probably due to Theodore of Tarsus, being curiously correspondent to one in a Syriac<sup>q</sup> liturgy used in Mesopotamia from the fourth century. Some of the terms of our present form are due (see the table) to one prescribed for private use in the Sarum: such as “we are very members incorporate in the mystical Body of Thy Son,” while the “blessed company of all faithful people,” and “continue in that holy fellowship,” are renderings of the old “intra quorum (Sanctorum) nos consortium admitte.”

On the whole, it will be perceived that the *language* of our present rite is throughout, in a far greater degree than has been hitherto recognised, that of the

<sup>p</sup> SS. Jas., Chrys., Mark; Copt., Ethiop., Gall., Goth., &c. See Bright's Ancient Collects, pp. 41—46, first ed.

<sup>q</sup> Lit. of S. Marutas Catholicus. See the form in Ren. ii. 268; and comp. Syr. S. Jas., fin.

older forms ; only with such change of application or position as has been above defined. The rendering is, on occasion, free and full, and bears throughout the stamp of those great masters of the genius of the English language, the translators of our Collects and prayers. For though the present *order* is that of the Second Revision, the language is almost entirely that of the First.

Among the less important features which call for notice, in respect either of order or substance, is the present title of the Office. The history of this is curious and instructive. The first serious change made in the old system was, as is well known, the provision (in 1548) of an English form for *communicating* the people ; including the Exhortation, Confession, the "Comfortable Words," and the final blessing. This was called "The Order of the *Communion* ;" the term being used in its proper sense. The rest of the Office, down to the Reception, remained untranslated and unaltered. When, then, the entire Office was translated and revised in 1549, this nomenclature was retained for the receptive portion ; the previous part receiving the name of "the Lord's Supper : " so that the whole title stood, "The Supper of the Lord, *and* the Holy Communion ; commonly called the Mass." Hence it is evident that, whatever foreign Reformers may have meant by the title "The Lord's Supper," our Revisers applied it to the consecratory part of the rite, as *distinguished from* the Reception. They meant by it all that the Church does, in reverent imitation of our Lord's action at His "Last Supper," down to the words "Take eat, and drink," &c. The term, therefore, by no means excludes, but rather draws attention to, the oblationary

and sacrificial part of the Eucharistic rite. In the second Revision, and ever since, "and" was substituted for "or;" thus—"The administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion"—the running title being, however, "The Communion." At the enlargement of our Catechism by Bishop Overall in 1604, this title was exclusively employed, and hence has come largely into use: undesirably enough, if it be taken, as too often it is, to set forth reception as the sum and substance of the rite. It is capable, to say the least, as has just been shewn, of a wider acceptance. And that the use of it by Overall did not proceed from his failing to recognise in the Eucharist a memorial sacrifice, is clear from hence, that he defines for us, as the very purpose of its Institution, "the continual Remembrance," or Memorial, "of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ." A sparing use of the term, with due recollection of its origin, is perhaps the course which its history tends to recommend to us. The title, HOLY EUCHARIST, on the other hand, was a special and almost exclusive heritage of the Ephesine Churches<sup>r</sup> in the West, while it is almost unknown to the Roman Use. If this and HOLY COMMUNION, then, be used about equably, we have a nomenclature expressing well the two parts of the great Action; the one describing our gift of ourselves in Christ to God; the other God's Gift of Himself, in Christ, to us. There is, apparently, no one term which can adequately express both<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Rubr. Sar., at "Entrance:" "Panem, vinum, et aquam, quæ ad ministracionem Eucharistiæ disponuntur." Pontif. Sar., in Maskell, p. 105, Concil. Dunelm., 1220, "consecratio Eucharistiæ." "Corpus Christi" is called in Hereford Use "Dies Eucharistiæ." So Lit. Gall., Mabill., p. 52. Rubr. Mozar., Leslie, p. 233, "Orationes post Eucharistiam."

<sup>s</sup> The Greek *λειτουργία*, the Latin *Missa*, both meaning a "public

The use of the Ten Commandments as an element of Eucharistic Service is the last point which calls for any remark. It is of very ancient, perhaps of primitive use in this country. It has been observed that an appeal to the Decalogue was a customary form of oath in the ancient British<sup>†</sup> Church: which indicates perhaps a eucharistic use of it. But however this be, the recitation and exposition of it was enjoined at least four times a-year in the middle ages, and down to the time of the Revision<sup>‡</sup>. Another practice of the English Church suggested its present place in the Service. On Festivals, the *nine* Kyrie eleisons were interpolated with invocations. This evidently suggested the interpolation of the Commandments, one after each of *ten* "Kyries," with the addition to each "Kyrie" of the words, "and incline our hearts to keep this law." This is not unlike the opening Litany of S. Chrysostom, which has also ten Kyries, with as many supplications between them.—The Collects for the Queen which follow were not, as some have sup-

service," are too general to be expressive. For I believe the latter is, notwithstanding the objections of Bona and Bingham, (xiii. l. 4.) an old word, *perhaps* connected with the Heb. *missah*, a free-will offering, (Deut. xvi. 10,) but common to the Teutonic languages in the sense of a portion, (Gen. xliii. 34). It had acquired the sense of "a festival" in the time of Charlemagne, (Aubépine, ap. Bingham.) The mere idea of "dismission" (to say nothing of the strange form "missa") is too negative to have given a name to the Eucharistic Office, and various other Offices of the Latin Church.

<sup>†</sup> Williams, *Antiquities of the Cymry*, p. 196: "Swearing by the Ten Commandments was the form of oath which the Christians first adopted in this country." (He refers to the Welsh Triads.) This would most easily arise, if the Decalogue was usually contained in the same book as the missal. Another object sworn by was the Gospel of St. John; and this we do find (in the Irish missal) bound up with the liturgy. Compare the Western habit of reading St. John i. 1—14, in the Sarum Use more especially; Maskell, p. 140, note.

<sup>‡</sup> See above, *Introd. to Part II.*, p. 116, note e.



posed, introduced for the first time with reference to the Commandments, which, as God's vicegerent she is to uphold. Two such collects, one of which furnished our second one, were provided in the Sarum<sup>x</sup> to make up the required number of collects. Until the last Revision this Collect *followed*, as of old, not preceded, the Communion Collect.

It may be observed, in concluding this Section, that there are two large portions of the Eucharistic Rite, to use which, detached from the rest of the Office, has been a widely prevailing custom throughout the Church. The one is the Litany. The other is the rest of the introductory part of the Communion Office, as far as the Oblation, or even beyond it; of course with the omission or modification of such features as are of the essence of actual Celebration.

1. As to the Litany. This is, emphatically, what may be called the mobilised arm of the Church's<sup>y</sup> Eucharistic Service. We are indeed, throughout the whole West, so familiar with it in its detached character, that we find some difficulty in realizing its eucharistic relation. But this is to invert, as has been shewn, the true order of conception about it; and it is also to miss, in the ordinary use of it, all its profoundest depths and grandest capacities. Whoever would enter fully into these, and use it with due apprehension of them, must carefully study it,—especially its solemn ninefold pleading of the several steps of the Economy,—in the light of the historical facts of its origination, as above investigated<sup>z</sup>. And

<sup>x</sup> *Memoriæ communes*, Miss. Sar. in fin., "Pro rege et regina."

<sup>y</sup> The East makes very free use of *her* opening and other litanies or *ectenes* both for the Daily Office and on other occasions. Comp. above, vol. i. p. 213, on the Theory of Ordinary Worship.

<sup>z</sup> Chap. ii. sect. 6.

the power of thus appreciating it on ordinary occasions will best be attained by habitually viewing it, when said in its proper place, as a *eucharistic litany* of the Incarnation, Passion, and Glory of Christ.

2. Again, as to the earlier part of the Communion Service proper. The use<sup>a</sup> of an *Office selected from the Liturgy* is of very ancient use in the Church, and is universal in the East, from whence no doubt the West derived it as early as the thirteenth century, or earlier. Not only in Egypt on Wednesdays and Fridays, but throughout the East, (the *Greek East*, certainly, and the Armenian Church,) is there used *every day*, either after the sixth or ninth hour Service, a very full Office, to represent the Liturgy<sup>b</sup>. This "Typicum" (which means, and is rightly rendered in the Slavonic<sup>c</sup>, "the likeness or *imitation*," scil. of the Liturgy) consists of the *Sunday Eucharistic Office* up to a certain point, viz. 1. Psalms 103, 146; 2. The Hymn "Only-begotten Son," corresponding to the Western Gloria in Excelsis; 3. The Beatitudes with responses, like our Commandments and responses; 4. Epistle and Gospel. Then, in lieu of the Eucharistic preface, and Tersanctus, another form of Tersanctus. Then the Nicene Creed, reminding us of the *Creed at Reception*, (p. 340). Then deprecation and Lord's Prayer, much as in the Liturgy, certain Hymns, and the *Psalm of Thanksgiving* after Communion, (Psalm xxxiv.)

<sup>a</sup> This and some following paragraphs were contributed by the writer to a note in p. 59 of the Rev. J. Purchas's "Directorium Anglicanum : " a work which if it had been really an "*English Directory*," would have been valuable, and not merely, as now, highly curious.

<sup>b</sup> Bona, Div. Psalm. c. 18, p. 904 : "Quibus additur *Typicum*, quod loco missæ recitari solet."

<sup>c</sup> See Neale, Hist. of H. E. Church, Gen. Int., p. 941.

The Armenian has a similar Office at Nones. The Egyptian Church, therefore, was not peculiar in having on Wednesdays and Fridays "all the Eucharistic Service except what was proper for celebration<sup>d</sup>." Neither is there *in the abstract* any possible objection to a Service so selected, provided it keeps a remote distance from the Liturgy. Ordinary Offices *always* borrow something, e.g. the Collect, from the Eucharistic; it is a question of degree how much they should borrow. The so-called Missa Sicca of the thirteenth and following centuries in the West, was simply such an abridgement as our own, only more extended: and, though abused, was probably at first as harmless as its Eastern parallel. It omitted the Canon altogether, except the Lord's Prayer, but *had* the Preface (which the East had not) as well as the T'ersanctus. The prayer of oblation was omitted, exactly as is ordered in our Book<sup>e</sup>. It is worthy of remark that it was our first and best Revisers who ordered the saying of the Office, "as far as the offertory," if there was no Communion; only however on Wednesdays and Fridays, or other week-days of observance<sup>f</sup>. It is most likely that they had the Eastern precedent before them, the Egyptian more especially; which, from so common a writer as Socrates, they might reasonably have.

This abridgement of our Communion Office, then, which has been the subject of much hostile criticism, has abundant precedent in the Church. The real objection is not to our possessing such a form, but to

<sup>d</sup> Socrates, l. c., ap. Bingham.

<sup>e</sup> Rubric to the Church Militant Prayer, "If there be no alms or oblations," &c.

<sup>f</sup> Rubric, end of Communion Office, 1549.

its being made a convenient cloak, as, to a fearful extent it has been, for laying aside Sunday and Festival celebration. So far as it has done this, no language of deprecation is too strong to be applied to it. But this, it must be remembered, is the fault not of the rite, but of the administrators of it. The English Church, at the time of her Revision, had received from the middle ages a melancholy inheritance of inveterate unfrequency of Communion on the part of the people. After a futile effort<sup>g</sup>—the first instance of such an attempt for more than a thousand years—to secure the attendance of weekly communicants in every parish in the land, permission was given to use on Sundays also—what had hitherto been provided for week-days only—the abridged Office. The only case, in short, in which that Office was recognised at the first,—and the only instance in which it ought to be tolerated now,—is when, *after every endeavour made*, communicants cannot be obtained.

## SECTION II.

ALL that now remains is briefly to pass under review the contents of our Eucharistic Office, seen in the light of the preceding investigations.

In entering upon the Ordinary Office, then, when Celebration is about to follow, we shall recognise in Psalm or Hymn<sup>h</sup>, if such there be, sung as a prelude

<sup>g</sup> Viz. by the rubric of 1549 at the end of the Office, requiring the parishioners in turn to provide for the Elements, and to receive.

<sup>h</sup> Of the lawfulness of either in this place there is no doubt: it was, in truth, with a view to their use before the Service proper, that those at the end of the Prayer-Book were first authorized by the Injunctions of Elizabeth. And on Festivals it seems most fitting so to use them.

to it, the true key-note of the great "Sacrifice of Praise" that is to follow. The CONFESSIO and ABSOLUTION, which lie at its threshold, will be to us the first washing of the feet<sup>i</sup>, as of "priests unto God," about to enter on preliminary ministrations of service; leaving yet more solemn preparation, for closer access, to be made hereafter. The LORD'S PRAYER, which follows, will be our first act of priesthood as adopted first-born<sup>k</sup> sons, privileged to reflect the glory of the FATHER. And from this point begins the heaping up of our sacrifice upon the altar. The PSALMS, first of all, start forth into eucharistic life, and become instinct with sacrificial meanings and mysteries. They are no longer merely so much Sacred Song, uttered by earthly voices: they blend, through the supernatural medium of the Offering about to be made, with the worship of Angels; and will be carried up, in that Offering, with all their freight of love and penitence, of Redemption memories and Resurrection hopes, to the very Holy of Holies.—The hearing of Holy Scripture in the LESSONS, again, now becomes many ways intensely eucharistic. It is the "sanctifying of ourselves through the 'Truth,'" studied and digested at large: it is the taking in of Christ, as the Wisdom of the Father, pervading all Scripture, into the substance of our spiritual being. The First Lesson will command our special attention, as being the only form in which the Old Testament is presented to our eucharistic meditation; the Second, as part of that "Gospel" whose funda-

accordingly: as, e.g. on Sundays, "Morn of morns," (Dies dierum,) or the like. We thus restore the ancient hymn of the West, after the Venite, to nearly its ancient place.

<sup>i</sup> Above, p. 262.

<sup>k</sup> P. 144, note h.

mental mysteries were first unfolded in the great Institution Discourses. The Canticles, the *Te Deum* especially, and the Creed, are the vocal rendering back to God, in a rich volume of *Tersanctus* and *Trisagion* praise<sup>1</sup>, of His Divine Attributes as He is in Himself, and of His wondrous Work for man; both alike recorded in Scripture.—The second Lord's Prayer and the third Collect, as features of the old Prime Office, serve to the gathering up of the day<sup>m</sup> and its works for presentation on the altar: while the other two Collects, one of them specially for eucharistic "Peace," and both caught as live coals from the altar to kindle our devotions on ordinary days, now presage the coming Mystery, and serve to fuse our entire Service into one living and glowing whole of heavenward Sacrifice.

And now, with high-voiced "anthem" or hymn, as appointed<sup>n</sup>,—whether we regard this as the lingering among us of the old *Benedictus* Antiphons, or as anticipating the old Introit, both of them songs of the Incarnation, and in the tone of the *Gloria in Excelsis*,—the Service passes from its Ordinary into its Festival and Eucharistic phase.

The Litany is the first feature of eucharistic ritual proper. In order to use it aright, we need to gather up its old eucharistic and ritual associations<sup>o</sup>. These will give intenser force to the first mighty burst of supplication, "O God, the FATHER, of Heaven,"—"PATER, *de cælis*, Deus;"—that Heaven whence the Son

<sup>1</sup> For this distinction see ch. ii. sect. 8, p. 337.

<sup>m</sup> Comp. S. Mark, first prayer, "Grant us to spend this holy day without sin;" and the *Te Deum*, "Vouchsafe, O Lord," &c.

<sup>n</sup> "In choirs and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem." Rubric after Third Collect.

<sup>o</sup> Above, ch. ii. sect. 6.

comes, bringing the Father and the Holy Ghost to dwell with us, and we with Them. In the deprecations—our embolismus—we shall recall, with a deep sense of our Lord's Presence now as then, those primary temptations of the Devil, in the hour of the Supper and the Institution, under which the Twelve all more or less stumbled, and one was lost: praying intensely for deliverance "from all evil, from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the Devil; from everlasting damnation; from pride, vain-glory, hypocrisy, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness; from all deadly sin, from the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the Devil." Our ninefold pleading of the Acts of the Economy will be quickened by the thought of the symbols of the Incarnation, already perhaps in view, or shortly to be so; and the whole awful drama of Redemption will begin to rise before our eyes. All our intercessions, in all their breadth and variety, will be poured forth with the intense earnestness of those who have even now brought their pure Sin-offering ("Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us Thy peace") to "the door of the tabernacle of meeting" with God, that His Blood may be tremblingly but with full faith applied to the horns of the altar<sup>p</sup>. Or if the Litany be not appointed for use, we have still a sevenfold array of supplications; or, including the Lord's Prayer and prayer for Purity, ninefold<sup>q</sup>, for all needs of all men. In the "Grace of our Lord," &c. we have the old Eucha-

<sup>p</sup> Ch. i. p. 246.

<sup>q</sup> Comp. the seven or nine prayers (above, p. 321) in S. James: our seven are, for the Queen, the Royal Family, Clergy and People, all estates of men, the Thanksgiving, Prayer of S. Chrysostom, "the Grace, &c."

ristic benediction serving as a link between the Litany and celebration.

For now we advance a step nearer to the Heavenly Presence;—the *Veni Creator*, as in the Sarum Use, or some like hymn for sanctification, accompanying us thither. The Eucharistic LORD'S PRAYER<sup>r</sup>—His Own Vestibule to His Own Holy Temple—will be pregnant indeed with meaning in this its ancient position. It is specially to be viewed as a solemn request to be admitted to our Father's House by the Divine ministry of the Incarnate Son Himself, now, as of old, waiting upon us in lowliest guise, in the person<sup>s</sup> of His ministers, to wash our feet, to soothe our penitential sorrows and fears, to enlighten our ignorance, to sanctify our whole being, to carry us in very deed, though in deepest mystery, in the accepted Gifts of His Own Body and Blood, into that glorious Presence and Home; finally, to "break" to us, in our still abiding estate of orphanhood here below, "the bread of mourners," and pour for us "the cup of consolation." The COLLECT FOR PURITY, again, it must well be borne in mind, is not for purity only, in a general way; but for that high degree of it which may enable us "worthily to magnify," or, as another form<sup>t</sup> expresses it, "to assist worthily at the divine mysteries, and be admitted into the Holy of Holies." It is purity for sacrificial work that we ask for: we invite as it were the keen edge of the sacrificial knife, to lay all bare and open, as of old, to Him, unto

<sup>r</sup> Chap. ii. sect. 4.

<sup>s</sup> St. John xiii. 20, just after the washing of the feet, "That ye should do as I have done to you. . . . He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth Me."

<sup>t</sup> The York, Maskell, pp. 8, 16; Roman, *Præparatio ad Missam*. See above, ch. ii. sect. 4.



Whom all hearts, desires, and secrets are known. It is "Lord, is it I?" that each one addresses here to his present Lord. And well do the old "Kyrie Eleisons," or "*Lord have mercy upon us,*" interweaving with the dread Law of Sinai, the TEN COMMANDMENTS, carry on the work of scrutiny; of unveiling all, and bewailing all, before the All-seeing Eye. (Comp. Heb. iv. 12, 13.)

The preliminaries are now over. The actual preparation for Sacrifice and Sacrificial Feast begins. The elements are in view:—of old, in our Church, they were at this point with much solemnity brought in. The Introit preluded, the Gloria in Excelsis announced their advent. And still at this juncture will thoughts of the Incarnation crowd thick upon the soul. We have put away for the time even the thought of our own unworthiness: we are with the "herald angels" of Bethlehem; or with Him Who said, as at this juncture, in His Eucharistic Action, "Now is the Son of Man glorified; . . . and God shall straightway glorify Him." The spirit of the Gloria in Excelsis, "Glory to God on high, and on earth peace, good-will to men," broods still, in virtue of the presence of the elements, over the transition from the "new commandment"<sup>u</sup> which is the fulfilling of the law, to the wider unfolding of Christian mysteries in Eucharistic Scriptures.

But now these angelic harpings, and these echoes of Christ's Own Words concerning His Own glory, are dying down into those still hymn-like prayers,—the wondrous COLLECTS of the West. How the long-drawn-out "pneuma"—the lingering pulsation—of the Gloria in Excelsis, first took, in far Eastern and

<sup>u</sup> Compare at every step our Lord's Action: see ch. ii. sect. 4, fin.: see also the table at the end of this chapter.

far Western rites, the tone and colour of the high Festivals;—how afterwards, meeting the elaborate Gospel and Epistle system of the Greek East, it was wrought up into a weekly descant and prayer founded upon them<sup>x</sup>, need not be repeated here, save to quicken our sense of how gifted as well as how nobly-descended a thing our “Collect” is; how profoundly related, as having come forth out of the bosom of the Gloria in Excelsis, to the whole Economy;—for its address, how lofty and soaring;—for its prayer, how intense and concentrated.—In obedience to Apostolic injunction, the English Church has ever<sup>y</sup> been wont to add here a Collect for the King or Queen, that so earthly “peace” may prepare the way for heavenly.

The Eucharistic Scriptures follow. To believe intensely in the Presence of Christ speaking in them, preaching “Peace” by them, imparting Himself as “Wisdom” through them, and so “sanctifying us through the Truth” as to be meet for offering ourselves in the coming Sacrifice, is the counsel we gather from the history<sup>z</sup> of their origin and upgrowth in the Church of God. The herald Servant announces in the EPISTLE, the Master Himself expounds more exactly in the GOSPEL, the particular aspect under which He will on each occasion “be made known to us in breaking of Bread.” The Feast has begun to be spread, and, in the form of Divine knowledge, to be partaken of. The old Alleluia after the Epistle, our own “Glory be to God on high” before the Gospel, bespeak our joyful belief that “the marriage of the Lamb is come,” and we already are among “the blessed who eat bread in the kingdom of God.” Our surest guide, perhaps, to profit by these Scriptures, is to think of

<sup>x</sup> Above, ch. iii. p. 416.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 441.

<sup>z</sup> Ch. ii. sect. 7.

them as holding the exact place of the great Eucharistic Discourses of our Lord. In this point of view, it is not without significance that at one of them, the Epistle, by ancient custom, we literally “*sit* and eat,” as those who are at a feast, and as the Apostles did during part of those Discourses. With yet greater fitness do we, at the reading of the Gospel itself, obey the ancient liturgical injunction, “Wisdom: stand up;” based, it may be, on the words of Christ on the very verge of the Institution, “As the Father gave Me commandment even so I do; *Arise*, let us go hence;”—in which posture, viz. standing, the rest of the Discourse was listened to by them.

The Eucharistic CREED should be used, 1. with clear remembrance<sup>a</sup> of how our Lord unfolded it to the Apostles, for the first time, before the Institution; and how earnestly He strove, and at length prevailed, to draw from them the mighty and saving “We believe;” 2. as a hymn-like ascription to God of His Own Redeeming Work, no less than as an expression of belief in it.

If the Creed is followed by the Bidding Prayer, the rationale of this should be borne in mind; viz. that the announcement of Gospel *peace* is an argument to pray for it, as that prayer is specially meant to do<sup>b</sup>. A few notes of the organ, or a hymn, will supply for us here the much-to-be-regretted loss of the old Alleluia. THE SERMON, the one feature of the Office which is not ruled by prescript as to its contents, will of course most properly be on the theme of the Eucharistic Scriptures; including in that term those of the Ordinary Office. We have seen that this feature is characteristic of the far Western<sup>c</sup> or Pauline Rite, to

<sup>a</sup> Above, ch. ii. sect. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. ii. sect. 7, p. 333.

<sup>c</sup> Ch. iii. sect. 3.

which we claim such close affinity : and the thought may well animate the eucharistic preaching of our clergy with an invigorating sense of ritual descent, in this respect, from the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

But now, our sanctification through the Truth completed, the great sacrificial Action to which we are called draws on apace. Whatever of materials for that Sacrifice we have accumulated now ;—whether the preceding acts of Divine Service ;—or, “ on the First Day of the week, as God hath prospered us,” a free-will offering of our hand,—“ free ” as to the amount, but bounden as to the thing ;—or the labours and events of the week ; (and all the week long, be it remembered, we have been in God’s sight, like the shew-bread of old, as those dedicated to Him, and looking to be actually offered ;)—whether thanksgiving for mercies,—the ancient “ vows ; ”—or sorrow for sins, the ancient sin-offering,—only using Christ’s better Sacrifice as its plea ;—or “ wholly given ” offerings of body, soul, and spirit,—the old personal burnt-offering ;—or the material elements for the celebration ;—all this has now to be made solemn tender of, by the placing the elements on the altar, and by the OBLATION of them.

The mind and the duties belonging to the “ Oblation,” as distinguished from those pertaining to Consecration itself, will best be understood by reference to what is said above <sup>d</sup> of the ceremonies which accompanied the bringing of *personal and congregational sacrifices* to the door of the Tabernacle. The “ gift,” we there learn, must be “ whole ” and entire without reservation ;—there must be great faith in the power of the ordained medium, however simple, to operate

<sup>d</sup> Ch. i. sect. 16, init.

sacrificially on our behalf; a “laying of our hand” upon it, so commissioning it to present us in Christ to God; and a sense of the blessedness of being allowed thus to offer ourselves. And, what though our offering be “bloodless” now, we must realize, as truly as if with our own hands we took, as of old, the life of an innocent creature, that our oblation is based, memorially, upon an awful and most guilty Blood-shedding: our sins having been direct and real accessories to the slaying of Christ.—And if our faith is backward to recognise, in the humble and familiar media of bread and wine, the channels of such lofty mysteries, and craves rather the more awing ceremonial which gathered round the animal sacrifices; then let the old “meat” or bread offerings, but above all the Shewbread, be our teachers. From thence we may learn<sup>e</sup> that bread and wine did, even more effectually than the private victims, perform of old the functions of a personal sacrifice, and especially the one now under consideration,—the acceptable presentation therein of man to God, through their “memorial” identification with the one great Sacrifice of the Covenant.—Let it be borne in mind, too, that this act of Oblation is an act of the whole Church; it is a congregational no less than a personal sacrifice, that is brought and tendered for acceptance. As the mystical Body of Christ it is that she lays herself on the Table of Shewbread and the Altar of Burnt-offering.—Further, as the elements have been all along the symbols of the Incarnation and Passion of Christ, so now do we desire no less than that they should, in a mystery, be to us the Body and Blood of that Passion. As, in the Economy of Redemption, our human nature was

<sup>e</sup> Ch. i. sect. xi. pp. 185—189.

wondrously privileged to furnish that Substance which the Son of God “took” and offered for the life of the world, so in the Eucharistic Economy does the Church furnish that which shall be to her the Body and Blood of her Lord. Very much in place here, therefore, are the old post-memorial prayers;—which indeed, as it should seem, stood originally in this position (p. 394):—

“We have set before Thee, O Lord, of Thine Own gifts<sup>f</sup>: on behalf of all and for all we offer Thee Thine Own out of Thine Own<sup>g</sup>: . . . . . (S. Jas.)  
Send down upon us<sup>a</sup> and on these proposed gifts presented unto Thee, Thy Most Holy Ghost, to bless them and sanctify them, and to make<sup>i</sup> this Bread and Wine truly the Body and Blood (Arm.) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; so that they may be to us who partake of them for remission of sins, for sanctification of soul and body, for bringing forth good works. (S. Jas., S. Mark, &c.)”

Some leisure for these and similar prayers, such as the old “Secretæ<sup>k</sup>,” is generally afforded by the act of placing the elements on the altar.

<sup>f</sup> S. Mark and Rom., τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν: “de tuis donis ac datis.”

<sup>g</sup> S. Chrys., S. Bas., Arm.; all after the Institution. This is clearly from 1 Chron. xxix. 14, ὅτι σὰ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δεδώκαμεν σοί: said of the offerings of the people towards the service of the sanctuary, ver. 7: the sacrifices following afterwards, ver. 21.

<sup>h</sup> So some English Uses had both the “Veni Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita,” &c., and the “Veni Sanctificator, benedic hoc sacrificium.”

<sup>i</sup> For a full investigation of the sense of this and similar expressions in the liturgies, the reader is referred to the Introduction to this Part: especially pp. 17—25.

<sup>k</sup> The single and fixed prayer of oblation was originally so called (Amalarius, ninth cent., De Off. Miss., c. 20) from *secernere*, ‘to set apart.’ The purest and best Western “Secreta” is, by the admission of Bona, the Hereford and Gallican; (the Sarum is disfigured by late corruptions): “Receive, Holy Trinity, this oblation which we offer to Thee, in Remembrance of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and grant that it may come up with acceptance in Thy Presence.” Maskell, p. 57.

The OFFERTORY, however important, is of course but one feature in this act of divine charity, in which we are so wondrously privileged to “give,” even to God, gifts redounding to His glory, and really acceptable to Him for Christ’s sake.

The existing form of our Oblation (at the beginning of the Church Militant Prayer) follows the ancient model<sup>1</sup> in its humble expression, and in desiring, though in brief phrase, that our gifts, as well as our prayers, may be carried up into the Presence of “the Divine Majesty,” and laid (and we in them) on Christ’s heavenly Altar. And, though now we use not material incense, it is still, as of old, by the True Incense, His Intercession, that we look to have our Offering enter within the Veil, into the Holy of Holies. All old “prayers of incense,” therefore, are in place here.

But now, seeing it is only as a Unity, and as One Body in Christ, that the Church can be accepted; therefore do we pray intensely in this place,—as all the West in the earliest ages prayed, and still does on one day of the year,—as Christ Himself prayed at His great Oblation,—for the Unity of all in One. To this purpose is the prayer, “FOR THE WHOLE STATE OF CHRIST’S CHURCH MILITANT HERE IN EARTH,” offered *here*. And we may note here a clear distinction between the three great intercessions embodied in our Eucharistic Office. The first, the Litany, is mere though intense deprecation of evils, and supplication for good. The second, the Bidding Prayer, the Gospel litany of the Eastern forms, is a special supplication for *peace*. The third, now before us, is for *unity*. The difference is important. *Peace* is, strictly, but

<sup>1</sup> See the Table.

a negative thing; the absence of discord, whether between us and God, or between man and man. But *unity* is a high positive gift, carrying in it, especially when the medium of it is the Divine Manhood of Christ, unspeakable blessings. Peace is properly the foundation, Unity is a separate and more advanced benefit.—The remembrance here made of the departed is another note of difference, and of course completes the rounded unity of the Church's presentation of herself in all her parts and members. And it may be remarked, that it was apparently with a view to such presentation, and with no other intent, that the remembrance of the departed was originally made in the Liturgies. The very ancient Syriac thus "remembers" them, (beginning with Adam and Eve, and including the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles,) in closest connection with the *oblation*<sup>m</sup>: making no request whatever for them, but simply presenting them with the Church, as its members at rest. It is further on, and in connection with much evidently late matter, (such as requests for their intercession,) that a prayer for their rest and felicity is preferred<sup>n</sup>. This liturgy also refers to the apostolic injunction "to remember those who have had the rule over us, and have spoken unto us the word of God," as the ground for the practice of such eucharistic remembrance of the departed.

The kiss of peace was of old associated with the Oblation. Our EXHORTATION, occurring at this point, discharges the same function now: and it may be doubted whether any more effectual means for the end in view has ever been employed in the Church. It covers, however, much more ground than this; summing up all the other means of preparation for

<sup>m</sup> Renaud. ii. p. 16.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid., p. 17.



the Holy Communion. And it closes with an earnest and stirring invitation to join in the other branch of the Service, the impending act of "Thanks" or Eucharist, and Sacrificial Memorial:—an invitation not unlike those of the East in the same position, just before the "Sursum corda." "Let us love one another;" "salute one another with an holy kiss: let those who cannot communicate go forth and pray outside." "Now, ye ministers, lift up your voices and with one heart bless the consubstantial Godhead." "Christ is in the midst of us; stand we well; stand we with fear: let us take heed to offer the holy Offering in peace<sup>o</sup>."

And that it may indeed be "in peace;" that we may present the holy Offering acceptably, and "receive the holy Sacrament to our comfort;" the Church brings forth once more, out of the "treasure of things new and old" committed to her, the healing and cleansing remedies of CONFESSION and ABSOLUTION;—her *Sin-offering*<sup>p</sup>, so that none may draw near to bring his burnt-offering and his peace-offering in a state of condemnation for wilful sin against the Covenant;—her "washing of the feet" in the mighty Laver of the Blood of Christ, ere her "priests unto God" go in to the Holy Place to offer with the frankincense of prayer their reasonable sacrifice of themselves as "the Bread of their God," and to eat of "the Living Bread which cometh down," in the dread Feast, "from heaven."

Let it be clearly understood that our Confession and Absolution is this; neither less nor more. When we fix our faith on the One Sacrifice of Christ, for

<sup>o</sup> S. Chrys., Armen.; Neale, *Introd.*, pp. 455, 456.

<sup>p</sup> See above, chap. i. sect. xvii. p. 257, &c.

the forgiveness of actual sins unfitting us for His Presence in the Sanctuary, and specially for His Eucharistic Presence, and the absolving word is pronounced to us by His Priests, we as truly present a "sin-offering," and are released of our disabilities thereby, as they were of old who brought a "kid or lamb," laying their sin upon it, to be neutralized by the holiness of the priests who partook of it, and obtaining reconciliation by its consumption on the altar. But, on the other hand, this degree of cleansing still leaves that perfect "remission," which is required for our entrance into Heaven itself, "and all other benefits of the Passion," to be realized by the offering and partaking of our Peace-offering.

The "Comfortable Words," which ensue, are, it will be remembered, in position and significance, what the threefold Aaronic and later Christian Benediction were to those who drew near to the sacrifices of the Law or the Gospel. They represent, 1. "The Lord bless you and keep you," &c.; 2. Our Lord's own threefold "Peace;" 3. "The love of the Father . . . the grace of the Son . . . the gift of the Holy Ghost," in the Liturgies.

With **LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS** begins the great Action. But why, let us ask, this peculiar yet universal exhortation? Is it merely because God's especial abode is in Heaven? They who have the Lord's Prayer for their pattern need not to be reminded of that. No: it is not on the general ground of our blissful relation to God, as our Father, but on the particular one of our orphanhood and separation, here below, from our Father's House. To that House, as of old, the Son designs, in this solemn Feast, to bring us, His brethren. More especially, our great CON-

TINUAL SACRIFICE is offered there evermore; it is towards this, for the sake of this, that we are to "lift up our hearts." We must not, as some have done, so fix our thoughts on what is about to be transacted on earth, as to make that the centre of our aspirations, instead of the means of drawing them upwards. Heaven, it is true, is about to stoop to earth; but it is a far more leading view, that earth is about to be lifted to heaven, "where Christ sitteth at the Right Hand of God," offering continually His Sacrifice of Himself. To be lifted by our sacrifice into union therewith, and so to be borne into the Holy of Holies, is the aim of the whole action considered as a Sacrifice.

The words LET US GIVE THANKS, with the answer, "It is very meet . . . to GIVE THANKS," furnish, again, the dominant idea of the *eucharistic* action. The words IN ALL PLACES mark the catholicity, foretold by Malachi, of the "pure offering" of the Gospel. The Jewish forms had only<sup>a</sup> "at all times." The West suffers a great loss in having no commemoration here, except in the Proper Prefaces, of the Acts of God from the Creation of man to his Redemption. The Western enumeration of Angelic orders is also comparatively brief. More particularly, the form which we have retained, out of three<sup>r</sup> used in the old Office, does not contain either Cherubim or Seraphim. For these, therefore, as well as for "the Heavens and all the Powers therein," we are thrown back upon the

<sup>a</sup> Ch. ii. p. 293.

<sup>r</sup> 1. Ideo cum angelis, &c. 2. Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Cœli cœlorumque virtutes, ac beata Seraphim, &c. 3. (Trin. Sunday.) Quam laudant Angeli atque angeli, Cherubim quoque et Seraphim. This last was retained for Trinity Sunday in the 1 Edw. VI., "Whom the angels," &c.

Te Deum ; which, indeed, bears some marks of having been developed out of a Western Proper Preface, perhaps for Easter Day<sup>s</sup>. The thought of the Seraphim is important, because the TERSANCTUS was made known to man as their act of worship in particular ; of the Cherubim, for the same reason, and because man is actually in some mysterious way included in them<sup>t</sup>.

The leading thought, in joining in THEREFORE WITH ANGELS AND ARCHANGELS, &c., is not merely that there is a community and oneness of worship between heaven and earth,—the Jewish forms<sup>u</sup> would testify to that,—but that all this worship is gathered into Christ the INCARNATE WORD, and is offered in Him. For “He has gathered together all things in One, both which are in heaven and which are on earth ; whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers<sup>x</sup>.” All these are now, spiritual though they be, “very members incorporate in the Mystical Body ;” and their worship is offered by them as such, and through Him as their Head. So one of the old forms : “*Through Whom* Angels praise Thy Majesty, Dominions adore, Powers tremble, the Heavens and all the Powers of the Heavens, and the blessed Seraphin.” The Eastern and the Jewish forms greatly multiply the *terms* of the Angelic praise : e. g.

“They cry one to the other with incessant voices and perpetual praise, singing, vociferating, glorifying, crying, and saying.” (S. Mark, &c.) “They are all lovely, they are all fair, . . . and they bless, and extol, and strengthen, and make holy, and make king, the Name of the strong God ; and answer and say, Holy, Holy,

<sup>s</sup> Comp. the Mozarabic Preface for Easter Day, which is closely parallel. But certain of the Gallican Prefaces, published by Messrs. Forbes and Neale, are closer still.

<sup>t</sup> Isa. vi. 1 ; Rev. iv. 8. See above, p. 221.

<sup>u</sup> Chap. ii. p. 295.

<sup>x</sup> Eph. i. 10 ; Col. i. 16.

Holy, O Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory."  
(Jewish Service.)

After the *TERTIUM*, a pause is made in the great act of "Thanks." Struck with awe, as it were, at the greatness of our enterprise, we make here our lowly *PRAYER OF ACCESS*, "We do not presume, &c.;" desiring that we may so receive the gifts now being offered, as to be to our everlasting profit in body and soul<sup>7</sup>. Then the Church takes up again the thread of her consecratory "giving of thanks," in the *PRAYER OF CONSECRATION*. It is here that she makes, according to the Commandment, over<sup>2</sup> the gifts of Bread and Wine, her "Memorial" or "Remembrance" of the great Economy, and specially of the "One full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction, made by Christ's One Oblation of Himself once offered." This—not the Oblation, not the prayer after Reception—is her act of Sacrifice. As regards the earlier steps of the Economy, her commemoration *here* is, like that of the West generally, very brief: "Which didst *give* Thine Only Son." The East, especially S. Basil<sup>a</sup>, is very full on this head, and may well furnish us with matter to fill up privately the brevity of our form. Meanwhile, the Western Litany, by its pleading of the Economy step

<sup>7</sup> For the terms of this and subsequent prayers, and their derivation from the old forms, see the Tables, and remarks on them, at the end of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> The Rubric (of 1662) provides for this: "When the Priest, standing before the Table"—doubtless facing the East—"hath so ordered the Bread and Wine," &c. Comp. Syriac, p. 16: "We, according to His divine precept, now make commemoration *over this Eucharist* which is set before us."

<sup>a</sup> Familiar to English readers as being given at length in Jer. Taylor's *Holy Living*, p. 302.

by step, nobly and profoundly supplements the Consecration Prayer in this particular, and in some degree accounts for its brevity. So again, it will be well, as has been already said, for greater fulness' sake, to supply here (as time allows) the old Western form, used after Consecration, or some similar one: "We therefore, having in remembrance the blessed Passion of Thy Son our Lord and God, as also His Resurrection from the dead, and His glorious Ascension into Heaven, do make here, with these Thy gifts, the Memorial which Thy Son hath commanded us to make." Let us also well remember, pursuant to the Exhortation before the "Sursum corda," and to the tenor of the whole action, to give thanks for, as well as commemorate, these great Acts. Nor yet to give thanks for them only, but to present them, as our plea, to God the Father. So shall our sacrifice be, in its degree, even as His, and bring into operation on our behalf those once-wrought and ever-during mysteries of His Death and Resurrection. Even so did they, who of old brought their peace-offering and their burnt-offering, effectually present and plead thereby the great Covenant Sacrifice, and receive all the benefits purchased for them by the great Moriah Sacrifice, and by the lamb of the original Passover.

And again, whereas our prayer truly says that "our Lord made *there*" (upon the Cross) "a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice,"—yet may we not separate in our conception that Consummation of the dread Offering by the Death of the Divine VICTIM, from the Offering of It by the same Divine Person as PRIEST. The Offering at the Supper, and the Offering on the Cross, form together one great timeless Transaction of all-prevailing Sacrifice.

And now the Church's part, as touching the Offering, is, in strictness, accomplished. In what follows—that is, in the commemoration and rehearsal of our Lord's Action at the INSTITUTION—it is properly (as has been before explained<sup>x</sup>) Christ Himself that acts and speaks. The Church assists once more, as she did of old in the person of the Eleven Apostles, at the Sacrificial Action of a Divine High-Priest. He it is that, as “on the same night that He was betrayed,” “takes Bread,” and, by His “giving of thanks,” offers<sup>y</sup> it to God the Father, and in so doing offers also His Body, identifying, in a deep mystery, the one with the Other: and the Cup in like manner. He it is that announces the accomplishment and acceptance of the Sacrifice: “This is My Body, which is evermore being given (*διδόμενον*) for you; My Blood which is in a mystery evermore shed (*ἐκχυνόμενον*) for you and for many, as the Blood of an everlasting<sup>z</sup> Testament, for the remission of sins.” He it is, lastly, that recalls to our recollection His Own parting injunction, in virtue of which we “do” all these things, and offer this our Memorial Sacrifice, “Do this in Remembrance of Me.”

And now, when all this is accomplished, let us not doubt that there has been offered for us and by us,—for us, by our Head as Son and Priest; by us, as His Members, and as sharing His Sonship and Priesthood,—a great and prevailing Sin-offering, and Burnt-

<sup>x</sup> Above, chap. i. p. 194.

<sup>y</sup> “Looking up to heaven, and *showing* it to Thee, His God and Father, He gave thanks, and hallowed, and brake, and gave.” S. Jas.

<sup>z</sup> Comp. the Western Canon at Institution: “This is the Cup of My Blood, of the new and everlasting Testament; the mystery of faith.” It proceeds, less happily, “which *shall* be shed.”

offering, and Peace-offering, of the type which we discern in the Mosaic system, and redounding to perfectly parallel, but infinitely higher benefits. The great continual "Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction, once offered," and evermore presented, is indeed in Heaven, and not here: even as the lamb, identified with the once-offered Isaac, lay evermore upon the *inaccessible* altar of the Tabernacle. But our True Aaron has come down from His lofty sacrificial seat at the Right Hand of Power, "the Right side<sup>a</sup> of the Altar of Incense," and has "accepted at our hands that which we have brought," even a "meat-offering and drink-offering unto the Lord our God," and has presented them for us. These, through "the Eternal Spirit<sup>b</sup>," by which He at the first "offered Himself without spot to God," He has made to be unto us, by contact with His One Sacrifice, His Body and Blood. The Things offered on earth, and the Things offered in Heaven, are now, for all sacrificial purposes, one and the same. "By the hand of His holy angel," yea, by His Own Hand, as "the Angel of the Covenant," He has caused them to come up, according to our prayer, "unto the Divine Majesty," on the heavenly Altar. On the Incense Breath of His Mighty Intercession, they have been borne in to the

<sup>a</sup> St. Luke i. 11. The north or *right* side (the Presence being westward) was the side of sacrificial power: here the burnt-offerings were killed, (Lev. i. 11); here the Table of Shew-bread placed. The north is still the "Gospel" side, the side for "procuring peace by Jesus Christ;" still the "side" at which the earlier part of our Office is appointed to be said; and should this be held to extend to the *oblation*,—a point I do not feel competent to offer an opinion upon,—it would be analogous to the offering and slaying of the victim at the door, as compared with the actual sacrifice on the altar. The consecration, from the "Sursum corda," should doubtless be in the midst of the Holy Table or Altar.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. ix. 14.



Holiest Place : yea, He Himself, as on His great Day of Atonement, and at His Glorious Resurrection and Ascension, has, with His "holy, pure, spotless, and immortal Hands," *carried* them in thither. They are now even as that Sacrifice, and represent all that it wrought for us.

And the resultant of this is, that all which that Sacrifice did for man at the first, is evoked for our benefit now. The Blood of the dread SIN-OFFERING for the whole congregation issued once freely forth, and now, sprinkled "seven times," i.e. with all-cleansing power, before the Presence, opens "the way" into the Holy of Holies. Once more is the pure Body laden with our sins, as when it was "burnt without the gate," enduring the wrath of Almighty God.— And next, the way thus opened, our BURNT-OFFERING has been accepted also. It partakes of all the acceptableness of the One Sacrifice. Christ, and we in Christ;—such is our memorial Burnt-offering; how should it not be "well-pleasing<sup>c</sup>" to God? It is "a whole Burnt-sacrifice, of a sweet savour unto the Lord." But it may be asked, are we not already "accepted in the Beloved," in virtue of our Baptismal ingrafting into His Body? Doubtless we are: but, besides that that union may be made closer and closer still continually, it must be borne in mind, that our being is one of continuousness and growth. Every week, and day, and hour of that being needs fresh dedication, fresh acceptance. It is not the same, but an ever new self that we bring from time to time to the altar<sup>d</sup>. Therefore do we, at the oblation, gather

<sup>c</sup> Lev. i. 4; above, p. 237. See Jer. Taylor, quoted above, vol. i. p. 178.

<sup>d</sup> "New treasures still, of countless price,  
God will provide for sacrifice."—CHRISTIAN YEAR.

up that which we do and are, for presentation. So were all Israel grafted indeed, by birth and circumcision, into the mystical sphere, personal and local, provided for them. But the land brought forth continually; there were ever fresh harvests and vintages, and herds and flocks, to be sanctified and acknowledged with thanksgiving; an ever newly realized and enjoyed estate of privilege to be remembered before the Lord thrice in the year. And the Mystical Body of Christ "groweth" in like manner, not only by the addition of new members, but by the growth attained, the spiritual development realized, by each member and by the whole. In respect of this new growth it is that we are presented anew continually; these fresh spiritual harvests it is, these victims, feeding evermore in new spiritual pastures, that become "the Food of our God."—But, once more,—such is the wonderful variety of gifts enwrapped in a Divine and *Immortal* Sacrifice,—we have also offered herein, and God has accepted, a PEACE-OFFERING. Of old time it was impossible that the powers of the burnt and peace-offering should really concur in one subject. That which was "wholly" offered and consumed could not redound to a common Feast for God and Man. The *eaten* gifts, shew-bread, pass-over,—though the one was *reckoned* as "an offering made by fire," and the other was "roast with fire,"—could not really be whole offerings, as well as peace-offerings. But our Sacrifice, though as a Sin-offering and Burnt-offering wholly consumed, yet survives gloriously to be partaken of as Shew-bread, Passover, and Peace-offering<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> See above, chap. i. sect. 19.

Let us well remember, therefore, while the Service proceeds, those things which the nature of those offerings requires.—It is a Passover: and the nature of that offering admonishes us to remember well our bitter bondage and spiritual service to the Devil, from which Christ delivered us.—It is Shew-bread: as priests unto God, and also as being in a great nearness to Him in that Shew-bread, let us with holy care present ourselves, now and all our life long, as “Bread of Presence,” seeking to be received by Him. Be we to Him in His House, the Church, by the grace of Christ, as pleasant Food, as grateful Odours; and, by His Spirit, as the Light of the Pure Candlestick in His Eyes.—It is a Peace-offering, shared awfully between us and God: let us take heed that God’s Portion be such as He can accept of. That Portion, even ourselves and our “reasonable service,” let us by an act of faith lift as a “heave-offering<sup>f</sup>” towards His Heavenly Table; let us see that as a “wave-offering” it cover the whole breadth and length, and depth and height, of our being. Let there be as of old, 1. All *bounden* thanksgivings, mental and material, with the “tenth” at the least, of our substance, and liberal distribution to all needs. 2. Performance of vows made in the day of trouble. 3. Largeness of heart to give “to our power, yea, and beyond our power.”

Thus will the consideration of the old Sacrificial distinctions part for us into threefold,—or, reckoning in the shew-bread and the passover, the meat-offering and the personal sin-offering, into sevenfold hues,—the pure “white light” of our Eucharistic Offering. And thus, privileged unutterably “to give unto God

<sup>f</sup> Above, ch. i. sect. 19.

of His Own," let us turn to the yet more inconceivable privilege of receiving of His Own from God.

For in the HOLY COMMUNION lies the consummation of all. Even the act of Offering involves some degree of Communion, healthful and sustaining to the soul. But the matter of *spiritual life and death* is suspended on this, that we "eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood." The rational and spiritual being which we offer to God will waste and die, or, however, will cease to have any capacity or fitness for being so offered, and thus the whole aim of life will be frustrated, except it be filled inwardly with God. Only as it is *saginatus Deo*, can that fresh growth made by a rational creature, of which we have just been speaking, be fit for His Presence. His Divinity must mingle with our humanity in the innermost tissues and recesses of its being: and this, by Divine law, can only come to pass through sacramental *participation*.

The awfulness, the blessedness of such participation, there is the less need to dwell on, as this side of the mystery is done full justice to in our Office, and has been admirably set forth by our Divines. Yet, as our Church provides no public formulæ leading up to the Reception, it may be well to point to those of old time\* as a storehouse whence we may draw for private use; specially the "prayers of bowing down," in the Eastern forms. They will assist us in realizing the awful yet gracious Presence of the Great Priest and of His Sacrifice: we shall pray that "He that sitteth above with the Father, and here unseen is present among us, will by His Mighty Hand give us

\* As the variable "Communion" of the West; but specially the Episcopal *Benedictions*, which may be found as above, p. 356, note k.

to partake of that most holy Body and precious Blood." The old "Sancta Sanctis" hymn or exclamation, with its short earnest Creed, will remind us of the intense holiness of the gifts, and of the need of like holiness for worthy reception, (pp. 373—375).

The WORDS OF ADMINISTRATION, inferior, at least in the earlier part, to none in use throughout the Church, will suggest by their first clause the two ideas of Sacrifice and Communion: "1. The Body . . . Which *was given* for thee; the Blood which was *shed* for thee, . . . 2. *preserve* thy body and soul." The other clause has at least the recommendation of impressing anew the duty of making a *memorial* act of *personal priesthood*, when receiving the Bread or Cup, in the apostolic manner,—which the English Church alone retains,—*into the hand*: "Take and eat this, . . . drink this, . . . in *remembrance*," &c. This exhortation may well be responded to by a mental act of presentation and memorial. And the closing exhortation to thankfulness ("and be thankful, . . . feed on Him in thy heart with thanksgiving") is at any rate in full harmony with the *thankful* spirit which so largely marks the close of our liturgy.

The media for expressing that thankfulness,—the LORD'S PRAYER, the two prayers of THANKSGIVING AND DEDICATION<sup>b</sup>,—all time-honoured instruments for this purpose in our Church,—and the GLORIA IN EXCELSIS, have been largely dwelt upon in the course of this work, and especially in this chapter. The former of the two prayers is peculiarly full in desiring acceptance of our act of reasonable service just accomplished; joined to a desire to abide in that attitude

<sup>b</sup> For the derivation of these prayers from the old forms, see above, sect. ii. pp. 436, 437.

towards God. The latter idea is, however, far more fully rendered in the second prayer, which thus makes distinct and beautiful provision for that continual dedication of ourselves to holy living, which is the only true preparation against the next high Day of Sacrifice and Spiritual Feast, be the same, as God shall see fit, in earth or in Heaven; in Shadow and Sacrament here, or beyond the veil, and “fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.” But it commences, besides, with a full and hearty act of thanksgiving.

Again, putting out of view the loss involved in the removal of the Gloria in Excelsis from its proper place, none can fail to be alive to the fitness and beauty with which its mingled strains of triumphant praise and reiterated pleading, wound up with the ascription of all honour to Christ, as ever glorified with the Father and the Holy Ghost, closes up our great action of Eucharist and Pleading, of Festal Joy and Sacrifice.

And now only remains that “the Priest, or Bishop if he be present,” representing the Pastor of Pastors, Who gave His Life for the sheep, dismiss us with old Apostolic words of Blessing and Peace. Both the “Peace” and the Blessing, be it borne in mind, of old *preceded* the reception, and were understood to be *imparted* by it. And they are still to be viewed in closest connection with it. There has been a flowing forth of Christ Himself, through the channel of His Own highest Ordinance, to flood our souls with a “Peace of God which passeth all understanding.” And now the prayer is that this heavenly Peace, this divinely given estate of security from spiritual evil, may *keep*<sup>i</sup>,—guard, and maintain, as for God,—“our hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of Him.”

<sup>i</sup> φρουρησει, Phil. iv. 7.

Surely these words carry us back to that blissful state of ignorance concerning evil, and of both knowledge and love of God, and to that fearless and happy abiding in His Presence, which man enjoyed in Paradise, and his restoration to which was the aim of all Sacrifice, and all Communion<sup>k</sup>. They bid us greatly believe that for them who, through this Holy Ordinance, “are in Christ, and Christ in them,” there is already “no more curse;” but, instead thereof, restored and enhanced “knowledge, and love, and peace.”—And then the Threefold Benediction, to the effect that “the Blessing of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost may abide with us *always*,” points us on to a yet higher consummation. It will not always be the day of penitential approach, of Access and Communion through material veils. “The first heavens and the first earth,”—even the redeemed and sanctified heavens and earth,—will pass away: the first and the second Paradise will alike be forgotten. They who “enter in through the gates into the CITY,” will “see no Temple therein, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the Temple of it;” and “they shall see His Face, and His servants shall serve Him,” and eat of Angels’ Food for ever. Amen.

<sup>k</sup> Above, chap. i. sect. ii. p. 15.





## SYSTEM OF GOSPELS IN EAST AND WEST.

<i>Gospels.</i>	<i>Greek Church.</i>	<i>English Use.</i>	<i>English Variations.</i>
Matt. i. 1—25	Sund. bef. Xmas.	Christmas Day	Sar. om. 19
18—25	Christmas Day	Christmas Eve	Exact (Sar.)
ii. 13—23	1 Sund. Christmas	Holy Innoc.	E. om. 18, &c.
iv. 1—11	1 Sat. Epiph.	1 Lent	Exact
18—23	2 Sund. Pent.	S. Andrew	E. adds 23
v. 20—26	2 Sund.	6 Trin.	Exact
vi. 14—21	Quinquagesima	Ash-Wed.	om. 14, 15
22—34	3 Sund. Pent.	15 Trin.	E. om. 22—28
vii. 15—21	2 Tues.	8 Trin.	Exact
24—viii. 4	3 Sat. }	3 Epiph.	E. om. vii. 24, &c.
viii. 5—13	4 Sund. }		Exact (Sar.)
23—27	2 Thur. }	4 Epiph.	Added 1 Edw. VI.
28—34	5 Sund. }	19 Trin.	Exact
ix. 1—8	6 Sund.	St. Matt., Sep. 25	Exact
9—13	St. Matt., Nov. 16	24 Trin.	Exact
18—26	6 Sat. Pent.	3 Adv.	E. om. 11—14
xi. 2—10	4 Mond.	S. Matthias	E. adds 25, 26
27—end	4 Thurs.	5 Epiph.	Exact
xiii. 24—30	6 Tues.	17 Sund.	Exact
xv. 21—28	17 Sund.	2 Lent	Exact
xvi. 13—19	St. Pet., June 29	St. Peter	Exact
xviii. 23—35	11 Sund. Pent.	22 Trin.	adds 21, 22
xx. 1—16	9 Wed.	Septuagesima	Exact
xxi. 1—13	Palm Sund.	1 Adv.	E. om. and adds
xxii. 1—14	14 Sund. Pent.	20 Trin.	Exact
15—22	13 Sat.	23 Trin.	Exact
34—46	15 Sund.	18 Trin.	Exact (Sar.)
Mark ii. 41—52	Circumcision	1 Epiph.	E. om. 41
vii. 31—37	4 Sat. Lent	12 Trin.	Exact
viii. 1—10	16 Frid. Pent.	7 Trin.	E. om. 10
Luke v. 1—11	18 Sund.	5 Trin.	E. adds 1
vi. 36—45	20 Tues.	4 Trin.	E. omits 43—45
vii. 11—17	20 Sund.	16 Trin.	Exact (Sar.)
viii. 4—15	21 Sund.	Sexagesima	Exact
x. 25—37	25 Sund.	13 Trin.	E. adds 23, 24
xi. 14—23	23 Thurs.	3 Lent	E. adds 24—28
xiv. 1—11	30 Sat.	17 Trin.	Exact
16—24	29 Sund.	2 Trin.	Exact
xv. 1—10	9 Wed.	3 Trin.	Exact
xvi. 1—9	26 Thurs.	9 Trin.	Exact
19—31	22 Sund.	1 Trin.	Exact
xvii. 11—19	29 Sund.	14 Trin.	Exact
xviii. 9—14	33 Sund.	11 Trin.	Exact
31—34	27 Thurs. }	Quinquagesima	Exact
35—43	31 Sund. }		
xix. 37—44	28 Mond. }	10 Trin.	E. om. 37—40, 48
45—48	28 Tues. }		
xxi. 28—33	29 Thurs.	2 Adv.	E. adds 25—27

<i>Gospels.</i>	<i>Greek Church.</i>	<i>English Use.</i>	<i>English Variations.</i>
Luke xxiv. 12—35	Easter Tues.	East. Mond.	E. adds 12
36—end	5 Easter	East. Tues.	E. om. 49, &c.
John i. 1—17	Easter Day	Christmas Day	E. om. 15—17
18—28	East. Mond.	4 Adv.	E. om. 18
ii. 1—11	2 Mond. East.	2 Epiph.	Exact
iii. 1—15	1 Thurs. East.	Trin. Sund.	Exact
16—21	2 Tues. East.	Whit-Mond.	Exact
iv. 46—53	3 Mond. East.	21 Trin.	Exact
vi. 5—14	5 Wed. East. }	4 Lent	E. adds 1—4
viii. 42—52	5 Mond. East. }	25 Trin.	Exact
52—59	5 Tues. East. }	5 Lent	E. om. 42—45
x. 16—21	St. Luke, Oct. 18	St. Luke, Oct. 18	E. has 1—7
xiii. 1—end		Maund. Thurs.	(Sar.)
xiv. 1—12	6 Frid. Easter	SS. Philip & James	E. adds 12—14
15—21	6 Sat. Easter	Whit Sunday	E. adds 22, &c.
xv. 1—11	Maund. Thurs.	St. Mark	
12—16		St. Barnabas	
17—end		SS. Simon and Jude	
xvi. 2—13	Tues. Asc. }	1 Asc.	E. om. 1, 4, &c.
15—22	Wed. Asc. }	4 Easter	E. om. 3
23—end	2 Thurs. Asc.	3 Easter	E. adds 14
xvii. 1—end	2 Frid. Asc.	5 Easter	Exact to half ver.
xx. 19—31	Sun. Mg. off. (9th)	Vig. Asc.	(Sar.)
xxi. 14—end	Sun. Mg. off. (10th)	6 Easter	Exact (Sar.)
		St. John Evang.	(Sar.) om. 14—18

## SYSTEM OF EPISTLES IN EAST AND WEST.

<i>Epistles.</i>	<i>Greek Church.</i>	<i>English Use.</i>	<i>English Variations.</i>
Rom. vi. 3—11	East. Eve	6 Trin.	Exact
18—23	4 Sund. Pent.	7 Trin.	E. om. 18
viii. 14—21	5 Sat.	8 Trin.	E. adds 12, &c.
x. 1—10	5 Sund.	4 Trin.	
xii. 1—5	7 Sat. 5 Mond.	St. Andrew	E. has 9—end
4—14	6 Sund.	1 Epiph.	
16—end	5 Mond.	2 Epiph.	E. adds 15, 16
xiii. 1—7 } 8—10 }	8 Sat.	3 Epiph.	
xv. 1—8	7 Sund.	4 Epiph.	
1 Cor. i. 3—9	11 Sat.	1 Adv.	E. adds 11, &c.
iv. 1—5	14 Sat.	2 Adv.	E. om. 3, adds 5
x. 5—12	8 Tues.	18 Trin.	E. om. 3, 9
xv. 1—11	12 Sund.	3 Adv.	Exact
2 Cor. vi. 1—10	16 Sund.	9 Trin.	E. adds 1—4, 13
Gal. iv. 1—5	15 Thurs.	11 Trin.	Exact
22—26	Sept. 23, Jo. Bapt.	1 Lent	Exact
Eph. ii. 14—22	24 Sund. Pen.	1 Christmas	E. adds 6, 7
iv. 1—7	25 Sund.	Sept. 23, Jo. Bapt.	(Sar.) adds 21, &c.
7—13	1 Epiph.	S. Thomas	E. om. 14—18
v. 8—19	1 Mond. Pent.	17 Trin.	E. om. 7
vi. 10—17	27 Sund.	St. Mark	E. adds 14—16
Phil. i. 1—7	19 Mond., Tues.	20 Trin.	
ii. 5—11	Nat. B. V. M.	3 Lent	E. om. 7, &c.
iii. 8—19	20 Frid.	21 Trin.	E. adds 18—20
Col. i. 1—6	31 Sat.	22 Trin.	E. om. and adds
iii. 4—11	29 Sund.	Palm Sunday	Exact [20, 21
12—16	30 Sund.	23 Trin.	E. om. 8, &c. adds
Heb. i. 1—12	1 Sat. Fast	24 Trin.	E. om. and adds
ix. 11—14	5 Sund. Fast	Easter Eve	(Sar.) 1—4
		5 Epiph.	E. adds 17
		Christmas Day	Exact
		5 Lent	E. adds 15

# COMPARISON OF ANCIENT AND REVISED OFFICES.

OLD ENGLISH RITE.	REVISED ENGLISH RITE.	EASTERN PARALLELS.
<i>Ordinary Office.</i>	<i>Ordinary Office.</i>	
Prime Lauds Matins	{ Ps. xcvi. . . . .	Syr., Jewish Sabb. Eve.
	{ Psalms . . . . .	The East, Ap. Const.
	{ Lessons . . . . .	Ap. Const. Just. M. [S. Jas.]
	{ Canticles . . . . .	
	{ Lord's Prayer . . . . .	
{ Creed . . . . .	} The East.	
{ Collects, Prayers . . . . .		
<i>Eucharistic Office.</i>	<i>Communion Office.</i>	
Hymn, <i>Veni Creator</i>	(Elements present)	[Rom. Omn.? Syr., Copt., Moz.,
Litany (Sar., Lent) . . . . .	Anthem or Hymn <i>ad lib.</i>	S. Chrys., S. Mk., (3 prayers).
[The grace of (S. Tierce)] . . . . .	Litany	S. Chrys. <i>end of Litany.</i>
[Introit] . . . . .	Prayer of S. Chrys. . . . .	[S. Chrys. before "Sursum corda."]
Prayer for Purity } . . . . .	The grace of . . . . .	(Omn. anc.) Syr., Nest., Moz.
Introibo } . . . . .	{ Lord's Prayer	Syr., Jewish.
Lord's Prayer } . . . . .	{ Prayer for Purity	<i>Omnes</i> (Rom. in sacristy.)
Conf., Absolution . . . . .	[See below]	S. Jas., Syr., Moz.
Kiss of Peace . . . . .		Syr. ( <i>init.</i> ), Moz.
In the Name of Father, &c.		Rom. <i>init.</i>
Incense		S. Jas., Syr. S. Mark, Ap. Can.
Two candles on altar . . . . .	[Injunc. Edw. VI.]	Syr. <i>init.</i> , Ap. Can. "oil for lamp."
Introit (ter.) . . . . .	[Introit, 1 Edw. VI.] . . . . .	S. Chrys. (ter.)
Kyrie eleisons 9 . . . . .	{ Lord have mercy, 10 times	S. Mark (9), S. Chrys. (10).
Invocat. between (Fest.) } . . . . .	{ Supplications between, &c.	S. Chrys., S. Mark, prayers between.
[10 Com. Pulp., 13th cent.] } . . . . .	{ 10 Commandments	S. Chrys., Sund. 8 Beatitudes.
Elements during the		Anc. S. Jas., S. Mark, Chrys.
Gloria in excelsis . . . . .	[Glor. in excel., 1 Edw. VI.]	Syr., Nest., Moz., Gall. ?
1, 3, 5, 7 Collects { Comm. } . . . . .	2, 3, 5 Collects { for King } . . . . .	Syr.
{ Kings }	{ Comm. }	
Prophecy. (Xtmas. Epiph. Is. ix. lx.) . . . . .	[1st Les. Xtmas. Epiph. Is. ix. lx.]	S. Jas., Moz., Gall.
Epistle . . . . .	Epistle	<i>Omnes.</i>
Psalm (gradual, &c.)		Syr., S. Chrys.
Alleluia		Syr., [S. Jas. <i>before</i> Epist.]
	Glory be to Thee, O Lord . . . . .	Rom. only.
Benediction, Incense		Syr., S. Chrys., al.
Gospel . . . . .	Gospel	<i>Omnes.</i>
Nicene Creed . . . . .	Nicene Creed	[ <i>Omnes</i> , after obl. except]
Sermon . . . . .	Sermon	Rom., Armen.
		[Moz., after Oblation.]

NOTE.—In these tables, the dotted lines indicate actual derivation of the new from the old. The true order of the Services is observed; except that features are occasionally set down for the sake of comparison, when they are included in brackets. S. signifies Sunday. See vol. i. p. 288.

OLD ENGLISH RITE.	REVISED ENGLISH RITE.	EASTERN PARALLELS.
<p>Kiss of Peace (till A.D. 430)                      Offertory (anc. alms)                      Secretæ—Oblation . . . .                      "Pro univ. statu Ecclesie"(anc.)                      Omnipotens æterne Deus (Rom.)                      [Suscipe hanc oblationem (anc.)]                      quam tibi offero [offer- . . . .                      imus Can.] in conspectu Divinæ                      Majestatis Tue, pro . . . .                      Ecclesia Catholica, quam . . . .                      pacificare, adunare digneris,                      una cum Papa nostro . . . .                      et Rege nostro N. (Sar., York.) }                      et omnibus orthodoxis: me- . . .                      mento omnium circumstantium,                      memento famulorum qui . . . .                      præcesserunt cum signo fidei]                      dies nostros in pace disponas                      nos in elect. grege numerari. Per</p>	<p>[Exhort. to peace, infr.]                      Offertory (with alms.)                      Oblation of Elements                      "For whole state of Christ's Ch."                      Almighty, everlasting God,                      accept our . . . oblations                      which we offer                      unto Thy Divine                      Majesty . . . to inspire                      the universal Church                      with . . . unity and concord. . . .                      } Christian kings, specially N. . .                      } Bishops and Curates                      and to all Thy people give, &amp;c. . .                      specially to this congregation . . .                      all in trouble, sorrow, &amp;c.                      We bless . . . for all Thy servants                      departed in Thy faith . . .                      so to follow their examples that                      we be partakers of Thy k. For                      J. C.</p>	<p><i>Omnes.</i>                      Moz. "Lauda." [Ambros.]                      Gall., Moz.                      Rom. obl. "Ad util. totius Ee-                      [clesiæ." ]                      S. Mark, after Tersanctus</p>
<p>Exhortation. See vol.i. 322.                      [See above, <i>init.</i>] . . . .                      Dominus vobiscum. Et cum                      Sursum corda. Habemus . . .                      Gratias agamus. Dignum . . .                      et justum. Vere dignum . . .                      et ideo cum Angelis et Arch.                      eumque omni militia cœl st. . .                      Setus, Setus, Setus, &amp;c. . . .                      Osanna in Excelsis . . . .</p>	<p>Exhortation to peace, &amp;c.                      Confession, Absolution.                      Comfortable Words (threefold)                      Lift up your hearts. We lift ...                      Let us give thanks. It is meet                      and right. It is very meet .....                      Therefore with Angels and Arch.                      and all the company of heaven...                      Holy, Holy, Holy, &amp;c.                      Glory be to Thee, O Lord most                      High</p>	<p>S. James, &amp;c. : see Benedictions,                      [p. 353.</p>
<p>Te igitur supplices . . . .                      [in spiritu humilitatis (obl.)                      animo contrito suscipiamur                      et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum                      ut. . . . Munda ab omni iniqui-                      tate mentis et corporis                      ut placeat Tibi Domine]                      Memento. . . (as above). Hanc                      igitur. Amen.</p>	<p>We do not presume . . . in                      our own righteousness...                      we are not worthy ...                      Grant us so to eat, that our                      sinful bodies be made clean,                      our souls washed... that we                      may dwell in Him and He in us.</p>	<p>} <i>Omnes.</i>                      [Moz. "Non nostro præsumen-                      tes." ]</p>
<p>Quam oblationem...                      Unce et memores, Domine                      Christi F. Tui beate passionis }                      Hostiam puram, sanctam                      sanctum sacrificium . . . .</p>	<p>Amen.                      Almighty God ... Who didst                      give                      Thine only Son Jesus Christ                      to suffer death...                      Who made by His one obla-                      tion                      a full, perfect, sufficient sac-                      rifice, &amp;c.                      and did institute a perpetual                      memory of that His pre-                      cious Death....</p>	
<p>Te, clementissime Pater . . .                      supplices rogamus ac petimus                      ut nobis</p>	<p>Hear us, O merciful Father,                      we most humbly beseech                      Thee . . that receiving, in                      remembrance                      of His Death and passion . .                      may be                      partakers of His Body and                      Blood . .</p>	<p>S. Chrys., all East.; Moz.,                      pridie.</p>
<p>Corpus et Sanguis fiat D.                      N. J. C.                      Qui pridie quam pateretur                      accepit panem et . . gratias                      agens                      benedixit ac fregit deditque                      discipulis suis, dicens                      Accipite et manducate ex                      hoc omnes</p>	<p>Who in the same night that                      He was . .                      took bread and when . .                      given thanks                      He brake it, and gave it to                      His disciples, saying                      Take eat . .</p>	

OLD ENGLISH RITE.	REVISED ENGLISH RITE.	EASTERN PARALLELS.
hoc est enim Corpus meum	this is My Body, which is given for you : do this in remembrance of Me.	St. Luke only, East. 'broken.' St. Luke, St. Paul; Moz., Copt. only.
Simili modo postq. cœnatum accipiens . . calicem, gratias agens, &c.	Likewise after supper . . He took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink &c. for this is &c. for you and for many.	from S. Matt.; adding "for you," St. Luke.
Hæc quotiescunque . . in memoriam Unde et memores Supra quæ . . (anc. obl.) Supplices te (ditto) Memento . . Pater noster . . (placed here 431) Pax and Kiss of peace (ditto) Agnus Dei . .	Do this as often . . in re- membrance &c. [above, consecration].	St. Paul
Corpus . . sanguis (York) Conservet... corpus, animam (York)	[Gloria in excelsis, "Lamb of God," &c.] The Body . . the Blood. <i>preserve</i> body and soul	York, Moz., Rouen, Syr. (Rom. custodiat).
[Pater noster, Sar. (sacrist.)] (above) [Accipiat digne Dominus (obl.) hoc sacrificium laudis . . . pro peccatis] ... sit propitiabile mihi et omnib. pro quibus obtuli. [quam oblationem rationabilem acceptabilem facere digneris, ut quotquot, ex hac partici- patione, sacrosanctum Corpus... sumperimus, benedictione cœ- lesti et gratia repleamur. (Can.)] Sacrificium quod indignus ob- tuli, tibi sit acceptabile; placeat tibi obsequium servitutis... [non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ largitor. Per Chr. D. N. Per ipsum et cum ipso, in unitate Sp. S. est omnis honor et gloria tibi Deo Patri Omnipotenti, per omnia sæc. sæcul. Amen. (Can.)] Omnipotens æterne Deus, gratias tibi ago, quime [nos, Syr.] refecisti de sacrati-simo Corpore et Sanguine D. N. J. C. [ut corpori mystico merear in- corporari, ac inter ejus membra connumerari; (Sar. orat. de sa- ceram.)] intra quorum (sc. sanctorum) nos admitte consortium. (Can.)] [Pax tibi et Ecclesiæ]	Our Father. Gloria in excelsis. O Lord, mercifully accept this our sacrifice of praise, . . . that we obtain remission of sins, we and all Thy whole Church ; ...here we offer...ourselves a reasonable...sacrifice : that all we who are partakers of this holy communion, may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy... to offer to Thee any sacrifice, accept our...duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences. Through J. C. our L. By whom and with whom, in the unity of H. G., all honour and glory be to Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.	Lit. S. Marutas Cath. Syr.
Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis P. F. et Sp. S. descendat super vos et maneat semper (Episc. Ben.)]	assist us...to continue in that holy fellowship. The Peace of God, which pass- eth all understanding... The Blessing of God Almighty, P., S., and H.G., be amongst you and remain with you always.	Copt. S. Basil. S. Mark, at end.

NOTE ON p. 279.

It has been abundantly demonstrated in the Introduction to this volume, that in the view of antiquity, and of the English Church, the consecrated Elements are, in a profoundly mysterious but most true sense, the Body and Blood of Christ; but nevertheless, as not being identified with Christ Himself, nor containing Him personally, are not objects of Divine worship. The latter part of this position has been of late years, with some variety as to expression, but on the whole to the same effect, disallowed by some among us. It may be necessary, therefore, to say a few words in vindication of it.

And I venture to think that for the vast majority of English Churchmen, at least, no other condemnation of the opposite view will be needed than a simple statement of the fearful language—it is impossible to characterize it otherwise—which the upholders of it have, by the necessity of their position, been driven to use. One of the most learned of them, yet no intentional fautor of Roman views, has declared that he considers that the same worship is due to the Elements as to the Blessed Trinity. Another, writing to a newspaper, says, “It is difficult, of course, for one to believe that *yonder piece of Bread is my God*; but I am bound to believe it.” Another eminent person, and of high rank in the Church, affirms that Divine Worship is indeed due to Christ, as contained, as God and Man, under the Elements; but recommends *moderation* in offering that Worship; in which he considers that the continental Churches run into excess. Excess in worshipping and adoring GOD ALMIGHTY! Surely the Wise Man gives us better counsel, saying, “When you glorify the Lord, exalt Him as much as you can; and when you exalt Him, put forth all your strength, and be not weary, for you can never go far enough.” (Ecclus. xliii. 30.) It is not meant to be implied that this eminent person would seriously dispute this point with the son of Sirach. But he finds himself in a position which obliges him for the moment to do so. It would be easy to add to these startling positions. There is a difference, again, of opinion as to whether the Elements, taken conjointly, are Christ, or whether, according to the mediæval doctrine invented by St. Anselm, (see Introd., p. 79,) each Element contains Christ entire under it. It

is obvious to remark that, according to this latter view, the two Elements are, in nature and effect, precisely the same thing; and then it becomes perfectly unaccountable that our Lord should with so much Divine care have instituted them separately, and attached such perfectly distinct titles, conceptions, and effects to them.

When grave divines of the English Church find themselves carried into positions such as these, it must be obvious, even to themselves, that there is a mistake somewhere. Nor is there in reality any escape from the admission of all mediæval and Roman eucharistic doctrine with respect to the Eucharist, otherwise than by falling back upon the truth, that the Elements, while they are, as the Scripture assures us, the Body and Blood of Christ, still are *not*, as the Scripture nowhere affirms they are, Christ Himself. Indeed, in one respect the holders of these views are in a worse position than Roman theologians. For these hold that the substance of the Bread and Wine has disappeared, so that there remains no material object to share the worship offered to the Body and Blood of Christ. Whereas the English Divines are bound, by the faith of their own Church, to believe that the Bread and Wine remain in their proper substance; and if so, they are worshipping a creature. For if they attempt, as some have done, to make a distinction between worshipping the Bread and Wine, and worshipping the Body and Blood of Christ, then they at once abandon the very sacramental position which on other occasions they so earnestly and rightly maintain, viz. that the Elements *are* the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus in pursuit of an inference of their own, they go away from the plain assertion of our Lord, absolutely identifying the Element of Bread with His Body, and are utterly inconsistent with themselves.

And while the doctrine contended for labours under these weighty objections, I am not aware that more than one objection has ever been brought against the opposite view upheld in these pages. It is said that if the Elements are the Body and Blood of Christ, the doctrine of the Hypostatic Union (or of the inseparable conjunction, once for all, of the Divine and Human Natures in the One Person of Christ) obliges us to believe that they are Christ Himself: that otherwise we divide Christ and are guilty of a kind of Nestorianism. This at first sight looks plausible: but it will not bear the slightest examination. To



uphold it, is to press one mystery to the utter forgetfulness of another. The position is, that wherever the Body of Christ is present, it must, for the reason just stated, be *so present as to be an object of worship*. This is the exact point contended for. But the defenders of it themselves are not prepared to carry it out to its legitimate results. Is not, (I would ask,) is not the Church the Body of Christ? and that in a most true and real sense, though in a manner perfectly mysterious to us? They cannot deny it. Will they affirm, then, that the Church, as being Christ's Body, is to be worshipped? And if not, why the Element of Bread in the Eucharist, as being that Body? The truth is, (as has been pointed out in these pages,) that the Body of Christ, at the time of His Passion and Resurrection, entered upon new phases or conditions, called mystical or mysterious; and we cannot predicate with certainty of *It* under those phases, all that we predicate of *It* in its natural capacity. We do not know enough of the matter to draw inferences with logical certainty, and can only rely on such as Scripture supplies: and when we find ourselves drawn, in the attempt to do so, into positions at variance with undeniable truths, we must recede from them. In this case, the inference which is confidently drawn, and with much appearance of trustworthiness, in respect to the Body of Christ in its Eucharistic condition, leads, as we have seen, to fearful doctrinal positions, utterly incapable of being reconciled with primitive and English doctrine. It must therefore, however plausible, be a mistaken inference, and should *ex animo* be abandoned. And when we further see that the same inference, applied to the kindred subject of the Church viewed as Christ's Body, is in the highest degree shocking and monstrous, we have still further reason for abandoning it in the case of the Eucharist.

The only escape there is, when this parallel is pressed upon the upholders of the worship of the Elements, or of the Body of Christ, in the Eucharist, is to represent that the Church is only *figuratively*, not really, the Body of Christ. And this position, I record with unfeigned amazement and sorrow, has been avowed by the most eminent and most universally esteemed of the divines in question. Thus, once more, in defence of an imaginary dogma and a false inference, is the whole doctrine of the Mystical Body—of our real inherence and membership in it—all sound Baptismal, all sound Eucharistic doctrine,—virtually

ceded, as a necessity of his position, by one of the wisest and best defenders of those doctrines hitherto. Surely this, at least, must open men's eyes to the perilous path they are treading.

Another question may be asked. If the unreceived Elements demand Divine worship, though no more be said of them in Scripture than that they are Christ's Body and Blood, must not this, *à fortiori*, be extended to the communicant, who receives these Elements, and who is further declared to be— which the Elements are not—“one with Christ, and Christ with him?”

Nor is this all. Already involved, as we have seen, as English Churchmen, in a mass of inconsistencies, the more forward upholders of this view are having recourse to practices which flow indeed quite legitimately from it, but only betray more fatally its incompatibility with plain adherence to the mind of the English Church. It is now avowed as one principal purpose of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, to be present simply to offer divine worship to Christ as present under the Elements: that is, as has been shewn, to the Elements themselves. One plain question may surely be asked on this point. It is this,— What single prayer or invocation has the English Church, at any rate, provided for this purpose? And if it be admitted, as it must be, that she provides nothing of the kind, is it easy to conceive a more undutiful setting aside of that which she prescribes, for that which she knows nothing of, than to abstain from the Reception of the Elements (with the idea of which her whole Office is pervaded) in order to the worship of them, which she, for her part, declares to be idolatry? Is not a new Prayer-book, in short, indispensable to such a position?

To conclude. That Christ is graciously, mysteriously, peculiarly present in the entire rite, *even as He was at the original Institution*, is indeed to be most firmly held, as these pages maintain. But of Christ included under the Bread and Wine, as He told us nothing then, so do we know nothing now: and if early writers, or even liturgies, seem on some few occasions to affirm it, this must be taken as the warm language of devotion, not as the precise utterance of exact theology.

## NOTE ON p. 410.

IN Dr. Hook's learned "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. ii., it is said that Thomas à Becket first fixed the nomenclature of Trinity Sunday, and the Sundays following it. I would still venture to suppose, that such a nomenclature already existed on the continent, and was introduced rather than invented by him.



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