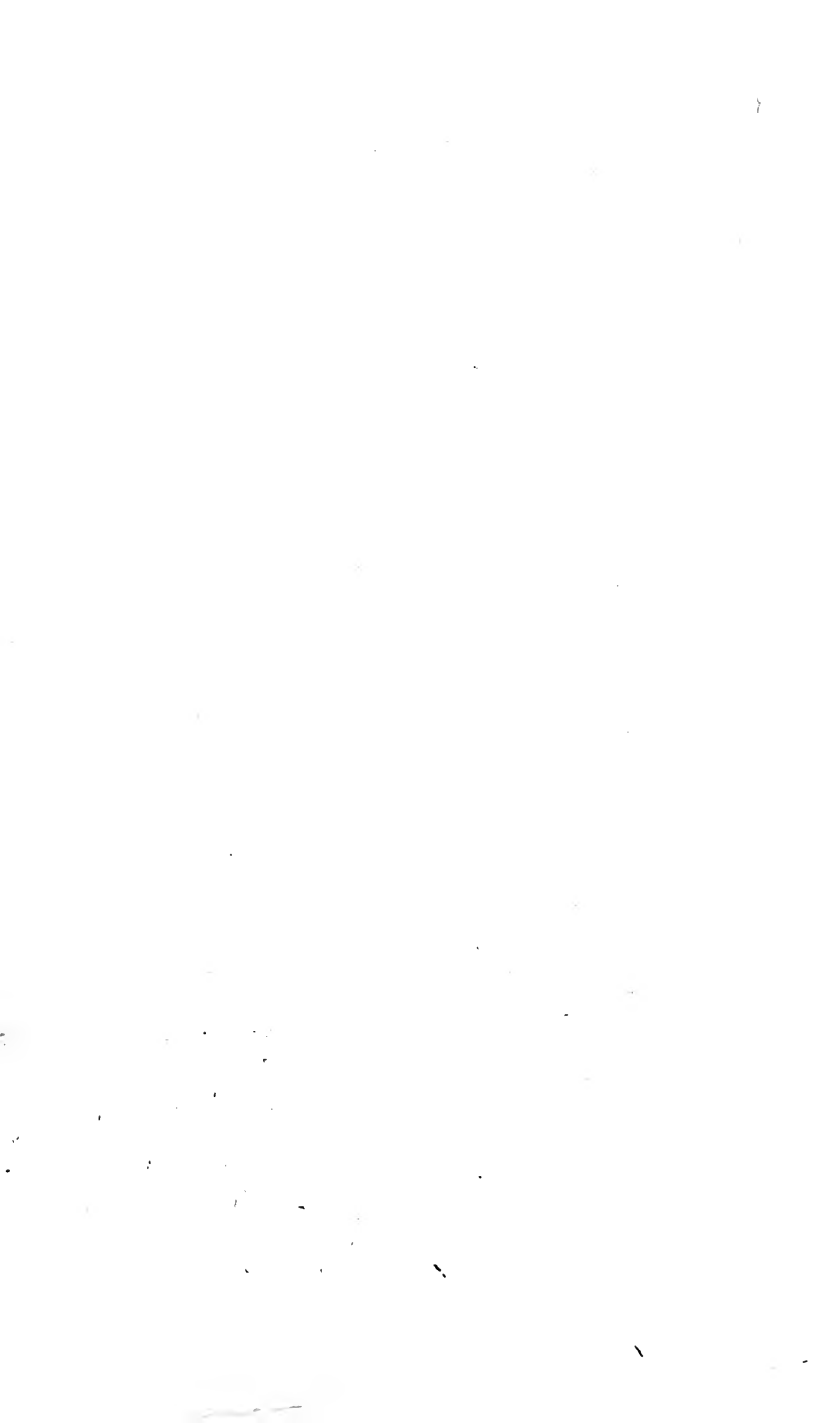


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ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ;
OR THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

AND
OTHER WORKS,

OF THE
REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

Formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford; and afterwards Rector of
Headbourn Worthy, and Havant, Hampshire;

WITH A
SET OF MAPS OF ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY,

TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED,

SEVERAL SERMONS,

AND OTHER MATTER, NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED,

The whole Revised and Edited, together with

A Biographical Account of the Author,

BY HIS GREAT GRANDSON,

THE REV. RICHARD BINGHAM, B.C.L.

Prebendary of Chichester, Vicar of Hale Magna,
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THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XIV.

OF THAT PART OF DIVINE SERVICE WHICH THE ANCIENTS COMPRISED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF *MISSA CATECHUMENORUM*, THE SERVICE OF THE CATECHUMENS, OR ANTE-COMMUNION-SERVICE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Psalmody of the Ancient Church.

SECT. 1.—That the Service of the Ancient Church usually began with Psalmody.

It has been observed before, that the Ancients comprised their whole service under two general heads, to which they gave the distinguishing names of *Missa Catechumenorum*, and *Missa Fidelium*, *the service of the catechumens*, and *the service of communicants*, or believers; that is, as we would now term them, the ante-communion-service, and the communion-service. The service of the catechumens, was that part of divine worship, at which the catechumens, and all others, who were not perfect and full communicants,

were allowed to be present ; and it consisted of psalms, reading the Scriptures, preaching and prayers for such particular orders of men, as were not admitted to participate of the holy mysteries : and under these several heads we must now consider it.

The service usually began with reading or singing of psalms, as appears from that of St. Jerom,¹ describing the service of the Egyptian monks: “ They meet at nine o’clock, and then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read, and after prayers they all sit down, and the father preaches a sermon to them.” And so Cassian represents it,² “ that first the psalms were sung, and then followed two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New. Only on the Lord’s day and the fifty days of Pentecost, and the Sabbath or Saturday, they read one lesson out of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, and the other out of the Gospels.” But probably there might be a difference in the order of reading in different Churches. And that may reconcile the different opinions of learned men concerning the order of their service. For some think they began with reading the Scriptures, and others with a prayer of confession. The Author of the Constitutions, it is certain,³ prescribes first the reading of the Old Testament, and then the Psalms, and after that the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and last of all the Gospels. So that the psalms were intermingled with the lessons according to the rules and prescriptions, which that author had observed in some Churches. St. Basil⁴ speaks of a confession made to God upon their knees, after which they rose up, and betook themselves to sing psalms to God. But that was in their

¹ Hierou. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. cap. xv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.

² Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. cap. 6. Quibus (Psalmis) lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris et aliam Novi Testamenti, &c. In die verò Sabbati vel dominico utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo, vel actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliiis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt.

³ Constit. lib. ii. cap. 57. lib. v. cap. 19.

⁴ Basil, Ep. 63. ad

Neocæsar. tom. iii. p. 96.

vigils or morning prayers before day, and most probably only a private confession, which every man made silently by himself, before they began the public service. But if we take it for a public confession, as the learned Hamon Lestrangle does,¹ then it will argue, that the Eastern Churches began their morning antelucan service with a prayer of confession, and so went on to their psalmody, which was the great exercise and entertainment of their nocturnal vigils. And indeed it was their exercise at all times in the Church, as St. Austin notes,² to fill up all vacuities, when neither the reading of the Scriptures, nor preaching, nor prayers, interposed to hinder them from it. All other spaces were spent in singing of psalms, than which there could not be any exercise more useful and edifying, or more holy and pious, in his opinion. And upon this account, if the observation of Lestrangle be rightly made out of Chrysostom,³ the people were used to entertain the time with singing of psalms, before the congregation was complete and fully assembled. I take no notice here of their psalmody at other times, at their meals, at their labours, and in their private devotions: because, though this is frequently mentioned by the Ancients with great and large encomiums, yet it differed in many respects from the common psalmody, and we can draw little light or argument from that to explain the public service.

SECT. 2.—The Psalms intermixed with Lessons and Prayers in some Churches.

As to the public psalmody of the Church, though we take it for the first and leading part of the service, yet we are not so to understand it, as if it was all performed at once in one continued course of repeating many psalms together without intermission, but rather with some respite, and a mixture of other parts of divine service, to make the

¹ Lestrangle, Alliance of Div. Offic. cap. iii. p. 75.

² Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. xviii. Quando non est tempus cum in Ecclesiâ fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistites clarâ voce deprecantur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

³ Lestrangle, Alliance of Div. Offic. cap. iii. p. 77.

whole more agreeable and delightful. At least, it was apparently so in the practice of some Churches. For the Council of Laodicea made a decree,¹ “that the psalms should not be sung one immediately after another, but that a lesson should come between every psalm.” And St. Austin plainly intimates, that this was the practice of his own Church. For in one of his Homilies he takes notice,² first of the reading of the Epistle, then of singing the *xv* Psalm, “Come let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our maker,” and after that of a lesson read out of the Gospel. And in another Homily he speaks of them in the same order.³ “In the lesson out of the Epistle,” says he, “thanks are given to God for the faith of the Gentiles. In the psalm we said, ‘Turn us again, thou Lord God of hosts, shew the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole.’ In the Gospel we were called to the Lord’s supper.” By comparing these two places of St. Austin together, we may observe, that it was not any particular Psalm that was appropriated to come between the Epistle and Gospel, but the Psalm that was in the ordinary course of reading. For the *xv*th is mentioned in one place, and the *lxxx* Psalm in the other. Mabillon has observed the same practice in the French Churches, out of the Collation between the Catholics and Arians in the reign of Gundobadus, King of Burgundy, Anno 499. For in the relation of that conference it is said,⁴ that on the vigil before the day of disputation, in celebrating the divine offices it happened

¹ Con. Laodic. can. xvii. ² Aug. Serm. 10. de Verbis Apostoli. p. 112. Hoc de Apostolicâ lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus Psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem unâ voce, uno corde dicentes, ‘Venite adoremus, &c.’ Posthæc Evangelica lectio decem leprosos mundatos nobis ostendit, ³ Aug. Hom. 33. de Verb. Domini. p. 49. In lectione Apostolicâ gratiæ aguntur Deo de fide gentium. In Psalmo diximus, ‘Deus virtutum converte nos, &c.’ In Evangelio ad cœnam vocati sumus, &c.

⁴ Collat. &c. ap. Mabillon. de Cursu Gallicano. p. 399. Evenit autem ut eâ nocte, cùm lector secundùm morem inciperet lectionem à Moysè, incidit in ea verba Domini, ‘Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, &c.’ Deinde cùm post Psalmos decantatos recitaret ex Prophetis, occurrerunt verba Domini ad Esaiam dicentis, ‘Vade et dices populo huic, Audite audientes, &c.’ Cùmque adhuc Psalmi fuissent decantati, et legeret ex Evangelio; incidit in verba, quibus Salvator exprobrat Judæis incredulitatem, ‘Vae tibi Chorazin, &c.’ Denique cùm lectio fieret ex Apostolo, &c.

that the first lesson, that was out of the Pentateuch, had those words, " I will harden Pharaoh's heart, &c." After which the psalms were sung, and then another lesson was read out of Isaiah, in which were these words, " Go and tell this people, hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand." After the psalms were sung again, another lesson was read out of the Gospel, wherein were those words of our Saviour upbraiding the Jews with their infidelity, " Woe unto thee Chorazin, &c." And last of all the Epistle was read, containing those words, " despisest thou the riches of his goodness, &c." Where it is easy to observe, that as there were four lessons read out of the Old and New Testament, so there were psalms sung between each lesson, except the last which is not mentioned.

SECT. 3.—Which Psalms were called by a peculiar Name, *Psalmi Responsorii*.

These psalms were styled by a peculiar name, *Responsoria*, and *Psalmi Responsorii*, the *responsories*; which was not a name affixed to any particular psalms, but was given to all such as happened to fall in here, in the common course of reading. The fourth Council of Toledo is to be understood of such psalms, when it speaks of responsories,¹ blaming some for neglecting to use the *Gloria Patri* after them. And Gregory Turonensis often mentions them² more expressly under the name of *Psalmi Responsorii*, making it a part of the deacon's office to repeat them. The ancient ritualists are not agreed about the reason of the name, why they were called *Responsoria*: some saying³ they were so called, because one singing, the whole choir did answer them: whilst others say,⁴ they had their name because they answered to the lessons, being sung immediately after them. Which seems to be the more likely reason.

¹ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 15. Sunt quidam, qui in fine responsorium, Gloria, non dicunt, &c.

² Greg. Turon. de Vitis Patrum. cap. viii. Diaconus responsorium psalmum canere cœpit. It. Hist. Francor. lib. viii. cap. 3. Jubet rex ut diaconum nostrum, qui ante diem ad missas psalmum responsorium dixerat, canere juberem.

³ Isidor. de Offic. lib. i. cap. viii.

⁴ Rupert. de Offic. lib. i. cap. 15.

SECT. 4.—Some Psalms appropriated to particular Services.

But we are not to imagine, that these were the only psalms, which the Ancients used in their psalmody. For some psalms were of constant use in the Church, as being appropriated to particular services. We have seen before,¹ that the lxxiii Psalm, “O God, my God, early will I seek thee,” was peculiarly styled the Morning Psalm, because it was always sung at morning service, as the xcv Psalm is now in our Liturgy. And the cxli Psalm, “Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice,” was always sung² at evening service. They had also some proper psalms adapted to the nature of their communion-service, and their funeral offices, as we shall see hereafter. And in the French Church, from the time that Musæus, presbyter of Marseilles composed his *Lectioarium*, or *order of reading the psalms and lessons*, at the instance of Venerius his bishop, the responsory psalms were all adapted to their proper times and lessons, as Gennadius informs us.³ And this some learned men think,⁴ was at first peculiar to the Gallican Office, and a singular usage of the French Church. Which may be true as to the appropriating the several psalms to their proper lessons in the general course of the year: but it cannot be true, if it be meant only of particular and solemn occasions. For the Church had not only proper lessons, but proper psalms read upon greater festivals, suitable to the occasion; and that long before the time of Musæus’s composing his Calendar for the Gallican Church. For St. Austin plainly informs us,⁵ that the xxii. Psalm, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, &c.” was always read upon the day of our Saviour’s passion in the African Church, and he seems to intimate, that the Donatists did the same, though they were so stony-hearted

¹ Book. xiii. chap. x. sect. 1.
sect. 2.

² Book xiii. chap. xi.
³ Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. 79. Responsoria etiam psalmodorum capitula temporis et lectionibus congruentia excerptis.

⁴ Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 218.

⁵ Aug. in Psal. xxi. in Præf. Serm. ii. p. 43.

as not to make a just application of it. And there is little question to be made, but that as they had proper psalms for this occasion, so they had for all the other solemn festivals.

SECT. 5.—Others sung in the ordinary Course as they lay, without being appropriated to any Time or Day.

The other psalms were sung in the ordinary course of reading from end to end, in the same order as they lay in the book, without being appropriated to any times, or lessons, or days, except those particular psalms, which were appointed as proper for each canonical hour. Cassian observes,¹ that in Egypt, at the first beginning of the monastic life, there were almost as many types, rules, or orders about this matter, as there were monasteries, some singing eighteen psalms immediately one after another, others twenty, and some more. But at last by common consent, the number for morning and evening service was reduced to twelve, which were read in one continued course without any lessons coming between them:² for they had only two lessons, one out of the Old Testament and the other out of the New, and those read only when all the psalms were ended. He tells us also,³ that in some places they sung six psalms every canonical hour, and some proportioned the number of psalms to the number of the hour at which they met at their devotions: so that at the third hour they had only three psalms, but six at the sixth, and nine at the ninth hour; till upon more mature deliberation they came at last to this resolution, to have only three psalms at every diurnal hour of prayer,⁴ reserving the greater number of twelve for the more solemn assemblies at

¹ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 2.

² Cassian. Ibid. cap. iv.

Per universam Ægyptum et Thebaidem duodenarius psalmorum numerus tam vespertinis quam nocturnis solennitatibus custoditur, ita duntaxat ut post hunc numerum duæ lectiones, Veteris scilicet ac Novi Testamenti singulæ subsequantur.

³ Ibid. cap. ii. Sunt quibus in ipsis quoque diurnis orationum officiis, id est, tertiâ, sextâ, nonâque id visum est, ut secundum horarum modum, in quibus hæc Domino redduntur obsequia, psalmorum etiam et orationum putarent numerum cœquandum: nonnullis placuit senarium numerum singulis diei conventibus deputari.

⁴ Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 13.

morning and evening prayer. Though the custom of conforming the number of psalms to the number of hours continued in use in some parts of France, or else was taken up in the time of the second Council of Tours, Anno 567, as appears from a singular Canon of that Council,¹ which I have recited at large before in the last book.²

SECT. 6.—And some appointed occasionally at the Discretion of the Bishop or Precentor.

Besides these, it was usual for the bishop or precentor to appoint any psalm to be sung occasionally in any part of the service at discretion: as now our anthems in cathedrals are left to the choice of the precentor, and the psalms in metre to the discretion of the minister, to choose and appoint what psalms he pleases, and what times he thinks most proper in divine service. Thus Athanasius tells us,³ he appointed his deacon to sing an occasional psalm, when his Church was beset with the Arian soldiers. And St. Austin sometimes speaks of a particular psalm,⁴ which he ordered the reader to repeat, intending himself to preach upon it: and it once happened, that the reader mistaking one of these psalms, read another in its stead; which put St. Austin upon an extempore discourse upon the psalm that was read by mistake to the people. And when we consider that they sometimes spent whole days and nights almost in psalmody; as when St. Ambrose's Church was beset with the Arian soldiers, the people within continued the whole night and day in singing of psalms;⁵ it will easily be imagined, that at such times they did not sing appropriated psalms, but entertained themselves with such as the bishop then occasionally appointed, or left them at large to their own choice, to sing at liberty and discretion. Sometimes the reader himself pitched upon a psalm, as the necessity of affairs would allow him, or his

¹ Con. Turon. ii. can. 19.

² Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. 9.

³ Athan. Apol. ii. 717.

⁴ Aug. in Psal. 138. p. 650. Psalmum

nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari à lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Malum nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito. Vid. Aug. Præfat. in Psal. xxxi.

⁵ Ambros. Epist. 33.

ad Marcellinam Sororem.

own discretion direct him. Thus St. Austin tells us in one of his Homilies,¹ that he had preached upon a psalm, not which he appointed the reader to sing, but what God put into his heart to read, which determined his sermon to the subject of repentance, being the fifty-first or Penitential Psalm, which the reader sung of his own accord, or rather as St. Austin words it, “by God’s direction.” Sulpicius Severus tells a remarkable story to the same purpose in the Life of St. Martin.² He says, when St. Martin was to be elected bishop, one, whose name was Defensor, among the bishops, was a great stickler against him. Now it happened, that in the tumult the reader, whose course it was to sing the psalm that day, could not come at his place in due time, and therefore another read the first psalm, that he lighted upon when he opened the book, which happened to be the eighth psalm, wherein were those words, “Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, *that thou mightest destroy the enemy and defensor,*” as the Gallican version then read it, “*Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem.*” And this, though it seemingly were but a chance thing, was looked upon as providential by the people, to overthrow the machinations of Defensor.

SECT. 7.—Prayers in some Places between every Psalm, instead of a Lesson.

In some places, instead of lessons between every psalm, they allowed a short space for private prayer to be made in silence, and a short collect by the minister, which, Cassian says,³ was the ordinary custom of the Egyptian Fathers. For they reckoned, that frequent short prayers were more useful than long continued ones,⁴ both to solicit God more earnestly by frequent addresses, and to avoid the temp-

¹ Aug. Hom. xxvii. ex. 50. tom. x. p. 175. Proinde aliquid de Pœnitentiâ dicere divinitus jubemur. Neque enim nos istum Psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus: sed quod ille censuit vobis esse utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit. ² Sulpit. Vit. Martin. cap. vii. p. 225.

³ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 5. Undecim Psalmos orationum interjectione distinctos. &c

⁴ Ibid. cap. x. Utilius censent breves quidem orationes, sed creberrimas fieri, &c.

tations of Satan, drawing them into lassitude and weariness which was prevented by their succinct brevity. And therefore they divided the longer psalms into two or three parts,¹ interposing prayers between every distinction.

SECT. 8.—The *Gloria Patri* added at the End of every Psalm in the Western, but not in the Eastern Churches.

In all the Western Churches, except the Roman, it was customary also at the end of every psalm for the congregation to stand, and say, “Glory be to the Father and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost:” but in the Eastern Churches it was otherwise: for as I have noted before,² out of Cassian,³ in all the East they never used this glorification, but only at the end of the last psalm, which they called their *Antiphona*, or *Allelujah*, which was one of those psalms which had Allelujah prefixed to it, and which they repeated by way of *Antiphona*, or *Responsal*, and then added, “Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.” But in the Western Churches, he says, it was used at the end of every psalm. And so we are to understand those canons of the Council of Toledo,⁴ which order, “Glory and honour be to the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost,” to be said at the end of the psalms and responsories: but the Decretal of Vigilius,⁵ which orders the same at the end of the psalms, must be taken according to the custom of the Roman Church to be used only at the conclusion of all. Other differences relating to the use of this doxology and its original, shall be considered in the next chapter in their proper place.

¹ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 11. Et idcirco ne Psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregatione decantant, continuatâ student pronuntiatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus intercessionibus, cum orationum interjectione divisos, distinctim particulatimque consummant, &c.

² Book xiii. chap. x. sect. 14.

³ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Strabo de Reb. Eccles. cap. xxv.

⁴ Con. Tolet. iv. cap. 14.

et 15.

⁵ Vigil. Ep. i. ad Eutherum. cap. ii. In fine Psalmorum ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dicatur, ‘Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.’”

SECT. 9.—The Psalms sometimes sung by one Person only.

As to the persons concerned in this service of singing the psalms publicly in the Church, we may consider them in four different respects, according to the different ways of psalmody. 1. Sometimes the psalms were sung by one person alone, the rest hearing only with attention. 2. Sometimes they were sung by the whole assembly joining all together. 3. Sometimes alternately by the congregation divided into distinct choirs, the one part repeating one verse, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one person repeated the first part of the verse, and the rest joined all together in the close of it. The first of these ways, Cassian notes as the common custom of the Egyptian monasteries. For he says,¹ except him, who rose up to sing, all the rest sat by on low seats in silence, giving attention to him that sang. And though sometimes four sang the twelve psalms in one assembly, yet they did it not all together, but in course one after another,² each singing three psalms, and the rest keeping silence till the last psalm, which they all sang by way of *Antiphona*, or *alternate song*, adding the *Gloria Patri* in the close.

SECT. 10.—Sometimes by the whole Assembly joining all together.

Sometimes again the whole assembly joined together; men, women, and children, united with one mouth and one mind in singing psalms and praises to God. This was the most ancient and general practice, till the way of alternate psalmody was brought into the Church. Thus Christ and his Apostles sung the hymn at the last supper, and thus Paul and Silas at midnight sung praises unto God. Bellarmine indeed,³ and some other writers of the Romish Church say, this custom was not in use till the time of St. Ambrose; but they plainly mistake the introduction of the alternate

¹ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 12. Absque eo, qui dicturus in medium Psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependent.

² Ibid. cap. v. et viii.

³ Bellarm. de Bonis Operibus. lib. i. cap. xvi. tom. iv. p. 1077.

way of singing psalms for this more ancient way, which derives its original from the foundation of the Church. Thus St. Hilary, who lived before St. Ambrose, takes notice,¹ that the people all prayed, and all sang hymns together. And St. Chrysostom, comparing the apostolical times with his own, says,² “anciently they all met together, and all sang in common: and so do we at this day.” And again,³ “women and men, old men and children, differ in sex and age, but they differ not in the harmony of singing hymns: for the spirit tempers all their voices together, making one melody of them all.” After the same manner St. Austin sometimes speaks of singing the psalms between the lessons with united voices,⁴ though before his time the way of alternate psalmody was become very common in all parts of the Church.

SECT. II.—Sometimes alternately, by the Congregation divided into two Parts.

This way of singing the psalms alternately was, when the congregation dividing themselves into two parts, repeated the psalms by courses, verse for verse one after another, and not, as formerly, all together. As the other, for its common conjunction of voices, was properly called symphony: so this, for its division into two parts, and alternate answers, was commonly called antiphony, and sometimes *Responsoria*, *the singing by responsals*. This is plain from that noted Iambic of Gregory Nazianzen,⁵ “*Σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων τᾶσιν*,” where the symphony denotes their singing alternately verse for verse by turns. Socrates calls it,⁶ “*ἀντίφωνον ὑμνωδία*, *the antiphonal hymnody*,” and St. Ambrose,⁷ *Responsoria*, “*singing by way of responsals*.”

¹ Hilar. in Psal. 65. p. 232. Audiatur orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem, spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus.

Hom. 36. in I Cor. p. 653. Ἐπέψαλον πάντες κοινῇ.

² Chrys. in Psal. 145. p. 824.

³ Chrys. in Cantavimus Psalmum exhortantes nos invicem unâ voce, uno corde, dicentes, ‘Venite odoremus, &c.’

⁴ Aug. de Verb. Apost. Sermon. x. p. 112.

⁵ Naz. Carm. 18. de Virtute.

⁶ Socrat. lib. vi. cap. 8.

⁷ Ambros. Hexamer. lib. iii. cap. 5. Responsoriis Psalmorum, cantu viro-
rum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonans undarum fragor resultat.

For, comparing the Church to the sea, he says, “ from the responsories of the psalms, and singing of men, women, virgins, and children, there results an harmonious noise like the waves of the sea.” He expressly mentions women, in other places,¹ as allowed to sing in public though otherwise the Apostle had commanded them to keep silence in the Church. St. Austin also frequently mentions this way of singing by parts or alternately by responses:² and he carries the original of it in the Western Church no higher than the time of St. Ambrose, when he was under the persecution of the Arian Empress Justina, mother of the younger Valentinian; at which time both he,³ and Paulinus,⁴ who writes the Life of St. Ambrose, tell us, the way of antiphonal singing was first brought into the Church of Milan, in imitation of the custom of the Eastern Churches, and that from this example it presently spread all over the Western Churches. What was the first original of it in the Eastern Church, is not so certainly agreed upon by writers, either ancient or modern. Theodoret says,⁵ that Flavian and Diodorus first brought in the way of singing David’s Psalms alternately into the Church of Antioch, in the reign of Constantius. But Socrates⁶ carries the original of this way of singing hymns to the Holy Trinity as high as Ignatius. Valesius thinks Socrates was mistaken: but Cardinal Bona⁷ and Pagi⁸ think both accounts may be true, taking the one to speak of David’s Psalms only, and the other of hymns composed for the service of the Church. Some say

¹ Ambros. Expos. Psal. i. Mulieres Apostolus in Ecclesiâ tacere jubet: Psalmum etiam benè clamant. &c.

² Aug. Serm. in Psal. xxvi. in Præfat. Voces istæ Psalmi, quas audivimus, et ex parte cantavimus. Item in Psal. xlvi. In hoc Psalmo, quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus, ea sumus dicturi quæ nostis.

³ Aug. Confess. lib. ix. cap. 7. Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundùm morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mæroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est: et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pænè omnibus gregibus tuis et per ceteras orbis partes imitantibus.

⁴ Paulin. Vit. Ambros. p. 4. Hoc in tempore primo antiphonæ hymni et vigiliæ in Ecclesiâ mediolanensi celebrari cæperunt. &c.

⁵ Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24.

⁶ Socrat. lib. vi. cap. 8.

⁷ Bona de Psalm. cap. xvi. sect. 10. n. I.

⁸ Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 460. n. 10.

the custom was first begun by Ignatius, but destroyed by Paulus Samosatensis, and revived again by Flavian. But Pagi's conjecture seems most reasonable, that Flavian only introduced this way of singing the psalms in the Greek tongue at Antioch, whereas it had been used in the Syrian language long before, as he shews out of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Valesius himself confirms this out of the same author, whose testimony is preserved by Nicetas.¹ However this matter be as to the first original of this way of antiphonal psalmody, it is certain, that from the time that Flavian either instituted or revived it at Antioch, it prevailed in a short time to become the general practice of the whole Church. St. Chrysostom² encouraged it in the vigils at Constantinople, in opposition to the Arians. St. Basil speaks of it in his time,³ as the received custom of all the East. And we have seen before, how from the time of St. Ambrose it prevailed over all the West. And it was a method of singing so taking and delightful, that they sometimes used it, where two or three were met together for private devotion. As Socrates particularly remarks it of the Emperor Theodosius Junior and his sisters,⁴ that they were used to sing alternate hymns together every morning in the royal palace.

SECT. 12.—Sometimes by a single *Præcentor* repeating the first Part of the Verse, and the People all joining with him in the Close. Where also of Diapsalms, and Acroteleutics and Acrostics in Psalmody.

Besides all these there was yet a fourth way of singing, of pretty common use in the fourth age of the Church: which was, when a single person, whom that age called a *Phonascus*, Ὑποβολεὺς, or *Præcentor*,⁵ began the verse, and the people joined with him in the close. This the Greeks called “ὕπηχέιν,” and “ὕπακείν,” and the Latins “*Succinere*.” And it was often used for variety in the

¹ Nicet. Thesaur. Orthod. Fid. lib. v. cap. 30. lib. vi. cap. 8.

³ Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar.

² Socrat.

⁴ Socrat. lib. vii. can. 22.

⁵ See Book. iii. chap. vii. sect. 3. et

Sidon. Apollin. lib. iv. ep. 11. Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus.

same service with alternate psalmody. Thus St. Basil, describing the different manners of their morning psalmody, tells us,¹ “They one while divided themselves into two parts, and sung alternately, answering to one another; and then again let one begin the psalm, and the rest joined with him in the close of the verse.” This was certainly in use at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius, as I have observed in the last Book.² For both he himself,³ and all the historians,⁴ who relate the story after him, in speaking of his escape out of the church, when it was beset with the Arian soldiers, tell us, he avoided the assault by setting the people to psalmody, which psalmody was of this kind: for he commanded the deacon to read the psalm, and the people *ὑπακείν*, to repeat this clause after him, “For his mercy endureth for ever.” The common translations of Athanasius make this “*ὑπακείν*” to signify no more than the people’s attending to what the deacon read: but Epiphanius Scholasticus, the ancient author of the *Historia Tripartita*, having occasion to relate this very passage of Athanasius,⁵ rightly renders *ὑπακείν* by “*respondere*.” The deacon read, and the people answered in these words, “For his mercy endureth for ever.”⁶ Valesius thinks it should be read “*ὑπηχῆν*” instead of “*ὑπακείν*,” in all those places of Athanasius and the historians after him: but there is no need of that critical correction; for both the words among the Greeks are of the same import, and signify to make answer, or responses, as Cotelerius, a judicious critic,⁷ has observed. And so the word “*ὑπακείν*” is used both by Theocritus and Homer.⁸ So that there is no reason to dispute the use of it in this sense in ecclesiastical writers.

¹ Basil. Ep. 63. ad Neocæsar. *Νῦν μὲν διχῶ διανεμηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις· ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐνὶ κατάρχειν τῷ μέλῳ, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχῆσι.*

² Book xiii. chap. v. sect. 6.

³ Athanas.

Apol. ii. p. 717.

⁴ Theodor. lib. ii. cap. 13. Socrat. lib. ii.

cap. 11. Sozom. lib. iii. cap. 6.

⁵ Hist. Tripart. lib. v. cap. 2.

Præcepti ut diaconus Psalmum legeret, populi responderent. &c.

⁶ Vales. Not. in Theod. lib. ii. cap. 13.

⁷ Coteler. Not. in

Constit. Apost. lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 262.

⁸ Theocrit. Idyl. 14.

de Hyla. *Τρίς δ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκασεν.* Ter puer respondit. Vid. Homer. Odys. iv. et Stephani Lexicon.

St. Chrysostom uses the word ὑπηχῆιν,¹ when he speaks of this practice. “The singer sings alone, and all the rest answer him in the close, as it were with one mouth and with one voice.” And elsewhere he says,² “the priests began the psalm, and the people followed after in their responses.”

Sometimes this way of psalmody was called singing acrostics. For though an acrostic commonly signifies the beginning of a verse, yet sometimes it is taken for the end or close of it. As by the Author of the Constitutions,³ when he orders one to sing the Hymns of David, and the people to sing after him the acrostics or ends of the verses. This was otherwise called *Hypopsalma* and *Diapsalma*, and Ἀκροτελευτίον and Ἐφύμιον, which are all words of the same signification. Only we must observe, that they do not always denote precisely the end of a verse, but sometimes that which was added at the end of a psalm, or something that was repeated frequently in the middle of it, as the close of the several parts of it. Thus St. Austin composed a psalm for the common people to learn against the Donatists, and in imitation of the cxix psalm he divided it into so many parts according to the order of the letters in the alphabet, (whence such psalms were called *Abecedarii*;) each part having its proper letter at the head of it, and the *Hypopsalma* as he calls it,⁴ or *answer*, to be repeated at the end of every part of it, in these words, *Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate;*” as the *Gloria Patri* is now repeated not only at the end of every psalm, but at the end of every part of the cxix psalm. And in this respect the *Gloria Patri* itself is by some ancient writers called the *Hypopsalma*, or *Epode*, and *Acroteleutic* to the psalms, because it was always used at the end of the psalms. Thus Sozomen, giving an account of the Arian’s manage-

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxxvi. in. 1. Cor. p. 655. Ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος, κἄν πάντες ἀπήχῳσιν (leg. ὑπηχῳσιν) ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς σώματος ἢ φωνῆ φέρεται. Vid. Hom. xi. in. Mat. p. 108. Ὑπηχῆσαντες, &c.

² Chrys. in Psal. 137. p. 518. Μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων καταρχομένων, προηγημένων ἔψομαι, κὶ ἀκολοθήσω, κὶ ἄσω σοι. &c.

³ Coustit. lib. ii. cap. 57. Ὁ λαὸς, τὰ ἀκροσίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

⁴ Vid. Aug. Psalmum contra partem Donati. tom. vii. p. 1. et Retract. lib. i. cap. 20.

ment of their psalmody at Constantinople in their morning processions, says,¹ “ they divided themselves into parts, and sung after the manner of *Antiphona*, or *alternate song*, adding in the close their *acroteleutics*, framed and modelled after their own way of glorification.” Where, as Valesius rightly observes, it is plain acroteleutic, is but another name for the *Gloria Patri*, which they added at the end of the psalms, but perversely modelled to favour their own heresy; not saying, “ Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;” but “ Glory be to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.” Again Sozomen, speaking of the psalmody, with which the Christians brought the body of the Martyr Babylas from Daphne to Antioch, in the time of Julian, says, they, who were best skilled, began the psalms, and the multitude answered them with one harmonious consent, making these words the *Epode* of their psalmody,² “ Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and boast themselves in images or idol-gods.” Meaning that this sentence was frequently repeated in the several pauses of their psalmody; which the Ancients, we see, sometimes called an epode or diapsalm, like that of the cvii Psalm, “ O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!” Which in the distinct parts of that one psalm is four times repeated.

SECT. 13.—AN ANSWER to an Objection made against the People's bearing a Part in the Psalmody.

From all this, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the people generally had a share in the psalmody of the ancient Church; and that this was not an exercise strictly confined to the canonical singers, or any particular order in the Church; but that men, women, and children were all allowed to bear a part in it, under the direction and conduct of precentors, or those who presided in this and all other

¹ Sozom. lib. viii. cap. 8. Κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἔψαλλον, ἀκροτελεύτια συντιθέμεντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεποιημένα.

² Sozom. lib. v. cap. 19. Ξυρεπήχει τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ, ἐκ ταύτης τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπήδεν. &c.

offices of the Church. Therefore the reflection,¹ which I have formerly made upon Cabassutius, I cannot chuse but here again repeat, who charges this way of singing as a mere novelty and protestant whim, because it differs from the present practice of his own Church; though it be exactly agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church in all its several methods, and in all ages since the Apostles. Neither is there any one thing can be objected against it, save a single canon of the Council of Laodicea,² which forbids all others to sing in the Church, except only the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo*, or *reading desk*, and sung out of a book. This I have explained to be only a temporary provision of a provincial Council, designed to restore or revive the ancient psalmody, when it might be in some measure corrupted or neglected, and not intended to abridge or destroy the primitive liberty of the people. Or if any thing more was intended by it, it was an order that never took place in the practice of the Church: it being evident, beyond all contradiction, from what has now been said, that the people always enjoyed their ancient privilege of joining in this divine harmony, and were encouraged in it by the greatest luminaries of the Church.

SECT. 14.—Psalmody always performed in the standing Posture.

To proceed then: we are to consider further, that psalmody was always esteemed a considerable part of devotion, and upon that account was usually, if not always, performed by those, that were engaged in it, in the standing posture. Cassian indeed seems to make an exception in the way of the monasteries of Egypt: but his exception helps to clear the contrary rule, and shews also that their devotion was in the main performed in the standing posture. For he says, though by reason of their continual fastings and labour night and day, they were unable to stand all the time, while twelve psalms were reading, yet they, that read in course, always stood up to read:³ and at

¹ Book iii. chap. vii. sect. 2.

² Con. Laodic. can. xv.

³ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 12. Absque eo qui dicitur in medium Psalmorum surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes, &c.

the last psalm, they all stood up and repeated it alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the end.¹ In other places it was always the custom, as is plain not only from this exception, but from the testimony of St. Austin,² who speaks of the psalmody as an act of devotion, which all the people performed standing in the Church.

SECT. 15.—Of the Use of plain Song, and its Commendation among the Ancients.

As to the voice or pronunciation used in singing, it was of two sorts, the plain song, and the more artificial and elaborate tuning of the voice to greater variety of sounds and measures. The plain song was only with a little gentle inflection, and agreeable turn of the voice, with a proper accent, not much different from reading, and much resembling the musical way of reading the psalms now in our cathedral churches. This was the way of singing at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius. For St Austin says,³ he ordered the reader to sing the psalm with so little inflection or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing. And this, St. Austin⁴ seems to intimate to have been the common way of the African Churches, as most agreeable to the slow genius of the African people. Whence some of the warmer Donatists made it a matter of objection, “that the Catholics sung the divine hymns of the Prophets soberly in the Church, whilst they sung their own psalms of human composition in a ranting way, and even trumpeted out, like men that were drunk, their own exhortations.” St. Austin does not speak this, as if he wholly disapproved the other more artificial and melodious way of singing, but only as it was intemperately abused by

¹ Cassian. instit. lib. ii. cap. 8.

² Aug. Serm. iiii. in Psal. xxxvi.

p. 122. Certè verum est quod cantavi, certè verum est quod in Ecclesiâ stans tam devotâ voce personui, &c.

³ Aug. Confes. lib. x. cap. 33.

Tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem Psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quàm canenti.

⁴ Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. xviii.

Pieraque in Africa Ecclesiæ membra pigriora sunt: ita ut Donatistæ nos reprehendant, quod sobriè psallimus in ecclesiâ divina cantica Prophetarum. cùm ipsi ebrietates suas ad canticum psalmodum humano ingenio compositorum, quasi tubas exhortationis inflamment.

many, and particularly by the Donatists. For otherwise he commends this way of singing,¹ “as very useful to raise the affections, when performed with a clear voice and a convenient sweetness of melody” and says, “it was that, that melted him into tears,” when he first heard it in the beginning of his conversion, in the church of St. Ambrose.

SECT. 16.—Artificial and melodious Tuning of the Voice allowed in Singing, when managed with Sobriety and Discretion.

This plainly implies, that the artificial and melodious way of singing, with variety of notes for greater sweetness, was used and allowed, as well as plain song, in the Italic Churches: and they mistake St. Austin, who think he speaks in commendation of the one, to the derogation of the other. For he professes to admire both ways for their usefulness, and particularly the more melodious way, for this, “*Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat, that weaker minds may be raised to affections of piety, by the delight and entertainment of their ears.*” And whilst it kept within due bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general approbation of pious men throughout the Church.

SECT. 17.—No Objection made against Psalms and Hymns of human Composition, barely as such.

Neither was it any objection against the psalmody of the Church, that she sometimes made use of psalms and hymns of human composition, besides those of the sacred and inspired writers. For though St. Austin, as we have just heard before, reflects upon the Donatists for their psalms of human composition, yet it was not merely because they were human, but because they preferred them to the divine hymns of Scripture, and their indecent way of chanting them to the grave and sober method of the Church. St.

¹ Aug. Confess. lib. x. cap. 33. Veruntamen cum reminiscor lachrymas meas, quas fudi ad cantus Ecclesiæ tuæ—Et nunc ipso commoveor—Cum liquidâ voce et convenientissimâ modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem agnosco.

Austin himself made a psalm of many parts, in imitation of the cix Psalm, as has been observed above in this chapter, sect. 12. And this he did for the use of his people, to preserve them from the errors of Donatus. And it would be absurd to think, that he, who made a psalm himself for the people to sing, should quarrel with other psalms merely because they were of human composition. It has been demonstrated in the fifth chapter of the last Book, that there were always such psalms, and hymns, and doxologies composed by pious men, and used in the Church from the first foundation of it; nor did any, but Paulus Samosatensis, except against the use of them: which he did not neither because they were of human composition, but because they contained a doctrine contrary to his own private opinions. St. Hilary and St. Ambrose made many such hymns, which when some muttered against in the Spanish Churches, because they were of human composition, the fourth Council of Toledo¹ made a decree to confirm the use of them, together with the doxology, "Glory be to the Father, &c." and "Glory be to God on high:" threatening excommunication to any that should reject them. The only thing of weight to be urged against all this, is a canon of the Council of Laodicea,² which forbids all "*ἰδιωτικὰς ψαλμοὺς, private psalms,* and all uncanonical books to be read in the Church." For it might seem, that, by private psalms, they mean all hymns of human composition. But it was intended rather to exclude Apocryphal psalms, such as went under the name of Solomon, as Balzamon and Zonaras understand it; or else such as were not approved by public authority in the Church. If it be extended further, it contradicts the current practice,

¹ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 12. Quia à nonnullis hymni humano studio compositi esse noscuntur in laudem Dei, et Apostolorum ac martyrum triumphos, sicut hi quos beatissimi Doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolicâ traditione non existunt. Respuant ergò et illum hymnum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmoreum dicimus, 'Gloria et honor Patri, &c.'——Sicut ergò orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos nullus nostrâ ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Galliciâ Hispaniâque celebrent, excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

² Con. Laodic. can. lix.

of the whole Church besides, and cannot in reason be construed as any more than a private order for the Churches of that province, made upon some particular reasons unknown to us at this day. Notwithstanding therefore any argument to be drawn from this canon, it is evident the Ancients made no scruple of using psalms or hymns of human composition, provided they were pious and orthodox for the substance, and composed by men of eminence, and received by just authority, and not brought clandestinely into the Church.

SECT. 18.—But two Corruptions severely inveighed against: First, over great Niceness, and Curiosity in Singing, in Imitation of the Modes and Music of the Theatre.

But there were some disorders and irregularities always apt to creep into this practice, and corrupt the psalmody and devotions of the Church: and against these the Fathers frequently declaim with many sharp and severe invectives. Chiefly they complain of the lightness and vain curiosity, which some used in singing, who took their measures from the mean and practice of the theatres, introducing from thence the corruptions and effeminacy of secular music into the grave and solemn devotions of the Church. We have heard St. Chrysostom before¹ complaining of men's using theatrical noise and gestures both in their prayers and hymns. And here I shall add the reflection which St. Jerom makes upon those words of the Apostle, Ephes. v. "singing, and making melody in your hearts to the Lord." Let young men hear this, let those hear it, who have the office of singing in the Church, that they sing not with their voice, but with their heart to the Lord: not like tragedians, physically preparing their throat and mouth, that they may sing after the fashion of the theatre in the Church. He that has but an ill voice, if he has good works, is a sweet singer before God.

¹ Book xiii. chap. viii. sect. 11.

SECT. 19.—And Secondly, Pleasing the Ear without raising the Affections of the Soul.

The other vice complained of, was the regarding more the music of the words, and sweetness of the composure, than the sense and meaning of them; pleasing the ear, without raising the affections of the soul, which was the true reason for which psalmody and music was intended. St. Jerom takes notice of this corruption in the same place,¹ giving this caution against it: “Let the servant of Christ so order his singing, that the words, that are read, may please more than the voice of the singer: that the spirit, that was in Saul, may be cast out of them, who are possessed with it, and not find admittance in those, who have turned the house of God into a stage and theatre of the people.” St. Austin² confesses he was for some time thus moved to a faulty complacency in the sweetness of the song, more than the matter that was sung, and that he rather wished not to have heard the voice of the singer. St. Isidore of Pelusium brings the charge of these abuses more especially against women, and goes so far as to say, that though the Apostle had allowed them to sing in the Church, yet the perverse and licentious use they made of this liberty, was a sufficient reason,³ why they should be totally debarred from it. And some are of opinion, that it was abuses of this kind, in excess, and not in defect, that made the Council of Laodicea forbid all but the canonical singers to sing in the Church; as thinking, that that they might be better regulated and restrained from such abuses by the immediate dependence they had upon the rulers of the Church. But the experience of later ages rather proves, that this was not the true way to reform such abuses; since there are greater complaints made by conside-

¹ Hieron. in Ephes. v. Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox canentis, sed verba placeant quæ leguntur: ut spiritus qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab iis, qui similiter ab eo possidentur, et non introducatur in eos, qui de Domo Dei scenam fecere populorum.

² Aug. Confess. lib. x. cap. 33. Cùm mihi accidit, ut me ampliùs cantus, quàm res quæ canitur moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc malle non audire cantantem.

³ Isidor. lib. i. ep. 90.

ring men, of the excesses committed in Church music after it was wholly given up to the management of canonical singers, than there were before. Witness the complaints made by Polydore Virgil,¹ Maldonat,² Durantus,³ and others in the Romish Church, and Bishop Wettenhal⁴ in the protestant communion, which it is none of my business in this place any further to pursue.

CHAP. II.

A particular Account of some of the most noted Hymns in use in the Service of the Ancient Church.

SECT. I.—Of the lesser Doxology, “Glory be to the Father, &c.”

BUT there is one thing may be of use for the better understanding the psalmody of the ancient Church, which is, to give a distinct account of the most noted hymns that made a part of her service. Among these one of the most ancient and common was that, which was called the lesser doxology, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.” Concerning which we are to note in the first place, that it was something shorter than it is now: for the most ancient form of it was only a single sentence without a response, running in these words, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!” Part of the latter clause, “As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,” was inserted some time after the first composition. This appears from the most ancient form used both in the Greek and Latin Church without those words in it. The fourth Council of Toledo, Anno 633, reads it thus:⁵ “Glory and honour be to the

¹ Polyd. Virgil. de Rer. Invent. lib. vi. cap. ii. p. 359.

² Maldonat.

de vii. Sacramentis. tom. ii. p. 238.

³ Durant. de Ritibus. lib. ii.

cap. xxi. n. 11.

⁴ Wettenhal. Gift of Singing. chap. i. p. 277

and 247.

⁵ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 12. In fine omnium Psalmorum

dicimus, ‘Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen!’

Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!" Where we may observe, that not only the " words, As it was in the beginning, &c." are omitted, but the word honour is added to glory, according to another decree made in that Council ;¹ that it should not be said, as heretofore some did, " Glory be to the Father," but " Glory and honour be to the Father : " for as much as the prophet David says, " Bring glory and honour to the Lord," Psal. xxviii. 2. And John the Evangelist, in the Revelations, heard the voice of the heavenly host, saying, " Honour and glory be to our God, who sitteth on the throne," Rev. v. 13. From whence they conclude that it ought to be said on earth, as it is sung in heaven. The Mosarabic Liturgy, which was used in Spain a little after this time, has it in the very same form :² " Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!" Which shews, that that was the received way of using this hymn in the Spanish Churches. The Greek Church also for several ages used it after the same manner, only they did not insert the word honour, which seems to be peculiar to the Spanish Church. Athanasius, or whoever was the author of the treatise *De Virginitate*, among his works repeats it thus,³ " Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!" And Strabo⁴ says of the Greeks in general, that they omitted those words in the latter clause, " as it was in the beginning." So that it is not easy to tell what time they first began to be used in it. Some say, the Council of Nice ordered them to be inserted against Arius: others, that the Church, by common consent admitted them, in compliance with the doctrine of that Council, to confront the Arian tenet, which asserted that the Son was not in the beginning, and that there was a time when he was not. But if so it is strange we should not hear of this additional part of the hymn in any

¹ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 14. In fine Psalmorum, non sicut à quibusdam huc usque, 'Gloria Patri,' sed 'Gloria et honor Patri,' dicatur, &c.

² Missa Mozarab. in Nativ. Christi. ap. Mabillon, de Liturg. Gallic. p. 453.

'Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen!'

³ Athan. de Virgin. p. 1051.

⁴ Strabo.

de Reb. Eccles. cap. xxv.

Greek or Latin writer for above two whole centuries after. The first express mention, that is made of it, is in the second Council of Vaison,¹ Anno 529, which says, it was then so used at Rome, and in Italy, and Afric, and all the East, and therefore is now so ordered to be used in the French Churches. Whence it is plain, it was not in the French Churches before. And there is reason to conjecture, that the East is here put for the West, by a mistake of some transcriber, since it appears from Strabo, that in his time the custom of the Greek Church was still otherwise: and how long it had been the custom of the Western Churches before the time of this Council is uncertain. The Spanish Churches, as we have seen, did not admit it till afterwards.

There goes an Epistle, indeed, under the name of St. Jerom, to Pope Damasus, which, if it were genuine, would make this addition more ancient, than now it can be allowed to be: for there he advises Damasus to order, that in the Roman Church at the end of every psalm there should be added, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen!"² But this Epistle is rejected as spurious by learned men of all sides, Bellarmin, Baronius, Bona, and others of the Romanists, as well as Protestants in general, because it contradicts the known practice of the Roman Church in another particular: for at Rome they did not use the *Gloria Patri* at the end of every psalm long after this, in the time of Walafridus Strabo,³ neither do they now by the rubrics of the Roman Breviary at this day: whereas, if Damasus had made those orders as this Epistle directs, the *Gloria Patri* would have been used at Rome at the end of every psalm; which it was not, either there or in any of the Eastern Churches, but only in

¹ Con. Vasion. ii. can. 5. Quia non solùm in sede Apostolicâ, sed etiam pertotum Orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, quâ Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed à tempore fuisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post, 'Gloria Patri, &c.' sicut erat in principio, dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita esse dicendum decrevimus.

² Hieron. Ep. ad Damasum. 53. et inter Decreta Damasi ap. Crab. Con. tom. i. p. 383. Istud carmen laudis omni psalmo conjungi præcipias, &c.

³ Strabo de Reb. Eccles. cap. xxv.

France and some few other Churches, as we have heard before in the last chapter.

There was another small difference in the use of this ancient hymn, which yet made no dispute among Catholics, till the rise of the Arian heresy, and then it occasioned no small disturbance. The Catholics themselves of old were wont to say, some, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;” others, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost;” and others, “Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost.” Now these different ways of expressing, were all allowed, so long as no heterodox opinion was suspected to be couched under them, as Valesius¹ has observed in his Notes upon Socrates and Theodoret, and St. Basil² shews more at large in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*. But when Arius had broached his heresy in the world, his followers would use no other form of glorification but the last, and made it a distinguishing character of their party to say, “Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and Holy Ghost:” intending hereby to denote, that the Son and Holy Ghost were inferior to the Father in substance, and, as creatures, of a different nature from him, as Sozomen³ and other ancient writers inform us. And from this time it became scandalous, and brought any one under the suspicion of heterodoxy to use it, because the Arians had now, as it were, made it the Shibboleth of their party. Philostorgius indeed says,⁴ that the usual form of the Catholics was a novelty, and that Flavian at Antioch was the first that brought in this form of saying, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;” whereas all before him said either, “Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost:” or “Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.” But this is no more than what one might expect from the partiality of an Arian historian, and it is abundantly confuted by the ancient testimonies,⁵ which St. Basil produces in his

¹ Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. i. cap. 21. et Theod. lib. ii. cap. 24.

² Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 7, 25, et 29.

³ Sozom. lib. iii.

cap. 20. Ἐδόξαζον Πατέρα ἐν Υἱῷ, δευτερεύειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀποφαίνοντες.

⁴ Philostorg. lib. iii. cap. 13.

⁵ Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxix.

own vindication against some, who charged him with the like innovation; in answer to which, he says, he did no more than what was done before by Irenæus, Clemens Romanus, the two Dionysii of Rome and Alexandria, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Origen, Africanus, Athenogenes, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian, and Meletius, and what was done in the prayers of the Church, and with the consent of all the Eastern and Western Churches. Which would make a man amazed to hear Cardinal Bona¹ charging St. Basil as blame-worthy, for displeasing the Catholics in using the form of the heterodox party; when it is plain, it was the heterodox party that quarrelled with him for using the Catholic form of the Church. And yet though he blames St. Basil without grounds, telling us, “that a Catholic doctor ought to be without rebuke, and abstain from terms that have a suspected sense, and offend pious ears;” yet he has nothing to say to Pope Leo, who, if either, was more certainly liable to his censure, for using the Arian form of doxology though in a Catholic sense, in one of his Christmas sermons, which he thus words,² “Let us give thanks, beloved, to the Father, by his Son, in the Holy Ghost.” St. Basil never used this suspected form, though he says it might be used with an orthodox meaning, but always, “Glory be to the Father, with the Son and Holy Ghost.” For which he was charged by some heterodox men as an innovator; but there was no room for Bona’s censure.

Having thus stated the ancient form and modification of this hymn in its first original, and subsequent progress that it made in the Church, we are next to see to what use it was applied, and in what parts of divine service. And here we may observe, that it was an hymn of most general use, and a doxology offered to God in the close of every solemn office. The Western Church repeated it at the end of every psalm, and the Eastern Church at the end of the last psalm, as we have seen in the former chapter. Many of their prayers were also concluded with it, as we shall find in

¹ Bona, *Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. iii. n. 2.*

² Leo, *Serm. i. de Nativ. Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri, per Filium ejus, in Spiritu Sancto.*

various instances in the following parts of this and the next book; particularly the solemn thanksgiving or consecration-prayer at the eucharist, to which Irenæus¹ and Tertullian² refer, when they mention the close of it ending in these words, αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, “*world without end. Amen!*” The whole doxology commonly running thus: “To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all glory, worship, thanksgiving, honour and adoration, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.” As it is in the Constitutions.³ Or, if the prayer ended, “by the intercession of Christ,” then it was, “to whom with Thee,” or, “with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, &c. world without end. Amen!”⁴ This was also the ordinary conclusion of their sermons, “that we may obtain eternal life through Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and power, world without end:” as may be seen in the Homilies of Chrysostom, Austin, Leo, and all others, of which more in the fourth chapter of this Book.

SECT. 2.—Of the Great Doxology, “Glory be to God on High.”

Another hymn of great note in the ancient Church, was that, which they commonly called, the angelical hymn, or great doxology, beginning with those words which the angels sung at our Saviour’s birth, “Glory be to God on High, &c.” This was chiefly used in the communion-service as it is now in our Church; and there we shall speak of it again in its proper place. It was also used at morning prayer daily at men’s private devotions, as I have shewn before out of Athanasius and the Constitutions,⁵ where the reader may find it repeated at length under the title of Προσευχή Ἐωθινή, *the morning prayer*. In the Mosarabic Liturgy it is appointed to be sung in public before the lessons on Christmas day. St. Chrysostom often mentions it,⁶ and in

¹ Irenæ. lib. i. cap. 1.

² Tertul. de Spectac. cap. xxv.

³ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 12. Vid. Theod. lib. ii. c. 24. not. a. de Basil.

⁴ Ibid. cap. xiii.

⁵ See Book. xiii. chap. x. sect. 9.

⁶ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Colos. p. 1337. Hom. ix. in Colos. p. 1380.

one place particularly observes, of those,¹ who retired from the world to lead an ascetic life, that they met together daily to sing their morning hymns with one mouth to God, among which they sung this angelical hymn with the angels in heaven. But I have observed before, that this was not the common practice of all Churches, to sing it every day at morning prayer, but only in the communion-service; or at least only upon Sundays, and Easter-day, and such greater festivals of the Church. Who first composed this hymn, adding the remaining part to the words sung by the angels, is uncertain. ²Some suppose it to be as ancient as the time of Lucian, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and is thought to mean it in one of his dialogues, where he speaks of “*the hymn with many names,—πολκώνυμον ᾠδὴν,*” as used by the Christians: others take it for the *Gloria Patri*; which is a dispute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the first author and original of this hymn. And all I shall say further of it, is only what was said heretofore by the fourth Council of Toledo³ against some, who rejected the hymns of St. Hilary and St. Ambrose and others, because they were of human composition: that by the same reason they might have rejected both the lesser doxology, “*Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,*” which was composed by men; and also this greater doxology, part of which was sung by the angels at our Saviour’s birth, “*Glory be to God on high and on earth peace to men of good will,*” so they read it, as many other Greek and Latin writers did; but the rest that follows, was composed and added to it by the doctors of the Church.

SECT. 3.—Of the Trisagion, or Cherubical Hymn, “*Holy! Holy! Holy!*” &c.

A third hymn of great note in the Church was the che-

¹ Chrys. Hom. 68. vel. 69. in Mat. p. 600.
of the Greek Church. p. 226.

² Smith’s Account
³ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 12. Nam et ille hymnus, quem, nato in carne Christo, angeli cecinerunt, ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terrâ pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis,’ reliquaque quæ ibi sequuntur, ecclesiastici doctores composuerunt.

rubical hymn, or the *Trisagion*, as it was called, because of the *thrice* repeating, “*Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God of Hosts,*” in imitation of the seraphims in the vision of Isaiah. The original form of this hymn was in these words, “*Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory, who art blessed for ever. Amen.*” Thus it is in the Constitutions,¹ and frequently in St. Chrysostom,² who says always, that it was in the same words that the seraphims sung it in Isaiah. Afterward the Church added some words to it, and sung it in this form, “*Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλεησον ἡμᾶς, Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us!*” This form is ascribed by some to Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, and Theodosius Junior; anno 446. And in this form not long after we find it used by the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon,³ in their condemnation of Dioscorus. Which is also noted by Damascen, who says,⁴ “the Church used this form to declare her faith in the Holy Trinity, applying the title of Holy God to the Father, and Holy Mighty to the Son, and Holy Immortal to the Holy Ghost: not as excluding any of the three persons from each of these titles, but in imitation of the Apostle, who says, ‘To us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.’” And thus this hymn continued to be applied to the whole Trinity, till Anastasius the Emperor, as some say,⁵ or as others relate,⁶ Peter Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, caused the words, “*ὁ παρωξείς δι’ ἡμᾶς, that was crucified for us,*” to be added to it. Which was intended to bring in the heresy of the Theopaschites, who asserted that the divine nature itself suffered upon the cross, and was in effect to say, that the whole Trinity suffered, because this hymn was commonly applied to the whole Trinity. To

¹ Const. lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 402.

² Chrys. Hom. i. de Verb.

Esai. tom. iii. p. 834. Hom. vi. in Seraphim. ibid. p. 890. Hom. xxi. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 266. et passim. Vid. Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 5. Con Vasens. ii. can. 4.

³ Con. Chalced. Act. i. p. 310. tom. iv.

Labbe.

⁴ Damascen. de Orthod. Fide. lib. iii. cap. 10.

⁵ Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 44.

⁶ Damascen. ibid.

avoid this inconvenience, one Calandio, bishop of Antioch, in the time of Zeno the Emperor, made another addition to it, of the words, "Christ our King," reading it thus, "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Christ our King, that wast crucified for us, have mercy on us!" as Theodorus Lector,¹ and other historians inform us. These last additions occasioned great confusion and tumults in the Eastern Church, whilst the Constantinopolitans and Western Churches stiffly rejected them; and some of the European provinces, the better to confront them and maintain the old way of applying it to the whole Trinity, instead of the words, "crucified for us," expressly said, "Holy Trinity, have mercy on us!" as we find it in Ephrem Antiochenus,² recorded in Photius.

This is the short history and account of the rise and progress of this celebrated hymn in the service of the Church, and of the heretical corruptions and interpolations that were intended to be made upon it. As to its use, it was chiefly sung in the middle of the communion-service, as we shall see more expressly hereafter in the next book: but it was sometimes used upon other occasions, as we have heard in the Council of Chalcedon before: and some Greek ritualists tell us,³ that it was always sung before the reading of the Epistle, which was anciently a part of the service of the catechumens. But then they distinguish between the *Trisagion* and *Epinicion*, or *triumphal hymn*, calling the simple form, "Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God of Hosts," the *Epinicion*, which was sung in the communion-service, and the other, the *Trisagion*, which was sung in the service of the catechumens: but the more ancient writers do not observe this distinction; and therefore I have here put both forms under the common name of the *Trisagion*. He, that would see this history more at large, may consult Christianus Lupus⁴ upon the Council of Trullo, and Mr. Allix,⁵ who has written a peculiar treatise upon the subject.

¹ Theodor. Lect. lib. ii. p. 566. Cedren. an. 16. Zenonis.

² Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. 228. p. 773.

³ German. Theoria Ec-

cles. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 145.

⁴ Lupus, Not. in. Can.

61. Trullan.

⁵ Alix de Trisagio.

SECT. 4.—Of the Allelujah and Alleluatic Psalms.

Next to the Trisagion there is frequent mention made among the ancient writers of singing the *Allelujah*. By which they sometimes mean the repetition of this single word, which signifies, *Praise the Lord!* which they did in imitation of the heavenly host, singing and saying, again and again, Allelujah! Rev. xix. Sometimes they mean one of those psalms, which were called *Alleluatic* Psalms,¹ because they had the word *Allelujah* prefixed before them in the title, such as the cxlv, and those that follow to the end. The singing of these, was sometimes called singing the Allelujah, as has been observed out of Cassian² more than once in the foregoing parts of this, and the former book. But the more common acceptation of Allelujah, is for the singing of the word itself by a frequent solemn repetition of it upon certain days, and in special parts of divine service; it being a sort of invitatory, or mutual call to each other to praise the Lord. Therefore, as St. Austin observes,³ they always used it in the Hebrew language, because that was the known signification of it; and so it was in our first Liturgy, though now we say, “Praise ye the Lord!” with a response of the people, “The Lord’s name be praised!” Anciently there was no dispute about the lawfulness of the hymn itself, but some variation and some dispute there was about the times of using it. St. Austin says, in some Churches it was never sung but upon Easter day, and the fifty days of Pentecost:⁴ but in other Churches it was used at other times also. Vigilantius contended fiercely against St. Jerom,⁵ that it ought never to be sung but only upon Easter day. And in this, he seems to have followed the practice of the Church of Rome, where Sozomen⁶ assures

¹ Aug. in Psal. 15. p. 505. Psalmi Alleluatici. It. in Psal. 118. p. 542.

² Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 5, et 11.

³ Aug. Ep. 178. et Hom.

xvi. ex. 50. tom. x. p. 165.

⁴ Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. xvii.

Ut Alleluia per solos dies Quinquaginta cantetur in ecclesiâ, non usque-
quaque observatur. Nam et in aliis diebus variè cantatur alibi atque alibi.
Vid. Ep. 86. et Hom. in Psal. 106. et Serm. 151. de Tempore.

⁵ Hieron. cont. Vigilant. cap. i. Exortus est subito Vigilantius, qui dicat
——nunquam nisi in Pascha Alleluia cantandum.

⁶ Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 19.

us, it was never sung but once a year, and that was upon Easter day: in so much that it was the common form of an oath among the Romans, as they hoped to live to sing Allelujah on that day. Cardinal Bona¹ and Baronius² are very angry at Sozomen for this: but Valesius³ honestly defends him, for as much as Cassidore, who was a Roman, reports the same in his *Historia Tripartita*. But we must note, that anciently in those Churches, where it was most frequented, there were some exceptions in point of time and season. For in the time of Lent it was never used, as appears from St. Austin,⁴ who says, that was a time of sorrow, and therefore from the beginning of Lent till Easter day they always omitted it: the ancient tradition of the Church, being only to use it at certain seasons. The fourth Council of Toledo⁵ forbids the use of it not only in Lent but upon other days of fasting, as particularly upon the first of January, which was then kept a fast in the Spanish Church, because the heathen observed it with great superstition of many idolatrous rites and practices. In the same Council the Allelujah is mentioned under the name of *Laudes*,⁶ and appointed to be sung after the reading of the Gospel; which, as Bona⁷ and Mabillon⁸ observe, was according to the Mosarabic rite; for in other Churches it was sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. It was also sung at funerals, as St. Jerom acquaints us⁹ in his Epitaph of Fabiola, where he speaks of the whole multitude singing psalms together, and making the golden roof of the Church shake with echoing forth the Allelujah. The

¹ Bona de Psalm. cap. xvi. sect. 7. n. 4.
n. 28.

³ Vales. in Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 19.

² Baron. an. 384.

⁴ Aug.

in Psal. 110. Venerunt dies ut jam cantemus Alleluia, &c. Vid. in Psal. 106 et 148.

⁵ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 10. In omnibus Quadragesimæ diebus (quia tempus non est gaudii, sed mœroris) Alleluia non decantetur—Hoc enim Ecclesiæ universalis consensus roboravit. In temporibus verò reliquis, id est, Kalendis Januarii, quæ propter errorem gentilitatis aguntur, omninò Alleluia non decantabitur.

⁶ Ibid. can. xi.

Laudes idèò Evangelium sequuntur propter gloriam Christi, quæ per idem Evangelium prædicatur.

⁷ Bona *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. vi.

n. 4. ⁸ Mabil. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. i. cap. iv. n. 12.

⁹ Hieron. Ep. xxx. cap. iv. Sonabant Psalmi, aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatibat Alleluia.

Author under the name of Dionysius,¹ speaks of it also as used in the confection of the chrism, or holy oil to be used in the unction of confirmation. St. Austin says,³ it was sung every Lord's day at the altar, for the same reason that they prayed standing, as a memorial of Christ's resurrection, and as a figure of our future rest and joyfulness, to signify that our business in the life to come, will be nothing else but to praise God, according to that of the Psalmist, "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, O Lord, they will always be praising Thee." The meaning of *Allelujah* being nothing else but *Praise the Lord*, as both he and others represent it.³ In the second Council of Tours⁴ it is appointed to be sung immediately after the psalms both at the sixth hour, that is, noon-day; and the twelfth hour, that is, evening prayer. But whether they mean the shorter Allelujah, or one of those psalms called the Alleluatic Psalms, of which St. Austin and Cassian speak, is not very easy to determine. Isidore says,⁵ it was sung every day in Spain, except upon fast days; though it was otherwise in the African Churches. St. Jerom says,⁶ "it was used in private devotion; for even the ploughman at his work sung his Allelujahs." And this was the signal or call among the monks to their ecclesiastical assemblies.⁷ For one went about and sung Allelujah, and that was the notice to repair to their solemn meeting. Nay, Sidonius Apollinaris seems to intimate,⁸ "that the seamen used it as

¹ Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. cap. iv.

² Aug. Ep. 119. ad

Januar. cap. xv. Omnibus diebus Dominicis ad altare stantes oramus, et Alleluia canitur, quod significat actionem nostram futuram non esse nisi laudare Deum, &c.

³ Vid. Justin. Quæst. ad Orthodox. q. 50.

⁴ Con. Turon. ii. can. 19. Patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam, sex Psalmi dicantur cum Alleluia; et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum Alleluia.

⁵ Isidor. de Offic. lib. i. c. 13. In Africanis Ecclesiis non omni tempore, sed tantum Dominicis diebus et quinquaginta post Domini resurrectionem Alleluia cantatur: Verum apud nos secundum antiquam Hispaniarum traditionem præter dies Jejuniorum et Quadragesimæ omni tempore canitur Alleluia.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. xviii. ad Marcellam. Quocunque te videris, arator stivam retinens Alleluia decantat.

⁷ Id. Ep. xxvii.

Epitaph. Paulæ. cap. xvi. Post Alleluia cantatum, quo signo vocabantur ad collectam, nulli residere licitum erat.

⁸ Sidon. lib. ii. ep. 10. Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum, responsantibus Alleluia ripis, ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.

their *signal*, or *Celeusma*, at their common labour, making the banks echo while they sung Allelujah to Christ. I only observe further, that in the Church Allelujah was sung by all the people, as appears not only from what is said before by St. Jerom, that the Church echoed with the sound of it, but also from that of Paulinus in his Epistle to Severus,¹ “ *Alleluia novis balat ovile choris, the whole sheepfold of Christ sings Allelujah in her new choirs.*” And St. Austin, alluding to this, says,³ “ it was the Christians’ sweet *Celeusma*, or *call*, whereby they invited one another to sing praises unto Christ.”

SECT. 5.—Of the Hosanna and the Evening Hymn, and “ *Nunc dimittis*,” or the Song of Simeon.

I do not here insist upon the Hosanna, or the evening hymn, because it does not appear that either of these were used in the service of the catechumens. The Hosanna was but a part of the great Doxology, “ Glory be to God on high,” and only used in the communion-service, where we shall speak of it hereafter. And the evening hymn has been mentioned before in the former book,³ where we have given an account of the daily evening service, and shewed it to be rather a private hymn, than any part of the public worship of the Church. In it was contained the “ *Nunc dimittis*,” or Song of Simeon, “ Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, &c.” But whether any of this was used in public, or only by Christians in their private devotions in their families at their setting up of lights, is what I ingenuously confess I am not yet able from any ancient records to determine. For though there is frequent mention of the *Αυχναψία* among the Greeks, and of the *Lucernarium* among the Latins, as of a public office, for vespers or evening prayers; yet I will not assert, that this hymn was a part of that office, without clearer proof but leave it to further disquisition and inquiry.

¹ Paulin. Ep. 12. ad Sever.
tom. ix. Celeusma nostrum dulce cantemus Alleluia.
chap. xi. sect. 5.

² Aug. de Cantico Novo. cap. ii.

³ Book. xiii.

The only thing we find more of the "*Nunc dimittis*" is in the Life of Maria Ægyptiaca,¹ who died about the year 525, of whom it is said, that a little before her death she received the eucharist, repeated the creed, and the Lord's prayer, and sung the "*Nunc dimittis*," "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word." But this was only an act of private devotion, and whether it was then received into the public offices of the Church, remains uncertain.

SECT. 6.—Of the "*Benedicite*," or the Song of the Three Children.

But we are more certain of the use of the hymn, called "*Benedicite*," or song of the three children in the burning fiery furnace. For not only Athanasius² directs virgins to use it in their private devotions, but the fourth Council of Toledo says,³ it was used in the Church over all the world, and therefore orders it to be sung by the clergy of Spain and Galicia every Lord's day, and on the festivals of the martyrs, under pain of excommunication. Lestrangle⁴ thinks this is the first time there is any mention made of this hymn as of public use in the Church: but Chrysostom lived two hundred years before this Council, and he makes the same observation as the Council does,⁵ that it was sung in all places throughout the world, and would continue to be sung in future generations. The *Lectioarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon,⁶ appoints this hymn to be sung after the reading of the prophets, much after the same manner as it is now ordered to be sung between the first and second lesson in the liturgy of our Church.

¹ Vita Mariæ Ægypt. ap. Durantum de Riffibus. lib. i. cap. xvi. n. 9.

² Athan. de Virgin. p. 1057.

³ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 13. Hymnum

quoque trium puerorum, in quo universa cæli terræque creatura Deum colaudat, et quem Ecclesia Catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat, quidam sacerdotes in Missâ Dominicorum dierum et in solennitatibus martyrum canere negligunt. Proinde sanctum Concilium instituit, ut per omnes Hispaniæ Ecclesias vel Galliciæ, in omnium missarum solennitate idem in publico (al. Pulpito) decantetur, &c.

⁴ Lestrangle Alliance of Div. Offic. chap. iii. p. 79.

⁵ Chrys. Quod nemo læditur nisi à seipso. tom. iv. p. 593. Ὡδὴν πανταχῆ τῆς οἰκεμένης ἀδομένην, ἢ ἀδοησομένην εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς.

⁶ Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. ii. p. 108.

SECT. 7.—Of the “*Magnificat*,” or Song of the Holy Virgin.

The use of the “*Magnificat*,” or Song of the Holy Virgin, “My soul doth magnify the Lord, &c.” is not quite so ancient: for the first time we meet with it, as prescribed for public use, is in the rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian,¹ who order it to be sung in the French Churches at morning service. And that was about the year 506.

SECT. 8.—When first the Creed began to be sung as an Hymn in the Church.

Some learned persons reckon the singing of the Creed into the psalmody of the Church, and speak of it as an ancient custom: but herein they mistake by suffering themselves to be imposed upon by modern authors. Bishop Wettenhal says,² “it is no improbable conjecture, that the hymn, which the primitive Christians are said by Pliny to have sung to Christ as God, was their Creed; and that it is certain, the Nicene Creed has been sung in the Church in a manner from the very compiling of it.” For this he cites Platina in the Life of Pope Mark, who affirms, that it was ordained by that pope, that on all solemn days, immediately after the Gospel, the Creed should be sung with a loud voice by the clergy and people, in that form wherein it was explained by the Nicene Council. When yet it is certain on the other hand, that the Creed was never so much as barely repeated in the Roman Church in time of divine service, till the year 1014, when Benedict the Eighth brought it into use, to comply with the practice of the French and Spanish Churches, as has been shewn at large in a former book,³ where we have noted, that it was never read publicly in the Greek Church, but once a year, till Peter Fullo brought it into the Church of Antioch, Anno 471, and Timotheus into the Church of Constantinople, Anno 511, from whose example it was taken by the third Council of Toledo, Anno 589, and brought into custom in

¹ Apud Mabillon. de Cursu Gallican. p. 407.
Gift of Singing, chap. iii. p. 330.

² Wettenhal,
³ Book x. chap. iv. sect. 17.

the Spanish Churches. After which it was four whole centuries before it gained admittance in the Church of Rome. So little reason is there to depend upon the authority of modern authors, in cases where they plainly contradict the testimony of more ancient and credible writers. And this is a good argument, as bishop Stillingfleet well urges it,¹ to shew the differences betwixt the old Gallican and Roman offices, and that the Church of England did not follow precisely the model of the Roman offices, but those that were more anciently received in the general practice of the Gallican and British Churches.

SECT. 9.—Of the Author and Original of the Hymn, “*Te Deum.*”

There remains one hymn more, the “*Te Deum,*” which is now in use among us, the author and original of which are variously disputed. The common opinion ascribes it to St. Ambrose and St. Austin jointly; others to St. Ambrose singly,² because he is known to have composed hymns for the use of the Church. Two things are chiefly said in favour of these opinions, which have no real weight or force in them. 1. That the chronicle of Dacius, one of St. Ambrose’s successors, says, he composed it. 2. That it is approved as his hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo, Anno 633. But to the first it is replied by learned men, that the pretended Chronicon of Dacius is a mere counterfeit, and altogether spurious. Mabillon³ proves it to be at least five hundred years younger than its reputed author: whence the story, that is so formally told in it, is concluded to be a mere fiction, and invention of later ages. The story is this, as Spondanus,⁴ a favourer of it, reports it out of Dacius: “That, when St. Austin was baptised by St. Ambrose, whilst they were at the font, they sung this hymn by inspiration, as the Spirit gave them utterance, and so published it in the sight and audience of all the people.” But the au-

¹ Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 237.
gies. p. 180.

² Comber of Litur-

³ Mabil. Analecta Veterum. tom. i. p. 5.

⁴ Spondan. an. 388. n. 9. In quibus fontibus prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis, ‘Te deum laudamus,’ cantantes, cunctis qui aderant audientibus et videntibus, ediderunt. Ex Chronico Dacii. lib. j. c. 10.

thority of the story, resting merely upon the foundation of this fabulous writer, there is no credit to be given to it. Neither is there any greater weight to be laid upon what is alleged from the Council of Toledo: for the Council only says, that some hymns were composed for the use of the Church by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose, without any particular mention of this hymn; so that it might as well be ascribed to St. Hilary, as St. Ambrose, for any thing that is said in that Council. The truth of the matter is, that it was composed by a French writer about an hundred years after St. Ambrose's death, for the use of the Gallican Church. Pagi says,¹ Gavantus found it in some MSS. ascribed to St. Abundius; and others have the name of Sisebutus prefixed to it. Bishop Usher² found it in two MSS. ascribed to Nicettus, bishop of Triers, who lived about the year 535. And he is now by learned men generally reputed the author of it. The learned Benedictins, who lately published St. Ambrose's works, judge St. Ambrose not to be the author of it; and Dr. Cave, though he was once of a different judgment,³ yet upon maturer consideration subscribes to their opinion.⁴ Wherefore the most rational conclusion, is that of Bishop Stillingfleet,⁵ that it was composed by Nicettus, and that we must look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church; since not long after the time of Nicettus it is mentioned in the rule of St. Benedict, cap. xi. and the rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis, cap. xxi. and the rule of Aurelian, where they prescribe the use of it: but Menardus is confident,⁶ there is no mention of this hymn in any writers of credit before them.

SECT. 10. — The Hymns of St. Ambrose.

But though St. Ambrose cannot be allowed to be the author of this hymn, yet there is no doubt to be made but that he composed hymns for the use of the Church, some

¹ Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 388. n. 11.

² Usser. de Symbolo. p. 3.

³ Cave Hist. Liter. vol. i. p. 215.

⁴ Id. Hist. Liter. vol. ii. p. 75.

Ambrosii esse, nullo idoneo testimonio probari potest, et fabulam pro origine habere videtur.

⁵ Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 222.

⁶ Menard. Not. in Gregor. Sacramentar. p. 351.

of which are yet extant. For St. Austin¹ mentions one of his evening hymns in several places, “*Deus Creator omnium, &c.*” Which I forbear to relate here at length, because I have done it in the former book.² Again, St. Austin in his *Retractations*³ speaks of another hymn composed by St. Ambrose upon the repentance of Peter, after the crowing of the cock, part of which he there relates, and says, it was used to be sung by many in his time. Du Pin thinks,⁴ most of those hymns, which are now the daily office of the Roman service, are taken from St. Ambrose, but that the rest are in a different style, and owing to other authors. Particularly that the hymn, “*Vexilla Regis prodeunt,*” is none of his, which is now used in the Romish Church in the fourth week of Lent, so notorious for their kneeling down to the cross, and worshipping it in these words:⁵ “Hail, Cross, our only hope, in this time of passion, increase the righteousness of the pious, and grant pardon of sins to the guilty.” We are sure this could not be the composition of St. Ambrose, nor any writer of that age; being so much the reverse of the practice of the ancient Church, in whose hymns or other devotions there is not the least footstep of worshipping the cross, or any material image of God, as has been demonstrated in a former part of this work,⁶ where the history of images has been handled *ex professo*, in considering the way of adorning the ancient Churches,

SECT. II.—The Hymns of St. Hilary, Claudianus, Mamercus, and others.

There were many other hymns, and some whole books of hymns composed by other writers of the Church, of which

¹ Aug. Confess. lib. ix. cap. 12. It. de Musicâ lib. vi. cap. 2, et 17.

² Book. xlii. chap. v. sect. 7.

³ Aug. Retract. lib. i. cap. 12.

Cantatur ore multorem in versibus Beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait, ‘Hoc, ipsâ Petrâ Ecclesiâ canente, culpam diluit.’

⁴ Du Pin. Bibliothec. Cent. iv. p. 231.

⁵ Breviar. Rom. Hebdom.

iv. Quadragesimæ. Die Sabbati.

O Crux ave spes unica,
Hoc passionis tempore,
Auge piis justitiam,
Reisque dona veniam.

⁶ Book viii. chap. viii. sect. 6. &c.

we have little remaining besides the bare names, and therefore it will be sufficient just to mention them. St. Jerom says,¹ St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, composed a book of hymns: and these, we are sure, were many years after his death of famous note and use in the Spanish Churches, being ratified and confirmed in the fourth Council of Toledo.² But none of these are come to our hands, except a morning hymn prefixed before his works,³ which he sent with an epistle to his daughter Abra. It is a prayer to Christ for preservation from the perils of day and night, savouring of ancient piety, and concluding with the common glorification of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Sidonius Apollinarius says also,⁴ that Claudianus Mamercus collected the psalms and hymns and lessons proper for the festivals in the Church of Vienna in France, and made some hymns of his own, one of which he highly commends for its elegancy,⁵ loftiness, and sweetness, as exceeding any of the ancient lyrics, in the greatness of its composure and historical truth. Savaro says in his Notes upon the place, that it is the same, which is now in the Roman Breviary, and because it answers the character, which Sidonius gives it and has none of the superstition of a modern composure in it, such as the "*Vexilla Regis*," fathered upon St. Ambrose, I think it not improper to transcribe it in the margin here⁶ for the use

¹ Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. cap. c.

² Con. Tolet. iv. can. 12.

³ Hilar. Epist. ad. Fil. Abram. Interim tibi hymnum matutinum et serotinum misi, ut memor mei semper sis. The hymn begins thus: Lucis Largitor Optime, &c. And ends in these words of the Doxology:

Gloria tibi Domine,
Gloria Unigenito,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito.
Nunc et per omne sæculum !

⁴ Sidon. lib. iv. ep. 11. Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus, instructas docuit sonare classes. Hic solennibus annuis paravit, quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

⁵ Id. lib. iv. ep. 3. Jam verò de hymno tuo si percunctere quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amœnitate poeticâ et historicâ veritate supereminet.

⁶ Breviar. Rom. Dominica v. Quadragesimæ, sive in Passione Domini ad Matutinum.

Pange lingua gloriosi
Prælium certaminis,

of the learned reader. And I say further, that if every thing in the Roman Breviary had been in this strain, it had much more resembled the piety and simplicity of the ancient hymns, and been free from those marks of superstition and idolatry, which now it labours under, by mixing the follies of the modern superstitious admirers of the worship of the Virgin Mary and the cross, which were so great a deviation from the ancient worship, and stood so much in need of reformation. There were many other hymns for the use of

Et super crucis trophæum
Dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter redemptor orbis
Immolatus vicerit.

De parentis Protoplasti
Fraude factor condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis
Morsu in mortem corrui,
Ipse lignum tunc notavit,
Damna ligni ut solveret.

Hoc opus nostræ salutis
Ordo depoposcerat,
Multiformis proditoris
Ars ut artem falleret,
Et medelam ferret inde,
Hostis unde læserat.

Quando venit ergo sacri
Plenitudo temporis,
Missus est ab arce Patris
Natus orbis Conditor :
Ac de ventre Virginali
Caro factus prodiit.

Vagit infans inter arcta
Conditus presæpia :
Membra pannis involuta
Virgo mater alligat ;
Et manus pedesque et crura
Stricta cingit fascia.

Gloria et honor Deo
Usquequaque altissimo,
Unà Patri, Filioque,
Inclito Paraclito,
Cui laus est et potestas
Per æterna sæcula. Amen !

particular Churches, composed by learned men, as Nepos, and Athenogenes, and Ephrem Syrus, not to mention those spoken of by Pliny and Tertullian, and frequently by Eusebius ; nor those, which Paulus Samosatensis caused in his anger to be cast out of the Church of Antioch ; nor those, which, Sozomen says,¹ were made upon a special occasion, when the people of Antioch had incensed Theodosius, by throwing down his statues ; which were both sung in the Church, and before Theodosius himself by the singing boys, as he sat at table. Of all which we have no further account but only the bare mention of them in their several authors. As for those composed by Gregory Nazianzen, Paulinus, Prudentius, and other Christian poets, they were not designed for public use in the Church, but only to antidote men against the poison of heresies, or set forth the praises of the martyrs, or recommend the practice of virtue in a private way : for which reason I take no notice of them in this place, being only concerned to give an account of such hymns as related to the ancient psalmody, as a part of the public service of the Church. And so I have done with the first part of their worship in the *Missa Catechumenorum*, or *service of the catechumens*

CHAP. III.

Of the Manner of Reading the Scriptures in the public Service of the Church.

SECT. 1.—Lessons of the Scripture sometimes mixed with Psalms and Hymns, and sometimes read after them.

NEXT to the psalmody and hymns, we are to take a view of their way of reading the Scriptures, which was another part of the service of the catechumens, at which, as has been observed before, all sorts of persons were allowed to

¹ Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 23

be present for instruction. Which is an argument of itself sufficient, if there were no other, to prove, that they were always read in a known tongue: of which I need say no more here because it has been so fully evinced by great variety of arguments in the last Book. What we are now to observe further, relates to the manner and circumstances of this service. Where, first of all it is proper to remark, that though many times the psalms, and lessons, and hymns, were so intermixed, as now they are in our Liturgy, that it is hard to tell which came first in order, or with which the service began; yet in some places it was plainly otherwise: for the psalms were first sung all together, only with short prayers between them, and then the lessons were read by themselves, to such a number as the rules of every Church appointed. Of which I have given sufficient proof out of Cassian and St. Jerom in the beginning of the last chapter, which may supersede all further confirmation in this place.

SECT. 2.—The Lessons read both out of the Old and New Testament, except in the Church of Rome, where only Epistle and Gospel were read.

The next thing worthy of our observation, is the number of the lessons, which were always two at least, and sometimes three or four, and those partly out of the Old Testament, and partly out of the New. Only the Church of Rome seems to have been a little singular in this matter: for as Bishop Stillingfleet observes,¹ out of Walafridus Strabo² and others of her old ritualists, for four hundred years, till the time of Pope Celestine, they had neither psalms nor lessons out of the Old Testament read before the sacrifice, but only Epistle and Gospel. In other Churches they had lessons out of the Old Testament as well as the New. Cassian says,³ in Egypt, after the singing of the psalms, they had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New: only on Saturdays and Sundays, and the fifty days of Pentecost they were both out of the New Testament, one out of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, and the

¹ Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap. iv. p. 215.
Eecl. cap. xii.

³ Cassian Instit. lib. ii. cap. 6.

² Strabo de Reb.

other out of the Gospels. The Author of the Constitutions¹ speaks of four lessons, two out of Moses and the Prophets besides the Psalms, and then two out of the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels. Again,² he mentions the reading of the Prophets on Sundays. And in another place,³ the Law and the Prophets, the Psalms and the Gospels. And again, the Law and the Prophets,⁴ and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels. So Justin Martyr, describing the business of the christian assemblies on the Lord's day, speaks of the reading of the writings of the Prophets, as well as the Apostles.⁵ In like manner Chrysostom, reproving some who were very negligent at Church, says,⁶ "Tell me what Prophet was read to day, what Apostle?" Implying that the one was read as well as the other. Particularly he tells us, that the Book of Genesis was always read in Lent, of which more by and by, in the following observation. St. Basil, in one of his Homilies upon Baptism in Lent,⁷ takes notice of the several lessons that were read that day, besides the psalms, whereof one was out of Isaiah, i. the second out of Acts ii. and the third out of Matthew xi. And in another Homily,⁸ he speaks of the Psalms and Proverbs, and Epistles and Gospels, as read that day. Maximus Tauriensis in one of his Homilies upon the Epiphany says,⁹ the lessons were out of Isaiah lx. Matthew ii. and John i. for that festival. St. Austin sometimes only mentions Epistle and Gospel. But in other places he expressly mentions the reading of the Prophets,¹⁰ and particularly mentions the Prophet Micah, and those words of the sixth chapter, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Which were the theme for his discourse upon the lesson for the day. In the French Churches there is still more evidence for this practice: for Cæsarius Arelatensis,¹¹ in one of his Homilies

¹ Constit. lib. ii. cap. 57.

² Idem. lib. ii. cap. 59.

³ Idem. lib. v. cap. 19.

⁴ Idem. lib. viii. cap. 5.

⁵ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98.

⁶ Chrys. Hom. xxiv. in Rom. p. 270.

Hom. iii. de David et Saul. tom. ii. p. 1037.

⁷ Basil. Hom. xiii.

de Bapt. tom. i. p. 409.

⁸ Basil. Hom. xxi. in Lacizis. p. 460.

⁹ Maxim. Taurin. Hom. iv. in Epiphan.

¹⁰ Aug. Hom. 237. de

Temp. p. 384.

¹¹ Casar. Arelat. De non recedendo ab Ecclesiâ, &c. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. cap. iv. n. 4. Non tunc fiunt

cited by Mabillon, uses this argument to the people, why they should stay the whole time of divine service, “because the lessons were not so properly called *Missa*, or *divine service*, as was the oblation or consecration of the body and blood of Christ, for they might read at home, or might hear others read the lessons, whether out of the Prophets, or Apostles, or Evangelists; but they could not hear or see the consecration any where else but only in the house of God.” Where it is plainly implied, that the lessons were then read in the Church as well out of the Prophets, as the Epistles and Gospels. And so in the relation of the Conference between the Catholics and Arians in the time of Gundobadus, King of Burgundy, which we have had occasion to mention before¹ out of the same learned writer, it is said, that in the vigil held the night before the Conference, four lessons were read, one out of Moses, another out of the Prophet Esaias, a third out of the Gospel, and the last out of the Epistles. And in the old *Lectioarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, there is always a lesson out of the Old Testament before the Epistle and Gospel: and on the *Sabbatum Sanctum*, or Saturday before Easter,³ there are no less than twelve lessons appointed out of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jonah, beside the Epistle and Gospel, which follow after. It further appears from the canons of the Council of Laodicea,³ and the the third Council of Carthage,⁴ and St. Cyril’s Catechetical Discourses,⁵ that all the Books of the Old Testament were then read in the Church, as well as the New. For they give us catalogues of what books might or might not be read in the church, among which all the Books of the Old Testament are specified as such, as were then ac-

missæ, quando divinæ lectiones in Ecclesiâ recitantur, sed quando munera offeruntur, et corpus vel sanguis Domini consecratur: nam lectiones, sive propheticas, sive apostolicas, sive evangelicas, etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legere, aut alios legentes audire potestis; consecrationem verò corporis et sanguinis Domini non alibi, nisi in domo Dei, audire vel videre poteritis.

¹ Book xiv. chap. i. sect. 2.

² Lectioar. Gallican. ap. Ma-

billon. de liturg. Gallic. lib. ii. p. 138.

can. 59. et 60.

⁴ Con. Carth. iii. can. 47.

³ Con. Laodic.

Catech. iv. n. xxii. p. 67.

⁵ Cyril.

tually read in the public service ; and Cyril allows his catechumens to use no other books in private but the Books of the Old and New Testament, which he thought they might safely read, because they were both publicly read in the Church.

SECT. 3.—Proper Lessons for certain Times and Festivals.

The next observation to be made is upon their method of reading the Scriptures, which seems always to be done by some rule, though this might vary in different Churches. St. Austin tells us,¹ there were some lessons so fixed and appropriated to certain times and seasons, that no others might be read in their stead. And he particularly instances in the festival of Easter, when for four days successively the history of Christ's resurrection was read out of the four Gospels.² On the day of his passion they read the history of his sufferings out of St. Matthew's Gospel only.³ And all the time between Easter and Pentecost he says,⁴ they read the Acts of the Apostles. This last particular is frequently mentioned by St. Chrysostom, who has a whole sermon to give an account of the reasons of it. There he takes notice of many things together relating to this matter of reading the lessons by rule and order. First he tells us,⁵ how by the appointment of the Church, on the day of our Saviour's passion, all such Scriptures were read as had any relation to the cross ; then how on the great Sabbath or Saturday before Easter, they read all such portions of Scripture as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead and buried. He adds also,⁶ that on Easter day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection ; and on every festival, the things that related to that festival. But it seemed a difficulty, why then the Acts of the Apostles

¹ Aug. Expos. in 1 Joan. in Præfat. tom. ix. p. 235. Interposita est. sollemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex Evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesiâ recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.

² Vid. Aug. Sermon. 139, 140, 141, 144, 148. de Tempore. Item. Chrys. Hom. 88. in Mat. p. 731.

³ Aug. Sermon. 144. de Tempore. p. 320.

⁴ Aug. Tract. vi. in Joan. tom. ix. p. 24. et Hom. 83. de Diversis.

⁵ Chrys. Hom. 63. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur. tom. v. p. 919.

⁶ Chrys. ibid. p. 951.

which contain the history of their miracles done after Pentecost, should not rather be read after Pentecost than before it? To this he answers, that the miracles of the Apostles contained in that Book, were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection: and therefore the Church appointed that Book to be read always between Easter and Pentecost, immediately after our Saviour's resurrection, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption. So that though the lessons for other festivals related the things that were done at those festivals; yet for a particular reason, the Acts of the Apostles, which contained the history of things done after Pentecost, were read before Pentecost, because they were more proper for the time immediately following our Saviour's resurrection. And upon this account it became a general rule over the whole Church to read the Acts at this time, as not only Chrysostom testifies here, but in many other places of his writings. In his Homily upon those words, "Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples," Acts ix. he gives this reason, why he could not preach in order upon every part of that Book,¹ because the law of the Church commanded it to be laid aside after Pentecost, and the reading of it to conclude with the end of the present festival. In another place he says,² it was appointed by law to be read on that festival, and not usually read in any other part of the year. And in another place he gives this reason,³ why he broke off his sermons upon Genesis in the Passion-week, because the intervention of other solemnities obliged him to preach then upon other subjects, agreeable to what was read in the Church, as against the traitor Judas, and upon the Passion, and our Saviour's resurrection, at which time he took in hand the Acts of the Apostles, and preached upon them from Easter to Pentecost. Cassian says,⁴ the same order was observed among the Egyptians: and it appears from the ancient *Lec-*

¹ Chrys. Hom. 47. tom. v. p. 637. Τῶν πατέρων ὁ νόμος κελεύει μετὰ τὴν Πεντεκοστήν ἀποτιθεσθαι τὸ βιβλίον. &c.

² Hom. 48. in Inscriptionem Altaris. Act. xvii. tom. v. p. 650. Τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ νενομοθέτηται αὐτὸ ἀναγιώσκεισθαι, &c.

³ Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 478.

⁴ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 6.

tionarium Gallicanum, that it was so in the French Churches: for there almost on every day between Easter and Pentecost, except the Rogation-days, and some few others, two lessons are ordered to be read out of the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles. Whence it may be concluded further, that the reading of the Apocalypse, was also in a great measure appropriated to this season in the Gallican Church. And so it was in the Spanish Churches by an order of the fourth Council of Toledo,¹ which enjoins the reading of it in this interval, under pain of excommunication. In Lent they usually read the book of Genesis, as is plain from Chrysostom, whose famous Homilies, called *Ἀνδριάντες*, because they are *about the statues* of the Emperor, which the people of Antioch had seditiously thrown down, were preached in Lent: and in one of these he says,² he would preach upon the Book that had been read that day, which was the Book of Genesis, and the first words “In the beginning God created Heaven and earth,” were the subject of his discourse. In another sermon,³ preached upon the same text in the beginning of Lent, he says, the words had been read in the lesson that day. And for this very reason he preached two whole Lents upon the Book of Genesis, because it was then read of course in the Church. For the thirty-two first of those homilies were preached at Constantinople in Lent, in the third year after he was made bishop, Anno 400, or 401; but the festivals of the Passion, and Easter, and Pentecost coming on, this subject was interrupted, and he preached upon other subjects, as he himself tells us,⁴ suitable to those occasions. Afterward he resumed his former work, and finished his comment upon Genesis in thirty-two sermons more in the year ensuing. Which makes it plain that Genesis was

¹ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 16. Si quis Apocalypsin à Paschâ usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesiâ non prædicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.

² Chrys. Hom. vii. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 107. Τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθῆν μεταχειρισθῆναι βιβλίον.

³ Serm. i. in Gen. i. tom. ii. p. 880. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεγνωσθῆ σήμερον. Vid. Chrys. Hom. vi. de Pœnitentia in Edit. Latinis.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 480. Vid. Severiani Gabalensis Hom. i. in Gen. ap. Combesis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 211. Et. Aug. Serm. 71. de Temp.

then read in Lent, as the Acts were in Pentecost, and that Chrysostom conformed his discourses according to the order of reading then established in the Church. It appears further from St. Ambrose, that the Book of Job and Jonah were both read in the Passion-week. For, speaking of a sermon, which he made to the people at this time, he says,¹ “Ye have heard, children, the Book of Job read, which is in course appointed to be read at this time.” And again, says he,² “the Book of Jonah was read.” That is, as Pagi critically remarks,³ on the third day of the Passion-week. And that this was an ancient rule of the Church, appears from Origen’s Comment upon Job, which, St. Jerom says,⁴ St. Hilary translated into Latin. For there he not only tells us,⁵ that the Book of Job was read in the Church in Passion-week, but also gives us the reason of it, “because it was a time of fasting and abstinence, a time, in which they that fasted and abstained, had, as it were, a sort of fellow-suffering with admirable Job, a time in which men by fasting and abstinence followed after the passion of Christ Jesus our Lord: and because the passion of Job was in a great measure a type and example of the passion and resurrection of Christ, therefore the history of Job’s passion was with good reason read and meditated upon in these days of passion, these days of sanctification, these days of fasting.” Thus far Origen: but in the⁶ *Lectionarium Gallicanum* there is no mention of the Book of Job, but only of Jonah, on the *Sabbatum Magnum*, or Saturday before Easter-day.⁷ St. Jerom seems to say, that the Prophet Hosea was also read on the Vigil of our Saviour’s passion. For he mentions a long discourse of Pierius, which he had read, made by that martyr on the beginning of that book,

¹ Ambros. Ep. 33. ad Marcellin. Soror. p. 160. Audistis, filii, librum legi Job, qui solenni et munere est decursus et tempore.

² Ibid.

p. 162. Sequenti die lectus est de more liber Jonæ.

³ Pagi. Critic.

in Baron. an. 387. n. 4.

⁴ Hieron. cont. Vigilant.

⁵ Origen. in Job. lib. i. p. 366. In conventu ecclesie in diebus sanctis legitur passio Job, in diebus jejunii, in diebus abstinentie, &c.

⁶ Lectionar.

Galic. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p. 139.

⁷ Hieron. Proem. in

Hosea ad Pammach. Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus Prophetæ die Vigiliarum Dominice passionis extemporali et disertio sermone profudit.

in an elegant but extemporary style, on the vigil before the passion. St. Chrysostom,¹ in one of his Homilies upon the Gospel of St. John, which he was then expounding, advises his auditors, “to read at home, in the week days before, such portions of the Gospel as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord’s day following in the Church.” Which implies some certain rule and order. So that though we have not any complete *Lectionarium*, or *Calendar* of lessons now remaining, yet we are sure their reading of Scripture was some way methodised and brought under rule, especially for the greater solemnities and festivals of the Church. The first Calendar of this kind is thought by some to be Hippolytus’s *Canon Paschalis*, which, as I have shewn before,² no less men than Scaliger and Gothofred take to be a rule appointing lessons proper for the festivals. But Bacherius and others give another account of it, which leaves the matter uncertain. There goes also under the name of St. Jerom, a book called his *Comes* or *Lectionarium*; but critics of the best rank reckon this a counterfeit,³ and the work of a much later writer, because it mentions lessons out of the Prophets and Old Testament, whereas in St. Jerom’s time, as we have noted before, there were no lessons read besides Epistles and Gospels in the Church of Rome. However, some time after, there were several books of this kind composed for the use of the French Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris says,⁴ Claudianus Mamercus made one for the Church of Vienna, Anno 450. And Gennadius says,⁵ Musæus made another for the Church of Marseilles, about the year 458. But both these are now lost, and the oldest of this kind is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which Mabillon lately published from a manuscript, which he judges by the hand to be above a thousand years old, but wrote after the time

¹ Chrys. Hom. x. in Joan. al. xi. Edit. Savil. p. 597.

² Book. xlii. chap. v. sect. 6.

³ Vid. Stilling. Orig. Britan. chap.

i v. p. 229, et Cave Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 225.

⁴ Sidon. lib. iv.

ep. 11. Hic solennibus annuis paravit, quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

⁵ Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. lxxix. Excerpsit de Scriptoris lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas; responsoria psalmodum capitula temporibus et lectionibus congruentia.

of Gregory the Great, because it mentions the festival of Genouefa,¹ who is supposed to have lived after his time. But though we have no more ancient Calendar now remaining, yet the authorities alleged before do indisputably evince the thing itself, that the lessons of Scripture were generally appropriated to times and seasons, according as the festivals required: and for the rest they were either read in order as they lie in the Bible, as Mabillon² shews from the Rules of Cæsarius and Aurelian; or else were arbitrarily appointed by the bishops at discretion, as sometimes particular psalms were upon emergent occasions, according to the observation,³ that has been made in speaking of that subject. St. Austin says expressly,⁴ he sometimes ordered a lesson to be read agreeable to the subject of the psalm upon which he was preaching. And Ferrarius gives several other instances,⁵ both out of St. Austin⁶ and Chrysologus,⁷ to the same purpose, which need not here be repeated.

SECT. 4.—By whom the Scriptures were anciently read in the Church.

The next question may be concerning the persons, by whom the Scriptures were publicly read in the Church. Which is a question that has been in some measure answered before, in speaking of the order of readers.⁵ Where I shewed, that for the two first centuries, before the order of readers was instituted, it is probable the Scriptures were read by the deacons, or else, in imitation of the Jewish Church, by such as the bishop or president for that time appointed. But in the time of St. Cyprian, it was the peculiar office of the readers, which were become an inferior order of the clergy, to read all the lessons of Scripture, and even the Gospel, as well as other parts, as appears from

¹ Lectionar. Gallic. ap. Mabil. p. 114.

² Mabil. de Cursu

Gallicano. p. 406.

³ Book. xiv. chap. i. sect. 6.

⁴ Aug.

in Psal. xc. ser. ii. p. 412. Propterea fecimus ipsam lectionem Evangelii recitari, ubi Dominus tentatus est, per ea verba Psalmi quæ hic audistis.

⁵ Ferrar. de Ritu Concionum. lib. i. cap. 17.

⁶ Aug. Ser. 23. de

Verbis Domini. Ser. 121. de Diversi. Tract. xii. in. Joan.

⁷ Chrysolog. Ser. 66, et 118.

⁵ Book. iii. chap. v.

several of Cyprian's Epistles.¹ Here I must add, that in after-ages the reading of the Gospel was in some Churches confined to the office of the deacons and presbyters. For so the Author of the Constitutions words it,² "After the other lessons are read by the readers, let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels. And so St. Jerom reminds Sabinianus the deacon,³ "how he had read the Gospels in the Church." And Socrates⁴ notes the same of Sabbatius, a presbyter in the Novatian Church. Sozomen says,⁵ at Alexandria the Gospel was read only by the archdeacon; in other places by the deacons; in others only by the presbyters, and on the greater festivals by the bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-day. In the French Churches it was the ordinary office of deacons, as appears from that canon of the Council of Vaison, which says,⁶ that if the presbyter was sick, the deacon might read an Homily, giving this reason for it, "that they, who were thought worthy to read the Gospels of Christ, were not unworthy to read the expositions of the holy Fathers." Yet in the Spanish Churches the ancient custom continued, that the readers read the Gospel as well as other lessons. Which may be collected from that canon of the first Council of Toledo,⁷ which allows no one, that had done public penance, ever to be ordained, unless it were to the office of a reader, in case of great necessity, and then he should read neither the Epistle nor the Gospel. Which implies, that other readers, who were never under penance, read both the Gospel and all other lessons, as Albaspinæus in his Notes rightly observes upon it.⁸

SECT. 5.—Whether the Epistle and Gospel were read twice, first to the Catechumens, and then to the Faithful at the Altar.

But in one thing that learned person seems to be mistaken,

¹ Cypr. Ep. 34. al. 39. Ep. 38.

² Constit. lib. ii. cap. 57.

³ Hieron. Ep. 48. ad Sabinian. Evangelium Christi quasi diaconus lectitabas.

⁴ Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 5.

⁵ Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 19.

⁶ Con. Vasens ii. can. 2. Si enim digni sunt diaconi, quæ Christus in Evangelio locutus est, legere, quare indigni judicenter sanctorum patrum expositiones publicè recitare?

⁷ Con. Tolet. i. can. 2. Pœnitentes non admittantur ad clerum, nisi tantùm si necessitas aut usus exegerit, et tunc inter lectores deputentur, ita ut Evangelia aut Apostolum non legant. Vid. can.

iv. ibid.

⁸ Albaspin. Not. in Con. Tol. i. can. 2. Liquido ex his constat lectores non evangelium tantum, sed et lectiones pronuntiâsse.

when he supposes that reading of the Gospel to have been in the communion-service.¹ For anciently the Scriptures, and even the Gospel itself, were only read in the service of the catechumens. Cardinal Bona indeed says,² the ancient custom was to read the Gospel only to the faithful, and that the Council of Orange in France,³ and the Council of Valentia in Spain,⁴ were the first that ordered it otherwise. But nothing is plainer, than that the reading of the Gospel was always before the sermon, and the sermon was always before the communion-service began, in the presence of the catechumens, and before their dismissal ordinarily, being designed chiefly for their instruction. Therefore, though some ill custom might have crept into the Churches of France and Spain, excluding the catechumens from hearing the Gospel and the sermon, which those Councils endeavoured to correct; yet that is far from proving it to be the ancient custom, to confine the hearing of the Gospel to the faithful only: and a man cannot look into the Homilies of St. Austin or St. Chrysostom, but he will find this mistake, every where confuted. For they always speak of reading the Gospel before the Homily, and the Homily made in the presence of the catechumens: and the contrary supposition is merely owing to a common prejudice and conceit, that the ancient service was in all things like the modern, where the Gospel is twice read, first among the lessons, and then with the Epistle, by itself in the communion-service; whereas, anciently, they were both read in the ordinary course of the lessons, in that part of the service only, which was properly called the service of the catechumens.

SECT. 6.—The Solemnity and Ceremonies of Reading the Lessons.
Where first of the Salutation, “*Pax vobis,*” before Reading.

The next thing worthy our observation is, the solemnity and ceremony, with which the Ancients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The reader, before he began to read,

¹ Albaspin. Not. in can. iv. Con. Carthag. iii.
Liturg. lib. ii. cap. vii. n. 1.

² Bona Rec.

³ Con. Arausican. i. can. 18.

⁴ Con. Valentin. can. i.

was commonly used to say, "*Pax vobis,*" *Peace be with you!*" which was the usual form of salutation at the entrance of all offices in the Church. St. Cyprian plainly alludes to this,¹ when speaking of a new reader, whom he had ordained to the office the Lord's day before, he says, "*Auspiciatus est pacem, dum dedicat lectionem,—He began to use the salutation, 'Peace be with you!' when he first began to read.*" I know none of the Commentators that take notice of this custom in Cyprian, or make any remark upon the phrase: but this is evidently the sense of it, and so the learned Albaspinæus understands it.² This custom seems to have continued in Afric, till the third Council of Carthage made an order to the contrary,³ that the readers should no longer salute the people. This form of salutation, "Peace be with you!" to which the people usually answered, "And with thy spirit!" was commonly the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in the performance of their several functions in the Church, as is noted by Chrysostom in many places:⁴ and therefore this Council took away this power from the readers, and put it into the hands of the deacons or the other superior ministers of the Church. So that as the reader had used to say before reading, "Peace be with you!" this canon only ordered, that it should be said by some other minister. For that it was used either by the reader, or some other minister before he began to read, appears from St. Austin, who, writing against the Donatists, says,⁵ nothing could be more perverse than their own practice, who, before the reader began to read the Epistle, said to him, "Peace be with thee!" and yet separated from the peace of those Churches, to which the Epistles were written.

¹ Cypr. Ep. 33. al. 38. ad Cler. Carthag. p. 75.

² Albaspin. Not.

in Con. Carthag. iii. can. 4.

³ Con. Carth. iii. can. iv. Ut lectores populum non saluent.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2. Cor. p. 573. Hom. iii. in Colos. p. 1337, et 1338.

⁵ Aug. ep. 165. Quid autem perversius et insanius, quam lectoribus easdem Epistolas legentibus dicere, 'Pax tecum,' et ab earum Ecclesiarum pace separare, quibus ipsæ Epistolæ scriptæ sunt?

SECT. 7.—This Salutation sometimes used by the Bishop immediately before the Reader began to read.

St. Austin in another place mentions the bishop's using this form of salutation as soon as he came into the church, immediately before the reader began to read the lessons, which in Afric, in those days, was the first part of the service, with a responsory psalm between every lesson. "I went to church," says he,¹ "I saluted the people, that is, said 'Peace be unto you!' And then silence being made, the solemn lessons of the Holy Scriptures were read in order." This custom of saluting the people in this form is also mentioned by Chrysostom in several places. "When we are come into the church," says he,² "we say immediately, 'Peace be unto you!' according to this law, and ye answer, 'And with thy spirit!'" Again,³ "the bishop at his entrance into the church says always, 'Peace be unto you!' as a proper salutation when he comes into his Father's house." And in another place,⁴ "when the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, 'Peace be with you all!' when he begins his sermon, he says, again, 'Peace be with you all! &c.'" Now, considering that this was the common salutation at the beginning of all offices, and that the Scriptures began to be read as soon as the bishop came into the church, it is plain that such a form of salutation was always used by one or other before the reading of the Scriptures.

SECT. 8.—The Deacon enjoined Silence, before the Reader began, and required Attention: As the Reader also did before every Lesson, saying, "Thus saith the Lord."

St. Chrysostom takes notice of two other customs relating to this matter, as introductory to the reading and hearing the Scriptures with greater advantage: that is, the dea-

¹ Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xxii. cap. viii. p. 1489. *Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum: Deo gratias, Deo laudes. —Salutavi populum.—Facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solennia.*

² Chrys. Hom. xxxiii. in Mat. p. 218. *Κοιμή πᾶσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιλέγομεν εἰσιόντες εὐθέως κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκείνον.*

³ Chrys. Hom. xxxvi. in I Cor. p. 653.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Colos. p. 1338.

cons enjoining silence and requiring attention, and the reader himself, after the naming any lesson, saying, "Thus saith the Lord." "The deacon," says he,¹ "who is the common minister of the Church, first stands up and cries with a loud voice, 'Πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give attention*;' this he repeats several times, and after that the reader names the prophet, Isaiah suppose, or any other; and before he begins to read, he also cries aloud, 'Τάδε λέγει Κύριος, *Thus saith the Lord*.'" So again in another place,² "When the reader rises up and says, 'Thus saith the Lord;' and the deacon stands up, and commands all men to keep silence, he does not say this to honour the reader, but God, who speaks to all by him." This enjoining of silence is spoken of by St. Ambrose and others:³ but it differed from another Act of the deacon's under the same name, "*silentium indicere*," which was calling upon the people to fall to their private prayers, of which we shall have occasion to say more in the next Book, chap. i.

SECT. 9.—At the naming of the Prophet or Epistle the People in some Places said, "*Deo Gratias*," and "Amen!" at the End of it.

Mabillon observes,⁴ that at the naming of the lessons out of the Prophets or Epistles the people sometimes said, "*Deo gratias, Thanks be to God!*" As it is in the Mosarabic Liturgy. But we have little notice of this elsewhere. Only St. Austin says,⁵ it was a very common phrase among the monks, when they met a brother-christian, to say, "*Deo gratias, Thanks be to God!*" for which the Circumcellions, or Agonistici, as they called themselves, among the Donatists, were wont to insult them, though they themselves often used to say, "*Deo laudes!*" which in their mouth was more to be dreaded than the roaring of a lion. It appears also from the Acts of Eradius's election to be his successor, that it

¹ Chrys. Hom. xix. in Act, Apost.

² Chrys. Hom. iii. in 2 Thes.

³ Ambros. Præfat. in Psalmos. Quantum laboratur in ecclesiâ ut fiat silentium, cum lectiones leguntur. &c. Vid. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xxii. c. 8.

⁴ Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. cap. ii. n. 10.

⁵ Aug. in Psal.

132. p. 630. A quibus plus timetur, 'Deo laudes,' quam fremitus leonis, hi etiam insultare nobis audent, quia fratres, cum vident homines, 'Deo gratias,' dicunt.

was an usual acclamation upon many other occasion : for as soon as he had nominated Eradius to be his successor, the people cried out for a long time together,¹ “ *Deo gratias, Christo laudes, Thanks be to God! Praise be to Christ!*” What therefore was so common upon other occasions, might very probably be said by way of acclamation at the naming of the lessons of the Holy Scriptures. Grotius says,² it was also customary at the end of the Epistle for the people to answer, “ Amen!” and that hence it was, that at the end of all St. Paul’s Epistles the word, Amen, was added by the Church. I know not upon what grounds he asserts this, and therefore I shall let it rest upon the authority of that learned man, without affirming or denying his assertion.

SECT. 10.—At the Reading of the Gospel all stood up, and said in some Places, “ Glory be to Thee, O Lord !”

At the reading of the Gospel it was a general custom for all the people to stand up : and some of the middle age Ritualists take notice of their saying, “ Glory be to thee, O Lord!” at the naming of it. The author of the Homily, *De Circo vel Hippodromo*,³ under the name of St. Chrysostom, says, “ When the deacon goes about to read the Gospel, we all presently rise up, and say, ‘ Glory be to Thee, O Lord!’ ” But as that Homily is known to be none of Chrysostom’s, we cannot certainly say, it was the custom in his days. But the custom of rising up at the reading of the Gospel is certainly as old as Chrysostom : for he speaks of it in one of his Homilies on St. Matthew.⁴ “ If the letters of a king are read in the theatre with great silence: much more ought we to compose ourselves, and stand up with attentive ears, when the letters not of an earthly king, but of the Lord of Angels are read to us.”

The Author of the Constitutions mentions the same:⁵ “ When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters and deacons,

¹ Aug. Ep. 110. de Actis Eradii. A populo acclamatum est trigesies sexies, ‘ Deo gratias, Christo laudes.’

² Grot. Annot. in Philem. ver. 25.

³ Chrys. Hom. 52. de Circo. tom. vi. p. 491.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. i.

in Mat. p. 11.

⁵ Const. lib. ii. cap. 57.

and all the people stand with profound silence." And so Isidore of Pelusium,¹ "When the true Shepherd appears at the opening of the Holy Gospels, then the bishop himself rises up, and lays aside his pastoral habit or authority, signifying thereby, that then the Lord himself, the Author of the pastoral function, his God and his Master is present." This was every where observed, except at Alexandria, where it is noted by Sozomen,² as a singular thing in that Church, "That the bishop did not use to rise up, when the Gospel was read." And Cassian observes it,³ as no less singular in the Monks of Egypt, that excepting the reader, who always stood up, the rest sat upon low seats both when the psalms and the lessons out of the Old or New Testament were reading. Which was only indulged them because of their excessive watchings and fastings and labours. In other places sitting at the Gospel was reckoned a corruption and abuse: insomuch that Philostorgius tells us,⁴ that Theophilus, the Arian bishop, who went to the Indies, corrected it as an indecency that had crept in there against the rules of the Church. And Anastasius did the same at Rome, as is said in his Life by the Author of the Pontifical.⁵ For he made a decree, "that, as often as the Holy Gospels were read, the priests should not sit, but stand in a bowing posture." In Afric the general custom was, not only to stand at the Gospel, but at all the other lessons out of Scripture: for they gave equal honour to every part of the word of God, insomuch as that their sermons and homilies and whatever was rehearsed in the Church, was heard standing, as we shall see more in the next chapter. Here it will be sufficient to observe, that Cyprian's readers not only stood up to read, but that all the people stood about them when they read the Scriptures.⁶ And in St. Austin's time the custom was the same: for he says,⁷ "the

¹ Isidor. Pelus. lib. i. ep. 136.

² Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 19.

³ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 12.

⁴ Philostorg. lib. iii. c. 5.

⁵ Pontifical. Vit. Anastas. Hic constituit, ut quotiescunque sancta Evangelia recitarentur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent.

⁶ Cypr.

Ep. 34. al. 39. p. 78. In loco altiore constitui oportet, ubi ab omni populo circumstante conspecti, &c.

⁷ Aug. Hom. 26. ex 50. tom. x. p.

174. Quando passionēs proluxæ aut certè aliquæ lectiones longiores legun-

longest lessons were then heard by all sorts and sexes standing, except only such as through some infirmity in the feet or weakness of body were disabled, who upon that account were indulged in sitting, but no others whatsoever. Bona thinks there was no certain answer made,¹ when the Gospel was ended. For some said only, ‘Amen!’ as it is in the Mosarabic Liturgy, and the Rule of St. Benedict. Which Alexander Hales interprets the same as saying, “God grant we may persevere in the doctrine of the Gospel.” Others said, “*Deo gratias, Thanks be to God!*” and others, “*Laus tibi, Christe, Praise be to Thee, O Christ!*” But all this is said only out of the middle-age writers, whilst there is a perfect silence as to this matter in the more ancient writers of the Church.

SECT. II.—Lights carried before the Gospel in the Eastern Churches.

There was one ceremony more ancient, which St. Jerom makes peculiar to the Eastern Churches, which was the carrying lights before the Gospel, when it was to be read. He says,² they had no such custom in the Western Church, either as burning candles by day at the monuments of the martyrs, as Vigilantius falsely accused them; nor at any other time, save only when they met in the night, to give light to their assemblies: but in the Eastern Church it was otherwise; for without any regard to the relics of the martyrs, whenever the Gospel was read, they lighted candles, partly to demonstrate their joy for the good news, which the Gospel brought, and partly by a corporeal symbol to represent that light of which the Psalmist speaks, “Thy word is

tur, qui stare not possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. Note, that this Homily is by Mabillon and the Benedictins in their new edition ascribed to Cæsarius Arelatensis: if it be his, it proves the custom of standing to hear the lessons, to have been according to the usage of the French Churches.

¹ Bona. Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. vii. n. 4.

² Hieron. cont.

Vigilant. cap. iii. Cereos autem non clarâ luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus——Absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis Ecclesias, quum legendum est evangelium, accenduntur luminaria jam sole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum, &c.

a lamp to my feet, and a light unto my paths." I know no other author beside St. Jerom, that mentions this, and as far as his authority will prevail, it may be credited, and no further. Dr. Cave judges,¹ it might not be much elder than his time; how ever it was, it is no argument to patronise the burning of lamps and wax candles, without the same reason, in churches at noon-day.

SECT. 12.—Three or four Lessons sometimes read out of the Gospels on the same Day.

It is further observable, that in some Churches, upon some solemn occasions, they had three or four lessons read out of the Gospels on the same day. St. Austin says,² he would have had four lessons read out of the four Gospels on the day of our Saviour's passion; but the people were disturbed at it, as what they had not been accustomed to, so he was forced to wave it. But the custom prevailed in the French Churches. For in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon, the lessons of several festivals are thus appointed: on the feast of Epiphany, there is one lesson out of St. Matthew ii. for morning service, and three more out of Matthew, Luke, and John, for the communion-service. So on the Parascève, or day of our Saviour's passion, there is one lesson of the Gospel for morning service, another for the second, another for the third, another for the sixth, another for the ninth hours of prayer,³ collected out of the four Gospels by way of harmony or *catena*. Whence we may observe, that the old Gallican Liturgy, from whence our English service is thought chiefly to be derived, and not from the Roman, by learned men,⁴ had distinct offices for morning and communion-service, and distinct Gospels for each service on solemn days, as our's now has for all the festivals, which probably were designed at first for distinct offices, though they are now commonly read together in the greatest part of our Churches.

¹ Cave Prim. Christ. lib. i. c. vii. p. 203.
de Tempore. p. 320.

² Aug. Serm. 144.

³ Vid. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallic. p.

116, et 134.

⁴ Vid. Stillingfleet. Orig. Britan. chap. iv.

SECT. 13.—Of longer and shorter Lessons, and their distinct Use, according to Durantus.

There is another distinction made by some between the longer and shorter lessons. The longer lessons are said by Durantus to be used at the long nocturnal or Antelucan service,¹ and the lesser at the other canonical hours of prayer. So that this distinction could have no place till the canonical hours were settled in the Church. Which was not till the fourth or fifth century, as has been shewn in another place.² Radulphus Tungrensis,³ whom Durantus cites, speaks somewhat of this distinction in his time, and says, the lesser sort of lessons were called vulgarly, *Capitula, chapters*, and designed for the praise of God. Which makes it more probable, that these lesser lessons were no other than the psalms, or antiphonal hymns collected out of the Psalms, for the service of the several hours of devotion. Which are expressly called “*Capitella de Psalmis, chapters out of the Psalms,*” by the Council of Agde,⁴ and were the same as antiphonal hymns, collected out of the Psalms, and to be said alternately by way of responses. So that whatever may be said of the middle ages, there seems to be no ground for this distinction of greater and lesser lessons in the ancient service, save only as we take the reading of the Psalms for lessons of Scripture.

SECT. 14.—What might or might not be read by Way of Lessons in the Church.

It is true, indeed, St. Austin in one of his Homilies,⁵ which Mabillon and the Benedictins in their late edition ascribe to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, speaks of longer and shorter lessons; but it is not in relation to the long morning service, and the shorter service of the canonical hours, but upon a

¹ Durant. de Ritib. lib. iii. cap. xviii. n. 4, et 5. chap. ix. sect. 8.

² Book. xiii.

³ Radulph. de Canon. Observant. Propos. viii. and xiii.

⁴ Con. Agathen. can. xxx. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum et missarum, post hymnos capitella de Psalmis dici, &c.

⁵ Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex 50. quæ est Hom. 300. in Appendice Edit. Benedictin.

quite different occasion. For there it is supposed, that beside the lessons of Scripture, sometimes other lessons were read out of the Homilies of the Fathers, or the Acts of the Martyrs, which because they were sometimes very prolix, an indulgence was therefore granted to infirm persons to sit down to hear them read. And this leads us to a new observation and further remark upon the ancient practice, that in some Churches at least other things were allowed to be read by way of lesson and instruction beside the canonical Scriptures, such as the Passions of the Martyrs on their proper festivals, and the Homilies of the Fathers, and the Epistles and Tracts of pious men, and the letters communicatory of one Church to another, with other things of the like nature. That the Passions of the Martyrs were sometimes read among the lessons in the Church, appears not only from the foresaid Homily of Cæsarius or St. Austin, but from a rule made in the third Council of Carthage,¹ which forbids all other books to be read in the Church, besides the canonical Scripture, except the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days of commemoration. Eusebius probably collected² the Passions of the Martyrs for this very purpose; as Paulinus, bishop of Nola, did after him, which Johannes Diaconus says,³ were used to be read in the Churches. Thus Gelasius says,⁴ the Acts of Pope Sylvester were read in many of the Roman Churches, though not in the Lateran, because they were apocryphal and written by an unknown author. And Mabillon⁵ gives several other such instances out of Avitus and Ferreolus; and in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which he published, there are frequently lessons appointed out of St. Austin and others upon the festivals of St. Stephen and the Holy Innocents, and Julian the martyr, on Epiphany, and the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul. Whence some learned men conjecture not improbably,⁶ that such sort of histories and Passions of the Martyrs had particularly the

¹ Con. Carth. iii. can. 47. Liceat legi Passiones Martyrum cum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur.

² Euseb. lib. v. cap. 4. speaks of these Collections.

³ Joan. Diac. Præfat. ad Vit. Gregor. Magni.

⁴ Gelas. Decret. ap. Crab. Con. tom. i. p. 992.

⁵ Mabil. de

Cursu Gallicano. p. 403, et 407. ⁶ Vid. Chamier. Panstratia. tom. i. de Canon. Script. lib. i. cap. iv. n. i. p. 101.

name of *Legenda*, *Legends*: for though now that name be commonly taken in a worse sense, for a fabulous history, because many lives of saints and martyrs were written by the monks of later ages in a mere fabulous and romantic way, yet anciently it had a good signification, and in its original use denoted only such acts and monuments of the martyrs as were allowed by authority to be read in the Church. The curious reader may find frequent references made by St. Austin in his Homilies¹ to such lessons read out of the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days in the Church, as also in the Homilies of Pope Leo² and others, which it is needless to recite in this place.

But besides the Passions of the Martyrs and Homilies relating to them, there were also many other pious books read by way of moral exhortation in many Churches. Thus Eusebius says,³ the book called *Hermes Pastor*, was anciently read in the Church. He says the same of Clemens Romanus's first Epistle to the Corinthians,⁴ that it was read in many churches, both in his own time, and the ages before him. And Dionysius,⁵ bishop of Corinth, says, they read not only that Epistle of Clemens, but another written by Soter, bishop of Rome, which they would always continue to read. Sozomen says,⁶ the book called the Revelations of Peter, was read once a year on Good Friday, in many of the Churches of Palestine. Athanasius⁷ testifies the same of the book called *Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων*, *the doctrine of the Apostles*. And St. Jerom says,⁸ the Homilies of Ephrem Syrus were in such honour as to be read in the Church after the reading of the Scriptures. St. Austin assures us,⁹ that the Acts of the Collation of Carthage, were read always in the Church in Lent. And in one of his Epistles¹⁰ he desires of Marcell-

¹ Vid. Aug. Serm. xii. de Sanctis. p. 408. Serm. 45. de Diversis. p. 508. Item. Serm. 63. p. 553. Serm. 93. p. 564. Serm. 101, 103. 105, 109. de Diversis.

² Leo. Serm. de Maccabæis.

³ Euseb. lib. iii.

cap. 3. Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. x.

⁴ Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 16.

⁵ Ap. Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23.

⁶ Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 19.

⁷ Athan. Ep. ad Ruffin. tom. ii. p. 39.

⁸ Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. 115.

⁹ Aug. de Gestis cum Emerito. tom. vii. p. 215.

¹⁰ Aug. Ep. 158. Gesta, quæ promisit præstantia tua, vehementer expecto. et in Ecclesiâ Hipponensi jam jam cupio recitari, ac si fieri potest, per omnes Ecclesias etiam in nostrâ diocesi constitutas.

linus Comes, “ that the Acts of the Trial of the Donatists, who were convict of the murder of the Catholics, might be sent him, to be read in all the Churches of his diocese.” And it is remarkable, that in the accounts we have of the burning of the Bible in the Diocletian persecution, there is sometimes mention¹ made of burning the salutary or communicatory letters, which were sent from one Church to another. St. Austin adds further,² “ that when any one received a signal mercy from God, the relation of it was many times read publicly in the Church.” Of which he gives several instances in his own and other Churches of Afric. And St. Chrysostom says,³ sometimes the Emperor’s letters were read in the Church, and heard with great attention, which he urges as an argument, why men should hear with reverence the writings of the Prophets, because they come from God, and their epistles are from heaven. Such circular epistles also as were sent from one Church to another, to notify the time of keeping Easter, which were called *Heortastical* or *Festival Epistles*, were generally published in their Churches.⁴ But these I mention not as lessons, but only hint the custom incidentally, corresponding to that of our reading briefs for charity, or the circular letters of bishops, or notifying holidays or bans of marriage, or things of the like kind relating to the public.

SECT. 15.—Those, which we now call Apocryphal Books, were anciently read in some Churches, but not in all.

As to those Books, which we now call Apocryphal, they were read in some Churches, but not in all. For in the Church of Jerusalem they were utterly forbidden, as appears plainly from Cyril’s Catechisms,⁵ where he directs the catechumens to read no apocryphal books, but only such books, as were securely read in the Church: and then he specifies

¹ *Gesta Purgationis Felicis et Cæcilianæ, ad calcem Optati, p. 276. Inde cathedram tulimus, et epistolas salutorias, et ostia omnia conburimus secundum sacrum præceptum.*

² *Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii.*

cap. viii. p. 1489. Libelli eorum, qui beneficia percipiunt, recitantur in populo, &c.

³ *Chrys. Hom. iii. in Thes. p. 1501.*

⁴ *Vid.*

Cassian. Collat. x. cap. 2.

⁵ *Cyril. Catech. iv. n. xxii. p. 66, et 67.*

what books were then read in the Church, viz. all the canonical books, which are now in our Bibles, except the Revelations, without any mention at all of the Apocryphal books; which is a certain argument, that they were not allowed to be read in the Church of Jerusalem, as I have more fully demonstrated in another place.¹ The like determination was made for some other Churches by the Council of Laodicea,² which forbids all but the canonical books to be read in the Church, and likewise specifies what she means by canonical books, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, four Books of Kings, two of Paralipomena or Chronicles, two of Esdras, the Book of one hundred and fifty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations and Epistles of Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles; fourteen Epistles of St. Paul. Where none of the Apocryphal books, nor the Revelations, are mentioned which is a plain evidence, that none of them were read in the Churches of that district. After the same manner the Author of the Constitutions,³ giving orders about what books of the Old Testament should be read in the Church, mentions the five books of Moses, and Joshua and Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, which he means by the histories of their return from Babylon, the books of Job and Solomon, the sixteen prophets and the psalms: but says nothing of any of the Apocryphal books; which argues, that he did not find them to be read in the Rituals of those Churches, whence he made his collections.

However in other Churches they were allowed to be read⁴ with a mark of distinction, as books of piety and moral instruction, to edify the people; but they neither gave them the name of canonical books, nor made use of them to

¹Book. x. chap. i. sect. 7.

²Con. Laodic. can. 59.

³Constit. lib. ii. cap. 57.

⁴Hieron. Præfat. in Libros Solomonis.

Sicut ergo Judith et Tobie et Macchabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia. sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit: sic et hæc duo volumina (Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum) legit ad ædificationem in plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.

confirm articles of faith. This is expressly said by St. Jerom. And Ruffin,¹ who was presbyter of Aquileia, delivers the same as the ancient tradition and practice of that Church, when these books were neither reckoned canonical, nor yet in the worst sense Apocryphal, but called ecclesiastical, because they were read in the Church, but not used to confirm matters of faith. Among these he reckons the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit and Judith and Maccabees, and Hermes Pastor and the book called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter. Athanasius² also ranks these books, not among the canonical, but among those that might at least be read to or by the catechumens, among which he reckons Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit and Judith and Esther, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, that is, Hermes Pastor. So in the *Lecti-onarium Gallicanum* published by Mabillon, there are lessons appointed out of Tobit and Judith and Esther, particularly in the Rogation-week for several days together.

SECT. 16.—And in some Churches, under the Title of Canonical Scripture, taking that Word in a larger Sense.

In some Churches these books were also read under the general name of Canonical Scripture, taking that word in a large sense, for such books as were in the rule or canon or catalogue of books authorised to be read in the Church. Thus at least we must understand the canon of the third Council of Carthage, which ordered,³ that nothing but the

¹ Ruffin. in Symbolum. ad calcem Cypriani. Oxon. p. 26. Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici à majoribus appellati sunt : ut est Sapiencia Solomonis, et alia Sapiencia quæ dicitur, Filii Syrach—Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiaë, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In Novo verò Testamento libellus, qui dicitur, Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur, Duæ Viæ, sive Judicium Petri ; quæ omnia legi quidem in Ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

² Athan. Ep. Heortastic. ad Ruffin. tom. ii. p. 39. It. Synops. Scriptur. ibid. p. 55.

³ Con. Carth. iii. can. 47. Præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in Ecclesiâ legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ, id est, Genesis, &c. Solomonis libri quinque—Tobias, Judith, Hester, Esdræ libri duo, Maccabæorum libri duo.

canonical writings should be read in the Church under the name of the divine Scriptures, among which canonical Scriptures there are reckoned, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus under the name of Solomon, together with Tobit, Judith, Hester, and the Maccabees. St. Austin seems to have followed this canon, making all these books canonical, but giving preference to some above the other, as they were more or less generally received by the Churches. In his book of Christian Doctrine¹ he calls all the Apocryphal books canonical, but he does not allow them so great authority as the rest, because they were not generally received as such by the Churches. He says, the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were none of Solomon's,² but yet received into authority by the Western Church. By which he must mean the Roman Church, where Pope Innocent had received them.³ For in the Eastern Church their canonical authority was always rejected: and in many of the Western Churches: for neither Ruffin at Aquileia, nor Philastrius at Brixia, in Italy,⁴ nor Hilary at Poitiers, in France,⁵ grant them any authority in the canon of Scripture. Nay,⁶ Hilary of Arles expressly told St. Austin, "that the Churches of France were offended at him, because he had used a proof out of the Book of Wisdom, which was not canonical. And it is remarkable, that at Rome itself Gregory the Great, having occasion to quote a text out of Maccabees, makes a prefatory excuse for alleging a text out of a book that was not canonical,⁷ but only published for the edifica-

¹ Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. ii. cap. 8. Tenebit hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis verò quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minorisque autoritatis Ecclesiæ tenent.

² Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xvii. cap. 20. Non esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores, eos tamen in autoritatem maximè Occidentalis antiquitùs recepit Ecclesia.

³ Innocent. Ep. iii. ad Exuper. cap. vii.

⁴ Philastr. de Hæres. cap. xl. de Apocryphis. Et cap. ix.

⁵ Hilary. Præfat. in Psalmos.

⁶ Hilary. Arelat. Epist. ad Aug. inter Oper. Aug. tom. vii. p. 545. Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti, 'Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus,' tanquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum.

⁷ Greg. Magn. Moral. in Job. lib. xix. cap. 13. Quâ de re non inordinatè agimus, si ex libris licèt non canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus.

tion of the Church. And even St. Austin himself¹ in answer to the French divines, pleads no further for the divine authority of the Book of Wisdom, which he had cited as canonical, but that it was so received by the Christians of Afric before him. Which by his own rule, laid down before in his book of Christian Doctrine, did not make it in the highest sense canonical, because it was rejected, by all the Churches of the East, and a great part of the West, from the authority of canonical Scripture. So that though these books were read in the African Church under the name of canonical Scripture, yet they were not esteemed of equal authority with the rest, because they were reputed by all the world besides as Apocryphal, or as some call them, ecclesiastical only, being such as were allowed to be read in the Church for moral instruction and edification, but not used to confirm articles of faith. And this is the account, which Cajetan himself gave of the practice of the Church, before the Council of Trent defined a new canon of Scripture. He says,² “ They are not canonical, that is, regular, to confirm articles of faith: yet they may be called canonical, that is, regular, for the edification of the people, as being received and authorized in the canon of the Bible only for this end.” And with this distinction he thinks we are to understand both St. Austin and the Council of Carthage, all whose sayings are to be reduced to the rule of St. Jerom. But if any think, that St. Austin or the African Church meant more, it may be said, their authority is of no weight against the general consent of the whole Church in all ages besides, from the first settling of the canon down to the Council of Trent; the proof of which consent is so fully

¹ Aug. de Prædestin. lib. i. cap. xiv. tom. vii. p. 553. Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sapientie, qui meruit in Ecclesiâ Christi de gradu lectorum Ecclesiæ Christi tam longâ annositate recitari, et ab omnibus Christianis, ab Episcopis usque ad extremos laicos fideles, pœnitentes, catechumenos, cum veneratione Divinæ autoritatis audiri.

² Cajetan. in fine Comment. in Histor. Vet. Test. Ad Hieronymi limam reducenda sunt tam verba Conciliorum quàm doctorum. Et juxta illius sententiam libri isti non sunt canonici, id est, regulares, ad firmandum ea quæ sunt fidei: possunt tamen dici canonici id est, regulares, ad edificationem fidelium, utpote in canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti et authorati. Cum hæc distinctione discernere poteris dicta Augustini et scripta in provinciali Concilio Cathaginensi

and unanswerably made out by Bishop Cosins in that excellent book, called his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, where he produces the testimonies of the writers of every age distinctly in their order, that little more can be added to it,¹ and it is wholly needless to detain the reader upon that subject; it being sufficient to our present purpose to have observed, that these books of controverted authority were read, either under the name of Apocryphal, or Ecclesiastical, or Canonical, in most of the ancient Churches.

SECT. 17.—A short Account of the Translations of Scripture used in the ancient Church.

There is one thing more, which it will not be improper to give a short account of, before we put an end to this chapter: that is, of the translations of Scripture that were commonly used in the ancient Church. I mean not here to prove again, what has been abundantly done before in the last Book, that the Scriptures were translated and read in the vulgar language in every Church; but the thing I would observe in this place, is only this: that they generally read the Septuagint translations, where Greek was the vulgar language, or else such translations into other languages, as were derived from it. For they had no translation of the Bible from the Hebrew, till the time of St. Jerom, in the Latin Church, but only such as were made from the Greek translation of the Septuagint. The Septuagint

¹ To the testimonies cited by Bishop Cosins the learned reader may add this of Franciscus Georgius Venetus, a Franciscan, who lived a little before the Reformation: *Problem. in Scriptur. tom. vi. sect. 5. Problem. 184. Par. 1622 4^o. Cur Raphael venit in comitatum Tobia? Respond. Quamvis historia sit sine certo auctore, nec in canone habeatur, tamen quia admittitur legenda in Ecclesia tanquam vera, hujus quoque rei rationem assignare conabimur.* Here he plainly rejects the book of Tobit out of the canon, and speaks of it no otherwise than as of a common history, which was allowed to be read in the Church. Which words are so displeasing to the curators of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, that they order it to be struck out, with many other passages of the same author, where he reflects on the vulgar translation as corrupt and false, and corrects its errors from the original Hebrew, of which he was a considerable master, though in other things he had his failings. *Vid. Index Libror. Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum, per Sotomajor. p. 417. Madriti. 1667. fol.*

was used all over the Greek Church, except perhaps that part of Syria where Syriac was the most vulgar language, that is, in Osdroene, and Mesopotamia, where they had a Syriac translation made from the Hebrew not long after the time of the Apostles. This was called the Old Translation in opposition to another, which was made from the Septuagint in after ages. In all other parts of the East the Septuagint was the common translation. But this by tract of time and variety of copies was much corrupted, upon which account it was revised and corrected by several learned men, which laboured in this work, particularly by Origen, and Hesychius the Egyptian, and Lucian of Antioch, two martyrs who suffered in the Diocletian persecution. Hence, as St. Jerom informs us,¹ there came to be three famous exemplars or editions of the Septuagint, used in the Eastern Churches. Alexandria and Egypt followed the copy revised by Hesychius. Constantinople and all the Asiatic Churches as far as Antioch used that of Lucian. The Churches of Palestine and Arabia read the copy corrected by Origen and published by Eusebius and Pamphilus. And so between these three editions, the whole world was divided. Origen did two things further in this matter. First, he published an edition of the Bible, which he called his *Hexapla*, because it was *in six columns*, the first was the Hebrew in Hebrew characters,² the second the Hebrew in Greek characters, the third the translation of Aquila the Jew, the fourth the translation of Symmachus, the fifth the translation of the Septuagint, and the sixth the translation of Theodotion the Ebionite. To these he afterwards added two other translations found at Nicopolis and Jericho, and these made up his *Octapla*. And in process of time, he published another lesser edition containing only the four translations, of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, which he

¹ Hieron. Præfat. in Librum Paralipomenon. Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantiopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt: totusque orbis hæc inter se veritate compugnat.

² Vid. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 16.

called his *Tetrapla*. Secondly, he published the Septuagint with the additions of Theodotion mixed with it, to supply the places where it was defective, which additions he marked with an asterisk to distinguish them; and such places as were redundant in the Septuagint, and not to be found in the Hebrew, nor in Theodotion, he also marked with an obelisk or strait line for distinction also. But this mixing of the two translations together in process of time occasioned some confusion, and St. Jerom complains of it¹ as a bold undertaking, and therefore he set about a new edition and translation² of the Septuagint for the use of the Latin Church. Hitherto all Churches used the translation of the Septuagint, except the Syrian Churches, as was said before, and except on the Book of Daniel, which in all Churches was read according to the translation of Theodotion, as the same St. Jerom informs us in several places,³ particularly in his Preface upon Daniel, because by some means or other, the Septuagint translation of that book was more corrupt than any other part of Scripture. But there were abundance of faults in that translation in other places, partly by the design of the interpreters, who added some things of their own, and left out others, and often changed the sense at pleasure, especially in texts that had any relation to the Holy Trinity, as St. Jerom shews at large in his Preface upon the Pentateuch where he exposes the story of their having distinct cells, and their being esteemed inspired writers; and partly from the great variety of copies, and the great corruptions that were crept into them by the ignorance or negligence of transcribers: and this both in the Septuagint copies themselves, and the Latin translations that were made from them. Upon this account St. Jerom, by the instigation of Chromatius and Heliodore, and other pious bishops of the Latin Church, set about a translation of the Psalms and Old Testament from the original Hebrew: but this met

¹ Hieron. Præfat. in Paralipom.

² Hieron. Præfat. in Josue.

³ Hieron. Præfat. in Josue. It. Com. in Daniel. iv. et Apolog. ii. cont. Ruffin.

⁴ Hieron. Præfat. in Daniel. Danielem Prophetam juxta Septuaginta Interpretes Domini Salvatoris Ecclesie non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione: et hoc cur acciderit nescio.—Hoc unum affirmare possum, quod nullum à veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.

with great opposition for some time: for though many applauded it, and read it in the Churches, yet others opposed it, and Ruffin and others bitterly inveighed against it, as reflecting on the Church, which had used and recommended the Septuagint, and the translations made from it, ever since the time of the Apostles. St. Austin¹ himself dissuaded him from the undertaking, and when it was finished, he would not suffer it to be read in his diocese for fear of giving scandal to the people; telling him further² what a tumult had been raised in one of the Churches of Africa, by a bishop's introducing his translation, which he was forced to lay aside again for fear all his people should have deserted it. But in other places it met with a kinder reception. For by degrees it came to be used by learned men in their expositions. Gregory the Great makes use of both translations,³ calling St. Jerom's the New translation, and the other the Old; which was otherwise called the *Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, because it was the most common and vulgar translation used in all the *Latin* and *Italic* Churches. The present Vulgar Latin translation is supposed by learned men neither to be the ancient Vulgar, nor yet St. Jerom's new one, but a mixture of both together.⁴ The Psalms in the present Vulgar, are not from the Hebrew, but are of St. Jerom's translation from the Septuagint of Lucian's emendation. The other books come nearer the Hebrew, than they do to the Septuagint, which shews that they have something of St. Jerom's translation. But the Psalms were always read at Rome according to the old version, and continued so to be used till Pope Pius V. ordered St. Jerom's version with emendations from the Septuagint to be put in its place. And so the old translation of the Psalms came to be called the Roman Psalter; and St. Jerom's new translation, the Gallican Psalter, because it was immediately received in the Gallican Church. This is observed both by Mabilon⁵ and Bona⁶ out of Berno

¹ Aug. Ep. xix. ad Hieron.

² Aug. Ep. x. ad Hieron.

³ Greg. M. Ep. ad Leandr. ante Moral. in Job. et lib. xx. Moral. cap. 3.

⁴ Vide Walton. Prolegom. x. n. 9.

⁵ Mabil. de Cursu Gallicano,

p. 396.

⁶ Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. iii. n. 4.

Augiennis and Strabo, who say, the French and Germans took the new translation of the Psalms corrected from the Septuagint by St. Jerom, whilst the Romans, continued to use the old vulgar corrupt edition: which is still read in the Vatican Church at Rome, and the Ambrosian Church at Milan, and St. Mark's at Venice: and Bona is so free as to say, he thinks it had been more for the honour and benefit of the Church to have kept still to the old version of the Psalter, since now there is a great disagreement between the Breviary and the Missal, whilst the same Psalms are sung different ways,¹ in the Missal according to the old translation, and in the Breviary according to the new one, which he speaks of as a mistake, but tenderly, because though it was a deviation from the old rule observed in Gregory's Sacramentarium, and the Missa Mosarabica, and the Ambrosian Liturgy, yet it was Pope Pius's order that made the correction.

I might here have added several other things relating to the ancient way of dividing the several books of Scripture into chapters, and verses, and canons, and sections and sub-sections, very much differing from the present way of dividing them into chapter and verse: but because observations of this kind are very intricate of themselves, and have no relation to the service of the Church, which is the subject in hand, I shall omit them here with many other miscellany rites of the same nature, which will be more proper to be explained in a critical discourse by themselves; and now proceed to the next part of the service of the Church in the *Missa Catechumenorum*, which was the sermon or homily, immediately after the reading of the Psalms and other Scriptures, before any prayers were made either for particular orders of men, such as catechumens, energumens, penitents, &c. or for the general state of Christ's Church.

¹ Bona *Rever. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. iii. n. 5.* Hæc autem dissonantia, ablato nunc veteri Psalterio sæpe occurrit. Caterum ista hoc loco notare libuit, non ut quinquam carperem, sed ne prisca Ecclesiæ disciplina ignoraretur.

CHAP. IV.

Of Preaching, and the Usages relating to it, in the Ancient Church.

SECT. I.—All Sermons anciently called Homilies, Disputations, Allocutions, Tractatus, &c.

IMMEDIATELY after the reading of the Psalms and lessons out of the Scriptures, before the catechumens were dismissed, followed the sermon, which the bishop or some other appointed by him, made to the people. This being done in the presence of the catechumens, was therefore usually reckoned a part of the *Missa Catechumenorum*, or ante-communion-service. Such discourses were commonly termed *Homilies*, from the Greek *Ὁμιλίαι*, which signifies indifferently any discourse of instruction to the people, whether composed by the preacher himself, or read out of a book composed by another; though we now generally restrain it to the latter sense in our modern way of speaking. Among the Latins, they were frequently called *Tractatus*, as appears from many passages of Cyprian, Optatus, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Jerom, Gaudentius, Chrysologus, and many others collected by Ferrarius,¹ which I think it needless to recite. Only I shall observe one thing, that this word signifies any exposition or handling of Scripture, as well by way of writing, as preaching: and in both senses the *Tractatores*, the *preachers* and *expositors* of Scripture, were opposed to the *Canonici* and *Authentici*, the Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles, who wrote by inspiration, and whose authority was absolutely *infallible* and *authentic*: which could not be said of any expositors, however excellent or learned who dictated their thoughts without any such peculiar assistance. This distinction is often inculcated by St. Austin:

¹ Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. i. cap. 1.

“ I confess,” says he, writing to St. Jerom,¹ “ I have learned to pay this reverence and honour only to those books of Scripture, which are called canonical, that I most firmly believe none of the authors of them were guilty of any error in writing. And if I find any thing in those books, which seems contrary to truth, I make no doubt but it is either a corruption of the copy, or that the translator did not hit the sense, or that I myself do not understand it. But I read all others with this caution and reserve, that however eminent they be for piety and learning, I do not believe what they say to be true, merely because it was their opinion; but because they persuade me either by those canonical authors, or by probable reason, which carries the appearance of truth.” So; again, in his book *De Catechizandis Rudibus*,² he distinguishes the inspired writers, by the name canonical, from all others, whom he calls tractators and expositors of Scripture. As Claudianus Mamertus speaks³ of all expositors under the name of tractators, but of the holy pen-men themselves under the title of Authentics. St. Austin⁴ and St. Jerom⁵ often speak of preaching under the name of disputations; Tertullian⁶ calls them Allocutions; dividing the whole service into these four parts, reading the Scripture, singing the Psalms, making allocutions, and sending up

¹ Aug. Ep. xix. ad Hieron. cap. i. Ego enim fateor charitati tuæ, solis eis scripturarum libris qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, et nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissimè credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis, quod videatur contrarium veritati: nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assequutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinâque præpolleant, non ideò verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod à vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt.

² Aug. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. viii. tom. iv. p. 298. Si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive canonicis sive utilium tractatorum, &c.

³ Mamert. de Statu Animæ. lib. ii. cap. 10. Sed nunc locus et tempus est, ut sicut à philosophis ad tractatores, à tractatoribus ad authenticos gradum consequar. It. lib. i. cap. 2. Post authenticorum plurimos tractores, &c.

⁴ Aug. Tract. 89. in Joan. Confess. lib. v. cap. 13. Hom. 50, et 81. de Diversis.

⁵ Hieron. Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. cap. xv.

⁶ Tertul. de Anima. cap. ix. Jam verò prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones profèruntur, aut petitiones delegantur, &c. So frequently in Gregory the Great the sermon is called simply, Locutio. Hom. 5, 9, 14. et 22. in Ezekiel.

prayers. Among the Greeks they are frequently called Λόγοι, which answers to the Latin word, *Sermones*, and the English *sermons*. The most ancient name is that of *Evangelium*, and Εὐαγγελίζεσθαι appropriated more peculiarly to the preaching of the Apostles; and therefore seldom or never ascribed to any others by ecclesiastical writers. A more general name in Scripture, is that of Διδασκαλία, *doctrine* and *teaching*: whence preachers of the word are called Διδάσκαλοι, *doctors* and *teachers*, by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29. which Vincenius Lirinensis observes to be the same as *Tractatores*¹ in after-ages. St. Paul also uses the word Κήρυγμα, for *preaching*, 1 Cor. ii. 4. and in many other places² of his Epistles. And so it is sometimes used by ecclesiastical writers after him. But we must carefully note, that more commonly the words Κηρύσσειν and Κήρυγμα among the Greeks, as also *Prædicatio* and *Prædicare* among the Latins, signify a very different thing, viz. That part of the deacon's office, which he performed as the common Κήρυξ, or *Præco*, of the Church, dictating the usual forms of prayer to the people, in which they were to join, and calling upon them as their guide and director in all other parts of divine service. This I have had occasion to speak more largely of in a former book,³ where we have particularly considered the ordinary office of deacons, and shewed that they had no authority in ordinary cases either to preach or consecrate the eucharist, or baptise, but whatever they did of this kind, was either in case of great necessity, or by special commission and direction. And therefore those ancient canons which speak of their predication,⁴ are not to be understood of their preaching sermons, but of their proclaiming to the people such directions in performing divine offices, as they were concerned to give them by virtue of their office, as the common heralds and criers of the Church.

¹ Vincent. Commonitor. cap. xl. Doctores, qui tractatores nunc appellantur.

² Vid. 1 Cor. i. 21. It. 1. Cor. 14, 15. 2 Tim. iv. 17. Tit. i. 3.

³ Book ii. chap. xx. sect. 10, and 11.

⁴ Con. Ancyran. can. ii.

Con. Tolet. iv. can. 39.

SECT. 2.—Preaching the proper Office of Bishops and Presbyters in ordinary Cases, and not of Deacons.

The deacons indeed, in cases of exigence, were allowed to read the Homilies of the Fathers, as they did the lessons of Scripture: which is the reason assigned by the Council of Vaison for permitting them so to do,¹ “when the presbyter was sick or infirm. For if deacons were worthy to read what Christ has spoken in the Gospel, why should they be thought unworthy to rehearse publicly the expositions or homilies of the Fathers?” But excepting such cases, we very rarely find any permission so much as to read an homily granted them. For preaching anciently was one of the chief offices of a bishop: in so much that in the African Churches a presbyter was never known to preach before a bishop in his cathedral church till St. Austin’s time, but the bishop always discharged this office himself, and St. Austin was the first presbyter in that part of the world, that ever was allowed to preach in the presence of his bishop, as has been shewn out of Posidius² the writer of his life, in a former book.³ It is true, in the Eastern Churches presbyters were sometimes allowed to preach in the great church before the bishop; but that was not to discharge him of the duty, for still he preached a sermon at the same time after them, as we shall see from the practice of Chrysostom and Flavian at Antioch, and other examples hereafter.

In the lesser churches of the city, and country about, this office was devolved upon presbyters, as the bishop’s proper assistants; and the deacons, except in the forementioned cases, were not authorised to perform it. So that this office of preaching the Gospel, was then esteemed the proper office of bishops and presbyters; the bishop discharging it personally in his cathedral church, in conjunction with his presbyters, or alone without them; and vicariously by his presbyters, where he could not be present, in

¹ Con. Vasens ii. can. 2. Si presbyter, aliquâ infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non poterit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ à diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni sunt diaconi, quæ Christus in Evangelio loquutus est, legere: quare indigni judicentur, sanctorum patrum expositiones publicè recitare?

² Possid. Vit. August. cap. v.

Book ii.

chap. iii. sect. 1.

the lesser churches. There are a great many serious passages in the ancient records relating to this matter, as well in the imperial laws, as the canons of the Church, and the writings of the most considerable Fathers, partly impressing this as a necessary duty of the episcopal and pastoral function, and partly complaining of the neglect of it, and partly threatening censures and punishments to the offenders. St. Chrysostom¹ on those words to Timothy, “A bishop must be *apt to teach*,—*διδασκτικὸν*,” says, “other qualifications, such as those, ‘He must be sober, vigilant, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, &c.’ may be in subjects: but because a bishop ought to have those qualifications that belong to rulers, the Apostle therefore added, ‘He must be apt to teach:’ for this is not required of subjects; but is most especially required of those, who have the office of governing committed to them.” And again, on those words to Titus, “Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught (or, *which relates to teaching*,—*τῆ κατὰ διδαχὴν λόγῳ*,) that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers,” he says, “St. Paul converted the world, not so much by his miracles, as by his continual preaching: and therefore a bishop must be able to exhort by sound doctrine, that is, to preserve his flock, and overthrow its enemies. And unless he be such an one, all is lost. For he that knows not how to oppose the enemy, and captivate every thought to the obedience of Christ, and pull down the vain imaginations of men, as he knows not how to teach according to sound doctrine, so *he ought to be far from the teaching throne*,—*πόρρω ἔσω θρόνῳ διδασκαλικῷ*;²” where it is observable, that Chrysostom therefore calls the bishop’s throne, the throne of doctrine, or teaching throne, because preaching sound doctrine was so necessary a part of the bishop’s office, that he could not be without it. St. Ambrose likewise, describing the office of a bishop, does it chiefly by styling it the office of teaching; complaining modestly of his own hard

¹ Chrys. Hom. x. in 1 Tim. iii. p. 1569. Tit. p. 1703.

² Chrys. Hom. ii. in

fate, in being forced against his will to take upon him the office of the priesthood,¹ that is, to be made a bishop; which obliged him to teach others, before he had well learned himself. For he was made bishop of a catechumen. Sidonius Apollinaris makes the same description of the office of a bishop,² complaining in the like modest way with St. Ambrose, of the weight of the profession, that was laid upon his shoulders, when, by being made a bishop against his will, he was forced to teach before he had learned, and preach good to others, before he had done any himself: like a barren tree, when he had no works to shew for fruit, he was forced to scatter words for leaves: meaning the necessity of preaching, that was laid upon him by taking the office of a bishop. St. Cyril of Alexandria in like manner calls the office of a bishop,³ “*ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικόν, the dignity or honour of teaching.*” And in the sixth general Council, where Maximus, bishop of Antioch, was degraded for his heresy, he is said⁴ “to be removed from the throne of teaching,” that is, from the episcopal office, of which preaching was a special ingredient. The rule of the Apostolical Canons is,⁵ “that a bishop, who neglects his clergy or his people, and teaches them not the rules of piety, shall be suspended; and if he persists in his neglect, shall be deposed. For it was his office to teach the clergy as well as the people, and to expound the Scriptures to them.” Whence St. Jerom gives it as part of the character of Gregory Nazianzen,⁶ “that he was an eloquent teacher, and the master, under whom he learned the Scriptures, as he explained them.” Some would have excused themselves, by saying, they would teach the people by their example. To which

¹ Ambros. de Offic. lib. i. cap. 1. Titul. Capituli. *Episcopi proprium munus docere populum. Item, Cum jam effugere non possimus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo, &c.*

² Sidon. lib. v. ep. 3. *Indignissimo tantæ professionis pondus impactum est, qui miser ante compulsus docere, quàm discere, et ante præsumens bonum prædicare, quàm facere, tanquam sterilis arbor, cum non habeam opera pro pomis, spargo verba pro foliis.*

³ Cyril. Ep. ad Monachos in Con.

Ephes. part. i. cap. 28. ⁴ Con. vi. Gener. Act. xii. p. 937. *Ὁὐδαμῶς ὁ θεῖος κανὼν παραδέχεται τῷ λοιπῷ εἰς διδασκαλικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον, &c.*

⁵ Canon. Apost. c. lviii.

⁶ Hieron. de Scriptor. cap.

cxvii. *Vir eloquentissimus præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici.*

St. Jerom replies,¹ “ that a bishop’s innocent conversation, without preaching, did as much harm by its silence, as it did good by its example. For the barking of the dog is as necessary as the shepherd’s staff, to terrify and beat off the fury of the wolves.” Athanasius² gives a very pathetic exhortation to Dracontius, a bishop newly ordained: “ Now, that you are made bishop,” says he, “ the people expect that you should bring them food from the doctrine of the Scriptures: but, if while they expect it, they suffer want, and you only feed yourself; what excuse will you have, when the Lord Jesus shall come, and find his sheep starving for want of food?” St. Austin, in one of his Homilies upon the anniversary of his ordination,³ represents this part of a bishop’s office with great concern, as a matter in which he was deeply interested, and nearly affected. First, he tells his people what a burden was laid upon him by God in the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii. which was the lesson appointed for that solemnity, wherein were these words, so full of terror: “ I have made thee a watchman. If I say to the sinner, thou shalt surely die, and thou holdest thy peace, and he die in his sins; he indeed dies justly, and according to his desert in his sins; but his blood will I require at thy hands, &c.” Upon which he makes this reflection with regard to his own office: “ I am a steward; if I lay not out my Lord’s money, but keep it by me, the Gospel terrifies me. I might say, indeed, what have I to do to be troublesome unto men, to say to the wicked, do not thus; do thus: desist from doing evil? What have I to do to be thus troublesome unto men? I have received, how I ought to live myself, as I am enjoined, as I am commanded, I will return what I have received. What have I to do to give account of others? But the Gospel terrifies me. There is nothing more pleasant than to seek after the divine treasure in quiet. This is sweet and good:

¹ Hieron. Ep. 83. ad Oceanum. Sacerdotis innocens, sed absque sermone conversatio, quantum exemplo prodest, tantum silentio nocet. Nam et latratu canum, baculoque pastoris luporum rabies deterrenda est. Vid. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian.

² Athan. Ep. ad Dracont. tom. i. p. 954.

³ Aug. Serm. 25. ex 50, tom. x. p. 173.

but to preach, to reprove, to correct, to edify, to take the care of every other man upon myself, this is a great burden, a great weight, a great labour. Who would not fly from such a labour? But the Gospel terrifies me. There we read of a certain servant, who said to his Lord, ‘ I knew thee to be an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sowed, therefore I kept thy money, I would not lay it out, take that which is thine.’ To whom the Lord answered, ‘ Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked servant. Thou oughtest to have given my money to the bank, that, when I came, I might have received my own with usury.’” The curious reader may find a great deal more to the same purpose in St. Basil’s Epistles¹ and Gregory Nazianzen’s² complaints, and those of Cyprian,³ which I care not here to transcribe. But nothing is more remarkable than what is said by St. Chrysostom⁴ in his Homily upon the man, who was to account to God for ten thousand talents: where he thus represents the account, which bishops must make to God: “ not only secular magistrates,” says he “ but *the rulers of the Church*,—*τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεσῶτες*, must render an account of their government and administration; and they above all others shall suffer bitter and grievous punishment. For they, who are intrusted with the ministry of the word, shall be examined most strictly and severely in the next world, whether they have not through sloth or envy neglected to speak any thing, which they ought to have spoken; and whether they have demonstrated by their works and labour, that they have delivered all things faithfully, and concealed nothing that was profitable unto men.” Again, “ He that has obtained the office of a bishop, by how much he is exalted to greater dignity, so much the more ample account shall he be required to give, not only of his doctrine or teaching, and care of the poor, but also of his examination and trial of those who are ordained, with a thousand other things of the like nature.” Where it is evident, that

¹ Basil. Ep. 61, 69, 185, 293.

² Naz. Orat. i. de Fuga, p. 15, &c. It. Tract. de Episc. Latine. tom. ii. p. 304, et Orat. xxxii. p. 519.

³ Cyp. de Lapsis. p. 123.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. i. tom. v. p. 9.

teaching is reckoned as necessary a part of the bishop's function, as ordination: and as he proves the one from those words of St. Paul to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins;" so he proves the other from those words of the same Apostle to the Hebrews, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves unto them: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account," Heb. xiii. 17. Which, as he truly observes, is an argument full of terror. St. Chrysostom has abundance more to the same purpose in those excellent Books of the Priesthood, which were composed on purpose to describe the offices and duties of a bishop, among which he reckons the laborious work of making continual Homilies¹ and set discourses to the people. And whereas some were ready to plead, that a good life was the main thing required, to excuse their want of knowledge, and study, and preaching, and disputing, he answers,² "that both these qualifications were required; they must not only do, but teach the commands of Christ, and guide others by their word and doctrine, as well as their practice: each of these had their part in the episcopal office, and were necessary to assist one another, in order to consummate men's edification." With much more to the same purpose, which I here omit, because I have more fully represented it in another Book,³ where I had occasion to treat of the general duties of the ecclesiastical function.

What is thus pathetically pressed by private men, is more authoritatively enjoined by the laws of the Church and State, both concurring to enforce this duty. The Council of Laodicea speaks of it as a customary thing,⁴ "for the bishop to make always a sermon before the catechumens were dismissed." And the Council of Valentia in Spain does the same, when it orders,⁵ "that catechumens, and penitents, and even heathens should be allowed to hear the bishop's sermon, because they had experienced how that

¹ Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. v. cap. 1.

² Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 8.

³ Book vi. chap. iii. sect. 2.

⁴ Con. Laodic. can. xix. Περὶ τῆ

ῥεῖν, μετὰ τὰς ὀμιλίαις τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἔ, τῶν κατηγομένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

⁵ Con. Valentin. can. i. Sic enim pontificum predicatione auditâ nonnullos attractos ad fidem evidenter scimus.

by this means many infidels had been brought over to the faith." These Councils do not so much enjoin bishops to preach, as presuppose it to be their constant and general practice. But the Council of Trullo speaks more expressly by way of injunction.¹ " that *the rulers of Churches,—τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεπιτάς*, ought every day, but especially on the Lord's day, to teach all the clergy and people the words of truth and godliness, gathered out of the holy Scriptures." And in the imperial laws, there are several edicts of the secular power to the same purpose. In the Theodosian Code there is one jointly made by the three Emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, which bears this title, "*De munere seu officio episcoporum in predicando Verbo Dei,—Of the duty and office of bishops in preaching the word of God.*" And the body of the edict charges all those with sacrilege,² who either confound the sanctity of the divine law by ignorance, or violate it by neglecting to preach it. And the same law now stands inserted into the Justinian Code,³ under the charge of sacrilege, both in the title, and the body of it also. In another law of Arcadius and Honorius,⁴ bishops are styled, " the men, who in their several districts are to govern the people, by instilling into them the doctrines of the Christian religion, and more especially the principles of subjection and obedience to civil magistrates, which were often violated by the tumultuous practices of the monks, who were under their inspection. And in another law of Theodosius,⁵ all heretics are forbidden " either to teach or hear their profane doctrines in their

¹ Con. Trull. can. xix. See also in Con. Nic. ii. can. ii. et Con. Ticinense. can. v.

² Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. ii. de Episcopis. leg. xxv. Qui divinæ Legis sanctitatem, aut nesciendo confundunt, aut negligendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt.

³ Cod. Justin. lib. ix. tit. xxix. de Crimine Sacrilegii. leg. i.

⁴ Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xl. de Pœnis. leg. xvi. Ad episcoporum sanè culpam, ut cætera, redundabit, si quid forte in eâ parte regionis, in quâ ipsi populo Christianæ religionis, doctrinæ insinuatione moderantur, ex his quæ fieri hâc lege jubemus, à monachis perpetratum esse cognoverint, nec viudicaverint.

⁵ Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis. leg. xxiv. Nusquam profana præcepta vel docere vel discere : ne antistites eorundem audeant fidem insinuare, quam non habent, et ministros creare, quod non sunt.

unlawful assembltes, more particularly they, who were called bishops among them, should not presume to teach the faith, which they themselves had not, nor ordain ministers, when they themselves were really none." This supposes, that the offices of ordination and preaching were equally the duties of catholic bishops, and that the pretence in heretical bishops to perform them, was mere usurpation. And upon the whole it appears, that as preaching was an office originally invested in bishops, as supreme pastors of the flock of Christ: so by all the rules and laws of Church and State, and all the ties of religion, they were obliged to perform this duty with all assiduity and diligence, as we find they generally did out of the sense of the great obligation that was laid upon them. And some in the Romish Church, where this part of the episcopal function was for many ages scandalously neglected, have earnestly wished and laboured for the restoration and revival of it. Habertus pleads hard for it, and says one thing particularly remarkable,¹ to excite those to whom he writes, "that he could aver upon certain experience in France, that there was more weight in the words of every bishop to the people, than in six hundred of the most eloquent and elaborate discourses of other men." But I return to the ancient Church.

SECT. 3.—The singular Practice of the Church of Rome, in having no Sermons for several Ages, noted out of Sozomen and Cassiodore.

It being thus certain from what has been related, that the work of preaching was ordinarily performed by bishops themselves in their own Church, either in conjunction with their presbyters, or without them: it is very wonderfully strange, and even astonishing and surprising to hear what Sozomen relates of the Church of Rome in his time,² that they had no sermons either by the bishop or any other; which was contrary to the custom of all other Churches. For at Alexandria, the bishop alone preached without his presby-

¹ Habert. Archieratic. part. v. observ. vii. p. 91. Id scio expertusque sum, plus esse momenti in unius episcopi ad populum, quam in sexcentis aliorum quantumvis orationibus atque elaboratis. ² Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 19.

ters from the time of Arius: and in other Churches it was done by the bishop and presbyters together: but in the Church of Rome by neither the one nor the other. Pagi¹ and Quesnel² think Sozomen must needs be mistaken, and that being a Greek, he took this report up by uncertain rumour; because Pope Leo, in whose time Sozomen lived, not only preached constantly to the people, but declared it his duty so to do, professing that he was afraid it should be imputed to him as a crime,³ if he was wanting in this part of his office and ministry. But Valesius, on the other hand, is very confident, that Sozomen's relation is true, because Cassiodore, who was a senator and consul, and præfectus prætorio at Rome, has the same out of Sozomen in his *Historia Tripartita*, without any correction; and he says further, that no one can produce any sermons preached to the people by any bishop of Rome before those of Leo, which were not preached till after Sozomen wrote his history.⁴ I will not pretend to decide this controversy among these learned men; but only say, that however it was in Sozomen's time, it seems to have been otherwise in the days of Justin Martyr, when he presented his Apology to Antonius Pius, and the senate of Rome, where he lived and wrote at that time: for there, describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's day, he expressly says,⁵ "that after the reading of the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, the *προεσως*, the *bishop* or *president* of the Assembly made a sermon to exhort and excite the people to the imitation of the good things they had heard read out of them." Where it must reasonably be supposed, that writing at Rome, and to the Roman Senate, he spake at least of the usual custom and practice of the Roman Church. And if it was otherwise in the time of Sozomen, some alteration must have happened in the interval. Perhaps they might have taken up the custom of reading the homilies of famous writers among the lessons, or immediately after by the deacon, as I have

¹ Pagi Critic. in Baron. an. 57. n. 3.
 Jejunio Sabbati. et Dissert. i. de Vita Leonis.
 Epiphaniâ. Ut nostri nihil desit officii, &c.

² Quesnel. Dissert. vi. de

³ Leo Serm. iii. de

⁴ Bp. Hooper's Disc.

of Lent, par. i. cap. ix. p. 145. thinks a slight change of *ἔτε* for *ἔρε* will, best solve the difficulty.

⁵ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98.

shewn before, they read in some Churches the Homilies of Ephrem Syrus, and the books of Clemens Romanus, and Hermes Pastor;¹ and in the old *Lectionariums*, there are frequently lessons appointed out of the Homilies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, and others, as it is now in the Roman breviary, and this might supply the place of a sermon, till Leo brought up the ancient way of preaching in the Roman Church again, which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years together, till Pius Quintus, like another Leo, revived the practice, as we are told by Surius,² one of their own writers.

SECT. 4.—Whether Laymen were ever allowed to preach in the ancient Church.

But there is another question must be resolved with relation to the ancient Church, that is, whether laymen were ever allowed by authority to make sermons to the people? That they did it in a private way as catechists in their catechetic schools at Alexandria, and other places, there is no question. For Origen read lectures in the catechetic school of Alexandria, before he was in orders,³ by the appointment of Demetrius, and St. Jerom says,⁴ there was a long succession of famous men in that school, who were called ecclesiastical doctors upon that account. But this was a different thing from their public preaching in the church. Sometimes the monks, who were only laymen, took upon them to preach publicly in the church: but this was opposed and censured as an usurpation of an office that did not belong to them. All monks anciently, considered only as monks, were no more than laymen, as I have fully shewn in another place:⁵ and therefore as monks, they had no title to any part of the ecclesiastical office or function. Particularly St. Jerom says,⁶ “the office of a monk was not to teach, but to mourn.” And, “that the case of the monks and clergy was

¹ Chap. iii. sect. 14.
Sentent. Hieronymi. p. 58.

² Surius Hist. ap. Blondel. Apolog. pro

³ Vid. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 3.

⁴ Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. xxxvi.

⁵ Book iii. chap. ii. sect. 7.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. 55. ad Riparium. Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.

very different from each other :¹ the clergy are those that feed the sheep, the monks are among those that are fed." And, therefore, when some monks in the eastern parts about Antioch, presuming on their own qualifications and knowledge, took upon them to preach publicly in the churches, Pope Leo, wrote two letters to Maximus, bishop of Antioch,² and Theodoret, to engage them to lay a restraint upon them, telling them, " that besides the priests of the Lord, none ought to presume to take upon them the power of teaching or preaching, whether he were monk or layman, whatever knowledge he could pretend to." Yet in some cases a special commission was given to a layman to preach, and then he might do it by the authority of the bishop's commission for that time. Thus Eusebius says,³ Origen was approved by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, to preach and expound the Scriptures publicly in the church, when he was only a layman. And when Demetrius of Alexandria made a remonstrance against this, as an innovation, that had never been seen or heard of before, that a layman should preach to the people in the presence of bishops; Alexander replied in a letter, and told him, he was much mistaken, for it was an usual thing in many places, where men were well qualified to edify the brethren, for bishops to entreat them to preach to the people. As Euelpis was requested by Neon at Laramanda, and Paulinus by Celsus at Iconium, and Theodorus by Atticus at Synada. These had all special directions from their bishops to preach: and therefore whatever other irregularity or novelty there might be in the thing, it was not liable to the charge of usurpation. Hallier, a famous Sorbon doctor, is of opinion,⁴ that they might do it by

¹ Hieron. Ep. i. ad Heliodor. Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor.

² Leo Ep. lx. al. lxii. ad Maximum Antioch. Illud quoque convenit præcavere, ut præter eos qui sunt homini sacerdotes, nullus sibi jus docendi et prædicandi audeat vendicare, ve sit ille monachus, sive laicus, qui alicujus scientiæ nomine gloriatur. t. Ep. lxi. al. lxiii. ad Theodorit.

³ Euseb. lib. vi. c. 19. Epiphau, Iær. lxiv. seems to say he was then a presbyter: but it must be a mistake.

⁴ Hallier. de Hierarch. Ecclesiast. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 67. Laicis non nisi ex indulgentiâ illud attingere debere. It. p. 79. ibid.

permission: and he thinks this may be deduced from that canon of the fourth Council of Carthage,¹ which forbids a layman to teach in the presence of the clergy, except they request him to do it. If this relate to public teaching in the church, it implies that they might do it by special indulgence and concession. The ancient Author of the Comment upon the Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose, says,² “that in the beginning of Christianity, for the augmentation and increase of the Church, a general commission was granted unto all, both to preach the Gospel and baptise, and explain the Scriptures in ecclesiastical assemblies. But when the Church had spread itself into all places, buildings were erected, and rulers, and other officers were appointed, that no one among the clergy should presume to meddle with any office, which he knew was not committed to his trust.” And hence it was that deacons in his time did not preach to the people, nor the inferior clergy nor laymen baptise. What he says of the Apostles’ days, must rest upon his authority: if he means an unlimited commission to all in general, without previous qualifications, and examination of them, his opinion is certainly singular. But if he means only, that all, who had extraordinary measures of spiritual gifts, were allowed to exercise those gifts sometimes in preaching in public assemblies, without any external ordination, besides the gift of the spirit of prophecy: that is no more than what the best interpreters of those words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 31. “Ye may all prophecy one by one,” commonly allow: that is, all who had the gift of prophecy, not every Christian, might use the word of exhortation in the Church.³ But then, as such extraordinary gifts of the spirit of prophecy

¹ Con. Carth. iv. can. 98. Laicus, præsentibus clericis, nisi ipsis rogantibus, docere non audeat.

² Ambros. Com. in Ephes. iv p. 948. Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare, et Scripturas in ecclesiâ explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auferet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

³ Vide Bezam et Estium in Loc.

were in a manner peculiar to the apostolical age, this could not be a rule to the following ages of the Church. And therefore, when once these gifts were ceased, the Church went prudently by another rule, to allow none but such as were called by an ordinary commission, to perform this office, except where some extraordinary natural endowments, such as were in Origen, answering in some measure to those spiritual gifts, made it proper to grant a license to laymen to exercise their talents for the benefit of the Church. Or else, when necessity imposed the duty on deacons to perform the office of preaching, when the bishop and presbyters were by sickness or other means debarred from it. For the foresaid author plainly says, that deacons in his time did not ordinarily “*Predicare in Populo, preach to the people,*” as being an office to which they had no ordinary commission. And the same is said by the Author of the Constitutions,¹ and many others. Therefore since deacons were not allowed this power, but only in some special cases, it is the less to be wondered, that after the ceasing of spiritual gifts, it should generally be denied to laymen.

SECT. 5.—Women never allowed to preach.

As to women, whatever gifts they could pretend to, they were never allowed to preach publicly in the Church, either by the Apostle’s rules, or those of succeeding ages. The Apostle says expressly, “Let your women keep silence in the Churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law,” 1 Cor. xiv. 34. And, “If they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the Church.” And again, 1 Tim. ii. 11. “Let the woman also learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.” And this rule was always strictly observed in the ancient Church. The same Council of Carthage, which allows laymen to teach

¹ Constit. lib. iii. cap. 20. Vigil. Ep. ad Rusticum. Con. tom. v. p. 551.

by permission, expressly forbids women to do it in any case:¹ “Let not a woman, however learned or holy, presume to teach men in a public assembly.” But they might teach women in private, as private catechists, to prepare catechumens for baptism. For the same Council of Carthage requires this as one qualification in deaconesses, when they were ordained,² that “they should be so well instructed and expert in their office, as to be able to teach the ignorant and rustic women, how to make their responses to the interrogatories, which the minister should put to them in baptism, and how to order their conversation afterward.” And the author of the Short Notes upon St. Paul’s Epistles, under the name of St. Jerom,³ says, “that deaconesses were thus employed in all the Eastern Churches, both to minister to their own sex in baptism, and in the ministry of the word, to teach women privately, but not in public.” This matter was carried much further in many heretical assemblies: for they ordained women priests, which the Author of the Constitutions calls an heathenish practice:⁴ for the Christian law allowed of no such custom. Tertullian says,⁵ they allowed women to teach and dispute in their assemblies, and to exorcise demoniacs, and administer baptism: all which was expressly, he says,⁶ against the rule of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 35. which is so far from allowing them to teach, that it does not allow them to ask questions or dispute publicly in the Church. And whereas some pretended the authority of St. Paul for this, from a book called, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, he says, that was a spurious book, and the author of it was convict, and confessed the forgery, and

¹ Con. Carthag. iv. can. 99. *Mulier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non præsumat.*

² *Ibid.* can. xii. *Viduae vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismate, vivant.*

³ Hieron. Com. in Rom. xvi. 1. *Sicut etiam nunc in orientalibus diaconissæ mulieres in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus, &c.*

⁴ *Constit. lib. iii. cap. 9.*

⁵ Tertul. de Præscript. cap. 41.

⁶ *Idem de Baptismo. cap. xvii. Vid. De Valendis Virgin. cap. 9.*

was censured for it by the Church. The Montanists were a noted sect for giving this liberty to women, under pretence of inspiration by the Spirit: so that they had not only their prophetesses, such as Prisca and Maximilla, the first followers of Montanus, but also their women-bishops, and women-presbyters, as Quintilla and Priscilla, who, as Epiphanius¹ and St. Austin² inform us, were dignified among the Pepuzians, a sub-division of the Montanists, with the highest offices of the priesthood. Epiphanius brings³ the same charge against the Collyridians, so called from their offering *Collyria* or *cakes*, in sacrifice to the Virgin Mary, against whom he disputes at large, not only for their idolatry in offering sacrifice to her, but also for their presumption in putting women into the priest's office; which was a thing never done among the people of God from the beginning of the world; and if it had been allowed to any, would doubtless have been granted to the Virgin Mary. Firmilian, in his Letter to Cyprian,⁴ mentions another such woman among the Cataphrygians, who pretended by the spirit of prophecy, to preach, and pray, and baptise, and offer the eucharist in their public assemblies. So that this was a common practice among the heretics, but always refuted and opposed by the Church of God, which always kept strictly to the Apostle's rule, not to suffer a woman to teach publicly in the Church, whatever sanctity or learning she could pretend to, but to reserve this office to men, for whom it was originally appointed.

SECT. 6.—Two or Three Sermons sometimes in the same Assembly.

Having thus examined what persons were allowed to execute this office, we are next to inquire after what manner it was performed. And here we may observe, that they had sometimes two or three sermons preached in the same

¹ Epiphanius. Hæc. 49. Pepuzian. n. 2.

Pepuzian, Tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur.

² Epiphanius. Hæc. 78. Antidicomarian. n. 23. Et. Hæc. 79. Collyridian.

³ Firmilian. Ep. 75. ad Cyprian. p. 223.

⁴ Aug. Hæc. 27.

assembly, first by the presbyters, and then by the bishop, who usually, when present, closed up this part of the service with his paternal exhortation. The Author of the Constitutions gives this rule about it:¹ “When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters, one by one, but not all, speak the word of exhortation to the people, and last of all the bishop, who is the governor or pilot of the ship.” And that thus it was in the Eastern Churches, whose customs that author chiefly represents, appears evidently from St. Chrysostom’s sermons, which he preached when he was presbyter at Antioch. For in these he plainly speaks of Flavian, the bishop, as designing to preach after him, whom he usually complimented in some such form as this:² “It is now time for me to keep silence, that our master may have time to speak.” And again,³ “Let us remember these things and now attend to the more perfect admonition of our good master.” It would be as endless, as it is needless, to relate all the passages that⁴ occur in Chrysostom or other writers, such as St. Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Theodoret, St. Austin⁵ and St. Jerom,⁶ who particularly reflects upon the contrary practice in some Churches, meaning Egypt and Africa, where the bishops allowed none to preach but themselves; which he thought was an indecent contempt of their presbyters, as if they either envied or disdained to hear them; when yet the apostolical rule was, “If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophecy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted,” 1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31. When two or more bishops happened to be present in the same assembly, it was usual for several of them to preach one after another, reserving the last place

¹ Constit. lib. ii. cap. 57.
tom. iii. p. 853.

² Chrys. Hom. ii. de Verbis Esai.

³ Hom. iii. ibid. p. 864.

⁴ Hom.

xxxii. de Philogonio. tom. i. p. 399. Hom. xlviii. de Romano. tom. i. p. 621. Hom. liii. de Pœnitentia. tit. i. p. 662. Hom. lix. de Babyla. p. 721. Hom. xxxi. de Natali Christi. tom. v. p. 476. Hom. xlvii. et lxvi. ibid. Hom. in Psal. xlviii. p. 813. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652.

⁵ Basil. Hom. xviii. in Barlaam tom. i. p. 443. Nyssen. Orat. in sui Ordinatio. tom. ii. p. 41. Theod. in 1 Cor. xiv. 31. Aug. Ser. in Psal. 94, et 95, et 131.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian.

for the most honourable person; as St. Jerom tells us,¹ that Epiphanius and John, bishop of Jerusalem, preached together in the Church of Jerusalem: and nothing was more common than this practice at Constantinople, where a multitude of bishops were often present to attend the court, or advise with the patriarch about the affairs of the Church.

SECT. 7.—Sermons every Day in some Times and Places.

In some places they had sermons every day, especially in Lent, and the festival days of Easter. St. Chrysostom's Homilies upon Genesis, were preached in a running course of two Lents one day after another, as any one may perceive that peruses them. His famous Homilies *De Statuis* were preached in Lent after the same manner. And it were easy to note some scores of passages in his other sermons, especially in his first, third, and fifth volumes,² which make mention of their being preached successively one day after another. St. Jerom³ observes the same practice among the monks of Egypt, where it was customary every day, after the singing of the Psalms, and reading of the Scriptures, and repeating of their prayers, for the Father, that was the title of the presbyter that presided over them, to make them a sermon to elevate their minds to the contemplation of the glory of the next world, which made every one of them, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, to say within himself; "O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest!" Pamphilus, in his Apology for Origen, relates the same thing of him,⁴ that he was used to make sermons extempore almost every day to

¹ Hieron. Ep. 61. ad Pammach. cap. iv. 9, 25 32, 40, 42, 43, 49, 71, tom. iii. in Psal. 44, and 50. Hom. 1, 2, 4, et 5, de Verbis Esaie, tom. v. Hom. ii. de Lazaro. Hom. 30, 31, 48, 56, 62, 63, &c.

² Chrys. tom. i. Hom. 9, 25 32, 40, 42, 43, 49, 71, tom. iii. in Psal. 44, and 50. Hom. 1, 2, 4, et 5, de Verbis Esaie, tom. v. Hom. ii. de Lazaro. Hom. 30, 31, 48, 56, 62, 63, &c.

³ Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoeh. cap. xv. Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.

⁴ Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. inter Opera Orig. tom. i. p. 736. Tractatus penè quotidie habebat in ecclesiâ, &c.

the people: and a man cannot look into St. Austin's Homilies, but he will find references made almost every where to the sermon made "*Heri*," and "*Hesterno Die, the day before*,"¹ which either denotes some day in the weekly course, or at least some festival of a martyr. For the festivals of the martyrs were always kept with great solemnity, and they never omitted to make a Panegyric Homily upon those days, to excite the people to imitate the virtue of the martyrs. As appears from St. Austin's Sermons *De Sanctis*, and abundance throughout St. Chrysostom's works upon such occasions.² In France also Cæsarius, the famous bishop of Arles, preached almost every day. For he is said, by the writer of his life,³ to have made Homilies to the people frequently both at morning and evening prayer, that none of them might have the excuse of ignorance to plead in their behalf. And the Council of Trullo⁴ has a canon to promote this practice.

SECT. 8.—Sermons twice a Day in many Places.

And this leads us to another observation proper to be made in this matter, which is, that in many places they had sermons twice a day for the better edification of the people. Mr. Thorndike⁵ and Hamon Lestrange,⁶ make a little question of this as to the extent of the practice. The former says, "There are examples of preaching as well evening as morning in the ancient Church, but only at particular times, and on particular occasions, and therefore he is not satisfied of

¹ Vid. Aug. Serm. in Psal. 50. Serm. ii. in Psal. 58. Serm. in Psal. 63. Serm. ii. in Psal. 68. Serm. ii. in Psal. 70. Serm. ii. in Psal. 90. Serm. ii. in Psal. 101. Et passim in Sermonibus de Tempore et de Sanctis.

² Chrys. tom. i. Serm. xxxi. de Philogonio. Serm. xl. de Juventino. Et sequentes de Pelagia, Ignatio, Romano, Melito, Juliano, Luciano, Bernice, Eustathio, &c. Aug. Serm. in Psal. 81. See also what has been observed before of their preaching on Saturdays, and the stationary days, in the former book.

³ Cyprian. Tolonensis. Vit. Cæsarii. cap. iv. ap. Mabillon de Cursu Gallicano. p. 404. Frequenter etiam ad matutinos; et lucernarium propter advenientes recitabat Homilias, ut nullus esset qui se de ignorantia excusaret.

⁴ Con. Trullan. can. xix.

⁵ Thorndike of Religious Assemblies, chap. x. p. 405.

⁶ Lestrange of Divine Offices, chap. iv. p. 98.

any rule or custom of the Church." The other says, "the custom only prevailed at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where St. Basil lived, and at Cyprus." St. Basil preached some of his Homilies upon the Hexameron at evening prayer.¹ But he thinks Socrates² confines the custom to those places, because he speaks of it as a peculiar usage of those places to have sermons made by bishops and presbyters on Saturdays and Sundays at candle-light in the evening. Bishop Wettenhal was of a different judgment:³ he thinks that in cities and greater churches, it was usual "for the pastors to preach on Sundays both morning and afternoon." And he supports his opinion from several testimonies of Chrysostom, who entitles one of his Homilies,⁴ "An exhortation to those, who were ashamed to come to sermon after dinner." And in another, he inveighs against them,⁵ who condemned his usage of preaching after dinner, as a new and strange custom, telling them, "he had much more reason to condemn that wicked custom then prevailing among some, to rise from table to sleep." In another place he defends his practice from our Saviour's long sermon to his disciples after his last supper,⁶ and in another homily, preached to the people of Antioch,⁷ he highly commends them for coming to Church in the afternoon in a full audience. All these are cited by Wettenhal, to which may be added what he says in his Homily of Satan's Temptations,⁸ that the bishop attended his sermons, which he preached both morning and afternoon. For that sermon was preached in the afternoon the same day, that he had preached his twenty-first sermon to the newly baptised, as he there expressly tells us. So again it appears that the fifteenth and nineteenth Homilies to the people of Antioch against oaths, were preached on the same day.⁹ And his Homily of bearing Reproof patiently

¹ Vide Basil. in Hexameron. Hom. 2, 7, 9.

² Socrat. lib.

vi. cap. 21.

³ Wettenhal Duty of Preaching, chap. iii. p. 779.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. x. in Genes.

⁵ Hom. i. de Lazaro.

⁶ Hom. ix. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 121.

⁷ Hom. x. ad Pop. Antioch.

p. 132.

⁸ Hom. xxv. de Diabolo Tentatore. tom. i. p. 318, and

319.

⁹ Chrys. Hom. xv. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 198.

was an evening sermon. For there he thus addresses himself to the people.¹ “ Be not weary, though the evening now be come upon us. For all our discourse is in defence of Paul, that Paul, who taught his disciples three years night and day.” In his Homily, upon Elias and the widow, he says,² “ One of his Lent discourses was broken off by the evening coming upon them.” And in one of his Homilies upon Genesis,³ he as plainly intimates, that he was then preaching an evening sermon. For he makes this apostrophe to the people: “ I am expounding the Scriptures, and ye all turn your eyes from me to the lamps, and him that is lighting the lamps. What negligence is this, so to forsake me and set your minds on him? For I am lighting a fire from the holy Scriptures, and in my tongue is a burning lamp of doctrine. This is a greater and a better light than that. For we do not set up a light like that moistened with oil, but we inflame souls, that are watered with piety, with a desire of hearing.” The whole allusion and similitude shews, that he was preaching an evening sermon, when candles were lighting, which gave him the hint to draw the comparison between the material light of the lamps, and the spiritual light of the Scriptures. And in his third Homily of Repentance,⁴ to name no more, he says, “ he would continue his discourse *to the evening*,—*ἕως ἑσπέρας*,—that he might finish the subject he was then handling.” From all which it is apparent, this was no occasional usage in St. Chrysostom’s Church, but his constant and ordinary practice. And in the Latin Church we sometimes meet with examples of this kind, though not so frequent. St. Austin not only preached every day, but sometimes twice on the same day. As is evident from the two sermons on the lxxxviiith Psalm, in the latter of which he says,⁵ “ he had preached before in the morning and remained in their debt for the afternoon.” Gaudentius

¹ Hom. xiii. de Ferendis Reprehen. tom. v. p. 194.
Heliam et Viduam tom. v. p. 722.

² Hom. liv. in

³ Hom. iv. in Gen. tom. ii. p. 902.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. iii. de Pœnit. tom. iv. p. 559.

⁵ Aug. Serm. ii. in Psal. 88. Ad reliqua psalmi, de quo in matutino locuti sumus animum interdicite, et piū debitum exigite.

also, bishop of Brixia,¹ speaks of his having preached twice on the vigil before Easter. And it is probable, the same solemnity was observed in like manner in other places. For at this solemnity especially they made a distinction in their sermons, preaching one to the catechumens, and another to the neophytes, or persons newly baptised. As Gaudentius says in the same place, that his second sermon was preached to the neophytes. The like is said by St. Ambrose,² and Theodoret,³ and St. Austin,⁴ as I have had occasion to shew in another place in speaking of the distinction that was made between the catechumens and the faithful:⁵ to the former they preached only upon moral subjects, to the latter upon mystical points of religion, and abstruser articles of faith. Therefore St. Austin says in another place,⁶ there were some points which required more intent auditors, and therefore the preacher was not to hasten them, but defer them to another opportunity. And in another Homily⁷ upon Easter day, he excuses the shortness of it, “because he was to preach again to the infants,” as they then called all persons newly baptised. Cyril’s Mystical Catechisms were of this kind. And probably those Mystical Homilies of Origen, whereof he wrote two books, mentioned by Ruffin⁸ and St. Jerom, were of the same nature. However we have seen sufficient evidence otherwise for more sermons than one upon the same day upon many occasions.

¹ Gaudent. Tract. iv. Carnalem Judaicæ Paschæ observantiam, spiritualibus typis refertam, trino jam tractatu docuimus; semel hesterno die, et bis in vigiliis. It Tract. v. Oportebat in illâ nocte vigiliarum secundo tractatu—congrua neophytis explanari.

² Ambros. de iis qui mysteriis initiantur. cap. i.

³ Theod. Quæst. 15. in Num.

⁴ Aug. Serm. i. ad Neophytos. in Append. tom. x. p. 845.

⁵ Book i. chap. iv. sect. 8.

⁶ Aug. Tract. 62. in Joan. Intentior flagitatur auditor: et ideò eum præcipitare non debet, sed differre potius disputator.

⁷ Aug. Hom. lxxxii. de Diversis.—Satis sint vobis pauca ista, quoniam et post laboraturi sumus, et de sacramentis altaris hodiè infantibus disputandum est.

⁸ Ruffin. Invect. ii. cont. Hieron. cited by Valesius Not. in Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 24.

SECT. 9.—Not so frequent in Country Villages.

But this is chiefly to be understood of cities and large churches. For in the country parishes there was not such frequent preaching. St. Chrysostom says,¹ “they that lived in the city enjoyed continual teaching: but they, that dwelt in the country, had not such plenty: therefore God compensated this want of teachers with a greater abundance of martyrs, and so ordered it, that more martyrs lay buried in the country, than in the city: where, though they could not hear the tongues of their teachers continually, yet they always heard the voice of the martyrs speaking to them from their graves, and that with greater force of eloquence and persuasion, than living teachers could do,” as he there goes on after his manner to describe it. There were sometimes great assemblies held at these monuments of the martyrs: for on their anniversary festivals the whole city went forth to celebrate their memorials in the churches where they lay buried; as Chrysostom tells us both here and in other places:² but at other times their chief resort for preaching was to the city churches. It was not till the beginning of the sixth century, that preaching was generally set up throughout the country parishes in the French Church: but about that time an order was made in the Council of Vaison, Anno 529, “that for the edification of all the Churches, and the greater benefit of the whole body of the people, presbyters should have power to preach not only in the cities, but in all the country parishes:³ and if the presbyter was infirm, a deacon should read one of the homilies of the holy Fathers.” So that in this respect the state of the present Church may be reckoned happier than that of the ancient Church; since there is scarce a country parish among us but has a sermon preached every Lord’s day, throughout the year by a presbyter or deacon.

¹ Chrys. Hom. lxxv. de Martyribus. tom. v. p. 973.
² Chrys. Hom. lxxvii. de S. Droside. tom. v. p. 989. et 990.

³ Con. Vasens. ii. can. 2. Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, &c.

SECT. 10.—Of their different Ways of Preaching.

The next thing to be observed, is, their different sorts of sermons, and different ways of preaching. I have already noted¹ some difference to have been made between sermons to the catechumens, and sermons to the faithful; but that was chiefly in the matter and subject of them. What I observe here, relates more to the manner and method of preaching, in which respect they were distinguished into four kinds. 1. Expositions of Scripture. 2. Panegyric discourses upon the saints and martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular times, occasions, and festivals. 4. Sermons upon particular doctrines, and moral subjects, to illustrate the truth against heresy, and recommend the practice of virtue in opposition to immorality and ungodliness. There are examples of all these kinds in St. Chrysostom's and St. Austin's Homilies, the two great standards and patterns of preaching in the Greek and Latin Church. St. Austin has some Homilies upon whole books of Scripture, as those upon the Psalms, and St. John's Gospel. He has others, styled, *De Sanctis*, which are panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs: others, styled, *De Tempore*, which are upon the festivals and great solemnities of the Church, such as the Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Passion, Easter, Pentecost, and the Lord's days throughout the year; others, styled *De Diversis*, which are a miscellany upon doctrinal points and moral subjects. So likewise in Chrysostom, we have his Homilies by way of exposition on the whole book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and all St. Paul's Epistles. Then again, his panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs; his homilies upon the noted festivals, Easter, Pentecost, &c. and lastly, his moral and doctrinal discourses upon various subjects, repentance, faith, charity, humility, the truth of the Christian religion, the Divinity of Christ, and such important subjects, as the occasion of the times, and the opposition of Jews, Gentiles, and

¹ See before, sect. 8.

Heretics required him to discourse upon, in a plain and familiar way to the people. His homilies, by way of exposition of any book of Scripture, usually consist but of two parts, an exposition of some portion of a chapter, and an *ethicon*, or *moral* conclusion upon some useful subject, which the last part of the words expounded gave him the hint or occasion to discourse upon. But his other homilies are commonly introduced with an useful preface, not relating always to the subject that was to follow, but such as the occasional necessities of his auditory, either in matters of reproof or commendation seemed to require. But in both these ways, he still excelled in this, that he always expounded the Scripture in its most natural and genuine sense, not giving way to tropological descants, as too many others did, and made such useful observations and reflections upon it, as were pertinent and proper, which he applied to his hearers with the strongest reasoning, and utmost force of divine eloquence, becoming the seriousness and gravity of a Christian orator. It is a just character, which a late learned critic gives him,¹ and therefore I think it not improper here to transcribe it for the encouragement of all young students to read him. “ His eloquence is popular, and very proper for preaching; his style is natural, easy and grave; he equally avoids negligence and affectation; he is neither too plain, nor too florid; he is smooth, yet not effeminate; he uses all the figures that are usual to good orators very properly, without employing false strokes of wit; and he never introduces, into his discourses, any notions of poets or prophane authors; neither does he divert his auditory with jests. His composition is noble, his expressions elegant, his method just, and his thoughts sublime; he speaks like a good father, and a good pastor; he often directs his words to the people, and expresses them with a tenderness and charity becoming an holy bishop; he teaches the principal truths of christianity with a wonderful clearness, and diverts with a marvellous art, and an agreeable way of ranging his notions, and persuades by the strength and solidity of his reasons; his instructions are easy, his descriptions and relations

¹ Du Pin Bibliothec. vol. iii. p. 31.

pleasant; his inducements so meek and insinuating, that one is pleased to be so persuaded; his discourses, how long soever, are not tedious, there are still some new things that keep the reader awake, and yet he hath no false beauties nor useless figures; his only aim is to convert his auditors, or to instruct them in necessary truths; he neglects all reflections that have more of subtilty than profit; he never busies himself to resolve hard questions, nor to give mystical senses, to make a shew of his wit or eloquence; he searches not into mysteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them; he is contented to propose, after an easy way, palpable and sensible truths, which none can be ignorant of without danger of failing of salvation; he particularly applies himself to moral heads, and very seldom handleth speculative truths; he affects not to appear learned, and never boasts of his erudition: and yet whatever the subject be, he speaks with terms so strong, so proper, and so well chosen, that one may easily perceive he had a profound knowledge of all sorts of matters, and particularly of true divinity.” This is the character, which that judicious critic gives that famous and eloquent preacher: and he that will diligently peruse his homilies, especially those of his first and fifth volumes, which contain his most elaborate discourses, as also those on St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Paul’s Epistles, where he excels in his moral applications, will find his sermons to answer the character that is given of them, only making some allowances for the different way and method then used, not so agreeable to the model of sermons in the present age. I had once some thoughts of publishing a volume of his select discourses, which I translated for my own entertainment, when I was unfortunately cut off from other studies for a whole year: but because they are not altogether of the present stamp, and many men have a different taste and relish of things, I choose rather to encourage men to read them in the original, where they may select what they find proper for their use or imitation. As for those, who can endure to read nothing but what is either modern, or dressed up in the modern dress, I neither court them to read Chrysostom, nor any other ancient Father; but to others, who can be at pains to peruse, and judiciously select the

beauties of style, the strains of piety, and the flights of divine and manly eloquence, that almost every where display themselves in this author, I dare venture to say, they will never think their time lost, nor find themselves wholly disappointed in their expectation. St. Basil's homilies come the nearest to St. Chrysostom's in solidity of matter, beauty of style, ingenuity of thought, and sharpness and vivacity of expression. A vein of piety runs equally through them both, and by some St. Basil's are reckoned to come nearer to the attic purity and perfection. Next after these, the two Gregories, Nyssen and Nazianzen, are esteemed the greatest masters of divine eloquence; though the latter is rather luxuriant and tedious by his too frequent and long similitudes and digressions. Those of Ephrem Syrus were also of great repute in the ancient Church, having the honour to be read as lessons after the reading of the Scriptures in many churches, as has been noted before out of St. Jerom.¹ They are highly commended by Sozomen² and Photius³ for the beauty of their style and sublime thoughts, which were not wholly lost by being translated out of Syriac into Greek. Gregory Nyssen⁴ is more copious in his praise, and he particularly observes, that his discourses of morality were so full of compassionate and affecting expressions, that they were able to move the hardest heart. "For who that is proud," says he, "would not become the humblest of men, by reading his discourse of humility? Who would not be inflamed with a divine fire, by reading his treatise of charity? Who would not wish to be chaste in heart and spirit by reading the praises he has given to virginity? Who would not be frightened, to hear the discourse he has made upon the last judgment, wherein he has represented it so lively, that nothing can be added to it but the real appearance of judgment itself?" This is a character that would tempt any man to look into them: it is disputed now among the critics, whether these homilies, that go under his name, be his genuine offspring? some utterly reject them, and they, who

¹ Hieron. de Scriptor. cap. cxv.

² Sozom. lib. iii. cap. 16.

³ Phot. Cod. 196.

⁴ Nyssen. Vit. Ephrem Syri. tom. iii. p. 603.

say most in their defence, own that they may have lost something of their native beauty and majesty, by being translated first out of Syriac into Greek, and then out of Greek into Latin. And therefore I will not so confidently assert, they deserve the character, which Gregory Nyssen gives of those that were so much admired in his time. As for those of Origen, and others who followed him, though they have some flights of rhetoric, and a vein of piety in them, yet they are so full of allegorical and tropological interpretations, that they are neither good expositions, nor good homilies, and fall far short of the majesty and simplicity of those of Chrysostom. Among the Latins, those few moral discourses we have of Cyprian's, whether homilies or treatises, are excellent in their kind. And so are many of St. Austin's, and St. Ambrose, and Leo the Great, and Petrus Ravennas, who for his eloquence had the name of Chrysologus, or the Latin Chrysostom; though his eloquence is of a different kind, being more like that of Seneca, than of Tully or Demosthenes, whom Chrysostom copied after.

SECT. 11.—Of Extempore Discourses, frequent among the Ancients.

But of all these we must observe another distinction, that though many of them were studied and elaborate discourses, penned and composed before hand, yet some were also extempore, spoken without any previous composition, and taken from their mouths by the *Ταχυγράφοι*, or men who understood the art of *writing short hand* in the church. Origen was the first that began this way of preaching in the Church. But Eusebius says,¹ he did it not till he was above sixty years old, at which age, having got a confirmed habit of preaching by continual use and exercise, he suffered the *Ταχυγράφοι*, or *Notaries*, to take down his sermons, which he made to the people, which he would never allow before. Pamphilus,² in his Apology for Origen, speaks the matter a

¹ Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 36.

² Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. inter opera Origen. tom. i. p. 753. Quod præ cæteris Verbo Dei et doctrinæ operam dederit, dubium non est et ex his quæ ad nos laboris et studii ejus certissima designantur indicia: præcipuè verò per eos tractatus, quos penè quotidie in ecclesiâ habebat extempore, quos et describentes notarii ad moni-

little more plainly: for he makes it an instance of his sedulity in studying and preaching the Word of God, that he not only composed a great number of laborious treatises upon it, but preached almost every day extempore sermons in the church, which were taken from his mouth by the notaries, and so conveyed to posterity by that means only. The catechetical discourses of St. Cyril, are supposed to be of this kind: for at the beginning of every one almost, it is said in the title to be, “*σχεδιασθεΐσα,*” which Suidas and other critics expound, “*an extempore discourse.*” St. Jerom says, Pierius thus expounded the Scripture.¹ St. Chrysostom also sometimes used this way of preaching, being of a ready invention and fluent tongue. Sozomen says,² after his return from banishment, the people were so desirous to hear him, that he was forced to go up into the episcopal throne, and make an extempore discourse to them, which is now extant³ in his second tome in latin. Suidas also gives him this character,⁴ that he had a tongue flowing like the cataracts of Nile, whereby he spake many of his panegyrics upon the martyrs extempore, without any hesitation. And it appears from several of his sermons, that he often took occasion in the middle of a discourse from some accidental hint that was casually given, to turn his eloquence from the subject in hand, and make some extempore apostrophe to the people, either of praise and commendation, or of reproof and correction, as the occasion of the thing required, as in that sermon we have already mentioned, sect. 8. where he takes occasion, from the people’s turning their eyes to see the lighting of the candles, to reprove their negligence⁵ in turning away their attention from him, who was holding forth to them a greater light from the holy Scriptures. And there are many other such apostrophes and occasional reflections throughout his homilies, which must needs be extempore,

mentum posteritatis tradebant. Dr. Cave reckons his Homilies upon Gen. Exod. Levit. and Numbers, to be all extempore. Vid. Cave Hist. Liter. vol. i. p. 78.

¹ Hieron. Proœm. in Hosea.

² Sozom. lib. viii. cap. 18.

³ Chrys. Sermo post Reditum. tom. ii.

p. 49. in Appendice.

⁴ Suidas, voce, Joannes. tom. i. p. 1258.

Τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων δὲ πανηγύρεις ἐπηύξησεν ἐν τῷ σχεδιάζῳ ἀνεμποδίτως, &c.

⁵ Chrys. Hom. iv. in Gen. tom. ii. p. 902.

because the occasion of them could not be foreseen, being they were pure contingencies, and things altogether accidental. But Chrysostom was not the only man, whose fluency enabled him to make extempore discourses. For Ruffin, speaking in praise of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, says,¹ “there were several of their sermons extant, which they spake extempore in the church, twenty of which he himself had translated into Latin.” Socrates gives the same account of Atticus,² “that, though, whilst he was a presbyter, he was used to preach composed and studied sermons, yet afterwards by industry and continued exercise, having gained confidence and a freedom or fluency of speaking, he preached extempore to the people: and his sermons were so well received by his auditors, that they took them down in writing.” Sozomen indeed, gives a different account of them: for he says,³ “his performances were so mean, that though they had a mixture of heathen learning in them, yet his auditors did not think them worth writing.” However, they both seem to agree in this, that whatever characters they bare, they were extempore discourses. Sidonius Apollinaris⁴ seems to give the like account of Faustus, bishop of Riez, in France: for he says,⁵ “some of his discourses were *Repentinæ*, and others *Elucubratae*,” that is, the one *spoken off hand*, and the others *elaborate and studied*. And there is nothing more certain, than that St. Austin did often use the extempore way. For he sometimes preached upon places of Scripture that were accidentally read in the Church, and which he knew nothing of before he came thither. Of which we have an undeniable instance in one of his homilies,⁶ where he tells us, he was determined to preach upon a certain Psalm about repentance, which he thought nothing of before the reader chanced to read it of his own accord in the church.

¹ Ruffin. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 9. Extant quoque utriusque ingenii monumenta magna tractatum, quos extempore in ecclesiis declamabant, &c.

² Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 2.

³ Sozom. lib. viii. cap. 27

⁴ Sidon. lib. ix. ep. 3. ad Faustum Regiensem. Licet prædicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, cum ratio poposcerit, elucubratas, raucus plausor audierim, &c. Gennadius de Scriptor. cap. xl. gives the same account of Maximus Taurinenses.

⁵ Aug. Serm. xxvii. cx 50. tom. x. p. 175.

⁶ See before, Book xiv. chap. i. sect. 6.

And in another place he tells us,¹ when he had appointed the reader to read a certain Psalm, upon which he intended to preach, the reader in some hurry read another in its room; and this obliged him to preach an extempore sermon upon that Psalm that was so accidentally read in the Church. Possidius also in his Life mentions a sermon, wherein he left his subject that he was discoursing upon, to dispute against the Manichees, which he had no thoughts to have done,² when he first began to preach; but he reckoned it was the providence of God that directed him so to do, to cure the error of some latent Manichee in the congregation. And it is very probable, that many of his sermons upon the Psalms were extempore, because he so often uses the phrase, "*Quantum Deus donaverit, as God should enable him to speak:*" which seems to imply, that he spake without any previous study or composition. It is evident his sermon on the lxxxvith Psalm, was of this kind: for he says,³ "he would explain it as God should enable him, seeing it was appointed by his holy father, the bishop then present: but such a sudden appointment would have been an oppression, were it not that the prayers of the proponent gave him continual assistance." For indeed they looked upon it as so necessary a work to preach continually, that when they had not time to compose beforehand, they doubted not but that the grace of God, and a peculiar assistance of the Spirit, would concur with their honest endeavours in such sudden undertakings. Nay, Gregory the Great, who also used this way in explaining some of the most difficult books of Scripture, as particularly Ezekiel, scruples not to say,⁴ that he often found those obscure places of Scripture, which he could not comprehend in his private study, to flow in upon his understanding, when he was preaching in public to his brethren.

¹ Aug. in Psal. 138. p. 650.

² Possid. Vit. Aug. cap. xv.

³ Aug. in Psal. 86. p. 390. Hic nobis quantum dominus donare dignatur, cum vestrâ charitate tractandus modo est, propositus à beatissimo præsentate patre nostro. Repentina propositio me gravaret, nisi me continuo proponentis sublevaret oratio.

⁴ Greg. Magn. hom. xiv. in Ezek. p. 1144. Non hoc temeritate aggredior, sed humilitate. Scio enim, quia plerumque multa in sacro eloquio, quæ solus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus meis positis intellexi, &c.

SECT. 12.—What meant by Preaching by the Spirit.

And in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the assistance of the Spirit, both in composing and preaching their sermons. Thus Chrysostom says in one of his sermons,¹ when he had the happiness to see a large auditory, and a table well furnished with guests, “that then he expected the grace of the Spirit to sound in his mind.” In another,² “I do not think that I spake those words of myself, but God, that foresaw what would happen, put those words into my mind.” And again,³ speaking of the preaching of Flavian, his bishop, he says, “It was not human thought that poured forth his discourse, but the grace of the Holy Spirit: as it was not the nature of the vine, but the power of Christ that made the water wine.” St. Austin also often speaks of such illapses and assistances of the Spirit in preaching: which he sometimes calls, “the gift of God,”⁴ sometimes, “the revelation of the Spirit;”⁵ and sometimes, “the help of God,” and “His divine assistance.” In one place more particularly, speaking of his unwillingness to preach before certain bishops when he was but young, he brings them in making this answer: “if thou art in want of words, ‘Ask and it shall be given thee:’⁶ for it is not ye that speak, but ye minister what is given unto you.” If a man would disingenuously interpret these and the like expressions of the Ancients, he might make them seem to countenance that preaching by the Spirit, which some so vainly boast of, as if they spake nothing but what the Spirit immediately dictated to them, as it did to the Apostles, by extraordinary inspiration. Which were to

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxiii. de Verbis Apost. Habentes eandem Fidem, &c. tom. v. p. 351. Προσδοκῶ τὴν τῷ πνεύματος χάριν ἐνηχίῃσαι ἡμῶν τῇ διανοίᾳ.

² Hom. ii. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 30.

³ Hom. ii. de

Verbis Esaiaë. tom. ii. p. 331.

⁴ Aug. Sermon. 17. de Verbis Apost. tom. x. p. 132. Donante illo, &c. Et passim Sermon in Psalmos, 34. 96.

⁵ Aug. Sermon. 15. de Verb. Apost. Ut ea quæ ille nobis revelare dignatur, ad vos aptè et salubriter proferre possimus. Vid. ibid. Sermon. 14 and 15.

⁶ Aug. Sermon. 46. de Tempore. tom. x. p. 240. ‘Si sermo deest, Pete et accipies. Non enim vos estis qui loquimini:’ sed quod datur vobis, hoc ministratis nobis. It. de Doctrinâ Christi. lib. iv. cap. 15. he has more to the same purpose.

set every extempore, as well as composed discourse upon the same level of infallibility with the Gospel. Which sort of enthusiasm the Ancients never dreamed of. For notwithstanding the assistance of the Spirit they speak of, they always put a wide difference between the Apostles' preaching and their own, styling the one infallible and authentic, as we have heard before¹ out of St. Austin and others, and themselves only fallible expositors of the Scripture. All therefore they pretended to from the assistance of the Spirit, was only that ordinary assistance which men may expect from the concurrence of the Spirit, with their honest endeavours, as a blessing upon their studies and labours; that whilst they were piously engaged in his service, God would not be wanting to them in such assistance as was proper for their work, especially if they humbly asked it with sincerity by fervent supplication and prayer.

SECT. 13.—What Sort of Prayers they used before Sermons, and in, and after them.

And upon this account it was usual for the preacher many times to usher in his discourse with a short prayer for such divine assistance, and also to move the people to pray for him. St. Austin in the aforesaid Homily, having mentioned the assistance of the Spirit, immediately adds, “Whither shall I betake myself, thus violently pressed in these straits, but to the footstool of charity, or grace of the Holy Spirit? and to that I make now my supplication,² that he would grant me ability to speak something worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my ministry, and satisfy your desire.” And in his Book of Instructions of the Christian Orator,³ where he prescribes many excellent rules for preaching, he

¹ Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. See before in this chap. sect. 1.

² Aug. Hom. xlv. de Tempore. His coarctatus angustiis, quo me conferam, nisi ad sancta vestigia charitatis? Eamque deprecor, ut donet mihi aliquid dignum de se dicere, quo et meum ministerium, et vestrum satiem desiderium. Vid. Hom. li. de Diversis.

³ De Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 15. Noster eloquens, orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictator. al. doctor. Ipsa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exerat proferentem linguam, ad deum levet animam sitientem, ut euictet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat. &c.

lays down this among others, “ that the Christian Orator should pray both for himself and others before he begins to teach ; that he may be able to speak those things that are holy, just, and good ; and that his auditors may hear him with understanding, with willingness, and with an obedient heart. To this end, before he looses his tongue to speak, he should lift up his thirsting soul to God, that he may be able to discharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himself. And this the rather, because both we and all our words are in the hand of God, who teaches us both what to speak, and after what manner to speak. And therefore though ecclesiastical men ought to learn what they are to teach, and to get the faculty of speaking ; yet when the hour of speaking comes, they should imagine that what our Lord says,¹ belongs to every good soul: ‘ Take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given to you in that hour what ye shall speak ; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.’ If therefore the Holy Spirit speak in them, who are delivered up to persecutors for the name of Christ, why should He not also speak in those who preach Christ to them that are disposed to learn Him ?” I have related this passage at length, both because it shows us, to what degree they depended on the Spirit’s assistance in preaching, and also what sort of prayers those were, which they commonly made before sermon: viz. not the common prayers of the Church, as some mistake, who measure all usages of the ancient Church by the customs of the present, but these short prayers for the assistance and conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the people in speaking and hearing. And wherever we meet with any mention of prayer before sermon, it is to be understood only of this short sort of prayers, in ancient

¹ De Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 15. Ad horam verò ipsius dictionis illud potius bonæ menti cogitet convenire quod Dominus ait: ‘ Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini ; dabitur enim vobis in illâ horâ quid loquamini non enim vos estis: qui loquimini, sed spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis.’ Si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus Sanctus qui persequentibus traduntur pro Christo, cur non et in eis qui tradunt discentibus Christum ?

writers. Such as that of St. Austin's in one of his Homilies upon the Psalms, which begins with these words,¹ "Attend to the psalm, and the Lord grant us ability to open the mysteries that are contained in it." He begins another thus,² "My lords and brethren, meaning the bishops then present, and the Lord of all by them, have commanded me to discourse upon his Psalm, that you may understand it, so far as the Lord shall grant us understanding. And may He by your prayers assist me, that I may speak such things as I ought to speak, and such as ye ought to hear: that the word of God may be profitable to us all." In this sense we are to understand St. Chrysostom, when he says,³ "we must first pray, and then preach." So St. Paul does, praying in the prefaces of his Epistles, that the light of prayer, as the light of a candle, may lead the way to his discourses. Such is that prayer, which St. Ambrose is said to use before his sermons:⁴ "I beseech Thee, O Lord, and earnestly intreat Thee, give me an humble knowledge, which may edify; give me a meek and prudent eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt itself upon its own worth and endowments above its brethren. Put into my mouth, I beseech Thee, the word of consolation and edification, and exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those, that are good, to go on to greater perfection, and reduce, those that walk perversely, to the rule of thy righteousness, both by my word and by my example. Let the words, which Thou givest to thy servant, be as the sharpest darts and burning arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the minds of my hearers to thy fear and love." But

¹ Aug. in Psal. 91. p. 417. Attendite ad Psalmum: det nobis Dominus aperire mysteria quæ hic continentur.

² In Psal. 139. Jusserunt Domini fratres, et in ipsis Dominus omnium, ut ipsum Psalmum afferam ad vos intelligendum, quantum Dominus donat. Adjuvet orationibus vestris, ut ea dicam quæ oportet me dicere et vos audire: uti omnibus nobis sit utilis sermo divinus.

³ Chrys. Hom. xxviii. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, tom. i. p. 363. *Ἡρότερόν ἐστι δὲ τὸτε λόγος, &c.*

⁴ Ambros. Orat. ap. Ferrarium de Concioniib. Veter. lib. i. cap. 8. Obsecro Domine, et suppliciter rogo, da mihi semper humilem scientiam, quæ ædificet, ad mitissimam sapientem eloquentiam, quæ nesciat infari, et de suis bonis super fratres extolli, &c.

this seems rather to have been a private prayer of St. Ambrose between God and himself, as bishop Wettenhal¹ and Mr. Thorndike² understand it: who yet are mistaken in one thing, when they suppose that the common prayers of the Church came before the sermon, and that there were no other prayers before sermon but those: for nothing is more certain, than that the common prayers did not begin till the sermon was ended; and yet there were such short prayers for grace and assistance, as we are speaking of, peculiarly adapted to the business of preaching and hearing, and not respecting any other subject. And sometimes the people's prayers were required to be joined with them, as appears from that of St. Austin³ in one of his Homilies upon the Psalms, where he desires the people to assist him with their prayers to the Lord, that He would grant him ability to explain the latent mysteries and difficulties of the Psalms, as well for their sakes as his own. In Origen's Homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Kings, Jeremy, Ezekiel, and St. Luke, there are abundance of such short prayers, not only in the beginning of his discourses, but sometimes also in the middle of them, when any more abstruse passage of Scripture presented itself to consideration; and generally in the close, he makes another such short prayer in a few words suitable to the subject; sometimes praying for himself and the people, and sometimes exhorting them to pray for themselves and him. All which being produced at large in a noted book of Mr. Daille's,⁴ I shall not think it needful to transcribe them in this place. But I cannot omit to observe, that as St. Austin often began his sermon with a short prayer, so he usually ended it with another of the like nature. The forms of which are some of them now to be found at the end of several of his homilies. In some of

¹ Wettenhal. Gift of Prayer. chap. iv. p. 116.

dike's Just Weights and Measures, chap. xvi.

² Thorn-

³ Aug. in Psal. 117. p. 699. Assit ergo nobis apud Dominum Deum nostrum iste affectus precum vestrarum: etsi non propter nos, certe propter vos donare dignetur, quod hic absconditum latet. Vid. Homil. 1. de Diversis. Orate ut possimus, &c.

⁴ Daillæ, de Objecto Cultus Relig. lib. iii. cap. 13.

cap. 13.

them we have this form at length,¹ “ Let us now turn to the Lord God our Father, Almighty, with a pure heart, and give Him thanks with all our might, beseeching his singular clemency, with our whole soul, that of his good pleasure He would vouchsafe to hear our prayers; that He would drive away the enemy from all our thoughts and actions by his power; that He would increase our faith, govern our minds, grant us spiritual thoughts, and conduct us to everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen!” And in many other Homilies this prayer is referred to as a known form used frequently by him in the close of his sermons.² *Conversi ad dominum, &c.*” But he sometimes varied and shortened this form, as the matter of his sermon required. Thus, in his long Sermon upon the Resurrection,³ having said, that the saints in the next world will keep a perpetual sabbath, and have nothing to do but to sing Allelujah; and applying the words of the Psalmist to this purpose, “ Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, for they will be always praising thee:” he concludes his sermon with this prayer: “ Let us turn to the Lord, and beseech him for ourselves, and all the people that stand with us in the courts of his house: which house may he vouchsafe to preserve and protect, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him, world without end. Amen!” In another of his Homilies, a fragment of which is cited by Sirmond,⁴ as it is preserved in Eugippius’s collections out of St. Austin’s works, he has another form in these words: “ Let us turn to the Lord, and bless his name, that we may have grace to persevere in his commandments, to walk in

¹ Aug. Serm. 30. de Verb. Dom. tom. x. Et Serm. 102. de Diversis. et 120. Et. Serm. 18. ex editis a Sirmondo.

² Aug. de

Verb. Dom. 1. 5. 7. 8. 10. 14. 31. 32. 37. 40. et passim Homiliis de Diversis.

³ De Divers. ser. 121.

⁴ Fragment. Homil. ex Eugippii Thesaur. lib. ii. cap. 288. ap. Sirmond. Not. in Aug. Homil. xviii. a se edit. Audistis me, credo, fratres mei, quando dico, *Conversi ad Dominum benedicamus nomen ejus, de nobis perseverare in mandatis suis, ambulare in via eruditionis suae, placere illi in omni opere bono, &c. ne vos sine causa Amen subscribatis.*

the way of his instructions, and please Him in every good work, &c.” From all which it is manifest they used such short prayers both in the beginning and conclusion of their sermons, and sometimes, as occasion required, in the middle of them also, and that these were distinct from the common prayers of the Church.

SECT. 14.—The Salutation, “*Pax vobis, The Lord be with you!*” commonly used before Sermons.

Before they began to preach, it was usual also in many places to use the common salutation, “*Pax vobis, Peace be unto you, or, the Lord be with you!*” which was the usual preface and introduction to all holy offices, to which the people answered, “*And with thy Spirit!*” This the Author of the Constitutions calls, *Πρόσρησιν, the salutation*, giving this rule to the bishop newly ordained.¹ “After the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels, let him salute the Church, saying, ‘The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all!’ And let all the people answer, ‘And with thy Spirit!’ And *after this salutation*,—*μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν*, let him speak to the people the words of exhortation.” And that this author did not impose any new custom upon the Church appears from Chrysostom, who in several of his homilies makes mention of it. In his third Homily upon the Colossians, he says, the bishop, when he first entered the Church, said, “Peace be unto you all!” and when he began to preach,² “peace be unto you all!” And a little before he says, the bishop used it, *ἐν ταῖς πρόσρησεσι*, by which he means their sermons, or at least, the form of salutation itself ushering in the sermon, as we have seen the Author of the Constitutions understands it. Chrysostom adds,³ that the people returned the salutation of peace to him that gave it, saying, “And with thy spirit!” In another place

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 5. Ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, λέγων ἢ χάρις τῷ Κυρίῳ. ² Chrys. Hom. iii. in Colos. p. 1338. Ὅταν ὁμιλῇ, λέγει εἰρήνη πᾶσιν. &c. ³ Ibid. p. 1339. Ἀντιδόντες τῷ δίδοντι τὴν εἰρήνην. &c.

he says,¹ “ Nothing is comparable to peace and unity : and for this reason the father, the bishop, when he enters the church, before he goes up to his throne, prays for peace to all ; and when he rises up to preach, he does not begin to discourse before he has given the peace to all.” In other places he opens the reason of this practice by declaring the original intent and design of it. “ For,” he says, “ it was an ancient custom in the Apostles’ days, when the rulers of the Church had the gift of inspiration, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, for the people to say to the preacher, ‘ Peace be with thy spirit !’ Therefore now when we begin to preach,² the people answer, ‘ And with thy spirit !’” shewing, that heretofore they spake not by their own wisdom, but as they were moved by the Spirit.” And though this gift of extraordinary inspiration was ceased, yet all preachers still were presumed to be under the conduct and assistance of the Spirit in a lower degree : and therefore he says in another place,³ “ that the Holy Ghost was in their common father and teacher, meaning the bishop, when he went up into the episcopal throne, and gave the peace to them all, and they with one voice answered, ‘ and with thy spirit !’ And this, not only when he went into his throne, but also when he preached to them, when he prayed, and when he stood by the holy table to offer the oblation.” And by this we may understand what Sozomen⁴ and others say of Chrysostom after his return from banishment, that the people forced him against his will, before he was synodically re-instated, to go up into the throne, and give them the peace in the usual form, and preach to them. Optatus speaks of the same custom in Afric both in the beginning and end of their sermons. For he says,⁵ “ they used a

¹ Hem. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejebant. tom. v. p. 713. Ἀναστὰς ἐ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῶν εἰρήνην ἐπέύξηται.

² Chrys. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652.

³ Hom. xxxvi. de Pentecost. tom. v. p. 553.

⁴ Sozom. lib. viii. cap. 18.

⁵ Optat. lib. iii. ad calcem. lib. vii. p. 112. Episcopalis tractatus probatur salutatione geminatâ. Non enim aliquid incipit episcopus ad populum dicere, nisi primò in nomine Dei populum salutaverit. Similes sunt exitus initiis. Omnis tractatus in Ecclesiâ à nomine Dei incipitur, et ejusdem Dei nomine terminatur, &c. Il. lib. iii. p. 73. Salutas de Pace, qui non anas.

double salutation: the bishop never began to speak to the people, before he had first saluted them in the name of God. Every sermon in the Church began in the name of God, and ended in the name of the same God." And by this he proves, that Macarius, the emperor's officer, did not take upon him the office of a bishop among the Catholics, as the Donatists falsely objected against them. For though he spake to the people in the church, yet it was upon some other business, and not by way of preaching, which was the office of bishops, which they always began and ended with this salutation: but Macarius used no such salutation, and from thence he argues that he did not preach. Bona¹ cites also Athanasius's Epistle to Eustathius, where he inveighs against the Arian bishops, who in the beginning of their sermons used that kind word, "Peace be with you!" and yet were always harassing others, and tragically engaged in war. But as there is no Epistle under that title among Athanasius's works, I let it rest upon the credit of our author.

SECT. 13.—But the Use of *Ave Mariæ* before Sermons, unknown to the Ancients.

But I cannot but observe, that among all the short prayers used by the Ancients before their sermons, there is never any mention of an *Ave Mary*, now so common in the practice of the Romish Church. Their addresses were all to God, and the invocation of the holy Virgin for grace and assistance before sermons was a thing not thought of. They, who are most concerned to prove its use, can derive its original no higher than the beginning of the fifteenth century. For Ferrarius ingenuously confesses,² that Vincentius Ferrerius was the first ecclesiastical writer that ever used it before his sermons. Baronius has not a syllable of its antiquity in all his twelve centuries; there being a perfect silence both among the Ancients and all the ritualists about it, till that Dominican preacher in his

¹ Bona. *Rerum Liturgic.* lib. ii. cap. ii. n. 1.
Ritu Concion. lib. i. cap. xi. p. 30.

² Ferrar. de

abundant zeal for the worship of the holy Virgin, began to use it before his sermons; from whose example, for he was a celebrated preacher in the age he lived in, it gained such reputation and authority, as not only to be prefixed before all their sermons, but to be adapted and joined with the Lord's Prayer in the Roman Breviary. Ferrarius says all he can to justify a novelty; but nothing can clear this hyperdulia of idolatry; and he might have spared his censure of Erasmus, who says a witty thing upon it, that their preachers were used to invoke the virgin mother in the beginning of their discourses, as the heathen poets were used to do their muses: for Epiphanius would have said much severer things against it, had he had the like occasion given him to inveigh against this idolatry, as he had to censure that of the Collyridians: but then this idolatry was confined to the weaker sex, and had not yet made its way into the pulpits, or any part of the liturgy of the ancient Church, when preachers were used to pray for grace and assistance only from him, who is the proper donor of it.

SECT. 16.—Sometimes their Sermons were prefaced with a Benediction.

I observe further, that as their sermons were thus usually prefaced with a short prayer, so they were sometimes introduced with a short form of benediction. This seems to have been peculiar to times of calamity and distress, or to happy deliverances out of them. There are instances of both kinds in Chrysostom's sermons to the people of Antioch, when they were under apprehensions of being destroyed by the Emperor's displeasure. His fourth sermon begins thus: "Blessed be God, who hath comforted your sorrowful souls, and comforted your wavering minds." His eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and twentieth Homilies begin much after the same manner. And his Homily after his return from banishment is thus prefaced:¹ "What shall I say? what shall I speak? Blessed be God! This was the word which I spake when I went away; and this I repeat now at my return." And this he tells them, he did after the example of

¹ Chrys. Homil. post Reditum. tom. ii.

Job, who, in adversity as well as prosperity, said always, "Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

SECT. 17.—Sometimes preached without any Text, and sometimes upon more Texts than one.

It appears further from those Homilies¹ and several others, both in him and other writers, that they sometimes preached without any text; only treating of such matters as they thought most proper for the occasion. But most commonly they took their text out of some paragraph of the Psalms or lessons, as they were read. And sometimes they so ordered the matter, as to preach upon the Psalm, the Epistle, and Gospel, all together, when they were either accidentally, or by their own appointment upon the same subject. Thus St. Austin preached upon the subject of praise and thanksgiving out of the Epistle, the Psalm, and the Gospel together,² because they had all something relating to his subject. But they never shewed so little reverence for Scripture, as to choose their text out of Aristotle's Ethics, as Sixtinus Amama tells us³ one of the Romish preachers did at Paris, in the hearing of Melancthon.

SECT. 18.—Their Sermons always upon important Subjects.

Neither did they entertain their auditory with light and ludicrous matters, or fabulous and romantic stories, such as those with which preaching so much abounded in the age before the reformation; of which Erasmus,⁴ and Faber,⁵ and Hottinger,⁶ and many other learned men have made so great

¹ Chrys. Hom. 3, 4, 5, 6. ad Popul. Antioch.

² Aug. de Verbis.

Apost. Serm. x. tom. x. p. 112. Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis, et quantum conari possumus, adjuvante Domino, non in aliquâ earum immorantes, &c.

³ Sixtin. Amama, Orat. de Barbarie. Cited by Mr. Seller, Life of Justin Martyr. p. 123.

⁴ Erasm. Moriae Encomium. p. 176. &c.

⁵ Joannes Faber. Declamat. de Humanae Vitae Miseria. ap. Hottinger. Hist. Eccl. Sæcul. xvi. part. iv. p. 1271.

⁶ Hottinger. xvi. Sæcul. Par. iii. p. 263, &c.

and so just complaints. There is one instance given by Hottinger out of one of their authentic books of Homilies, which for its singular vanity, and to shew the difference between the ancient and the modern way of edifying a popular auditory, I shall here transcribe out of him, as he relates it in his history. He says, in a book of sermons,¹ composed by the theological faculty of Vienna, Anno 1430, which was read in their monasteries and their churches, this ridiculous story is told, to recommend their relics to the people; that the thirty pieces of gold, though the Scripture calls them silver, which Judas had for betraying his master, were coined by Terah, Abraham's father; who was a famous artificer under King Nimrod; that he gave them to his son Abraham; that Abraham therewith purchased the field of Ephron, the Hittite; from whence they came into the hands of the Ishmaelites, who therewith bought Joseph, when his brethren sold him into Egypt; that Joseph's brethren paid them to Joseph, when they went to buy corn in Egypt, and so they came into the king of Egypt's treasury; that hence they were given to Moses, when the king of Egypt sent him with an army to subdue Ethiopia; that Moses upon this occasion gave them as a dowry to the queen of Sheba; and the Ethiopian queen afterward made a present of them to king Solomon; who put them into the treasury, where they continued, till Nebuchadnezzar among the spoil seized them in the devastation of Jerusalem; Nebuchadnezzar having an Arabian king among his auxiliaries, made a present of them unto him; and of him sprang one of those Eastern kings, who came to worship Christ at his birth, and made a present of them to the Virgin Mary; and the Virgin, when she presented her son in the temple, made them an offering for her purification. So this very silver, which was gold before, was the price which Judas had for betraying his master. And these silver pieces are there said to be dispersed over all

¹ Hotting. Sæcul. xv. p. 63. St. Bernard's Censure of such trifles is, *Inter seculares nugæ, nugæ sunt: in ore sacerdotis blasphemie.* De Consider. lib. ii. cap. 13.

the world, and kept as sacred relics, one of which in gold as big as an English noble is shewed at Rome in the entrance of St. Peter's Church. One would hardly believe, that such absurd and ridiculous fictions should have been authorised from the pulpit among the rules of eternal life, had not undeniable proof been often made,¹ that their breviaries and legends, as well as sermons, before the Reformation, were stuffed with such fables; though, I believe, this story outdoes any in the Golden Legend, of which Ludovicus Vives² and Melchior Canus³ so much complain, and Jacobus de Voragine was but an ass to these men for invention. Now let us see how the ancient way of preaching differed from this. Justin Martyr makes it a plain, but a very edifying way of instruction. For he says,⁴ when the writings of the Apostles and Prophets were read, the bishop made a discourse to exhort and excite the people to imitate and transcribe into their practice the good things, they had heard read out of them. Their subjects, as Gregory Nazianzen⁵ describes the choice of them, were commonly such as these, of the world's creation, and the soul of man; of angels, as well those that kept, as those that lost their first integrity; of providence, and its wise laws and constitutions; of the formation of man and his restoration; of the two covenants, the types of the old, and the antitypes of the new; of Christ's first and second coming, of his incarnation and passion; of the general resurrection and end of the world; of the day of judgment, and the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the wicked; and above all of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was the principal article of the Christian faith. In like manner Chrysostom puts his auditors⁶ in mind of what matters he had used to preach to them, of the nature of the soul, of the fabric of the body, of the state of immortality, of

¹ See Patrick's Devotions of the Rom. Church. Lond. 1674. 8^o.

² Lud. Vives de Tradend. Disciplinis. lib. v. p. 360.

Loc. Theolog. lib. xi. cap. vi. p. 533.

³ Canus,

⁴ Justin. Apol. li. p. 98.

⁵ Naz. Orat. i. de Fuga. p. 15.

Christi. tom. i. p. 309.

⁶ Chrys. Hom. xxiv. de Baptismo

the kingdom of heaven, and the torments of hell, of the long suffering of God, and the methods of pardon, of the powers of repentance, of baptism, and the forgiveness of sins, of the creation of the superior and inferior world, of the nature of men and angels; of the subtilty of Satan, and his methods and policies; of the different opinions of the Christian world; of the true faith, and the gangrene of heresies, and other such mysteries, which it behoves a Christian to be acquainted with.

SECT. 19.—And delivered in a Way most affecting and suitable to the Capacities of their Hearers, with Perspicuity, Pleasure, and Force of Argument.

And as they were thus careful in the choice of their subjects, so they were no less careful to put their well chosen matter into the most useful and pleasing dress; that they might answer the true ends of Christian oratory, and as the wise man words it, make their “apples of gold,” appear the more beautiful by being set, “in pictures of silver.” “The design of Christian oratory,” as St. Austin observes,¹ “is either, to instruct men in the truth, or to refute their errors, or to persuade them to the practice of holiness and virtue, and dissuade them from the contrary vices. The first of these requires plain narration: the second, strength of argument and ratiocination: and the third, the art and power of moving the mind and affections. And in doing each of these, the Christian orator, as he never speaks any thing but what is holy, just and good, so he endeavours to speak these in such a manner, as that he may be heard with understanding, with pleasure, and with obedience,² as the chief thing of all. That he may be heard with understanding, he speaks every thing with a natural plainness and perspicuity, and also a re-

¹ Aug. de Doctrina Christ. lib. iv. cap. 4.

² Ibid. cap. xv. Agit noster eloquens, cum et justa, et sancta et bona dicit (neque enim alia debet dicere:) agit ergo quantum potest, cum ista dicit, ut iutelligenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur.

gard to men's capacities and apprehensions. He reckons the greatest oratory of no use, if it cannot be understood: for what signifies a golden key,¹ if it cannot open what we intend? A wooden key is of more use, if it will answer the true design of a key, which is only to open what is locked up and shut before. Therefore the Christian orator labours chiefly at perspicuity in his speech, never thinking he has done justice to any truth by his eloquence, unless he has also delivered it with a sufficient evidence to men of reasonable capacities and comprehensions. There are some things, which are unintelligible in their own nature, or not to be understood by the ordinary sort of men, though they be spoken with never so much plainness of the orator: and therefore such things are seldom or never without great necessity, to be handled in a popular audience.² For the same reason, he, that studies perspicuity and evidence, will sometimes neglect rhetorical expressions, and not regard how sonorous, but how significant his words are, to intimate and declare his sense to the minds of his hearers. For there is a *diligens negligentia*, an *useful negligence*, proper in this case to ecclesiastical teachers, who must sometimes condescend to improprieties of speech, when they cannot speak otherwise to the apprehensions of the vulgar." As he notes, that they were used to say, *Ossum* instead of *Os*, to distinguish a mouth from a bone in Afric, to comply with the understandings of their hearers.³ "For what advantage is their in purity of speech, when the hearer understands it not, seeing there is no occasion at all of speaking, if they, for whose sake we speak to be understood, apprehend not what we say?" And for this reason, I doubt not, there are so many Africanisms, or idioms of the African tongue in St. Austin, because he thought it more commendable sometimes to deviate a little from the strict grammatical purity and propriety of the Latin tongue, than not be understood by his hearers.

¹ Aug. de Doctrina Christ. lib. iv. cap. xi. Quid enim prodest clavis aurea, si aperire quod volumus non potest? Aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest, quando nihil querimus, nisi patere quod clausum est?

² Ibid. cap. ix.

³ Ibid. cap. x. Cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem *ossum* potius quam *os* dicere, &c.

This was a laudable condescension in every respect, and much valued by the Ancients, who thought it the first office of a preacher, to speak always to the capacity and understanding of his hearers. It is this, which Nazianzen¹ so highly commends in Athanasius, that he tempered his style according to the difference of his auditory: he condescended to speak to mean capacities in a lower way, whilst to the acute, his words and notions were more sublime. And there was but one case, in which they affected to speak any thing darkly and obscurely, and that was, when they preached in a mixed auditory, where the catechumens were present, from whom they purposely intended to conceal some of the profounder knowledge of the Christian mysteries for a time, and therefore they usually spake of them in a covert way, with an “*ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, the initiated know what we mean,*” as being well understood by them, though they spake only by hints and dark terms upon the account of the catechumens: of the reasons of which discipline and practice, I have spoken largely heretofore,² and therefore need say no more of it in this place.

The next thing which St. Austin commends in his Christian orator, is, “that he labours to be heard with pleasure, *ut intelligenter, ut libenter,*”—for though a plain declaration of truth may satisfy those, who regard nothing but truth; yet the greater part of men love sweetness and ornament of speech: and therefore if it be unpleasant, the benefit of it will reach but very few, who are desirous to hear what they ought to learn, though it be in a mean and uncomely dress: but the generality of men are not pleased with this:³ some similitude exists between eating and speaking: and therefore because weak stomachs cannot relish their most necessary food, without which they cannot live, their food is to be seasoned to make it pleasant for them.” Upon this ac-

¹ Naz. Orat. xxi, de Laud. Athan. p. 396.

² Book x. chap. v.

³ Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 11. Si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suos pervenit fructus, qui ea quæ discenda sunt, quamvis abjectè incultèque dicantur, scire desiderant.—Sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem vescentes atque dicentes, propter fastidia plurimorum etiam ipsa sine quibus vivi non potest, alimenta condicenda sunt.

count he commends the saying of an ancient orator, who said truly,¹ that an orator ought so to speak, as not only to teach and instruct, but also to delight and move. And some hearers are to be induced to hear by the pleasure of a discourse, which arises from the sweetness, and beauties, and ornaments of it. St. Chrysostom inculcates the same rule, in describing the office of a bishop, whose task, he says, was something the more difficult upon this account,² “because men had generally nice and delicate palates, and were inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, rather for pleasure than profit: which added to the preacher’s study and labour; who, though he was to condemn both popular applause and censure, yet was he also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure to their edification and advantage.” It was not required indeed, that every preacher should speak with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthenes, or the majesty of Thucydides, or the sublimity of Plato, as the same St. Chrysostom words it:³ “lower degrees of eloquence,” says St. Austin, “would please a Christian auditory, provided he had a decent regard to the common rules of eloquence, to say nothing, *obtusè, deformiter, frigidè*, nothing that was *blunt*, nothing that was *indecent* or *unbecoming*, nothing that was *cold* or *languid*; but every thing *acutè, ornatè, vehementer*, with *sharpness*, and *handsomeness*, and *force* :” which are St. Austin’s rules in this very case.⁴ Or, if men could not attain to this perfection of exotic eloquence, yet there was a manly and majestic eloquence, an art of speaking wisely, which no one could fail of, that would diligently study the Holy Scriptures. For there the subject is not only great and divine, but the dic-

¹ Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 12. Dixit ergo quidam eloquens, et verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat. — Ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus est auditor: et delectatur, si suaviter loquaris. ² Chrys. de Sacerdotio. lib. v. cap. 1.

³ Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 6.

⁴ Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 5. Cùm alii faciant *obtusè, deformiter, frigidè*; alii *acutè, ornatè, vehementer*: illum ad hoc opus jam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter. — Sapienter autem dicit homo tantò magis vel minus, quantò in Scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.

tion also eloquent and beautiful, as St. Austin shews in several instances out of the Apostles and Prophets; the style not glittering with sallies, and flashes of juvenile wit, which would not become a manly eloquence, but altogether agreeable to the dignity and authority of the persons, who were the inspired authors of it; who spake with an eloquence becoming both themselves and their subjects; such as is no ways inferior to the eloquence many times of the greatest masters and pretenders to it, and for its wisdom, which is the most true divine eloquence, far exceeds them. They therefore, who were well versed both in the phrase and sense of the Scriptures, and knew how to make a proper use and application of them, could never want true eloquence to recommend their discourses with pleasure to their hearers. And indeed the very custom of applauding the preachers publicly in the Church, of which more by and by, is a certain evidence that they were commonly heard with pleasure.

The last thing, which St. Austin commends in the Christian orator, is, “ that he endeavours to be heard *obedienter*; that is, speaks to the *conviction* and *persuasion* of his hearers; convincing their judgments by sound and solid reasonings; and raising the affections, and drawing them into compliance, by such motives, and methods, and addresses, as are proper to work upon the several passions of human nature, and bend and subdue the will, and lead it captive into the obedience of Faith. When the sacred orator has done this, he is at his utmost height: then he leads his hearers, as it were, willingly in triumph, having gained a complete and pleasing victory over them. For, as St. Austin again observes, till men are wrought into compliance and obedience by the orator, they are not properly conquered by him. For they may be taught and pleased,² and yet yield no compliance or practical assent; without which the two former are of no advantage: but when his oratory has gained their wills, it has then subdued all op-

¹ Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 6 et 7.

² Ibid. cap. xii.

Idèò autem victoriæ est flectere, quia fieri potest ut doceatur, et delectetur, et non assentiatur. Quid autem illa duo proderint, si desit hoc tertium?

position, and gotten a complete victory." Now this is done, as St. Austin there goes on to intimate, "when the orator can bring men to love what he promises, to fear what he threatens, to hate what he rebukes, to embrace what he commends, to sorrow for what he aggravates as sorrowful, to rejoice at what he amplifies as matter of rejoicing, to commiserate those, whom he represents before their eyes as objects of compassion, to avoid and fly from those, whom he brands and stigmatizes as dangerous persons, and gives them terrible apprehensions of, as men with whom it is not safe to converse: and whatever else may be done by force of grand eloquence, to move the minds of the hearers, not to know what they are to do, but to do what they already know to be their duty to do." This he calls by the name of,¹ "*grandis eloquentia, et gravis, grand and grave eloquence,*" and it, opposes to what he calls, "*spuemus verborum ambitus, that light and frothy sort of eloquence,*" which consists only in a jingling multiplicity of words, which does not become any subject, much less the gravity of a Christian discourse upon the weightiest and most serious of all subjects, where nothing is said but what is great, as having no regard to the affairs of this temporal life, but to the things of eternal happiness, and eternal misery. "For, if a Christian orator speaks of temporal things, though they be small in themselves, yet they are great in his way of handling them; because he treats of them with respect to justice and charity, and piety in the use of them, which are great things in the smallest matters. As when the Apostle speaks of going to law for pecuniary matters, 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c. he uses all the force of grand eloquence, raising his indignation, correcting, upbraiding, rebuking, threatening, and shewing the concern of his soul, by sharpening his style into the utmost keenness and quickness of expression; not because secular affairs deserved all this, but for the sake of justice, charity, and piety, that were so deeply concerned in them." Thus he observes again,² "that a cup of cold water is but a small thing in itself, but it was great in

¹ Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 13 et 14.

² Ibid. cap. xviii.

our Lord's mouth, when He said, he that gives it to a disciple, shall not lose his reward." He adds, "that he himself once spake so movingly and affectionately, by the help of God, upon that subject to the people, that out of that cold water there arose a flame, which warmed the cold hearts of men, and inflamed them to do works of mercy in hopes of an heavenly reward. But he observes further, that although a preacher upon this account ought never to speak but of great things, yet he is not always obliged to do this *granditer*, in the way of vehement and grand eloquence, or the elated and lofty style; but when he speaks only to inform the judgment,¹ the submiss or low style is to be used, as more proper for doctrinal instruction; and the temperate or middle style, when he speaks to praise or dispraise: but when any thing is to be done, and they, to whom he speaks, are unwilling to do it, then those things which are great in themselves, are to be spoken *granditer*, in a grand and vehement style, or in such a way as is proper to incline and bend the wills of the hearers. And sometimes every one of these three ways is used about the same subject; the submiss style, when any doctrine is delivered about it; the temperate style, when any commendation is to be given to it; and the grand style, when the mind that is averse from its duty, is to be converted and forcibly induced to practise it. Thus, if a man is discoursing concerning God: to shew the Unity of the Trinity, he ought only to reason in the submiss and plain way, that what is difficult to be conceived, may be understood, as far as men are capable of understanding it. Here is no ornament required, but only plain documents and instruction. But when God is to be praised, either in Himself or his works, then there is a fair occasion for beautiful and splendid oratory, to extol Him, whom no man can sufficiently praise." And again, "if his worship be neglected, or other things

¹ Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 19. Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere; sed submissè, cum aliquid docetur; temperatè, cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur. Cum verò aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquitur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea quæ magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer, et ad flectendos animos congruentur.

be taken in to rival him in his worship, whether they be idols, or devils, or any other creature, then the evil of the practice is to be aggravated with all the grandeur and vehemence of oratory, to dissuade and turn men from it." And he gives us several instance of all the three kinds, both out of Scripture and the ancient writers, Cyprian and Ambrose, assuring us in the end, " that what he had said of those two, might he found in the writings and discourses of other ecclesiastical men, who treated always of weighty subjects in a proper manner, that is, as the matter required, with perspicuity and acuteness, with ornament and beauty, with ardency and grandeur in their applications." So that if we will take St. Austin's character of the ancient preachers, it was in short this;¹ that their discourses were always upon weighty and heavenly matters, and their style answerable to the subject, that is, plain, elegant, majestic, and nervous; fitly adapted to instruct, to delight and charm, and to convince and persuade their hearers; and if their method was different from ours, or not so exact, and visible to the hearers; that must be imputed to custom and the times they lived in: for every age has its peculiarities and proper taste of things: and though I believe the modern way of methodising sermons to be most useful to the hearers: yet if the question were to be determined by the rules and practice of the most famous orators, whether an open or a concealed method were fittest to be chosen, the judgment and decision would fall upon the side of the Ancients. However, if they failed in this, they made it up in other excellencies, by their perspicuity and clearness, their elegancy and fineness, their sublimity of thought and expression, and above all, by the flaming piety of their lives, corresponding to their doctrine, and giving the greatest force and energy to all their discourses. For, as St. Austin² truly observes in the last

¹ Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 21. In his autem, quos duos ex omnibus proponere volui, et in aliis ecclesiasticis viris, et bona et benè, id est sicut res postulat, acutè, ornatè, ardentè dicentibus, per multa eorum scripta vel dicta possunt hæc tria genera reperiri, et assiduâ lectione vel auditione, admixtâ etiam exercitatione, studentibus inolescere.

² Ibid. cap. xxvii. Habet autem ut obedienter audiatur quantâcunquo granditate dictionis majus pondus vita dicentis, &c.

place, “ the life of the preacher has more weight in it, than the greatest grandeur and force of eloquence, to induce his hearers to obedience: for he, that preaches wisely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify some, who are desirous to learn and observe the commands of Christ; as many will learn from the Scribes and the Pharisees, who sit in Moses’s chair, and say, and do not; but he, that lives as he speaks, will advantage abundance more. For men are very apt to ask this question, *Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis? Why dost not thou do that which thou commandest me to do?* And so it comes to pass, that they will not obediently hear him, who does not hear himself, but contemn both the word of God and the preacher together. But he whose life is unblameable, his very example is grand oratory, and *his form of living, an eloquent discourse. Copia dicendi forma vivendi.*”¹ And by these methods, what by their oratory, what by their example, the Ancients gained so much upon their hearers, as often to receive their public acclamations, and hear their groanings, and see their tears, and what was most delightful of all, found the happy effects of their labour in their holy obedience, and sincere conversion. But of these, more presently, when we come to the hearers, having made two or three remarks more concerning the preachers.

SECT. 20.—That it was no Part of the ancient Oratory to move the Passions by Gesticulations and vain Images of Things.

And among these, I must observe one thing negatively, that it was no part of the ancient oratory to raise the affections of their hearers, either by gesticulations, or the use of external shews and representations of things in their sermons, as is now very common in the Romish Church, especially when they preach upon our Saviour’s passion, to produce a cross, and the image of Christ bound to a pillar, and whip it to death, and shew the nails, and tear a veil, and many other the like things to create sorrow in their hearers. Ferrarius owns,² there was no such practice among the Ancients, and confesses, that except it be done very appositely and prudently, it is more apt to excite laugh-

¹ Aug. de Doct. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 29. ² Ferrar. de Ritu Con. lib. i. cap. 31.

ter than sorrow. And which of the two it often produces, is easy to guess, as well from the nature of the thing, as the complaints of wise men against it. What Ferrarius produces out of Chrysostom,¹ bidding the people take St. John Baptist's head into their hands, and carry it home with them and hear it speak, is nothing to the purpose: for this is only a rhetorical scheme, made up of two usual figures among orators, an hypotyposis and prosopopœia, that is, a lively description of a thing, and an introduction of a person speaking; which are figures that have a mighty influence upon the mind to raise in it a just concern, but are no precedents for such practices as rather incline men to ridicule and laughter, of which there is no footstep in the ancient oratory of the Church.

SECT. 21.—Of the Length of their Sermons.

Next to the matter and style of their sermons, the question may be asked concerning the length of them. Ferrarius² and some others are very positive, that they were generally an hour long: but Ferrarius is at a loss to tell by what instrument they measured their hour; for he will not venture to affirm, that they preached as the old Greek and Roman orators declaimed, by an hour-glass; which yet he might have said with as much truth, as that all their sermons were an hour long, from no better proof, than their mentioning sometimes the hour of preaching, which signifies no more than the time in general, as, “the hour of temptation,” and, “the hour cometh,” and “my hour is not yet come,” are often used in Scripture. It is a more just and pertinent observation of Bishop Wettenhal's,³ that their sermons were often very short: there are many in St. Austin's tenth tome, which a man may pronounce distinctly and deliver decently in eight minutes, and some almost in half the time: and such are many of those of Leo, Chrysologus, Maximus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and other Latin

¹ Chrys. Hom. xiv. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 177.

² Ferrar. de

Ritu Concion. lib. i. cap. 33.

³ Wettenhal's Gift of Preaching,

chap. ii. p. 666.

Fathers. Some of St. Austin's are much longer, and so are the greater part of Chrysostom's, Nazianzen's, Nyssen's, and Basil's; but scarce any of them would last an hour, and many not half the time: and when it is considered, that they had many times two or three sermons at once, as I have shewn it was very usual in Chrysostom's church, it would be absurd to think, that each of them was an hour long, when the whole service lasted not above two hours in the whole; as Chrysostom¹ often declares in his sermons, making that an argument to the people, why they should cheerfully attend divine service, since of seven days in the week God had only reserved one to himself, and on that day, exacted no more than two hours, like the widow's two mites, to be spent in his service.

SECT. 22.—Whether every Man was obliged to preach his own Composition, or the Homilies and Sermons composed by others.

It may be inquired further, whether all preachers were obliged to deliver their own compositions, or were at liberty to use the compositions of others? To this, it has been already answered in some measure, that the Homilies of famous preachers, such as Chrysostom, and Ephrem Cyrus, were often read instead of other sermons from the pulpit in many Churches. And Mabillon says,² those of Cæsarius Arelatensis were read in the French Churches; where also deacons were authorised by the Council of Vaison,³ in cases of necessity, when the preaching presbyter was disabled, to read the Homilies of the ancient Fathers in country churches. Neither was this only the practice of deacons, but bishops sometimes also did the same. For Gennadius says,⁴ Cyril of Alexandria composed many Homilies, which the Grecian bishops committed to memory, in order to preach them. He says the same of Salvian,⁵ the eloquent presbyter of Marseilles,

¹ Chrys. Hom. xlviij. de Inscript. Altaris. tom. v. p. 648. Hom. l. de Util. Lection. Script. ibid. p. 676. Hom. xxiv. de Bapt. Christi. tom. i. p. 309.

² Mabil. de Liturg. Gallican. lib. ii. p. 99.

³ Con. Vasens. ii.

can. 2. ⁴ Gennad. de Scriptor. cap. lvij. Homilias etiam composuit plurimas, que ad declamandum Græciæ episcopis commendantur.

⁵ Gennad. ibid. cap. lxxvii.

that he wrote many homilies for bishops,—“*Homilias episcopis factas multas*,” which Ferrarius and Dr. Cave understand,¹ not of *Homilies* made before bishops, but for their use: whence he is also styled by Gennadius in the same place, “*episcoporum magister, the teacher or master of bishops*,” because they preached the eloquent Homilies, which he composed. Ferrarius and Sirmondus² observe the same of the *Dictiones Sacræ*, or Sermons of Ennodius, which are said to be written by him, and spoken by others: Honoratus, bishop of Novaria, is named for one. St. Austin more particularly considers this question, and makes a case of conscience of it. For having laid down all the rules of Christian oratory for those, who had ability to compose, he at last confesses, there were some, who though they could speak well, were not able to invent and compose an handsome discourse of their own: and he does not severely condemn them, or with a magisterial air debar them from preaching, but with a great deal of tenderness says favourably in their case,³ that if they take that which was elegantly and wisely written by others, and commit it to memory, and preach it to the people, if they are called to that office, they are not to be blamed as doing an ill thing. For by this means there are many preachers of truth, which is very useful, and not many masters, whilst they all speak things of the one true Master, and there are no schisms among them. Neither ought such men to be deterred by the words of the prophet Jeremiah, xxiii. 30. by whom God rebukes those, who steal his words every one from his neighbour. For they, which steal, take away that which they have no right or property in: which cannot be said of those, who obey the Word of God, but rather belongs to those, who speak well, and live ill. From whence he concludes, it is very lawful for a man to preach the composition

¹ Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. lib. ii. cap. 7. Cave Hist. Literar. vol. i. p. 346. Du Pin. Centur. v. p. 146.

² Sirmond. Not. in Ennodium. Dictio ii. Missa Honorato in dedicatione basilicæ, &c.

³ Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 29. Sunt sanè quidam, qui benè pronuciare possunt, quid autem pronuncient, excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumunt eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriæque commendunt, atque ad populum profcrant, si eam personam gerunt, non improbè faciunt, &c.

of other more eloquent men, provided he compose his own life answerable to God's word, and earnestly pray to God, that he would make His word in his mouth edifying to others.

SECT. 23.—Their Sermons always concluded with a Doxology to the Holy Trinity.

I must note also, that they always concluded their sermons, as we now do, with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, as may be seen not only in the sermons of St. Austin, Chrysostom, Basil, Leo, Fulgentius, and others, who lived after Arius broached his heresy against the divinity of our Saviour; but also in those of Origen, and others who lived before, such as Dionysius of Alexandria, and the rest that are mentioned by St. Basil, who had seen their Homilies, out of which he wrote a vindication of that ancient form against some,¹ who pretended to charge him with innovation for using a form, which he says the Ancients had always used before him.

SECT. 24.—Sermons delivered by the Preacher sitting, for the most Part.

There are some other incidental things taken notice of by Ferrarius, which are either very minute in themselves, or are more proper to be spoken of in other places; such as the deacon's causing silence to be made before sermons, and the preacher's reading his text over again after the readers; and his appointing lessons to be read agreeable to his subject; and giving notice of them the week before to the people; as also the reading of the Acts of the martyrs before sermon upon their proper festivals; the giving notice of Easter and Lent on the day of Epiphany in their sermons; the notification of vigils, and fasts, and festivals; and appointing collections for the poor; preaching covertly of the mysteries of religion before the catechumens; complimenting the bishops that were present in their sermons;

the distinction of places for the hearers; the usual appellations of love and respect that were given them; the usual place of the sermon, some eminency in the Church, the *Ambo*, or *reading desk*, or else the bishop's throne, or the steps of the altar; the usual days of preaching, the Lord's day, the Saturday or Sabbath, the vigils and festivals, the anniversaries of bishops' consecrations, and dedication of churches; with some other things of the like nature, some of which are so minute, that they are scarce worth the reader's notice; and others, that are more material, are accounted for and explained in other parts of this work. I shall therefore speak of one thing more relating to the preachers: which is, of the posture, in which their sermons were delivered. The general received custom now is for the preacher to stand, and the people to sit: but the ancient custom was usually the reverse of this. For the preacher commonly delivered his sermon sitting, and the people heard it standing; though there was no certain rule about this, but the custom varied in several Churches. In *Afric* the preacher commonly sat, as appears from that of *Optatus*¹ to the *Donatist* bishops: "when God reproves a sinner, and rebukes him that sits, the admonition is specially directed unto you; for the people have not liberty to sit in the church." He says this upon occasion of those words of the *Psalmist*, "Thou satest and spakest against thine own mother's son." *St. Austin* in like manner speaks of his own preaching sitting: "Why do I sit here? Why do I live, but with this intention,² that I may live with Christ?" And again,³ "that I may not detain you, especially considering that I speak sitting, and ye labour standing." And he intimates,⁴ that in some Churches sitting was allowed

¹ *Optat. lib. iv. p. 78.* Dum peccatorem arguit, et sedentem increpat Deus, specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat, non ad populum, qui in ecclesiâ sedendi non habent licentiam.

² *Aug. Hom. xxviii. ex 50. tom. x. p. 179.* Quare loquor? Quare hic sedeo? Quare vivo, nisi hâc intentione, ut cum Christo simul vivamus?

³ *Hom. xlix. de Diversis.* Ut ergo vos non diu teneam, præsertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis.

⁴ *Aug. de Catechizandis Rudibus. cap. xiii. tom. iv. p. 300.* Longe consultius in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis non solum antistites sedentes loquuntur, sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subjacent.

both to the preacher and the people. St. Chrysostom also speaks of his own sitting, when he preached.¹ And this he did usually in the *ambo*, or *reading desk*, where he sat when he preached that famous sermon upon Eutropius, when he fled to take sanctuary in the Church,² and lay trembling before the altar, as all the historians inform us. Gregory Nyssen speaks also of himself as sitting when he preached, and rising up to prayer in the conclusion.³ Which is also noted by Justin Martyr,⁴ and Origen,⁵ and Athanasius,⁶ and Chrysostom,⁷ whom Ferrarius cites, and remarks upon them, that their rising up in the close of the sermon to prayer, implies that they preached sitting before. Which is certainly a very just observation. Yet, after all, he pretends to assert, that standing to preach was the more common posture, and that they never used sitting but only in case of infirmity or old age. Which shews us only how far prejudice will carry a man, against the clearest evidence, in favour of a modern custom. The observation made by the Author of the Comments upon St. Paul's Epistles,⁸ under the name of St. Ambrose, has much more truth and solidity in it, that the Christian bishops used to preach sitting, and that this custom was taken from the tradition of the synagogue: where Ferrarius himself owns, and proves it to have been the more usual custom for the scribes and doctors of the law to expound the Scriptures sitting, though there may be some instances to the contrary. Matth. xxiii. 2. it is said, "That the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's chair." Luke ii. 46. "Our Saviour was found sitting and disputing among the doctors in the temple." Again, chap. iv. 20. "After he had stood up to read the prophet Esaias, he sat down to teach the people." And chap. v. 3. "He sat

¹ Chrys. Hom. xvi. ad Pœnit. tom. i. p. 662.

² Socrat.

lib. vi. cap. 5. Sozom. lib. viii. cap. 5. Cassiodor. Hist. Tripartita. lib. x. cap. 4. Residens super ambonem, &c.

³ Nyssen. Hom. v.

de Orat. Dominica. tom. i. p. 761.

⁴ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.

⁵ Orig. Hom. xx. in Num. Hom. iii. in Esai. Hom. xxxvi. in Luc. Hom. xix. in Jerem.

⁶ Athan. Hom. de Semente.

⁷ Chrys. Hom. cont. Hæreticos. ap. Ferrarium. lib. ii. cap. 9.

⁸ Ambros. Com. in 1 Cor. xiv. 29. Hæc traditio synagogæ est, quam nos vult sectari—ut sedentes disputent seniores dignitate in cathedris, &c.

down and taught the people out of the ship." John viii. 2. "He sat down and taught the people in the temple." Matth. v. 1. "He sat and taught his disciples in the mountain." And Matth. xxvi. 55. "I sat daily with you teaching in the temple." This was according to the custom of the Jewish synagogue, which was generally followed by the Christian Church. And the instances, which Ferrarius brings out of St. Chrysostom's,¹ and St. Austin's Homilies,² to the contrary, are rather exceptions to a general rule, than proper evidences for his own assertion. The matter is not indeed great in itself, it being a very indifferent thing, whether a preacher delivers his sermon standing or sitting: but when men are representing ancient practices, they ought not to make every thing conform to the customs and model of the present age, but represent things nakedly as they find them.

SECT. 25.—And heard by the Auditors standing, in some Churches, but not in all.

We have hitherto considered what relates to the preachers, and a few things must be added concerning the hearers. Of whom it has been already observed in the last paragraph out of Optatus and St. Austin, that in the African Churches the people had no licence to sit down, but were generally obliged to stand to hear the sermon. Ferrarius³ has collected a multitude of testimonies more out of St. Austin to the same purpose, which it is needless to relate here. But we may observe, that the same custom prevailed also in many other Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of it as the usage of the Gallican Church in those lines to Faustus, bishop of Riez, where he speaks of his preaching from the steps of the altar, the people standing about him:⁴

¹ Chrys. Hom. xvi. ad Pop. Antioch. et Hom. xxxiii. in Mat.

² Aug. Ser. 122. de Diversis. Tract. xix. in Joan. et Ser. 2. in Psalm. 32. ap. Ferrar. lib. ii. cap. 9.

³ Ferrar. lib. ii. cap. 15. ex Aug. Tract. 19. et 112. in Joan. Hom. xxviii. ex. 50. Ser. 49. et 112. de Diversis. Ser. 2. in Psal. 32. et 147. Ser. 20. de Verb. Domini, &c.

⁴ Sidon. Carmen xvi. ad Faustum Reifensem.

*Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ
Concionaturum plebs sedula circumssistit.*

Which is further confirmed by an homily, that used to go under the name of St. Austin,¹ but is now more certainly determined by Mabillon and the Benedictines, in their new edition of St. Austin's works, to belong to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, where he grants an indulgence to such as were diseased or infirm in their feet, that they should have liberty to sit, when the passions of the martyrs, or long lessons were read, or the sermon was preached: but to all others, women as well as men, this privilege is utterly denied. Which implies, that standing was then the usual posture of the hearers in the French Churches. And that it was usual also in some of the Greek Churches, may be inferred from that famous story, which Eusebius reports of Constantine,² "that, when he made a discourse before him in his own palace, he stood all the time with the rest of the hearers; and when Eusebius requested him to sit down in the throne that was prepared for him, he refused, saying, it was fit that men should stand to hear discourses of divine things." But in the Churches of Italy, the contrary custom prevailed: for St. Austin says,³ "in the transmarine Churches," by which he certainly means those of Italy, "it was prudently ordered, that not only the bishops sat, when they preached to the people, but that the people also had seats to sit upon, lest any weak person through weariness grow remiss in his attention, or be forced to

¹ Aug. Ser. xxvi. ex 50. qui est 300. Novæ Editionis. Propter eos qui aut pedibus dolent, aut aliquâ corporis inæqualitate laborant, paternâ pietate sollicitus consilium dedi, et quodam modo supplicavi, ut quando aut passionibus prolixæ, aut certè aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c. Ut quando aut lectiones leguntur, aut verbum Dei prædicatur nulla (fæmina) se in terram projiciat, nisi forte quam nimium gravis infirmitas cogit.

² Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. cap. 33.

³ Aug. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. xiii. Sine dubitatione melius fiat, ubi decenter fieri potest, ut à principio sedens audiat. Longeque consultius in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis non solùm antistites sedentes loquuntur, sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subjacent, &c.

leave the assembly." And he thinks it more advisable, that the same indulgence should be granted, where it could prudently be done, in the African Churches. That it was so in Rome in the time of Justin Martyr, seems pretty plain from his Second Apology, where he says,¹ that as soon as the bishop's sermon was ended, they all rose up to prayer together. And the same thing being noted by Origen² and Athanasius,³ makes it probable, that the same custom prevailed in many of the Eastern Churches. Cyril of Jerusalem says expressly,⁴ that the people heard his discourses sitting. "Consider," says he, "how many sit here now, how many souls are present; and yet the Spirit works conveniently in them all. He is in the midst of us, and sees our behaviour, and discerns our hearts and consciences, and what we speak, and what we think." And the Author of the Constitutions,⁵ who chiefly relates the customs of the Eastern Churches, represents the people as sitting also to hear the sermon. And so Cassian⁶ and St. Jerom⁷ say, it was in all the monasteries of Egypt, where they sat not only at sermon, but at the reading of the psalms and other lessons out of Scripture. So that this must be reckoned among those indifferent rites and customs, about which there was no general rule of the Universal Church; but every one followed the custom of the place where he lived, and every Church appointed what she judged most proper for the edification of the people.

SECT. 26.—A peculiar Custom of the African Church to quicken the Attention of the Hearers.

It was a peculiar custom in the African Church, when the preacher chanced to cite some remarkable text of Scripture in the middle of his sermon, for the people to join with him in repeating the close of it. St. Austin takes

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 93.

Hom. xix. in Jerem.

² Orig. Hom. iii. in Esai.

³ Athan. Hom. de Semente.

⁴ Cyril. Catech. xvi. n. 11. *Λόγισαι πόσοι καθέξουσιν τὸν, &c.*

⁵ Con-

stit. lib. ii. cap. 58.

⁶ Cassian. Instit. lib. ii. cap. 12.

⁷ Hieron. Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. cap. xv. *Completis Orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius quem patrem vocant, incipit disputare, &c.*

notice of this in one of his sermons,¹ where having begun those words of St. Paul, "The end of the commandment is"—before he would proceed any further, he called to the people to repeat the remainder of the verse with him; upon which they all cried out immediately, "Charity out of a pure heart." By which, he says, they showed that they had not been unprofitable hearers. And this, no doubt, was done to encourage the people to hear, and read, and remember the Scriptures, that they might be able upon occasion to repeat such useful portions of them, having then liberty not only to hear, but to read and repeat them in their mother-tongue. Whether this was a custom in any other place, I cannot say, having met with it only in St. Austin: for which reason I have spoken of it only as a particular custom of the African Church, designed to quicken the attention of the hearers, and show that they read and remembered the Holy Scriptures.

SECT. 27.—How the People were used to give public Applauses and Acclamations to the Preacher in the Church.

It was a much more general custom for the people to testify their esteem for the preacher, and express their admiration of his eloquence, or approbation of his doctrine by public applauses and acclamations in the Church. This was done sometimes in express words, and sometimes by other signs and indications of their consent and approbation. The Greeks commonly call it *Κρότος*, which denotes both kinds of approbation, as well by clapping of hands, as by vocal and verbal acclamations. The first use of it, as Suicerus² observes out of Casaubon,³ was only in the theatres. From thence it came into the senate; and in process of time, into the Acts of the Councils, and the ordinary assemblies of the Church. We are not concerned at

¹ Aug. xxxvi. ex editis à Sirmondo. tom. x, p. 837. 'Finis præcepti est, jam vos dicite mecum: a populo acclamatum est, 'Caritas de corde puro.' Omnes dixistis, quod non infructuosè semper audistis. Vid. Ser. 13. de Verbis Dom. Ser. 2. de Verb. Apost.

Eccles. voce, *Κρότος*, vol. ii. p. 173.

Vulcatium Gallican. Vit Avidii Cassii, p. 89.

² Suicer. Thesaur.

³ Casaub. Notis in

present to inquire after synodical acclamations, but only such as were used toward the preachers in the Church. This was sometimes done in words of commendation, as we find in one of the Homilies of Paulus Emisenus,¹ spoken in the presence of Cyril at Alexandria, where, when Paul had used this expression, agreeing with Cyril's doctrine that had been preached before, "Mary, the mother of God, brought forth Emanuel;" the people immediately cried out, "O Orthodox Cyril, the Gift of God, the faith is the same, this is what we desired to hear, if any man speak otherwise, let him be Anathema." Sometimes they added other indications of their applause, as clapping of their hands, &c. Thus St. Jerom tells Vigilantius,² "the time was when he himself had applauded him with his hands and feet, leaping by his side and crying out, Orthodox! for his sermon upon the resurrection." And so George of Alexandria tells us,³ "the people applauded the sermons of St. Chrysostom, some by tossing their thin garments, others moving their plumes, others laying their hands upon their swords, and others waving their handkerchiefs, and crying out, Thou art worthy of the priesthood, thou art the thirteenth Apostle, Christ hath sent thee to save our souls, &c." In like manner Gregory represents in his dream,⁴ how the people were used to applaud him when he preached, "some by their praises, and others by their silent admiration, some in their words, and some in their minds, and others moving their bodies as the waves of the sea raised by the wind." St. Jerom refers to this, when he tells us,⁵ how Gregory Nazianzen, his master, once answered a difficult question, which he put to

¹ Paul. Emisen. Hom. de Incarnat. Con. tom. iii. p. 1096. in Actis Concilii Ephes. par. iii. cap. 31.

² Hieron. Ep. lxxv. cont. Vigilant. Recordare, quæso, illius diei, quando, me de resurrectione et veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere subsultabas, et plaudebas manu, et applodebas pede, et orthodoxum conclamabas.

³ Georg. Alex. Vit. Chrys. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Concionum. lib. ii. cap. 20.

⁴ Naz. Somnium de Templo Anastasiæ. tom. ii. p. 78.

⁵ Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepot. Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus rogatus à me, ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in lucâ Sabbatum *δευτερόπρωτον*, eleganter lusit, 'Docebo te,' inquit, 'super hæc re in ecclesiâ; in quâ, mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus scire quod nescis; aut certe, si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis.'

him concerning the *Sabbatum δευτερόπρωτον*, the second Sunday after the first, mentioned Luke vi. "I will inform you," says he, "of this matter in the church, where, when all the people are applauding me, you shall be forced to confess, you understand what you do not; or, if you alone be silent, you shall be condemned of folly by all the rest." The same custom is often hinted by Sidonius Apollinaris,¹ and Isidore of Pelusium,² and in abundance of places of St. Austin³ and St. Chrysostom cited at length by Ferrarius;⁴ which, after what has been said, I think it needless to recite in this place. The curious reader may either consult Ferrarius, or the passages referred to in their authors. To which he may add many other passages of Chrysostom,⁵ and Socrates,⁶ and Prosper,⁷ not mentioned by that diligent writer, though he spends four whole chapters upon this subject.

SECT. 28.—And more Christian-like express their Approbation by Tears and Groans, and Compunction, and Obedience.

I think it more material to observe out of the chief of those passages, that though the Ancients did not utterly refuse or disallow those sorts of applauses, but received them with humility and thankfulness to God, as good indications of a towardly disposition in their hearers; yet forasmuch as they were often but fallacious signs, they neither much commended those that gave them, nor those preachers that barely by their eloquence obtained them; much

¹ Sidon. lib. ix. ep. 3.

² Isid. lib. iii. ep. 343 and 382.

³ Aug. Serm. v. de Verb. Domini. Serm. 19, and 28. de Verb. Apostoli. Serm. 25. ex Quinquaginta. Serm. 45. de Tempore. Tract. 57. in Joan. Serm. 27. de Diversis. Serm. in Psal. 147. de Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. xiii. De Doctr. Christ. lib. iv. cap. 26.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. 1, 4, and 54. in Genes. Hom. 2, 5, 6. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 2. in Lazar. Hom. 2. in Joan. Hom. 3, and 5. De Incomprehensib. Hom. 30. in Act. ap Ferrar. lib. ii. cap. 18.

⁵ Chrys. Hom. 1. De Verbis Esaii. tom. iii. p. 910. Hom. 6. in Gen. 918. Hom. 27. in Gen. p. 358. Hom. 1. cont. Jadaeos. tom. i. p. 433. Hom. 16. in illud, Si esurierit inimicus. tom. v. p. 220. Hom. 56. Quod non sit desperandum. tom. v. p. 742.

⁶ Socrat. lib. vii. cap. 13.

⁷ Prosper. de Vita Contemplativa. lib. i. cap. 23.

less those, that out of a worldly spirit, and a popular and vain ambition, laboured at nothing else but to court and affect them: but what they chiefly desired to effect by their grand eloquence, was to warm their hearts and to melt them into tears, to work them into groans, and sorrow, and compunction for sin, to bring them to resolutions of obedience, and compliance with the holy rules they preached to them, to work in them a contempt of earthly things, and raise their souls, by all the arts of moving the affections, to a longing desire and aspiration after the things of another world. This was their grand aim in all their elaborate and all their free and fluent discourses, and this they valued far above all the popular applauses that could be given them. This they reckoned their grand eloquence, and rejoiced in nothing more, than when they could triumph in the conviction and conversion of their hearers. To this purpose St. Jerom,¹ in his directions to Nepotian, lays it down as a rule, “that in preaching, he should labour to excite the groans of the people, rather than their applauses; and let the tears of the hearers be the commendation of the preacher.” And so he observes,² it was in fact among the Fathers of Egypt; “when they discoursed of the kingdom of Christ and the glories of the world to come, then one might behold every one, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, say within himself, ‘Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then I would flee away, and be at rest!’” In like manner, Prosper³ bids the preacher, “not place his confidence in the splendour of his words, but in the power of their operation; nor be delighted with the acclamations of the people, but their tears; nor study to obtain their applauses, but their groans.” St. Austin did not refuse these acclamations of the people, yet he always takes care to remind them rather to repay him

¹ Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian. Docente te in Ecclesiâ, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur; lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint.

² Ep. xxii. ad Eustoch. cap. xv.

³ Prosper de Vitâ Contemplativâ, lib. i. cap. 23. Non in verborum splendore, sed in operum virtute totam prædicandi fiduciam ponat; non vocibus delectetur populi acclamantis sibi, sed fletibus: nec plausum à populo studeat expectare, sed gemitum.

with the fruit of their lives and actions. “ You praise the preacher of the word,” says he,¹ “ but I desire the doer of it. Those praises² are but the leaves of the tree, I desire the fruit of it. I would not be praised by ill livers,³ I abhor it, I detest it; it is a grief to me, and not a pleasure. But if I say, I would not be praised by good livers, I should tell a lie; if I should say, I desire it, I am afraid of seeming desirous more of vanity than solidity. Therefore what shall I say? I neither perfectly desire it, nor perfectly refuse it. I do not desire it absolutely, for fear I should be ensnared by human praise; I do not utterly refuse it, for fear I should be ungrateful to those, to whom I preach.” In his book of Christian Doctrine,⁴ where he speaks of that sort of ecclesiastical rhetoric, which is called grand eloquence, he says, “ A man should not think he had attained to it, because he frequently received the loud acclamations of the people: for those were often gained by the acumens and ornaments of the submissive and moderate style; and the grand eloquence did often suppress those acclamations by its weight, and extort tears in their room.” He gives there a remarkable instance of his own preaching once an occasional sermon, with such effect, to the people of Cæsarea, in Mauritania. It seems, in that place a very barbarous and unnatural custom had for a long time prevailed, that at a certain season of the year for some whole days together, the whole city dividing themselves into two parties, were used to maintain a bloody fight by throwing stones at one another; and this without any regard to kindred or relation: for sometimes a man slew his brother, or a father his son, or a son his father. “ Now,” says St. Austin, “ I set myself with all the force of grand eloquence to root out and expel this cruel and inveterate evil out of their hearts and practice: yet I did not take myself to have made any impression to the purpose

¹ Aug. Serm. xix. de Verbis Apostoli. Tu laudas tractantem: ego quæro facientem.

² Serm. v. De Verbis Domini. Laudes istæ folia sunt arborum, fructus quæritur.

³ Hcm. xxv. ex 50. Laudari à malè viventibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor, dolori mihi est, non voluptati, &c.

⁴ De Doctrinâ Christ. lib. iv. cap. 24. Non sanè, si dicenti crebriùs et vehementiùs acclametetur, ideò granditer putandus est dicere: grande autem genus perumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lachrymas exprimit.

upon them, whilst I heard their acclamations, but when I saw their tears. For they shewed indeed, by their acclamations, that they were instructed and pleased; but by their tears, that they were sensibly affected, and really converted. Which, when I perceived, I then began to think I had got the victory over that barbarous custom, which had so long by tradition from their ancestors possessed their souls; before I saw any more visible proof in their actions. Whereupon, as soon as sermon was ended, I turned both their mouths and hearts to give God thanks for it. And so by the help of Christ, there are now almost eight years passed, since any thing of this kind was ever attempted among them." He adds, " That he had made many other experiments of the like nature, by which he had learned, that men ordinarily shewed what impressions the force of wise and powerful rhetoric made upon them, not so much by their acclamations as by their groans, and sometimes by their tears, and finally by their real change of life and sincere conversion." So that in the judgment of this pious Father, the best praise of a sermon, and its rhetoric, is the compunction of its hearers, and melting them into tears, and subduing their minds by bending them to obedience, which far exceeds the honour of the greatest acclamations and applauses. After the same manner the great orator of the East, St. Chrysostom, often tells his hearers, " he rejoiced not in their applauses, but in the effects which his discourses had on their minds, in making them become new men." He says in one place,¹ " they had made him happy in receiving his discourses about prayer with a ready mind. For happy is the man that speaks to an obedient ear." And he judged of their obedience, not so much from their acclamations and praises, as from what he had observed in their actions. For when he had used this argument, why they should not pray against their enemies, because it was a provocation of God, and setting up a new law in opposition to his law: (for God says, ' Pray for your enemies,' but they that pray against them, do in effect pray God to disannul his own law :) he says upon his mentioning this and

¹ Chrys. Hom. lvi. Quod non sit desperandum. tom. v. p. 712.

the like arguments, “ he had observed many of them to smite upon their face and breast, and mourn bitterly, and lift up their hands to heaven, and ask God pardon for such unlawful prayers. Which made him at the same time lift up his own eyes to heaven, and give God thanks, that the word of his doctrine had so quickly produced fruit in them.” In another place,¹ says he, “What do your praises advantage me, when I see not your progress in virtue? Or what harm shall I receive from the silence of my auditors, when I behold the increase of their piety? The praise of the speaker is not the κρότος, the *acclamations* of his hearers, but their zeal for piety and religion; not their making a great stir in time of hearing, but shewing diligence at all other times. Applause, as soon as it is out of the mouth, is dispersed into the air, and vanishes; but when the hearers grow better, this brings an incorruptible and immortal reward both to the speaker and the hearers. The praise of your acclamations may render the orator more illustrious here, but the piety of your souls will give him great confidence before the tribunal of Christ. Therefore if any one love the preacher or if any preacher love his people let him not be enamoured with applause, but with the benefit of the hearers.” It were easy to transcribe many other such passages out of Chrysostom, where he shews a great contempt of such popular applauses in comparison of their obedience. I will only relate one passage more, where he gives a severe rebuke to all preachers, who made this the only aim of their discourses. “Many,” says he,² “appear in public, and labour hard, and make long sermons, to gain the applause of the people, in which they rejoice as much as if they had gained a kingdom; but if their sermon ends in silence, they are more tormented about that silence than about the pains of hell. This is the ruin of the Church, that ye seek to hear such sermons, as are apt, not to move compunction, but pleasure, hearing them as you would hear a musician or singer, with a tinkling sound and composition of words. And we act miserably and coldly,

¹ Chrys. Hom. xvi. tom. v. p. 220.

² Chrys. Hom. xxx. in Act.

whilst we indulge our own affections, which we ought to discard. We curiously seek after flowers of rhetoric, and composition, and harmony, that we may sing to men and not profit them; that we may be had in admiration by them, and not teach them: that we may raise delight, and not godly sorrow; that we may go off with applause and praise, and no ways edify them in their morals. Believe me for I would not otherwise say it, when I raise applause in preaching, I am then subject to human infirmity, for why should not a man confess the truth? I am then ravished and highly pleased. But when I go home and consider, that my applauders are gone away without fruit, though they might have done otherwise, I weep, and wail, and lament that they perish in their acclamations and praises, and that I have preached all in vain: and I reason thus with myself, what profit is there in all my labours, if my hearers reap no fruit from my words? I have often thought of making it a law to forbid such acclamations, and to persuade you to hear in silence." By this it appears, that St. Chrysostom could rather have wished to have had this custom wholly banished out of the Church, because it was so frequently abused by vain and ambitious spirits, who regarded nothing else but to gain the applause of their hearers: to which purpose they sometimes suborned men to applaud them in the church, as is complained of Paulus Samosatensis by the Council of Antioch:¹ and sometimes affected to preach in such a manner upon abstruse subjects, as neither the people, nor themselves understood, only to be admired by the ignorant multitude, who, as St. Jerom complains² in this very case, are commonly most prone to admire what they do not understand. For which reason, it was the care of all pious preachers, to shew a tender regard to the understandings of men; and, whether it gained applause or not, to speak usefully, and as far as might be, to the capacities and apprehensions of their hearers; and by all the powers of divine eloquence, and proper arts of edification and persuasion, incline them to obedience and an

¹ Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 39.

² Hieron. Ep. ii. ad Nepotian.

heavenly temper. Without which they imagined the success and event of their preaching, however eloquent and pleasing to the ear, was not better received than that of the prophet, complained of, Ezek. xxxiii. 32. "Thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a very pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they will not do them."

SECT. 29.—Sermons anciently penned by the Hearers.

There is one thing more must be taken notice of with relation to the hearers, because it expressed a great deal of zeal and diligence in their attention: which is, that many of them learned the art of notaries, the Greeks call them *Ὀξυγράφοι* and *Ταχυγράφοι*, *ready writers*, that they might be able to take down in writing the sermons of famous preachers, word for word, as they delivered them. By this means some of their extempore discourses were handed down to posterity, which otherwise must have died with the speaking. As has been observed before out of Eusebius,¹ concerning some of Origen's, which he preached in his latter years. St. Austin makes the same observation² concerning his own sermons upon the Psalms, that it pleased the brethren not only to receive them with their ears and heart, but with their pens likewise: so that he was to have regard, not only to his auditors, but to his readers also.³ Socrates says the same of Chrysostom's sermons, that some of them were published by himself, and others by notaries, who took them from his mouth as he spake them. But they did not thus honour all preachers, but only those that were most celebrated and renowned. For Sozomen⁴ observes of the sermons of Atticus, that they were so mean, after he gave himself to preach extempore, when he was bishop of Constantinople, that the notaries did not think fit to write

¹ Euseb. lib. vi. cap. xxxvi. et Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. cited before sect. 11.

² Aug. in Psal. li. p. 201. Placuit fratribus, non tantum aure et corde, sed et stylo excipienda quæ dicimus: ut non auditorem tantum, sed et lectorem cogitare debeamus.

³ Socrat. lib. vi. cap. 4.

⁴ Sozom. lib. viii. cap. 27.

them. These notaries were some of them allowed by the preacher himself, and were therefore a sort of public notaries appointed for this purpose: but others did it privately according to their inclination and discretion. This difference is hinted by Eusebius, when he says, Origen allowed no notaries to take his sermons, till he was sixty years old; and by Gregory Nazianzen in his farewell sermon, where he thus takes his leave of his Church, “farewell ye lovers of my sermons, and ye pens¹ both public and private.” In which he plainly alludes to the two sorts of notaries that wrote his sermons in the church. The public notaries were generally allowed by the author’s consent to publish what they wrote: in which case, it was usual for the preacher to review his own dictates, and correct such mistakes, and supply such deficiencies, as might be occasioned by the haste of the scribe, or some things not so accurately spoken by themselves in sudden and extempore discourses. This is evident from what Gregory the Great² says of his preface to his Homilies upon Ezekiel, “That those Homilies were first taken from his mouth, as he spake them to the people, and after eight years he collected them from the papers of the notaries, and reviewed, and corrected, and amended them.” So again in his preface upon Job, he says, “Some of his Homilies were composed by himself, and others taken by the notaries, and those which were taken by the notaries, when he had time, he reviewed, adding some³ things, and rejecting others, and leaving many things as he found them, and with such emendations he composed them into books, and published them.” But many times the notaries published what they had written,

¹ Naz. Orat. xxxii. p. 528. *Χαίρετε γραφίδες φανερά ἐς λαοθάνατοι.*

² Greg. Præfat. in Ezek. Homilias, quæ in Beatum Ezekielem Prophetam, ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ sunt, multis curis irruentibus in abolitione reliqueram. Sed post annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum schedulas requirere studui, easque favente Domino transcurrens, in quantum, ab angustiis tribulationum licuit, emendavi, &c.

³ Id. Præfat. in Job. Cumque mihi spatia largiora suppetere, multa augens, pauca subtrahens, atque ita ut inventa sunt nonnulla derelinquens, ea, quæ me loquente excepta sub oculis fuerant, per libros emendando composui, &c.

without the author's knowledge and consent. In which case, we sometimes find them remonstrating against this, as a clandestine practice.¹ Thus Gaudentius says, "He did not own those Homilies, which were first taken by the notaries latently and by stealth, and then published by others imperfectly, and only by halves, with great chasms and interruptions in them. He would not acknowledge them for his discourses, which the notaries had written in extreme haste, and published, without giving him any opportunity to supervise and correct them." And probably, there may be reason for the same complaint in other writers. However it shews a great diligence and attention in the hearers of those days, and a great respect and honour paid to their teachers, that they would be at so much pains to treasure up and preserve their pious instructions.

SECT. 30.—Two Reflections made by the Ancients upon some of their corrupt Auditors. First. The negligent and profane Hearers.

These things may be justly spoken to their honour, and it is no reflection on them, or diminution of their good character, that there were some others in those times (as there will be in all times) who deserved a contrary character, either for their deficiency and want of zeal in this matter, or for their indiscreet and intemperate zeal, in placing all religion in a sermon, and speaking contemptuously of prayer, or other parts of divine service without it. The two errors in the contrary extremes, the one in excess, the other in defect, the Ancients had sometimes occasion to rebuke, and they did it with a becoming sharpness. Though St. Chrysostom was so much admired, that the people generally said, when he was sent into banishment, that it was better² the sun should withdraw his rays, than his mouth be shut up in silence; yet he was often forced with grief to

¹ Gaudent. Præfat. ad Benevolum. Bibl. Patr. tom. ii. p. 3. De illis verò Tractatibus, quos notariis, ut comperi, latenter adpositis, proculdubio interruptos et semiplenos otiosa quorundam studia colligere præsumperunt, nihil ad me attinet. Mea jam non sunt, quæ constat præcipiti excipientium festinatione esse conscripta.

² Chrys. Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum.

complain of some for their abstaining from religious assemblies,¹ where they were scarce seen once a year; of others that they spent their time there in nothing but idle discourse, or laughing and jesting, or transacting worldly business,² laying themselves open to the assaults of the wicked spirit, who found their house fit for his reception, empty, swept, and garnished; of others, that they turned the church into a theatre,³ and sought for nothing there, but to please their ears without any other advantage; and finally, of others, who extolled his discourses by great applause in words, but disgraced them by the disobedience of their lives and actions of whom we have heard so much before. In one place he more particularly reproaches them that absented themselves from church, with the example of the Jews, who could abstain from work, for ten, twenty, or thirty days together, without contradiction,⁴ at the command of their priests, and neither open their doors, nor light a fire, nor carry in water for any necessary use, which yet they submitted to, though it was an intolerable corporal slavery; whereas Christians were only required to set apart one day in seven, and only two hours of the day for religious assemblies, to obtain the greatest spiritual advantages to the soul; and yet they neglected such opportunities, and chose any meetings rather than the church. St. Ambrose in like manner upbraids those, who spent their time in talking in the church, from the example of the heathen,⁵ who revered their idols by their silence, whilst Christians even drowned the voice of the divine oracles, and the declaration of them, by their confused noise and confabulations in the church. This, Cæsarius tells them,⁶ was in effect to offer men poison or a sword. For such an one neither heard the word of God

¹ Hom. xlvi. in Lucian. Martyr. tom. i. p. 597. Hom. xlvi. in Inscript. Altaris. tom. v. p. 648.

² Hom. iv. de Incomprehensibili. tom. i. p. 374.

ii. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 31.

Altaris. tom. v. p. 648.

⁵ Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. An quicquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepere, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur? circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, cum gentiles idolis suis reverentiam tacendo deferant?

⁶ Cæsar. Arelat. Hom. xxxiv.

himself, nor suffered others to hear it: and such must expect not only to give account of their own, but other men's destruction at the day of judgment. Origen,¹ and some others tell these men, their own practice, in another case would rise up in judgment against them: for they themselves shewed a great reverence to the body of Christ in the eucharist; and yet it was no less a piacular crime, to shew contempt to the word of God, than to his body; and they would be held guilty for a disrespect in the one case, as well as the other. Thus they shewed men, what reverence was due to the preaching of the word of God, by setting before them the sin and danger of those abuses, some were apt to run into, by an error in defect and want of a just reverence to it.

SECT. 31.—And, secondly, the intemperate Zealots, who placed all Religion in a Sermon.

On the other hand, they were no less careful to guard men against superstition in the other extreme. For there was an error in excess, as well as in defect of reverence for preaching. Some were so over-run with an indiscreet bigotry and intemperate zeal for preaching, as to reckon all other parts of divine service useless and insignificant, if they were not accompanied with a sermon. These men had their arguments to plead in their own behalf, which are thus proposed and answered by St. Chrysostom:² “Why should I go to Church said they, if I cannot hear a preacher? This one thing,” says St. Chrysostom, “has ruined and destroyed all religion. For what necessity is there of a preacher? That necessity arises only from our sloth and negligence. For why otherwise should there be any need of an Homily? All things are clear and open in the holy Scriptures; all things necessary are plainly revealed. But because ye are hearers that study only to delight your ears and fancy, therefore ye desire these things. Tell me, I

¹ Orig. Hom. xiii. in Exod. tom. i. p. 102. Quomodo putatis minoris esse piaculi, verbum Dei neglexisse, quam corpus ejus? Vid. Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex 50.

² Chrys. Hom. iii. in 2 Thes. p. 1502.

pray, with what pomp of words did St. Paul preach? And yet he converted the world. What pomp did the illiterate Peter use? But, say they, we cannot understand the things that are written in Scripture. Why so? Are they spoken in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other strange tongue? Are they not spoken in Greek, to you that understand the Greek tongue? Yea, but then they are spoken darkly. How darkly? What difficulties do the histories contain? You understand the plain places, that you may take pains and inquire about the rest. There are a thousand histories in the Bible: tell me one of them. But you cannot tell one of these. Therefore all this is mere pretence and words. Oh! but, say they, we have the same things read to us every day out of Scripture. And do you not hear the same things every day in the theatre? Have you not the same sight at the horse race? Are not all things the same? Does not the same sun rise every morning? Do you not eat the same meat every day? I would ask you, seeing you say you hear the same things every day, what portion of the Prophets, what Apostle, what Epistle was read? But you cannot tell: they are perfectly new and strange to you. When therefore you are disposed to be idle, you pretend the same things are read: but when you are asked concerning them, you are as men that never heard them. If they are the same, you should have known them: but you know nothing of them. This is a thing to be lamented, that the workman labours in vain. For this reason you ought to attend, because they are the same, because we bring nothing strange or new to your ears. What then, because ye say the Scriptures are always the same, but what we preach are not so, but always contain something new, do ye attend to them? In no wise. And if we ask you, why do you not remember them? Ye answer, how should we, seeing we hear them but once? If we say, why do you not remember the Scriptures? Ye answer, they are always the same. These are nothing but pretences for idleness, and mere indications of a sceptical temper." Thus that holy Father rebukes that intemperate zeal, which set up preaching in opposition to reading of the Scriptures, under various pretences of their being obscure, or tedious repetitions of

the same things, when in truth a fanatical affectation of novelty, and a fantastical scepticism, and a vicious desire of being freed from all the burden of attending upon religious assemblies, was really at the bottom of all their objections.

SECT. 32.—How Men were treated, who thought their Sermons too long.

There is but one thing more to be observed upon this head: which is, that as there were some who complained, that their sermons were not frequent enough, or too short; so there were others that complained, they were too long, and were disposed to leave the assembly before sermon was ended. Some canons are pretty severe upon such auditors. The fourth Council of Carthage, orders them to be proceeded against with excommunication.¹ But others used a more gentle way, contenting themselves to admonish their auditors of their duty, and sometimes using ingenious stratagems, and feigned apologies to detain them; and sometimes ordering the doors of the church to be kept shut, till all was ended. Which is particularly remarked of Cæsarius Arelatensis by the author of his Life.² St. Chrysostom considers the matter with some distinction. He makes some allowance for the weakness of such as were unable to hold out the whole time at a long sermon: and for as much as many were more desirous of long sermons than short ones, he thinks the matter was so to be ordered, as to accommodate both. “Seeing there are some,” says he,³ “in so great a multitude, who cannot bear a long discourse, my advice to such is, that when they have heard as much as they can contain, and as much as suffices them, they should depart, (for no one hinders them, or compels them to stay longer than their strength is able to bear,) that they may not impose a necessity on us of making an end before the proper time. For thou art satisfied, but thy brother is yet an hungry: thou hast drunk thy

¹ Con. Carth. iv. can. xxiv. Sacerdote verbum faciente in ecclesiâ, qui egressus de auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur.

² Cyprian. Vit. Cæsar. cap. xii. Sapissimè ostia, lectis evangelii, ocludi jussit; donec propitio Deo ipsi gratularentur, eâ coercitione se profecisse, qui solebant esse fugitivi. Vid. Cæsar. Hom. xii.

³ Chrys. lx. Dæmones non gubernare mundum. tom. v. p. 784.

fill of what is spoken, but thy brother is yet athirst. Therefore neither let him burden thy weakness, by compelling thee to receive more than thy strength will bear; neither be thou injurious to his desire of hearing, by hindering him from taking as much as he is able to receive. For so it is at a common table, some are filled sooner, some later, and neither do these accuse those, nor they condemn the other. But there is a commendation to depart quickly; but here to depart quickly is not commendable, but only pardonable. To stay long at a carnal feast, is a matter worthy of reproof because it proceeds from an intemperate appetite: but to stay long at a spiritual feast, deserves the highest praise and commendation, because it proceeds from a spiritual desire and holy appetite, and argues patience and constancy in giving attention." Thus that holy Father decides the controversy about long and short sermons, and prudently divides the matter between strong and weak hearers; commending the one, without condemning the other; and making some apology for the length of his sermons, without offence to either party. I shall make the same apology to my readers for the length of this chapter: If there be any, whose curiosity leads them to know all that relates to the preaching of the Ancients, they may read the whole, and perhaps will not think it too long; but they, whose appetite is not so sharp, may shorten it as they please, and accommodate it to their own use, by selecting such parts as are most agreeable to their own taste, and proper for their own instruction. And so I end the discourse about preaching in the ancient Church.

CHAP. V.

Of the Prayers for the Catechumens, Energumens, Competentes or Candidates of Baptism, and the Penitents.

SECT. 1.—That Prayers in the ancient Church were not before, but after the Sermon.

As soon as the sermon was ended, the public prayers of the Church began, and not before. For anciently the order of divine service was a little different in its method from what it is usually now in the Church. For anciently the greatest part of the public prayers came after sermon. This is expressly said by Justin Martyr in his Apology, where he is giving an account of the Christian worship on the Lord's day. He says,¹ “They first read the Scriptures, then the president or bishop made a discourse or exhortation, after which they rose up all together and made their common prayers: and then when these were ended, the bishop prayed again, and gave thanks for the consecration of the bread and wine in the eucharist, the people answering, Amen!” And so St. Chrysostom affirms also, saying in one place,² “the exhortation comes first, and then immediately prayer.” And in another³ place, “you need both advice and prayer: therefore we advise you first, meaning in the sermon, and then we make prayers for you. They that are initiated know what I say.” So that when Chrysostom, or any others say, prayer went before sermon, they are to be understood either of that short salutation, which the minister used at the entrance upon every office,

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98. Ὁ προσεὼς τὴν νεθεσίαν ποιῶντα ἔπειτα ἀνιτάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, ἢ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. &c.

² Chrys. Hom. xxviii. quæ est iii. de Incomprehensibili. tom. i. p. 365. Μετὰ τὴν Παραίνεσιν εὐδέως εὐχῆ.

³ Id. Hom. xi. in 1 Thes. p. 1480. Πρῶτερον συμβελέουντες, τότε τὰς ὑπὲρ ἰμῶν εὐχὰς ποιῶμεθα, ἢ τῷτο ἔσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι.

“ The Lord be with you!” the people answering, “ And with thy spirit!” or of some short prayer of the preacher; or of the private prayers of people, intermingled with the psalmody; and not of the common prayers of the Church. For many orders of men might be present at the sermon, and to hear the Scriptures read, who might not join in prayers with the faithful; and for that reason the sermon and reading of the Scriptures went before, that such persons might have the benefit of them, who were to be dismissed when the prayers begun, because they had as yet no title to communicate in them.

SECT. 2.—Who might, or might not be present at these Prayers. Infidels and mere Hearers obliged to withdraw.

These prayers were of two sorts: prayers peculiar to the faithful or communicants only at which neither catechumens, nor penitents, nor energumens, nor any persons yet unbaptised might be present: and prayers made particularly for these several orders, at which therefore they were allowed to be present, and both hear the prayers, and pray for themselves. But even from these prayers some were obliged to withdraw, who were allowed to be present at sermons for their instruction. Such were all Jews and infidels and such of the catechumens and penitents as were known by the distinct name of *Ἀκροώμενοι* among the Greeks and *Audientes* among the Latins, that is, *hearers only*. Therefore as soon as sermon was ended, before any of these prayers began in the service of the catechumens, a deacon was used to make proclamation from some eminency in the Church, “ *Ne quis audientium, Ne quis infidelium, Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers be present,*” as it is worded in the Constitutions.

SECT. 3.—Of the Prayers for the Catechumens. The genuine Forms of them out of St. Chrysostom and the Constitutions.

This said, and silence being made, the deacon cried again, “ Pray ye, catechumens;” and, “ Let all the faithful

¹ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. c. 5.

with attention pray for them, saying, Lord have mercy upon them!" Then the deacon began a prayer for them, which in the Constitutions is called "Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχησμενων, a bidding prayer for the catechumens," because it was both an exhortation and direction, how they were to pray for them. We have two ancient forms of this prayer still remaining, one in St. Chrysostom, and another in the Constitutions. That in the Constitutions is in these words:¹ "Let us all beseech God for the catechumens; that He who is gracious, and a lover of mankind, would mercifully hearken to their supplications and prayers, and accepting their petitions would help them, and grant them the requests of their souls according to what is expedient for them; that He would reveal the Gospel of Christ to them: that He would enlighten and instruct them, and teach them the knowledge of God and divine things; that He would instruct them in his precepts and judgments; that He would open the ears of their hearts to be occupied in his law, day and night; that He would confirm them in religion, that He would unite them to, and number them with his holy flock, vouchsafing them the laver of regeneration, with the garment of incorruption, and true life; that He would deliver them from all impiety, and give no place to the adversary to get advantage against them; but that He would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them by his Christ; that He would bless their going out and their coming in, and direct all their designs and purposes to their advantage. Further yet, let us earnestly pray for them, that they may have remission of sins by the initiation of baptism, and be thought worthy of the holy mysteries, and remain among his saints."

Then the deacon addressing himself to the catechumens themselves, said, "Catechumens arise. Pray for the peace of God, that this day, and all the time of your life may pass in quietness and without sin; that you may make a Christian end, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain remission of your sins. Commend yourselves to the only unbegotten God by his Christ."

¹ Constit. lib. viii. c. 6.

To every petition of this bidding prayer, the people, and especially children, are appointed to subjoin, “*Κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have mercy upon them!*”

After this the deacon bids them bow down, and receive the bishop’s benediction; which is in the following form of direct invocation.

“O Almighty God, who art without original and inaccessible, the only true God, Thou God and Father of Christ, thy only-begotten Son, God of the Comforter,¹ and Lord of all things; who by Christ did makē learners become teachers for the propagation of Christian knowledge; look down now upon these thy servants, who are learning the instructions of the Gospel of thy Christ: and give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit within them, that they may know and do thy will with a perfect heart and a willing mind. Vouchsafe them thy holy baptism, and unite them to thy

¹ This phrase, ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Παρακλήτῃ, and a like phrase, which occurs in the prayer of this author in the daily evening service, lib. viii. cap. 37. where the Father is styled, ὁ τῷ Πνεύματος Κύριος, *the Lord of the spirit*, are harsh expressions, and not very usual in Catholic writers; which makes some suspect this author, as if he were tainted with the Macedonian Heresy, which denies the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and makes him a mere creature. But this seems not to have been the intent of our author, who no where denies the true divinity of the Son or Holy Ghost, but only gives such titles of preeminence to the Father, as Justin Martyr did before him, in regard to the Father’s being the fountain of the deity, and the origin of existence in the Son and Holy Spirit not as creatures but as his Eternal Son and Eternal Holy Spirit, equal to him in all essential perfections, but only deriving those divine perfections from him, as the author and fountain of their being, as God of God, and light of light, by eternal generation and procession. In this sense, Bishop Bull has observed, that Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Tryphon, p. 358. uses the very same expression, in speaking of the Son, as our author does of the spirit: for he says, “The Father is Κυρίῳ Κυρίως, ὡς Πατὴρ ἐξ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ τε αὐτῷ τῷ εἶναι ἐξ Ὑπαρῶν, ἐξ Κυρίως, ἐξ Θεῶν, *The Lord of the Lord as Father and God, and cause of his being, of and from whom he has even this, that he is omnipotent and Lord and God.*” Where Bishop Bull rightly observes, that God the Father is said to be God and Lord of his, not as he is Lord of the creatures, but “*quatenus est fons divinitatis et causa filio, ut sit, as he is the fountain of the deity and cause of his Son’s existence.*” Which does not make the son a creature, but the true, consubstantial and eternal son of God, or as our author expresses himself accurately elsewhere, he is hereby Θεὸς μονογενῆς, *God the only-begotten*; that is, the true Son of the Father, who is styled Lord of the Son, not as a creator, but as a Father.

Holy Church, and make them partakers of thy holy mysteries, through Christ our hope, who died for them, by whom be glory and worship unto Thee, world without end. Amen!" After this, let the deacon say, "Catechumens, depart in peace."

St. Chrysostom in one of his Homilies gives us a like form of the deacons' bidding prayer for the catechumens. "The law of the Church," says he¹ "moves the faithful to pray for those, who are yet unbaptised. For when the deacon says, "Let us pray fervently for the catechumens," he does nothing else but excite the whole multitude of the faithful to pray for them. For the catechumens are as yet aliens: they are not yet engrafted into the body of Christ, nor made partakers of the holy mysteries, but remain divided from the spiritual flock, and for that reason he says, 'Let us pray fervently; that you may not reject them as aliens, that you may not disown them as strangers. For they are not yet allowed to use the prayer that was introduced and established by the law of Christ. He means the Lord's prayer. They have not yet liberty or confidence enough to pray for themselves, but need the help of those, that are already initiated, for they stand without the royal gates, and at a distance from the holy rails. And for that reason are sent away when the tremendous prayers are offered at the altar. Upon this account the deacon exhorts you to pray for them, that they may be made members, and be no longer foreigners and aliens. For that word, 'Let us pray!' is not spoken to the priests only, but also to the people. For when he says, "Σπῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν, *Let us stand decently, let us pray,*" he exhorts all to pray. And then he begins the prayer in these words:"

"That the merciful and gracious God would vouchsafe to hear their prayers; that He would open the ears of their hearts; that they may hear what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man; that He would instil into them the word of his truth; that He would sow the word of his truth in their hearts; and confirm his

¹ Chrys. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 740.

faith in their minds, that He would reveal unto them the gospel of righteousness; that He would give them a divine and heavenly mind, pure and holy thoughts, and a virtuous conversation; always to mind, always to regard, and meditate upon the things that belong to Him, and to be occupied, in his law day and night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, that He would deliver them from all evil and absurd employments, from all diabolical sin, and all the circumventions of the adversary: that He would vouchsafe to bring them in due time to the laver of regeneration, and grant them remission of sins, and the clothing of incorruption; that He would, during their whole lives, bless their going out and their coming in, their houses and families; that He would increase and bless their children, and bring them to the measure of perfect age with the instruction of wisdom; and that He would direct all their purposes to their advantage."

"After this, the deacon bids them rise up and pray for themselves, dictating what they were to pray for:—Pray, ye catechumens, for the angel of peace; that all your purposes may be peaceably directed: pray, that this present day and all the days of your lives may be spent in peace, and that you may make a Christian end. Commend yourselves to the living God and to his Christ."

"This being done," says Chrysostom, "we bid them bow their heads, and receive the benediction of God, as a sign that their prayers are heard. For it is not man that blesses them; but by his hands and tongue we present their heads, as they stand there, to the Heavenly King; and then all the congregation with a loud voice cry out; Amen!"

Here is a plain account of the second prayer, that was made for the catechumens by the bishop, which is styled here, as it is also in the Constitutions, the bishop's commendation or benediction.

Learned men think this Homily was preached by Chrysostom, when he was bishop of Constantinople. And, if so, we must conclude that these prayers were the forms that were used then in the Liturgy of Constantinople.

SECT 4.—What meant by their praying for the Angel of Peace, in this Form of Prayer.

And I the rather incline to this opinion, because there is some little difference between this form of Chrysostom's and that in the Constitutions. For in this of Chrysostom's the catechumens are bid to pray for the angel of peace, which is not mentioned in the form of the Constitutions; though it be in another place,¹ where directions are given for the ordinary morning and evening service. St. Chrysostom often mentions this same petition for the angel of peace in his other Homilies. As in his third Homily upon the Colossians, where he says, "every man has angels attending him, and also the devil very busy about him."² Therefore we pray and make our supplications for the angel of peace." And so in his sermon³ upon the ascension: speaking of the air being filled with good and bad angels, the one always raising war and discord in the world, and the other inclining men to peace, he tells his auditory, "they might know there were angels of peace, by hearing the deacons always in the prayers bidding men pray for the angel of peace." This undoubtedly refers to the forementioned form of prayer, wherein the catechumens are directed to ask of God the protection of the angel of peace. In like manner in another place,⁴ "When the deacon bids men pray with others, he enjoins them this among the rest of their petitions, to pray for the angel of peace, and that all their purposes may be peaceably directed." Which are the very words of the catechumens' prayer abovesaid.

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 36 et 37.

² Chrys. Hom. iii. in Colos.

p. 1338. Διὰ τῆτο εὐχόμεθα, ἃ λέγομεν αἰτῶντες τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης.

³ Hom. xxxv. in Ascension. Domini. tom. v. p. 535. "Ἴνα μάθῃς ὅτ' ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἄκροσον ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αἰεὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε.

⁴ Hom. lii. In eos qui Pascha jejulant. tom. v. p. 713. 'Ο διάκονος δὲ κελεύων εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τῆτο ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, ἃ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικα.

The design of all which was, not to teach their catechumens to pray to their guardian angels, according to the modern way of instructing in the Romish Church;¹ though this had been a very proper season to have admonished the catechumens of it, had there been any such practice in the ancient Church; but it was to teach them to pray to the God of angels: that He, who makes his angels to encamp about his servants, would by their ministry defend them from the incursions of wicked spirits, those fomenters of war and division and enmity among men, and so keep them and all their purposes in a course of perpetual and uninterrupted peace, that they might finally make a Christian and a peaceable end.

SECT. 5.—Children in some Churches appointed to say this Prayer with the Rest of the People.

Another thing, wherein the form in the Constitutions differs from that in St. Chrysostom, is, that it appoints the children of the Church particularly and more especially to join in this common-prayer for the catechumens; whereas the form used in St. Chrysostom's church mentions no such thing: and Chrysostom himself in another place says plainly,² that children were not called upon to join in the prayers for the energumens and penitents, which were of the same sort with these for the catechumens, but only in the prayers for the communicants at the altar. As these differences prove the two forms not to belong to the liturgy of one and the same Church; so they make it probable, that St. Chrysostom gives us the form used in the Church of Constantinople, and the Author of the Constitutions, the form that was used at Antioch, or some other eminent Church, whose rituals he transcribed and put together.

SECT. 6.—What Notice we have of this Prayer in other ancient Writings.

Now, by having fixed this prayer in its proper place, we

¹ Vid. Drexel. de Cultu Cœlitum. lib. ii. cap. 3. Hom. lxxi. in Mat. p. 624.

² Chrys.

may interpret all other passages in the ancient writers, which speak of praying over the catechumens, or praying with them. As that of the Council of Nice, which orders,¹ “that if any of those, who were catechumens properly so called, that is, of that rank who had these prayers said over them, became lapsers, then they should for three years, be thrust down to the rank of hearers only, and after that be admitted to pray with the catechumens again.” And that canon of the Council of Neocæsarea,² which orders, “that if any such catechumens, as were called γόνυ κλίνοντες, that is, *prostrators*, or *kneelers*, who bowed down to have these prayers said over them, should fall into any scandalous sin, then they should be excluded from the prayers, and be ranked among the hearers only: and if they fell again when they were hearers, they should be excluded from the very entrance of the church.”

SECT. 7.—Of the Prayers for the Energumens, or Persons possessed by Evil Spirits. The Forms of these Prayers.

The next sort of persons, for whom prayers were now made, were the energumens, that is, such persons as were seized or possessed by an evil spirit. For though these were under the peculiar care of the exorcists, an order set apart particularly to attend them, and pray over them in private, as has been shewn more fully in a former book;³ yet their case being pitiable and deplorable, it was thought an act of becoming mercy and charity to let them have the public prayers of the Church, and grant them liberty to be present at such prayers as immediately respected their condition. Therefore as soon as the deacon had dismissed the catechumens, with the usual form, “Catechumens, depart in peace:” he said again, “Pray ye energumens, who are vexed with unclean spirits.” And exhorting the congregation also, he said, “Let us ardently pray for them,” as the form of this bidding-prayer runs in the Constitutions,⁴ “that the merciful God, through Christ, would rebuke the unclean and evil spirits, and deliver his supplicants from the oppression and tyranny of the adver-

¹ Con. Nicen. can. xiv.

² Con. Neocæsar. can. vi.

³ Book iii. chap. iv. sect. 6 and 7.

⁴ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 6.

sary; that He, who rebuked the legion of devils, and the prince of devils, the fountain of evil, would now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver the works of his own hands from the molestations and agitations of Satan, and cleanse them, which He hath created in great wisdom. Let us further most ardently pray for them. Save them, and raise them up, O God, by thy power.”

Then he bids them bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is in the following form of words, immediately addressed to Christ.

“ O Thou only begotten God, the Son of the great Father; Thou that bindest the strong one, and spoilest his goods; that givest power unto us to tread on serpents, scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: that hast delivered up the murdering serpent unto us a prisoner, as a sparrow unto children; Thou, before whom all things shake and tremble at the presence of thy power; that makest Satan to fall from heaven to the earth as lightning, not by a local fall, but by a fall from honour to disgrace, because of his voluntary malice; Thou, whose looks dry up the deep, and threatnings make the mountains melt, whose truth endures for ever; whom infants praise, and sucklings bless, and angels celebrate and adore; that lookest upon the earth, and makest it tremble; that touchest the mountains, and they smoke; that rebukest the sea, and driest it up, and turnest the rivers into a wilderness; that makest the clouds to be the dust of thy feet, and walkest upon the sea as upon a pavement: rebuke the evil spirits, and deliver the works of thy hands from the vexation of the adverse spirit: for to Thee belongs glory, honour, and adoration, and by Thee to thy Father in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen!”

SECT. 8.—An Account of these Prayers out of St. Chrysostom and others.

St. Chrysostom has not this whole form, but he often refers to it as one of the public prayers of the Church.¹ “ Com-

¹ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργεμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοινὰ ἐκ τῆς ἱερέως ἐκ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται εὐχαί. ἐκ πάντες λέγουσι μίαν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἑλὲς γίμεισαν.

mon prayers," says he, "are made by the priests and people together for the energumens, and for the penitents; we all say one and the same prayers, the prayer that is so full of mercy." And again,¹ "for this reason the deacon, at this time, brings those that are vexed with evil spirits, and commands them to bow down their heads only, and in that posture of body make their supplications. For they may not pray with the whole congregation of the brethren. And for this reason he presents them before you, that you having mercy on them, both in regard of their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, may by your freedom of access give them patronage and assistance." In another place he more fully explains the reason why this prayer for the demoniacs came before the oblation of the eucharist, and why at that time the deacon commanded them to be brought forth and bow their heads.² "Their being possessed of the devil," says he, "is a cruel and grievous chain, a chain harder than any iron. As therefore, when a judge is about to come forth, and sit upon the judgment seat, the keepers of the prison bring forth all the prisoners, and place them before the rails and curtains of the tribunal, in all their filth and nastiness, with their hair undressed, and clothed in rags: so our forefathers appointed, that when Christ was in a little time about to sit as it were upon his high throne, and shortly to appear in the holy mysteries, then the demoniacs should be brought forth as so many prisoners in chains, not to be condemned or suffer punishment for their sins, as other prisoners: but that, when the people and whole city are present together in the church, common prayer might be made for them, whilst they all with one consent besought the common Lord for them, and with loud voices entreated Him to shew mercy on them." Here, though he does not specify the whole form, yet he plainly intimates both the time, and subject matter of the prayer, and also the manner of the address; that it was a prayer sent up by the common voice of the people, some time before the appearance of Christ in the

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. de Incomprehensibili. tom. i. p. 365. *Διὰ τῆτο ἢ τὰς ἐνεργημένους κατ' ἐκείνον ἕτησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, &c.*

² Chrys.

Hom. iv. de Incomprehens. tom. i. p. 374.

eucharist, and that as an address to God to implore his mercy on those pitiable objects that lay in that forlorn condition before Him. In which respect he elsewhere styles it,¹ the first prayer of mercy, saying, “The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens. The second also, wherein we pray for the penitents, sues equally for mercy. And the third, when we pray for ourselves, presents the children of the people before God, crying out to Him for mercy.” Where by the first prayer, he does not absolutely mean the first prayer that was made in this part of divine service; for it is plain, the prayer for the catechumens came before it: but because the energumens were in a more miserable condition than the catechumens, and greater objects of pity than they were, he therefore styles the prayer for them the first prayer of mercy, as he does the prayer for the penitents, the second prayer for mercy, though it was in order the fourth; and the prayer for the faithful, the third prayer for mercy, though it belonged to another part of the service, of which we shall speak more particularly in the first chapter of the next book.

SECT. 9.—Of the third Sort of Prayers for the *Competentes*, or Candidates of Baptism.

The third prayer that came in the ordinary course of this part of the service, was the prayer for the *competentes*, or candidates of baptism, that is, such as had now given in their names, and expressed their desire of receiving baptism at the next approaching festival. This, I conceive, was but an occasional prayer, appropriated to certain seasons, as the time between Mid Lent and Easter-day, or other solemn times of baptism, when men were more than ordinarily intent in preparing themselves for the reception of that sacred mystery. The forms of these kind of prayers we have also in the Constitutions,² where, as soon as the deacon has dismissed the energumens, he is appointed to cry out, *Εὐξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι*, *Pray, ye candidates of bap-*

¹ Chrys. Hom. lxxi. al. lxxii. in Mat. p. 624.
lib. viii. cap. 7.

² Constit.

tism : and we that are already believers, let us ardently pray for them ; that the Lord would make them worthy to be baptised into the death of Christ, and to rise again with Him, and to be made members of his kingdom, and partakers of his mysteries ; that He would unite them to his Holy Church, and number them with those that shall be saved therein. Save them, and raise them up by Thy grace."

Then they are ordered to bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is expressed in the following words :

" O God, who didst by the prediction of thy holy prophets say to them that are to be initiated, wash ye, make you clean ; and by Christ didst appoint a spiritual regeneration : look down now upon these persons, who are to be baptised ; bless and sanctify them ; fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of thy spiritual gift, and the true adoption of sons, and thy spiritual mysteries, and be deservedly numbered among those, that are saved by Christ our Saviour, through whom be all glory, honour, and adoration unto Thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen !"

I have nothing further to remark concerning these prayers, because neither Chrysostom, nor any other ancient writer, as far as I know, have said any thing particularly about them. Only this author, in another place,¹ makes them part of the daily morning and evening service, as has been noted before in speaking of that, under a former head. It is probable in many Churches they were included in the forms for the catechumens in general. For the Council of Laodicea,² which settles the order of divine service in the Church, and appoints in what method it should proceed, speaks of the prayers of the catechumens, as immediately following the sermon, and then the prayers for the penitents, and after those the prayers for the faithful, which began the communion-service ; but makes no mention of any prayers for the candidates of baptism, as distinct from those

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 35, and 37.
can. xix.

² Con. Laodic.

of the catechumens. And this might be one reason, why other writers make no mention of them. In other Churches they were but occasional prayers for the particular times of baptism, and therefore it is a little wonder that other authors pass them over without the least notice taken of them. However that the Author of the Constitutions found them distinct in the rituals of some Churches, is not at all unlikely, because such forms for the candidates of baptism are now in use in the Greek Church, as may be seen in Goar;¹ and Cardinal Bona² has observed the like in a very ancient *Ordo Sacramentorum*, lately in the possession of the Queen of Sweden, where, in the office for the third Sunday in Lent, there is a special prayer inserted for those who were then examined and elected to receive baptism at Easter. But I proceed with the service of the ancient Church.

SECT. 10.—Of the last Sort of Prayers for the Penitents.

The last sort of prayers in this part of the service were those, which were made for the penitents, who were under the discipline and censures of the Church. Some of these, called hearers only, were sent away with that order of catechumens, which were distinguished by the same denomination of hearers: but others of them, called kneelers or prostrators, were permitted to stay longer, to receive the prayers of the Church and the bishop's benediction. Therefore as soon as the candidates of baptism were dismissed, the deacon cried out, "*Orate pœnitentes, Ye that are under penance, make your prayers:* and let us ardently pray for our brethren that are doing penance;³ that the God of mercy would show them the way of repentance: that He would admit their recantation and confession; that He would shortly bruise Satan under their feet, and deliver them from the snare of the devil, and the incursion of evil spirits, and preserve them from all evil words, all absurd practices and all impure thoughts; that He would grant them par-

¹ Goar Eucholog. p. 339.
cap. xii. n. 4. p. 630.

² Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii.

³ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. cap. 8.

don of all their sins, voluntary and involuntary, and blot out the hand-writing that is against them, and write them in the Book of Life; that He would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and unite and restore them to his holy flock; for He knows our frame; for who can glory, that he has a clean heart? Or who can say, that he is pure from sin? For we are all liable to punishment. Let us still pray more ardently for them, because there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth; that they may turn from every evil work, and accustom themselves to all that is good; that the merciful God receiving them kindly, may restore to them the joy of his salvation, and confirm them with his principal Spirit, that they may never fall or be shaken again; that they may communicate in his holy solemnities, and be partakers of his sacred mysteries; that being made worthy of the adoption of sons, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all further say for them, Lord, have mercy upon them: save them, O God, and raise them up by thy mercy."

This said, the deacon bids them rise up, and bow their heads to receive the bishop's benediction, which is styled also imposition of hands and prayer for the penitents, and is conceived in the following words.¹

"O Almighty and Eternal God, the Lord of the whole world, the Maker and Governor of all things, who hast made man to be an ornament of the world, through Christ, and has given him both a natural and a written law, that he might live by the rules thereof, as a rational creature; that hast also, when he hath sinned, given him a motive and encouragement to repent, even thy own goodness: look down now upon those men, who bow the necks of their souls and bodies unto Thee; for Thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he should turn from his evil way, and live. Thou that acceptedst the repentance of the Ninivites; that wouldst have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth; that receivedst again the prodigal son, who had spent his sub-

¹ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. cap. 9.

stance in riotous living, with the compassionate bowels of a father because of his repentance: accept now the repentance of these thy supplicants; for there is no man that sinneth not against Thee: if Thou Lord, wilt mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? for there is mercy and propitiation with Thee. Restore them to thy holy Church, in their former dignity and honour, through Christ our God and Saviour; by whom be glory and adoration unto Thee, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!"

SECT. 11.—What Notice we have of these Prayers in Chrysostom and other Writers.

St. Chrysostom does no where give us these prayers entire, but he frequently refers to them as then used in the Church in this part of divine service. We have heard him say before,¹ "that common prayers were made by the priest and the people jointly together, as well for the penitents as the energumens; and that they all said one and the same prayer, the prayer full of mercy." In another place,² "the first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens: the second prayer likewise, wherein we pray for the penitents, makes intercession for mercy. I have given the reason already, why both these prayers were styled prayers for mercy by Chrysostom, and I need here only observe, that they were used before the prayers for the faithful or communicants, as Chrysostom says expressly in the same place; and that they were by a certain form, because they were offered by the common voice both of minister and people. The Council of Laodicea³ also mentions this prayer for the penitents, as coming after the sermon next to the prayers for the faithful. And in all ancient canons,⁴ wherever we meet with the names of *Γόνυ κλίνοντες*, *Υποπίπτοντες*, and *Prostrati*, *kneelers* or *prostrators*, we are to understand this order of penitents, who in

¹ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. cited above. sect. 8.

² Chrys. Hom. lxxi. in Mat. p. 624.

³ Con. Laodic. can. xix.

⁴ Vid. Con. Nic. can. 11. Con. Ancyran. can. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, et 25. Con. Neocæsar. can. 6. Basil. Epist. Canon. can. 75.

this part of the service bowed down to receive the Church's prayers and the bishop's benediction.

SECT. 12.—In what Part of the Church these Prayers were made.

As to the Greek Church then, it is demonstrated beyond all contradiction, that there was a particular service of prayers for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, distinct from the communion-service, in which they were again prayed for, though absent, among all other states and conditions of men. But there remain two questions, which have a little more difficulty in them. 1. In what part of the church these prayers were made? 2. Whether there were any such prayers at all in use in the Latin Church? As to the first question, some learned persons are of opinion,¹ that not only the oblations were made at the altar, and the communion received there, but that all the prayers of the Church were made at the altar likewise. Which is certainly true of all the prayers in the communion-service, but not so certain of these prayers in the service of the catechumens. For, first the several orders, for whom these prayers were made, and over whom they were made with imposition of hands also, had their station in a different part of the church; and we do not read, that they were ever called up to the altar to receive their benediction; but in some canons are expressly ordered to receive imposition of hands even in absolution before the *apsis*, or *reading-desk*,² in case of scandalous offences; though absolution was usually given in ordinary cases at the altar. Now, if the prayer of absolution, which was their reconciliation to the altar, was sometimes made before the reading desk, there is little question, but that the other prayers, which were but the introduction to their reconciliation, were made there also. 2. This service of the catechumens and penitents was altogether a distinct service from that of the *fideles* or communicants, and a final dismissal of them was

¹ Stillingfl. Unreason. of Separat. part iii. sect. 9. p. 250.

² Con. Carthag. iii. can. 32. Cujuscunque pœnitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universam ecclesiam commoverit, ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.

always made before the latter service began. 3. There is an express order in the third Council of Carthage, that all prayers made at the altar should be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son:¹ and yet it is evident, that the prayer for the energumens was directed to the Son, as we have seen before in the form cited out of the Constitutions.² So that either the discipline of the Eastern Churches differed very much from those of the West; or else we must necessarily conclude, that these prayers, some of which are directed to the Son, were not made at the altar.

SECT. 13.—Whether there were any such distinct Prayers for the Catechumens and Penitents in the Latin Church.

But it may be said, the prayers in the Latin Church were never directed to the Son: or perhaps they had no such prayers for the catechumens and penitents in particular, as they had in the oriental liturgies, distinct from those, which were made for all orders of men, both before and after consecration in the communion-service. The matter indeed is not so clear, I confess, in the Latin Church, as I have shewed it to be in the Eastern: and that, which increases the difficulty, is, that some authors seem to intimate that as soon as the sermon was ended, the catechumens were dismissed, and then the communicants betook themselves to prayers at the altar. “Behold,” says St. Austin,³ “after the sermon the catechumens have their dismissal: but the faithful abide still, and come to the place of prayer,” meaning the altar, where the Lord’s prayer was according to custom to be repeated by the communicants only. And St. Ambrose,⁴ speaking of the same matter, says, “When

¹ Con. Carthag. iii. can. 23. *Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet: Et cùm ad altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.*

² See before, sect. 7.

³ Aug. Hom. ccxxxvii. de Tempore, tom. x. p. 385. *Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis. Manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis. Scitis quo accessuri sumus, quid prius Deo dicturi sumus? ‘Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.’*

⁴ Ambros. Ep. xxxiii. ad Marcellinam Sororem. *Post lectiones et tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam ecclesie.*

the sermon was done, he dismissed the catechumens, and rehearsed the Creed to some candidates of baptism in the baptistery of the church." But these do not amount to a proof, that the communion-service succeeded immediately after the sermon, and that no other prayers or business came between them. For this very place of St. Ambrose shews, that at least some times the repetition of the Creed to the candidates of baptism was in the interval. And one of the forecited canons of the Council of Carthage makes it evident, that at other times the prayer for the absolution and reconcilment of a scandalous offender was made in the *apsis*, or *reading-desk*, before the communion-service likewise. And the other canon as plainly intimates, that some prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the prohibition that is made of not changing the name of the Son for the Father, or the Father for the Son. Which prohibition had been needless, had there been no prayers directed to the Son. Now, admitting there were some prayers directed to the Son, these must be made before the communion-service, since at that time by the same canon all prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father only. For these reasons I conclude, that the practice of the Greek and Latin Churches was the same, and that there were prayers in both for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents in their presence, distinct from those, which were afterwards made for them, in their absence, at the altar. And so I have done with the first part of divine worship, which the ancient Church called her *Missa Catechumenorum*, or *Ante-communion-service*.

BOOK XV.

OF THE MISSA FIDELIUM, OR COMMUNION-SERVICE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Prayers preceding the Oblation.

SECT. 1.—Of the Prayer called *Διὰ Σιωπῆς*, or *Silent Prayer*.

WHEN the several orders of the catechumens, penitents, and energumens were dismissed, which was the completion of the *Missa Catechumenorum*; then immediately began that part of the service, which is properly called *Missa Fidelium*, or *communion-service*, because none but communicants, or at least such of the penitents as had gone through all the stages of repentance, and were now waiting for absolution, called therefore *Συνιτάμενοι*, or *co-standers*, might be present at it. The entrance on this service was made by a mental or silent prayer, made by the people in private, and thence called *Εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς*, *the silent prayer*, and *Εὐχὴ κατὰ διάνοιαν*, *the mental prayer*. This we learn from a canon of Laodicea, which gives a summary account of the whole order of the service of the Church; and therefore for our clearer proceeding in this matter, I think it not improper to put it down entire in this place, as being one of the most remarkable canons in the whole Code and that which will give great light to the subsequent dis-

course. The words of the canon are these :¹ “ That after the homily of the bishop first the prayer of the catechumens is to be made ; and after the catechumens are gone forth, then the prayer for the penitents : and when they have received their benediction by imposition of hands, and are withdrawn, then the three prayers of the faithful are to be made ; the first of which is to be performed in silence, the second and third by the bidding and direction (of the deacon.) After these the kiss of peace is to be given ; presbyters saluting the bishop, and laymen one another : and then the holy oblation shall be celebrated ; those of the clergy only communicating in the chancel.”

Some learned persons take the prayer in silence here to mean no more than prayers made over the communicants by the minister alone, the people not making any responses ; and by the prayers called *Εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως*, they understand *prayers made by way of responses*, the minister and people mutually answering one another. But this explication does not come up to the sense of this Canon. For by the prayer in silence we are here to understand such private prayers as each particular person made by himself, and by the prayers *διὰ προσφωνήσεως*, such prayers as the whole Church made in common by the call and admonition of the deacon, who repeated the several forms, directing them what things they were to pray for, to each of which petitions they subjoined their *Κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have mercy*, and grant the petitions we ask ! And then the bishop added the *Ἐπίκλησις*, or *invocation*, which was also called *Collecta, the collect*, because it was a *collection* or repetition of all the prayers of the people. That there were these three sorts of prayers in the ancient Church, is evident from the accounts that are given of each of them. And first that there were such private prayers of every

¹ Con. Laodic. can. xix. Περὶ τῆ δὲ ἰδία πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, κατηχημένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τὸ ἐξελεῖν τὰς κατηχημένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι, ἢ τῶν προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, ἢ ὑποχωρησάντων, ἕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληρῶσθαι. εἰδ' ἕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι. &c.

particular person by himself, appears not only from this canon, but from several ancient writers. St. Chrysostom¹ takes notice, that some in these private prayers spent their time in nothing else but praying for revenge upon their enemies. “ Many men,” says he, “ fall prostrate upon the ground, and beat the earth with their foreheads, and shed abundance of tears, and groan bitterly within themselves, stretching forth their hands, and shewing great zeal, and yet use all this fervour and earnestness only against their own salvation. For they pray to God, not for their own offences, they do not beseech him to pardon their own sins, but they spend all this labour against their enemies. Which is the same thing, as if a man should whet his sword, and then not use it against his adversaries, but thrust it into his own throat. For so these men use their prayers, not to obtain pardon of their own sins, but to accelerate the punishment of their enemies: which in effect is to run the sword into their own bowels.” A little after he tells us the very words of their prayers, which were these: “ Revenge me of my enemies, O Lord, and shew them that I have a God.” By all which it appears, that these were the private prayers of the people, which they might abuse, and not the public prayers of the Church: for the Church never taught her children to curse their enemies, but to bless and pray for them. But in these private prayers, which were designed for confession of sins and deprecation of God’s judgments, evil men took liberty to transgress all rules, and gratify their passions by asking revenge upon their enemies. Now, though this was a grand abuse of these private prayers, yet it serves to shew us both what the custom was in the Church’s allowance of such prayers, and what in her designation was the true use of them. St. Basil, speaking of their vigils or night assemblies,² intimates as plainly, that they were spent in such private prayers intermingled with divers sorts of psalms. And Cassian gives the same account of them, both in the Eastern and

¹ Chrysostom. lvii. De non evulgandis Peccatis. tom. v. p. 762.

² Basil. Ep. lxxiii ad Neocæsar. tom. i. p. 96.

Western Churches, as I have shewed at large in speaking of the daily morning and evening service, which began with private confession in the Eastern Churches mentioned by St. Basil, and ended with public confession made in the words of the fifty-first Psalm, which was thence called the Psalm of Confession, or the Penitential Psalm¹ for the morning service. But as to the private confessions, we are now speaking of, with which the communion-service here began, we are to note further, that they were not only made by the people in silence by themselves, but by the minister in private also. And the footsteps of this practice remain in some of the oldest Liturgies of several Churches, quite different from the present confessions in the Roman Missal: for, whereas now in the Roman Missal the confession of sins is made to saints and angels, as well as God, all the offices for at least a thousand years after Christ had their confessions only to God. Thus it is in the forms of confession in Gregory's Sacramentarium, and others published by Menardus. And this is that MS. which Cardinal Bona so much magnifies in the Queen of Sweden's library, as containing the offices of the old Gallican Liturgy. To shew that these confessions were made only to God, and not to any saints or angels, and withal that they were particular confessions made by the priest only in private, "διὰ σιωπῆς," as the Laodicean Canon words it, I will here transcribe that which Bona gives us out of that ancient MS. as the confession of the Gallican office. It is there called² *Apologia Sacerdotis, the apology of the priest*, or the confession of his sins, and it runs in these words.

"O Thou most admirable Majesty, and great God, Almighty Father, who art of infinite goodness and power, I, who am a most vile sinner, and condemned by the testimony of my own conscience, do approach Thee, and present myself in the sight of thy greatness, before the eyes of thine ineffable Majesty, before thy holy face, not without due reverence, yet with great unworthiness and neglect of duty. I no not excuse, but accuse myself unto Thee. I confess, I

¹ See Book xiii. cap. x. sect. 13.
Iib. ii. cap. i. n. 1.

² Bona. Rer. Liturg.

say, I confess the unrighteousness of my impiety, that Thou mayest forgive the wickedness of my sin. I confess, that if Thou dost not forgive, Thou mayest punish me. I confess myself a criminal before Thee, and yet I know my amendment is only in words. In words I endeavour to appease Thee, but in works I offend Thee. I am sensible of my faults, and yet I defer the amendment. Assist me therefore, assist me, O Thou ineffable Goodness. Pardon me, pardon me, O most adorable Trinity. Spare me, spare me, spare me, I beseech Thee, O merciful God. Hear me, hear me, hear me, I beseech Thee, when I cry in the words of that prodigal son, O Father, Eternal God, I have sinned against Heaven and before Thee: I am no more worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants. And now, merciful Father, I fly to the only refuge and haven of thy mercy under the protection of Christ, that what is vile in me, Thou mayest favourably vouchsafe to accept in Him, who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen !”

It is plain here, that as there is no address to either saint or angel in this prayer, so it is a private prayer of the priest alone for himself, whilst the people were likewise employed in making their private confessions to God: which shews us the meaning of that silent prayer spoken of in the Council of Laodicea, which is called the first prayer in the entrance of the communion-service.

All I shall add further here concerning these private prayers, is to make an observation upon two ancient forms of speech, which have some relation to this matter, and help to confirm it: that is, the forms, “*Silentium indicere*,” and “*Orationem dare*,” both which are used to denote the custom of bidding the people fall to their private devotions. Sometimes the bishop was used to give the signal, by saying, “*Oremus, Let us pray!*” and then the people betook themselves to their private devotions, after which the bishop summed up their prayers in a short collect by way of solemn invocation. Thus Uranius¹ describes the rite in the

¹ Uran. Vit. Paulini. Ad ecclesiam processit, et ascenso tribunali popu-

Life of Paulinus, bishop of Nola, when he tells us, how a certain bishop went into his throne, and there saluting the people, and being saluted by them again, he then according to custom gave the signal for prayer, and afterward summed up their prayers in a collect, and so breathed out his last. Sometimes the deacon gave the signal, and this was called "*Silentium indicere*." Thus it was in the Gallican Churches, as bishop Stillingfleet has observed out of Gregory of Tours;¹ and the priest did it by the Mosarabic liturgy. Where he rightly concludes, that this phrase, "*Silentium indicere*," does not barely signify making the people attentive, but there was a further meaning in it, that they were for a time there to attend to their own private prayers. Which he thinks not improbable on these considerations.

1. "Gregory Turonensis saith, in the place before mentioned, that the king took that time to speak to the people, who immediately brake forth into a prayer for the king; not that any collect was then read for him, for that was not the proper time for it; but it being a time of secret prayers, they were so moved with what the king said, that they all prayed for him."

2. "Among the heathens, when they were bidden *favere linguis*, yet then, Brissonius saith,² they "made their private prayers; and as the deacon's commanding silence seems to be much of the same nature, it is not probable that the Christians should fall short of their devotions."

3. "The great argument," says he, "to me, is the small number of collects in the ancient Churches; for the Christians spent a great deal of time in the public service, on the Lord's day, and the stationary days; I add also their vigils; but all other offices could not take up that time, there being no long extemporary prayers, nor such a multitude of tedious ceremonies in all parts, as the Roman Breviary and Missal introduced; and the collects of greatest antiquity

lum ex more salutavit, resalutatusque à populo orationem dedit, et collectâ oratione spiritum exhalavit.

¹ Stillingfl. Orig. Britan. cap. iv. p. 223. ex Greg. Turon. lib. vii. cap. 8.

² Brisson. de Formulis. p. 9, 10.

being very few and short, it seems most probable, that a competent part of the time was spent in private devotions. A remainder whereof is still preserved in the office of ordination of priests in our Church, whereby silence is commanded to be kept for a time, for the people's secret prayers. And the same custom was observed at the bidding of prayers, which was a direction for the people what to pray for in their private devotions."¹

SECT. 2.—Of the Prayers called, *Διά Προσφωνήσεως*, or *Bidding Prayers*.

And this leads us in the next place to consider the second sort of prayers mentioned in the Laodicean Canon, which are there styled *Εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως*, which we may english *bidding prayers*. For they were not only a call to the people to pray, but a direction what particulars they were to pray for. We have a form of this sort of prayer in the Apostolical Constitutions, immediately after the dismissal of catechumens and penitents, where it is called *Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν*, a *direction or bidding-prayer for the communicants*, or believers. It is there ushered in with these words:² “Let no one of those, that are not allowed, come near. As many as are believers, let us fall upon our knees. Let us pray to God through his Christ. Let us all intensely beseech God through his Christ.” Then follow the several petitions in this order.

“Let us pray for the peace and tranquillity of the world and the holy Churches; that the God of the whole world would grant us his perpetual and lasting peace; and keep us persevering to the end, in all the fulness of piety and virtue.”

“Let us pray for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church from one end of the earth to the other; that the Lord would keep it unshaken and undisturbed with storms and tempests, founded on a rock to the end of the world.”

“Let us pray for the Holy Church (*παροικίας*) in this

¹ Vid. Mat. Parker Concion. in Obit. Bucerii. Apost. lib. viii. cap. 9, et 10. Vid. lib. ii. cap. 57.

² Constit.

place; that the Lord of all would grant us grace to pursue his heavenly hope without ceasing; and that we may render Him the continual debt and tribute of our prayers."

"Let us pray for the whole episcopate or company of bishops under heaven, that rightly divide the word of truth. And let us pray for James, our bishop, and his Churches."

"Let us pray for Clemens, our bishop, and his Churches."

"Let us pray for Euodius, our bishop, and his Churches: that the merciful God would preserve them in safety, honour, and length of days for the benefit of his Holy Churches; and grant them a venerable old age in all piety and righteousness."

"Let us likewise pray for our presbyters, that God would deliver them from every absurd and wicked thing, and preserve them safe and honourable in their presbytery."

"Let us pray for the whole order of deacons and subdeacons in Christ; that the Lord would keep them unblameable in their ministry."

"Let us pray for the readers, singers, widows, and orphans."

"Let us pray for those that live in matrimony and procreation or education of children, that God would have mercy upon them all."

"Let us pray for the eunuchs that walk in holiness."

"Let us pray for those, that live in continency or virginity, and lead a pious life."

"Let us pray for those, that make oblations in the holy church, and give alms to the poor."

"Let us pray for those that offer their sacrifices and first-fruits to the Lord our God; that the most gracious God would reward them with heavenly gifts, and restore them an hundred fold in this world, and grant them everlasting life in the world to come; giving them heavenly things for their earthly, and for their temporal things those that are eternal."

"Let us pray for our brethren that are newly baptised; that the Lord would confirm and establish them."

"Let us pray for our brethren, that are afflicted with sick-

ness; that the Lord would deliver them from all their distempers and infirmities, and restore them again in health to his holy Church."

" Let us pray for all those, that travel by sea or by land."

" Let us pray for those, that are in the mines, and in banishment, and in prison and in bonds for the name of the Lord."

" Let us pray for our enemies and those that hate us."

" Let us pray for those, that persecute us for the name of the Lord: that the Lord would mitigate their fury, and dissipate their anger conceived against us."

" Let us pray for those, that are without, and led away with error, that the Lord would convert them."

" Let us remember the infants of the Church; that the Lord would perfect them in his fear, and bring them to the measure of adult age."

" Let us pray mutually for one another; that the Lord would keep and preserve us by his grace unto the end, and deliver us from the evil one, and from all the scandals of those, that work iniquity, and conduct us safe to his heavenly kingdom."

" Let us pray for every Christian soul."

" Save us, O God, and raise us up by thy mercy."

It is here to be supposed, that as in the former prayers for the catechumens and penitents,¹ so here at the end of every petition the people answered, " Κύριε ἐλέησον! *Lord have mercy upon them!*" Or, as it is in the close of this prayer, " Save them, O God, and raise them up by thy mercy!"

Any one, that will compare either our Litany, or the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, in the beginning of our communion-service, will readily perceive, that there is a near affinity between them and this general form of the ancient Church. We have not so complete a form either in Chrysostom's genuine works, or any other ancient writer, to compare this with, as we did before in considering the form for the catechumens: but there are two very ancient forms of such a prayer without any addition of invocation

¹ See Book xiv. chap. vi.

of saints still preserved, one in the Ambrosian Liturgy, and the other in an ancient office, transcribed by Wicelius out of the library of Fulda, which, because they come near this ancient form in the Constitutions, I will here insert¹

¹ In Codice Fuldensi Litania Missalis.

Dicamus omnes ex toto corde totâque mente: *Domine miserere.*

Qui respicis terram, et facis eam tremere, *Oramus Te, Domine, exaudi et miserere.*

Pro altissimâ pace et tranquillitate temporum nostrorum, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro Sanctâ Ecclesiâ Catholicâ, quæ est à finibus usque ad terminos orbis terrarum, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro patre nostro episcopo, pro omnibus episcopis ac presbyteris et diaconis, omniq[ue] clero, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro hoc loco et habitantibus in eo, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro piissimo imperatore et toto Romano exercitu, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro omnibus qui in sublimitate constituti sunt, pro virginibus, viduis et orphanis, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro pœnitentibus et catechumenis, *Oramus te, Domine, &c.*

Pro his qui in Sanctâ Ecclesiâ fructus misericordiæ largiuntur. Domine Deus vîrtutum exaudi preces nostras. *Oramus te, Domine.*

Sanctorum Apostolorum et Martyrum memores sumus, ut orantibus eis pro nobis veniam mereamur. *Oramus te, Domine.*

Christianum ac pacificum nobis finem concedi a Domino comprecemur. *Præsta, Domine, præsta.*

Et divinum in nobis permanere vinculum charitatis, Dominum comprecemur. *Præsta, Domine, præsta.*

Conservare sanctitatem ac puritatem catholicæ fidei, Sanctum Deum comprecemur. *Præsta, Domine, præsta.*

Dicamus omnes, *Domine exaudi et miserere.*

Altera formula ex Ritu Ambrosiano in Dominicâ primâ Quadragesimæ, incipiente diacono, et choro respondente.

Divinæ pacis et indulgentiæ munere supplicantes ex toto corde et ex totâ mente precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro Ecclesiâ Sanctâ Catholicâ, quæ hîc et per universum orbem diffusa est, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro papâ nostro N. et pontifice nostro N. et omni clero eorum, omnibusque sacerdotibus ac ministris precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro famulis tuis, N. imperatore et N. rege, duce nostro, et omni exercitu eorum precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro pace Ecclesiarum, vocatione gentium, et quiete populorum, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro civitate hâc et conservatione ejus, omnibusque habitantibus in eâ precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro aeris temperie, ac fructu et fœcunditate terrarum precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

in the margin for the use of the learned reader, out of Pamelius's Liturgics, tom. iii. p. 307, and Cardinal Bona's *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. ii. cap. iv. n. 3. and then see what remains of this ancient prayer, we meet with in the undoubted writings of the Fathers. For, though none of them give us the same form entire, yet one may easily perceive by the near alliance of the fragments that remain, that they all refer to the same original. For there are both in Chrysostom and other writers, several fragments of such a prayer, and plain intimations that either this or a like form was in use in many Churches. And therefore it will not be amiss to collect these references and fragments before we proceed any further.

SECT. 3.—The Form of this Sort of Prayers in the Constitutions, compared with the Fragments that occur in Chrysostom, and other Writers.

St. Chrysostom, in one of his sermons, spoken to the people of Antioch, plainly shews, that they had such a form of bidding-prayer in use in that Church: for he relates some of the petitions of it, which are so like the form in the Constitutions, that he will not judge amiss that thinks the Author of the Constitutions had his form from the same original, whence we are sure St. Chrysostom had his, viz. the Liturgy of the Church of Antioch. “For,” says he,¹

Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis ac pœnitentibus, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exiliis constitutis, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro iis, qui diversis infirmitatibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur immundis, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Pro iis, qui in Sanctâ Ecclesiâ tuâ fructus misericordiæ largiuntur, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Exaudi nos in omni oratione atque deprecatione nostrâ, precamur te. *Domine miserere.*

Dicamus omnes. *Domine miserere.*

¹ Chrys. Hom. ii. de Obscurit. Prophetiarum. tom. iii. p. 946. Κοινῶ πάντες ἀκούοντες τῆ διακόνωντα κελεύοντος, ἔ λέγοντος, δεηθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τῆ ἐπισκόπου, ἔ τῆ γήρωσ, ἔ τῆσ ἀντιλήψεωσ, ἔ ἵνα ὀρθοτομῆ τὸν λόγον τῆσ ἀληθείασ, ἔ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα, ἔ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπανταχᾶ, ἔ παραιτεῖσθε ποιεῖν τὸ ἐπίταγμα, &c.

“ when you all in common hear the deacon bidding this prayer, and saying, ‘ Let us pray for the bishop and for his old age, and for grace to assist him, that he may rightly divide the word of truth, and for those that are here, and those that are in all the world,’ you refuse not to do what is commanded you, but offer your prayers with all fervency, as knowing what power there is in common prayer. They, that are initiated, know what I say. For this is not yet allowed in the prayer of the catechumens. For they are not yet arrived to this boldness and liberty of speech. But the deacon, who ministers in this office, exhorts you to make prayers for the whole world, and for the Church extended from one end of the earth to the other, and for all the bishops that rule and govern it ; and ye obey with readiness, testifying by your actions, that great is the power of prayer, when it is offered up by the people with one voice in the Church.” Here we may observe, that this was the bidding prayer ; for it was done by the *Celeusma*, or *call* and *admonition* of the deacon, telling them what they were to pray for. Then again, that it was a prayer peculiar to the communicants, and used only in the communion-service : for the catechumens were not allowed to join in it. And further, that the petitions for the whole world, for the Church over all the earth, for all bishops wheresoever governing the Church, and particularly for the bishop of the place, that he might live to a good old age, and have the help of God’s grace to enable him rightly to divide the word of truth, are the same petitions that occur in the Constitutions : which makes it evident, that these forms of bidding prayer were then commonly used in the Catholic Church. Chrysostom, in another place, speaks of this same prayer as performed in common, both by ministers and people ; and by both of them in the posture of kneeling or prostration. For giving an account of the several prayers of the Church, in which the people bear a part with the minister, he says, “ they prayed in common for persons possessed with evil spirits, and for the penitents ; and then after they were excluded, who could not partake of the holy table, they made another prayer,¹ in which they all fell prostrate

¹ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Πάλιν ἐπειδὴν εἰρξομέν τῶν ἱερῶν

upon the earth together, and all in like manner rose up together” This is a plain reference to that bidding prayer, before which the deacon commanded all to fall down upon the ground, and make those several petitions in that posture, and then gave the signal to rise again, by saying, “ Ἀναστῶμεν, *Let us rise,*” as it is worded in the Constitutions. Chrysostom has many other passages, which speak of prayers for the whole state of the Church, for bishops, for the universe, and the public peace; but because these refer more peculiarly to the prayer immediately following the consecration and oblation where a more solemn commemoration of all states was again made, I will refer the notice of them to the discourse upon that prayer in its proper place.

However I cannot omit mentioning one remarkable thing more out of St. Chrysostom relating to this prayer, which is, that this prayer was esteemed so much the common-prayer of the people, that the children of the Church were particularly enjoined to bear a part in it. For, in one of his Homilies upon St. Matthew, speaking first of the prayer for the demoniacs; secondly, of the prayer for the penitents; thirdly, of this prayer for the communicants, he observes, “ that the two former were offered by the people alone, as intercessors for mercy for others; but this prayer, which was for themselves, was presented also by the innocent children of the people,¹ crying to God for mercy: it being supposed that their innocency and humility, the imitation of which qualifies men for the kingdom of heaven, were good recommendations of their prayers, when they solemnly implored the divine mercy.” Which plainly shows, that this was a general prayer of all degrees of persons in the Church. We may note further out of St. Austin, that the Universal Church, or the greatest part of it, had such prayers preceding the consecration of the eucharist, which were properly called *Precationes*, or *Deprecationes*,

περιβόλων τοὺς ἑδυναμένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετασχεῖν τραπέζης, ἑτέραν δὲ γενέσθαι ἐνχῆν, ἢ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, ἢ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνυσάμεθα.

¹ Chrys. Hom. 71. al. 72. in Mat. p. 624. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη πάλιν ἐνχῆ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἢ αὐτὴ τὰ παιδία τὰ ἄμωμα τῷ δήμῳ προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπι Ἐλεον παρακαλῶντα.

supplications for themselves and others, and *Communis Oratio, common prayer*, because they were performed by the *common* voice of the deacon and the people. In one of his Epistles,¹ he divides the whole service of the Church into these five parts. 1. Singing of Psalms. 2. Reading of the Scriptures. 3. Preaching. 4. The prayers of the bishops and presbyters. 5. The common prayers indited by the voice or direction of the deacons: which were the bidding prayers, we are now discoursing of. Whence we learn the meaning of the deacon's being said, "*Indicere communem orationem*;" that it means not barely his commanding them to pray, but his going before them in a form of words, to which they might join their common responses.

In another Epistle,² he divides the communion-service into four parts, according to that division of St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 1. "I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men;" taking supplications for these common prayers made for all men before the consecration of the elements; and prayers, in the Greek called *Εὐχαῖαι*, for the prayers of consecration, of which the Lord's prayer was one, because the people did then solemnly dedicate themselves to Christ, which is the most common notation of the word *Εὐχὴ*, a *vow*. By intercessions, he understands the benedictions of the people by imposition of hands, used at that time by the bishops and other chief ministers, recommending them to the mercy of God; and by thanksgiving,

¹ Aug. Ep. 119. ad Januar. cap. xviii. Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesiam fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistites clara voce deprecantur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

² Aug. Ep. lix. ad Paulin. Quæst. 5. Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel penè omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici: orationes, cum benedicatur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur quam totam petitionem ferè omnis Ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit. Interpellationes autem, sive ut vestri codices habent, postulationes, fiunt cum populos benedicatur. Tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus.

the doxologies and returns of praise after the participation was over. So that here we have a plain account of the Church's service, and particularly, that the prayers before the consecration were those solemn addresses, which were made chiefly by the deacon and people, and therefore were called, "*Communis Oratio voce diaconi indicta,—the common prayers of the people, enjoined and ordered by the bidding of the deacon.*" In another place he mentions some of the particulars then prayed for. For writing to one Vitalis, of Carthage, who maintained that infidels were not to be prayed for, he urges him with the known practice of the Church. "Dispute then," says he,¹ "against the prayers of the Church, and when you hear the priest of God exhorting the people of God at the altar, to pray for infidels that God would convert them to the faith; and for catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that they may persevere by his grace, in that wherein they have begun; mock at these pious words, and say you do not do what he exhorts you to do, that is, that you do not pray to God for infidels, that he would make them believers." Here we see the prayers for the conversion of infidels, and the perseverance of believers are the same with those, that occur in the Constitutions, and in both places are said to be done at the bidding or exhortation of the minister.

St. Basil also speaks of these prayers, under the name of *Κηρύγματα Ἐκκλησιαστικά*, which is not to be understood of preaching in the church, but of these prayers, which the deacon, as the common *Κήρυξ*, or *proclaimer* and *director*, of the service, appointed the people to make, for all orders of men in the Church. And so St. Basil himself explains his own meaning. For writing to a friend in a foreign country, he tells him it was impossible he should forget him in his

¹ Aug. Ep. 107. ad Vital. p. 187. Exerce contra orationes Ecclesie disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret; et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse cœperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic te non facere quod hortatur, &c.

prayers, unless he should forget the work, to which the Lord had appointed him. "For you," says he,¹ "who are by the grace of God a believer, remember very well the bidding prayers of the Church; how we there pray for all our brethren that travel in foreign countries, and for all those that are mustered in the camp, and for those that undertake any brave and bold thing for the name of the Lord, and for all such as shew forth any fruits of the Spirit; for all these we make prayers in the Holy Church." And he tells his friend, that he being a person singularly eminent, and in all those capacities, as a traveller, as a warrior, as a confessor, as a virtuous man, was always remembered in the public prayers of the Church. He mentions no other particulars, because he had no occasion to specify any more, but what related to this particular man's case; but we need not doubt, but that there were many other such petitions in the liturgy of the Church of Cæsarea, as there were in those of Antioch, and the African Churches. Cæsarius Arelatensis also speaks of these bidding prayers as used in the Gallican Churches. For in one of his Homilies to the people he exhorts them,² that as often as the clergy prayed at the altar, or prayer was enjoined by the bidding of the deacon, they should bow not only their hearts, but their bodies also. For it was a very irregular thing, and unbecoming Christians, that when the deacon cried out, "Let us bend the knee," the greatest part of the people should stand erect like pillars, as he had observed them to do in their devotions. Here though we have none of the particular petitions, yet there is a plain reference to them, and two of the circumstances mentioned, that is, that they were to be made kneeling, and by the indiction or direction of the deacon.

¹ Basil. Ep. 241. Μέννησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τῷ Θεῷ χάριτι, ὅτι ἐξ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα. &c.

² Cæsarius Arelat. Hom. xxxiv. Rogo vos et admoneo, fratres charissimi, ut quotiescunque juxta altare à clericis oratur, aut oratio diacono clamante indicitur, non solum corda, sed etiam corpora inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter, sicut oportet, et diligentur attendo, diacono clamante, flectamus genua, maximam partem populi velut columnas erectas stare conspicio, quod Christianis omninò nec licet nec expedit.

SECT. 4.—Of the Invocation or Collect following the Prayers of the People.

And in these circumstances they differed from the following prayer, made by the bishop or chief minister, which the Greeks called *Ἐπίκλησις*, *the invocation*, and the Latins *Collecta*, *the collect*, because it was the *recollection* or *recapitulation* of the preceding prayers of the people. As the former prayer was said by the deacon and people kneeling, so this was presented by the bishop standing. And therefore the deacon was used to say immediately after the former prayer, “*Ἐγειρόμεθα*,—*Let us rise up*, and praying earnestly, let us recommend ourselves and one another to the living God by his Christ.” After which, the bishop makes this prayer, as the form runs in the Constitutions.¹

“O Lord Almighty and Most High, Thou that dwellest in the highest, Thou Holy One that restest in thy saints, (or holy places) that art without original, the great Monarch of the world; who by thy Christ hast caused thy knowledge to be preached unto us, to the acknowledgment of thy glory and name, which He hath manifested to our understandings: look down now by Him upon this thy flock, and deliver it from all ignorance and wicked works. Grant that it may fear Thee, and love Thee, and tremble before the face of thy glory. Be merciful and propitious unto them, and hearken to their prayers; and keep them unchangeable, unblameable, and without rebuke; that they may be holy both in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that they may be perfect, and none among them deficient or wanting in any respect. O Thou, their Defender, Thou Almighty, that regardedst not persons, be Thou the help of this thy people, whom Thou hast redeemed with the precious blood of thy Christ. Be Thou their defence and succour, their refuge and keeper, their impregnable wall, their bulwark and safety. For no one can pluck them out of thy hand. There is no other God

¹ Constit. Apost. lib. viii. cap. 11.

like Thee: in Thee is our hope and strong consolation. Sanctify them by thy truth: for thy word is truth. Thou that dost nothing out of partiality and favour; Thou that canst not be deceived, deliver them from sickness and infirmity, from sin, from all injury and fraud, and from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, and the danger that walketh in darkness; and vouchsafe to bring them to eternal life, which is in Christ thy only begotten Son, our God and Saviour; by whom be glory and worship unto Thee in the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen!"

This, I conceive, is of the same nature with that prayer mentioned by the Council of Laodicea,¹ as the second of those that are said to be made "διὰ προσφώνησεως:" for though the Author of the Constitutions distinguishes between the deacon's bidding prayer and the bishop's invocation, calling the former Προσφώνησις, and the latter Ἐπίκλησις; yet they both agreed in several things to distinguish them from the silent prayer that went before. For, first, they were both pronounced audibly by the minister, so as the whole congregation might join with them, either by making responses to every particular petition of the deacon's prayer, or by saying Amen! at the conclusion of the bishop's prayer; whereas the silent prayers of the people were such as every man said privately by himself, and might be very different from one another, and sometimes were such as were not fit to be heard, because some men abused this opportunity to pray to God for revenge upon their enemies. Secondly, both these prayers were made at the call or admonition of the deacon, and so might have the name of Προσφώνησις. For he said before the one, "let us fall down upon our knees and pray to God:" and before the other, "Let us rise and commend ourselves to God, Παραδώμεθα ἑαυτὰς τῷ Θεῷ." Whence also this and all such prayers of the bishop had the name of παραδέσεις, commendations, because they recommended the people to the mercy and protection of God. As we find in one of the canons of the African Code,² which made an

¹ Con. Laod. can. xix.

² Cod. Afric. can. cvi. "Ἦρσεν ἃ τῆτο, ὡτε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἰκεσίας, εἴτε οἴμα, εἴτε παραδέσεις, εἴτε τῆς

injunction that no prayers should be used in the Church but such as were authorised by a synod, whether they were prefaces, or commendations, or imposition of hands, lest any prayers, contrary to the faith, should surreptitiously creep into the Church. Where, as by prefaces, are meant certain proper prayers used at the eucharist; and by imposition of hands, prayers made over the penitents or people by way of benediction; so by commendations are to be understood partly prayers for the catechumens, and partly these prayers of the bishop for the people, recommending their persons and prayers, and concerns to the favour of God. This canon was first made in the council of Milevis, where what the Greeks call *Παραθέσεις*, is by the Latins called *Commendationes*.¹ But the more usual name in the Latin Church was *Collectæ*, *collects*, because these prayers of the bishop, which in any part of the service followed the joint prayers of the deacon and congregation, were both a recollection and recommendation of the prayers of the people. In this sense Cassian takes the phrase, "*Colligere Orationem*," when speaking of the service in the Egyptian monasteries and Eastern Churches, he says, "After the Psalms they had private prayers, which they said partly standing, and partly kneeling. Which being ended, he that *collected the prayer*² rose up, and then they all rose up together with him; none presuming to continue longer upon the ground, lest he should seem rather to pursue his own prayers, than go along with him, who collected the prayers, or closed up all with his concluding collect." Where we may observe, that a collect is taken for the chief minister's prayer at the close of some part of divine service, collecting and concluding the people's preceding devotions. As here in Cassian it is the close of the ordinary or daily morning service, which was the same as the close of that part of the communion-service, which immediately comes before the consecration, as has

χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. &c. Vid. Con. Toletan. iv. can. 12.

¹ Con. Milevitan. can. xii.

² Cassian. Institut. lib. ii. cap. 7.

Cùm autem is, qui orationem collecturus est, e terrâ surrexerit, omnes pariter surgunt, ita ut nullus remorari præsumat, ne non tam secutus fuisse illius conclusionem, qui precem colligit, quam suam celebrâsse credatur.

been shewn before, in speaking of the daily morning service, more fully in another place.¹

Parallel to this passage in Cassian, is that of Uranius,² where, speaking of one John, bishop of Naples, who died in the celebration of divine service, he says, “ he gave the signal to the people to pray, and then having summed up their prayers in a collect, he yielded up the ghost.” The Council of Agde, in France,³ made it a standing rule for the Gallican Churches, that after all other things were performed in the daily course of morning and evening service, the bishop should conclude the whole office, “ *Collectâ oratione, with his collect,*” and dismiss the people with his benediction. From which it appears, that these collects among the Latins were the same sort of prayers, which the Greeks called Ἐπικλήσεις and Παραθέσεις, *invocations* and *commendations*, with which the bishop concluded the prayers of the deacon and people in each distinct part of divine service. As we have seen it in the service of the catechumens and penitents, and in the offices for the daily morning and evening prayer, and here now in this part of the communion-service, which goes before the consecration. Of which I have nothing more to add, but only a short passage of St. Austin,⁴ who in his book of the Gift of Perseverance, seems plainly to intimate, that it was one petition in this prayer, of common use in the African Churches, to pray for God’s grace to enable believers to persevere to the end of their lives. For writing of the necessity of grace, to guard men against the error of the Pelagians, he puts them in mind of the common prayer of the Church, wherein the priest makes invocation for the faithful or communicants, in these words, “ Grant

¹ Book xiii. chap. 10.

² Uran. Vit. Paulin. Populo orationem dedit, et collectâ oratione spiritum exhalavit.

³ Con. Agathen.

can. xxx. In conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de Psalmis dici, et plebem, collectâ oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimitti.

⁴ Aug. de Dono Perseverantiæ, cap. xxiii. tom. vi. An quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit, ‘ Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem,’ non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, Amen !

them grace, O Lord, to persevere in Thee unto the end." "And who is there," says he, "that, hearing the priest thus praying, dares either in word or thought reprehend him, and is not rather ready, both with a believing heart and a confessing mouth, to answer, Amen! to such a benediction?" It is observable here, first, that this prayer has the same name, which the Greeks gave it in the Eastern Church, "The invocation of the bishop or priest over the faithful." And therefore, 2, that it was a part of the communion-service, where such prayers were only made. 3. That it was not the deacon's bidding prayer, which had the people's responses to every particular petition, but a prayer to which in the end, they only answered, Amen! 4. That it was a direct invocation of God, by way of benediction, such as the bishop used to make, and not an exhortation to pray, which was the office of the deacon. 5. That the petition in substance is the same with that of the bishop's prayer in the Constitutions, "Keep them unchangeable, unblameable, and without rebuke; that they may be perfect, both in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that they may be perfect, and none among them be found wanting in any respect." All which circumstances make it highly probable, that this prayer, referred to by St. Austin, was the very prayer we are speaking of, as used in the close of the first part of the communion-service in the African Churches. These are the footsteps, by which we are to trace the practice of the ancient Church in that part of her devotions, which was appropriated to the communicants or believers only, in the entrance of the communion-service, and which answers to the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here upon earth, in the beginning of our communion-service.

CHAP. II.

Of the Oblations of the People, and other Things introductory to the Consecration of the Eucharist.

SECT. I.—Of the Customary Oblations, which the People made at the Altar.

THE next part of this service, was the great thanksgiving and the consecration of the elements of bread and wine for the eucharist. Which, because they were generally taken out of the oblations which the people made at the altar, it will be necessary to give some account of these oblations, and of the elements of bread and wine taken out of them. It was an ancient custom, derived from apostolical practice, for all communicants, that were of ability, to make their oblations of bread and wine, and sometimes other things, at the altar; out of which both the elements were taken, and a common feast was made for the poor. This the Apostle plainly refers to in that reproof, which he gives the Corinthians for their excess. 1 Cor. xi. 21. “In eating every one taketh before others his own supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken.” Justin Martyr takes notice of these oblations, saying,¹ “they, that are wealthy, and they, that are willing, give according as they are disposed; and what is collected, is deposited with the bishop, who out of it relieves the orphans and widows, and those that are in sickness, or in want, or in bonds, and strangers and travellers: in a word, he is the curator of all that are in need.” Tertullian gives the like account of this practice in his time,² only he distinguishes between the weekly and the monthly collection. “Every one,” says he, “offers a small alms monthly, or when he will, and as he will, and as he can; for no one is

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98 and 99.

² Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxix. Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modò velit, et si modò possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert, &c.

compelled, but makes a voluntary collation. This is our bank for piety. For it is not expended in feasting and drinking, and abusive excesses, but in feeding and burying the poor, in providing for orphans that are bereft of their parents, and aged people, and such as suffer shipwreck, or languish in the mines, or in banishment, or in prison. Only one part of it," he adds, "was spent upon a sober feast of charity, where the poor had a right to feed as well as the rich." St. Cyprian also speaks of this,¹ when he asks a rich woman, "how she could think she celebrated the Lord's supper, who had no respect to the corban; or how she could come into the Lord's house without a sacrifice, and eat part of the sacrifice, which the poor had offered?" Parallel to which is that of St. Austin,³ "that a man of ability ought to be ashamed to communicate of another man's oblation;" and therefore he exhorts every one to bring their own oblations to be consecrated at the altar.

SECT. 2.—What Persons were allowed to make them, and what not.

There was a very near alliance and great affinity between these oblations, and that of the eucharist; and therefore as they had the same common name of oblation and sacrifice, so in many respects the same rules were observed about them. As first, that none but actual communicants should have the privilege to offer them. For in those days it was a privilege to be allowed to make their oblations, and a sort of lesser excommunication to be debarred from it. They would not receive the oblations of persons that were at enmity or variance with their brethren,³ neither at the altar, nor into the treasury. And this, as Optatus tells us,⁴ was grounded upon that rule of our Saviour, that no men's gifts

¹ Cypr. de Opere et Eleemos. p. 203. Locuples et dives es, et dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omninò non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?

² Aug. Ser. 215. de Tempore. Oblationes, quæ in altario consecrantur, offerte: erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de alienâ oblatione communicaverit.

³ Con. Carthag. iv. can. 93. Oblationes dissidentium fratrum, neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

⁴ Optat. lib. vi. p. 93. Altaria, in quibus fraternitatis munera non jussit salvator poni, nisi quæ essent de pace condita.

should be offered at the altar, but those that were seasoned with peace and reconciliation with their brethren. “If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.” Matth. v. 23. For the same reason they refused the oblations of noted and known oppressors of the poor, as appears from another canon of the Council of Carthage.¹ With which agrees the rule in the Constitutions,² that they should not receive the gifts of a thief or an harlot. Which is repeated again with an addition of many other such like criminals.³ A bishop must know, whose gifts he ought to receive, and whose not. He shall not receive the gifts of fraudulent *hucksters*, *κάπηλοι*: “for an huckster shall not be freed from sin.” Eccles. xxvi. 29. And Esaias speaks of these, when he upbraids Israel, saying, “thy hucksters mix wine with water,” so the Septuagint reads it. Esa. i. 22. Neither shall he receive the oblations of whore-mongers. “For thou shalt not offer to the Lord the hire of a whore.” Deut. xxiii. 18. Nor the oblations of covetous and adulterers: for the sacrifices of such are abomination to the Lord. Nor the oblations of such as afflict the widow, and oppress the fatherless by their power, and fill the prisons with innocent persons, and evil intreat their servants with stripes, famine, and hard bondage; and lay waste whole cities: all such are to be rejected, and their offerings are abominable. He shall also refuse all corrupters, and lawyers that plead for injustice, and makers of idols and thieves, and unrighteous publicans, and those that use frauds in weight or measure; all soldiers that are false accusers, and not content with their wages, but oppress the poor; all murderers and hangmen, and unrighteous judges, drunkards, blasphemers, and abusers of themselves with mankind; all usurers, and in a word every wicked man, that lives in rebellion against the will of God. St. Chrysostom particularly inveighing against oppressors,

¹ Con. Carth. iv. can. 91. Eorum qui pauperes opprimunt, dona à sacerdotibus refutanda.

² Constit. lib. iii. cap. 8.

³ Id.

lib. iv. cap. 6.

who offered alms out of what they had violently taken from others, says elegantly,¹ “that God will not have his altar covered with tears: Christ will not be fed with robbery; such sort of sustenance is most ungrateful to Him: it is an affront to the Lord, to offer unclean things to Him: He had rather be neglected and perish by famine, in his poor members, than live by such oblations. The one indeed is cruelty, but the other is both cruelty and an affront. It is better to give nothing, than to give that which is the property of others.” What the Author of the Constitutions observes of idol-makers, is confirmed by Tertullian,² who wrote his whole book of idolatry in a manner against them, where among many other things, he says, they, that followed that trade, were not to be admitted into the house of God. And it is very remarkable what St. Ambrose told Valentinian, when he was about to restore the heathen altars at the intercession of Symmachus, that if he so far contributed toward the re-settlement of idolatry, the Church would no longer receive his oblations: “what will you answer,” says he,³ “to the priest, when he shall say unto you, the Church requires not your gifts, because you have adorned the temples of the heathen with your gifts. The altar of Christ refuses your oblations, because you have erected an altar to the idol-gods.” By which it is plain, they rejected the oblations not only of professed idolaters, but all such as were abettors of them, or any ways instrumental in giving aid or encouragement to idolatrous practices. Again, it was a standing rule among them not to admit the oblations of those, who having a right to communicate, would not stay to participate of the communion. This is expressly ordered by the Council of Eliberis:⁴ and the rule extended further to all those that for any

¹ Chrys. Hom. lxxxvi. al. 87. in Mat. p. 722. Vid. Hom. lxxii. in Joan. p. 466. Et Epiphan. Exposit. Fidei. n. 23.

² Tertul. de Idololat. cap. v. Respondebimus ad excusationes hujusmodi artificum, quos nunquam in domum Dei admitti oportet, si quis eam disciplinam norit.

³ Ambros. Ep. xxx. ad Valent. Quid respondebis sacerdoti dicenti tibi: munera tua non querit ecclesia, quia templa Gentilium muneribus ornasti. Ara Christi dona tua respuit, quia aram simulacris fecisti.

⁴ Con. Eliber. can. xxviii. Episcopos ab eo placuit, qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere.

crime or heresy were excluded from communion by the discipline of the Church, or were not in full communion with her. Such as all excommunicate persons, all catechumens, penitents, energumens, and strangers that travelled without commendatory letters, and such of the clergy as for some lesser offences were reduced to the communion of strangers. For, as Albaspinaeus notes rightly upon that canon, all these were in some measure non-communicants, as not being in the perfect and full communion of the Church. The energumens are particularly specified in the next canon of that Council,¹ as persons, whose oblations should not be received, nor their names mentioned at the altar, whilst they were actually under the agitation of an evil spirit. And all penitents, whilst they were under discipline, were in the same class; only they had this privilege, that if they chanced to die suddenly, whilst they were doing penance, and were desirous to be reconciled, by some² canons their oblations were allowed to be received after death, as a testimony of their reconciliation and admission into the communion of the Church again: except they were of that sort of penitents, to whom the Church thought fit, in the severity of her discipline, to deny all external communion at the hour of death; of which there are many instances in the Councils of Sardica, Eliberis, and others: for then their oblations were not received either living or dying: or else when they had been so careless as not to desire reconciliation at the hour of death: in which case, as Pope Leo says,³ “ their cause was reserved to the judgment of God, in whose hand it was that their life was not prolonged till they could have the remedy of communion.” As to the Church, “ she did not communicate with those after death, with whom she did not commu-

¹ Con. Eliber. can. xxix. Energumenus, qui erratico spiritu exagitur, hujus nomen neque ad altare cum oblatione recitandum, neque permittendum ut sua manu in ecclesia ministret.

² Con. Arelatense ii. can. xii. Vasense i. can. ii. Tolet. ii. can. xii.

³ Leo Ep. xcii. ad Rusticum cap. 6 Horum causa Dei judicio reservanda est, in cujus manu fuit, ut talium obitus non usque ad communionis remedium differretur. Nos autem, quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus.

nicate, when they were alive." Nay, sometimes they would not receive the oblations of those, that died in their communion, if their last act happened to have any thing irregular in it. As appears from a case in Cyprian,¹ who tells us, that it had been determined by an African synod, that no one should appoint any of God's ministers a curator or guardian by his will, because they were to give themselves to supplications and prayer, and to attend only upon the sacrifice and service of the altar: and therefore, when one Geminius Victor had made Geminius Faustinus, a presbyter of the Church of Furni, guardian or trustee by his last will and testament, Cyprian wrote to the Church of Furni, that they should make no oblation for him, nor name him in the sacrifice of the altar. But in after ages this piece of discipline was a little moderated in France: for by a canon of the second Council of Orleans it was ordered,² "that, if any one died in the communion of the Church, his oblation should be received, though he happened to be slain in some fault, provided he had not laid violent hands upon himself." But this privilege was not allowed the catechumens, that died without baptism, because they never were perfectly in the communion of the Church. Therefore Chrysostom says,³ no mention was ever made of them after death in the prayers of the Church, as was usual for believers, in the oblation or sacrifice of the altar. The only thing, that could be done for such, was to give private alms to the poor. If they had not the benefit of baptism, they were to be buried as persons who laid violent hands upon themselves, or fell by the arm of justice,⁴ without any solemnity of

¹ Cypr. Ep. lxvi. al. i. ad Cler. Furnitan. p. 3. Ideò Victor eùm contra formam nuper in Concilio à sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesiâ frequentetur.

² Con. Aurelian. ii. can. xiv. Oblationem defunctorum, qui in aliquo crimine fuerint interempti, recipi debere censemus, si tamen non ipsi sibi mortem probentur propriis manibus intulisse.

³ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Philip. p. 1225. Vid. Hom. i. in Act. et Hom. xxiv. in Joan.

⁴ Con. Bracar. i. can. xxxv. Catechumenis sine redemptione baptismi defunctis, simili modo, non oblationis sanctæ commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium.

burial or commemoration at the altar. In short, the oblations of all persons, who were not in actual or full communion with the Church, were absolutely rejected: and therefore those penitents, who had gone through all the stages of discipline, and were now allowed to stay, and hear the prayers with the rest of the faithful, were not yet allowed to make any oblations, as being not yet fully reconciled to the communion of the altar. Upon this account the ancient canons¹ style them “*κοινωνήσοντας χωρίς προσφορᾶς, such as communicated in prayers only, without any oblation.*” But this was more precisely observed in the beginning of their censures. For if a great delinquent, an heretic or other excommunicate person, would have given his whole estate to the Church, in such a case they would not accept his oblation. There goes an epistle under the name of St. Austin to Count Boniface,² wherein he tells him, he had forbidden all his clergy to accept the oblation of his house, and interdicted him all communion, till he had done penance for a certain bold attempt, and offered to God first the sacrifice of an humble and contrite heart for his error. The Epistle probably is not St. Austin’s, but it contains nothing disagreeable to the discipline of those times, when the greatest gift would not be accepted from an emperor, if he were an heretic, or under the censure of excommunication. As it is clear, not only from what has been observed before out of St. Ambrose’s Epistle to Valentinian, but from what Gregory Nazianzen says of St. Basil,³ that he refused the oblations of the Emperor Valens, because he was a professed enemy of the divinity of Christ, and a furious defender of the Arian heresy. So Liberius refused the offering of Eusebius, the Arian statesman under Constantius, as we are told by Athanasius⁴ and Theodoret,⁵ who report the story with all its circumstances in this manner: when Con-

¹ Con. Nicen. can. xi. Con. Ancy. can. iv. v. viii. &c.

² Aug. Ep. vi. ad Bonifac. in Apperdice. tom. ii. Oblatio domus tue à clericis ne suscipiatur, indixi, communionemque tibi interdico, donec—pro hoc facto corde contrito et humiliato dignum offeras sacrificium Deo.

³ Naz. Orat. xx. de Laud. Basil. p. 351.

⁴ Athan. Ep. ad Solitarios. p. 831.

⁵ Theod. lib. ii.

cap. xvi.

stantius drove Liberius into banishment, because he would not subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius with the Nicene faith, he sent him five hundred shillings—*ὀλοκοτίνας*—to bear his charges. But Liberius bid the messenger, that brought them, return them to the Emperor, for his soldiers had more need of them. The Empress also sent him the same sum, which he returned to the Emperor with a like answer, that he might keep them for his own expeditions. Last of all, when he had refused both the former, Eusebius the eunuch was sent to make him another offer. To whom Liberius replied, “Thou hast harassed and laid waste the Churches over all the world, and dost thou now offer me an alms as a condemned criminal? But go thou first, and learn to become a christian.” It is no less remarkable what Tertullian tells us of the Church’s treatment of Marcion, the heretic, when he was excommunicated with Valentinus for his heresy: “they cast him out with his two hundred Sestertia, which he had brought into the Church.”¹ They were so far from receiving the gifts of such men, that they rejected them with scorn, as St. Peter did Simon Magus. “Thy money perish with thee:” or as Abraham rejected the gifts of the King of Sodom, saying, “I will not take from a thread to a shoe-latchet, I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abraham rich.”

SECT. 3.—What Oblations might be received at the Altar, and what not.

And as they thus made a distinction in the persons, of whom they received, so, secondly, they made a distinction in the oblations themselves, which were to be received. For the most ancient custom was only to offer such things at the altar, as were proper for the service of the altar. To this purpose there are several canons among those called the Apostolical Canons. One says,² “No bishop or presbyter under pain of deposition shall offer any thing in the

¹ Tertul. de Præscript. cap. xxx. Marcion et Valentinus semel et iterum ejecti: Marcion quidem eum ducentis sestertiis, quæ ecclesi intulerat.

² Canon. Apost. can. iii.

sacrifice on the altar contrary to the Lord's command, as honey, milk, or strong beer, instead of wine, or birds, or living creatures, excepting only the first-fruits of corn and grapes in their proper season." Another forbids any thing to be brought to the altar,¹ " besides oil for the lamps, and incense in the time of the oblation." And a third orders,² " all other first fruits to be carried home to the bishop and presbyters, to be divided between them and the deacons and the rest of the clergy." Some of the African Canons are to the same purpose. The third Council of Carthage orders,³ " that in the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, nothing else be offered but what the Lord commanded, that is, bread, and wine mingled with water. Nor in the oblation of first-fruits any thing more be offered but only grapes and corn." The Collections of African Canons⁴ both Greek and Latin give us this canon a little more at large in these words: " Nothing shall be offered in the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, but what the Lord himself commanded, that is, bread, and wine mingled with water. But the first-fruits, and honey and milk, which is offered on one most solemn day for the mystery of infants, though they be offered at the altar, shall have their own peculiar benediction, that they may be distinguished from the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Neither shall any first-fruits be offered, but only of grapes and corn." Here we see, milk and honey was only to be offered on one solemn day, that is, on the great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, which was the most solemn time of baptism; and that for

¹ Canon. Apost. can. iv. Eliber. in. cau. xlix.

² Can. v. Vid. Con.

³ Con. Carth. iii. can.

xxiv. Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quàm ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aquâ mixtum. Nec amplius in sacrificiis (al in primitiis) offeratur, quàm de uvis et frumentis.

⁴ Con. African. can. iv. ap. Crab. tom. i. p. 503. Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quàm quod ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aquâ mixtum. Primitiæ verò, seu mel et lac, quod uno die sollemnissimo in infantum mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offerrantur, suam tamen propriam habeant benedictionem, ut à sacramento Domini corporis et sanguinis distinguantur. Nec amplius in primitiis offeratur, quàm de uvis et frumentis. Vid. Cod. Eccles. Afric. can. xxxvii. ap. Justelluu.

the mystery of infants, that is, persons newly baptised, who were commonly called infants, in a mystical sense from their new birth, in the African Church: for it was usual to give them a taste of honey and milk immediately after baptism, as has been shewn in a former Book;¹ and upon that account an oblation of honey and milk is here allowed to be made for this mystery of infants, which was to be offered and consecrated with a peculiar benediction, that it might not be thought to come in the room of the eucharist. And no other first-fruits are allowed to be offered at the altar but only grapes and corn, as being the materials of bread and wine, out of which the eucharist was taken. In the time of the Council of Trullo, the offering of milk and honey at the altar was universally forbidden.² But the oblation of the first-fruits of grapes was still allowed: only whereas a corrupt custom prevailed in some places, to join them in the same sacrifice with the eucharist, and distribute them together with it to the people, the rule of the African Code is revived, and orders given,³ that they shall have a distinct consecration, and a distinct distribution, if the people were desirous to eat their first-fruits in the church. In the mean time we may observe, that in other Churches, not only the first-fruits of grapes and corn, but all other things which the people were voluntarily disposed to offer, whether money or the like gifts, were received at the altar. For in France the first Council of Orleans made it a rule,⁴ “that of such oblations one moiety should fall to the bishop, and the other be divided among the rest of the clergy.” But it is severely censured by Strabo,⁵ as a gross piece of superstition in the Roman Church, that they were used to offer and consecrate a lamb, and eat the con-

¹ Book. xii. chap. iv. sect. 6.
can. lvii.

³ Ibid. can. xxviii.

² Con. Trull.

⁴ Con. Aurelian. i. can. xvi. Antiquos canones relegendes, priora statuta credimus renovanda, ut de his quæ in altario oblatione fidelium conferuntur, medieta-tem sibi episcopus vendicet. &c. Vid. ibid. can. xvii.

⁵ Strabo de Rebus Eccles. cap. xviii. Du Pin says also, that there is an example of this usage in the Life of St. Uldaric, and that both Ratramnus and Æneas Parisiensis wrote in defence of it against Photius, but he says, it was not authorised in all the Latin Churches. Du Pin. Cent. ix. p. 113.

secrated flesh of it, out of a pretended reverence to the immaculate Lamb of God, which was slain for the sins of the world. Photius carries the charge a little higher, and objects to them, that they offered it together with the body of Christ upon the altar. But this is commonly said to be an aggravation of the thing,¹ and therefore is rejected by Cardinal Bona as a slander. But he owns the fact so far as it is related by Strabo, because the old *Ordo Romanus* has such a form for the consecration of a lamb on Easter day, and it is agreeable to their present practice. Only he blames Strabo for being too zealous in his censure of this rite, and inveighing against it as a superstitious and erroneous practice. Which only shews how much Bona was inclined to defend the superstitions that were crept into his Church, without any foundation in ancient practice.

SECT. 4.—The Names of such, as made Oblations of any considerable Value, rehearsed at the Altar.

But I proceed with the practice of the ancient Church, and observe thirdly, that when their oblations were received, it was usual in many places to rehearse the names of such as offered, that a commemoration of them might be made, and prayers and praises be offered to God for them at the altar. I have already had occasion to say something of this custom² out of St. Cyprian³ and St. Jerom⁴ in speaking of deacons, whose office it was to recite the names. To these I shall now add some further evidences, both out of these and other writers. Cyprian, in one of his Epistles to the Churches of Numidia, speaking of a collection that had been made at Carthage for them, says,⁵ “ he had sent them

¹ Nicolai Papæ Epist. ap. Baron. tom. x. an. 867. Bona. *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. viii. n. 5. Hoc putidum mendacium est. &c. ² Book ii. chap. xx. sect. 5.

³ Cypr. Ep. x. al. xvi. p. 37.

⁴ Hieron. Com. in Ezek. xviii. p. 537.

⁵ Cyprian. Ep. lx. al. lxii. ad Episcopos Numidas. p. 147. Ut autem fratres nostros ac sorores, qui ad hoc opus tam necessarium promptè ac libenter operati sunt, ut semper operentur, in mentem habeatis in orationibus vestris, et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repræsentetis, subdidi nomina singulorum, &c.

the names of every brother and sister, that had contributed willingly to so necessary a work, (it was to redeem captives,) that they might remember them in their prayers, and requite their good work in their sacrifices and solemn supplications; he had also added the names of such of his fellow-bishops as were then present and had contributed both in their own names and the names of their respective Churches; and he had signified the sums that every one gave, that as the common faith and charity required, mention might be made of them in their supplications and prayers." St. Jerom says the same in another place,¹ "that now the names of such as offered were publicly rehearsed, and that, which was the redemption of sins, was made matter of praise and glory: and men did not remember the widow in the Gospel, whose two mites, cast into the treasury, exceeded all the gifts of the rich, who cast in of their abundance." Some think, St. Jerom here reflects upon the practice of the Church,² as if he disliked the mentioning of the sums offered, which, they say, without doubt was a corruption. But they mistake St. Jerom's meaning: for he is not blaming the practice of the Church, but the practice of those, who gave out of ostentation and vain-glory; and when they were privately guilty of theft or oppression, thought to get esteem and reputation by giving a little of their ill-gotten goods to the poor; pleasing themselves with the applause of the people, whilst their own consciences must needs lash and torment them, as he expresses it in another place.³ It was fit for them to remember the widow's mites, which were a more acceptable sacrifice to God than the greatest gifts of injustice that they could offer Him. So he does not condemn the custom of rehearsing the names of the donors as a corruption, but only the private abuses that by the viciousness of men did sometimes accompany it. St. Chrysostom⁴ and the Author of the Constitutions⁵ have some reference to the same custom:

¹ Hieron. in Jerem. xi. lib. ii. p. 354. Nunc publicè recitantur offerentium nomina, et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem: nec meminerunt viduæ illius in evangelio, quæ in gazophylacium duo æra mittendo, omnium divitum vicit donaria.

² Comber of Liturgies. p. 196.

³ Hieron. in Ezek. xviii. p. 175.

⁴ Chrys. Hom xviii. in Act. ⁵ Constit. lib. iii. cap. iv.

the latter orders the bishop to acquaint the poor, who were their benefactors, that they might pray for them by name. And Cotelerius observes a like passage in the Acts of Cecilian and Felix,¹ where the form runs thus: such an one gives so much of his substance to the poor; for which those acts appeal to the people's own eyes and ears. When the oblations were thus presented, and the names of the donors rehearsed, then it was usual in some places to make a commendatory prayer, by way of oblation to God, antecedent to those eucharistical prayers, which were appropriated to the consecration of the eucharist. This may be collected from the Epistle of Pope Innocent to Decentius², a neighbouring bishop of Eugubium, where he speaks of such an oblation by a commendatory prayer going before the consecration: which he says also, in the Roman Church, was used to be made before the recital of the names of the offerers, which were not rehearsed till they came to the consecration. But whether such a distinct oblation of the creatures was made in all Churches, seems not so very clear, because other writers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and the Constitutions, say nothing of it.

SECT. 5.—Eucharistical Elements usually taken out of the People's Oblations. And consequently no Use of Wafers or unleavened Bread.

Fourthly, we are to observe upon this head, that so long as the people continued to make oblations of bread and wine, the elements for the use of the eucharist were usually taken out of them; and by consequence so long the bread was that common leavened bread, which they used upon other occasions; and the use of wafers and unleavened bread was not

¹ *Gesta Purgationi Cæciliani et Felic.* Vel audisti, vel vidisti, si dictum est pauperibus, dat et vobis de re suâ Lucilla.

² *Innoc. Ep. i. ad Decentium. cap. ii.* De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces sacerdos faciat, atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, suâ oratione commendet, quam superfluum sit, et ipse per tuam prudentiam recognoscis ut cujus hostiam necdum Deo offeras, ejus ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit nihil. Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandæ, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt oblationes, edicenda, ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia, quæ ante præmittimus, ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.

known in the Church till the eleventh or twelfth centuries, when the oblations of common bread began to be left off by the people. This will seem a great paradox to all, who look no further than the Schoolmen, and only read their disputes with the Greeks about leavened and unleavened bread, which are fierce enough on both sides, and have little of truth on either: as commonly such disputes evaporate into smoke, and end in bitter and false reproaches; the Greeks terming the Latins *Azymites*, for consecrating in *Azymis*, that is, *unleavened bread*; and the Latins, on the other hand, charging the Greeks with deviating from the example of Christ, and the practice of the ancient Church. I will not enter into the detail of the arguments on both sides, which belongs not to this place, but only acquaint the reader, that now the most wise and learned men in the Roman Church, who have more exactly scanned and examined this matter, think fit to desert the Schoolmen, and maintain, that the whole primitive Church, and the Roman Church herself, for many ages never consecrated the eucharist in any other but common and leavened bread. The first, that ventured to break the ice, and confront the Schoolmen, was Latinus Latinus, in an epistle to Antonius Augustinus. After him Sirmondus wrote a particular disquisition upon it, which was followed and commended by Cardinal Bona,¹ who has a long dissertation to establish the opinion, wherein he exposes the prejudices and false argumentations of Thomas Aquinas and the rest of the Schoolmen. And though Christianus Lupus² set himself again with all his might to defend the common opinion of the Schoolmen against Sirmondus; yet his arguments are of no weight with Schelstrate and Pagi,³ who readily give in to the position of Bona and Sirmondus, as founded upon the justest reasons. The chief argument of the Schoolmen in no ways conclusive, that the primitive Church followed the example of Christ, who celebrated his last supper with unleavened bread. For that was only upon the account of the Passover, when no other but unleavened bread could be used

¹ Bona *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. cap. 23.
tom. iii. p. 606. &c.

² Lupus *Not. in Concil.*

³ Pagi *Critic. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15. et Schelstrate *Disciplina Arcani*, cap. vii. par. 5. ad Pagi. *ibidem*.*

among them. After his resurrection he probably celebrated in leavened bread, and such as was in common use at all other times, except the time of the Passover. And that the Church always used common bread, appears from the following arguments. 1. That the elements were usually taken out of the oblations of the people, where doubtless common bread and wine were offered. 2. It is noted by Epiphanius,¹ as a peculiar rite of the Ebionite heretics, that they celebrated in unleavened bread and water only. Which plainly argues, that the Church did otherwise. 3. The Ancients say expressly their bread was common bread, such as they made for their own use upon other occasions.² To which purpose there is a remarkable story, in the Life of Gregory the Great,³ of a woman, who, when he gave her the eucharist in the usual form of words, “the body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul,” laughed at the form, and being asked the reason of her so doing, said, it was because he called that the body of Christ, which she knew to be bread that she had made with her own hands. 4. The Ancients are wholly silent as to the use of unleavened bread in the Church. But they many times spake of leavened bread, and sometimes the eucharist is called *fermentum*, *leaven*, upon that account. As appears from the Pontifical in the Lives of Melchiades,⁴ and Siricius, and a letter of Pope Innocent, where he says, “It was the custom at Rome to consecrate the *Fermentum*, that is, the eucharist, in the mother church, and send it thence on the Lord’s day to the presbyters in the *Tituli*, or *lesser churches*, that they might not think themselves separated from the bishop’s communion. But they did not send it to any country parishes, because

¹ Epiphanius, Hæres. xxx. Ebionit. n. 16.

² Ambrosius, de Sacram.

lib. iv. cap. 4. Tu forte dicis, Meus panis est usitatus, &c.

³ Gregorius, Vita, lib. ii. cap. 41.

⁴ Pontifical. Vit. Melchiadis. Hic

fecit ut oblationes consecratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi diriguntur, quod declaratur fermentum. Id. Vit. Siricii. Hic constituit, ut nullus presbyter missas celebraret per omnem hebdomadam, nisi consecratum episcopi loci designati susciperet declaratum, quod nominatur fermentum. Innocentius, Ep. ad Decentium, cap. v. Presbyteri fermentum à nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt, ut se à nostrâ communionem maximè illâ die non judicent separatos. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non longè portanda sunt sacramenta. &c.

the sacraments were not to be carried to places at any great distance." What is here called the consecrated *Fermentum*, is by Baronius and others, who tread in the track of the Schoolmen, interpreted of the *Eulogia*, or *Panis Benedictus*, *the bread that was blessed*, for such as did not communicate. But Innocent plainly says, he meant it of the sacrament, which was consecrated by the bishop, and sent to the presbyters for the use of lesser churches. Which shews, that at that time, even in Rome itself, the eucharist was consecrated in common or leavened bread. 5. It is observable, that neither Photius, nor any other Greek writer, before Michael Cerularius, Anno 1051, ever objected the use of unleavened bread to the Roman Church: which argues, that the use of it did not prevail till about that time; else there is no doubt but Photius would, among other things, have objected this to them. These arguments put the matter beyond all dispute, that the Church for a thousand years used no other but common or leavened bread in the eucharist; and how the change was made, or the time exactly when, is not easy to determine. But Bona's conjecture is very probable, that it crept in upon the people's leaving off to make their oblations in common bread,¹ which occasioned the clergy to provide it themselves, and they, under pretence of decency and respect, brought it from leaven to unleaven, and from a loaf of common bread, that might be broken, to a nice and delicate wafer, formed in the figure of a denarius, or penny, to represent the pence, as some authors² about that time will have it, for which our Saviour was betrayed: and then also the people instead of offering a loaf of bread, as formerly, were ordered to offer a penny, which was either to be given to the poor, or to be expended upon something appertaining to the sacrifice of the altar. This

¹ Bacchinius in Agnellum remarks, that in the time of Agnellus, abbot of Ravenna, in the ninth century, the hosts, though not made like common bread, were however as thick as cakes, and baked in an oven. Vid. Roche, *Memoirs of Literature*.

² Honorius Gemna Animæ, lib. i. cap. 66. ap. Bonam. Quia populo non communicante non erat necesse panem tam magnum fieri, statutum est enim in modum denarii formari vel fieri; et ut populus pro oblatione farinæ denarios offerret, pro quibus traditum Dominum recognoscerent. &c.

is the short history of a great change made insensibly in a matter of small moment, if we consider barely the question about the use of leavened and unleavened bread: for it is very indifferent in itself, whether is used, so long as peace is preserved in the Church: but in the consequences and progress of the dispute, it was no small matter: for the East and West divided about it, and the Western Church ran so far into an extreme, as almost to lose the nature of the sacramental element, by introducing a thing that could hardly be called bread, instead of that common staff of life, which the Lord had appointed to be the representation of his body in the eucharist.

SECT. 6.—The Use of Wafers instead of Bread, condemned in their first Original.

There wanted not some discerning and judicious men in a dark age, who complained of the abuse as soon as it began to be introduced. For Bernoldus, a learned presbyter of Constance, about the year 1089, wrote a book *De Ordine Romano*, wherein he thus reflects upon these wafer hosts, or oblations: ¹ “if no less measure than an handful be found mentioned in all the Old and New Testament; and nothing ought to be done in the temple of the Lord without measure and reason; these minute oblations seem not to appertain to Christ or his Church, because they are without measure and reason.” This author was a little too bold and free, with the corruptions and abuse of the Roman Church, ever to see the light. But Trithemius mentions the book,² and gives an honourable character of the author. And Cassander saw it in manuscript, and published this fragment of it in his *Liturgics*;³ where he also makes a severe reflection upon

¹ Bernoldus de Ordine Romano. ap. Cassandrum in Liturgicis. cap. xxvii. Si minor mensura quam pugillus non invenitur in toto serie Veteris et Novi Testamenti; et si nihil omninò debet fieri intra vel extra templum Domini absque mensurâ et ratione; videntur oblatarum minutia ad Christum et ad Ecclesiam nihil pertinere, quia sunt absque mensurâ et ratione.

² Trithem. de Scriptor. Eccles. Fol. 66.

³ Cassander. Liturgic. cap. xxvii.

the corruption and vanity of that age, for departing from the ancient practice, and introducing an imaginary sort of bread, which deserved more the name of the shadow than the substance. Which just reflection is repeated from Cassander, not only by Vossius,¹ but ingenuously also by Cardinal Bona in his Animadversions upon this unwarrantable alteration.² Yet some there are, who pretend antiquity for this also. Durantus³ thought he had found this wafer-bread in Epiphanius, because he says,⁴ the bread was, “*ἄροτος προγγυλοειδής ἐν ἀναίσθητος,*” which they render, “*bread of a circular figure, and so minute that it could hardly be perceived by the senses.*” Whereas it should be rendered, “*bread of a solid, round, globular figure, without life or sense,*” which yet might represent Him, who is all life, and infinite, and incomprehensible. Which agrees well to the character of the eucharistical bread, used in Epiphanius’s time, when it was the custom to offer round and whole solid loaves of bread, but has no relation to the wafer bread of later ages. Durantus urges further the testimony of Gregory the Great,⁵ who calls the oblations, “*oblationum coronas, crowns of bread;*” which may imply, that they were round loaves of bread; but not therefore wafers, unless every thing that is round be a wafer. He adds St. Chrysostom also, but he misquotes him; for the Greek⁶ has nothing of what is cited. But he might have added truly Cæsarius, Gregory Nazianzen’s brother,⁷ who, comparing the natural and the sacramental body of Christ together, says, the one was distinguished into several members, but the other was round: and Iso, the monk,⁸ who calls the oblations, “*rotulas panis, rolls of bread,*” no doubt from the roundness of their figure: and the sixteenth Council of Toledo,⁹ which speaks of their rotundity also. But as Cardinal Bona rightly observes, this rotundity implies round loaves of bread, and not round

¹ Voss. Thes. Theol. de Symbolis. Cænæ Domin. p. 441.

² Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. i. cap. xxiii. n. 11.

³ Durant. de Ritibus.

lib. ii. cap. xxxviii. n. 6.

⁴ Epiphani. Anchorat. n. 57.

⁵ Greg. Dialog. lib. iv. cap. 55.

⁶ Chrys. Hom. lxxxiii. in Mat.

⁷ Cæsar. Dialog. iii. Quæst. 169.

⁸ Iso de Miraculis S. Othmari.

cap. iii.

⁹ Con. Tolet. xvi. cau. 6.

wafers, of which there was no use or knowledge in former ages, when they used such loaves of common bread as the people offered, or else such as were prepared particularly for the purpose; yet still loaves of bread, not wafers; and common or leavened bread, not unleavened, of which there is not the least intimation given in any part of the Church, for above a thousand years, as that learned cardinal has proved beyond all exception, to whose diligence we chiefly owe the illustration of this matter in that curious dissertation of his upon the subject.

SECT. 7.—Wine mixed with Water commonly used in the Ancient Church.

The other part of the sacrament was always wine, and that taken also out of the oblations of the people. Some of the ancient heretics, under pretence of abstinence and temperance, changed this element into water, and consecrated in water only. These were some of them disciples of Ebion, and some the followers of Tatian, commonly called *Hydroparastatæ* and *Aquarii*, from the use of *water*, and sometimes *Encratitæ* from their *abstaining* wholly from flesh and wine. And this seems to have been the ground of their errors, that they thought it universally unlawful to eat flesh or drink wine. Under this character they are frequently condemned by Epiphanius,¹ who terms them *Encratites*, and by St. Austin,² under the name of *Aquarians*, and by Theodoret,³ who says they sprung from Tatian, and were called *Hydroparastatæ*, because they offered *water* instead of wine; and *Encratitæ*, because they wholly *abstained* from wine and living creatures. St. Chrysostom calls it⁴ the pernicious heresy of those that used only water in their mysteries, whereas our Lord instituted them in wine and drunk wine at his common table, after his resurrection, to prevent the budding of this wicked heresy. The like

¹ Epiph. Hær. xlvi. Encratit. Hær. xxx. Ebionit. n. 16.

² Aug. de Hæres. cap. lxiv.

³ Theod. de Fabulis Hæret. lib. i

cap. 20.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. lxxxiii. in Mat. p. 700.

may be read in Philaſtrius,¹ and long before in Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus, not to mention the Council of Trullo,² or any later writers. But it is to be obſerved, that beſide theſe there were another ſort of Aquarians, who did not reject the uſe of wine as ſimply unlawful either in itſelf, or in the eucharist: for in their evening ſervice they conſecrated the eucharist in wine, but not in their morning aſſemblies, for fear the ſmell of the wine ſhould diſcover them to the heathen. St. Cyprian gives a long account of theſe in one of his Epistles,³ which is particularly deſigned againſt them. From which it alſo appears that the cuſtom of the Church then was to uſe wine mixed with water, and he pleads for both as neceſſary from the command and example of Chriſt; adding ſome other reaſons why it ſhould be ſo,⁴ as that the water repreſents the people, as the wine does the blood of Chriſt: and when in the cup the water is mingled with the wine, Chriſt and his people are united together. And ſo, he ſays, in ſanctifying the cup of the Lord, “Water cannot be offered alone: as neither can the wine be offered alone: for if the wine be offered by itſelf, the blood of Chriſt begins to be without us: and if the water be alone, the people begin to be without Chriſt.” The third Council of Carthage ſeems to have had the ſame opinion of the neceſſity of water, when they determined, as we have heard before, that nothing ſhould be offered at the altar,⁵ but what the Lord himſelf commanded, that is, bread, and wine mingled with water. And St. Auſtin was a member of that Council and therefore may be ſuppoſed to have been of the ſame judgment. He alſo quotes the foreſaid Epistle of Cyprian with approbation.⁶ Gennadius aſſigns two reaſons for the⁷

¹ Philaſtr. de Hæres. cap. lxxvii. Iren. lib. v. cap. 1. Clem. Strom. i. p. 375. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 2.

² Con. Trull. can. xxxii. Vid. Cod. Theodoſian. lib. xvi. tit. 5. de Hæreticis. leg. 7. It. Theodoſii Novel. iii. ad calcem tom. vi.

³ Cypr. Ep. lxi. ad Cæcilium.

⁴ Ibid. p. 153. Videmus in aquâ populum intelligi, in vino vero oſtendi ſanguinem Chriſti.—Sic autem in ſanctificando calice Domini, offerri aqua ſola non poſteſt, quomodò nec vinum ſolum poſteſt: nam ſi vinum tantum quis offerat, ſanguis Chriſti incipit eſſe ſine nobis: ſi verò aqua ſit ſola plebs incipit eſſe ſine Chriſto.

⁵ Con. Carth. iii. can. 24.

⁶ Aug. de Doctrinâ Chriſt. lib. iv. cap. 21.

⁷ Gennad. de Eccles.

use of mixing water with wine; first, because it is according to the example of Christ; and, secondly, because when our Saviour's side was pierced with the spear, there came forth water and blood. This latter reason is also assigned by St. Ambrose, or whoever wrote the book *De Sacramentis*, under his name;¹ and by Martin Bracarensis in his Collection of Greek Canons.² The author of the Epistle to the Egyptians, under the name of Pope Julius,³ insists upon Cyprian's reason, that it is to shew the union of Christ with his people. And the third Council of Braga relates Cyprian's words, correcting several other abuses that were crept into the administration of this sacrament;⁴ as of some, who offered milk instead of wine; and others, who only dipped the bread into the wine, and so denied the people their complement of the sacrament; and others, who used no other wine but what they pressed out of the clusters of grapes that were then presented at the Lord's table. All which they condemn, and order, that nothing but bread, and wine mingled with water should be offered according to the determination of the ancient Councils. The Council of Auxerre notes some others, who offer mead, or honey and water, mixed together,⁵ who are also condemned, as going against the common rule of offering nothing but wine and water in the sacrifice of the altar. The Author of the Commentaries upon St. Mark, under the name of St. Jerom,⁶

Dogm. c. lxxv. In eucharistiâ non debet pura aqua offerri, ut quidam sobrietatis falluntur imagine, sed vinum aquâ mixtum: quia et vinum fuit in redemptionis nostræ mysterio, cum dixit, 'Non bibam modo de hoc genimine vitis,' et aquâ mixtum, quod post cœnam dabatur, sed et de latere ejus lac eâ perfosso aqua cum sanguine egressa, &c.

¹ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. v. cap. 1.

² Martin. Bracar. Collect. Canonum. cap. 1v.

³ Julii Epist.

ap Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. ii. cap. 7.

⁴ Con. Bracar.

iii. can. 1. Audivimus quosdam schismaticâ ambitione detentos, lac pro vino in divinis sacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam eucharistiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere; quosdam etiam expressum vinum in sacramento Domini calicis offerre, &c. Ideò nulli deinceps licitum sit, aliud in sacrificiis divinis offerre, nisi juxta antiquorum sententiam Conciliorum panem tantum, et calicem vino et aquâ permixtum.

⁵ Con. Antissiodor. can. viii. Non licet in altario in sacrificio divino mellitum, quod mulsum appellatur, nec ullum aliud poculum, extra vinum cum aquâ mixtum, offerre.

⁶ Hieron. in Marc. xiv. Accepit Jesus

gives another reason for mixing water with wine, “ that by the one we might be purged from sin, and by the other redeemed from punishment.” These reasons indeed are no ways demonstrative ; however that the practice was both ancient and general, is evident from Justin Martyr¹ and Irenæus,² who mention it as the custom of the Church, without assigning any further reason for it. And so likewise Gregory Nyssen³ and Theodoret⁴ with some others produced by Vossius in his dissertation upon this subject.⁵ The Armenians are said to have consecrated only in wine, but that is reckoned an error in them by Theophylact,⁶ and they are equally condemned with the Hydroparastatæ, or Aquarians, by the Council of Trullo,⁷ which produces the authority of St. James and St. Basil’s Liturgy against them. To which may be added the Liturgies under St. Mark and St. Chrysostom, and the Constitutions.⁸ Yet after all, as there is no express command for this in the institution, notwithstanding this general consent of the ancient Church, it is commonly determined by modern divines, as well of the Roman as Protestant communion, that it is not essential to the sacrament itself, as the reader, that is curious, may find demonstrated in Vossius in his dissertation upon this subject.⁹

SECT. 8.—Of some Heretics, who made Alterations or Additions to the Elements in the Eucharist.

As to the Ancients, they are not to be blamed in keeping strictly to this custom, because they thought it a part of the institution. Upon which account they censured all that made any alteration in the elements, either by addition, or subtraction, or changing one element for another. The Aquarians, as we have heard, were condemned, for taking

panem, &c. formans sanguinem suum in calicem vino et aquâ mixtum, ut alio purgemur à culpis, alio redimamur à pœnis.

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.

² Iren. lib. iv. cap. 57. and lib. v.

cap. 2.

³ Nyssen. Orat. Catechet. cap. xxxvii.

⁴ Theod. Dialog. i.

⁵ Voss. Thes. Theol. p. 494.

⁶ Theophyl. Com. in Joan. xix.

⁷ Con. Trull. can. xxxii .

⁸ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 12.

⁹ Voss. Thes. Theol. ibid.

away the wine ; the Armenians and others for not using water also ; others were condemned for changing the wine into milk or honey, mixed with water ; others substituted grapes instead of wine ; others pulse instead of bread. Of all which, because we have spoken before in the two foregoing sections, I need say no more in this place. But beside these there was once a senseless sect, which thought they did not celebrate the eucharist in perfection, unless they offered cheese together with the bread. Whence they had the name of *Artotyritæ*, from *ἄροσ*, which in Greek signifies *bread* and *τυρός*, *cheese*. This is the account, which Epiphanius gives of them,¹ and after him St. Austin,² saying, ‘the *Artotyrites* are so called from their oblation : for they offer *bread* and *cheese*, saying that the first oblations, that were offered by men in the infancy of the world, were of the fruits of the earth and of sheep.’”

SECT. 9.—And of Others, who rejected the Use of the Sacrament altogether.

There were others who wholly rejected the use of all external symbols or sacraments in general, and consequently both baptism and the eucharist, upon a pretence that faith and knowledge and spiritual worship were the only things that were required of Christians. Upon this pretence the Ascodrutæ, who were a sort of Gnostics, neither administered baptism nor the eucharist in their society: they said the divine mysteries were incorporeal and invisible things, and therefore not to be represented by such corporeal and visible things as water or bread and wine ; but perfect knowledge was their redemption. So Theodoret⁴ describes them. And so both he and Epiphanius⁵ describe another abominable sect, who, from one of their principal

¹ Epiphanius, Hæres. xlix.

² Aug. de Hæres. cap. xlvi. *Artotyritæ sunt, quibus oblatio eorum hoc nomen dedit: offerunt enim panem et caseum, dicentes, à primis hominibus oblationes de fructibus terræ et ovium fuisse celebratas.*

³ Theod. de Fabulis Hæret. lib. i.

cap. 10.

⁴ Theod. ibid. cap. xi Epiphanius, Hæres. 40. de

Archonticis. n. 2.

tenets, were called *Archontics*. They taught, that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by certain inferior powers, seven or eight in number, whom they called *Archontes*, rulers of the several orbs of the heavens, one above another, to the chief of which they gave the name of Sabaoth: and they pretended, that baptism and the eucharist were only institutions of this Sabaoth, the God of the Jews and Giver of the law, and not the ordinances of the supreme God; for which reason they wholly rejected the use of them. Some other such sects there were among the ancient heresies, who despised the eucharist upon the like pretences;¹ but these are sufficient to shew us what sort of men they were, that anciently contemned this holy ordinance; and therefore without further digressing to make any nicer inquiry after them, I now return to the business and service of the Church.

CHAP. III.

Of the Oblation and Consecration Prayers.

SECT. I.—The Form of Thanksgiving and Consecration Prayers, described out of the Constitutions.

As soon as the people's offerings were made, and bread and wine were set apart for the eucharist, they proceeded to the solemn consecration of them. The manner of which is described at large in the Constitutions; which I will first set down here, and then compare the several parts of it with the authentic accounts we have in other ancient writers. Immediately then after the first prayers for the faithful are ended, the deacon is ordered to give a solemn admonition,²

¹ Vid. Orig. *Περὶ ἐβχῆς*. n. 13. Ea penitus auferentes quæ sensibus percipiuntur, nec baptismum nec eucharistiam usurpantes, &c.

² Constit. lib. viii. cap. 11.

saying, “Πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give attention.*” Then the bishop or priest salutes the Church, saying, “The peace of God be with you all!” and the people answer, “And with thy spirit!” After this, the deacon says to them all, “Salute ye one another with an holy kiss.” Then the clergy salute the bishop, and laymen their fellow-laymen, and the women the women; the children standing before the *bema*, that is either the reading-desk or the altar; with a deacon attending them to see that they keep good order; others of the deacons walking about the Church, and inspecting the men and women, that there be no tumult, nor making of signs to one another, nor whispering, nor sleeping; and others standing at the men’s gate, and the subdeacons at the women’s gate, that the doors be not opened for any to go in or out in the time of oblation. After this, the subdeacon brings water to the priests to wash their hands, as a sign of the purity of those souls that are consecrated unto God. Immediately after this a deacon cries out,¹ “Let none of the catechumens be present, none of the hearers, none of the unbelievers, none of the heterodox party. Ye that have made the first prayer, *go forth*,—προέλθετε— or rather, as Cotelerius thinks it ought to be read, προσέλθετε, Ye that have made the first prayers *draw near*: for this seems to be spoken to the communicants as an invitation; ye mothers take your children and bring them with you. Let no one come with enmity against another; no one in hypocrisy. Let us stand upright before the Lord, with fear and trembling to offer our sacrifice.” This said, the deacons bring the *τὰ δῶρα*, *the elements*, to the bishop at the altar; the presbyters standing on each hand of him, and two deacons with their fans to drive away the little insects, that none of them fall into the cup. Then the bishop standing at the altar with the presbyters, makes a private prayer by himself, having on his white or bright vestment, and signing himself with the sign of the cross in his forehead. Which done, he says, “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 the people

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 12.

answer with one voice " And with thy spirit ! " Then the bishop says, " Lift up your hearts : " and they all answer, " We lift them up unto the Lord. " The bishop says again, " Let us give thanks to the Lord ; " and the people answer, " It is meet and right so to do. " Then the bishop says, " It is very meet, and right, above all things, to praise Thee the true God, who art before all creatures, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, who art the only unbegotten, without original, without king, without lord, who hast need of nothing, who art the author of all good, who art above all cause and generation, and always the same, of whom all things have their original and existence. For Thou art original knowledge, eternal sight, hearing without beginning, and wisdom without teaching ; the first in nature, and the law of existing, exceeding all number. Who madest all things to exist out of nothing by thy only-begotten Son, whom Thou didst beget before all ages by thy will, and power, and goodness, without the intervention of any, who is thy only-begotten Son, the Word that is God, the living wisdom, the first-born of every creature, the angel of thy great Council, thy high priest, but the King and Lord of all the creatures, both visible and invisible, who is before all things, and by whom all things consist. For Thou, O eternal God, didst create all things by Him, and by Him Thou dost vouchsafe to rule and govern them in the orderly ways of thy providence. By whom Thou didst give them being, by Him also Thou didst give them a well-being. O God and Father of thy only-begotten Son, who by Him didst create the cherubims and seraphims, the ages and hosts, the dominions and powers, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels, and after them didst by Him create this visible world, and all things that are therein. For Thou art He that hast established the heavens as an arch, and extended them like a curtain : that hast founded the earth upon nothing by thy sole will ; that hast fixed the firmament, and formed night and day ; that hast brought the light out of thy treasures and super-added darkness for a covering, to give rest to the creatures that move in the world ; that hast set the sun in the heaven to govern the day, and the moon to govern the night ; and

ordered the course of the stars, to the praise of thy magnificent power; that hast made the water for drink and purification, and the vital air both for breathing and speaking; that hast made the fire to be a comfort in darkness, to supply our wants, and that we should be both warmed and enlightened thereby; that hast divided the great sea from the earth, and made the one navigable, and the other passable on foot; that hast filled the one with small and great animals, and the other with tame and wild beasts; that hast crowned the earth with plants and herbs of all sorts, and adorned it with flowers, and enriched it with seeds; that hast established the deep, and set a great barrier about it, walling the great heaps of salt water, and bounding them with gates of the smallest sand; that sometimes raisest the same deep to the magnitude of mountains by thy winds, and sometimes layest it plain like a field; now making it rage with a storm, and then again quieting it with a calm, that they, which sail therein, may find a safe and gentle passage: that hast begirt the world, which Thou createdst by Christ, with rivers, and watered it with brooks, and filled it with springs of living water always flowing, and bound up the earth with mountains, to give it a firm and unmoveable situation. Thou hast filled thy world, and adorned it with odoriferous and medicinal herbs, with a multitude and variety of animals, weaker and stronger some for meat, and some for labour, some of a mild and some of a fiercer nature; with the hissing of serpents, and sweeter notes of birds of divers kinds; with the revolution of years, and numbers of months and days, and orders of stated seasons, with flying clouds producing rain, for the procreation of fruits, and preservation of animals; with winds to blow in order at thy command, and a multitude of plants and herbs. Neither hast Thou only made the world, but created man in it to be the citizen of the world, and made him the ornament of thy beautiful structure. For Thou saidst to thy own Wisdom, let us make man in our own image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air. And therefore Thou madest him of an immortal soul, and a dissolvable body; creating the one out of nothing, and the other out of the four elements: and gavest him in his soul a

rational knowledge, a power to discern between piety and impiety, and a judgment to distinguish between good and evil; and in his body the privilege and faculty of five several senses, with the power of local motion. For Thou, O God Almighty, didst by Christ plant Paradise in Eden towards the East, adorning it with all kinds of plants meet for food, and placing man therein as in a well-furnished house: and in his creation thou gavest a natural law implanted in his mind, that thereby he might have within himself the seeds of divine knowledge. And when Thou hadst placed him in the paradise of delights and pleasure, Thou gavest him power to eat of all things, only forbidding him to taste of one kind, in expectation of something better: that if he observed that command, he might attain to immortality, as the reward of his obedience. But he neglecting this command, and by the fraud of the serpent, and the counsel of the woman tasting the forbidden fruit, Thou didst justly drive him out of Paradise, and yet in goodness did not despise him, when he had destroyed himself; for he was thy workmanship; but Thou, who didst put the creatures in subjection under him, didst appoint him to get his food by labour and sweat, thy providence concurring to produce, augment and bring all things to maturity and perfection. Thou didst suffer him for a while to sleep the sleep of death, and then with an oath calledst him again to a regeneration: dissolving the bands of death and promising him life by a resurrection. And not only so; but giving him an innumerable posterity, Thou didst glorify such of them as adhered to Thee, and, punishedst those that apostatized from Thee; receiving the sacrifice of Abel as an holy man, and rejecting the offering of Cain as abominable for murdering his brother. Thou didst also receive Seth and Enos, and translate Enoch. For Thou art the creator of men, and the author of life, and the supplier of all their wants, their lawgiver, that rewardest those, that keep thy laws, and punishest those, that transgress them. Thou didst bring an universal deluge upon the world because of the multitude of the ungodly, but deliveredst righteous Noah out of the flood with eight souls in thy ark, making him the end of the preceding generation, and the father of

those that were to come. Thou didst kindle a dreadful fire against the five cities of the Sodomites, and turn a fruitful land into a vale of salt, for the wickedness of them that dwelt therein, but didst deliver righteous Lot from the burning. Thou art He that didst deliver Abraham from the impiety of his ancestors, and madest him to become heir of the world, and didst manifest thy Christ unto him. Thou didst appoint Melchisedech to be the high priest of thy service. Thou didst declare thy servant Job, after many sufferings, to be conqueror of the serpent, that first author of evil. Thou madest Isaac to be the son of promise. Thou madest Jacob to be the father of twelve children, and his off-spring to be innumerable, and broughtest three score and fifteen souls into Egypt. Thou, Lord, didst not despise Joseph, but for his chastity madest him to rule over the Egyptians. Thou, Lord, didst not forget the Hebrews, when the Egyptians oppressed them, because of the promise made to their fathers ; but didst punish the Egyptians, and deliver thy people. And when men had corrupted the law of nature, written in their minds, and some began to think the creatures had their existence of themselves, and honoured them above what was meet, placing them in the same rank with Thee the God of all ; Thou didst not suffer them to wander in error, but raising up thy holy servant Moses, Thou didst by him promulge a written law to revive and support the law of nature ; shewing the creatures to be the work of thy hands, and thereby expelling the error of polytheism out of religion. Thou didst honour Aaron and his posterity with the dignity of the priesthood. Thou didst chastise the Hebrews, when they sinned ; and receive them into favour, when they turned unto Thee. Thou didst punish the Egyptians with ten plagues ; and dividing the sea, madest the Israelites to pass through it ; drowning the Egyptians that pursued them. Thou madest the bitter sweet with wood ; Thou broughtest streams out of the rock, when Thou hadst divided the top of it ; Thou didst rain down manna out of heaven, and give them food out of the air, a measure of quails for every day ; setting up a pillar of fire to give them light by night, and the pillar of the cloud to shadow them from heat by day. Thou didst constitute Joshua the captain

of thy armies, and by him destroy the seven nations of the Canaanites, dividing Jordan, and drying up the rivers of Ethan, and laying flat the walls of Jericho, without any engines of war or concurrence of human power. For all these things we glorify Thee, O Lord Almighty. The innumerable armies of angels adore Thee; the archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, dignities, powers, hosts, and ages; the cherubims, and seraphims also with six wings, with two of which they cover their feet, and with two their faces, and two fly, saying, with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand angels, all crying out without rest and intermission: and let all the people say together with them, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts: heaven and earth are full of thy glory: blessed art Thou for ever. Amen!" And after this let the bishop say, "for Thou truly art holy, the most holy, the most high, far exalted above all things for evermore. Holy also is thy only begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ; who ministering to Thee his God and Father in all things, both in various works of creation and providence, did not despise lost mankind; but after the law of nature, after the admonitions of the written law, after the reprehensions of the prophets, after the administrations and presidency of angels; when men had corrupted both the natural and written law, and erased the memory of the flood, and the burning of Sodom, and the plagues of Egypt, and devastations and slaughters of Palestine, and were now all ready to perish; He, who was the Creator of man, chose by thy will to become man; the Lawgiver, to be under the law; the Highpriest, to be the sacrifice; the Shepherd, to be made a sheep: whereby He appeased Thee his God and Father, and reconciled the world, and delivered all men from the wrath, that hanged over their heads, being born of a virgin, and made flesh, God the Word, the beloved Son, the first born of every creature; according to the prophecies which He Himself predicted of Himself, made of the seed of David and Abraham, and of the tribe of Judah: He who was the Former of all things that are made, was formed himself in the virgin's womb; He, who is without flesh, was made flesh; and He

who was begotten, ἀχρόνως, *before all time*, was born in time: He lived an holy life, and taught an holy doctrine; expelling all manner of sicknesses and infirmities from the bodies of men, and working signs and miracles among the people; He, who feeds all that have need of food, and fills every living creature of his own good pleasure and bounty, did himself partake of meat and drink and sleep; He manifested thy name to them that knew it not; He put ignorance to flight, and revived true piety and godliness, fulfilled thy will, and finished the work, which Thou gavest Him to do: and when all things were thus set in order and rectified by Him, He was betrayed by the incurable malice of one of his own disciples, and apprehended by the hands of the wicked, priests and high-priests, falsely so called, together with a sinful people; of whom He suffered many things, and underwent all manner of indignities by thy permission; He was delivered to Pilate the governor: the Judge himself was judged; the Saviour of the world condemned; He, who is impassible, was nailed to the cross; He, who is immortal by nature, was made subject to death; and the Author of life, who quickens all things, was laid in the grave, that He might deliver those from suffering, for whose sake He came, and set them free from death, and break the bonds of the devil, and deliver men from his frauds and impostures: He rose again the third day from the dead, and conversed forty days with his disciples, and was taken up into heaven, and set at thy right hand, his God and Father.

“ We therefore, in commemoration of these things, which He suffered for us, give thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as Thou deservest, and as is our duty, but ὅσον δυνάμεθα, *as far as we are able*, so fulfilling his command. For in the same night that He was betrayed, He took bread in his holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to Thee his God and Father, He brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, this is the mystery of the New Testament; take of it, and eat it; this is my body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise He mixed a cup of wine and water, and sanctifying it, He gave it unto them, saying, drink ye all of this: for this is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of

me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth my death till I come. We therefore being mindful of his passion, and death and resurrection from the dead, and his return into heaven; and also of his second coming, when He shall return with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to his works, do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this bread and this cup, according to his appointment, giving thanks to Thee by Him, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to let us stand before Thee, and minister unto Thee; and we beseech Thee to look propitiously upon these gifts here set before Thee our God, who hast need of nothing, and to accept them favourably to the honour of thy Christ, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, who is the witness of the suffering of our Lord Jesus, that it may make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this the blood of thy Christ; that they, who partake of it, may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the devil and his impostures, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life, Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty."

"We beseech Thee further, O Lord, for thy Holy Church from one end of the earth to the other, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ, that Thou wouldst be pleased to keep it unshaken and immovable by any storms or tempests to the end of the world. We pray also for the whole episcopacy, or universal college of bishops, rightly dividing the word of truth. We pray for me thy unworthy servant, who am now offering unto Thee, and for the whole presbytery, and deacons, and all the clergy, that Thou wouldst give them all wisdom, and fill them with thy Holy Spirit. We pray Thee, O Lord, for the king and all that are in authority, and for the whole army, that our affairs may be transacted in peace: that passing our time in quietness and concord, we may glorify Thee through Jesus Christ, our hope, all the days of our life. We offer unto Thee for all Thy saints, that have lived well-pleasing in thy sight from the foundation of the world, for patriarchs, prophets, holy men, apostles, martyrs, bishops, confessors,

presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names Thou knowest. We offer unto thee for this people, that Thou wouldst make them, to the glory of thy Christ, a royal priesthood, and an holy nation; for all that live in virginity and chastity; for the widows of the Church; for all that live in honest marriage and procreation of children; for the infants of thy people; that none of us be a cast-away. We pray Thee for this city, and all that dwell therein; for those that are in sickness, in cruel bondage and slavery, in banishment, or under confiscation and proscription, for all that travel by sea or by land, that Thou wouldst be their succour, and an universal helper and defender to them all. We pray Thee for those that hate us, and persecute us for thy name, for them that are yet without, and wandering in error, that Thou wouldst convert them to good, and mitigate their fury. We pray Thee for the catechumens of the Church; for the energumens, that are tossed and tormented by the adversary the devil; for all our brethren that are doing penance, that thou wouldst perfect the former in faith, and cleanse and deliver the second from the power and agitation of the wicked one; and receive the repentance of the last, and pardon both them and us whatever offences we have committed against Thee. We offer unto Thee likewise for the temperature of the air, and the increase of the fruits of the earth, that we continually partaking of those good things, which Thou bestowest on us, may without ceasing praise Thee, who givest food unto all flesh. We also pray for those, who upon any just and reasonable cause are now absent, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to preserve us all in godliness, and keeping us without change, blame, or rebuke, to gather us into the kingdom of thy Christ, the God of all things in nature, visible and invisible, and our King. For to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is due all glory and worship and thanksgiving and honour and adoration, now and for ever throughout all ages world without end. And let all the people answer, Amen!"

After this the bishop is appointed to say again, "The peace of God be with you all!" to which the people answer, "And with thy spirit!" And then the deacon

calls upon the people to join with him in another prayer, which is termed Προσφώνησις, &c. a *bidding prayer* for the faithful after the divine oblation, in these words :¹ “ Let us pray yet again and again to God by his Christ, for this gift which is offered to the Lord God; that the good God would receive it to his altar in heaven for a sweet smelling savour by the mediation of his Christ. Let us pray for this Church and people; for the whole society of bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, and ministers, and the whole Catholic Church; that the Lord would keep and preserve them all. Let us pray for kings and all that are in authority; that our affairs may go on with tranquillity, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Let us commemorate the holy martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to have fellowship in their conflicts and engagements. Let us pray for those that rest in faith; let us pray for the temperature of the air, and increase of the fruits of the earth, that they may grow to perfection. Let us pray for those that are newly baptised, that they may be confirmed in faith. Let us all exhort and excite one another. Let us rise and commend ourselves to God by his grace. Then let the bishop say: O God, that art great, great in name, great in counsel, and mighty in works; the God and Father of thy Holy Son Jesus our Saviour; look favourably upon us and this thy flock, which Thou hast chosen in Him to the glory of thy name. Sanctify our bodies and souls; and grant, that we, being pure from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, may obtain the good things that are set before us; and that Thou mayest judge none of us unworthy, but be our helper, defender, and protector, through thy Christ; to whom with Thee and the Holy Spirit, be glory, honour, and praise, doxology, and thanksgiving for ever. Amen!”

And when all the people have said, Amen! Let the deacon cry again, Πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give attention.* Then the bishop shall speak to the people, saying, “Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy things for those that are holy.*” And the peo-

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 13.

ple shall answer, "There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the Glory of God the Father, blessed for ever. Amen! Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the son of David; blessed be the Lord God, that came in the name of the Lord, and manifested Himself unto us : hosanna in the highest !"

This is the whole service preceding the act of communicating, as it is delivered in the Constitutions ; which I have here represented all together as it lies there, that the reader may see it in one view. I shall now compare the several parts and branches of it with the certain accounts, we have of them in other authentic writers ; beginning with that, which was the first in order, the minister's salutation of the people.

SECT. 2.—This Account compared with what is said in other Authors.
First, As to the Form of Salution, "Peace be with you, &c."

It has been observed before,¹ that this form of saluting the people, by saying, "Peace be with you !" or "The Lord be with you !" or "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. be with you !" was the usual preface and introduction to all holy offices, and therefore always used before prayers, especially those that were offered up at the altar. Theodoret says,² it was used both at the entrance of their sermons and the mystical service, by which he means this part of the communion office. Cyril of Alexandria says the same,³ that they used it in the beginning of their mysteries ; and that Christ made it a law, as it were, unto the Church, by saying so often to his disciples, "Peace be unto you !" But no one speaks more fully of it than St. Chrysostom. He says, "they used it in all their offices ; when they first came into the Church ; when they preached ; when they gave the benediction ; when they commanded the people to salute one another with the kiss of peace ; when the sacrifice

¹ Book xiv. chap. iv. sect. 14.

² Theod. Ep. 146. p. 1032.

Τῆτο ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυσηκῆς ἐπιλειτρηγίας πρόδομιον.

³ Cyril. lib. xii. in Joan. 20. p. 1093. Παρ' αὐτὰς τῶ μνηστῆρε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶτο ἐξ ἀλλήλοις ἡμεῖς φαμεν. Vid. Isidor. Pelus. lib. i. ep. 112.

was offered;¹ and at other times in the communion-service." Where it is observable, that he speaks of this salutation as used four times at least in this part of the communion office, besides other occasions. In another place exhorting Christians not to follow the customs of the Jews, but to be at unity and peace among themselves, he uses this argument, "There is nothing comparable to peace and concord. Therefore when the bishop first enters the Church, before ever he goes up to his throne, he says, 'Peace be unto you all!' When he rises up to preach, he does not begin, before he has given the 'Peace to all!' When the priests are about to make the benediction prayers, they first use this salutation,² and then begin their benedictions. So also the deacon, when he bids you pray in common, among other things he reminds you to pray for the angel of peace; and when he dismisses you from this assembly, he prays for you in the same manner, saying, 'Go in peace!' And there is nothing at all said or done without this." In another Homily upon the Descent of the Holy Ghost,³ he gives the reason, why it was more particularly used at the Lord's table. "The bishop," says he, "not only when he goes into his throne, and when he preaches, and when he prays, uses this form, but when he stands at this holy table, when he is about to offer the tremendous sacrifice, he does not touch the oblation, before he has prayed 'that the grace of the Lord may be with you,' and ye have answered, 'And with thy spirit;' by which answer ye remind yourselves, that it is not the minister, who effects any thing in this matter, neither is the consecration of the gifts there lying the work of human nature, but that it is the grace of the Spirit, then present, and descending upon the elements, that makes this mystical sacrifice." There are several other passages to the same purpose in his other Homilies upon the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles,⁴ which, because the reader may

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Colos. p. 1338.

qui Pascha jejunant. tom. v. p. 713.

teccost. tom. v. p. 553.

p. 873. Hom. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. p. 652.

² Chrys. Hom. lii. In eos

³ Chrys. Hom. xxxvi. de Pentecost.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor.

Hom. xxxiii. in Mat. p. 318.

find them at large in the extract of the liturgy above,¹ out of St. Chrysostom's works, I will not here repeat. The same custom was always observed in the Latin Church. For Tertullian plainly refers to it,² when he objects it to the heretics, that they gave the peace to all without exception; implying, that the Church used it, but with some distinction. Optatus says,³ the Donatists retained the form, but grossly abused it in their practice. "They could not omit the solemn words: they said, 'Peace be unto you!' But why," says he, "dost thou salute men with that, which thou hast not? why dost thou name peace, that hast destroyed it? Thou salutest men with the words of love and peace, who hast nothing of the reality and substance of it." In the Spanish Church they used a like form, though not altogether the same. For, by an order of the first Council of Braga,⁴ it was appointed, "that both bishops and presbyters should use one and the same form of salutation, that is, 'The Lord be with you,' as it is in the book of Ruth; and that the people should answer, 'And with thy spirit;' as all the East received it by tradition from the Apostles, and not as the Priscillian heresy hath changed it." What change the Priscillianists had made in this matter is not very clear: some learned men are of opinion,⁵ that they would allow the bishops to use no other form but '*Pax vobis*;' and the presbyters only to say, '*Dominus vobiscum*;' whence they conclude, that the word *Oriens*, the *East*, must have crept into the canon instead of the *West*, because it is so evident, that all the Eastern Church used the form, "*Pax vobis*," both in the salutation of bishops and presbyters. But I should ra-

¹ Book xili. chap. vi.

Pacem cum omnibus miscunt.

² Tertul. de Præscript. cap. xli.

³ Optat. lib. iii. p. 73. Non potuistis prætermitte re quod legitimum est. Utique dixistis, '*Pax vobiscum*.'—Quid salutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas, quod exterminasti? Salutas de pace, qui non amas.

⁴ Con. Bracar. i. can. 21. Placuit ut non aliter episcopi, et aliter presbyteri populum, sed uno modo saluent, dicentes, '*Dominus sit vobiscum*,' sicut in libro Ruth legitur et ut respondeatur a populo, '*Et cum spiritu tuo*;' sicut et ab ipsis Apostolis traditum omnis retinet oriens, et non sicut Priscilliana pravitas immutavit.

⁵ Garsias Loaisa in Loc. Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. v. n. l. Habertus Archieratic. p. 330. Hamon Lestrangle, Alliance of Div. Offic. cap. iii. p. 82.

ther think the Priscillian pravity, here complained of, was their denying the people the liberty of making their proper response, and bearing their part in the service, by saying, "And with thy spirit," as had been the custom of all the East from the time of the Apostles. However this be, I cannot forbear to say, it is the very error and pravity, which the Church of Rome has since run into. For Bona himself owns,¹ that though it was customary in the ancient Church for all the congregation, and not only the clerks, to answer the priest, by saying, "And with thy spirit!" yet now it is otherwise in the Church of Rome, where the clerks only make this response, and the people are wholly excluded from it. For which no other reason can be assigned, but the magisterial authority of that Church, pretending to prescribe what she pleases to the people, with a *non obstante* to any rule or tradition of the ancient Church. St. Chrysostom's reasoning in behalf of the people's bearing a part in prayer with the priest, is of much more weight, and with it I will conclude this paragraph.

"Great is the power of the congregation, that is, of the whole Church," says he.² "It was their prayer, that delivered Peter from his bonds, and opened the mouth of Paul. Their suffrage is a peculiar ornament to those, who are called to the spiritual offices of government. And therefore he, who is about to perform the office of ordination, at that time requires their prayers, and they join their suffrage, crying out in those words, which they, that are initiated in the holy mysteries, know: for we may not speak all things openly before the unbaptised. There are some things wherein there is no difference between priest and people, as when they are to partake of the tremendous mysteries. For we are all alike admitted to them: not as under the Old Testament, when the priest eat one thing, and the people another; and it was not lawful for the people to partake of those things, which the priest alone might partake of. It is not so now, but there is one body, and one cup proposed

¹ Bona *ibid.* p. 501. Nunc soli clerici vel ministri respondent.

² Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p 872.

in common to all. So also in the prayers, one may now observe the people to contribute a great deal. For common prayers are made for the energumens, and for the penitents both by the priest and people. For they all say that one and the same prayer, the prayer so full of mercy. Again, when we exclude those from the sanctuary, who cannot partake of the holy table, we are all obliged to make another prayer, in which we all fall down alike on the earth, and all rise up together. Again, when we are to give and receive the peace, or kiss of peace, we all in like manner salute each other. And again in celebrating the holy mysteries the priest prays for the people and the people for the priest. For these words, 'And with thy spirit,' are nothing else but the people's prayer. In like manner the prayer of thanksgiving is a common prayer. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people also. For when he has first received their answer, declaring their consent, 'that it is meet and right so to do,' then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should you wonder, that the people sometimes speak with the priest, when they are allowed to send up those holy hymns in common with the very cherubims and celestial powers above? I have spoken all this," adds he, "to make every member of the Church, though he be an inferior, to become watchful and vigilant; and to teach us, that we are all one body, and only differ from each other, as members do from the members of the same body; and that we should not cast all upon the priests, but every one bear his share in his concern for the whole Church, as one common body." I will now leave any ingenuous reader to judge, whose reasons are strongest and most rational; those of Chrysostom, who thus pleads the people's right in bearing a part in the public service of God, or theirs, who by an over-bearing authority deny them their just right; and as they have taken away the cup, and the Bible, and the key of knowledge from them, so have they also denied them the liberty of joining in common prayer with the priest, which was their uncontested privilege in the ancient Church.

SECT. 3.—Secondly, The Kiss of Peace.

But I proceed with the Constitutions. As there immediately after the priest has given the salutation of peace, and the people have returned their answer, a deacon goes on to proclaim solemnly, that they should salute one another with an holy kiss: and so the clergy salute the bishop, and laymen their fellow-laymen, and women one another; it is in the very same manner represented in other writers. The Council of Laodicea, describing the order of the ancient service, says,¹ “after the prayers of the faithful, the peace should be given: and after the presbyters have given the peace to the bishop, and laymen the peace to one another, the holy oblation should be offered.” After the same manner, Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of it,² as coming before the “*Sursum Corda, Lift up your hearts to the Lord.*” A deacon cries, “Receive one another, salute one another with an holy kiss.” Which, he says, was a symbol of reconciliation, and forgiving all injuries whatsoever. St. Chrysostom often mentions it among other arguments to excite men to unity and charity;³ reminding them of this symbol of peace and reconciliation, and how great a piece of pageantry and mere hypocrisy it was to give this kiss, as Judas did, without cordial love and sincere affection. Particularly in one place he notes the circumstance of time,⁴ when this ceremony was used, that is, before the oblation, when the sacrifice was about to be offered: which agrees exactly with the time specified in the Constitutions. The same is noted long before by Justin Martyr,⁵ that it was between the

¹ Con. Laodic. xix. *Εὖθ' ἔτως τὴν εἰρήνην διδόνθαι. ἢ μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρας εἶναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε τὰς λαϊκὰς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι. ἢ ἔτω τὴν ἀγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελείσθαι.* ² Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 2.

³ Chrys. Hom. xx. in Mat. p. 205. Hom. xxii. in Rom. p. 251. Hom. xxx. in 2 Cor. p. 995. Hom. xiv. in Ephes. p. 1128. Hom. lxxvii. in Joan. p. 500. Hom. xxx. de Proditore. tom. v. p. 565. Hom. l. ibid. 686.

⁴ Chrys. de Compunct. Cordis. lib. i. cap. iii. tom. iv. p. 118. Ἄσπαζόμενοι ἀλλήλους μέλλοντος τῆ δώρου προσφέρεισθαι. &c.

⁵ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97. Ἄλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα πανσήμεροι τῶν εὐχῶν. ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεσῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος ἢ, ποτήριον ὕδατος

common prayers for the whole state of Christ's Church, and the prayers of consecration. "For," says he, "when prayers are ended, we salute one another with a kiss: and after that, bread, and wine and water is brought to the president of the brethren, who receiving them, gives praise and glory to the God of all things, in the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit. In the Latin Church the same custom was observed, only with this difference, that it came not before, but after the consecration prayers and the Lord's Prayer, immediately before the distribution." For so St. Austin or Cæsarius Arelatensis represents it, in describing the order of the service.¹ "When the consecration is ended, we say the Lord's Prayer; and after that, 'Peace be with you:' and then Christians salute one another with an holy kiss, which is a sign of peace, if that be really in their hearts, which they pretend with their lips." He mentions the thing in other places, and seems to intimate, that the Donatists observed the same ceremony, though they had nothing of the peace that was intended by it. In his Books against Petilian,² speaking of one Optatus Gildonianus, a Donatist bishop, who had been a great oppressor of widows and orphans, and infamous for many other barbarous cruelties, he says, notwithstanding all this, they gave him the kiss of peace, when they received the sacrament at his hands. In another place he compares the Donatists to crows,³ and the Catholics to doves; because, though they both gave the kiss of peace, yet the one tare the Church in pieces, and fed upon its ruins, but the other were innocent and harmless as doves; and by those characters they might be distinguished from each other. It appears also from Pope Innocent's let-

ἡ κρίματος. Vid. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. iii. cap. xi. Athenag. Legat. p. 36. Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. cap. iii. sect. 8.

¹ Aug. Hom. lxxxiii. de Diversis. tom. x. p. 556. Ubi peracta est sanctificatio, dicimus Orationem Dominicam. Post ipsam dicitur, 'Pax vobiscum,' et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto, quod est signum pacis, si quod ostendunt labia, fiat in conscientia.

² Aug. cont. Literas Petilian. lib. ii. cap. 23. Cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis, &c.

³ Id. Tract. vi. in Joan. p. 21. Osculantur corvi, sed lanient: à laniatu innocens est natura columbarum. Ubi ergo laniatus, non est vera in oculis pax, &c.

ter to Decentius,¹ bishop of Eugubium, that it was the general custom of the Italic Churches to give the kiss of peace, not before the consecration, but after: for it blames those, that gave it before, and says, it ought to come after, as a testimony of their consent to all that was done, and as a seal of the consecration-prayer, to signify that all was ended. Tertullian probably upon this account gave it the name of² “*Signaculum orationis, the seal of their prayers;*” as being in his time used, when all the prayers of consecration were ended. He seems to intimate also, that it was given promiscuously, and without distinction between men and women.³ For, among other arguments, which he uses, why a Christian woman should not marry an heathen, this is one, “that he would be unwilling to suffer her to go into the prisons to kiss the martyrs chains, or at any other times to give the kiss of peace to a brother.” And this is as plainly intimated by the ancient writer of the Passion of Felicitas and Perpetua, about Tertullian’s time, when he says,⁴ “that Felicitas, Perpetua, and Saturus did mutually kiss each other before they suffered, that they might consummate their martyrdom by the solemn rite of peace.” Alluding to the usual custom of giving the kiss of peace without distinction, though it was otherwise observed in the Greek Church. There is one thing more proper to be observed out of Tertullian,⁵ that some made a scruple of giving the kiss of peace upon a fast day, though it were but

¹ Innoc. Ep. i. ad Decent. cap. i. Pacem ergo asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare, vel sibi inter sacerdotes tradere: cum post omnia, quæ aperire non debeo, pax sit necessario indicenda, per quam constet populum, ad omnia quæ in mysteriis aguntur, atque in ecclesiâ celebrantur, præbuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrantur.

² Tertul. de Orat. cap. xiv.

³ Ad Uxor.

lib. ii. cap. iv. Quis patietur alicui fratrum ad osculum convenire?

⁴ Passio Perpetuæ ad calcem Lactant. de Mort. Perfec. p. 35. Ante jam osculati invicem, ut martyrium per solennia pacis consummarent.

⁵ Tertul. de Orat. cap. xiv. Alia jam consuetudo invaluit, jejunantes habitâ oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod est, signaculum orationis. Quando autem magis conferenda cum fratribus pax est. nisi cum oratione commendabilior ascendit?—Quæ oratio cum divortio sancti osculi integra? Quem Domino officium facientem impedit pax? Quale sacrificium est, à quo sine pace receditur? &c.

a private fast of their own; whom he reproveth, telling them, “that the kiss of peace was the seal of prayer; that it was never more proper than when joined with prayer; that there was no prayer perfect without peace; that peace was no impediment to a man in doing his duty to the Lord; that whatever reason they had for it, their reason was not stronger than the observation of the precept, which obliges us to conceal our fasts. Whereas, when we refrain from the kiss of peace, that discovers us to be fasting. We may at home omit this ceremony of giving the peace, because there our fasts cannot be wholly concealed from the family: but in other places, where you may conceal your action, you ought to remember the precept of the Lord; and so you may observe the discipline of the Church abroad, and your own custom at home.” Tertullian, we see, speaks this of private fasts, which he thinks no reason for men’s refusing the kiss of peace in public. As to public fasts, the case was otherwise. For by the laws of the Church, this ceremony was omitted on some more solemn days of fasting. As upon the day of our Saviour’s passion. For Tertullian adds immediately in the next words,¹ that on that day, because it was a public and common fast, ordained by the laws of the Church, they omitted the kiss of peace, and no one then regarded the omission, because it was done by general consent and agreement. And this seems to have been an exception of universal extent in the Church: for Procopius notes it in the Life of Justinian and Theodora, who began their reign on this day, Anno 527, that they began it with an ill omen, on a day,² that no one used the kiss of peace in the Church. And thus much of this ancient ceremony, so often enjoined by the Apostle, Rom. xvi. 16. 1 Cor. xvi. 20. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Thes. v. 26. 1 Pet. v. 14. of which some have written whole volumes:³ but I content myself to have said so much, as may serve to confirm the observation

¹ Tertul. de Orat. cap. xiv. Die Paschæ, quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio, deponimus osculum; nihil curantes de osculando, quod cum omnibus faciamus.

² Procop. Hist. Arcana. cap. ix.

³ Mullerus de Osculo Sancto. Jenæ 1675. 4to. Martin Kenpius de Osculo, &c. Lipsiæ, 1665.

made upon the Author of the Constitutions, that this was an ancient rite universally observed in the Church in one part or other of the communion-service.

SECT. 4.—Thirdly, Washing of Hands before Consecration.

The next thing mentioned in the Constitutions, is the ceremony of the priest's washing his hands before consecration. This is also noted by Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Mystagogical Explication* of the communion-service, where, speaking to the newly baptised, he says,¹ “Ye have seen the deacon bring water to the bishop and presbyters, standing about the altar, to wash their hands. Did he give it to wash the filth of their bodies? By no means. For we do not use to go into the Church with bodies defiled: but that washing of hands is a symbol, that you ought to be pure from sin and transgressions of the law. For the hands are the symbol of action, and washing them denotes the purity and cleanness of our actions. Have you not heard holy David explaining this mystery, and saying, ‘I will wash my hands among the innocent, and so will I compass thine altar, O Lord:’ therefore washing the hands, is a symbol or indication, that we are not obnoxious or liable unto sin.” The Author of the *Questions upon the Old and New Testament*, under the name of St. Austin,² takes notice of the same custom as used in all Churches, only with this difference, that whereas in other Churches it was commonly the office of the deacons to bring water to priests, in the Roman Church it was devolved upon the subdeacons, because there was a multitude of inferior clergy in that Church above many others. And in the Author, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, a great deal more may be read to the same purpose.

¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 1.

² Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Novi Testamenti. q. 101. Ut autem non omnia ministeria obsequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit clericorum. Nam utique et altare portarent et vasa ejus, et aquam in manus funderent sacerdoti, sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias, &c.

SECT. 5.—Fourthly, The Deacon's Admonition to all Non-Communicants to withdraw ; and to all Communicants to come in Charity and Sincerity.

In the next place, whereas in the Constitutions the deacon is appointed again to make a solemn proclamation, ordering all non-communicants, catechumens, penitents, and unbelievers, to be excluded ; and admonishing all communicants to approach in charity and sincerity, not in enmity with their brethren, or in hypocrisy towards God, but in reverence and fear: the very same is suggested by Chrysostom: “ Dost thou not hear the deacon, the herald of the Church, standing and crying,¹ ‘ All ye that are under penance, be gone.’ All they that do not partake of the communion, are in penance. If thou art in penance, thou mayest not partake.” And Severianus, bishop of Gabala, in one of his Homilies among St. Chrysostom's works,² speaks of the same: “ Ye have seen the deacons traversing the Church, and crying, let no catechumen be present, none of those, that may not see the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, &c. Ye remember after this, how the angels from heaven sing the hymns and praises, saying, ‘ Holy is the Father, holy is the Son, holy is the Holy Ghost.’” By which it is plain, these admonitions of the deacon were here repeated as preparatory to the oblation.

SECT. 6.—Of the ‘Ριπίδια, or *Fans*, to drive away Insects.

The circumstance of the ‘Ριπίδια, or *Fans*, to drive away the insects, is so minute, that it is no great wonder it should be omitted in most other writers beside the Constitutions. Bona says,³ they are mentioned in Jobius⁴ and Germanus Theoria, and the Liturgies that go under the name of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil. Suicerus thinks,⁴

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes. p. 1051.

² Ap. Chrys. tom. vi.

Hom. xxxvii. de Filio Prodigio. p. 375. See before, book xiii. chap. vi. sect. 6. Vide Chrys. Hom. i. contra Judæos. tom. i. p. 400. ‘Επιγιγνώσκετε ἀλλήλους. &c.

³ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. cap. xxv. n. 6.

⁴ Jobius ap. Photium. cod. cexxii.

⁴ Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles.

Ἵσσε ‘Ριπίδιον. tom. ii.

that in most of those writings the word, Ῥιπίδιον, signifies one of their holy vessels, a basket or the like, in which they were used to carry the sacred elements to and from the altar; such as that spoken of by St. Jerom, when describing the glorious poverty of Exuperius, bishop of Tholouse, he says, he was used to carry the Lord's body in a basket of osiers, and the blood in a glass cup. And indeed in Herodotus,¹ the word, Ῥιπίδιον, is by some lexicographers said to signify *a basket*: but in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and Basil, it is taken in the common sense of Greek authors, and as it is used in the Constitutions, for a fan to blow with. For in Chrysostom's Liturgy the deacon is to ventilate,² or blow over the elements with a fan; or if there be no fan, then to do it with the covering of the cup. And in St. Basil's Liturgy there is mention made of the same utensils,³ “ Ῥιπίδιον ἢ κάλυμμα, *either the fan or the covering of the cup,*” to be used for the same purpose. And so the word, Ῥιπίδιον,⁴ is taken both by Germanus, and Jobius, and Suidas. So that there was no reason for Suicerus to reckon the Author of the Constitutions so singular in this opinion. But as these authors are not very ancient, I have mentioned them rather to explain an hard word, than establish an ecclesiastical custom. St. Jerom's authority is produced by Durantus,⁵ but it is nothing to the purpose: for though he mentions the use of *muscaria*,⁶ that is, *fans*; yet it is plain he speaks of them not as any ecclesiastical utensil, but as a civil present made by Marcella to the matrons, though he gives a tropological turn of wit, to draw something of a mystical meaning out of them. So I let this matter pass as a minute circumstance in the Constitutions, about which it is

¹ Hieron. Ep. v. ad Rusticum. Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.

² Chrys. Liturg. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 78. Ῥιπίζει ἐπάνω τῶν ἁγίων μετὰ Ῥιπίδης εὐλαβῶς.

³ Basil. Liturg. εἰ δὲ ἐκ ἔπι Ῥιπίδιον, ποιῆ τῆτο μετὰ καλύμματος.

⁴ German. Contemplatio Rer. Eccles. ibid. p. 157.

⁵ Durant. de Jobius ubi supra. Suidæ Lexicon. tom. ii. p. 686.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. xxx. ad Marcellam.

Quod autem et matronis offertis muscaria parva, parvis animalibus eventilandis, elegans significatio est, debere luxuriam citò restinguere, quia muscæ morituræ oleum suavitatis exterminant.

not worth our while to be further solicitous in our inquiries, to give collateral evidence out of the ancient writers.

SECT. 7.—Of the Use of the Sign of the Cross at the Lord's Table.

The next thing, mentioned in the Constitutions, is the use of the sign of the cross, before the minister proceeds to the consecration. And of this there is more certain evidence in the ancient writers. For Chrysostom says expressly,¹ that it was not only used by Christians every day, but particularly at the holy table, and in the ordinations of priests, and that its glory shined with the body of Christ in the mystical supper. Which implies, that it was used more than once in the time of celebration. St. Austin says likewise,² that it was used in all their offices, in consecrating the waters of baptism, in the unction of confirmation, and in the sacrifice of the eucharist; without which none of them were solemnly performed.

SECT. 8.—Of the usual Preface, called, '*Sursum Corda*,' or the Preparation to the great Thanksgiving.

Next after this, immediately before the great thanksgiving in the Constitutions, the priest having given the people another salutation in the words of St. Paul, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. be with you;" and they answering again, "And with thy Spirit;" the priest goes on and says, "Lift up your hearts:" to which the people answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord." The priest says again, "Let us give thanks to the Lord;" and the people answer, "It is meet and right so to do." Now this is mentioned almost by all ecclesiastical writers, that have said any thing of the eucharist or prayer. St. Cyprian calls it³ "the preface that

¹ Chrys. Demonstrat. Quod Christus sit Deus. cap. ix. tom. v. p. 840. Οὗτος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, ἕτος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων χειροτονίαις, οὗτος πάλιν μετὰ τῆ σῶματος τῆ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν δεῖπνον διαλάμπει.

² Aug. Hom. cxviii. in Joan. p. 225. Quid est signum Christi nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ ex quâ regenerantur, sive oleo quo Chrismate unguuntur, sive sacrificio quo aluntur; nihil horum ritè perficitur.

³ Cypr. de Orat. p. 153.

was premised by the priest, to prepare the brethren's minds to pray with an heavenly temper." St. Austin mentions it above ten times in his writings: the places have been noted above in the general discourse of Liturgies,¹ and therefore I need not here repeat them. I will only remark, that he says,² "it was the custom of the whole Church throughout the world to say daily almost with one voice, 'We lift up our hearts unto the Lord.' And that therefore the hearts of Christian people were a sort of heaven,³ because they are daily lift up to heaven, whilst the priest says, 'Lift up your hearts;' and they answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord.'" St. Chrysostom also frequently mentions the use of this preface in his Homilies,⁴ which, because I have related them at length in a former book,⁵ I forbear to repeat again in this place. The reader, that is curious, may find the same forms related in Cyril's Mystical Catechisms,⁶ and Anastasius Sinaita,⁷ and Cæsarius Arelatensis,⁸ and Eligius Noviomensis,⁹ not to mention the Greek Liturgies or any later writers. I only observe further out of the Council of Milevis,¹⁰ where there is mention made of prefaces among other prayers, it is commonly supposed by learned men, that these forms are meant, "Lift up your hearts: we lift them up unto the Lord: Let us give thanks unto the Lord: it is meet and right so to do." Which, as Mabillon observes,¹¹ in the old Gallican Liturgy is called *Contestatio*, because by these answers the people gave in their *attestation*, or

¹ See Book xiii. chap. v. sect. 7.

² Aug. de Vcâ Relig. cap. iii. tom. i. p. 302. Quotidiè per universum orbem humanum genus unâ penè voce respondet, sursum corda se habere ad Dominum.

³ Serm. xliv. de Tempore. Corda fidelium cœlum sunt, quia in cœlos quotidie eriguntur, dicente sacerdote, 'Sursum corda;' secuti respondent, 'Habemus ad Dominum.'

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 873. Hom. xxii. in Heb. p. 1898. Hom. v. de Pœnitent. tom. vi. Edit. Savil. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Hom. xxxviii. de Euchar. tom. v. p. 569.

⁵ See Book xiii. chap. vi.

⁶ Cyril Catech. Myst. v. n. 3.

⁷ Anastas. Serm. de Synaxi. ap. Albertin. de Eucharistia. p. 529.

⁸ Cæsar. Hom. xii.

⁹ Eligius. Hom. xi. de Cænâ Domini. Ex verbis Cypriani.

¹⁰ Con. Milevit. can. xii. Placuit, ut preces vel orationes vel missæ sive præfationes, quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur.

¹¹ Mabillon. de Liturg. Gall. lib. i. cap. iii. n. 17.

testimony of their compliance with the priest's exhortation ; declaring that their hearts were now in heaven, and that it was meet and right to praise the Lord.

SECT. 9.—Of the *Ἐυχαριστία*, or great *Thanksgiving*, properly so called.

After this the priest went on with the *Ἐυχαριστία*, properly so called, that is, the great *thanksgiving* to God for all his mercies, both of creation, providence, and redemption ; where a commemoration was made of all that God had done for man from the foundation of the world, and more particularly in the great mystery of redemption : upon which a solemn and magnificent glorification of God was framed, always including the Trisagion, or Seraphical Hymn, “ Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts, &c.” which was sung by the minister and people jointly ; and then the minister went on alone to finish the solemn thanksgiving. We have no where else indeed so long a thanksgiving as is that in the Constitutions : but the substance of it is not only in the Liturgies, that go under the names of St. James, Chrysostom, and Basil, but may be discovered in more authentic writings. For Justin Martyr, describing the Christian rites and mysteries, says, “ as soon as the common-prayers were ended, and they had saluted one another with a kiss, bread, and wine and water was brought to the president ; who receiving them,¹ gave praise and glory to the Father of all things by the Son and Holy Spirit, and made—*εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*,— a long *thanksgiving* for the blessings which He vouchsafed to bestow upon them. And when he had ended the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people, that were present, presently answered with acclamation, Amen !” After the same manner Irenæus,² “ We offer unto Him his

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.

² Iren. lib. iv. cap. 24. Offerimus ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et veritatem prædicantes carnis et spiritûs. Quemadmodum enim qui est à terrâ panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrenâ et cælesti : sic et corpora nostra, percipientia eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei, non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes donationi ejus, et sanctificantes creaturam.

own gifts, thereby declaring the communication and truth, both of flesh and spirit. For as the bread, which is of the earth, after the invocation of God upon it, is no longer common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two parts the one earthly, the other heavenly: so all our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are no longer corruptible, whilst they live in hopes of a resurrection. But we offer these things to him, not as if he stood in need of them, but as giving him thanks for his gifts, and sanctifying the creature." So Origen says,¹ "they eat the bread that was offered to the Creator with prayer and thanksgiving for the gifts that he had bestowed on them, which bread was made an holy body by prayer, sanctifying those that used it with a pious mind. Cyril of Jerusalem more particularly specifies the substance of this thanksgiving in his mystical catechisms,² saying, "after this, that is, after we have said, 'let us give thanks to the Lord, and it is meet and right so to do,' we make mention of the heaven and earth, and sea, and the sun, moon, and stars, and all the creatures, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, angels, archangels, hosts and dominions, principalities and powers, thrones and cherubims covering their faces, saying with David, 'Magnify the Lord with me!' We also make mention of the cherubims, which Esaias saw in the Spirit, standing about the throne of God, and with two wings covering their faces, and with two their feet, and flying with two, and saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts!" This is much the same with the thanksgiving in St. James's Liturgy, which was used in the Church of Jerusalem, in this form:³ "It is very meet and right, becoming us and our duty, that we should praise Thee and celebrate Thee with hymns, and give thanks unto Thee, the maker of all creatures, visible and invisible, the treasure of all good, the fountain of life and immortality, the God and Lord of all things, whom the heavens, and the heaven of heavens praise, and all the host of them; the sun and moon and the whole company of stars; the earth and sea and all that are in them; the celestial con-

¹ Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 399.
n. 5.

² Cyril Catech. Myst. v.

³ Liturg. Jacobi, Bibl. Patr. Gr. lat. tom. ii. p. 12.

gregation of Jerusalem; the Church of the first born, who are written in heaven; the spirits of just men and prophets, the souls of martyrs and Apostles; angels and archangels, thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, the tremendous hosts and cherubims with many eyes, and seraphims with six wings, with two whereof they cover their faces, and with two their feet, and with two they fly, crying out incessantly one to another, and singing with loud voices the triumphal song of the magnificence of thy glory, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory! Hosanna in the highest! Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!"

St. Chrysostom also speaks of this thanksgiving,¹ though he does not give us the whole form of it, but only the introduction, saying, "the prayer of thanksgiving is common both to priest and people. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people. For first he receives their answer and attestation, 'that it is meet and right to praise the Lord,' and then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should you wonder, that the people should sometimes speak with the priest, when they do even with the cherubims and celestial powers send up those sacred hymns to heaven above?" He means those hymns, 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' &c! And 'Glory be to God on high!' which, as we shall presently see, were one part of this great thanksgiving."

Among the Latin writers this previous giving of thanks is mentioned by Fulgentius also,² who says, in the Christian sacrifice there was both a thanksgiving, and a commemoration made of the flesh of Christ, and of his blood, which He shed for our sakes. And so St. Ambrose,³ or whoever was the author of the Books *De Sacramentis*, among his works, distinguishing between the thanksgiving and the

¹ Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. p. 873. It. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 739.

Ἵπὲρ τῆς οἰκεμένης ἐξ τῶν κοινῶν εὐχαριστῆμεν ἀγαθῶν.

² Fulgent.

de Fide ad Petrum. cap. xix. In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio, atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit.

³ Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. iv. cap. 4. Consecratio igitur quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris. Ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile

consecration, asks; with what words, and with whose words is the consecration made? and answers; with the words of the Lord Jesus. For all, that goes before, is either the glorification and praise of God, or prayer for the people, for kings, and the rest of mankind. But when the priest comes to the consecration of the holy sacrament, then he uses not his own words, but the words of Christ. By all which it is indisputably evident, that the consecration of the sacrament was ushered in with a solemn thanksgiving or glorification of God for all his gifts and benefits, whence the whole action had the name of *Ἐυχαριστία*, the *eucharist* or *thanksgiving*, because this was always premised as a necessary part of the sacred mystery; and the whole action and ceremony was concluded with another thanksgiving after communicating, as we shall see hereafter.

SECT. 10.—Of the Use of the Trisagion, or Seraphical Hymn, Holy, Holy, Holy, in this Thanksgiving.

At present we are to observe, that one part of this glorification or thanksgiving was the hymn called the Trisagion, and Epinicion, the seraphical and triumphal hymn, “ Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory!” This is evident from the last mentioned passages of St. Cyril¹ and St. Chrysostom,² who in other places gives a more particular account of the use of it at the Lord’s table, “ Heretofore,” says he,³ “ this hymn was only sung in heaven; but after that the Lord vouchsafed to come down upon earth, he brought this melody to us also. Therefore the bishop, when he stands at this holy table, to present our rational service, and offer the unbloody sacrifice, does not simply call upon us to join in this glorifi-

sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi.

¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 5.
Cor. p. 873.

² Chrys. Hom. xviii. in 2
³ Chrys. Hom. in Seraphim. tom. iii. p. 890.

cation, but first naming the cherubims, and making mention of the seraphims, he then exhorts us all to send up these tremendous words, and withdrawing our minds from the earth by intimating with what company we make a choir, he cries out to every man, and says, as it were in these words, ‘Thou singest with the seraphims, stand together with the seraphims, stretch forth thy wings with them, with them fly round the royal throne.’” In another place,¹ showing the obligation, which the eucharist lays upon men, to keep every member of the body pure from sin, the hands and mouth that receive it, the eyes that view it, the tongue that ministers in those mysteries and is died in blood, he argues thus particularly with respect to the ears: “How absurd is it after that mystical hymn, which was brought by the cherubims from heaven, to pollute your ears with songs of harlots, and the effeminate melodies of the theatre?” Which plainly implies, that this seraphical hymn was one part of this great thanksgiving. He says the same in his first Homily upon Isaiah:² “the seraphims above sing the holy Trisagion-hymn: the holy congregation of men on earth send up the same: the general assembly of celestial and earthly creatures join together: there is *one thanksgiving*,—*μία εὐχαριζέτα*,—one exultation, one choir of men and angels in one station rejoicing together.” In another place reproving those, who stayed at the communion-service, when they would not communicate, he tells them,³ “It was better that they should be absent, for they did but affront Him that invited them, whilst they stayed to sing the hymn professing themselves to be of the worthy, whilst they did not recede with the unworthy. How could you stay, and not partake of the table? I am unworthy, say you. If so, you are unworthy to communicate in prayers also. For it is not only the bare elements, but those hymns, that cause the spirit to descend upon them.” Though he does not here name the hymns, he plainly intimates however

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxi. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 266.

² Hom. i. in Esai. tom. iii. p. 834.

³ Chrys. Hom. iii. in

Ephes. p. 1052.

that they were commonly used in this part of the eucharistical service. And elsewhere he speaks more plainly:¹ “The faithful,” says he, “know what are the hymns of the powers above; what the cherubims sing in heaven; what the angels sung, ‘Glory be to God in the highest.’ Therefore hymns come after the psalmody, as a thing of greater perfection.” He means, that psalmody was only a part of the service of the catechumens: but these hymns were used by the *Τελειοι*, the *communicants*, in the service of the altar. He mentions the same in many other places,² which the reader may find above,³ in the collection of the ancient Liturgy out of St. Chrysostom’s works: I will only repeat one passage more out of his Homily upon the Martyrs. “The martyrs,” says he,⁴ “are now joining in concert, and partaking in the mystical songs of the heavenly choir. For if whilst they were in the body, whenever they communicated in the sacred mysteries, they made part of the choir, singing with the cherubims the Trisagion-hymn, Holy! Holy! Holy! as all ye that are initiated in the holy mysteries, very well know; much more now, being joined with them whose partners they were in the earthly choir, they do with greater freedom partake in those solemn blessings and glorifications of God in heaven above. There needs no recourse now after this to be had to the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, to prove that this divine hymn was always a part of the solemn thanksgiving, since it is more solidly proved out of his genuine writings. To which we may add Severianus of Gabala for the Greek Church,⁵ and the Council of Vaison for the Latin,⁶ which says, that in all communion-services, whether they were morning services, or quadrage-

¹ Hom. xxiv. de Baptismo Christi. tom. i. p. 317.

² Hom. iv. de Incomprehensibili. tom. i. p. 374. Hom. xvi. Siesurierit Inimicus. tom. v. p. 229. Hom. iii. de Pœnitent. tom. iv. p. 562. Epist. ii. ad Olympiad. tom. iv. p. 715. Hom. xiv. in Ephes. p. 1127.

³ Book xiii. cap. 6.

⁴ Hom. lxxiv. de Martyr. tom. i. p. 900.

⁵ Hom. xxxvii. de Filio Prodigio. inter Opera Chrysost. tom. vi. p. 375.

⁶ Con. Vasens. ii. can. 3. Ut in omnibus missis, seu in matutinis, seu in quadragesimalibus seu in illis, que pro defunctorum commemoratione fiunt, semper Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus! eo ordine quo ad missas publicas dicitur, dici debeat.

simal, or commemorations for the dead, the hymn, *Holy! Holy! Holy!* should be used in the same order, as in the public service.

SECT. 11.—A particular Thanksgiving for the Mercies of God in the Redemption of Mankind by Christ.

Next after this, there follows in the Constitutions a particular enumeration of the mercies of God vouchsafed to mankind in the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and a more special thanksgiving with respect to them; wherein also is contained a sort of Creed, or summary of the chief articles of the Christian faith. Which was all the Creed that the Church in that age made use of in that service. For as yet the formal repetition of the baptismal creed was no part of the communion-service, as it was in after-ages, but only such doctrines were related as were the subject of a particular thanksgiving for the great mysteries of the incarnation and redemption. Thus it is represented in the Constitutions, with which St. Chrysostom exactly corresponds. For, commenting on those words of the Apostle, “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?” He brings in the Apostle thus explaining himself: “When I speak of a blessing, I unfold all the treasure of God’s beneficence, and commemorate all his great and glorious gifts.” And he adds, “we also in offering the cup recite the ineffable mercies and kindness of God, and all the good things we enjoy: and so we offer it and communicate; giving Him thanks for that He hath delivered mankind from error;¹ that He hath made us near, who were afar off; that then we were without hope; and without God in the world, He hath made us the brethren of Christ, and fellow-heirs with Him. For these and all the like blessings we give Him thanks, and so come to his holy table.” We cannot have a plainer proof of a particular thanksgiving than this is, and

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. p. 532. So Cyprian. Ep. 63. p. 156. *Pas-*
sionis ejus mentionem in omnibus sacrificiis facimus.

therefore I shall seek for no further evidence in the case; but proceed to the immediate form of consecration.

SECT. 12.—The Form of Consecration always composed of a Repetition of the Words of Institution, and Prayer to God to sanctify the Gifts by his Holy Spirit.

Now this anciently was not a bare repetition of those words, “*Hoc est corpus meum, this is my body,*” which for many ages has been the current doctrine of the Romish schools; but a repetition of the history of the institution, together with prayers to God, that He would send his Holy Spirit upon the gifts and make them become the body and blood of Christ; not by altering their nature and substance but their qualities and powers, and exalting them from simple elements of bread and wine to become types and symbols of Christ’s flesh and blood, and efficacious instruments of conveying to worthy receivers all the benefits of his death and passion. Thus it is evidently set forth in the Constitutions, which for the reader’s ease, I will here again repeat:¹ “We therefore in commemoration of these things, which Christ suffered for us, give thanks to Thee, Almighty God, not as Thou deservest, and as we ought, but as we are able, so fulfilling his command, for He, in the same night, that He was betrayed, took bread in his holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to Thee, his God and father, He brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, this is the mystery of the New Testament; take of it, and eat it; this is my body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew forth my death till I come. We therefore being mindful of his passion and death, and resurrection from the dead, and his return into heaven; and also of his second coming, when He shall return with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and render to every man according to his works; do offer unto Thee, our King and God, this bread and this cup, according to his appointment; giving thanks to Thee by Him, for that Thou dost vouch-

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 492.

safe to let us stand before Thee, and minister unto Thee: and we beseech Thee to look propitiously upon these gifts here set before Thee, and to accept them favourably to the honour of thy Christ, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the Spirit that is witness of the suffering of the Lord Jesus, that it may make this bread become the body of thy Christ; that they, who partake of it, may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins; may be delivered from the devil and his impostures; may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life, Thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty."

Who sees not, that the consecration in this form is made by a repetition of the history of the institution, and prayer for the coming of the Holy Ghost on the elements to sanctify them? And for this there is the concurrent testimony of all antiquity. Justin Martyr makes the consecration to consist in thanksgiving and prayers,¹ which being ended, all the people answer, Amen! Irenæus says more expressly,² "that it is done by invocation of God: for the bread, which is taken from the earth, has the invocation of God upon it and then it is no longer common bread, but the eucharist." Origen says,³ "It is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Cyril of Jerusalem tells his catechumens,⁴ "that before the invocation of the Holy Trinity the bread and wine of the eucharist is common bread and wine; but after the invocation it is no longer bare bread, but the body of Christ: as the holy oil is not bare oil after the invocation, but the gift of Christ." So again,⁵ "after we have sanctified ourselves by those spiritual hymns, we then pray the merciful God, that He would send forth his holy Spirit upon the elements lying upon the altar, that He may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ."

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.
à terrâ panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia.

² Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. Qui est
³ Orig. in Mat. xv. tom. ii. p. 27 Sanctificatur per Verbum Dei, perque obsecrationem.

⁴ Cyril. Catech. Myst. iii. n. 3. Μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τῶν Ἁγίων Πνεύματος, ἕκ ἐτι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ. &c.

⁵ Id. Catech. Myst. v. n. 5.

Which manifestly declares that the consecration was made by prayer and invocation. And the same is implied by St. Basil,¹ when he asks, “ which of the saints hath left us in writing the words of the invocation, by which the bread of the eucharist and the cup of blessing is consecrated ?” Gregory Nyssen,² St. Basil’s brother, says, “ the bread is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.” Theophilus of Alexandria,³ “ that the bread and wine, which represents the Lord’s body and blood upon the table, are consecrated by invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost upon them.” And Theodoret most plainly in one of his Dialogues,⁴ what do you call the gift that is offered, before the priest has made the invocation over it ? Bread made of such seeds. What do you call it after sanctification ? The body of Christ.” The Latin Fathers are as plain in their verdict. St. Ambrose says,⁵ “ the sacraments which we take, are transformed into flesh and blood by the mystery of holy prayer.” And Optatus, describing the fury of the Donatists, asserts the same,⁶ when he asks them, “ what greater sacrilege they could be guilty of, than to pull down the altars of God, where God Almighty was invocated, and the holy spirit came down at the supplication of the priest ?” St. Jerom says,⁷ “ it was the peculiar office of the presbyters to consecrate the body and blood of Christ by prayer.” And again,⁸ “ that prayer was necessary for this purpose.” The author of the Books, *De Sacramentis*, under the name of St. Ambrose,⁹ gives us the very form of words used in

¹ Basil. de Spir. Sancto. cap. xxvii.
Catechetic. cap. xxxvii.

² Nyssen. Orat. Dominicum, quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur, &c. per invocationem et adventum Sancti Spiritus consecrari.

³ Theoph. Ep. Paschal. i. Panem
⁴ Theodor. Dial. ii. tom. iv. p. 85.

⁵ Ambros. de Fide lib. iv. cap. 5. Quotiescunque sacramenta sumimus, quæ per sacræ orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annunciamus.

⁶ Optat. lib. vi. p. 93. Quid tam sacrilegum, quàm altaria Dei frangere—quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, et postulatus descendit Spiritus Sanctus ?

⁷ Hieron. Ep. 85. ad Evagrium. Ad quorum Preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur.

⁸ Id. com. in Zephan. cap. iii. p. 98. Ἐχρηστίαν imprecantis facere verba, &c.

⁹ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 5. Vis scire, quia verbis cœlestibus consecratur ? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit

this prayer: "Make this our oblation, a chosen, rational acceptable oblation, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." Juvencus says,¹ "Christ himself consecrated it by prayer." And Gregory the Great was of opinion,² that the Apostles used only the Lord's prayer as the form of their consecration. And Cyprian probably was of the same opinion. For he thinks, that petition in the Lord's prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' may be understood both in a spiritual and common sense,³ to denote the body of Christ, which is our bread, that we pray may be given us every day. A great many other Fathers speak of the benediction or thanksgiving as that which consecrates the eucharist.⁴ Which is not much different from this; for the thanksgiving was always a part of the eucharistical prayers. And therefore some join them both together, as Justin Martyr and Irenæus, in the places now mentioned. And so Origen tells Celsus,⁵ "that by thanksgiving and prayer they made bread an holy body, sanctifying such as received and eat it with a pure mind." And St. Austin,⁶ who in some places calls it barely the benediction or thanksgiving, in other places says more expressly, that the eucharist was consecrated by prayer. "We call that, the body of Christ, which is taken from the fruits of

sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

¹ Juvencus Hist. Evangel. lib. iv. Bibl. Patr. tom. viii. p. 654. Sanctèque precatus, discipulos docuit proprium se tradere corpus.

² Greg. lib. vii. Ep. 63. Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.

³ Cypr. de Orat. p. 146. Quod potest et spiritualiter et simpliciter intelligi — quia Christus noster panis est. Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus.

⁴ Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. i. cap. 23. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. ii. cap. 2. Chrys. Hom. lxxxii. in Mat. Victor. Antioch. in Marc. xiv. Facundus Hermianensis Defens. Trium. capitulor. lib. ix. Cyril. Alexandrin. Com. in Esa. xxv. Item passim. in Glaphyris super Genes. Exod. Levit. styles it Eulogia, which is the same as Eucharist or benediction. Vid. Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 21.

⁵ Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 390. *Μετὰ εὐχαριστίας ἡ εὐχὴς.* &c. Aug. Ep. lix. ad Paulin.

the earth, and consecrated by mystical prayer in a solemn manner, and so received by us unto salvation in memory of our Lord's suffering for us."¹ And writing against the Donatists, who denied the validity of the sacraments, when they were consecrated and administered by sinners, he asks them,² "How then does God hear a murderer, when he prays either over the water of baptism, or the oil for unction, or over the eucharist, or over the heads of those that receive imposition of hands?" Implying that the consecration of the eucharist, as well as the rest of the things mentioned, was performed by prayer.

To this mighty cloud of witnesses, the Romanists have nothing material to oppose but a few mistaken passages of the Ancients, which the reader may find related with proper answers in that excellent book of Mr. Aubertine upon the Eucharist.³ I shall only take notice of one, which carries the fairest pretence, out of Chrysostom, who, in one of his homilies, speaks of the consecration after this manner:⁴ "It is not man, that makes the elements become the body and blood of Christ, but Christ himself that was crucified for us. The priest stands fulfilling his office, and speaking those words; but the power and grace is of God. Christ said, 'This is my body:' this word consecrates the elements. And as that word, which said, 'Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth,' was spoken but once, yet at all times is effectual indeed to strengthen our nature to beget children: so this word once spoken, from that time to this day, and until his coming again, perfects and consummates the sacrifice on every table throughout the Churches." The meaning of which is not, as the Romanists mistake, that the pronouncing of these words by the priest, is the thing that makes the sacrifice; but that Christ,

¹ Aug. de Trinitate. lib. iii. cap. iv. Corpus Christi dicimus illud, quod ex frugibus terræ acceptum, et mysticâ Prece consecratum ritè, sumimus ad spiritualem salutem, in memoriam Dominicæ pro nobis passionis.

² De Baptismo. lib. v. cap. 20. Quomodo ergo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum, quibus manus imponitur?

³ Albertin. de Eucharistia. lib. i. cap. 7.

⁴ Chrys. Hom.

xxx. de Proditione Judæ. tom. v. p. 163.

by first speaking those words, gave power unto men to make his symbolical body; as by once speaking those words ‘increase and multiply,’ he gave them power to procreate children. Christ’s words are the original cause of the consecration; but still prayer, and not the bare repetition of his words, is the instrumental cause and means of the sanctification. As Chrysostom himself says plainly in another place,¹ where he attributes the consecration of the elements to the invocation of the spirit, and the spirit’s descent pursuant to such invocation. “What meanest thou, O man,” says he, “when the priest stands by the holy table, lifting up his hands to heaven, and invoking the Holy Spirit to come down, and touch the elements, there should then be great tranquillity and silence. When the Spirit grants his grace, when He comes down, when He touches the elements, when thou seest the Lamb slain and offered, dost thou then raise a tumult and commotion and give way to strife and railing?” In which words, it is plain, Chrysostom attributes the consecration to the power of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the principal and efficient cause; to prayer and supplication, as the instrumental cause, operating by way of condition and means, to sanctify the elements according to Christ’s command, by a solemn benediction, and to the words, ‘This is my body,’ and ‘This is my blood:’ as spoken by Christ in the first institution, implying a declaration of what was then done, and what should be done by his power and concurrence to the end of the world. So that in all things relating to the consecration, we find the practice of the Ancients exactly corresponding and agreeing to the order prescribed in the Constitutions. And whereas the Author of the Constitutions makes it a very great part of the consecration-prayer, that they, who partake of the eucharist, may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the devil, and his impostures, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxxii. in Cœmeterii Appellationem. tom. v. p. 487. It. de Sacerdot. lib. vi. cap. iv. p. 93. tom. iv. Et de Sacerdot. lib. iii. cap. 4.

life. St. Chrysostom¹ evidently refers to such a prayer when he says, "In the oblation we offer up our sins, and say, Pardon us whatever sins we have committed either willingly, or unwillingly. We first make mention of them, and then ask pardon for them." And so it is in the Liturgy which goes under St. Chrysostom's name:² "We offer unto Thee this rational and unbloody service, beseeching Thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon us and these gifts; make the bread the precious body of thy Christ; and that which is in the cup, the precious blood of thy Christ; transmuting them by thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to the receivers for the washing of their souls, for pardon of sins, for participation of the Holy Ghost, for obtaining the kingdom of heaven, for boldness towards Thee, and not for judgment and condemnation."

SECT. 12.—After this followed Prayer for the whole Catholic Church.

Immediately after the consecration, followed prayer for the whole Catholic Church, as redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, which was then commemorated in the oblation and sacrifice of the altar. Thus it is represented in the Constitutions, and thus also in St. Chrysostom,³ who, speaking of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, says, "he had the care of the whole Church upon him; which he learned to be his duty from the prayers of the Church. For if prayers ought to be made for the Catholic Church, from one end of the earth to the other, much more did he think it his duty to shew his concern for the whole Church, and watch for their preservation." In another place⁴ he says, "the priest, when the sacrifice was offered, bid the people to pray, or give thanks rather, for the whole world, for those that were absent, and those that were present; for those that were before them, and for those that were then living, and for those that should be

¹ Chrys. Hom. xvii. in Hebr. p. 1870. ² Chrys. Liturg. tom. iv, p. 614. It. p. 619. Συγχώρησόν μοι τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὰ παραπτώματά με τὰ ἐκεία τε ἢ ἀκεία, &c.

³ Chrys. Hom. lii. in Eustath. tom. i, p. 649.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xxvi. in Mat. p. 259.

after them." And again,¹ he speaks of prayer for the world, the Church, and the common peace and tranquillity of mankind. He says,² "the priest prayed at the altar in the time of oblation for the whole city, and not for the whole city only, but for the whole world." So Cyril of Jerusalem³ says, "as soon as the spiritual sacrifice was offered, they besought God for the common peace of the Church, and the tranquillity of the world, &c." And Vigilius,⁴ in a letter to Justinian, reminds him, how it was customary, from ancient tradition, for all bishops, in offering the sacrifice, to beseech God to unite all men in the Catholic faith, and to protect and keep it throughout the world. Nay, Optatus says,⁵ the Donatists continued to use this prayer in the celebration of the sacramental mysteries, though their doctrine and practice were the absolute reverse of it. They said, they offered for the Church, which was one, diffused over all the world: but their practice gave their prayers the lie: for they divided it into two, and confined the true Church to a corner of Afric, and the party of Donatus. However this shews, it was the practice both of Donatists and Catholics to pray for the Universal Church.

SECT. 13.—More particularly for the Bishops and Clergy.

More particularly they now repeated their prayers again for the bishops and clergy of the whole Catholic Church, and that Church especially whereof they were members. Which is not only noted in the Constitutions, but by Epiphanius,⁶ in

¹ Hom. xxxvii. in Act. p. 329.
 sacerdot. lib. vi. cap. iv. tom. iii. p. 93.
 Myst. v. n. 6.

² Chrys. de Sa-
³ Cyril. Catech.

⁴ Vigil. Ep. iv. ad Justinian. Imperator. Con.
 tom. v. p. 315. Omnes pontifices, antiquâ in offerendo sacrificia traditione,
 deprecimus, ut catholicam fidem adunare, regere Dominum, et custodire toto
 orbe dignetur.

⁵ Optat. lib. ii. p. 53. Vos illud legitimum
 in sacramentorum mysterio præterire non posse. Offerre vos dicitis pro ec-
 clesiâ, quæ una est. Hoc ipsum mendacii pars est, unam vocare, de quâ
 feceris duas. Et offerre vos dicitis pro unâ ecclesiâ, quæ sit in toto terrarum
 orbe diffusa, &c.

⁶ Epiphani. Ep. ad Joan. Hierosol. p. 313. Dixerunt quod in oratione,
 quando offerimus sacrificia Deo, solemus pro te dicere: 'Domine præsta
 Joanni, ut rectè credat.' Noli nos in tantum putare rusticos, &c. Quando
 autem complemUS orationem secundum ritum mysteriorem, et pro omnibus

his letter to John, bishop of Jerusalem, where he wipes off a slander, which some had falsely suggested to the bishop of Jerusalem, as if he had prayed publicly, that God would grant him an orthodox faith, implying that he was in error; which he denies, telling them, "that however he might pray for him after that manner privately in his heart, yet he never did so in the oblation of the sacrifice; for in offering those prayers, according to the order of the holy mysteries, they were used to say both for him and all other bishops: 'Keep him, O Lord, that preacheth the truth;' or else after this manner: 'Preserve him, O Lord, and grant that he may preach the truth;' according as the occasion and order of prayer required." St. Chrysostom also takes notice of this solemn praying for bishops and the clergy, and among many other particulars, when the oblation was offered. "Some," says he,¹ "are so inconsiderate, dissolute, and vain, as to stand and talk, not only in the time of the catechumens, that is, when prayers were made for them in the first service, but also at the time of the faithful, or when their prayers were offered at the altar. And this," says he, "is the subversion and ruin of all religion, that at that time, when men ought chiefly to render God propitious to them, they go away provoking his wrath against them. For in the prayers of the faithful, we are commanded to supplicate the merciful God for bishops, for presbyters, for kings, for all that are in authority; for the earth and sea, for the temperature of the air or good weather, and for the whole world. When therefore we, who ought to have so much boldness and freedom as to pray for others, are not vigilant enough to pray for ourselves with an attentive mind; what excuse can we make? what pardon can we expect?" We cannot desire a plainer evidence than this of Chrysostom, that all these things were the subject-matter of their petitions, when the oblation was made upon the altar.

et pro te quoque dicimus: 'Custodi illum qui prædicat veritatem.' Vel certè ita: 'Tu præsta, Domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis,' sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit, et habuerit oratio consequentiam.

¹ Chrys. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 745.

SECT. 14.—For Kings and Magistrates.

And therefore hence it appears, that as they prayed for the bishops and the clergy, so they repeated their supplication for kings and magistrates in this prayer also. I have noted before¹ the several authors that take notice of their praying for kings in the prayers before the oblation, and here I will subjoin such as mention it in the oblation prayer. Eusebius, describing the dedication of the Church, which Constantine built at Jerusalem, says, “some of the bishops then present made panegyric orations upon Constantine’s great respect for the common Saviour, and the magnificence of his temple; others preached upon points of divinity proper to the occasion; others explained the mystical sense of Scripture; and others, who could not attain to this, celebrated the mystical service and offered the unbloody sacrifice to God, making prayers for the common peace² of the world, for the Church of God, for the Emperor himself, the founder of the Church, and for his pious children.” In like manner Cyril of Jerusalem, describing the order of the communion-service, says, “after the spiritual sacrifice, and the unbloody service of the propitiatory oblation is completed, we beseech God for the common peace of the Churches, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for their armies, for their allies, for those that are sick and afflicted, and in short for all that stand in need of help and assistance.” St. Chrysostom elsewhere mentions both private and public prayers³ for kings, the latter of which may be understood of these prayers after the oblation, as well as any others. Arnobius says expressly⁴ “they prayed at once for the magistrates, for their armies, for kings, for their friends, and for their enemies, for the living, and for the

¹ Book xiii. chap. x. sect. 5. It. Book xv. chap. i. sect. 3.

² Euseb. Vit. Constant. lib. iv. cap. 45.

³ Chrys. Hom. xx. ad

Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 258.

⁴ Arnob. lib. iv. p. 181. Cur immaniter conventicula nostra dirui meruerint? In quibus summus oratur Deus,

pax cunctis et venia postuletur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vincione.

dead." Where his mentioning the dead plainly shews, that he speaks of those prayers which were made after the eucharist was consecrated, in which, as we shall see by and by, a particular commemoration was made of all those that were departed in the faith.

SECT. 15.—For the Dead in general.

Next after prayer for kings followed prayer for the dead, that is, for all that were departed in the true faith in Christ. For so it is in the Constitutions. "We offer unto Thee for all thy saints, that have lived well pleasing in thy sight from the foundation of the world, for patriarchs, prophets, holy men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names thou knowest." And that this was the general practice of the Church, to pray for all without exception, appears from the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the Church. We have heard Arnobius say already,¹ that they prayed for the living and the dead in general. And long before him, Tertullian² speaks of oblations for the dead, for their birth-days, that is, the day of their death, or a new birth unto happiness, in their annual commemorations. He says every woman³ prayed for the soul of her deceased husband, desiring that he might find rest and refreshment at present, and a part in the first resurrection, and offering an annual oblation for him on the day of his death. In like manner,⁴ he says, the husband prayed for the soul of his wife, and offered annual oblations for her. St. Cyprian often mentions the same practice, both when he speaks of martyrs and others. For the martyrs they offered the oblation of prayer, and of praise and thanksgiving: for others, prayers chiefly. Those for the martyrs he calls⁵ oblations and sacrifices of

¹ Arnob. lib. iv. p. 181. cited in the last section. ² Tertul. de Coron. Militis. cap. iii. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annuâ die facimus. ³ De Monogamia. cap. x. Pro animâ ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in primâ resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus. ⁴ Exhortat. ad Castitat. cap. xi. Jam repete apud Deum pro ejus Spiritu postules, pro quâ oblationes annuas reddas. ⁵ Cypr. Ep. xxxvii. al. 22. ad Clerum. p. 28. Celebrentur hic à nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum.

commemoration, which they offered especially on the anniversary days of their martyrdom,¹ giving God thanks for their victory and coronation. But for others they made solemn supplications and prayers, as appears from what he says of one Geminus Victor,² that because he had appointed a presbyter to be his executor, contrary to law, no oblation should be made for his rest or sleep, nor any deprecation be used in his name, according to custom, in the Church. The Author under the name of Origen upon Job says,³ “they made devout mention of the saints, and their parents and friends, that were dead in the faith; as well to rejoice in their refreshment, as to desire for themselves a pious consummation in the faith.” And Origen himself says,⁴ “they thought it convenient to make mention of the saints in their prayers, and to excite themselves by the remembrance of them.” Cyril of Jerusalem, in describing the prayer after consecration, says,⁵ “We offer this sacrifice in memory of all those that are fallen asleep before us, first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God by their prayers and intercessions may receive our supplications; and then we pray for our holy Fathers and bishops, and all that are fallen asleep before us, believing it to be a considerable advantage to their souls to be prayed for, whilst the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar.” Epiphanius disputes at large against the Arians, who ridiculed all prayers for the dead. For they said, “If the prayers of the living will advantage the dead, then it was no matter for being pious or virtuous; a man only needed to get his friends to pray for him after death, and he would be liable to no punishment, nor would his most enormous crimes be required of him.” To whom Epiphanius replies, “that they had many good reasons for mentioning the names of the

¹ Ep. xxxiv. al. 89. p. 77. *Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversariâ commemoratione celebramus.*

² Ep. lxvi. al. i. p. 3. *Non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesiâ frequentetur.*

³ Orig. in Job. lib. iii. tom. i. p. 437.

⁴ Orig. lib. ix. in Rom. xii. tom. ii. p. 607. *Meminisse sanctorum sive in collectis solennibus, sive pro eo ut ex recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum et conveniens videtur.*

⁵ Cyril. Catech. Myst. 5. n. 6.

dead; because it was an argument that they were still in being, and living with the Lord; because it was some advantage to sinners, though it did not wholly cancel their crimes; because it put a distinction between the perfection of Christ, and the imperfection of all other men: therefore they prayed for righteous men, fathers, patriarchs,¹ prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, hermits, and all orders of men." And it appears from all the ancient Liturgies under the names of St. Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril,² that they prayed for all saints, the Virgin Mary herself not excepted. And it is remarkable, that in the old Roman Missal they were used to pray for the soul of St. Leo, as Hincmar,³ a writer of the ninth age, informs us, who says the prayer ran in this form, "Grant, O Lord, that this oblation may be of advantage to the soul of thy servant Leo, which Thou hast appointed to be for the relaxation of the sins of the whole world." But this was thought so incongruous in the following ages, that in the later Sacramentaries or Missals it was changed into this form: "Grant O Lord, we beseech Thee, that this oblation may be of advantage to us by the intercession of St. Leo," as Pope Innocent the Third⁴ assures us it was in his time. And such another alteration was made in Pope Gregory's Sacramentarium. For in the old Greek and Latin edition⁵ there is this prayer: "Remember, O Lord, all Thy servants, men and women, who have gone before us in the seal of the faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace: we beseech Thee, O Lord, to grant them, and all that rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord." But in the new reformed Missals⁶ it is altered thus, "Remember, Lord, Thy servants and handmaids N.

¹ Epiphian. Hær. lxxv. Arian. n. 7.

² See these quoted by Bishop Usher's Answer to the Challenge. p. 136. Et Dallæus de Pœnis et Satisfaction. lib. v. cap. 8.

³ Hincmar. de Prædestin. lib. i. cap. 34. Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio, quam immolando totius mundi tribuisti relaxari delicta. tom. i. p. 297.

⁴ Innoc. Epist. in Decretal. Gregor. lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. vi. p. 1372. Annue nobis, quæsumus Domine, ut intercessione Beati Leonis, hæc nobis prosit oblatio. Missal. Fest. Leonis. jun. xxviii.

⁵ Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 129.

⁶ Missal. Roman. in Canone Missæ. p. 301.

and N. that have gone before us, &c.” That they might not seem to pray for saints as well as others that were in purgatory. Which makes it very probable, that St. Cyril’s Catechism has also been tampered with, and a clause put in, which speaks of their praying to God by the intercession of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs: since the ancient Liturgies prayed for them as well as for all others. St. Chrysostom says expressly,¹ they offered for the martyrs. And so it is in his Greek Liturgy,² “ We offer unto Thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed lady, the mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary.” Though, as Bp. Usher³ has observed, some of the Latin translators have also given a perverse turn to these words, rendering them thus, “ We offer unto Thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers and fathers, by the intercession of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the saints.” For it sounded ill to the Latin ears to hear St. Chrysostom say, the ancient Church prayed for saints and martyrs. And yet he says it, not only in the forementioned places, but over and over again in others. In his forty-first Homily upon the first of Corinthians,⁴ speaking against immoderate sorrow for the death of sinners, he says, “ they are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers and supplications and alms and oblations. For these things were not designed in vain, neither is it without reason that we make mention of those that are deceased in the holy mysteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is slain to take away the sins of the world; but that some consolation may hence arise to them. Neither is it in vain, that he who stands at the altar, when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cries, ‘ We offer unto Thee for all those that are asleep in Christ,

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxi. in Act. tom iv. Edit. Savil. p. 736.

Liturg. tom. iv. p. 614.

p. 136.

² Chrys.

³ Usher’s Answer to the Challenge,

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xli. in 1 Cor. p. 701.

and all that make commemorations for them.' For if there were no commemorations made for them, these things would not be said.—Let us not, therefore, grow weary in giving them our assistance, and offering prayers for them. For the common propitiation of the whole world, is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole world, and name them with martyrs, with confessors, with priests, for we are one body, though one member be more excellent than another; and we may obtain a general pardon for them by our prayers, by our alms, by the help of those that are named together with them." He supposes here that the saints prayed for sinners, though at the same time the Church prayed both for the saints and martyrs and sinners together. In another place,¹ he says, "prayers were made in general for all those that were deceased in the faith, and none but catechumens dying in a voluntary neglect of baptism, were excluded from the benefit of them. "At that time," says he, "when all the people stand with their hands lift up to heaven, and all the company of priests with them, and the tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar, how shall we not move God to mercy, when we call upon Him for those that are deceased in the faith? I speak of them only: for the catechumens are not allowed this consolation, but are deprived of all assistance, except only giving alms for them." This then was a punishment inflicted upon the catechumens, of which Chrysostom speaks in other places;² and it appears to have been a settled rule by some ancient canons³ of the Church, of which I have had occasion to speak in a former Book,⁴ to deny catechumens the benefit of the Church's prayers after death. Chrysostom says again,⁵ that a bishop is to be intercessor for all the world, and to pray to God to be merciful to the sins of all men, not only the living, but the dead also. Cassian says also the *biothanati*, as they called them, that is, *men that laid violent hands upon themselves*, were excluded from the benefit of the Church's prayers. And therefore when one Hero, an old hermit, had

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Philip. p. 1225.
in Joan. p. 159. Hom. i. in Act. p. 11.

² Book x. chap. ii. sect. 18.

cap. 4. Vid. Hom. xxxii. in. Mat. p. 307.

³ Chrys. Hom. xxiv.

⁴ Con. Bracar. i. can. 35.

⁵ Chrys. de Sacerdot. lib. vi.

by the delusions of Satan, cast himself into a deep well, Pafnutius, the abbot, could hardly be prevailed upon to let him be reckoned any other than a self-murderer, and unworthy¹ of the memorial and oblation that was made for all those that were at rest in peace." Which is also noted in the Council of Braga,² where catechumens and self-murderers are put in the same class together, as persons that deserved neither the solemnities of Christian burial, nor the usual prayers and commemoration, that was made for the rest of Christians at the altar.

St. Austin had a singular opinion in this matter about prayer for the dead. For he thought the martyrs were not properly to be prayed for as other men, because they were admitted to the immediate fruition of heaven. There goes a common saying under his name, which Pope Innocent the Third quotes³ as Holy Scripture, "that he who prays for a martyr, does injury to the martyr, because they attained to perfection in this life, and have no need of the prayers of the Church,⁴ as all others have." Therefore he says,⁵ "when they were named at the altar, and their memorials celebrated, they did not commemorate them as persons for whom they prayed, as they did all others that rested in peace, but rather as men that prayed for the Church on earth, that we might follow their steps, who had attained to the perfection of charity in laying down their lives for Christ, according to that aphorism of Christ himself, 'Greater love than this hath no man, that he lay down his life for his

¹ Cassian. Collat. ii. cap. 5. Vix à presbytero abbate Pafnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter biathanatos reputatus, etiam memoriâ et oblatione pausantium judicaretur indignus. ² Con. Braear. i. can. xxxv.

³ Innoc. in Decretal. Gregorii. lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. v. Sacræ Scripturæ dicit auctoritas, quod injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre.

⁴ Aug. Ser. xvii. de Verbis Apostoli. tom. x. p. 132. Perfectio in hâc vitâ nonnulla est, ad quam sancti martyres pervenerunt. Ideòque habet ecclesiastica disciplina, quod fideles noverunt, cùm martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oratur, pro cæteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Injuria est enim pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari.

⁵ Aug. Tract. 84. in Joan. tom. ix. p. 185. Ad ipsam mensam non sic eos commemoramus, quemadmodum alios qui in pace requiescunt, sed magis ut (orent) ipsi pro nobis, ut eorum vestigiis adhæreamus, quia impleverunt ipsi charitatem. &c.

friends.' ” Upon this account St. Austin thought the oblations and alms that were usually offered in the Church for all the dead that had received baptism, were only thanksgivings for such as were very good ;¹ and propitiations for those that were not very bad ; and for such as were very evil, though they were no helps to them when they were dead, yet they were some consolation to the living. But as Bishop Usher² rightly observes, this was but a harsh interpretation of the prayers of the Church, to imagine that one and the same act of praying should be a petition for some, and for others a thanksgiving only : and therefore it is more reasonable to suppose, that the Church designed to pray for all ; especially since St. Austin,³ himself owns that the Church made supplications for all that died in the society of the Christian and Catholic faith ; as all the ancient forms of prayer do manifestly evince beyond all possibility of exception.

SECT. 16.—Upon what Grounds the Ancient Church prayed for the Dead, Saints, Martyrs, Confessors, as well as all others.

Supposing then, that the ancient Church made prayers for saints and martyrs, as well as all others, it remains to be inquired, upon what grounds and reasons she observed this custom ? whether upon the modern supposition of a purgatory-fire, or upon other reasons more agreeable to such a general practice ? That she did not do it upon the supposition of purgatory, appears evidently from what has been already observed out of the public offices of the Church, that she prayed for all the saints, martyrs, confessors, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and even the Virgin Mary herself, and all other holy men and women from the

¹ Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. ex. Cùm ergò sacrificia sive altaris sive quarumcumque eleemosynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valdè bonis gratiarum actiones sunt : pro non valdè malis propitiationses sunt : pro valdè malis etsi nulla sunt adjuncta mortuorum, qualescumque vivorum consolationes sunt. Quibus autem prosunt, aut ad hoc prosunt, ut sit plena remissio, aut certè tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio. ² Usher's

Answer to the Challenge. p. 142. ³ Aug. de Cura pro Mortuis. cap. iv. Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum : quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christianâ et Catholicâ societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus quorumque, sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia.

foundation of the world, who were supposed to be in a place of rest and happiness, and not in any place of purgation or torment. And this appears further from the private prayers made by St. Ambrose¹ for the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, and Gratian, and his own brother Saturus; and the directions he gives to Faustinus,² not to weep for his sister, but to make prayers and oblations for her. For all these were persons, of whom he had not the least doubt, but that their souls were in rest and happiness. As all the funeral service of the Ancients supposes, where they usually sung those verses of the Psalms. "Return again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee:" and again, "I will fear no evil, because Thou art with me:" and again, "Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compasseth me about." Which St. Chrysostom³ often bids his hearers remember, that whilst they prayed for the deceased party, they should not weep and lament immoderately as the heathen did, but give God thanks for taking him to a place of rest and security. Which is utterly inconsistent with their going into the dreadful pains of purgatory. St. Austin both prayed in private for his mother Monicha,⁴ and also speaks of the Church's prayers for her at her funeral, and afterward at the altar; and yet he made no question of her going hence from a state of piety here to a state of joy and felicity hereafter. And after the same manner Gregory Nazianzen⁵ prays God to receive the soul of his brother Cæsarius, who was lately regenerated by the Spirit in baptism. It is certain these prayere were not founded on a belief of a purgatory-fire after death, but upon a supposition that they were going to a place of rest and happiness, which was their first reason for praying for them, that God would receive them to himself and deliver them from condemnation. Secondly, Upon the same presumption some of their prayers for the dead were always eucharistical, or thanksgivings for their deliverance out of the troubles of this

¹ Ambros. de Obitu Theodosii. De Obitu Valentin. De Obitu Fratris.

² Ep. viii. ad Faustin.

³ Chrys. Hom. iv. in Hebr. p. 1785.

Hom. xxix. de Dormientibus. tom. v. p. 423. Vid. Cassian. Collat. ii. cap. 5.

⁴ Aug. Confess. lib. ix. cap. 12 & 13.

⁵ Naz. Orat. x. p. 176.

sinful world. As appears not only from the fore-mentioned testimonies of Chrysostom, but from the Author under the name of Dionysius,¹ who, in describing their funeral-service, speaks of the *Εὐχὴ εὐχαριστήσιος*, *the eucharistical prayers*, whereby they gave God thanks not only for martyrs, but for all Christians that died in the true faith and fear of God. A third reason of praying for them, was, because they justly conceived all men to die with some remainders of frailty and corruption, and therefore desired that God would deal with them according to his mercy, and not in strict justice according to their merits. For no one then was thought to have any real merit or title to eternal happiness, but only upon God's promises and mercy. St. Austin discourses excellently upon this point in the case of his mother Monicha, after this manner: "I now pour out unto thee, my God, another sort of tears for thy handmaid, flowing from a trembling spirit, in consideration of the danger that every soul is in that dies in Adam. For although she was made alive in Christ, and lived so in the days of her flesh, as to bring glory to thy name by her faith and practice: yet I dare not say, that from the time she was regenerated by baptism, no word came out of her mouth against thy command. And Thou hast told us by Him, who is truth itself, that whosoever shall say to his brother, thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. And woe to the most laudable life of man, if Thou shouldst sift and examine it without mercy. But because Thou art not extreme to mark what is done amiss, we have hope and confidence to find some² place and room for indulgence with Thee. But whoever reckons up his true merits before Thee, what does he more than recount thy own gifts? O, that all men would know themselves, and they that glory, glory in the Lord:

¹ Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. vii. p. 408.

² Aug. Confess. lib. ix. cap. 13. *Vae etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remotâ misericordiâ discutias eam. Quia verò non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem apud te locum invenire indulgentiæ. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? &c. Ego itaque, laus mea et vita mea, Deus cordis mei, sepositis paulisper bonis ejus actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meæ deprecor te, &c. Et credo jam feceris quod te rogo, &c.*

I therefore, O my praise, and my life, the God of my heart, setting aside a little her good actions, for which I joyfully give Thee thanks, now make intercession for the sins of my mother. Hear me through the medicine of His wounds, who hanged upon the tree, and now sitteth at thy right hand to make intercession for us." He adds a little after, that he believed God had granted what he asked: yet he prays, " that the lion and the dragon might not interpose himself, either by his open violence or subtilty. For she would not answer, that she was no debtor, lest the crafty adversary should convict her and lay hold of her; but she would answer, that her sins were forgiven her by Him, to whom no man can return what He gave to us without any obligation. Let her therefore rest in peace with her husband; and do Thou, my Lord God, inspire all those thy servants that read this, to remember thy handmaid Monicha at thy altar with Patricius, her consort." This was not a prayer for persons in the pains of purgatory; but for such as rested in peace, only without dependence upon their own merits, and with an humble reliance upon God's mercy, that he would not suffer them to be devoured by the roaring lion, nor deal extremely with them for the sins of human frailty. A fourth reason for these prayers, is that which we have heard before out of Epiphanius¹ that it was to put a distinction between the perfection of Christ, and the imperfection of all other men, saints, martyrs, apostles, prophets, confessors, &c. He being the only person, for whom prayer was not then made in the Church. Fifthly, They prayed for all Christians, as a testimony both of their respect and love to the dead, and of their own belief of the soul's immortality; to shew, as Epiphanius words it in the same place, that they believed, that they who were deceased were yet alive, and not extinguished, but still in being, and living with the Lord. Sixthly, Whereas the soul is but in an imperfect state of happiness till the resurrection, when the whole man shall obtain a complete victory over death, and by the last judgment be established

¹ Epiphani. Hær. lxxv. Arias. u. 7.

in an endless state of consummate happiness and glory ; the Church had a particular respect to this in her prayers for the righteous, that both the living and the dead might finally attain this blessed estate of a glorious resurrection. It is observed by some,¹ that there are some prayers yet extant in the Roman Mass, which are conformable to this opinion, as that which prays, that God would absolve the souls of his servants from every bond of sin, and bring them to the glory of the resurrection, &c.

All these were general reasons of praying for the dead, without the least intimation of their being tormented in the temporary pains of a purgatory-fire. Besides which, they had some particular opinions, which tended to promote this practice: for first, a great many of the Ancients believed that the souls of all the righteous, except martyrs, were sequestered out of heaven, in some place invisible to mortal eye, which they called Hades, or Paradise, or Abraham's Bosom, a place of refreshment and joy, where they expected a completer happiness at the end of all things. This is the known opinion of Hermes Pastor, Justin Martyr, Pope Pius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Caius Romanus, Victorinus Martyr, Novatian, Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory Nyssen, Prudentius, Austin, and Chrysostom. Therefore, in praying for the dead, they may be supposed to have some reference to this, and to desire that the souls of the righteous thus sequestered for a time, might at last be brought to the perfect fruition of happiness in heaven. Secondly, Many of the Ancients held the opinion of the Millenium, or the reign of Christ a thousand years upon earth, before the final day of judgment: and they supposed likewise, that men should rise, some sooner, some later, to this happy state, according to their merits and preparations for it. And therefore some of them prayed for the deceased on this supposition, that they might obtain a part in this resurrection, and a speedier admission into this kingdom: it being reckoned a sort of punishment not to be admitted with the first that should rise to this state of glory. Tertullian plainly

¹ Vid. du Moulin. Novelty of Popery. lib. vii. chap. i. p. 459.

refers to this,¹ when he says, “every little offence is to be punished by delaying men’s resurrection.” And therefore he says,² they were wont to pray for the souls of the deceased, “that they might not only rest in peace for the present, but also obtain part in the first resurrection.” And for this reason St. Ambrose³ prayed for Gratian and Valentinian, “that God would raise them with the first, and recompence their untimely death with a timely resurrection.” And he says, elsewhere,⁴ “that they who come not to the first resurrection, but are reserved unto the second, shall be burned until they fulfil the time between the first and second resurrection; or if they have not fulfilled that, they shall remain longer in punishment. Therefore let us pray, that we may obtain a part in the first resurrection.” Bishop Usher⁵ also shews out of some Gothic Missals, that the Church had anciently several prayers directed to this very purpose. Thirdly, Many of the Ancients believed, that there would be a fire of probation, through which all must pass at the last day, even the prophets and apostles, and even the Virgin Mary herself not excepted. Which is asserted not only by Origen,⁶ Irenæus,⁷ and Lactantius,⁸ but also by St. Ambrose, who says,⁹ after Origen, “that all must pass through the flames, though it be John, the evangelist, though it be Peter. The sons of Levi shall be purged by fire,¹⁰ Ezekiel, Daniel, &c. And these having been tried by fire, shall say, we have passed through fire and water.” And St. Hilary, much after the same

¹ Tertul. de Anim. cap. Iviii. Modicum quodque delictum morâ resurrectionis luendum, &c.

² De Monogam. cap. x. Pro animâ ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in primâ resurrectione consortium. Confer. lib. iii. cont. Marcion. cap. xxiv. Post mille annos, intra quam ætatem concluditur sanctorum resurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardiùs resurgentium, &c.

³ Ambros. de Obitu Valentin. ad finem. Te quæso, summe Deus, ut charissimos juvenes maturâ resurrectione suscites et resuscites; ut immaturum hunc vitæ istius cursum maturâ resurrectione compenses.

⁴ Id. in Psal. i. Qui non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur, isti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam et secundam resurrectionem: aut si non impleverint, diutiùs in supplicio permanent. Ideo ergo rogemus, ut in primâ resurrectione partem habere mereamur.

⁵ Usher. Answer to the Challenge, p. 151.

⁶ Orig. Hom. iiii.

in Psal. xxxvi. p. 446.

⁷ Iren. lib. iv. cap. ix.

⁸ Lactant. lib. vii. cap. 21.

⁹ Ambros. Ser. xx. in Psal. 118.

¹⁰ Id. Hom. iiii. in Psal. 36.

manner,¹ they that are baptised with the Holy Ghost, are yet to be perfected by the fire of judgment. For so he interprets those words of the Evangelist, "He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." And again,² "Do we desire the day of judgment, in which we must undergo the exact scrutiny of fire: in which we must give an account of every idle word: in which those grievous punishments for expiating souls from sin, must be endured? If the Virgin herself, who conceived God in her womb, must undergo the severity of judgment, who is so bold as to desire to be judged by God?" There are many like passages in Gregory Nazianzen,³ and Nyssen,⁴ and St. Jerom,⁵ and St. Austin,⁶ which the Romish writers commonly produce for the fire of purgatory, whereas they plainly relate to this "purging sacrament," as Origen calls it,⁷ or in St. Austin's language, "the purging pains of the fire of judgment at the last day." And the fear of this was another reason of their praying for the dead. Fourthly, Some of the Ancients thought likewise, that the prayers of the Church were of some use to mitigate the pains of the damned souls, though not effectual for their total deliverance. And lastly, that they served to augment the glory of the saints in happiness. St. Austin says,⁸ they were of use to render the damnation of the wicked more tolerable. And this was the opinion of Prudentius,⁹ and St. Chrysostom,¹⁰

¹ Hilar. in Mat. Canon. ii. p. 148. Quia baptizatis in Spiritu Sancto reliquum sit consummari igne judicii.

² Id. Enarrat. in Psal. 118. Voce Gimel. p. 254. Cùm ex omni otioso verbo rationem simus præstituri, diem judicii concupiscemus, in quo nobis est indefessus ignis obeundus; in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ à peccatis animæ supplicia? &c.

³ Naz. Orat. xlii. ⁴ Nyssen. de Dormientibus.

⁵ Hieron. in Esa. lxvi. ⁶ Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. xx. cap. 25.

⁷ Orig. Hom. xiv. in Luc. p. 223. ⁸ Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. cx. Pro valdè malis valere, ut tolerabilior sit damnatio.

⁹ Prudent. Cathemerinon. Carm. v. de Cereò Paschali.

Sunt et spiritibus sæpè nocentibus
 Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ,
 Illâ nocte sacer quâ rediit Deus
 Stagnis ad superos ex Acheronticis.

¹⁰ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Phil. p. 1225. Vid. Hom. xxi. in Act. and Hom. xxxii. in Mat.

who advises men to pray for the dead upon this account, “that it would bring some consolation to them, though but a little; or if none at all to them, yet it would be accepted of God as a pleasing sacrifice from those that offered it.” And the like may be read in Paulinus¹ and the Author of the Questions to Antiochus, under the name of Athanasius.² St. Chrysostom says³ further, “that their prayers and alms were of use to procure an addition to the rewards and retributions of the righteous.” These are all the reasons we meet with in the Ancients for praying for souls departed; none of which have any relation to their being tormented in the fire of purgatory, but most of them tend directly to overthrow it. Whence we may safely conclude, that though the Ancients generally prayed for the dead, at least from the time of Tertullian, who first speaks of it; yet they did it not upon those principles, which are now so stiffly contended for in the Romish Church. Which is also evident from many ancient forms still remaining in the Mass-book, and the Liturgies of the modern Greeks, who continue to pray for the dead without any belief of purgatory; as it were easy to demonstrate out of their rituals, but that it is wholly foreign to the design of the present discourse.

SECT. 17.—A short Account of the Diptychs, and their Use in the ancient Church.

There is one thing more to be noted upon this matter, that sometime before they made oblation for the dead, it was usual in some ages to recite the names of such eminent bishops, or saints, or martyrs, as were particularly to be mentioned in this part of the service. To this purpose they had certain books, which they called their holy books, and commonly their *diptychs*, from their being *folded together*; wherein the names of such persons were written, that the deacon might rehearse them, as occasion required, in the

¹ Paulin. Ep. xix. q. xxxiv.

² Athanas. Quæst. ad Antioch.

³ Chrys. Hom. xxxii. in Mat. p. 307. Προσθήκη γίνεται μισθῶ δὲ ἀντιδόσεως.

time of divine service. Cardinal Bona¹ and Schelstrate make three sorts of these diptychs; one, wherein the names of bishops only were written, and more particularly such bishops as had been governors of that particular Church: a second, wherein the names of the living were written, who were eminent and conspicuous, either for any office and dignity, or some benefaction and good work, whereby they had deserved well of the Church; in this rank were the patriarchs and bishops of great sees, and the bishop and clergy of that particular Church; together with² the emperors and magistrates, and others most conspicuous among the people: the third was, the book containing the names of such as were deceased in Catholic communion. The first and the last of these seem to be much the same, and the consideration of them is only proper to this place. For the recital of the names of the living, as benefactors by their oblations, has been spoken of already,² and here we are only concerned with the dead. Of this there is no mention made in the Constitutions, which seems to argue, that the custom of rehearsing the diptychs was not brought into the rituals of that Church, whence the compiler of that book made his collections. But Cyprian³ and Tertullian⁴ speak of them under another name; and Theodoret mentions them in the case of St. Chrysostom, whose name for some time was left out of the diptychs, because he died excommunicate, though unjustly, by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and other Eastern bishops, with whom the Western Church would not communicate⁵ till they had restored his name to the diptychs again. The Author under the name of Dionysius⁶ gives this account of them: that after the salutation of the kiss of peace, the diptychs were read, which set forth the names of those who had lived righteously, and had attained to the perfections of a virtuous life; which was done, partly to excite and conduct the living to the same

¹ Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xii. n. 1. Schelstrat. de Concilio Antiocheno. can. ii. cap. vi. p. 216.

² Book xv. chap. ii.

sect. 4. and Book ii. chap. xx. sect. 5.

al. i. ad Plebem Furnitan.

⁵ Theod. lib. v. cap. 34.

⁴ Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. iii.

⁶ Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. p. 253 et 254.

happy state by following their good example; and partly to celebrate the memory of them as still living, according to the principles of religion, and not properly dead, but only translated by death to a more divine life. It appears from this Author, that these diptychs were then read before the consecration, immediately after the kiss of peace. And so it is in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas, which makes frequent mention of them, and particularly in one place¹ notes the time of reading them, namely, after the reading of the Gospel and the Creed: for by this time the Creed was also become a part of the communion-service in the Eastern Church: therefore it is said, after the reading of the Gospel, when the communion-service was begun, not ended, as the Latin translation falsely renders it, the Creed was read according to custom,—*τῶ ἀγίῳ μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ συνηθῆς λεχθέντος*,—not the prayers and prefaces going before the oblation, as some learned men,² not understanding the true meaning of the word, *μάθημα*, render it *lectio*, and interpret it prayers and prefaces, which most certainly³ signifies the Creed in this place; then, after the reading of the Creed, in the time of the diptychs, all the people ran and stood about the altar with great silence, to give attention; and when the deacon had named the four holy synods, and the archbishops of blessed memory, Euphemius, Macedonius, and Leo, they all with a loud voice cried out, Glory be to Thee, O Lord! and after that with great tranquillity the divine service was piously performed. It is here observable, that the recital of the diptychs was before the consecration-prayer, as it is represented in the Hierarchy of Dionysius, though in the Latin Church it seems to have been otherwise, and that now it was usual to mention the four first general Councils, to shew their approbation of them. Which may be also evidenced from one of Justinian's Letters to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, now extant in the Code,⁴ wherein he assures him, “that it was in vain for any

¹ Con. Constant sub Menna. an. 536. act. v. Con. tom. v. p. 181.

Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 217.

² See this proved

before, Book x. chap. iii. sect. 3.

³ Col. Justin. lib. i. tit. i. de Summâ Trinitate. leg. vii. Nullus frustra nos turbet, spe vanâ innixus

one to trouble him upon any false hopes, as if he had done, or ever would do, or suffer any other to do any thing contrary to the four Councils, or allow the pious memory of them to be erased out of the diptychs of the Church." These, therefore were of use, partly to preserve the memory of such eminent men as were dead in the communion of the Church, and partly to make honourable mention of such general Councils as had established the chief articles of the faith: and to erase the names of either of men or Councils out of these diptychs, was the same thing, as to declare that they were heterodox, and such as they thought unworthy to hold communion with, as criminals, or some ways deviating from the faith. Upon this account St. Cyprian ordered the name of Geminius Victor to be left out among those that were commemorated at the holy table,¹ because he had broken the rules of the Church. And Evagrius observes,² of Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, that his name was struck out of the holy books, that is, the diptychs, upon the account of his heretical opinions, after death. And St. Austin,³ speaking of Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, whom the Donatists falsely accused of being ordained by *traditores*, or men who had delivered up the Bible to be burned in time of persecution, tells them, that if they could make good any real charge against him, they would no longer name him among the rest of the bishops, whom they believed to be faithful and innocent, at the altar.

SECT. 18.—NEXT to the Dead, Prayer made for the Living Members of that particular Church, and every Order in it.

Having made this short digression concerning the diptychs of the Church, I now return to the order of the ser-

quasi nos contrarium quatuor Conciliis fecerimus, aut fieri à quibusdam permittamus, aut aboleri eorundem sanctorum Conciliorum piam memoriam ex Ecclesiæ diptychis sustineamus. Vid. Evagrium. lib. iv. c. 4 et 11.

¹ Cypr. Ep. lxxvi. al. l. ad Pleb. Furnitan.

² Evagr. lib. iv.

cap. 38. 'Εκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλείψει δέλτων. &c.

³ Aug

Serm. xxxvii. ex Editis à Sirmondo. tom. x. p. 810. Inventus sit prorsus reus, &c. deinceps eum ad altare inter episcopos, quos fideles et innocentes credimus, non recitabimus.

vice laid down in the Constitutions. Where, next after prayer for the dead, supplication is made for the living members of that particular Church then assembled, and every distinct order of persons in it.¹ “ We offer unto Thee for this people, that Thou wouldst make them, to the glory of thy Christ, a royal priesthood and an holy nation ; for all that live in virginity and chastity ; for the widows of the church ; for all that live in honest marriage ; for the infants of thy people ; that none of us may be a cast-away ; we pray Thee for this city, and all that dwell therein.” St. Austin likewise speaks² of these prayers at the altar, for the faithful, that they by the gift of God may persevere in that wherein they have begun. Again,³ “ Who ever heard the priest praying over the faithful, and saying, ‘ Grant, O Lord, that they may persevere in Thee unto the end,’ and durst either in word or thought reprehend that prayer, and not rather answer, Amen ! to such a benediction ?” Chrysostom in like manner, describing the bishop’s office, says,⁴ “ It is his business to pray for a whole city, and not for a whole city only, but as an ambassador for the whole world, that God would be propitious and merciful both to the sins of the living and the dead.” Which makes it the more probable, that the prayers of the like kind that occur in St. Chrysostom’s Liturgy,⁵ are but a copy of such prayers as were then commonly used in the ancient Church.

SECT. 19.—For those that are in Sickness, Slavery, Banishment, and Proscription, and that travel by Sea or by Land.

The next petition in the Constitutions is for all that are in

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 12.

² Aug. Ep. cvii. ad Vitalem.

Pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse cæperunt, ejus munere perseverent.

³ De Dono Perseverantiæ, cap. xxiii. tom. vii. p. 571. Quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit, ‘ Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem,’ non solùm voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potiùs super ejus talem benedictionem et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, Amen !

⁴ Chrys. de

Sacerdot. lib. vi. cap. iv. p. 93.

⁵ Chrys. Liturg. tom. iii.

p. 616.

affliction, whether by sickness, or slavery, or banishment, or confiscation and proscription: and for all that are exposed to any perils upon the account of their necessary travels by sea or by land. Of these petitions I find no particular mention made in other writers, save only in Cyril of Jerusalem, who says,¹ “ after they had prayed for the common peace of the Church, and the tranquillity of the world, for kings, and for their armies and allies, they also besought God for all that were sick and afflicted, or in any kind of want: and last of all they prayed for the dead.” By which we may judge, that though the order of the petitions was a little varied in the Liturgies of different Churches, yet the substance was the same. And there is little question but the sick and distressed were remembered in these prayers in all the Churches; since in the deacon’s bidding prayer before the oblation there is express direction given to the people, to pray for the sick, and those that travel by sea or by land, and those that are in the mines, in banishment, in prison, in bonds and in slavery, as I have shewed out of several passages in St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Austin, comparing them with the form of bidding prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church in the Constitutions related before in the first chapter of this Book, sect. 2 and 3.

SECT. 20.—For Enemies and Persecutors, Heretics and Unbelievers.

The next petition in the Constitutions is for their enemies and persecutors, for heretics and unbelievers, those that are without the pale of the Church, and wandering in error; that God would convert them to good, and mitigate their fury. And of this there are frequent examples in the writings of the Ancients. For nothing was more strictly observed by the Ancients, than to pray for their enemies and persecutors, for Jews, infidels, and heretics: of which Dr. Cave² has given several instances out of Cyprian,³

¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 6.
chap. ii. p. 242.

² Cave, Prim. Christ. part iii.

³ Passio Cypriani.

Justin Martyr,¹ and Irenæus.² Which, because they may seem only to refer to their private prayers, I will add a few more, which more expressly relate to their public devotions. Tertullian³ tells the heathen, “they were taught by the Scriptures, which they themselves might read, to exhibit a more than ordinary kindness toward men, in praying to God for their enemies, and wishing all good to their persecutors. For they had no greater enemies or persecutors in those days than those very Emperors for whom they made supplications to God,⁴ as oft as they met in public, and for their officers, and for the state of the world, and for the peace and tranquillity of their affairs, and for the duration of their empire.” Arnobius says,⁵ “their Churches were oratories, wherein they prayed for peace and pardon, for the magistrates and princes, for their armies, for their friends, and for their enemies.” St. Austin⁶ particularly notes, “that the priest was wont to exhort the people at the altar to pray for unbelievers, that God would convert them to the faith.” And again, “When does not the Church⁷ pray for infidels and her enemies, that they may believe?” In like manner, Pope Celestine⁸ says, “the whole Church prayed with the priest for infidels, that faith might be given unto them; for idolaters, that they might be delivered from the errors of their impiety; for Jews, that the veil being taken away from their heart, the light of truth may appear unto them; for heretics, that they may repent by returning to the Catholic

¹ Justin. Dial. cum Tryphon. p. 254, 323, 333.
lib. iii. cap. 46.

² Iren. ³ Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxi.

⁴ Ibid. cap. xxxix. Coimus in cætum—oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro morâ finis.

⁵ Arnob. lib. iv. p. 181.

⁶ Aug. Ep. cvii. ad Vitalem. Audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, &c.

⁷ De Dono Perseverantiæ cap. xxiii. Quando non oratum est in Ecclesiâ pro infidelibus atque inimicis ejus ut crederent?

⁸ Cœlestin. Ep. i. ad Gallos. cap. xi. Postulant et precantur, ut infidelibus donetur fides, ut idololatræ ab impietatis suæ liberentur errore, ut Judæis, ablato cordis velamine, lux veritatis appareat, ut hæretici catholicæ fidei perceptione respiscant, ut schismatici spiritum redvivæ charitatis accipiant, &c.

faith; for schismatics, that they may receive the spirit of charity, reviving from the dead." And the same is repeated by Gennadius,¹ or whoever was the author of the book *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, under the name of St. Austin. And in both places it is said, that this practice was derived from the Apostles, and uniformly observed in the whole Catholic Church throughout the world. Nay, it is evident they prayed for many heretics, whom they looked upon as guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost. For they did not esteem that sin absolutely unpardonable, but only punishable in both worlds, on supposition that men did not repent of it. Therefore, St. Austin² and others say, they prayed that they might repent and be saved; and accordingly admitted them to the peace and communion of the Church upon their repentance. In a word, as Chrysostom says,³ they prayed for the whole world without exception; they prayed that all men whatsoever might be converted.

SECT. 21.—For the Catechumens, Energumens, and Penitents.

Next after heretics and unbelievers, prayer is made in the Constitutions for the catechumens of the Church, that God would perfect them in the faith; for the energumens, that were vexed with evil spirits, that God would cleanse and deliver them from the power and agitation of the wicked one; and for the penitents, that God would accept their repentance, and pardon both them and the whole Church whatever offences they had committed against him. Whence we may observe, that these several orders were three distinct times prayed for in divine service; first in the prayers that were said for them in their presence, in the first service, called, the service of the catechumens; secondly, in the deacon's bidding prayer for the whole state of the Church before the oblation; and now again,

¹ Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xxx. ² Aug. Retractat. lib. i. cap. 19. De quocunque pessimo in hâc vitâ constituto non est utique desperandum; nec pro illo imprudenter oratur, de quo non desperatur.

³ Chrys. Hom. in 1 Thes. p. 1413. Hom. vi. in 1 Tim. p. 1550.

thirdly, after the oblation, when all orders of men were prayed for at the sacrifice of the altar. This last is particularly noted by St. Austin,¹ who says, “ the priest at the altar was used to exhort the people to pray for the catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration.” And so it is said by Celestine,² and Genadius,³ in the same words, “ that they prayed for the lapsers, that God would grant them the remedy of repentance ; and for the catechumens, that God would bring them to the sacrament of baptism, and open to them the great treasure of his heavenly mercy.”

SECT. 22.—For healthful and fruitful Seasons.

In the next place they prayed for health and provision ; for the temperature of the air, and the increase of the fruits of the earth, as the Constitutions word it, that they, participating of the good things which God bestows upon men, might without ceasing praise him, who giveth food to all flesh. St. Chrysostom, among other particulars of this prayer, notes the same,⁴ when he says, they prayed for the earth and sea, for the air, and for the whole world. And though Tertullian does not particularly speak of this prayer, yet he intimates in general, that they were used to pray for temporal blessings, and among these for rain, as in the German expedition of Marcus Aurelius, when his army was saved from perishing for want of water by the prayers of the Christians, which never failed⁵ to drive away drought upon other occasions. The like observation is made by Cyprian,⁶ “ that they offered continually supplications and

¹ Aug. Ep. cvii. ad Vitalem. Audis sacerdotem Dei ad Altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret.

² Cœlestin. Ep. i. ad Gallos. cap. xi. Postulant et precantur, ut lapsis pœnitentiæ remedia conferantur ; ut denique catechumenis ad regenerationis sacramenta perductis, cœlestis misericordiæ aula referetur.

³ Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. cap. xxx.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. ii.

in 2 Cor. p. 745.

⁵ Tertul. ad Scapul. cap. iv. Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris siccitates sunt depulsæ ?

⁶ Cypr. ad Demetrian. p. 193. Pro arcendis hostibus et imbribus im-

prayers night and day for victory over their enemies, for obtaining rain, for averting or moderating all adversities, and for the peace and safety of the public." Which being their continual prayer night and day, it is not to be doubted but that it was part of those prayers, which they now more solemnly offered at the altar.

SECT. 23.—For all their absent Brethren.

The last petition, mentioned in the Constitutions, is for all those that upon just and reasonable cause were then absent from the assembly, that God would preserve both the absent and present in godliness, and keep them without change, blame, or rebuke, and finally gather them all into the kingdom of his Christ, the universal king, and God of all things in nature both visible and invisible. The like petition is mentioned by Chrysostom in one of his Homilies upon St. Matthew,¹ according to the old translation of Anianus: "The priest," says he, "when he stands at the altar, bids us give thanks, for the whole world, for those that are absent and those that are present, for those that are gone before us, and those that shall be after us, while the sacrifice lies upon the altar."

SECT. 24.—Concluding with a Doxology to the whole Trinity.

The conclusion of this long prayer in the Constitutions is a doxology to the whole Trinity: and this was of old the constant custom of the Church, as is evident from what has been largely discoursed before,² both concerning the adoration of the whole Trinity, as the true and only object of divine worship, and also concerning the use of divine

petrandis, et vel auferendis vel temperandis adversis, rogamus semper et preces fundimus. &c.

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxvi. in Mat. p. 259. Altari assistens sacerdos, pro universo orbe terrarum, pro absentibus atque presentibus, pro in his qui postea futuri sunt, sacrificio illo proposito, Deo nos gratias jubet offerre.

² Book xiii. chap. ii. Book xiv. chap. ii. sect. 1.

hymns and doxologies to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Of which I need say no more in this place to confirm the order laid down in the Constitutions, save only to observe, that two of the most ancient writers we have, Irenæus and Tertullian,¹ do both mention one part of this doxology, as particularly used at the consecration of the eucharist. Irenæus says, the Valentinians made it an argument for their Æones, that the Catholics used to say, “εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων,” in their eucharistical service, referring to the last words of this doxology, “*World without end.*” And Tertullian particularly asks those, who frequented the Roman games, “How they could give testimony to a gladiator, with that mouth, wherewith they had answered Amen! at the eucharist? Or say, World without end! to any other but Christ their God?” Implying, that the glorification of Christ with this doxology was then a noted close of the consecration-prayer, as the Author of the Constitutions represents it.

SECT. 25.—To which the People with one Voice answered, Amen!

And from this passage of Tertullian it is no less apparent that the people were used to subjoin their Amen! to the end of this prayer. Which was a custom as ancient as the Apostles. For St. Paul seems plainly to allude to it, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. “When thou shalt bless with the spirit, (that is, bless the cup of blessing, or the eucharist in an unknown tongue,) how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen! at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?” Justin Martyr,² in describing the Christian rites in celebrating the eucharist, takes notice of this among the rest, that when the president had ended his prayers and thanksgivings over the bread and wine, all the people assented with their acclamations,

¹ Iren. lib. i. cap. 1. Tertul. de Spectac. cap. xxv. Q:ale est—ex ore quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? Εἰς αἰῶνας alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo Christo? See Chrysostom. Hom. xxxv. in 1 Cor. in the next section.

² Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.

saying, Amen! And Dionysius of Alexandria,¹ speaking of one who had never been truly baptised, but had often notwithstanding been partaker of the eucharist, says, ‘they would not rebaptise him, because he had for a long time heard the thanksgiving, and joined with the people in the common, Amen. And so Chrysostom, interpreting those words of the Apostle, “How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say, Amen! at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayst?” plainly refers to this custom: for he says, *ιδιωτης*, which we render, *unlearned*, signifies a *private man* or *lay-man*: “and if thou blessest in an unknown tongue,² not understanding what thou sayest, nor being able to interpret it, the layman cannot answer, Amen. For he not hearing those words, ‘World without end,’ which is the close of the thanksgiving, cannot say, Amen.” Where we may observe, both that the consecration prayer ended with a known doxology to the Holy Trinity, whereof those words, “World without end,” were a part; and that the people hearing them answered, Amen!

SECT. 26.—Then followed the Creed in such Churches as had made it a Part of their Liturgy.

There is no mention made in the Constitutions of the formal rehearsing either of the Creed or the Lord’s Prayer in this place immediately after consecration: and the reason is, that when that author made his collections, it was not yet become the custom to use the Creed in any other service, but only that of baptism, in any Church whatsoever. The first that brought the rehearsing of the Creed into the Liturgy, was Peter Fullo, bishop of Antioch, about the year 471. And after that about the year 511, Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, brought it into use in the Liturgy of that Church, as we learn from the history of Theodorus Lector.³ After that we find it mentioned in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas, Anno 536, as being rehearsed⁴

¹ Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 9.
1 Cor. p. 640.

² Chrys. Hom. xxxv. in

³ Theodor. Lector. lib. ii. p. 563 and 566.

⁴ Con. Constant. Sub Menna. Act. i. p. 41. Edit. Crab. quæ est Act. 5. Edit. Labbe.

according to custom between the reading of the Gospel and the Diptychs. After this, about the year 589, it was brought into the Spanish Church at the petition of King Reccaredus, by the order of the third Council of Toledo, and that after the example of the Eastern Churches: and then it was ordered to be said¹ with a loud voice after the consecration, immediately before the Lord's Prayer, to be an instruction, and declaration of the people's true faith, who were lately converted from Arianism, and to prepare their hearts, thus purified by faith, to the following reception of the body and blood of Christ. It was not thus used in the Gallican Liturgy till the time of Charles the Great, nor in the Roman Liturgy, till the beginning of the eleventh century, as I have more fully shewed² in a former Book. But as it had earlier admittance in the Spanish Churches, so the rehearsal of it appears to have been appropriated to the time after consecration, between that and the Lord's Prayer, which in most Churches they were used to repeat also toward the conclusion of these prayers following the oblation.

SECT. 27.—And the Lord's Prayer.

For though there be no mention made of the Lord's Prayer in this part of the service in the Constitutions, (as probably not in use in that Church whence the author made his collections,) yet we are assured it was almost generally used in all Churches. For not only the forementioned Council of Toledo, and the fourth of the same name,³ speak of the Lord's Prayer as coming before the reception of the bread and wine in the Spanish Churches; but St. Austin says,⁴ the whole Church almost concluded the oblation-prayers with it. And I have already confirmed his observation from several other passages of St. Chrysostom, and

¹ Con. Tolet. iii. can. ii. Consultu Reccaredi Regis constituit synodus, ut per omnes Ecclesias Hispaniæ et Galliciæ, secundùm formam Orientalium Ecclesiarum, Concilii Constantinopolitani, hoc est, centum quinquaginta episcoporum symbolum fidei recitetur: et priusquàm Dominica dicatur oratio, voce clarâ prædicetur, quo fides vera manifesta sit et testimonium habeat, &c.

² Book x. chap. iv. sect. 17.

³ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 17.

⁴ Aug. Ep. lix. ad Paulin.

Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Jerom, and Gregory the Great,¹ who was also of opinion that the Apostles used no other prayer to consecrate the eucharist,² but the Lord's Prayer. In which he was something singular: for there is little question, but that the Apostles consecrated it as the Lord had done before them. As to the practice of the Church in using the Lord's Prayer at this time, Optatus³ says it was become so customary by necessary prescript, that the Donatists themselves did not pretend to omit it. And in some of the French Councils⁴ an order was made, that no layman, even of those that did not communicate, should leave the assembly before the Lord's Prayer was said.

SECT. 28.—Absolution of Penitents immediately before the Lord's Prayer, with occasional Benedictions.

It appears from the last mentioned place of Optatus, that when any penitents were to receive a solemn absolution in the African Church, it was usually given them about this time between the offering of the oblation and the Lord's Prayer. For he tells the Donatists⁵ that the very moment after they had given penitents imposition of hands and pardon of sins, they were obliged to turn to the altar, and say the Lord's Prayer. Which implies that absolution was commonly given at this season. And here we may suppose several of those prayers of thanksgiving or benediction, mentioned in the seventh and eighth books of the Constitutions, to have had their place; such as the benediction of the holy oil, and the thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the earth;⁶ there being no time more proper for such things than the time of the oblation. But as nothing is said posi-

¹ See these cited at large, Book xiii. chap. vii. sect. 3.

² Greg. lib. vii. Ep. 64. Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox post preces dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.

³ Optat. lib. ii. p. 57.

⁴ Con. Aurelian. iii. can. 28. De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam Dominica dicatur oratio, &c.

⁵ Optat. ibid. Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis, et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi, Dominicam orationem prætermittere non potestis.

⁶ Vid Constit. lib. vii. cap. 42. lib. viii. cap. 40.

tively and expressly of this matter, I only mention it by way of conjecture.

SECT. 29.—Benediction after the Lord's Prayer.

But there is more evidence of another sort of benediction following the Lord's Prayer in many of the Western Churches. For the third Council of Orleans¹ has a canon which orders all laymen to stay till they had heard the Lord's Prayer, and received the bishop's benediction. Cardinal Bona² understands this of the final benediction, which followed the communion; but Mabillon more truly interprets it of the benediction before communion,³ immediately following the Lord's Prayer. Concerning which there is a canon in the Council of Toledo,⁴ which censures some priests for communicating immediately after the Lord's Prayer, without giving the benediction to the people; and orders, that for the future, the benediction should follow the Lord's Prayer, and after that the communion. And by this we are to interpret some⁵ other canons of the Council of Agde and Orleans, which order the people not to depart till the bishop has given his benediction. Which is to be understood of the benediction before the communion, and not that which came after it. And this agrees with the order in the Constitutions; where after the long prayer of the consecration and oblation is ended,⁶ the bishop is appointed to give this short benediction, "The peace of God be with you all." And then after the deacon has rehearsed a bidding prayer, much to the same purpose with the

¹ Con. Aurel. iii. can. 28. De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quàm Dominica dicatur oratio, et si episcopus fuerit præsens, ejus benedictio expectetur.

² Bona, *Reverend. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. xvi.

n. 2.

³ Mabil. de *Liturg.* lib. cap. iv. n. 14.

⁴ Con. Tolet. iv. can. 17. Nonnulli sacerdotes post dictam Orationem Dominicam statim communicant, et postea benedictionem in populo dant: quod deinceps interdicimus: sed post orationem Dominicam benedictio in populum sequatur, et tunc demum corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur.

⁵ Con. Agathen. can. xlv. and xlvii. Con. Aurelian. i.

can. xxviii.

⁶ *Constit.* lib. viii. cap. 13.

former, for the whole Church, and every order in it, and particularly for the sacrifice then offered, that God would receive it to his altar in heaven for a sweet-smelling savour by the mediation of Christ, the bishop again recommends the people to God in another prayer, which the Greeks call Παράθεσις, and the Latins *Commendatio*, and *Benedictio*, the *commendation*, or *benediction*, beseeching God to sanctify their bodies and souls, and to make them worthy of the good things He has set before them; which relates both to their worthy reception of the eucharist, and their obtaining eternal life. This is what I conceive those Latin Councils call the bishop's benediction, of which there are some instances in the Mosarabic Liturgy, and many more in the old Gothic and Gallican Missals lately published by Mabillon, where the prayer that follows the collect after the Lord's Prayer, is always styled, *Benedictio populi*, the *benediction of the people*: and these are commonly different prayers, composed with some respect to the several festivals to which they were appropriated, like the Collects before the Epistles and Gospels in our present Liturgy. But I return to the ancient service.

SECT. 30.—Of the Deacon's Bidding Prayer after the Consecration.

There is one petition in the deacon's bidding prayer after the consecration in the Constitutions, which is not to be passed over in silence; that is, that God, would receive the gift that was then offered to Him, to his altar in heaven as a sweet-smelling savour, by the mediation of his Christ, This form seems as ancient as Irenæus: for he says,¹ "We have an altar in heaven, and thither our prayers and oblations are directed." And so it is in all the Greek Liturgies, with a small variation. And frequently in the Mosarabic Liturgy,² and the old Gothic Missal published by Mabillon,³

¹ Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. Est altare in cœlis, illuc preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur.

² Missa Mosarab. in Natali Domini. Item Dominica ii. et v. post Epiphan. et Domin. i. et iii. post Pasch. cited by Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xiii. n. 5.

³ Missal. Gothic. ap. Mabil. lib. iii. p. 314. In Festo Assumptionis.

there are prayers for the descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify the gifts, and make them the body and blood of Christ, even after the repetition of the words, "This is my body," and, "This is my blood:" which evidently shews, that the ancient formers of the Liturgy, did not think the consecration to be effected by the bare repetition of those words, but by prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements of bread and wine. And it is very remarkable, that even in the present canon of the Roman Mass, there is still such a prayer as this remaining after what they call consecration: the priest offering the Host, says, "Be pleased to look upon these things with a favourable and propitious eye,¹ as thou wert pleased to accept the gifts of Abel thy righteous servant." He adds, "We beseech thee, Almighty God, to command that these things may be carried by the hands of thy holy angels to thy altar on high." Concluding, "By Christ our Lord, by whom thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, and bless these good things unto us." These words in this prayer, as our polemical writers have rightly observed,² were used before transubstantiation was invented, and when the consecration was thought to be made by prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the words, "This is my body." And then they were good sense, when they were said over bread and wine, to consecrate them into the memorial and symbols of Christ's body and blood. But

Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coæternus et cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus: ut oblationem quam tibi de tuâ terrâ fructificante porrigimus, cœlesti permutatione, te sanctificante, sumamus: ut translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis, &c. It. Missa in Circumcisione, ibid. p. 202. Hoc sacrificium suscipere et benedicere et sanctificare digneris, ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima, &c. Vid. ibid. Missa xx. in Cathedra Petri. p. 228. and Missa lxv. in Festo Leodegarii. p. 285. and Missa xxvii. in Symboli Traditione. p. 235. Missa lxxvii. Dominicalis. p. 296.

¹ Missal. Roman. in Canone Missæ. p. 300. Antwerp. 1574. *Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, ut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel—Supplices te rogamus Deus Omnipotens, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum.—Per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem, Domine, hæc omnia semper nobis bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis.*

² Vid. De Moulin, *Novelty of Popery*, lib. vii. chap. v. p. 730. And Buckler of Faith, p. 510.

now they are become absurd and contrary to the primitive intention. For how can the real body and blood of Christ be “ called these gifts ?” Or be compared to the sacrifice of Abel, who offered a beast ? How can men pray, without indignity to the Son of God, that the sacrifice of God’s only Son may be as acceptable to God as the sacrifice of Abel was ? Or how does Christ, who sits at the right hand of the Father, need the mediation of angels to be carried or presented to his Father at the heavenly altar ? With what propriety of speech can Christ be called, “ all these good things ?” And, “ the good things which God createth always, and quickeneth,” and sanctifieth always ?” Doth God create, and quicken, and bless Jesus Christ by Jesus Christ ? It is proper to say all this of the gifts, supposing them still to be real bread and wine : but, altogether improper, if they are transubstantiated into the natural flesh and blood of Christ. Whence we may conclude, that the first compilers of this prayer knew nothing of the new doctrine of transubstantiation, which makes this prayer absurd in every syllable of it ; to enter here no further upon a debate concerning the change which is made in the elements by consecration, which every one knows where to find discussed at large in our polemical writers, and something will be said of it hereafter, under the head of adoration.

SECT. 31.—Of the Form *Sancta Sanctis*, and the Hymn, Glory be to God on High.

Immediately after the benediction of the bishop, the deacon in the Constitutions, is appointed to say, “ *Πρόσχωμεν*, *Let us give attention.*” And then the bishop, calling to the people, says, “ *Ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, *Holy things for those that are holy.*” To which the people answer, “ There is one holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, who is blessed for ever, Amen. Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be God the Lord, that came in the name of the Lord, and appeared unto us ; Hosanna in the highest !” Cyril of Jerusalem takes notice of one part of this in the Church of Jerusalem, where it came

immediately after the Lord's Prayer. "After that," says he,¹ "the priest says, Holy things for holy men. Holy are the elements which lie before us, when they have received the illapse of the Holy Ghost upon them. Holy are ye also, when ye are endowed with the Holy Ghost : and therefore holy things agree to holy men. Then ye say, there is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ. There is one truly holy, who is holy by nature: ye also are holy, not by nature, but by participation, by exercise and prayer. St. Chrysostom also² takes notice of the same, comparing the service of the Church to the Olympic exercises, where the herald stands and cries with a loud voice, does any one accuse this man? Is he a thief? Is he a slave? Is he an immoral man? So the ecclesiastical herald, the priest, standing on high, calls some, and rejects others, not with his hand, but with his tongue: for when he says, holy things for holy men, he says this, If any one be not holy, let him not come here. He does not barely say, if he be free from sin, but, if he be holy; for it does not make a man holy, merely to be free from sin: but to be endowed with the Spirit, and to abound with good works. Therefore he says, I would not have you only free from mire, but white and beautiful." St. Chrysostom also often speaks of the hymn, Glory be to God on High, and tells us particularly that it was sung at the eucharist, as well as upon other occasions. "God," says he,³ "first brought the angels down hither, and then carried men up to them. The earth was made an heaven, because heaven was about to receive the things of the earth. Therefore, εὐχαριστῶντες λέγομεν, when we give thanks, or celebrate the eucharist, we say, Glory be to God on high, in earth peace, good will towards men." And that by the thanksgiving he here means the eucharist, is evident from another place, where he more precisely specifies the time of using it in the communion-service:⁴ "Ἰσασι οἱ πιπτοὶ, &c. They who are communicants know what hymn is sung by the spirits

¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 16.

² Chrys.

Hom. xvii. in Hebr. p. 1873. See also Hom. 123. tom. v. p. 809, 810. Edi t Savil.

³ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Colos. p. 1337.

⁴ Hom. ix. in Colos. p. 1380.

above ; what the cherubims say above ; what the angels said, Glory be to God on high. Therefore our hymns come after our psalmody, as something more perfect." Meaning that psalms were sung in the service of the catechumens ; but these hymns, the cherubical hymn and the angelical hymn, more peculiarly in the communion-service.

SECT. 32.—Of the Psalm inviting to the Communion.

St. Cyril adds,¹ that after the hymn, One Holy, a psalm was sung, inviting them to participate of the holy mysteries, which was the thirty-first psalm, and particularly those words, "Taste and see that the Lord is gracious." Which, he tells them, "was not to be estimated or discerned by their corporeal taste, but by the certainty of faith. For they were not bid to taste bread and wine, but the antitype or sign of the body and blood of Christ." This was a distinct psalm from those which were used to be sung afterward whilst the people were communicating: for this was an invitatory to communicate, but the other were for meditation and devotion whilst they were actually partaking; of which there will be occasion to say something further in the next chapter.

SECT. 33.—The Consecration always performed with an audible Voice.

Here we must note two things more which concern the consecration in general, in opposition to the corruptions of later ages. First, that as all divine service was in a known tongue, so particularly the consecration of the eucharist was ordered to be pronounced both intelligibly and audibly, that the people might hear it, and answer, Amen! The contrary practice now prevails in the Roman Church: but both Habertus² and Bona³ own it to be an innovation, of which there is no footstep till the tenth age, when first the ancient custom was superseded. It would be impertinent to pro-

¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 17.
 Obser. ix. p. 145.

² Habert. Archieratic. Par. viii.
³ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xiii. n. 1.

duce authorities for a thing that is so plainly confessed and beyond dispute. And therefore I shall only note one thing upon this point, that when some little grumbling of this disease began to appear in the time of Justinian, he checked it in its first symptoms, by a severe law,¹ commanding “all bishops and presbyters to make the divine oblation, and the prayers used in baptism, not in secret, or with a low and muttering voice, but so as all the faithful people might hear them, to the greater devotion of their souls, and the greater praise and glory of God. For so the holy Apostle teaches, saying in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, ‘If thou bless with the spirit only, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen! at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.’ Therefore if any bishop or presbyter contemn this rule, they must give an account hereafter in the dreadful judgment of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and we, when they come to our knowledge, will not suffer them to remain quiet and unpunished.” It is well for the Roman Church, that the canon law is superior to the civil; else such an horrible abuse of all righteous both divine and human laws would not go without its just revenges. This is one of those many good laws for which the Church is beholden to that learned Emperor; whom yet Baronius,² for the sake of these very laws, does bespatter and rally, as an ignorant *Analphabetus*, an impious heretic, an invader of divine rights, a man sick of the common distemper of kings, and whatever a partial historian could think of, that was indecent to be said, who was himself indeed sick with prejudice in favour of the common abuses and corruptions of his own Church; among which this is one of the most flaming and intolerable, to pray every day in an unheard and unknown tongue, so contrary to the authority of the Apostle, and the rules of the

¹ Justin. Novel. 137. cap. vi. Jubemus omnes episcopos et presbyteros non in secreto, sed cum eâ voce quæ à fidei populo exaudiatur, divinam oblationem et precationem quæ fit in baptismate sancto, facere, ut inde audientium animi in majorem devotionem et Dei laudationem et benedictionem efferantur, &c.

² Baron. an. 528. tom. vii. p. 114.

primitive Church, and the edification of Christian people, and the common sense and reason of mankind.¹

SECT. 34.—And with breaking of Bread to represent our Saviour's Passion.

The other ceremony to be noted in the practice of the Ancients is, that in consecrating the eucharist they always brake the bread in conformity to our Saviour's example, to represent his passion and crucifixion. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of this as a general custom,² when the eucharist was divided or broken, to let every one of the people take his part. And St. Austin³ says the whole Church observed it, in blessing the bread, to break it for distribution. The reader that pleases may find other testimonies collected by Hospinian⁴ out of Irenæus,⁵ Dionysius the Areopagite,⁶ Theophilus of Alexandria,⁷ and Cyril of Alexandria,⁸ and St. Chrysostom.⁹ Neither does Bona himself deny this,¹⁰ but proves it further from Gregory Nazianzen,¹¹ and Cæsarîus Arelatensis, and all the older Ritualists, and Liturgies, of which he says there is not any that does not prescribe this breaking of bread, the Greeks into four parts, the Latins into three, and the Mosarabic Liturgy into nine parts. Which is also noted by Mabillon,¹² who adds, that these nine parts in that Liturgy are characterised by so many several names, viz. incarnation, nativity, circumcision, epiphany, or manifestation, passion, death, resurrection, glory, and kingdom. Which is a little deviation from the simplicity of the ancient Church, yet not so culpable as the practice of the present Roman Church; where, instead of breaking bread for the communicants to partake of it, they

¹ See Chamier against Bellarmin, and Jewel against Harding upon this subject.

² Clem. Strom. lib. i. p. 318.

³ Aug. Ep. 59. ad Paulin. Sacrament. p. 30

⁴ Hospin. Hist.

⁶ Dion. Eccl. Hier. cap. iii.

⁵ Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34.

⁸ Cyril. in Joan. lib. xiv.

⁷ Theoph. Ep. Paschal. 1.

¹⁰ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii.

⁹ Chrys. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor.

¹¹ Naz. Ep. 240. ad Amphiloc,

¹² Mabil. de Liturg. Gall. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 12. Sub hæc frangit hostiam in novem particulas, quæ his nominibus designantur, corporatio, corporatio, nativitas, circumcisio, apparitio, passio, mors, resurrectio, gloria, regnum.

only break a single wafer into three parts, of which no one partakes, only to retain a shadow of the ancient custom. Bona indeed] calls this, breaking of bread according to Christ's institution, or rather breaking of Christ's body under the species of bread, when yet according to their doctrine Christ's body is not broken, neither is it bread, but the species of bread, nor common bread, but a wafer, whereof the species is only broken, not the substance, and that not for communicating, but a show, to make men believe they are retainers of an ancient custom. The first disputers against the Reformation are more ingenuous. They freely own, that the Roman Church has made an alteration,¹ only they say she had good reasons for it, lest, in breaking the bread, some danger might happen, and some crumbs or particles of it perish; and then again, because the Pope has power to alter any thing relating to the sacrament, according to the exigency of time and place, if it only concerns the ornament or accidentals of it. As if Christ himself could not have foreseen any dangers that might happen, or given as prudent orders as the Pope concerning his own institution! But it is sufficient to have observed this variation of the Church of Rome, though in a smaller matter from the primitive practice, together with their reasons for such a change; of which the reader may see more in Chamier or Bp. Jewel, who have more particularly canvassed and examined all the pleas that are offered on the other side by the advocates of that Church for this and many other alterations.² I now go on with the primitive account, which leads us next to consider the communicants themselves who were allowed to receive this sacrament, and the manner of communicating and receiving it.

¹ Salmero. Tract. xxx. in Act. ap. Chamier de Euch. lib. vii. cap. xi. n. 26. p. 384.

² Vid Chamier. ubi supra. Jewel's. Reply to Harding. artic. xi. p. 327.

CHAP. IV.

Of Communicants, or Persons who were allowed to receive this Sacrament, and the Manner of receiving it.

SECT. I.—All Persons, except Catechumens and Penitents, obliged to receive the Eucharist.

Now that we are come to the act of communicating, we must first consider what persons were allowed, or rather obliged, to receive this holy sacrament, and then after what manner they received it. For the first, we are to remember, what has been often observed before, that as soon as the service of the catechumens was ended, a deacon was used to call upon all catechumens and those that were under penance, to withdraw; and admonish all others to stay at the prayers of the faithful, and make their oblation, and receive the communion. Whence it is evident, that the most ancient and primitive custom, was for all that were allowed to stay and communicate in prayers, to communicate in the participation of the eucharist also, except only the last class of penitents, who were admitted to hear the prayers, but not to make their oblation, nor receive the communion; whence they had the name of *Consistentes*, *co-standers*, because they might stay to communicate in the prayers, but still “*διχα προσφορᾶς*, *without the oblation*,” as the ancient Canons word it. These only excepted, all other baptised persons were not only permitted, but by the rules of the Church obliged to communicate in the eucharist, under pain of ecclesiastical censure. The most ancient canons are very express to this purpose. Among those called the Apostolical Canons there is one runs in these words:¹ “All such of the faithful as come to Church, and hear the Scriptures read, but stay not to the prayers, and partake of the holy communion,

¹ Canon. Apost. x. Vid. can. viii. *ibid.* for the Clergy.

ought to be suspended as authors of disorder in the Church." Which the Council of Antioch repeats with a little enlargement:¹ " All such as come into the Church of God, and hear the holy Scriptures read, but do not communicate with the people in prayer, and refuse to partake of the eucharist ; which is a disorderly practice, ought to be cast out of the Church, till they confess their fault, and bring forth fruits of repentance ; when if they ask pardon they may obtain it." Martin Bracarensis² puts this canon into his Collection for the use of the Spanish Church. And Gratian³ alleges a decree of Pope Anacletus, which orders all to communicate when the consecration was ended, if they would not be cast out of the Church : for so the Apostles appointed, and the holy Roman Church observed that order. Which though it be a supposititious decree, yet it is made in conformity to the ancient discipline, and shews the practice that was then prevailing even in the Roman Church.

SECT. 2.—When and how this Discipline began first to relax.

In St. Chrysostom's time some began to desire they might have liberty to stay during the performance of the whole office, and yet not be obliged to communicate. They were not willing to be accounted penitents, and be driven out with them ; and yet they would not be communicants, and orderly partake with the Church. Against these St. Chrysostom inveighs, after his usual manner, with a great deal of eloquence, and becoming sharpness.⁴ " Are you unworthy of the sacrifice, and unfit to partake of it ? (for that was their plea :) neither then are you worthy of the prayers. Do you not hear the Church's herald standing, and proclaiming, All ye that are penitents, withdraw ? All they that do not communicate, are penitents. If thou art of the number of the penitents, thou mayst not partake. For he that is not

¹ Con. Antioch. can. ii.

² Martin. Bracarens. Collect. Canon.

c. xviii. ³ Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. ii. cap. 10. Peractâ consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et Apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet Ecclesia.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes. p. 1051.

a partaker, is a penitent. Why does he say, All ye that cannot pray, be gone? and why do you impudently stay? You are not one of those, you'll say, but of those that may partake. Consider, I pray, and seriously weigh the matter. The royal table is prepared, the angels stand ministering by, the Lord himself is present, and do you stand yawning as an idle spectator only? Your garments are defiled, and are you under no concern? Yea, but, say you, they are clean. Then sit down, and partake. The king comes daily to see the guests, and discourses with them all: and now he says in your consciences, Friends, how came you to stand here, not having a wedding garment? He said not, Why art thou set down? But before he was set down, before he was entered, he pronounced him unworthy. For He said not, Why art thou set down? but, Why camest thou in hither? The same now He says to every one of us, that stand here with an impudent boldness. For every one that does not partake, is shameless and impudent. They that are in sin, are for this reason first cast out. As therefore none of those, who are not initiated, ought to be present; so neither any of those who are initiated, if they be defiled. Tell me, if any one that is invited to a feast, washes his hands, and sits down, and is ready for the table, and yet after all eats not, does he not affront him that invited him? Were it not better, that such a man should not be present? Likewise thou art present, thou hast sung the hymn, and made profession with the rest that thou art one of those that art worthy, in that thou didst not depart with the unworthy. How is it that thou remainest, and yet dost not partake at the table? Thou sayst, I am unworthy. Thou art then unworthy also of the communion of prayers." I have transcribed this long, but elegant passage of Chrysostom, to shew, that in his time by the rules of the Church, none were allowed to refrain from partaking of the eucharist upon the pretence of unworthiness, who were not deemed unworthy to be present at the prayers also.

But in the very next age this discipline was a little relaxed, and men who would not communicate were not only permitted, but enjoined to stay during the whole service, till after the Lord's Prayer and the bishop's benediction; which,

as has been shewed in the last chapter, sect 29. was not till the whole consecration was ended, immediately before the act of partaking: at which time this sort of non-communicants were dismissed with a solemn prayer, called the benediction, as appears from the Councils of Orleance and Agde, before referred to. For the Council of Agde gives special order,¹ “ that all secular men on the Lord’s day, should stay to hear mass, and not depart before the bishop’s benediction.” And the Council of Orleance says the same,² “ that the people should not depart before the solemnity of the mass was ended, that is, till the consecration prayers were completed, and then, if the bishop were not present, they should receive the benediction of the priest.” So that what in Chrysostom’s time was reckoned a crime, was presently after accounted a piece of devotion, for the people to stay and hear the whole solemnity of the service to the time of communicating, and then they might depart without partaking of the communion. Which was plainly a relaxation of the ancient discipline, and a deviation from the primitive practice.

SECT. 3.—When first the Use of *Eulogiæ*, came in, instead of the Eucharist, for such as would not communicate.

And this brought in another innovation along with it, that such as would not communicate, might yet partake of the *Eulogiæ*, or a sort of consecrated bread distinct from the eucharist, The *Eulogiæ* in the more ancient writers, is the very same with the eucharist, and used by them to signify the same thing as St. Paul means, when he says, “ The cup of blessing, *ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας*, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?” 1 Cor. x. 16. And so it is always used by Cyril of Alexandria and Chrysostom, as learned men³ have observed out of many places of their

¹ Con. Agathen. can. xlv. Missas die dominicâ secularibus audire speciali ordine præcipimus, ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis egrædi populus non præsumat. &c.

² Con. Aurelian. i. can. 28. Cùm ad celebrandas missas in Dei nomine convenitur, populus non ante discedat, quàm missæ sollennitas compleatur: et ubi episcopus non fuerit, benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis.

³ Vid. Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. in Baron. n. xxxiii. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 749. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. Voce *Εὐλογία*. And Bona himself owns it.

writings. But in after ages it was distinguished from the eucharist, as something that after a sort supplied the room of it. The Council of Nante,¹ about the year 890, ordered the presbyters to keep some part of the people's oblations till after the service, that such as were not prepared to communicate, might on every festival and Lord's day receive some of this *Eulogia*, when blessed with a proper benediction. Some collectors of the Canons ascribe this decree to Pope Pius the martyr,² who lived in the second century: but Bona ingenuously owns that to be a forgery, and says further,³ that the men who father this decree upon him, considered not that in his time there was no such thing as this kind of *Eulogia* in the Church, about which Tertullian, Cyprian, and all their co-temporaries are altogether silent; because in those days all that were present at the sacrifice, were wont to communicate: but these *Eulogiæ* were invented in after ages for those who could not or would not be partakers of the holy mysteries. This is an ingenuous confession of that learned writer, who, where the cause of his Church is not deeply concerned, commonly speaks his mind with a great deal of freedom, and uses a just liberty in taxing the innovations of the monks and schoolmen.

SECT. 4.—The Corruption of private and solitary Mass unknown to former Ages.

But in the business of private or solitary mass, where the credit and interest of the Roman Church is more immediately concerned, he acts a little more like an artist, and labours to palliate what he cannot either heartily or solidly defend. That we call solitary mass, where the priest receives alone without any other communicants, and sometimes says the office alone without any assistants: such are all those private and solitary masses in the Roman Church, which are said at their private altars in the corners of their churches,

¹ Con. Nannetens. can. ix. Partes incisæ habeat in vase nitido et convenienti, ut post missarum sollennia, qui communicare non fuerint parati, eulogias omni die dominico, et in diebus festis exinde accipiant, quæ cum benedictione prius faciat.

² Crab. Con. tom. i. p. 87.

³ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. i. cap. xxiii. n. 12.

without the presence of any but the priest alone, and all those public masses, where none but the priest receives, though there be many spectators of the action. As there is no agreement of either of these with the institution of Christ, but a direct opposition to it: for that was designed to be a communion among many; “We being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.” Which is impossible where there are no communicants: so there is not the least footstep of any such practice in the primitive Church. Bellarmin offers faintly some poor conjectures about it, whilst he fairly owns,¹ that there is no express testimony to be found among the Ancients, that they ever offered the sacrifice without the communion of one or more persons beside the priest. All his conjectures are mere trifles, and the first of them directly against himself. For he would have his reader conjecture from the Council of Nante cited by Ivo,² that the Ancients allowed of solitary mass by the priest alone, because that Council takes occasion to mention the practice, only forbid and censure it. Which it does in very severe terms, which it will not be amiss here to transcribe, to shew what opposition the corruption met with, as soon as it began to appear among the monks, who were the first inventors of it. “The holy Council,” say they, “gives strict order, that no presbyter shall presume to celebrate mass by himself alone. For to whom shall he say, The Lord be with you, or Lift up your hearts: or Let us give thanks to our Lord God; when there is none to answer him? or how shall he say those words in the canon itself, All that are here present, when there is no one present with him? Or whom does he invite to pray, when he says, Let us pray; when there is no one to pray with him? Therefore he must either pass over

¹ Bellarmin. de Missa. lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 821. Nusquam expressè legitur à veteribus oblatum sacrificium sine communione alicujus vel aliquorum præter ipsum sacerdotem.

² Con. Nannetens. apud. Ivonem. part. iii. cap. 70. Definivit sanctum Concilium, ut nullus presbyter solus præsumat missam celebrare. Cui enim dicit, Dominus vobiscum, Sursum Corda, aut Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro, cùm nullus sit qui respondeat?—Si hæc muris et parietibus insusurraverit, ridiculosus erit. Quapropter illa periculosa superstitio maximè à monasteriis monachorum exterminanda est. &c.

these things in silence : and so not only make the sacrifice imperfect and incur that terrible sentence which says, ‘ If any one shall take away from this, God shall take away his part out of the book of life :’ or else, if he mutters these things to the bare stones and walls, it will be ridiculous. Therefore this dangerous superstition is by all means to be exterminated, especially out of the monasteries of the monks. And let all prelates take care, that the presbyters in convents and other churches have always some fellow-workers or attendants in the celebration of mass.” One must needs conclude, that Bellarmin was driven to very hard shifts in defence of a desperate cause, when he was forced to allege this canon as a proof of the practice of solitary mass among the Ancients, which does not so much as prove it to be a lawful practice among the Moderns, but is such a flaming evidence against it, as a novelty, that makes nonsense of all their service, and makes them speak to the walls, and is by all means to be exterminated out of the monasteries, where it first began, as a dangerous and ridiculous superstition. Cardinal Bona is not much happier than Bellarmin in his management of this point. For in one chapter he undertakes to prove solitary mass a novelty,¹ unknown to the ancient Church, and against the very tenour of the present Roman canon : and in the next chapter he pretends to prove, that private mass, without communicants or assistants, is a very ancient and laudable practice. First, he tells us that the very tenor of the mass, and the practice of the ancient Church evince, that the sacrifice was originally instituted principally to be publicly and solemnly performed by the clergy and people standing, offering and communicating together.² For all the prayers, and the very words of the canon are spoken in the plural number, as in the name of many. Hence it is, that the priest, inviting the people to pray, says, “ Let us pray.” And when he salutes them, he

¹ Bona, *Rer. Liturg. lib. cap. xiii. n. 2.*

² *Et quidem ab initio sic sacrificium principaliter institutum fuisse, ut publicè ac solenniter fieret, clero et populo astante, offerente, ac communicante, ipse tenor missæ et veteris Ecclesiæ praxis evincunt, &c.*

says, “The Lord be with you.” And then the people being admonished to lift up their hearts unto God, answer, “We lift them up unto the Lord.” Hence it is, that in the very canon he always prays in the name of the people gathered together, of which giving several instances, he infers, that from thence it is clear, that the mass is nothing else but the action of the priest and whole congregation; which he says, is proved further from those words of the prayer, “*Omnium circumstantium, &c. All that stand here, whose faith and devotion is known to Thee:*” which cannot be wrested to any other sense. And that all that were present did communicate, he says appears, from those words of the priest, when he prays, “that the body and blood of Christ may be to all that receive to eternal life.” And after the communion, he says, “What we have received with our mouths, let us receive with a pure mind.” And, “Thou hast filled Thy gifts:” and almost all the prayers which are said after communicating, are of the same tenor, because no others could be present but such as could offer and partake of the sacrament. Which he proves from Cyprian and Pope Leo, and the Apostolical Canons, and the Council of Antioch. To these he adds the testimonies of Micrologus, and Odo Cameracensis, and Stephanus Eduensis, concerning the same practice of the primitive Church, which they own was different from that of their own time, when solitary mass was brought in by the monks. Nay, he adds, that solitary mass was forbidden by several Councils and canons expressly, when it began to appear. Among which he relates the forementioned canon of the Council of Nante, and the Council of Mets, under Leo III. can. xliiii. and the Capitular of the Kings of France, collected by Benedictus Levita, lib. v. cap. 93. and the Capitular of Theodulphus Aurelianensis, cap. vii. And the Synodical Epistle of RATHERIUS Veronensis, published by Dacherius. Spicileg. tom. ii. And the synod of Paris under Gregory iv. Anno 829. Which is most remarkable, because it shews us both the original, and the grounds and motives that introduced this corruption. “A very culpable custom,” say they¹, “is crept in in many places, partly by negligence, and

¹ Con. Paris. lib. i. cap. 48. Irrepsit in plerisque locis partim incuria

partly by covetousness, which ought by all means to be reformed, that some presbyters celebrate mass without any attendants. Whence it is proper to convene, and ask every such busy consecrator of the body and blood of the Lord, to whom he uses those words, ‘The Lord be with you?’ and who answers him, ‘And with thy Spirit?’ or for whom he supplicates the Lord, when he says among other things, ‘Remember those that stand about me;’ when there are none standing about him? Which custom therefore, being contrary to apostolical and ecclesiastical authority, and bringing a reproach upon so great a mystery, it seems good to us all in common to inhibit it for the future; and that every bishop take care, that no presbyter within his diocese shall presume to celebrate mass by himself alone.” Bona owns, that all these Councils prohibited solitary mass upon this ground, that it made all such expressions as those, “The Lord be with you:” and, “Lift up your hearts, &c.” to be nonsense and absurd. And he adds some canons out of Gratian¹ under the name of Pope Soter and Anacletus, which ordain, that no presbyter should presume to celebrate mass, except there be at least two present beside himself. Upon which he takes occasion to make this just reflection, that these could not be the decrees of those ancient bishops,² because solitary mass was a thing never heard of in their age, and he could not think they would make laws to take away an abuse, which crept not in till some ages after among the monks. Would it not now perfectly amaze a man after all this, to hear the same author declare in the very first words of his next chapter, that the laudable cus-

partim avaritiâ, reprehensibilis usus et congruâ emendatione dignus, eò quòd nonnulli presbyterorum sine ministris missarum solennia frequentent. Unde conveniendus, imò interrogandus nobis videtur hujusmodi corporis et sanguinis Domini sollicitarius consecrator, quibus dicit, Dominus vobiscum, et à quo illi respondetur, Et cum spiritu tuo: vel pro quibus supplicando Domino inter cætera, Memento, Domine, et omnium circumstantium, cùm nullus circumstet, dicit? Quæ consuetudo, quia apostolicæ et ecclesiasticæ auctoritati refragatur, et tanto mysterio quandam dehonorationem irrogare videtur, omnibus nobis in commune visum est, ut deinceps hujusmodi usus inhibeatur, provideatque unusquisque episcoporum, ne in suâ parochiâ quiscquam presbyterorum missam solus celebrare præsumat.

¹ Grat. De Consecrat. Dist. i. cap. 61.

² Bona, lib. i. cap. xiii. n. 6.

tom of private mass, without any communicants, or the presence of any but one priest, was always the practice of the Church? And that the heretics, who hate liturgy, so he wrongfully slanders the Protestants,¹ could never demonstrate that it was prohibited; when he himself has so fully demonstrated it to their hands. But now he will undertake to demonstrate on the contrary, that private mass, in whatever sense we take it, was always lawful and in use, from the most approved testimonies and examples of the primitive Fathers. And yet when he comes to the proof, he offers not so much as one instance of that sort of private mass, where the priest ministers alone, without the presence of the people, which is called solitary mass, though he approves of it; nor says he any thing material for that sort of private mass, where the priest partakes without any other communicants, though in the presence of all the people; but only urges a mistaken passage of Chrysostom, urged before by Bellarmin and Harding, and answered by Chamier, where he says,² “In vain do we stand at the altar, in vain is the daily sacrifice offered, there is no one that communicates.” As if Chrysostom had neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor any of the people to communicate with him above once a year in the great churches of Antioch or Constantinople, because many were so negligent as not to communicate oftener; whom he justly reproves in an hyperbolical way of speaking, which does not mean, that he communicated by himself alone, but that many were guilty of a gross neglect, whilst others, as Chrysostom himself says, were more assiduous and zealous. And yet this is one of the best proofs Bona can give after all his boasts of demonstration, which shews, that he was as hard put to it to defend an indefensible cause, as Pope Innocent III. was, when, to answer the objection that is urged in this very argument, “How the priest can say, ‘*Orate pro me fratres,*

¹ Bona, lib. i. cap. xiv. n. 1. Semper viguit in ecclesiâ privatæ missæ, uno saltem præsentate et ministrante, laudabilis consuetudo, quam hæretici misoliturgi aliquando prohibitam fuisse nunquam poterunt demonstrare. Sive enim dicatur privata ex eo quòd solus sacerdos in eâ communicet; sive quia vel unus duntaxat vel pauci ei intersint, sive aliâ quâcunque ex causâ: semper eam licitam, semperque in usu fuisse, probatissimis patrum testimoniis et exemplis demonstrabo.

² Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes.

Pray for me, brethren; seeing he is alone without assistants?" he is forced to say,¹ "that it is piously to be believed, that the angels of God are our associates in prayer." Which answer does not untie the knot;² for though they are present, they are not present as communicants, to eat and drink with us the body and blood of Christ. Neither can the priest be supposed to say to the angels, 'Take eat, this is my body; according to Christ's command. Evident therefore it is beyond all contradiction, that whether we consider the institution itself; or the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church; or the tenor of all the ancient Liturgies, which the reader may find collected in Chamier,³ with the testimonies of the Fathers upon the subject; or even the tenor of the Roman mass itself; or the opposition this corruption met with at its first appearance; the eucharist was not intended as a sacrifice to be offered by a single priest in a corner, without communicants or assistants, or for the intention, or at the cost of some particular person paying for it; but for a communion to the whole Church, as the primitive Church always used it; and there is not an example to be found of the contrary practice.

SECT. 5.—Other Corruptions countenanced in the Roman Church, as the *Missa Sicca* and *Nautica*, and those called *Bifaciata* and *Trifaciata*, &c.

But this was not the only abuse which crept into the Church in later ages against the ancient way of celebrating the holy communion. For Bona himself takes notice of two more,⁴ which he censures as heartily as one could wish, though they found great encouragement in their time. They are corruptions not commonly met with in other authors, and therefore I will give the reader an account of them from him. The one was called *Missa Sicca*, *dry mass*, which, he says, took its original from the indiscreet

¹ Innoc. de Offic. Missæ lib. ii. cap. 25. ap. Juel. art. i. p. 51.

² Bona, lib. ii. cap. v. n. 1. says, This answer of the Pope is piously meant, but not solid and true.

³ Chamier. de Euchar. lib. vii.

cap. 17, 18, 19.

⁴ Bona, Rep. Liturg. lib. cap. xv. n. 6

and private devotion of some, to which the priests were too indulgent. It is a mere mask and counterfeit of the true mass, properly dry and jejune, as wanting not only the consecration, but the participation of the body of Christ, like that supper of wood and stones, which, Lampridius and other historians tell us, was exhibited by Heliogabalus to his guests. Yet it so prevailed, that for some time it was not displeasing to holy and learned men. Gulielmus de Nangiaco, the monk, in his book of the Actions of St. Lewis, tells how that most religious king, returning from beyond sea into France, had the body of Christ in the ship with him, and there ordered all the whole divine office and the mass, except the canon, to be daily celebrated. Genebrard commends the same in his book of the Apostolical Liturgy, cap. xxx. for those, that cannot be in the morning at the whole mass, and for those, that are at sea, and for the sick, and for any, that are buried in the afternoon; to which purpose he says it was used in his time, and he himself was present at Turin, Anno 1587, at the funeral of a nobleman, who was buried in the evening with such a mass sung by a deacon and a subdeacon. Durandus describes the manner of celebrating it in his Rationale, lib. iv. cap. 1. where he says, the whole office may all be used except the canon, although in the preface the angels seem to be invocated to the consecration of the body and blood of Christ. This Durandus in his book *De Ritibus*, lib. ii. cap. 4. says, is called *the seamen's mass*, *Missa Nautica*, because it was used to be celebrated at sea and upon the rivers, where by reason of the motion and agitation of the waves the sacrifice could hardly be offered without danger of effusion. Estius declaims bitterly against it in his thirteenth theological oration, and Laurentius Laudmeter, lib. ii. *De Veteri Clerico et Monacho* cap. lxxxiv. who both think it began a little before the time of Guido de Monte Rocherii, who commends and approves it in his book, called *Manipulus Curatorum*. tract. iv. cap. 7. which he wrote, Anno 1333; but they were mistaken, because, as we have seen, it was in use in the time of king Lewis the Saint, who died Anno 1270, and Durandus describes it, who lived at the same time. And Petrus Cantor, who flourished Anno 1200, mentions it in his book called,

Verbum Abbreviatum, c. xxix. Where he says, dry mass is without the grace and moisture of the consecrated eucharist, and profits the faithful nothing. Bona adds, that now by the provident care of bishops, he thinks this abuse is abrogated and destroyed all over the world. But he forgets to tell his reader one thing, which Durantus tells us¹ freely out of Navarre, that the book called,² *Liber Sacerdotalis*, where this *Missa Nautica* is described, was approved by Leo X. and that St. Antonine speaks of it as used at Tholouse by way of funeral office in the afternoon. By which we may judge, how great corruptions may creep into the Church, and then gain the approbation both of their popes and saints, by their own confession. And when it is so, they will never want advocates to plead their cause, and put the face of antiquity upon them. As in this very case, though Bona and others censure this abuse as an innovation, yet Durantus derives its original from the primitive Church, and tells us, it was practised at Alexandria in the time of Socrates, because he says,³ that on Wednesdays and Fridays they had the Scriptures read and expositions made upon them, and all other things belonging to religious assemblies, except the celebration of the mysteries: which indeed is very true; but altogether foreign to his purpose, unless we shall say, that there can be no prayers, nor sermons, nor psalmody, nor reading the Scriptures in the Church, but presently it must be called dry mass, that is, using the consecration-service without a consecration.

The other corruption, which Bona censures as a detestable abuse, is that which, they call *Missa Bifaciata* and *Trifaciata*, which he says, Petrus Cantor in the forementioned book sharply rebukes. For some priests in his time had got a trick of throwing many masses into one, saying the mass of the day, or some special mass as far as the offertory, and then beginning another as far as the same place; and after that a third and a fourth in the same manner. After that

¹ Durant. de Ritib. lib. ii. cap. iv. n. 8.

² Navar de

Oratione. Miscel. 53. Antonin. part iii. tit. xiii. cap. vi. n. 4.

³ Soerat. lib. v. cap. 22.

they said as many secret prayers as they had begun masses, and then made one canon serve them all, adding as many collects in the end, as they had repeated in the beginning. Petrus Cantor ascribes the original of this abuse to the covetousness of the priests, who knowing it to be unlawful for them to celebrate more than once in one day, invented this grafting of many masses upon one stock, that by once celebrating they might satisfy the devotion of many together, who desired the sacrifice to be offered for them, by which means they got the pay of several masses for one sacrifice. These masses, Petrus Cantor calls by a barbarous name, *Bifaciatas* and *Trifaciatas*, because they had a *double* and a *triple face*: which he abominates and detests, as monstrous and contrary to the institution and custom of the Church. It is great pity we have not this book of Petrus Cantor, called his *Verbum Abbreviatum*, or *Short Work*, here at hand in some of our libraries. It is a book so rare, that I find no mention made of it in Dr. Cave. But Du Pin gives a short account of the author.¹ He says, he was chanter of the Church of Paris in the beginning of the thirteenth century; that he composed a book called, *The Word Abridged*, a work of great renown among the authors of the next centuries, of which a part was written against the proprietary monks. He likewise wrote a *Grammar for Divines*, very necessary for understanding the Scriptures; a *Book of Distinctions*; a *Treatise about some Miracles*; three *Books of the Sacraments*, and divers sermons, mentioned by Trithemius. Du Pin adds, that in their libraries they had his *Glosses upon the Bible*, and *A Collection of Cases of Conscience*. But none of them are printed beside the *Verbum Abbreviatum*. Trithemius says,² he was a bishop afterwards, as he had heard reported, and he gives him this character, that he was excellently well learned in the Scriptures, and eminent in all philosophical knowledge; that he was rector of the *Theological School at Paris* for many years, where he trained up many eminent disciples. Were his books now to be seen, we might doubtless find

¹ Du Pin. Biblioth. cent. xiii. p. 54.

² Trithem. de Scriptor. p. 81.

many other such abuses of the monks as severely handled in them, as those which we have here noted out of Bona.

Whilst I am upon this head of abuses, the reader will not be displeas'd, if I note another of this kind, which Baronius himself takes notice of,¹ out of the seventeenth Council of Toledo, where there is a canon to censure and correct it. Some priests in Spain were so corrupt as to gratify revengeful men by saying the service of the dead for the living, for no other end, but that they, for whom the office was said, might incur the danger of death, by having a sacrifice offered for them; and so that, which was designed for men's salvation, was perversely abused at the instigation of wicked men to their destruction. Against such compliers with the detestable requests of wicked men, the Council pronounces the severe sentence of deposition and excommunication.² We may also note another abuse mentioned in the twelfth Council of Toledo,³ which was, that some priests, having occasion to consecrate the eucharist more than once in a day, would not communicate themselves every time, but only at the last consecration. Which was another sort of private mass, but as it were the reverse of that of the Romish Church. For as now the priest communicates without the people; (pardon the absurdity of the expression, when I call that communicating where there is no communion;) so then the people were forced to communicate without the priest: both which the Council thought preposterous and absurd, and therefore re-inforces the ancient discipline, that both priest and people should communicate together; which was ever the constant and universal practice of the whole primi-

¹ Baron. an. 694. n. 9.

² Con. Tolet. xvii. can. 5. Missam pro reque defunctorum promulgatam fallaci voto pro vivis student celebrare hominibus, non ob aliud, nisi ut is, pro quo idipsum offertur officium, ipsius sacrosancti libaminis interventu, mortis ac perditionis incurrat periculum: et quod cunctis datum est in salutis remedium, illi hoc perverso instinctu quibusdam esse expetunt in interitum, &c.

³ Con. Tolet. xii. can. 5. Quale erit illud sacrificium cui nec ipse sacrificans particeps esse cognoscitur? Ergo modis omnibus est tenendum, ut quotiescunque sacrificans corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi Domini nostri in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi participem se præbeat. Vid. Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. ii. cap. 10.

tive Church, to whose laws and rules about communicants, leaving these abuses and innovations, I now return.

SECT. 6.—The Communion not given to Heretics and Schismatics without Confession and Reconciliation.

As all persons were obliged to receive the communion constantly, who were within the pale of the Church in the largest acceptation of the word, except catechumens and excommunicate persons: so we must note, to avoid ambiguity, that heretics and schismatics were commonly ranked in the same class with excommunicate persons; sometimes being formally cut off from the Church by her censures, and sometimes voluntarily by their own separation; and therefore till they had made confession and renunciation of their errors, and were reconciled by imposition of hands and absolution, they were reckoned in the number of those, to whom the communion of prayers and this holy sacrament was denied; and that whether they had been baptised in the Church, or were baptised in heresy and schism. Sometimes they were allowed with all others to hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached, as has been shewn in a former book:¹ but then, when the service of the catechumens was over, they were obliged to depart with them; the deacon's admonition commonly running in these terms, as we have often heard before, "Let no catechumen, no penitent, no unbeliever, no heretic or heterodox person be present at the holy mysteries." After what manner they were received and reconciled upon their confessions, belongs to another subject; which has in some measure been handled already,² and will come again under consideration in the next volume, when we treat of the discipline of the Church. At present it is sufficient to observe, that whilst they continued in heresy or schism, they were of the number of those, to whom the Church refused to give the sacrament, as persons not being in full communion with her.

¹ Book xiii. chap. i. sect. 2.
Baptism. part i. chap. i. sect. 21.

² Scholast. Hist. of

SECT. 7.—Yet given to Infants and Children for several Ages.

On the other hand it is beyond dispute, that as she baptised infants, and gave them the unction of chrism with imposition of hands for confirmation, so she immediately admitted them to a participation of the eucharist, as soon as they were baptised, and ever after without exception. Some evidence has been given of this already, for at least eight centuries, in speaking of confirmation,¹ out of Gennadius and Alcuin, and the *Ordo Romanus*, and *Jesse Ambianensis*, and other public offices of the Church containing the rules of baptism and confirmation, where orders are also given to communicate infants as soon as they were baptised. Here I will add the testimony of the more ancient writers, that it may not be thought a novelty and invention of latter ages.² Cyprian often mentions it as the common practice: in his *Book of those, that lapsed in time of persecution*, he speaks of some parents, who took their little children in their arms, when they went to sacrifice at the heathen altars: and he brings in those infants thus complaining: “We did nothing ourselves, neither did we leave the bread and cup of the Lord to run of our own accord to the profane contagions: it was the treachery of others that destroyed us, we fell by the hands of our parents.” A little further he speaks of another infant, who was carried by her nurse, unknown to her parents, to the magistrates to partake of the idol sacrifice; who, when she was brought by her mother afterwards to receive the eucharist,³ vomited up the wine that was given her to drink in the communion. By which it is undeniable that infants were then admitted to communicate in both kinds, if they were capable of receiving them. Upon

¹ *Book xii. chap. i. sect. 2.*

² *Cypr. de Lapsis, p. 125. Infantes quoque parentum manibus vel impositi vel attracti, amiserent parvuli, quod in primo statim natiuitatis exordio fuerant consecuti. Nonne illi, cum iudicii dies venerit, dicent: Nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto cibo et poculo Domini ad profana contagia sponte properavimus. Perdidit nos aliena perfidia, parentes sensimus parricidas.*

³ *Ibid. p. 132. In corpore atque ore vislato eucharistia permanere non potuit. Sanctificatus in Domini sanguine potus de pollutis visceribus erupit.*

this account the Author of the Constitutions,¹ in his invitation of the faithful to the communion, bids mothers bring their children with them. And again,² describing the order in which they communicated, he says, "First let the bishops receive, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, and ascetics; among the women, the deaconesses, virgins, and widows; after that the children, and then all the people in their order." The author, under the name of Dionysius,³ says the same, that children were admitted, not only to baptism, but the eucharist, though they did not understand the reasons of either mystery. St. Austin not only mentions the practice in Cyprian's time,⁴ citing the foresaid passages out of his book *De Lapsis*; but also seems to say, it was necessary for infants in order to obtain eternal life; grounding upon that saying of our Saviour, John vi. "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood,⁵ ye have no life in you." Which he says, is to be understood not of the sacrament of baptism, but of the sacrament of the Lord's table, where no one is rightly admitted but he that is baptised. "And dare any one be so bold, as to say, that this sentence does not appertain to little children, or that they can have life without partaking of this body and blood?" He repeats the same frequently in his disputes with the Pelagians,⁶ and his sermons on the words of the Apostle,⁷ and in his Epistle to Boniface,⁸ written jointly by him and Alipius against the Pelagians. And Pope Inno-

¹ Const. lib. viii. cap. 12.

² Ibid. cap. xiii.

³ Dionys.

Eccl. Hierar. cap. vii. p. 360.

⁴ Aug. Ep. xxiii. ad Bonifac.

⁵ Aug de Peccator. Merit. lib. i. cap. 20. Dominum audiamus non quidem hoc de sacramento sancti lavacri dicentem, sed de sacramento sanctæ mensæ suæ, quò nemo ritè nisi baptizatus accedit, 'Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, &c.' An verò quisquam audebit etiam hæc dicere, quod ad parvulos hæc sententia non pertineat, possuntque sine participatione corporis hujus et sanguinis in se habere vitam?

⁶ Con. Duas Epist. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 22. Nec illud cogitatis, eos vitam habere non posse qui fuerint expertes, corporis et sanguinis Christi, dicente ipso, 'Nisi manducaveritis, &c.'

⁷ Serm. viii. de Verbis Apostoli

p. 110. Infantes sunt sed mensæ ejus participes fiunt, ut habeant in se vitam.

⁸ Ep. 106. ad Bonifac. p. 185. Nullus qui se meminit catholicæ fidei Christianum, negat aut dubitat parvulos non acceptâ gratiâ regenerationis in Christo sine cibo carnis ejus et sanguinis potu, non habere in se vitam.

cent, his cotemporary, seems to have had the same opinion : for he argues in his Epistle to St. Austin and the Council of Milevis,¹ for the necessity of baptising infants, from the necessity of their eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of the son of man. There is great dispute among the Romish doctors about the sense of St. Austin and this Pope Innocent upon this point. Bona² and others think it would be a great reproach to their Church, to have it thought that the Council of Trent should condemn the opinion of the necessity of communicating infants, whilst two such great men, as St. Austin and their own Pope Innocent, were conceived to be of that opinion: and therefore they say, though the Ancients gave the communion to infants; yet they did not think it necessary to salvation. This is the salvo, which the Council of Trent put into their mouths: for having condemned the opinion itself as heretical, yet to bring off the ancient Church, which was known to practise it, she adds;³ “we do not hereby intend to condemn antiquity for observing this custom in some places. For as those holy fathers had a probable reason, considering the state of the times they lived in, for their practice; so it is certainly and without all controversy to be believed, that they did not do it upon any opinion of its being necessary to salvation.” But Maldonat would not take the Council’s word for this: for, without any regard to their interpretation or authority, he asserts roundly, that the Ancients, and particularly St. Austin and Pope Innocent, did believe, that infants could not be saved without partaking of the eucharist,⁴ and that they were induced to believe this by those words of our Saviour, “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.” And indeed

¹ Innoc. Ep. 93. inter Epist. Augustini. Parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis etiam sine baptismatis gratiâ donari posse, perfatuum est: nisi enim manducaverint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in semetipsis.

Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xix. n. 1.

² Bona, *Rer.*

³ *Con. Trident. sess. xxi. cap. 4.* Neque ideò tamen dammanda est antiquitas, si eum morem in quibusdam locis servavit. Ut enim sanctissimi illi patres sui facti probabilem causam pro illius temporis ratione habuerunt; ita certè eos nullâ salutis necessitate id fecisse sine controversiâ credendum est.

Joan. vi. 53. p. 326.

⁴ Maldonat. *Cont. in*

any one, that reads but with half an eye the testimonies of St. Austin now alleged, which Bona thought fit to conceal from his reader, only making a short reference to some of them, may easily perceive what was his opinion in the matter. And it were absurd to think, that the whole primitive Church, Greek and Latin, from St. Cyprian's time, should give the communion to infants without imagining any manner of necessity from any divine command to do it. But Bona endeavours to support his and the Council's sense from the authority of Fulgentius, who was one of St. Austin's disciples, and who, as he represents him, says, that actual communion after baptism is not necessary to salvation. But he only abuses his reader with a false state of the case, and a false assertion grounded on it. For Fulgentius does not say, that the actual participation of the eucharist is not necessary after baptism for infants: for he is not speaking of infants, but adult persons, who die as soon as they are baptised without having opportunity to receive the communion: concerning whom he concludes favourably, that though they die before they receive outwardly the elements of bread and wine, yet they are not to be despaired of, because they were made partakers of the body and blood of Christ in baptism,¹ which in such cases of great necessity was sufficient to answer the end of the communion, when men were desirous of it, but had no opportunity to receive it. So that he believed the eucharist ordinarily to be necessary both for infants and adult persons, but in extraordinary cases of extreme necessity, not to be necessary for either.

But to set aside the question of right, and only pursue matter of fact, we find that this custom continued even in the Roman Church for many ages: Maldonat says, for six centuries, but Bona makes it double the number; for he says, it was not abrogated in France till the twelfth century.

¹ Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopsis. cap. xi. p. 611. Nullus debet moveri fidelium in illis, qui etsi legitime sanã mente baptizantur, præveniente velociùs morte, carnem Domini manducare, et sanguinem bibere non sinuntur, propter illam videlicet sententiam Salvatoris quã dixit, 'Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, &c.' Quod quisquis—mysterii veritatem considerare poterit, in ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit.

In Gregory's *Sacramentarium*,¹ there is an order concerning infants, "that they should be allowed to suck the breast before the holy communion, if necessity so required." And the old *Ordo Romanus*,² a book composed in the ninth century, has a direction to the same purpose; "that infants after they were baptised, should not eat any food, nor suck the breast without great necessity, till they had communicated in the sacrament of the body of Christ." So Alcuin, or whoever wrote under his name, in the time of Charles the Great, says, the order then was,³ "that when infants were baptised, they were immediately confirmed by the bishop, if he were present, and admitted to communicate; but if the bishop was absent, they should receive the communion from the presbyter." Baluzius⁴ alleges two manuscript Pontificals of the same age, which have Rubrics to the same purpose. And the orders of Jesse, bishop of Amiens,⁵ call it confirming children with the body and blood of Christ, as they were confirmed before with imposition of hands and chrism. And it is remarkable of Walter, bishop of Orleance, in the same age, that among his synodical rules, there is one to this purpose:⁶ "that a presbyter shall always have the eucharist ready by him, that in case any one be infirm, or a young child sick,

¹ Gregor. *Sacramentar.* in *Officio Sabbati Sancti.* Non prohibentur lactari ante sacram communionem, si necesse fuerit.

² *Ordo Rom.* *Bibl. Patr.* tom. x. p. 84. De parvulis providendum, ne postquam baptizati fuerint, ullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur sine summâ necessitate, antequam communicent sacramento corporis Christi.

³ Alcuin. de *Officiis.* cap. de *Sabbato Sancto.* *ibid.* p. 259. Si episcopus adest, statim confirmari oportet (infans tinctus) chrismate, et postea communicare: et si episcopus deest, communicetur à presbytero, &c. Sed et hoc providendum est ut nullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur antequam communicent.

⁴ Baluz. *Not. in Reginonem.* lib. i. cap. 69.

⁵ Jesse *Ambianensis* *Epist. de Ordine Bapt.* ap. Baluz. *ibid.* Episcopus puerum chrismate confirmet; novissimè autem corpore et sanguine Christi confirmetur seu communicetur, ut Christi membrum esse possit.

⁶ Walter. *Aurelian.* *Capitul.* vii. *Con.* tom. viii. p. 639. Presbyter eucharistiam semper habeat paratam, ut quando quis infirmatus fuerit, aut parvulus ægrotaverit, statim eum communicet, ne sine viatico moriatur. The same is in *Ansegisus Abbas de Legibus Francorum.* lib. i. cap. clv. al. clxi.

he may give him the communion, and not let him die without his *viaticum* or *provision for his journey* into the next world." The second Council of Mascon, which was held Anno 588, and the third Council of Tours,¹ in the time of Charles the Great, order the remains of the eucharist to be given to innocent children. Radulphus Ardens, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, speaks of it still as the custom to give little children the sacrament,² at least in the species of wine, immediately after they were baptised, that they might not go without the necessary sacrament. And Hugo de Sancto Victore at the same time recommends the giving of it to children,³ if it might be done without danger: though he intimates now the custom was almost generally laid aside; there being only a mere form and shadow of it remaining, which was to give children newly baptised common wine, instead of consecrated, which he thinks a superfluous rite that ought to be laid aside. And so it was, not long after: for Odo, bishop of Paris, Anno 1175, ordered, "that neither consecrated nor unconsecrated bread should by any means be given to little children."⁴ And so says Bona;⁵ the custom of giving the communion to infants was superseded in the twelfth age in the Gallican Church. It continued a little longer in Germany, if Suicerus does not mistake in his author:⁶ for he quotes Joannes Semeca, surnamed, Teutonicus, who wrote the Gloss upon Gratian, as saying, "that the custom prevailed in some places in his time to give the eucharist to children." But there is no such gloss in the place he alleges in the Roman edition;⁷ so that either he mistakes the place, or else some fraud has been used to expunge the passage by the Roman correctors. Zuinglius speaks

¹ Con. Matiscon. ii. can. 6. Con. Turon. iii. can. 19.

² Radulph. Serm. in Die Paschæ. de Eucharistiæ Necessitate. Statutum est ut pueris mox baptizatis saltem in specie vini tradatur, ne sine necessario sacramento discedant.

³ Hugo de S. Victore, de Sacrament. lib. i. cap. 20.

⁴ Odo Statut. Synodal. cap. xxxix.

⁵ Bona, Rer.

Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xix. n. 2.

⁶ Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii.

p. 113S.

⁷ Grat. de Consecrat. dist. iv. cap. 4. cited also by Hospinian.

of the custom continuing long among the Helvetians; for he says, in the ritual book of Claron, called their Obsequial, there was this rubric:¹ “ that a newly baptised child should have the eucharist in both kinds ministered unto him.” And Hospinian as from his own knowledge,² that in Lorrain and the adjacent parts it was usual for the priest, when he had baptised a child, to dip his fingers in the cup, and drop the wine into the child’s mouth, saying, the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be of advantage unto thee to eternal life.

The Greek Church was a little more tenacious of the ancient custom. For not only Basilius Cilix,³ and Evagrius,⁴ and Johannes Moschus,⁵ mention the communion of children, and the giving the remains of the eucharist to children after the communion was ended; but also Nicephorus,⁶ who lived in the fourteenth century, mentions the same: and Suicerus tells us out of Metrophanes Critopulus, a modern Greek writer,⁷ that they still continue to observe the custom to this day. As he also observes out of Osorius *De Gestis Emanuelis*, lib. ix. that it continues to be the practice of the Ethiopic or Abyssin Churches. And he cites Sigismundus Baro’s History of Muscovy, for the same in the Russian Churches. Mr. Brerewood notes the like of the Russian Churches,⁸ out of Guaguinus. And Dr. Smith tells for the present Greek Church,⁹ that they give the eucharist in both kinds to little children of one or two years of age, and sometimes to new-born infants after baptism, in case of imminent danger of death; grounding their belief of an absolute necessity of this sacrament upon the words of our Saviour, John vi. 53. “ Except ye eat the flesh, &c.” and pleading the practice of the primitive Church in their own justification. I have not said any

¹ Zuingl. Explanat. Artic. xviii. Oper. tom. i. Baptizato puero mox detur eucharistiæ sacramentum, similiter et poculum sanguinis.

² Hospinian. Hist. Sacram. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 60.

³ Basil. ap.

Photium, Cod. 107.

⁴ Evagr. lib. iv. c. 35.

⁵ Moschus,

Viridarium. cap. cxcvi.

⁶ Niceph. lib. xiv. c. 25.

⁷ Suicer. tom. ii. p. 1138. Ex Metroph. Confess. Eccl. Orient. cap. ix.

⁸ Brerewood’s Inquiries, cap. xviii.

⁹ Smith. Account of the Gr.

Church. p. 161.

thing of all this to reduce the custom into practice again: though Bishop Bedle and some others have declared entirely for it: because, as learned men have shewn,¹ there are good reasons to persuade the contrary. 1. Because it has no firm foundation in the Word of God. 2. Because infants, which are baptised, are in effect thereby partakers of the body and blood of Christ, which are exhibited spiritually in baptism as well as the eucharist, according to St. Austin himself and all the ancient fathers, of which I have made full proof in another place.² 3. Because infants cannot do this in remembrance of Christ, which he requires all that partake in this sacrament to do. 4. Because there is the same analogy and agreement between the Paschal lamb and the Lord's supper, as there is between circumcision and baptism: an infant Israelite had a right to enter the covenant by circumcision, as it was the seal of it: but he was not to partake of the passover, till he could ask his parents the meaning of the mystery, *Exod. xii. 26.* So an infant may enter the Christian covenant by baptism, but not partake regularly of the eucharist, till he can do it in remembrance of Christ. What I have therefore discoursed upon this head, by deducing the matter historically from first to last, is rather to shew the vanity of that pretence to infallibility and unerring tradition in the Church of Rome, in matters of doctrine and necessary practice; since they themselves have thought fit to alter one point, which their infallible Popes and forefathers for so many ages observed as necessary, in communicating infants upon a divine command; and withall to shew, that any other Church has a better pretence than they, to reform any practice, however generally observed, if upon better examination it be found not to be grounded upon a good foundation in the word of God. I now return to the business of the ancient Church.

SECT. 8.—Sent to the Absent Members of their own or other Churches.

Where we find that not only the present members were

¹ Vid. Hospin. et Suicer. locis citatis.

² Book ii. chap. x. sect. 4.

all communicants, but they that were absent had it sent to them by the hands of a deacon, to testify, that while they were absent upon any lawful occasion, they were still reputed to be in the communion of the Church. Thus Justin Martyr says,¹ the same eucharist, which was received by them that were present, was carried by the deacons to the absent. For as they prayed for those that were absent upon a probable or reasonable cause, so they allowed them to communicate in the same sacrament also. Upon this account, as we have seen before,² the eucharist at Rome, in the time of Melchiades, Siricius, and Innocent, was usually sent from the bishop's Church to the *Tituli*, or lesser Churches, for the presbyters ministering in those Churches to communicate with him, and, as some think,³ for the whole congregations also. For they suppose, that at first there was but one altar in a city, and that at the mother church, where the bishop ministered, and consecrated the eucharist, and sent it thence to the lesser congregations. And so they understand even that passage in Justin Martyr. I rather think, the presbyters had the privilege to consecrate the eucharist in their own churches; but however a portion of the eucharist was for all that sent them by the bishop from his own church, to testify that they were in communion with him: he did not send to the country churches, because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at too great a distance, as Innocent words it in his letter to Decentius. Yet in case of testifying their communion with foreign bishops, they were wont to send it to far distant churches. As Irenæus in his Epistle to Pope Victor,⁴ when he menaced the Asiatic Churches with excommunication for their different way of observing Easter, tells him his predecessors never thought of such rough proceedings against them, but notwithstanding this difference always sent them the eucharist, to testify their communion with them.

¹ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 98. Vid. Justinian. Novel. cxliii. cap. 36. Aut sanctam eis communionem portandam.

² Book xv. chap. ii. sect. 6.

³ Maurice of Diocesan Episcopacy. p. 39.

⁴ Ap. Euseb. lib. v.

cap. 24.

Valesius¹ and others, observe the same in the Acts of Lucian the Martyr,² and Paulinus's Epistle to Severus.³ This was chiefly, if not solely, done at the paschal festival in token of their unity, love, and charity. But the Council of Laodicea,⁴ for some inconveniences attending the practice, absolutely forbade it; ordering that the holy sacraments should not be sent from one diocese to another under the notion of *Eulogiæ*, or *benedictions*, at the Easter festival. Yet in some places the custom continued for several ages after. For Johannes Moschus speaks of the communion being sent from one monk to another,⁵ at six miles distance; not to mention again the custom of sending the eucharist by Paulinus, and the bishops of Rome from the mother church, to all the other churches throughout the city in every region. But where they left off this custom of sending the eucharist, they introduced another way of testifying their mutual love and amity to one another by certain symbols of bread, which they blessed and sanctified also in imitation of the eucharist, but with a different benediction. And to these also they gave the names of *Eulogiæ*, and *Panis benedictus*, *consecrated bread*, which the modern Greeks call *Ἀντίδωρα*, *vicarious gifts*, because they were given in many cases instead of the eucharist. It has been observed already,⁶ that they were often given to such as would not communicate, when the ancient fervour of popular and general communions began to decay. Here we are to observe, that they were used to be sent from one country to another instead of the eucharist, as testimonies of their amity and affection. Some, not improbably,⁷ thus understood that canon of the Council of Laodicea,⁸ which forbids any to receive "the *Eulogiæ*, or *blessings* of here-

¹ Vales. in Locum.

² Acta Lucian. ap. Metaphrast. vii. Jan.

³ Paulin. Ep. i. ad Severum.

⁴ Con. Laodic. can. xliii. Περὶ τῆς μὴ

τὰ ἄγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πάσχα εἰς ἑτέρας παροικίας διακέρυπτεσθαι.

⁵ Mosch. Pratum Spiritual. cap. xxix.

⁶ See before in this chapter. sect. 3.

⁷ Habert. Archieratic. part ii. obser. 3.

⁸ Con. Laodic. can. xxxi. vel xxxii. Οὐ δεῖ αἰρετικῶν εὐλογίας λαμβάνειν αὐτανεῖς εἶσιν ἀλογία μᾶλλον ἢ εὐλογία.

ties, which were to be reckoned curses and absurdities rather than blessings." As also that other canon,¹ which forbids them to receive either from Jews or heretics, "τὰ πεμπόμενα ἑορταστικά, such gifts or presents as were used to be sent in festivals." Of this kind was that bread, which Paulinus and Therasia sent to St. Austin as a testimony of their unanimity and cordial affection, which they desire him to bless by his acceptance.² Some learned men mistake, when they say, the sending of the eucharist came in the room of this: for it was plainly the reverse: these *Eulogiæ* were invented in the room of the eucharist, as appears from the testimony of Irenæus, which speaks of sending the eucharist as the more ancient custom.

SECT. 9.—And to those that were Sick, or in Prison, or under any Confinement, or in Penance at the point of Death.

Among the absent members of the Church they had a more especial regard to those, that were sick, or in prison, or under any confinement, as the martyrs and confessors, who daily expected their dissolution; and such also of the penitents as were seized with sickness, and in imminent danger of death. To all these they commonly sent the eucharist, which in this case is more peculiarly styled the Ἐφώδιον, or *Viaticum*, their preparation or provision for their journey into the next world. Thus in the Council of Nice there is a canon,³ which orders, "that all penitents should have their necessary and final Ἐφώδιον, or *Viaticum*, when they were at the point of death." Which though Albaspinæus interpret only of absolution,⁴ yet all others with better reason understand it of the eucharist, because it is added in the end of the Canon, that the bishop shall impart the oblation to them. And so the Council of Agde

¹ Con. Laodic. can. xxxvii.

² Paulin. Ep. xxxi. inter Epist. Aug.

Panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicio misimus charitati tuæ, rogamus accipiendo benedicas. Vid. Aug. Ep. xxxiv. ad Paulinum.

³ Con. Nic. can. xliii.

⁴ Albaspin. Not. in locum.

says,¹ “the *Viaticum* shall not be denied to any penitents at the point of death.” The first Council of Vaison² makes a provision for such penitents as were snatched away by sudden death, without the *Viaticum* of the sacrament, whilst they were preparing for it, that their oblations should be received, and their funerals and memorials celebrated according to the rites of the Church. And the eleventh Council of Toledo³ makes another provision for such, as by reason of extreme weakness could not take the whole *Viaticum* of the communion, nor swallow the bread, but only drink the cup, that since this proceeded not from any infidelity, but from mere infirmity, they should not be cut off from the body of the Church. The fourth Council of Carthage mentions it in several canons, and in one canon particularly speaks of a very remarkable case,⁴ which sometimes happened, that a penitent, who desired to be admitted to penance in time of sickness, was sometimes suddenly taken speechless, or turned delirious by the paroxysm of his distemper, before the priest could come to him; in which case, if they that heard him could testify his desire, he was to be admitted: and if it was thought he would immediately die, he was to be reconciled by imposition of hands, and then the eucharist was to be poured into his mouth. Which is called the *Viaticum* of the eucharist in the two⁵

¹ Con. Agathan. can. xv. *Viaticum tamen omnibus in morte positus non est negandum.*

² Con. Vasens. i. can. 2. *Nefas est eorum commemorationes excludi à salutaribus sacris, qui ad eadem sacra fidei affectu contententes—absque sacramentorum viatico intercipientur, &c.*

³ Con. Tolet. xi. can. 11. *In multorum exitu vidimus, qui optatum suis votis sacræ communionis viaticum expetentes, collatam sibi à sacerdote eucharistiam rejecerunt. Non quod infidelitate hæc agerent, sed quod præter dominici calicis haustum, traditam sibi non possent eucharistiam deglutire. Non ergò hujusmodi à corpore ecclesiæ separandi sunt, &c.*

⁴ Con. Carthag. iv. can. 76. *Is qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, si casu, dum ad eum sacerdos invitatus venit, oppressus infirmitate obmutuerit, vel in phrenesim versus fuerit, dent testimonium qui eum audierunt, et accipiat pœnitentiam. Et si continuò creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per manûs impositionem, et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia, &c.*

⁵ *Ibid.* can. lxxvii. *Pœnitentes, qui in infirmitate sunt, viaticum accipiant.* Can. lxxviii. *Pœnitentes, qui in infirmitate viaticum acceperint, non se creant absolutes sine manûs impositione, si supervixerint.*

following canons. As it is also in the Council of Orange¹ and Girone,² and many other places. The eucharist in these cases was commonly carried and delivered by a presbyter or a deacon, as has been noted out of Justin Martyr: yet in cases of great necessity it might be carried and given by any other. As appears from that case in Eusebius related out of an Epistle of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to Fabian, bishop of Rome,³ where he tells of one Serapion, who having sacrificed in time of persecution, could not die till he had sent for the presbyter to reconcile him: but the presbyter being sick sent him a small portion of the eucharist, by the hands of the messenger that came for him, giving him orders to dip it first and put it into his mouth, which he had no sooner done, but the man gave up the ghost in peace. But this was forbidden by the canons in ordinary cases.⁴

SECT. 10.—The Eucharist sometimes consecrated in private Houses for these Purposes.

Sometimes indeed they used private consecrations of the eucharist in the houses of sick men, or in prisons, to answer these pious ends and purposes: but most commonly they reserved some small portion of it in the church from time to time for this use, as most expeditious and convenient for sudden accidents and emergencies. There are very ancient instances and examples of both kinds. Cyprian speaks of private consecrations made in prisons for the martyrs and confessors in time of persecution. For he gives orders, “ that neither should the people visit them *glomerationim, in great multitudes*, to raise envy; nor the presbyters,⁵ who went to offer the eucharist with them, go more than one at once, and that by turns, accompanied only with a

¹ Con. Arausican. i. can. 3.

² Con. Gerundens. can. ix.

³ Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 44.

⁴ Vid. Gratian. de Consecr. dist. ii.

cap. 29.

⁵ Cypr. Ep. v. ad Cler. p. II. Presbyteri quoque, qui illic apud confessores offerunt, singuli cum singulis diaconis per vices alternent: quia et mutatio personarum et vicissitudo convenientium minuit invidiam.

single deacon, to decline envy and observation." There is nothing more certain, than that in times of persecution the Christians performed all divine offices in every place whither necessity drove them: every place was then a temple, as Dionysius,¹ of Alexandria, words it in Eusebius, for them to hold religious assemblies in, whether it were a field, or a wilderness, or a ship, or an inn, or a prison. Lucian's prison was his church, and his own breast his altar to consecrate the eucharist upon,² for himself and those that were with him in confinement. In such a case, Tertullian says,³ three were enough to make a Church, when necessity would not allow them a greater number. It is as evident, that private consecrations were made in private houses upon the account of sickness. St. Ambrose was thus invited to offer the sacrifice in a private house at Rome, as we are told by the writer of his life.⁴ And Paulinus, bishop of Nola, is said to have ordered an altar to be prepared for himself in his chamber,⁵ where he consecrated the eucharist, in his sickness, not many hours before his death. Thus Gregory Nazianzen tells us,⁶ that his father consecrated it in his own chamber; and that his sister, Gorgonia,⁷ had a domestic altar. Therefore we have no dispute with Bona upon this point, nor should we have any with his Church, if this were all that were meant by private mass in the Roman communion. The reader may hence observe the mistake of those learned men,⁸ who assert, that the primitive fathers, though passionately indulgent towards their sick brethren in granting them their spiritual *Viaticum*, yet always took a care that the elements should be consecrated in the church. For the instances that have been given, both concerning the martyrs and the sick, are undeniable evidence to the

¹ Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 22.

² Vita Luciani. Philostorg. lib. ii. cap. 13.

³ Tertul. de Fuga.

cap. xiv. Non potes discurrere per singulos, sit tibi et in tribus ecclesia.
⁴ Paulin. Vit. Ambros. Per idem tempus cum trans Tyberim apud quendam clarissimum invitaretur, ut sacrificium in domo offerret, &c.

⁵ Uranius. Vit. Paulini.

⁶ Naz. Orat. xix. de Laud. Patris. p. 305.

⁷ Naz. Orat. xi. de Gorgonia. p. 187.

⁸ Hamon Lestrange, Allian.

of Div. Offic. chap. x. p. 299.

contrary. And there want not some instances of private consecrations upon other occasions. Such as that, mentioned by St. Austin, in a private house at Zbedi, a place in his diocese, which was vexed with evil spirits,¹ whither one of his presbyters went to pray and offer the sacrifice of the body of Christ, at the request of the owner, that it might be delivered from them. And what the historians² tell us of Constantine's tabernacle, which he carried about with him in his camp, where all divine offices and the holy mysteries were celebrated, may be reckoned another instance of such private consecrations.

SECT. II.—And commonly reserved in the Church for the same Use.

It was also very usual for the ministers to reserve some part of the consecrated elements either in the church, or with them at their own house, to be in great readiness upon all such pressing occasions. As is evident from the fore-mentioned story of Serapion in Eusebius. And Optatus³ intimates as much in that remarkable story, which he tells of the Donatist bishops, who in their mad zeal against the Catholics threw the eucharist, which they found in their churches, to the dogs, but not without an immediate sign of divine vengeance: for the dogs, instead of devouring the elements, fell upon their masters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to pieces, as robbers and profaners of the holy body of Christ. The same is evident from the like complaint of Chrysostom concerning the tumult, that happened in his church at Constantinople, when the soldiers broke into the sanctuary,⁴ where the holy mysteries were repositied, and many of them, who were not initiated, saw the secrets that were concealed within, and the holy blood of Christ was spilt upon the soldiers clothes as is usual in such tumult and confusion. We may col-

¹ Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. viii. p. 1485. Perrexit unus, obtulit tibi sacrificium corporis Christi, orans quantum potuit, ut cessaret illa vexatio: Deo protinus miserante cessavit.

² Euseb. Vit.

Const. lib. iv. cap. 56. Sozom. lib. i. cap. 8.

³ Optat.

lib. ii. p. 55.

⁴ Chrys. Ep. ad Innocent. tom. iv. p. 681.

⁵ *Ἐνθα τὰ ἅγια ἀπέκυντο, &c.*

lect the same from what Victor Uticensis says of Valerian,¹ an African bishop, that he was banished by Geisericus, King of the Vandals, because he would not deliver up the sacrament that was kept in his church. Cyril of Alexandria, in one of his epistles,² reproves those, who said the eucharist was not to be reserved to the next day. And in the Council of Constantinople under Mennas,³ there is mention made of silver and golden doves hanging at the altar, which most probably were then used as the repositories of the sacrament kept in the Churches. Which is also mentioned in Amphilecius's Life of St. Basil, but no stress need be laid upon that, because it is a spurious writing; nor need we descend to the second Council of Tours,⁴ or other modern decrees for the proof of that, which has so good authority among the more ancient writers.

SECT. 12.—And also for public Use upon some Days when they made no new Consecration. This called *Missa Præsanctificatorum*. Its Use and Original.

It appears also from a canon of the Council of Trullo, that the eucharist was sometimes reserved for the public use of the Church, to be received some days after its consecration, particularly in the time of Lent, when they communicated on such elements as had been consecrated the Saturday or Sunday in the foregoing week, which were the only days in Lent on which they used the consecration service, though they communicated on other days on such elements as they reserved out of the former consecration. The words of the canon are these,⁵ “that on every day in the holy fast of Lent, except Saturdays and Sundays, and the feast of the annunciation, the *Liturgy of the pre-sanctified gifts* shall be performed.” This is best understood from another canon of the Council of Laodicea,⁶ which

¹ Victor. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. i. Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 593.

² Cyril. Ep. ad Calosyrium in Præfat. Lib. cont. Anthropomorph. tom. vi. p. 165.

³ Con. sub. Menna. act. v. tom. v. p. 159.

⁴ Con. Turon. ii. can. 3.

⁵ Con. Trullan. can. lii. Ἡ τῶν

προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτργία γινέσθω.

⁶ Con. Laodic.

can. xlii. Οὐ δεῖ τεσσαρακοστῆ ἔργον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ ἢ κυριακῇ μένιν.

orders, that the eucharist should not be offered in Lent on any other day except the sabbath and the Lord's day. Not that they prohibited the communion to be received on other days, for it was received every day, but on these days they received only that, which had been consecrated before, on the sabbath and Lord's day, and what was reserved for the communion of these days without any new consecration. This is commonly reckoned by learned men the beginning of this sort of communions upon reserved hosts, though it is hard to guess at the reason of the observation. Leo Allatius,¹ who has written two peculiar dissertations upon this subject, tells us the reason, which the Greeks themselves allege for it, is, that the consecration-service is proper only for festivals, and therefore all other days in Lent besides Saturdays and Sundays being fast-days, they did not consecrate on those days, but only communicated in the elements which had been consecrated before. This he shews at large,² out of Alexius Aristenus, Matthew Blastares, Balzamon, Zonaras, Michael Cerularius, and Simeon Thessalonicensis. Whether this was the true reason, or whether it be a good reason, is none of my business to inquire, I only observe, that it was an ancient practice in the Greek Church, as it continues to be at this day,³ though the Latin Church never adopted it into her service: for they used to consecrate, as well as communicate, about three in the afternoon, all the days of Lent, as is evident from Tertullian,⁴ St. Ambrose,⁵ and many others, of which there will be occasion to speak more fully when we come to the fasts and festivals of the Church. Leo Allatius thinks this *Missa Præsanctificationum* is intended by Socrates,⁶ when he says, on Wednesdays and Fridays at Alexandria, they had all divine service except the consecration of the

¹ Leo Allat. Epist. ad Naudæum de Libris. Eccles. Græcorum. II. Dissert. de Missa Præsanctificationum. ad calcem Libri. de Consensu Eccl. Orient. et Occident.

² Leo. Allat. de Missa Præsanctif. n. 12.

³ See Dr. Smith

of the Greek Church. p. 175.

⁴ Tertul. de Orat. cap. xiv.

⁵ Ambros. Ser. viii. in Psal. cxviii. p. 656

⁶ Socrat. lib.

v. cap. 23. ap. Allatium. Ep. ad Naudæum.

eucharist: but it does not appear that they communicated at all upon those days, much less upon pre-consecrated elements. However he rightly concludes, that Durantus and others, who confound this *Missa Præsanctificationum* with the *Missa Sicca*, or *dry mass*, as they called it, are wholly mistaken: because dry mass was a corruption peculiarly crept into the Latin Church which was condemned by many of their own divines, Eckius, Estius, Laudmeter, and the Belgic bishops,¹ as a mere novelty, a counterfeit, and a perfect pageantry; whereas this *Missa Præsanctificationum* was an ancient and approved usage of the Greek Church, upon the account of which a certain portion of the consecrated elements were reserved for the public use of the Church upon those days of Lent, on which they made no new consecration.

SECT. 13.—The Eucharist sometimes reserved in Private by private Men for daily Participation.

But besides this reservation of the elements for public use by the ministers of the Church, there was another private reservation of them allowed sometimes to religious persons; who were permitted to carry a portion of the eucharist home with them, and participate of it every day by themselves in private. This custom seems to owe its original to the times of persecution, when men were willing to communicate every day, but could not have the convenience of daily assemblies. To compensate for the want of which, they took a portion of the eucharist home with them, and participated thereof every day in private. This seems very plainly to be intimated by Tertullian,² when speaking of a woman marrying an heathen husband, he asks her, “Whether her husband would not know what it was that she eat before all her other meat?” And in ano-

¹ Allat. de Missa Præsanct. n. x. *Missa Sicca*, recens, et simulata et histrionica, confertur cum cœnis Heliogabali.

² Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. ii. cap. 5. Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes?

ther place,¹ answering the objection which some made against receiving the eucharist on a fast day, for fear of breaking their fast, he tells them, according as some copies read it, "they might take the body of the Lord and reserve it; and so they might both participate of the sacrifice and fulfil their duty of fasting." But I lay no stress on this because it is a doubtful reading. The testimony of Cyprian² is more full and pregnant, who tells us a remarkable story of a woman, who having sacrificed at the Heathen altars, when she came afterward to open her chest, where she kept the holy sacrament of the Lord, was so terrified with a sudden eruption of fire, that she durst not touch it. And the ancient author, who writes against the Roman shows, under the name of Cyprian,³ brings in one going immediately from church, as soon as he was dismissed, to the theatre, carrying the eucharist with him, according to custom, even among the obscene bodies of harlots. Gregory Nazianzen also speaks of his sister, Gorgonia,⁴ having the eucharist in her chamber. And Basil says,⁵ it was customary in times of persecution, for Christians, when they could not have a priest or deacon present with them, to take the eucharist with their own hands. As they who led a solitary life, at a great distance from the priest, commonly took the eucharist with their own hands also. And it was customary at Alexandria, and throughout Egypt for the people every one to take the sacrament home with them. St. Jerom also intimates the same,⁶ when he asks those who thought they might safely take the sacrament at home, when they were

¹ De. Orat. cap. xiv. *Accepto corpore Domini, et reservato (others read it, re servatâ) utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii, et executio officii.*

² Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 132. *Cùm quædam mulier arcam suam, in quâ domini sanctum fuit, indignis manibus tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet attingere.*

³ Cypr. de Spectaculis. p. 3. *in Append. Qui festinans ad spectaculam, dimissus, et adhuc gicens secum, ut assolet, eucharistiam inter corpora obscœna meretricum tulit.*

⁴ Naz. Orat. xi. de Gorgonia, p. 187.

⁵ Basil. Ep. 289. ad Cæsarium Patriciam.

⁶ Hieron. Ep. l. ad Pammachium. *Quare ad martyres ire non audent? Quare non ingrediuntur ecclesias? An alius in publico, alius in Domi Christus est? Quod in ecclesiâ non licet, nec domi licet.*

not prepared to do it in the church, whether they thought there was one Christ in public, and another in private? Why were they afraid to go to church? If it was not lawful to receive it in the church, it was not lawful to receive it at home. St. Ambrose likewise, in his Funeral Oration upon his brother Satyrus,¹ says of him, that he obtained the body of Christ of some that had it in the ship, wherein he suffered shipwreck. It is true, indeed, this custom was discouraged in Spain in the beginning of the fifth century, upon the account of the Priscillianists, who made use of it as a pretence to cover themselves among the Catholics, and yet never eat the eucharist at all. In opposition to whom the Council of Saragossa,² about the year 381, made a severe decree, that if any one was found to take the eucharist in the church, and not eat it, he should be anathematized. And this was seconded by a like decree in the first Council of Toledo.³ But as these canons were only made upon a particular occasion, and for a particular country, they did not much affect the rest of the world. Insomuch that Bona himself observes,⁴ out of Johannes Moschus and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, several instances of the custom continuing in the seventh and eighth centuries. And doubtless it was the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the adoration of the host, that perfectly abolished this custom, which was thought inconsistent with them.

SECT. 14.—Yet this never allowed in the public Service.

It must be noted under this head, that though the Church for the reasons aforesaid allowed the people to carry the eucharist home with them, and participate of it in private by themselves; yet she never permitted any layman to have any hand in the administration of it in her public service. As the bishops and presbyters were the only persons that

¹ Ambros Orat. de Obitu. Fratris. tom. iii. p. 19.

² Con.

Cæsaraugust. can. iii. Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur acceptam in ecclesiâ non sumpsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum.

³ Con.

Tolet. i. can. xiv. Si quis acceptam à sacerdote eucharistiam non sumpserit, sicut sacrilegus propellatur.

⁴ Bona. Rer. Liturg. lib. ii.

cap. 17.

were allowed to consecrate the eucharist, so it was the ordinary office of deacons to minister it¹ to the people. And when any laymen presumed to administer it to themselves in the church, they were corrected for it by ecclesiastical censures.² And more especially women were debarred from this³ and all other offices in the public ministrations, except what belonged to the inferior service of the deaconesses, of which I have given a full account in another place.⁴

Here I cannot omit the pertinent observation made by Morinus,⁵ and approved by Bona,⁶ as a judicious and true remark, that the mendicants were the first that introduced the custom of keeping the sacrament in the church for private men in health to partake of *extra sacrificium, out of the time of public service* in the church. They freely own this to be a novelty, and that against the rules of the Roman ritual, which orders the sacrament to be kept in the church only for the sick. They say the Ancients kept it in the church only upon this account, for the sake of the sick; and that they allowed no use of the communion to men in health out of the time of the oblation, save only when they permitted the people to carry it home with them and participate thereof in private, which was a different thing from public communicating in the church.⁷

SECT. 15.—A novel Custom noted, of reserving the Eucharist for forty Days, and the Inconveniences attending it.

Whilst we are speaking of reserving the sacrament, it may not be amiss to make a remark by the way upon a novel custom, which is related by some of the Roman ritualists about the time of Charles the Great. They tell us, it was

¹ See Book ii. chap. xx. sect. 7 and 8.

² Con. Trullan. can. lviii.

³ Vid. Firmil. Ep. lxxv. inter Epist. Cypr. Con. Paris. anno. 829. lib. i. cap. 45.

⁴ Book ii. chap. xxii.

⁵ Morin. de Pœnitent. lib. viii. cap. xiv. turg. lib. ii. cap. xvii. n. 6.

⁶ Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xvii. n. 6.

⁷ The reader, that would see more abuses crept into the Roman service, may consult the twenty-first Session of the Council of Basil. Cap. de Spectaculis in Ecclesiâ non faciendis. Or Mr. Gregory's Dissertation, called, *Episcopus Puerorum*, where he will see how the episcopal office was used to be mimicked in pageantry on Innocent's Day in many Churches.

usual in those days, in the ordination of a bishop or presbyter, not only to give the new ordained person the communion at that time, but also as much of it in reserve as would serve him to partake of for forty days after. This custom is mentioned by Alcuin,¹ and the *Ordo Romanus*, and Fulbertus Carnotensis, and Bona² does not pretend to find it in any more ancient writers. It is hard to guess at the reason of this custom, and therefore I content myself barely to mention it, without further inquiry into the mystery of it. I only observe, that sometimes great inconveniencies followed upon this long reservation of the sacrament: for it would often grow mouldy, corrupt and stink, and then they were hard put to it to determine which way to dispose of it. Sometimes by the negligence of the priest it was devoured by mice or other animals, in which case the priest was to do penance forty days for his neglect, as Gratian cites a canon out of some Council of Arles or Orleans to this purpose.³ But if it grew stale and corrupted, then it was to be burnt, by other canons cited by Ivo,⁴ and Burchardus⁵ out of the Council of Arles, ordering, that in this case it should be burnt, and the ashes of it buried under the altar. Which Algerus assures us was the custom in his time,⁶ as Bona confesses out of him.⁷ And the very canon of the Mass has a rubric still in being,⁸ “ That if a fly or spider, or any such animal, falls into the cup after consecration, the priest when Mass is ended, must take it out and wash it with wine, and burn it in the fire.” And so he must do, if it be spilt upon the ground, “ he must gather up the

¹ Alcuin. de Offic. cap. xxxvii. Pontifex ad communicandam porrigit ei formatam et sacram oblationem, quum accipiens communicat super altare, cætera verò reservat sibi ad communicandum usque ad dies quadraginta. It. *Ordo Roma.* in *Ordinat. Episcopi.* Et Fulbert. Ep. ad *Finandum.*

² Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. cap. xxiii. n. 9.

³ Gratian. de

Consecrat. dist. ii. cap. 94. Qui benè non custodierit sacrificium, et mus vel aliquod aliud animal illud comederit, quadraginta diebus pœniteat.

⁴ Ivo. *Decret.* par. ii. cap. 56.

⁵ Burchard. lib. v. c. 50.

⁶ Alger. de *Euchar.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

⁷ Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii.

cap. xix. n. 2.

⁸ *Missal.* de *Defectibus Missæ.* can. v. Si musca vel aranea vel aliquid aliud ceciderit in calicem—sacerdos extrahat eam et lavet cum vino, sinitaque missa comburat, &c.

earth and burn it." And yet some of the Schoolmen cry out against this as an horrible sacrilege,¹ to burn the consecrated host, though it be grown mouldy, which according to their opinion, would be to burn the body of God. He, that would see to what difficulties the Roman casuists are driven upon this point, to tell, what becomes of the body of Christ, when the sacrament happens to be thus corrupted, and how they distress and confute one another, may consult the learned Aubertin,² who has particularly considered their several different answers, no less than seven in number, and shewed the vanity of them all, in that elaborate work of his upon the eucharist against the doctrine of the Romish Church. I will not lead my reader too far out of his way with long digressions about such things; but return to the business of the ancient Church.

SECT. 16.—The Eucharist sometimes given to Energumens in the Intervals of their Distemper.

Though they did not receive energumens, or persons vexed with evil spirits, promiscuously to the communion, yet neither did they wholly reject them; but in the intervals of their distemper, if they shewed any signs of piety and sobriety, they admitted them to partake of it. This we learn from the canons of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, who proposes this question, whether a communicant may communicate, if he be possessed? And answers it, if he does not expose or blaspheme the mysteries,³ he may communicate now and then. And Cassian says,⁴ the same resolution was given to the question by the Egyptian fathers, who did not use to interdict them the communion, but rather desired they should, if possible, communicate every day. For by this means they had relieved one Abbot Andronicus

¹ Petrus Plaudanus, in Sent. lib. iv. Dist. ix. Quæst. i. art. 3. Hostias consecratas quamvis mucidas comburere immane sacrilegium.

² Albertin. de Euchar. lib. i. c. xix. p. 122.

³ Timoth. Respons. Canon. c. iii. ap Bevereg. tom. ii.

⁴ Cassian. Collat. vii. cap. 30. Communione verò eis sacrosanctam à senioribus nostris nunquam meminimus interdictam: Quinimò, si possibile esset, etiam quotidie eis impartire eam debere censebant.—Hec namque modo curatum et Andronicum abbatem nuper appeximus, aliosque quamplures.

and many others of their distemper. So that though the canons and rules of the Church seem to drive away the energumens together with the catechumens and penitents, they are to be understood with this exception: or at least we must say, the Church observed a different discipline in different places.

SECT. 17.—All Men debarred from it, that were guilty of any notorious Crime, of what Rank or Degree soever.

It would be endless to enumerate here all the particular crimes, for which men were debarred the holy communion; we shall have a more proper occasion to specify them in the next volume, when we come to treat more perfectly and distinctly of the Church's discipline: it may be sufficient to note here in general, that all who were guilty of any notorious crimes, were rejected from participating at the holy table, whatever rank or degree they were of, even though it were the emperor himself, as appears from the case of Theodosius, whom St. Ambrose resolutely and absolutely refused for a barbarous murder committed by his authority upon seven thousand men at Thessalonica, till he had both confessed his fault, and made ample satisfaction, as the reader may find the story at large excellently related by Theodoret, in his history,¹ and which I will relate from him in the next volume in its proper place. Some other particular cases are proposed and answered in the canons of Dionysius,² and Timothy,³ and by St. Jerom,⁴ for which, because they are rather private cases of conscience than matters of public discipline, I refer the reader to their proper authors.

SECT. 18.—The Question of Digamy, or Second Marriage, stated. Whether it debarred Men any Time from the Communion.

There is one question in a doubtful case, which the obscurity of some ancient canons has made very perplexed

¹ Theod. lib. v. cap. 17.

² Timoth. can. v. vii, xii.
cap. vi.

² Dionys. can. ii. and iv.

⁴ Hieron. Ep. xx. ad Pammach.

and intricate in the resolutions of learned men, which therefore may not be silently passed over: that is, the question about digamy or second marriage, in what sense it excluded men for some time from the holy communion? The penalty inflicted upon them, is abstinence from the sacrament for one year or two; which I freely own, as it is ordered and worded by the Canons of Neocæsarea,¹ Laodicea,² and St. Basil,³ is one of the hardest cases we meet with in all the history of the ancient Church. Bishop Beveridge and some others think they mean only second marriages, that are contracted, whilst the first remains undissolved. And if so, there would be no difficulty in the case: for a severer penance might be laid upon such as retain two wives at once. And therefore others think, they intended to discourage, though not absolutely to forbid, second marriages made successively, after the obligation of the first was cancelled by death: but then, how to reconcile this with the apostolical rules, is not very easy to determine. Neither can it be excused from inclining to the errors of the Novatians and Montanists, for which Tertullian pleads so stiffly against the Church in his book *De Monogamia*, and other places. I should rather think these canons intended no more but to discountenance marrying after an unlawful divorce, which was a scandalous practice, however allowed by the laws of Jews and Gentiles. And this the rather, because Tertullian's arguments against the Catholics imply, that they allowed of second marriages successively in all except the clergy, and many Churches admitted digamists in that sense even into orders too, as I have shewn out of Tertullian himself, and Chrysostom, and Theodoret more fully in another place.⁴ And if these canons intended any thing more, they must be looked upon as private rules, which could not prescribe against the general sense and practice of the Catholic Church.

¹ Con. Neocæs. can. vii.

² Basil. can. iv.

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³ Con. Laod. can. i.

⁴ Book iv. chap. v. sect. 4.

SECT. 19.—The corrupt Custom of some, who gave the Eucharist to the Dead, censured by the Ancients.

There was one very corrupt and superstitious practice began to creep pretty early into the African Churches and some others, which the Fathers censure very heartily, as it justly deserved : that was, giving the eucharist to the dead. The third Council of Carthage has a canon to this purpose,¹ “ That the eucharist should not be given to the bodies of the dead : for the Lord said, ‘ Take this and eat.’ But dead bodies can neither take nor eat. Caution also is to be used, that the brethren may not, through ignorance, believe, that dead bodies may be baptised, seeing the eucharist may not be given to them.” And this with a little variation is repeated in the African Code,² where the cause of both errors as well in baptism as the eucharist, is ascribed to the ignorance of the presbyters misguiding the people. A like canon was made in the Council of Auxerre in France,³ Anno 578, a little before the time of Gregory the Great. Which shews that the same abuse had got some footing there also. St. Chrysostom also speaks against it,⁴ though he does not intimate that it was practised by any Catholics, but rather, if by any, by the Marcionite heretics, who as they gave a vicarious baptism to the living for the dead, so perhaps might give the eucharist to the dead themselves : both which absurdities he refutes at once, from the words of our Saviour. “ To whom did He say, ‘ Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you?’ Did He speak to the living, or to the dead? And again, ‘ Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God.’” It appears also, that long after St. Chrysostom’s time, there were some remains of this error in

¹ Con. Carth. iii. can. vi. Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim à Domino, ‘ Accipite et edite :’ cacavera autem nec accipere possunt nec edere. Cavendum est etiam, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat, quibus nec eucharistiam dari licitum est.

² Cod. Afric. can. xviii.

³ Con. Antissiodor. can. xii. Non licet mortuis nec eucharistiam nec osculum tradi, &c.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xl. in 1 Cor. p. 688.

the Greek Church : for the Council of Trullo repeats the prohibition in the words of the Council of Carthage :¹ “ Let no one impart the eucharist to the bodies of the dead ; for it is written, ‘ Take, and eat ;’ but the bodies of the dead can neither take nor eat.”

SECT. 20.—Parallel to which is the Abuse of burying the Eucharist with the Dead.

Bona does not undertake to defend this abuse, but he does another, which is no less absurd, because he found it in the practice of St. Benedict, and related with approbation by Gregory the Great : that is, the custom of burying the eucharist with the dead. Bona says,² this was done by St. Basil in the Greek Church, as is reported in his Life : but all men know the author of that Life to be both a spurious and a legendary writer. That, which he alleges out of Gregory,³ is more authentic : for he says, St. Benedict ordered the communion to be laid upon the breast of one of his monks, and to be buried with him. He reckons these things were done either by divine instinct, or by compliance with received custom, which is since abrogated. But he produces no rule of his Church to shew its abrogation. And whatever rules there may be to the contrary, it is certain the practice continued still. For not only Balzamon⁴ and Zonaras speak of it in their time ; but Ivo says,⁵ when the body of St. Othmar was translated, the sacrament was taken up out of the dormitory with him. And a learned man now living assures us,⁶ that he himself and many others have seen the chalice, in which the sacred blood was buried, dug out of the graves of divers bishops buried in the Church of Sarum. So, that whatever the laws might prohibit, the profanation continued under pretence of

¹ Con. Trull. can. lxxxiii. cap. xvii. n. 6.

² Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii.

³ Greg. Dial. lib. ii. cap. 24. Jussit communionem Dominici corporis in pectus defuncti reponi atque sic tumulari.

⁴ Not. in Can. xiii. Con. Trull.

⁵ Ivo. Vita Othmari. lib. ii.

c. iii. ap. Surium. die xvi. Nov. of Host-Worship, chap. i. p. 26.

⁶ Dr. Whitby, Idolatry

piety among the greatest men, but without any foundation or real example in the practice of the primitive Church.

SECT. 21.—The Order of Communicating.

We have hitherto considered what related to the communicants themselves; we are now to examine the manner of their communicating. Where first of all the order of their communicating occurs to our observation: which is thus described in the Constitutions;¹ “First, let the bishop receive, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, and ascetics; among the women, the deaconesses, virgins and widows; after that the children, then all the people in order.” In Justin Martyr’s time,² when the bishop had consecrated, the deacons distributed both the bread and the cup among the communicants: but in after ages the bishop or presbyter commonly ministered the bread, and the deacons the cup after them. And there are some canons,³ that expressly forbid a deacon to minister the body of Christ, when a presbyter is present, and others enjoining them not⁴ to do it without necessity, and a licence from the presbyter to do it. And it was ever accounted so great an absurdity for a presbyter to receive from the hands of a deacon, that the Council of Nice thought fit to make a particular canon to forbid it.⁵ But by permission and custom it became their ordinary office to minister the cup,⁶ and sometimes both species to the people,⁷ observing the method prescribed to communicate every one in their proper order.

SECT. 22.—Some Rules observed for Distinction of Places.

Another distinction was made in placing the communi-

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 13.

² Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.

³ Con. Arelat. ii. can. 15. Diaconi corpus Christi, præsentē presbytero, tradere non presument.

⁴ Con. Carthag. iv. can. 38. Di-

aconus, præsentē presbytero, eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget.

⁵ Con. Nic. can. xviii.

⁶ Vid. Cyprian. de Lapsis. p. 132. Constit. lib. viii. c. 13.

⁷ Con. Ancyr. can. ii.

cants in their proper stations. For though no distinction was made in this case between rich and poor; they being all called alike to partake together of the same communion as friends of one common Lord;¹ yet some distinction of place for order's sake was generally observed, though not exactly the same in all places, but with some variety according to the different customs of different Churches. In the Spanish Churches it was customary for the presbyters and deacons to communicate at the altar, and the rest of the clergy in the choir, and the people without the rails of the chancel, as is plain from a canon of the fourth Council of Toledo;² and to this a reference is made, as to an ancient custom, settled long before by former canons, in the first Council of Braga.³ Which implies, that there were rules of old about this matter, since the Council of Braga could not mean the Council of Toledo, for that was after it, Anno 633. The reference must be to more ancient canons, such as that of the Council of Laodicea, which orders,⁴ that none but the clergy only should come to communicate within the chancel. And this seems to have been the constant practice of the Greek Church, where no layman from that time, besides the Emperor, was allowed to come to the altar, to make his oblations and communicate there; but this privilege was allowed the Emperor by ancient tradition, as the Council of Trullo words it.⁵ And yet even this was denied the Emperor in the Italic Church. For St. Ambrose would not permit the Emperor Theodosius himself to communicate in this place, but obliged him to retire as soon as he had made his oblations at the altar. But Valesius has observed out of the Epistles of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria,⁶ that in the third century it was customary, both for men and

¹ Vid. Chrysost. Hom. x. in 1 Thes. p. 1485.

² Con.

Tolet. iv. can. 17. Sacerdos et Levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus.

³ Con. Bracaren. i. can.

31. Placuit ut intra sanctuarium altaris ingredi ad communicandum non liceat laicis viris vel mulieribus, sicut et antiquis canonibus statutum est.

⁴ Con. Laodie. can. xix. Μόνοις ἔξδν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔ κοινοῦν.

⁵ Con. Trull. can. 69. Κατὰ ἀρχαιοτάτην

παράδοσιν. &c.

⁶ Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 9.

women to come and stand at the altar to communicate: and Mabillon shews,¹ out of Gregory of Tours,² that the same custom prevailed in the Gallican Churches. And it is very evident from the second Council of Tours, which has a canon to this purpose; that though laymen at other times should not come into the *chorus* or *chancel*, yet, when the oblation was offered,³ both men and women might come into the Holy of Holies to communicate at the altar. So that this was plainly one of those rites, which varied according to the difference of times and places, and the various usages and customs of different Churches. There are a great many other customs relating to the manner of communicating, which are of greater moment, and become matters of great dispute in these latter ages, and therefore it will be necessary to consider and examine them a little more particularly, which I shall do in the following chapter.

CHAP. V.

A Resolution of several Questions relating to the Manner of communicating in the Ancient Church.

SECT. I.—That the People were always admitted to receive in both Kinds.

The first and most momentous question of this kind is, whether the people, and such of the clergy as did not consecrate, were generally admitted to communicate in both kinds? The principal advocates of Popery, at the beginning of the Reformation,⁴ were not willing to own, that the

¹ Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. cap. v. n. 24.
Turon. lib. ix. cap. iii. et lib. x. cap. viii.

² Greg.

ii. can. iv. Ad orandum et communicandum laicis et feminis, sicut mos est pateant sancta sanctorum.

³ Con. Turon.

⁴ Vid. Eekii Enchirid. cap.

universal practice of the primitive Church was against the modern sacrilege of denying the cup to the people: and therefore though they confessed there were some instances in antiquity of communion under both kinds, yet they maintained the custom was not universal. So Eckius and Harding and many others. But they, who have since considered the practice of the ancient Church more narrowly, are ashamed of this pretence, and freely confess, that for twelve centuries there is no instance of the people's being obliged to communicate only in one kind, in the public administration of the sacrament,¹ but in private they think some few instances may be given. This is Cardinal Bona's distinction, whose words are so remarkable, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them: "It is very certain," says he, that anciently all in general, both clergy and laity, men and women, received the holy mysteries in both kinds, when they were present at the solemn celebration of them, and they both offered and were partakers. But out of the time of sacrifice, and out of the church, it was customary always and in all places to communicate only in one kind. In the first part of the assertion all agree, as well Catholics as sectaries; nor can any one deny it, that has the least knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs. For the faithful always and in all places from the very first foundation of the Church to the twelfth century, were used to communicate under the species of bread and wine; and in the beginning of that age the use of the cup began by little and little to be

x. de Euchar. p. 130. Harding's Answer to Juel's Challenge. art. ii. p. 30. Bellarmin de Euchar. lib. iv. cap. 24.

¹ Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xviii. n. 1. Certum est omnes passim clericos et laicos, viros et mulieres sub utrâque specie sacra mysteria, antiquitus sumpsisse, cum solemnî eorum celebrationi aderant, et offerebant et de oblatis participabant. Extra sacrificium verò, et extra ecclesiam semper et ubique communio sub unâ specie in usu fuit. Primæ parti assertionis consentiunt omnes, tam catholici, quam sectarii; nec eam negare potest, qui vel levissimâ rerum ecclesiasticarum notitiâ imbutus sit. Semper enim et ubique ab ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum duodecimum sub specie panis et vini communicârunt fideles; cœpitque paulatim ejus sæculi initio usus calicis obsolescere, pleisque episcopis cum populo interdicens ob periculum irreverentiæ et effusionis.

laid aside, whilst many bishops interdicted the people the use of the cup, for fear of irreverence and effusion." And what they did first for their own churches, was afterward confirmed by a canonical sanction in the Council of Constance. This is as fair and ample a confession for the practice of the Universal Church as we desire, and it serves to shew the vanity of all those arguments, from Scripture and antiquity, that were offered at by the first managers of this dispute, to prove the practice of communicating in both kinds not to be universal. It supersedes also all further trouble of citing authorities in this dispute, as unnecessary in a matter so much beyond all doubt and exception by the adversaries' own confession. Though the reader, that desires to see the authorities produced at large, may find them in Vossius,¹ and Du Moulin,² and more amply in Chamier,³ and a late treatise of a learned writer in our own tongue,⁴ shewing, that there is no Catholic tradition for communion in one kind. But Bona not only grants us all this, but tacitly answers all the plausible arguments used by Bellarmin⁵ and others, to persuade their readers into a belief of the ancient Church giving the communion only in one kind. Bellarmin urges the frequent mention of reducing delinquent clergymen to lay-communion; which he interprets communion in one kind. But Bona rejects this notion of lay-communion as utterly false;⁶ reflecting tacitly upon Bellarmin and other modern writers of his own Church, as ignorant of the ancient discipline, who no sooner hear of the name, lay-communion, but presently they take it in the

¹ Voss. Thes. Theol. Disp. v. de Symbolis Cœnæ Domini.

² Moulin. Novelty of Popery. Bock. vii. Controversy. 12.

³ Chamier de Eucharist. lib. viii. cap. 9.

⁴ Demonstration that the Church of Rome has erred in her Decrees about Communion in one Kind.

⁵ Bellarm. de Euchar. lib. iv. cap. 24.

⁶ Bona. Rer. Litæ. lib. ii. cap. xix. n. 3. Recentiores, qui audito nomine communionis, ejus veteri notione neglectâ id solum concipiunt quod hodiè eâ voce significatur, laicam communionem nihil aliud esse putant, quam percipiendam eucharistiæ sub unicâ specie, aut extra cancellos more laicorum. Quod quam falsum sit vel ex eo liquet, quod sæpe clericos ad laicam communionem detrusos legimus, quo etiam laici sub utraq; specie communicabant.

sense that it now bears, and interpret it communion in one kind; “ which how false it is,” says he, “ we may learn from hence, that we often read of clergymen being thrust down to lay-communion at that time, when laymen communicated in both kinds.” Others draw an argument from that, which the Ancients call *Communio Peregrina*, the communion of strangers, which they interpret communion in one kind: but Bona takes a great deal of pains to shew the ignorance of these men,¹ and makes an accurate inquiry into the true notion of this sort of communion, concluding that whatever it meant, it did not mean communion in one kind. Bellarmin draws another argument or two from the reservation of the eucharist for the use of the sick, and from that private and domestic communion, which we have seen before was allowed to private Christians in their own houses, or in a journey, or in the wilderness: all which Bellarmin will have to have been only in one kind. But besides that this is false in itself, (for they reserved not only one, but both kinds for these uses, as we shall see here by and by,) Bona says,² it is altogether beside the question: for the question is not about private and extraordinary communion in cases of great exigency, but about the public, solemn, and ordinary communion of the Church: concerning which he concludes, no instance can be produced before the twelfth century of its being celebrated only in one kind.

But then, that he may not seem to give up the cause of his Church, and desert it as wholly desperate, he pretends that the change, that was made by the Council of Constance, and confirmed by the Council of Trent, was against no divine law; for communion in both kinds was neither instituted by God, nor did the ancient Fathers ever teach it to be necessary to salvation. One would wonder to see dis-

¹ Bona, *Rec. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. xix. n. 5. Quidam, inter quos Binius in notis ad concilium Herdense, communionem peregrinam cum laicâ confundunt. Alii existimârunt nihil aliud esse quàm perceptionem eucharistiæ sub unâ tantum specie. Verùm quid magis alienum à disciplinâ veterum patrum? &c.

² Bona, *ibid.* n. i.

cerning men so infatuated. What words can be able to express a divine institution, if those of our Saviour are not, "Drink ye all of this?" Or how should the Fathers believe communion in both kinds not to be necessary, who thought it necessary for children, and actually communicated them in both kinds, whenever they were capable of receiving it, as we have seen before? But he was sensible some of their own popes have called it a grand sacrilege to divide the mystery. Gelasius complains,¹ "That some received the bread, but abstained from the cup," whom he condemns as guilty of superstition, and orders, "that they should either receive in both kinds, or else be excluded from both: because one and the same mystery cannot be divided without grand sacrilege." Leo the Great² declaims against them after the same manner: "they receive the body of Christ with an unworthy mouth, but refuse to drink the blood of our redemption. Such men's sacrilegious dissimulation being discovered, let them be marked, and by the authority of the priesthood cast out of the society of the faithful." It is in vain to say here, as Bona does, that these Decrees were only made against the Manichees, who believed wine to be the gall of the prince of darkness, and the creature of the devil, and therefore refused to drink it: for their reasons are general against all superstition whatsoever, and in their opinion the sacrament may not be divided without grand sacrilege, and thwarting the rule of the first institution. Which Bona might also have learned from another Decree related in their canon

¹ Gelas. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. ii. cap. 12. Comperimus quod quidam sumptâ tantummodò corporis sacri portione, à calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui proculdubio, quia nescio quâ superstitione docentur obstringi, aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut integris arcantur: quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.

² Leo. Ser. iv. de Quadragesima. Ore indigno corpus Christi accipiunt, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinant.—quorum deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, notati et prohibiti à sanctorum societate sacerdotali auctoritate pellantur.

law under the name of Pope Julius, who says,¹ “the giving of the bread and the cup, each distinctly by themselves, is a divine order and apostolical institution, and that it is as much against the law of Christ to give them jointly by dipping the one into the other, as it is to offer milk instead of wine, or the juice of the grape immediately pressed out of the cluster: all which are equally contrary to the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, as well as the custom of the Church, as may be proved from the fountain of truth, by whom the mysteries of the sacraments were ordained.” Does not this plainly imply, that communicating in both kinds distinctly, was according to the laws of Christ, and agreeable to his rule and doctrine, as well as his example? With what face then could Bona say, that communion in both kinds was neither instituted by God, nor did the ancient Fathers judge it necessary? When even some of their ancient popes have told us so plainly, that communion distinctly administered in both kinds is a divine order, and that it is grand sacrilege to divide them. And the Ancients always administered in both kinds upon this principle, because it was the law of Christ, whatever Bona or his partisans can say to the contrary.

As to the other part of the question, whether the Ancients did not in some private or extraordinary cases, administer the sacrament in one kind, we have no dispute with Bona, as being nothing to the dispute of public communion by his own confession. Though all the arguments made use of by him and Bellarmin in this case, are far from being exactly true and conclusive. For whereas they argue for communion in one kind from private and domestic communion, it

¹ Jul. Ep. ad Episc. Egypt. ap Gratian. de Consecr. dist. ii. cap. 7. Audivimus quosdam schismaticâ ambitione detentos, contra divinos ordines, et apostolicas institutiones, hæc pro vino in divinis sacrificiis dedicare: alios quoque intinctam eucharistiam populis pro complemento communions porrigere.—Quod quàm sit evangelicæ et apostolicæ doctrinæ contrarium, et consuetudini ecclesiasticæ adversum, non difficile ab ipso fonte veritatis probabitur, à quo ordinata ipsa sacramentorum mysteria processerunt, &c.

appears from several instances that this sort of communicating was often in both kinds. Thus Nazianzen says of his sister Gorgonia,¹ that she laid up the antitypes both of the body and blood of the Lord. And St. Ambrose,² speaking of his brother Satyrus and others at sea, expresses the matter in such terms, as plainly imply that they both eat the bread and drunk the wine. And whereas again they say, the communion reserved in the Church for the use of the sick was only in one kind: the contrary is evidently proved from Justin Martyr,³ who says, the deacons were used to carry both the bread and wine to the absent; and from St. Chrysostom's complaint to Pope Innocent,⁴ that in that horrible assault, that was made upon his church, the holy blood of Christ was spilt upon the soldiers' clothes. Which Baronius himself brings, as an argument to prove,⁵ that they were used to reserve the sacrament in both kinds in the Church for the use of the sick. They argue further, from the example of such as took long journies, or went to sea, that they always communicated in one kind. But Baronius⁶ proves in the same place from the authority of Gregory the Great, that they, who went to sea, carried both the body and blood of Christ along with them in the ship. And Bona himself tells us,⁷ there are some instances of the communion being carried in both kinds to hermits and recluses in the wilderness, as he gives an example in Maria Ægyptiaca out of Sophronius. They urge likewise the use of the presanctified sacrament, which the Greeks used all Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays, as has been noted before; and the Latins on the Parasceue or Good Friday; and this they pretend to tell us, with great confidence, was only communion in one kind: for they reserved only the bread and not the

¹ Naz. Orat. xi. de Gorgon. p. 187.

² Ambros. Orat. de Obitu

Fratris. tom. ii. p. 19. Toto pectoris hauriret arcano. &c. Vid. Voss. Theses. p. 517. ex Tappero.

³ Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97.—Thus also, some think, we may take St. Jerom speaking of Exuperius, bishop of Thoulouse, Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portet in vitro, meaning his carrying both kinds to the sick.

⁴ Chrys. Ep.

ad Innoc. tom. iv. p. 681.

⁵ Baron. an. 404. tom. v. p. 194.

⁶ Baron. ibid. ex Gregor. Dial. iii. cap. 36.

⁷ Bona, Rec. Liturg.

lib. ii. cap. xviii. n. 2. ex Vita Mariæ Ægyptiacæ.

wine for this sort of communion. Bellarmin refers us to abundance of authors for this, as Pope Innocent, Ep. i, cap. 4. who has not a word about it; and Gregory's *Sacramentarium*, and the *Ordo Romanus in Officio Parasceves*, and Rabanus Maurus and Micrologus. But Cassander has unluckily spoiled this argument,¹ and inverted it upon them. For he has observed, and Vossius after him,² that the *Ordo Romanus*, in the office of Good Friday, appoints wine to be consecrated with the Lord's Prayer, by putting some of the pre-consecrated body into it, "*Ut populus plenè possit communicare, that the people may have the full communion in both kinds.*" And the same is to be said of the Greeks' pre-sanctified communion: for in that Liturgy wine and water is ordered to be put into the cup, and then in their prayers before the communion, the elements are called the body and blood of the Lord. So Cassander. But Leo Allatius,³ who wrote a peculiar dissertation upon this subject, has more effectually ruined this argument, which it is a wonder Bona should not observe, who so often refers to his dissertation and commends it. For he shews out of the Greek writers, Nicolas Cabasilas,⁴ and Simeon Thessalonicensis,⁵ that in this communion there were both the elements of bread and wine, either consecrated before, or by the touch of one another. So that this argument not only proves nothing to their purpose, but ruins the hypothesis of the objectors. For this pre-sanctified communion of the Greeks was in both kinds. And the very prayers in this Liturgy, both before and after the communion, as Allatius there observes,⁶ evidently shew it. For the priest thus prays before communion: "Vouchsafe by thy mighty power to impart to us thy immaculate body and thy precious blood, and by our ministry to all the people." And after communion, "We give Thee thanks, O Lord, the Saviour

¹ Cassand. de Communionem sub utraque specie, p. 1027.

² Voss.

Theses. Theol. p. 519.

³ Allat. de Missa Præsanctificorum. n. 7.

p. 1559.

⁴ Cabasilas Expos. Missæ. cap. xxiv.

⁵ Simeon.

Opusc. cont. Hæreses. Et. Resp. lvi. ad Gabriel. Pentapolitan.

⁶ Allat. ibid. n. 19.

of all, for all the good things 'Thou hast given us, and for the participation of the Holy Body and Blood of thy Christ.'" And Allatius observes further,¹ that the same sort of communion in both kinds, was used on Good Friday in Spain by the order of the Mosarabic Liturgy, which agrees with what Cassander observed before out of the Latin Church. And that, which led Bellarmin and Bona into the mistake, to take this for communion in one kind, was, that both the Greek and Latin Church reserved only the bread, and not the wine, for this service, but when they came to communicate, they put the pre-consecrated bread into a cup of wine, and said the Lord's Prayer and some other prayers, and that was esteemed a consecration of it, and so they proceeded to communicate in both. I have been a little more particular in explaining this rite, because it is the only instance, our adversaries can urge with any colour, of public communion in one kind; which yet, when rightly understood, we see, is no argument for them, but directly against them. And at this day the Greeks, and Maronites, and Abyssins, and all the Orientals, never communicate but in both kinds, as Bona himself confesses out of Abraham Echellensis, and other writers.² And as to other instances of the sick or infants, or men in a journey, who communicate only in one kind, if they were never so true, as we see many of them are false, they are private and extraordinary cases, that relate not to the public communion of the Church, and so come not within the state of the present question, which is only about public communion, and not what was done in some very particular and extraordinary cases.

SECT. 2.—That in receiving in both Kinds, they always received the Elements distinctly, and not the one dipped in the other.

Having thus despatched this grand question about communion in one kind, and shewed the practice of the Church to be constantly to receive in both elements, we are next to inquire, whether they received them both separately and

¹ Allat. de Missa Præsantificorum, n. 18. Ex Missa Mosarab. in die Parasceus.

² Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xviii. n. 2.

distinctly, or the one dipped into and mixed with the other. The modern Greeks have a custom, which they have retained for some ages, of dipping the bread into the wine, and ministering it so mixed in a spoon to the people.¹ Some learned men, among whom are Latinus Latinius,² and Arcudius,³ make this custom as ancient as the time of Pope Innocent and St. Chrysostom: but Habertus⁴ and Bona⁵ prove there could be no such custom in those days, it being altogether contrary to the usage of the Church in that age to mingle the elements together, or minister them any otherwise than separate to the people. And indeed there is nothing more evident than this in all the writings of the Ancients, who speak of delivering the bread first with a certain form of words, and after that the cup with another form, as we shall see more by and by, and that commonly by distinct persons, a bishop or a presbyter ministering the one, and a deacon the other. So that it is needless to multiply testimonies to shew, that mixing of the elements is a novel invention. I only note one passage of an epistle, that goes under the name of Pope Julius in Gratian's Collection,⁶ which seems to hint at the beginning of the practice, and condemns it as a great corruption, contrary to the primitive institution of our Saviour. "Whereas," says he, "some give the people the eucharist dipt in the cup for a complement of the communion, this has no authority to be produced for it out of the Gospel, where Christ commended his body and blood to his disciples. For the Gospel speaks of the bread being apart, and the cup apart by themselves." This is repeated in the same words in the third Council of Braga, Anno 675.⁷ Bona tells us further, out of Micrologus,⁸ that it was forbidden by the

¹ Vid. Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church. p. 142.

² Latinius Ep. ad. Anton. Augustin. cap. 53.

³ Arcud. de Concord. lib. iii.

⁴ Habert. Archieratic. par. x. Observ. x. p. 271.

⁵ Bona, *Re. Liturg.* lib. i. cap. xxiii. n. 8. et. lib. ii. cap. xviii. n. 3.

⁶ Gratian. de Consecrat. Dist. ii. cap. vii. Quod verò pro complemento communionis intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis nec hoc prolatum ex Evangelio testimonium recipit, ubi Apostolis corpus suum et sanguinem commendavit. Seorsum enim panis, et seorsum calicis commendatio memoratur.

⁷ Con. Bracarens. iii. can. 1.

⁸ Microlog. cap. xix.

Non est authenticum quod quidam corpus Domini intingunt, et intinctum

old *Ordo Romanus*; and that Humbertus *De Sylva Candida*, who wrote against the Greeks in the middle of the eleventh century, declaims bitterly against it;¹ though he thinks, with more zeal than he needed to do, for a very good reason we may be sure, because the same practice, as much an abuse as it was, and contrary to the first institution, was not long after authorised in the Roman Church. For Pope Urban the Second in the Council of Clermont, ordered it in case of necessity so to be administered to the sick, and in other cases out of abundant caution, for fear the blood should at any time be spilt. However it had various fortune in the Roman Church. For Paschal II. not long after revoked the licence of his predecessor, and ordered,² that neither infants nor the sick should have the communion mixed, but rather take the blood alone, which he thought more decent than to give the bread dipt in the cup. Yet this did not satisfy the Council of Tours,³ mentioned by Ivo, for they thought still, that the sick, in case of necessity, ought to have it dipt, that they might have it in both kinds, and that the presbyter, who administered it, might say with truth, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto thee for remission of sins and eternal life. The men of this age did not yet think it lawful to communicate even the sick in one kind only, nor that the priest could say with truth to the communicant, the body and blood of Christ, when he did not give him both kinds. But Bona here pities their ignorance: “For they, poor men! had not yet learned that noble secret, in divinity, the doctrine of concomitancy, to know, that the body of Christ cannot be without the blood.” But he goes on to acquaint us out of an old Ritual of Joannes Abrincantensis, that this mixed communion was ordered to be given to all the people likewise, for fear of effusion. And in the

pro complemento communionis populo distribuunt, nam Ordo Romanus contradicit.

¹ Humbert. Refutat. Calumniar. Michael. Cerularii.
Ep. 32. ad Pontium.

² Paschal.
Con. Turon. ap. Ivonem. Par. ii. cap. 19.
Sacra oblatio intincta debet esse in sanguine Christi, ut veraciter presbyter possit dicere infirmo, Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proficiat tibi in remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam.

ancient customs of the monastery of Cluny published by Dacherius, there is an order, that the novices should thus communicate, for fear that if they took the blood by itself, they might incur some negligence and shed it. Though it is intimated in a marginal note there, that the old custom of giving both kinds separately was used in other Churches. In England the custom of mixing the elements so far prevailed, that Ernulphus or Arnulphus, bishop of Rochester, Anno 1120, wrote a letter in defence of it, which is also published by Dacherius in his *Spicilegium*, tom. ii. where one Lambert proposes the question to him, why the eucharist was administered at present after a different and almost contrary manner to that, which was observed by Jesus Christ; because it was customary at that time to distribute an host steeped in wine to the communicants; whereas Jesus Christ gave his body and blood separately? To this Arnulphus answers, that this was one of those things that might be altered, and therefore though anciently the two species of bread and wine were given separately, yet now they were given together, lest any ill accidents should happen in the distribution of the wine alone, and lest it should stick on the hairs of the beard or the whiskers, or should be spilt by the minister. Yet for all this not long after, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in a synod held at Westminster, Anno 1175,¹ prohibited the giving the eucharist steeped in wine as a complement of the communion. Thus this matter was bandied about, and disputed backwards and forwards in the Latin Church; some allowing it, others condemning it; now a Council settling it, and then another unsettling it, and condemning all that went before them; till at last the Council of Constance came in with her paramount authority, and, as Bona thinks, very wisely put an end to all these disputes and inconveniences at once, by taking the cup wholly from the people, and ordering that they should neither have it separately nor conjunctly: and so this abuse of giving the eucharist steeped in wine, after a long course and struggle of various fortune was cured with a worse error, which took away the cup

¹ Con. Westmonaster. can. xi. Inhibemus ne quis quasi pro complemento communionis intinctam alicui eucharistiam tradat.

from the laity, and denied one part of the sacrament wholly to the people. Let us now return again to the ancient Church.

SECT. 3.—That the Ancients received sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling, but never sitting.

The next question may be concerning the posture in which they received. The resolution of which must be in these three conclusions. 1. That they sometimes received standing. 2. Sometimes kneeling. 3. Never sitting, that we read of. That they frequently received the communion standing, may be evidenced two ways: by a direct, and by a collateral argument. The direct argument is their positive assertions concerning the standing posture. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria, speaking of one, who had often communicated among the faithful, represents him as,¹ *τραπέζῃ παραστάτα*, standing at the Lord's table." Upon which Valesius makes this remark,² that anciently they received the eucharist standing, not kneeling as now the custom is. And Habertus undertakes to prove against the Italian divines,³ as he calls them, that the whole divine liturgy was celebrated standing, and that they both consecrated standing, and received standing. And Bona acknowledges the same for the Greek Church,⁴ though he is a little more doubtful of the Latin. For the Greek Church he produces the authority of Chrysostom, Orat. in Encænia, and Cyril of Jerusalem,⁵ who bids his communicant receive it bowing his body in the posture of worship and adoration. Some interpret this kneeling;⁶ but it signifies standing with inclination or bowing of the body in the manner of adoration. And so St. Chrysostom⁷ represents both priest and people as stand-

¹ Dionys. Epist. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 9.

² Vales. in Loc.

Stantes, non ut hodiè genibus flexis, accipiebant.

³ Habert.

Archieratic. par. viii. observ. x. p. 150.

⁴ Bona, *Rever. Liturg.*

lib. ii. chap. xvii. n. 8.

⁵ Cyril. *Catech. Myst.* v. n. 19.

Κύπτων ἐν τρόπῳ προσουήσεως ἐν σεβάσματος, λέγων, ἀμήν.

⁶ Hamon Lestrangle, *Alliance of Div. Offic.* ch. p. vii. p. 209.

⁷ Chrys. *Hom. xx.* in 2 Cor. p. 886. *Τέτο φρικώδετερον θυσιαστήριον* *ἰκίειν ὧ σὺ παρέστηκας ὁ λαϊκός.* *It. Καθάπερ ἔστηκε ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλῶν.* &c.

ing at the altar. "This altar," says he, speaking of the altar of a man's own soul, sending up devoutly prayers and alms to God, "is a more tremendous altar than that whereat thou, who art a layman, standest." And again, "As the priest stands invoking the spirit, so thou invokest him also, not by thy words, but by thy works." In like manner St. Austin representing the Christians' way of worshipping God at the altar, to answer the calumny of the heathen, who accused them of giving divine worship to their martyrs, says,¹ "Which of the faithful ever heard the priest, when he stands at the altar, say in his prayers, 'I offer sacrifice unto thee, O Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian,' when he offers to God at their monuments or memorials?" Which I produce here only to shew, that their prayers were then offered in a standing posture at the altar. Upon which account it was usual for the deacon at such times, especially on such days as this posture was used, to call upon the people in some such form of admonition as that mentioned frequently by St. Chrysostom² and the Author of the Constitutions,³ "Ὁρθοῦν ἑωμεν καλῶς, *Let us stand rightly and devoutly* to offer our sacrifices and oblations." Some think Tertullian also refers to this posture, when he says,⁴ "*Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Will not your station be the more solemn, if you also stand at the altar of God?*" But to speak freely I think Tertullian in that place uses the word *standing*, not to distinguish any particular posture of prayer, but only to denote a longer continuance in it on the stationary days, or half fasts, when they continued their religious assemblies till three in the afternoon: for on these days, as we shall hear presently, they prayed always kneeling, though on other days they did not; and

¹ Aug. de Civ. Dei lib. viii. cap. 27. Quis audivit aliquando fidelium stantem sacerdotem ad altare—dicere in precibus, Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane, cum apud eorum memorias offeratur Deo, &c. It cont. Faustum. lib. xx. cap. 21. Quis artistitum assistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane? Sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, &c.

² Chrys. Hom. ii. in 2. Cor. p. 740. Hom. 29. de Incomprehensibili. tom. i. p. 375.

³ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 12.

⁴ Tertul. de Orat. cap. xiv.

therefore Tertullian could not mean that they prayed standing on those days, but only that they extended their devotions to a greater length on those stationary days beyond others. But without this controverted passage of Tertullian, there is sufficient evidence from the foregoing testimonies, of their standing to receive the eucharist at the Lord's table.

And this is further confirmed by a collateral argument, which is, that on the Lord's day, and all the days of Pentecost, they were obliged to pray standing, and in no other posture, as has been shewn at large above :¹ therefore it is very reasonable to believe, that at all such times they received the eucharist in the same posture they were obliged to pray in, that is, standing at the altar.

But then the usual custom was, on all other days, and particularly on the stationary days, for the whole Church to pray kneeling, as has likewise been fully evinced before :² and therefore it is no less reasonable to believe, that they received the communion in the same posture as they prayed, though there are not such positive evidences of their practice. What some allege out of Tertullian, that the people did, "*Aris Dei adgeniculari, kneel down to the altars of God,*"³ is no good proof; for that is only a corrupt reading of the first editions, which others since read more correctly, "*Caris Dei adgeniculari, falling at the knees of the favourites of God,*" alluding to the custom of penitents falling at the feet of the ministers and people, to beg their prayers for them when they went into the church. Nor is the argument much more solid that others bring out of Cyril's Catechism, where he bids his communicant receive the eucharist "*Κύπτων:*" for that, as I have observed just now, signifies not kneeling, but *standing in a bowing posture*. What St. Chrysostom says in one of his exhortations to communicants, seems more nearly to express it :⁴ "Let us come with trembling, let us give thanks, let us fall down and confess our sins, let us weep and lament for our mis-

¹ Book xiii. chap. viii. sect. 3.

² Book xiii. cap. viii. sect. 4

³ Tertul. de Pœnitent. cap. ix.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. Ser. 31. in Natal.

Christi. tom. v. 480. Προσπέσωμεν ἔξομολογήμενοι, &c.

carriages, let us pour out fervent prayers to God, and let us come with a becoming reverence as to our heavenly King." But if there were none of these expressions, the very custom of kneeling at prayers on these days, is a sufficient indication of the posture in which at the same time they received the communion.

As to sitting, there is no example of it, nor any intimation leading toward it in any ancient writer. I have shewn before, that in many Churches they allowed no sitting at all in time of divine service, neither in preaching, nor reading the Scriptures, nor in psalmody, nor in praying, nor after praying neither. And it would be unreasonable to imagine that what was rejected at all other times, should be allowed in receiving the communion. Cardinal Perron indeed labours hard to prove, that the Apostles received sitting, and that sitting was also a posture of adoration. But his vanity is abundantly chastised and exposed by the learned Daille, as I have noted before upon another occasion.¹ So that this posture is wholly without example in the ancient Church. Nor are there many examples of it among the Moderns, and of those that be, some of them are such, as considering their motives, one would least of all choose to imitate. The Arians in Poland are said to receive the communion sitting, to shew that they do not believe Christ to be their God, but only their fellow creature. For which reason some of the Protestant Polish synods expressly forbid this posture,² as peculiar to the Arians, and obliged all their people to receive either standing or kneeling, not sitting, as being a posture taken up by the Arians, and contrary to the practice of all Protestant Churches. We are likewise told, that it is the singular privilege of the Pope to communicate sitting whenever he performs the

¹ Book xiii. chap. viii. sect. 7.

² Synod. Wlodislav. An. 1583.

Artic. 6. in Corpore Confession. par. ii. p. 309. Sententia jam olim in Sandomiriensi synodo agitata, et conclusio in generali Cracoviensi atque Petricoviensi synodo facta ac repetita, in hoc etiam confesso approbata est; nempe ne in usu sit sessio ad mensam dominicam in ullis hujus nostri consensus ecclesiis. Nam hæc ceremonia, licet cum cæteris libera, ecclesiis Christianis et cœtibus evangelicis non est usitata, tantumque infidelibus Arianis, eum Domino pari solio sese collocantibus propria, &c. Vid Synod. Petricoviens. art. iv. ibid. p. 306. Synod. Cracoviens. Art. iv. p. 303.

office of consecration. Bona not only tells us this,¹ but describes the whole ceremony out of the book called, *Ceremoniale Romani Pontificis*, and the old *Ordo Romanus*, which they that are curious in such matters, may consult in their proper places. I go on with the practice of the ancient Church.

SECT. 4.—No Elevation of the Host for divine Adoration in the ancient Church for many Ages, till the Rise of Transubstantiation.

There is no one thing, that has made greater stir and confusion in the Christian world, for some ages passed, than the adoration of the Host, grounded upon a false presumption, that it is not bread and wine, but transubstantiated into the real body and blood of Christ. I intend not to enter upon the history of transubstantiation, which is a doctrinal point, and comes not properly into this work, which only inquires into the practice of the Church, but shall content myself to say, that in fact the most eminent of the ancient Fathers have declared, as plain as words can make it, that the change made in the elements of bread and wine by consecration, is not such a change as destroys their nature and substance, but only alters their qualities, and elevates them to a spiritual use, as is done in many other consecrations, where the qualities of things are much altered without any real change of substance. Thus Gregory Nyssen,¹ “This altar, before which we stand, is but common stone in its nature, differing nothing from other stones, wherewith our walls are built; but after it is consecrated to the service of God, and has received a benediction, it is an holy table, an immaculate altar, not to be touched by any but by the priests, and that with the greatest reverence. The bread also at first is but common bread, but when once it is sanctified by the holy mystery, it is made and called the body of Christ. So the mystical oil, and so the wine, though they be things of little value before the benediction, yet after their sanctification by the spirit, they both of them work wonders. The same power of the word makes a priest become

¹ Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. n. 8. *Christi* tom. iii. p. 369.

² Nyssen de Bapt.

honourable and venerable, when he is separated from the community of the vulgar by a new benediction. For he, who before was only one of the common people, is now immediately made a ruler and president, a teacher of piety, and a minister of the holy mysteries: and all these things he does without any change in his body or shape; for to all outward appearance he is the same that he was, but the change is in his invisible soul, by an invisible power and grace." Cyril of Jerusalem uses the same similitude and illustration: ¹ "Beware that you take not this ointment to be bare ointment. For as the bread in the eucharist, after the invocation of the holy spirit, is not mere bread but the body of Christ: so this holy ointment after invocation, is not bare or common ointment, but it is the gift or grace of Christ and the holy spirit, who by his presence and divine nature makes it efficacious; so that the body is anointed symbolically with the visible ointment, but the soul is sanctified by the holy and quickening spirit." St. Chrysostom, in his famous epistle to Cæsarius, makes a like comparison, to explain the two natures of Christ against the Apollinarians, to shew that He had both an human and divine substance in reality, without any transformation or confusion: "as the bread," says he, "before it is sanctified, is called bread, but after the divine grace has sanctified it by the mediation of the priest, it is no longer called bread, but dignified with the name of the body of the Lord, though the nature of bread remain in it, and they are not said to be two, but one body of the Son: so here the divine nature residing or dwelling in the human body, they both together make one Son and one Person." When this passage was first produced by Peter Martyr, it was looked upon as so unanswerable, that they of the Romish Church had no other way to evade the force of it, but to cry out, it was a forgery. Peter Martyr left it in the Lambeth library, but it was ravished thence in the reign of Queen Mary. Bigotius, a learned French Papist, published the original, but the whole edition was suppressed. Yet Le Moyne published it again in Latin, among his *Varia*

¹ Cyril. Catech. Mys. iii. n. 3.

Sacra: and a learned prelate, who now so deservedly holds the primacy in our own Church, and whose indefatigable industry against Popery will never be forgotten, having procured the sheets, which the Sorbon doctors caused to be suppressed in Bigotius's edition of Palladius, published it, in our own tongue,¹ with such of the Greek fragments as are now remaining. And in these monuments it will stand as the unanswerable testimony of St. Chrysostom, and a key to explain all other passages of the Greek writers of that age, who were undoubtedly in the same sentiments of the bread and wine still remaining unalterable in their substance.

Theodoret lived not long after St. Chrysostom, and he as plainly says, that the bread and wine remain still in their own nature after consecration. "Our Saviour," says he,² "would have those, who are partakers of the divine mysteries, not to mind the nature of the things they see, but by the change of names to believe that change which is wrought by grace. For He that called his own natural body, wheat and bread, and gave it the name of a vine; He also honoured the visible symbols or elements with the name of his body and blood, not changing their nature, but adding grace to nature." In another place,³ he uses the very same weapon to foil an Eutychian heretic, who, to prove that Christ's human nature was changed into the divine nature after union, uses this argument: "as the symbols of the Lord's body and blood are one thing before the invocation of the priest, but after invocation are changed, and become another thing: so also the body of our Lord, after its assumption, was changed into the divine substance." To which Theodoret thus replies, "Thou art taken in thy own nets, which thou hast made: for neither do the mystical symbols depart from their own nature after consecration, but remain in their former substance, figure and form, and are visible and palpable, as they were before; yet they are

¹ Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, against Mr. de Meaux. Lond. 1686.

² Theod. Dialog. i. tom. iv.

p. 17. Vid. Ep. cxxx. et cxlv.

³ Id. Dial. ii. p. 85.

understood and believed to be what they are made, and are revered as those things, which they are made. Compare therefore the image with the original, and thou shalt see their likeness. For the type must answer to the truth. That body has the same form and figure and circumscription, and in a word has the same substance of a body that it had before, but it is immortal after the resurrection, and is freed from all corruption, and sits at God's right hand, and is adored by every creature, as being called the body of the Lord of nature." These words are so plain, that the bread continues in its own substance after consecration, as the body of Christ continues in the substance of human nature after its assumption, that, as bishop Cosins has observed,¹ Nicolin, the Pope's printer, who set forth these dialogues at Rome, Anno 1547, owns that Theodoret's opinion, as to what concerns Transubstantiation, was not sound, but he might be excused, because the Church had made no decree about it.

Ephrem, bishop of Antioch, lived about a hundred years after Theodoret, Anno 540, and he wrote against the Eutychians in the same manner. "No man," says he,² "that hath any reason, will say, the nature of palpable and impalpable, of visible and invisible, is the same. For so the body of Christ, which is received by the faithful, does not depart from its own sensible substance, and yet it is united to a spiritual grace: and so baptism, though it becomes wholly a spiritual thing and but one thing, yet it preserves the property of its sensible substance, I mean water, and does not lose what it was before."

The Latin Fathers are not less plain and full in their testimony about this matter. Tertullian not only frequently says,³ it is bread, representing the Lord's body; and the figure of his body;⁴ but also teaches us to trust to the testimony of our senses in this and many other things relating to Christ. "We are not

¹ Cosins Hist. of Transubstan. p. 77.

² Ephrem ap. Photium.

Cod. cexxix.

³ Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. i. cap. 14. Panem quo

ipsum corpus suum repræsentet.

⁴ Cont. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 40.

Panem corpus suum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei.

to call in question those senses of ours,¹ lest we begin to doubt of the certainty of the very things, that are related of Christ; whether he was deceived, when he saw Satan fall from heaven, or when he heard the Father's voice testifying of him, or when he touched the hand of Peter's mother, or when he smelled the spirit of the ointment, which he accepted to his burial, or when he tasted the wine, that he consecrated to be the memorial of his blood. St. John argues upon the testimony of our senses, 'What we have seen, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the word of life.' But this attestation is false, if our senses may be deceived in the nature of things, which we see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and touch with our hands." It is plain, from these words of Tertullian, that he never thought of Transubstantiation, which contradicts four of the five senses of all mankind, the sight, the touch, the taste, and the smell; and that he must be the most absurd man that ever wrote, if, after all, he could believe that not to be bread, which, according to his own rule, had the testimony of so many several senses.

St. Austin uses the same argument with Tertullian, in one of his Homilies to the newly baptised, which though it be not now among St. Austin's works, yet is preserved by Fulgentius,² and Bede and Bertram. Here, instructing them about the sacrament, he tells them,³ "that what they saw upon the altar was bread and the cup, as their own

¹ De Anima. cap. xvii. Non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos vocare, ne et in Christo de fide eorum deliberetur—ne forte deceptus sit, cum Petri socrum tetigit, aut alium postea unguenti senserit spiritum, quod in sepulturam suam acceptavit, alium postea vini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit, &c. Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum et aurium et manuum sensus natura mentitur.

² Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiopsis. cap. xi. Bede in I Cor. x. Bertram. de Corpore et Sanguine Dom.

³ Quod ergò videtis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant. Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi.—Quomodò est panis corpus ejus? Et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodò est sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideò dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem. Corpus ergò Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, Vos estis corpus Christi et membra, &c.

eyes could testify to them: but what their faith required to be instructed about, was, that the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ. But such a thought as this will presently arise in your hearts: Christ took his body into heaven, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And there he now sits at the right hand of the Father. How then is bread his body? Or how is the cup, or that, which is contained in the cup, his blood? These things, my brethren, are therefore called sacraments, because in them one thing is seen, and another is understood. That, which is seen, has a bodily appearance; that, which is understood, has a spiritual fruit. If therefore you would understand the body of Christ, hear what the Apostle says to the faithful, 'ye are the body of Christ and his members.' If therefore ye be the body and members of Christ, your mystery or sacrament is laid upon the Lord's table, ye receive the sacrament of the Lord. Ye answer, 'Amen,' to what ye are, and by your answer subscribe to the truth of it. Thou hearest the minister say to thee, 'The body of Christ,' and thou answerest, 'Amen!' Be thou a member of the body of Christ, that thy Amen may be true. But why then is this mystery in bread? let us here bring nothing of our own, but hear the Apostle speak again. When he therefore speaks of this sacrament, he says, 'We, being many, are one bread, and one body.' Understand and rejoice. We, being many, are unity, piety, truth, and charity, one bread and one body. Recollect and consider, that the bread is not made of one grain, but of many. When ye were exorcised, ye were then, as it were, ground; when ye were baptised, ye were, as it were, sprinkled, or mixed and wet together into one mass; when ye received the fire of the Holy Ghost, ye were, as it were baked. Be ye therefore what ye see, and receive what ye are." Here St. Austin, first, says plainly, that it was bread and wine that was upon the altar, for which he appeals to the testimony of their senses. Secondly, that this very bread and wine is the body and blood of Christ. Consequently it could not be his natural body in the substance, but only sacramentally. Thirdly, he says, the natural body of Christ is only in heaven: but the sacrament has the name

of his body; because, though in outward, visible, and corporeal appearance it is only bread, yet it is attended with a spiritual fruit. Lastly, he says, that the sacrament not only is a representative of the natural body of Christ, but also of the mystical body, the Church; and that, as a symbol of the Church's unity, it is called the body of Christ in this sense, as well as the other. So that, if there were any real transubstantiation, the bread must be changed into the mystical body of Christ, that is, his Church, as well as into the body natural. These things might be confirmed from abundance of parallel passages in St. Austin's works, but this one is sufficient to shew his meaning.

The next irrefragable testimony is that of Pope Gelasius, who wrote against the Nestorians and Eutychians, about the reality of the two natures in Christ, Anno 490, where he thus proves them:¹ "Doubtless, the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we receive, are a divine thing; and therefore by them we are made partakers of the divine nature, and yet the substance and nature of bread and wine do not cease to be in them. And indeed, the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious action. By this, therefore, is evidently shewn us, that we are to believe the same thing in our Lord Christ, as we profess and celebrate and take in his image: that as by the perfecting virtue of the Holy Ghost the elements pass into a divine substance, whilst their nature still remains in its own propriety; so in that principal mystery, the union of the divine and human nature, whose efficacy and power these represent, there remains one true and perfect Christ, both natures, of which he consists, continuing in their properties unchangeable." He must be blind that cannot see, how the force of this argu-

¹ Gelas. de Duabus Natur. cont. Nestor. et Eutych. Bibl. Pat. tom. iv. p. 422. Certè sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Domini divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinae efficimur consortes natura, et tamen essenon desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certè imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur, &c.

ment supposes, that bread and wine continue in their proper nature and substance in the eucharist, notwithstanding the sacramental union that is made between them and the body of Christ by the sacred use of them. Without this it had been of no force against the Eutychians, and they might with a very obvious reply have inverted the argument upon him, by saying, that as the bread was changed from its own nature into the very substance of the natural body of Christ, and remained no longer bread; so the human nature was really changed into the divine nature, and continued no longer in its own substance after its assumption into the Godhead. Which argument, in the mouth of an Eutychian, had been unanswerable to Gelasius, had he with his successors given into the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

Some time after Gelasius, lived Facundus, an African bishop, about the year 550; he wrote to excuse Theodorus of Mopsuestia, for saying, that Christ received the adoption of sons: which he does after this manner.¹ “Christ vouchsafed to receive the sacrament of adoption, both when he was circumcised, and when he was baptised. Now the sacrament of adoption may be called adoption, as we call the sacrament of his body and blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, his body and blood, not because the bread is properly his body, or the cup his blood, but because they contain the mystery of his body and blood. Whence our Saviour, when he blessed the bread and cup, and gave them to his disciples, called them his body and blood.” It is plain, according to Facundus, that the bread and wine are not properly the body and blood of Christ, but properly bread and wine still, and only called his body and blood, as baptism and circumcision are called adoption, because they are the sacraments of adoption, and not the very thing which they represent.

¹ Facund. lib. ix. cap. 5. Potest sacramentum adoptionis adoptio nuncupari, sicut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, corpus ejus et sanguinem dicimus; non quod propriè corpus ejus sit panis et poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis sanguinisque continent. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit, &c.

To these I only add the testimony of Isidore, bishop of Sevil, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century, Anno 630. He, speaking of the rites of the Church,¹ says, “the bread, because it nourishes and strengthens our bodies, is therefore called the body of Christ; and the wine, because it creates blood in our flesh, is called the blood of Christ. Now these two things are visible, but being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, they become the sacrament of the Lord’s body.” Bertram also quotes a like expression out of Isidore’s *Origines*.² “that as the visible substance of bread and wine nourish the outward man; so the word of Christ, who is the bread of life, refresheth the souls of the faithful, being received by faith.” But as Bishop Cosins and Mr. Aubertin have observed, this passage by some pious fraud is not to be found in its proper place. Now, if the bread be such bread in substance, as nourishes the body, then it must be such as is properly bread still, and not the incorruptible body of Christ, which cannot be said to be cast out into the draught, which yet Origen says of it,³ “that the material part of the sacrament, the typical and symbolical body of Christ, which goes in at the mouth, goes into the belly; but the real body of Christ is only received by those that are worthy, and by faith.” By all which it is evident, the Ancients did not know any thing of the new doctrine of Transubstantiation, but believed that the bread and wine still remained in the eucharist in their proper nature. He that would see more of this, may consult Bishop Cosin’s History of Transubstantiation, and Mr. Aubertin’s elaborate book of the eucharist, where he may find all the other arguments against this doctrine proposed, and the testimonies of every Father vindicated against the sophistry of Perron and Bellarmin, and all other Romish writers upon this subject; and also see what oppo-

¹ Isidor. Hispal. de Eccles. Offic. lib. i. cap. xviii. Panis quia confirmat corpus, ideò Christi corpus nuncupatur; vinum autem, quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideò ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Hæc autem duo sunt visibilia, &c.

² Bertram. de Corp, et Sang. Dom. ex

Isidor. Orig. lib. vi. cap. 19.

³ Origen. Com. in Mat. xv. tom. ii.

p. 27.

sition was made to the new hypothesis of Paschasius Rathbertus, which was rather a consubstantiation than a transubstantiation, as soon as it appeared, by Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, Walafridus Strabo, Heribaldus, Lupus, Frudegardus, Joannes Erigena, Prudentius Tricassin, Christianus Druthmarus, Alfricus, and the Saxon Homilies, Fulbertus Carnotensis, Leuthericus Senonensis, Berno Augiensis, and others, to the time of Berengarius, after whom it met with greater opposition from Honorius Augustodunensis, Amalricus, Peter and Henry de Bruis, Guido Grossus, Archbishop of Narbo, Francus Abbas, the Waldenses and Albigenses, the Bohemians and followers of John Huss and Jerom of Prague, the Wicklevists here in England, among whom was the famous Reginald Peacock, and many other learned men to the time of the Reformation. The first inventor of the name Transubstantiation, was Stephanus Eduensis, as Albertin there shews:¹ and he lived not long before the Council of Lateran, which first dogmatically established it, Anno 1215. He shews, that before this they rather believed an impanation, or concomitancy of the body with the bread still remaining. Bishop Cosins has many curious remarks of the same nature, and particularly he observes of the recantation, which Pope Nicholas II. obliged Berengarius to make, that it was so crude and absurd, that even the present Romanists cannot digest it: for there he was obliged to profess, that the very body and blood of Christ was touched and broken by the hands of the priest, and ground with the teeth of the faithful, not sacramentally only, but in truth and sensibly. Which the glosser upon Gratian, John Semeca, marks with this note,² "that unless you understand it cautiously, it will lead into a greater heresy than that of Berengarius; for it exceeds truth, and is spoken hyperbolically." So little understanding was there of this monstrous doctrine, when first it began to make its appearance in the world.

¹ Albertin. de Euchar. lib. iii. p. 969.
dist. ii. cap. 49.

² Grat. de Consecr.

But I shall pursue this matter no further, having sufficiently demonstrated, that the Ancients knew nothing of this doctrine, since they unanimously declared, that the bread and wine continued in their own proper substance after consecration. Whence it follows, that they could not adore the eucharist with divine adoration, which they did not believe to be any otherwise than typically and symbolically the body of Christ. Indeed they did not so much as elevate it upon any account for many ages, much less for adoration. Some pretend to cite St. Basil's authority for lifting it up to shew it to the people in order to adoration. So Schelstrate,¹ and Bona after Bellarmin.² But his words will bear no such sense: for he neither speaks of adoration, nor yet of elevation to shew it to the people, but only of consecration, as the Greek word, Ἀνάδειξις, properly signifies both in foreign and ecclesiastical writers, as Mr. Aubertin proves by various examples.³ St. Basil's words are these, "Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναδείξεως τῆς ἄρτης τῆς εὐχαριστίας, τίς τῶν ἀγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλείπειν."⁴ Which Bellarmin, following a corrupt Latin translation, renders thus: "*Which of the saints has left us in writing the words, in which the people invoke the eucharist, when it is shewn to them?*" Whereas they ought to be rendered thus: "*Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation, or prayer, wherewith the eucharist is consecrated?*" And so Perron himself with more than ordinary ingenuity confesses,⁵ telling us, that St. Basil's words are not to be understood of the people's praying to the eucharist, but of the minister's praying to God in a solemn form of invocation to consecrate the eucharist. Which, as I have shewn before,⁶ was not done barely by pronouncing those words, "This is my body," as now it is in the Roman Church; but by a formal invocation and

¹ Schelstrat. de Con. Antioch. p. 219.

² Bona, Rer. Liturg.

lib. ii. cap. xiii. n. 2. Bellarm. de Euchar. lib. ii. cap. 15.

³ Albertin. de Euchar. lib. ii. p. 446.

⁴ Basil. de Spir. Sancto.

cap. xxvii.
Albertin. ibid.

⁵ Perron. de Euchar. lib. ii. Author. xv. cap. 3. ap.

⁶ Book xv. chap. iii.

sect. 11.

thanksgiving, beseeching God to sanctify the gifts; which form, St. Basil rightly says, was not by any of the evangelists left in writing. Some again urge the testimony of Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, as one, who speaks of elevating the host after consecration. And indeed he does so:¹ but then he gives another reason for it, and not that of the people's adoration. He says, it was to represent our Saviour's elevation upon the cross, and his dying there, together with his rising from the dead. Which was far from the modern intent of elevation. This author lived about the year 715, and he is the first that mentions this elevation among the Greeks, without any notice of adoration. And for the Latin Church, there is a perfect silence in all the older ritualists about it, till the eleventh century, when it is mentioned by Ivo Carnotensis,² and Hugo de Sancto Victore,³ though still for the same reason given by Germanus, and not for adoration. The first writer, that assigns the reason of it to be for adoration, as Mr. Daillé proves at large,⁴ is Gulielmus Durantus,⁵ who wrote his *Rationale* about the year 1386. So that transubstantiation and adoration of the eucharist, as mother and daughter, came within an age of one another. The most learned now in the Roman Church, confess the main of this. Bona says very frankly,⁶ he cannot trace the original of elevating the sacrament immediately after consecration in the Latin Church, higher than Ivo, and Gulielmus Parisiensis, and Hildebert of Tours, who make mention of ringing a bell at this elevation, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, when they lived: but he owns, the old *Sacramentaria*, whether printed or manuscript, and the old ritualists, Alcuin, Amalarius, Strabo, Micrologus, and the rest have not a syllable about it. And whereas Stephen Durantus boasts of its antiquity, and says it began with the very infancy of the Church,⁷ he corrects his mistake, as relying only upon the Greek writers, who prove nothing of the

¹ German. *Theoria Rer. Divin. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 163.*

² Ivo, *Epist. de Sacram. Missæ.*

³ Hugo de S. Vict. de *Missæ*

Observat. lib. ii. cap. 28.

⁴ Dallæ de *Objecto Cultus. lib. ii.*

cap. 6.

⁵ Durant. *Rational. lib. iv. de 6. Parte Canonis.*

⁶ Bona, *Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. chap. xiii. n. 2.*

⁷ Bona, *ibid.*

customs of the Latin Church. So that here we have a plain acknowledgment of its novelty; and Daillé¹ takes the same confession under the hand of Morinus² and Goar,³ two other learned writers of the Roman Church, as Bishop Stillingfleet⁴ does also from Menardus.

SECT. 5.—No Adoration of the Host before the Twelfth or Thirteenth Century.

But it may be said, though there was no elevation of the host, nor ringing of a bell before this time in the Latin Church, yet there might be divine adoration for all that, paid to the eucharist from the beginning. Cardinal Perron was so confident of this, that he makes sitting a posture of devotion, on purpose to prove that the Apostles adored it sitting. The vanity of which pretence has been shewn before. A great many other proofs are alleged out of the Ancients to prove this adoration. But they prove no more, but either that a veneration was paid to the sacrament as to the books of the gospel, and the water of baptism, and the Lord's table, and many other sacred things, which no one denies; or else, that the adoration was given to Christ, as divinely present every where, or as sitting at the right hand of God in heaven, whither they were directed by the admonition of "*Sursum Corda,*" to lift up their hearts, and to elevate their own souls to adore him there. St. Jerom speaks of common and ordinary veneration, when he says,⁵ "men were taught by the Scriptures, with what veneration they ought to receive holy things, and serve in the ministry of Christ's altar, and not to esteem the holy

¹ Dallæ. ubi supra.
excit. ix. cap. 1.

² Morin. De Ordinât. Par. iii. ex-

³ Goar. Not. in Eucholog. p. 146.
ex Menardo, Not. in Gregor. Sacram. p. 374.

⁴ Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 236.

⁵ Hieron. Ep. ad Theophil. Discant, qui ignorant, eruditi testimoniis Scripturarum, quâ debeant veneratione sancta suscipere, et altaris Christi ministerio deservire, sacrosque calices, et sancta velamina, et cætera, quæ ad cultum pertinent dominicæ passionis, non quasi inanima et sensu carentia sanctimoniam non habere, sed ex consortio corporis et sanguinis Domini, eadem quâ corpus ejus et sanguis majestate veneranda.

cups, and holy veils, and other things pertaining to the service of the Lord's passion, to be without holiness, as inanimate things and void of sense, but as things, which, for their relation to the body and blood of the Lord, were to be venerated with the same majesty and reverence as his body and blood." Such reverence as this, which was given to the cups and other utensils of the altar, no doubt was given to the sacrament, as the symbolical body and blood of Christ: but this could not be a veneration of divine worship and adoration, unless we can think, that they gave divine worship to the cups and utensils of the altar, which he says were venerated with the same respect as the body and blood of Christ. Mr. Aubertin¹ gives a great many instances of this kind of veneration paid to churches and the Book of the Law, and baptism, which can signify no more than their reverend use of them, as sacred and venerable things. And such a veneration they paid to the sacrament; never putting consecrated bread to any profane or common use; much less violating its sacredness by any more indecent practice, as was that outrage of the Donatists, when they threw it to the dogs; never touching it with unwashed hands; being extremely cautious not to let any particle of it fall to the ground: which is a particular caution, noted by many of the Ancients, Tertullian,² St. Austin,³ Cyril of Jerusalem,⁴ and Origen,⁵ who styles it a veneration, in express terms. Whence Bellarmin very wisely concludes, they must needs believe it to be Christ's natural body, and adore it. As if holy things could not be used with such caution and reverence, but presently it must be interpreted an act of adoration.

But the Ancients sometimes say, they worshipped Christ in the eucharist. Which we do not deny either. St. Austin says,⁶ "no man eats the flesh of Christ, but he that first worships it." And there are like expressions in Ambrose,

¹ Albertin. de Euchar. p. 432.
cap. iii.

² Tertul. de Coron. Mil.

³ Aug. Hom. xxvi. ex. 50.

⁴ Cyril. Catech. Myst. n. 18.

⁵ Orig. Hom. xiii. in Exod.

Cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decadat, &c.

⁶ Aug. in Psal. xcviij.

Chrysostom, and some other ancient writers. But then they sufficiently explain their own meaning, giving us to understand, that they neither speak of oral manducation, nor of adoring Christ as corporeally present in the eucharist, but as spiritually present or else as corporeally absent in heaven. St. Chrysostom says,¹ “they fell down before Christ their King as captives in baptism, and that they cast themselves down upon their knees before Him. And yet no one would conclude therefore that they worshipped him as corporeally present in baptism, although baptism made them partakers of his body and blood also.” He says further,² “that the king himself bowed his body because of God speaking in the holy Gospels.” But it would be ridiculous hence to infer, either that they worshipped the Gospels, or Christ as corporeally present in them. Mr. Albertin has demonstrated out of St. Austin’s works these several propositions,³ which are all point blank contrary to the adoration of Christ, as corporeally present in the eucharist. 1. That bread and wine are not properly and substantially the body and blood of Christ, but only sacramentally and figuratively. 2. That Christ is not substantially and corporeally present in the eucharist, but corporeally present only in heaven. 3. That true bread remains and is eaten in the eucharist. 4. That the manducation of Christ in the eucharist is not oral, but spiritual. 5. That the wicked do not eat or drink the proper body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. 6. That the same body cannot be in different places at one and the same time; and that this is particularly asserted of the body of Christ. 7. That a body must necessarily occupy some place and space, and be extended by parts, with longitude, latitude, and profundity. 8. That accidents cannot subsist without a subject. All which directly overthrow the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and consequently shew, that the adoration, which was given to Christ in the eucharist, was not to his corporeal presence, but his spiritual presence, or to his body as absent in heaven.

¹ Chrys. in illud, Simile est regnum cælorum, &c.

² In illud, Attendite ne eleemosynam faciatis. ap. Albertin. de Euchar. p. 432.

³ Albertin. de Euchar. p. 602. &c.

But Durantus undertakes to prove,¹ that the body of Christ was not only worshipped as corporeally present in the eucharist, in the use and time of celebration, but at other times by non-communicants also. For this he alleges Chrysostom,² who says, that the energumens at that time were brought by the deacon and made to bow their heads. Which Durantus interprets of bowing to the eucharist. But Chrysostom unluckily spoils his argument. “For at that time,” he says, “the eucharist was not consecrated, but only about to be consecrated; and these energumens were not allowed to stay to hear the prayers of consecration with the faithful, but were dismissed with the catechumens and other non-communicants before the communion-service began.” So that if they worshipped the Host, it must be an unconsecrated Host, which, according to Durantus himself, would be plain idolatry. So unfortunate are these gentlemen in the best arguments they can produce for host-worship among the Ancients, that their own very proofs manifestly overthrow it.

On the other hand there are most certain demonstrations, that there could be no such thing as host-worship in the ancient Church, not only taken from their not believing transubstantiation and the corporeal presence, but from many other topics solidly deduced and substantially proved by two learned writers, Mr. Daillé³ and Dr. Whitby⁴ in two excellent discourses upon this very subject, to which I will commend the reader, contenting myself to mention the heads of the principal arguments, which they have more fully drawn out and proved. Mr. Daillé ranks his arguments under two heads, some general ones against the worship of the eucharist, saints, relics, images, and crosses; and others more particularly levelled against the worship of the eucharist. Among those of the first kind he urges this as very remarkable, that in all the ancient relations of miracles there is never any mention made of miracles being wrought

¹ Durant. de Ritibus. lib. ii. cap. xl. n. 5
iii. and iv. de Incomprehensibili. p. 365. and 374. tom. i.

² Chrys. Hom.

³ Dallæ. de Objecto Cultus Religiosi. cont. Latinos. lib. i. and ii.

⁴ Whitby, Idolatry of Host-worship. Lond. 1679. 8°.

by the eucharist, as is now so common in later ages, especially in the book called the *School of the Eucharist*, which is a collection of legends under the name of miracles wrought by the Host upon sundry occasions. 2. He urges another general argument from the silence of all such writers of the Church as speak of traditions, that the worship of the eucharist is never once named among them. 3. That among the heathen objections and calumnies which they raised against them, such as their worshipping the sun and an ass's head, and the genitals of their priests, and a crucified and dead man, they never objected to them the worship of bread and wine, which yet had been very obvious and natural, and invidious enough to have accused them of, had there then been any such plausible ground for an accusation, as there has been in later ages. 4. The Christians used to object to the Heathens, that they worshipped things that were dumb and void of life; things that must be carried upon men's shoulders, and if they fell, could not rise again; things that must be guarded by men, to secure them from thieves; things that might be carried captive, and were not able to preserve and deliver themselves; things that might be laid to pawn, as the eucharist has been by some princes in later ages; things that are exposed to fire and weather, and rust and moth and corruption and other injuries of nature; things that might be devoured by mice and other animals, and might be gnawed and dunged upon by the most contemptible creatures. All which objections might easily have been retorted by the heathen upon the Christians, had they then worshipped the eucharist, or images, or relics, or crosses, which are liable to all the same reproaches. These are general arguments against host-worship, together with the rest of that idolatrous worship, which now so abounds in the Church of Rome. But there are a great many more special arguments urged in particular against the host-worship by that learned man. As 1. From the silence of all ancient writers about it. 2. From their using no elevation of the Host for worship for many ages, as we have shewn at large out of Bona before. 3. The Ancients knew nothing of ringing a bell to give notice of the time of adoration to the people. 4. There are no histories of beasts miraculously worshipping the

eucharist, which sort of fictions are so common in later ages. 5. The Ancients never carried the eucharist to the sick or absent with any pomp or signs of worship; never exposed it to public view in times of solemn rejoicing or sorrow; never adored or invoked its assistance in distress, or upon any great undertaking; which are now such common practices in the Roman Church. 6. The Ancients never enjoined persons newly baptised and penitents to fall down before the eucharist and worship it, as is now commonly done in the Roman Church. 7. The Ancients never allowed non-communicants to stay and worship the eucharist, as the practice now is; which yet had been very proper, had they believed the eucharist to be their God. But they used it only for communion, not for adoration. 8. The Ancients never used to carry the eucharist publicly in processions, to be adored by all the people; which is a novel practice in the judgment of Krantzius and Cassander.¹ 9. The Ancients lighted no lamps nor candles by day to the eucharist, nor burned incense before it, as is now the practice. 10. They made no little images of the eucharist, to be kissed and worshipped as the images of Christ. 11. They had no peculiar festival appropriated to its more solemn worship. This is of no longer date than Pope Urban IV., who first instituted it, Anno 1264, and it is peculiar only to the Roman Church. 12. The ancient Liturgies have no forms of prayers, doxologies, or praises to the eucharist, as are in the Roman Missal. 13. The adoration of the eucharist, was never objected by the Heathens to the primitive Christians; nor were they reproached, as the Romanists have been since, as eaters of their God. It is a noted saying of Averroes, "*Quando quidem comedunt Christiani quod colunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis,—Since Christians eat what they worship, let my soul rather have her portion among the philosophers.*" This learned philosopher lived about the year 1150, when the Host-worship began to be practiced, which gave him this prejudice to the Christian religion.

¹ Krantz. Metropol. lib. xi. cap. 39. Cassander. Consultat. sect. de Circumgestat.

14. The Christians objected such things to the Heathens, as they never would have objected, had they themselves worshipped the Host; as, that it was an impious thing to eat what they worshipped, and worship what they eat and sacrificed. Which objections might easily have been retorted upon them. 15. The Christians were accused by the Heathens of eating infants' blood in their solemn mysteries, but never any mention is made of eating the blood of Christ, either in the objection or answer to it. The ground of the story arose from the practice of the Carpocratians and other heretics, and not from the Christians eating the blood of Christ. 16. Lastly, the Christians never urged the adoration of the eucharist in their disputes with the Ebionites and Docetæ, which yet would have been very proper to confute their errors, who denied the reality of the flesh of Christ. To these arguments of Mr. Daille, Dr. Whitby has added these further. 1. That the Scriptures and Fathers deride the heathen deities, and say, that we may know they are no Gods, because they have no use of their outward senses. 2. Because they are made Gods by consecration, and by the will of the artificer, part of that matter, which is consecrated into a God, being exposed to common uses. 3. Because they were imprisoned in their images, or shut up in obscure habitations. 4. Because they clothed their Gods in costly raiments. 5. Because they might be metamorphosed or changed from one shape to another. All which might have been retorted upon the Christians, had they worshipped the eucharist, without any possibility of evasion. Soto and Paludanus own, that the whole eucharist, substance as well as species, may be vomited up again, or voided at the draught. Which to affirm of the real body of Christ, the Ancients would have accounted the greatest blasphemy. For these and the like reasons we may safely conclude, that there was no such practice among the Ancients, as giving divine honour to the Host upon presumption of its being the real body of Christ, though they treated it as the sacred symbol and antitype of his body with all imaginable respect and veneration. To deduce these arguments at their full length would fill a volume, and therefore it is sufficient here, to have hinted the heads of them, in this summary

account, referring the reader to those two learned authors, who have proved every thing they say, for fuller satisfaction. I now go on with the practice of the ancient Church.

SECT. 6.—The People allowed to receive the Eucharist into their own Hands.

In distributing the elements the people were allowed to receive them into their own hands. Which now, since the belief of transubstantiation and the adoration of the Host came in, is severely prohibited in the Roman Church. And this is at least another strong presumption, that the Ancients had very different sentiments of the eucharist from those which now prevail in the Roman Church. As to fact, there is no dispute of the matter. The thing is confessed by Baronius¹ and Morinus² and Garsias Loaysa,³ as Daille⁴ has noted out of them. And Bona confesses,⁵ he cannot tell when the contrary custom first came in, but he thinks it very probable that it began at the same time, that they first brought into the Western Church the use of unleavened bread, and wafer-hosts; which, as he proves before, was not till the twelfth or thirteenth century. But that the reader may not wholly depend upon these concessions, I will note a few places in the margin out of Tertullian,⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus,⁷ Cyprian,⁸ Origen,⁹ Dionysius Alexandrinus,¹⁰ Cyril of Jerusalem,¹¹ Nazianzen,¹² Basil,¹³ Ambrose,¹⁴ Austin,¹⁵ Chrysostom¹⁶ and the Council of Trullo.¹⁷ Which I think it

¹ Baron. an. 57. n. 147.

² Morin. de Ordin. par. iii.

Exercit. xii. c. 3.

³ Loaysa in Con. Tolet. i. can. 14.

⁴ Dallæ, de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. 2. cap. 20.

⁵ Bona. Rer.

Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xvii. n. 7. Vid. Vales. Not. in Euseb, lib. vii. c. ix.

⁶ Tertul. de Coron. Mil cap. iii. de Idololatr. cap. vii.

⁷ Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 132.

De Patient. p. 216. Ep. lvi. al. lviii. ad Thibaritanos. p. 125.

⁹ Orig. Hom. xiii. in Exod.

¹⁰ Ap. Euseb. lib. vii. cap

9. ¹¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 18.

¹² Naz.

Carmen de Ornatu Mulier. tom. ii. p. 152.

¹³ Basil. Ep. 289.

ad Cæsaream Patriciam.

odoret. lib. v. cap. 18.

¹⁴ Ambr. Orat. ad Theodos. ap. The-

xxiii. Hom. xxvi. ex 50.

¹⁵ Aug. cont. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. cap.

¹⁶ Chrys. Hom. xxi. ad Pop. Au-

tioch. tom. i. p. 266. Hom. xxii. p. 285. and 290. Hom. xxiv. p. 316. Hom.

vi. cont. Judæos. tom. i. p. 540. Hom. vi. in Seraphim. Hom. iii. in Ephes.

et passim.

¹⁷ Con. Trull. cap. 101.

needless to repeat at length in a matter so plain and uncontested. The very custom of washing the hands before communion, in order to receive it, the frequent admonitions to beware of letting it fall, the allowance of private men to carry it home with them and communicate in private, the sending it to the sick sometimes by private men, which we have spoken of before, do all bear testimony to the same practice. But all these customs are perfectly antiquated and abolished in the Roman Church, since the practice of host-worship came in, partly by forbidding the people to touch the bread with their own hands, but suffer it to be dropped into their mouths, and partly by withdrawing the cup wholly from them. Many wise and pretty reasons are used to be given for abolishing this ancient custom, as that it is to prevent men's negligence and irreverence and other abuses: but the Fathers had much better reasons for allowing it. For then it afforded them a noble argument to keep innocent and holy hands, free from idolatry, murder, rapine, and extortion, and other the like vices, when they must, with those very hands, receive the immaculate body and blood of their Lord. "A man might declaim," says Tertullian,¹ "all the day long with the zeal of faith, and bewail those Christians, who work with their hands at the trade of making idols for heathen Gods, and come immediately from the shop of the adversary to the house of God, to lift up those hands to God the Father, which are the makers or mothers of idols, and stretch forth those hands to receive the body of the Lord, that were instrumental in carving bodies for devils." With what eloquence does St. Chrysostom inveigh against rapine and bloodshed, and strife and contention, upon this very topic? "Consider," says he,² "what thou takest into thy hand, and never dare to smite any man: do not disgrace those hands, which are adorned with so great a gift, by the crime of fighting and contention. Consider what thou takest into thy hands, and keep them free from all rapine

¹ Tertul. de Idololat. cap. vii. Vid. Tertul. de Spectac. c. xxv. Cypr. Ep. lvi. al. 58. ad Pleb. Thibarit. p. 125.

² Chrys. Hom. xxi. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 266. Vid. Hem. xxxi. de Natali Christi. tom. v. p. 479.

and extortion. Consider that thou not only takest it in thy hands, but puttest it to thy mouth; therefore keep thy tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious words, from blasphemy, perjury, and all such kinds of evil discourse." So again, reproving those, who, in time of sickness, went to the Jews to get charms and amulets to cure their distemper, he asks them,¹ "What apology they would make to Christ for thus flying to his enemies in their distress? How they could call upon Him in their prayers? With what conscience they could come into the Church? With what eyes they could look upon the priest? With what hands they could touch the holy table?" And in another place, repressing the people's fury against Eutropius, (who, having procured a law to be made against men's taking sanctuary at the altar, was himself not long after, by falling under the emperor's displeasure, forced to fly thither for refuge; and then some of the people clamoured against him with revengeful thoughts, and cried out, it was but just that he should suffer the effects of his own law;) to suppress the people's anger in this case, and incline them to thoughts of mercy and pardon, he asks them,² "How otherwise they could take the sacrament into their hands, when sermon was done, and say that prayer, which commands them to beg of God, that he would forgive them their trespasses, as they forgave them that trespassed against them, if they persisted to call for justice upon their enemy?" These are handsome turns of eloquence, grounded upon this innocent and pious custom of the people's taking the sacrament into their own hands, and they had often their due weight and force even upon the greatest minds, as may appear from the effect of that speech, which St. Ambrose made to the Emperor Theodosius, when he had caused seven thousand men to be slaughtered without any formal trial at Thessalonica: St. Ambrose met him as he was entering the church, and thus accosted him: "With what eyes wilt thou behold the house of our common Lord? With what feet wilt thou tread his holy pave-

¹ Chrys. Hom. vi. cont. Jud. tom. i. p. 539.
in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 554

² Chrys. Hom.

ment? Wilt thou stretch out those hands, yet dropping with the blood of that unjust slaughter, and with them lay hold of the most holy body of the Lord? Wilt thou put the cup of that blood to thy mouth, who hast shed so much blood by the hasty decree of an angry and impetuous mind?"¹ This just reproof of the pious bishop, so handsomely addressed to the emperor, made such a deep impression on his mind, that it melted him into tears, and made him refrain from church as a penitent, till by way of satisfaction, among other things, by St. Ambrose's direction, he made this good law, that no sentence of death or proscription for the future should be executed till thirty days after its promulgation, that reason, and not passion, might judge of the equity and reasonableness of it. Such brave speeches and such worthy effects did that ancient pious custom minister the occasion to of old, which is now laid aside in the Roman Church, and changed into another custom, that has neither precedent nor use; serving only to feed superstition, and keep men under the monstrous and inveterate prejudices of transubstantiation, which this innocent rite served in some measure to keep out of the minds of men in the primitive Church.

SECT. 7.—Whether the same Custom was observed in delivering it to Women and Children.

It is further observable, that in this case no distinction was made between men, women, and children, but all received into their own hands, who were capable of so doing. Only in the latter end of the sixth century, we find a rule made about women, that they should not receive it in their bare hand, but in a fair linen cloth. Some think this as ancient as St. Austin's time, because in one of the sermons *De Tempore*,¹ that go under his name, there is mention made of it. For there it is said, it was customary for men to wash their hands when they communicated, and for women to

¹ Ap. Theodor. Hist. lib. v. cap. 18.

² Aug. Ser. 252. de Temp. Omnes viri, quando communicare desiderant, lavant manus: et omnes mulieres exhibent linteamina, ubi corpus Christi accipiunt.

bring their little linen cloths to receive the body of Christ. But, as many of these sermons are spurious, so this in particular is sometimes ascribed to other authors, and therefore no weight can be laid upon it. However the Council of Auxerre in France,¹ Anno 590, made a rule, that no woman should receive the eucharist in her bare hand. But after what manner she should receive it in her hand, is not said. A great many learned persons think, that another canon in that Council orders them to receive it in a linen cloth,² because there is mention made of women's wearing a *Dominicale* when they communicate: which they interpret a linen cloth upon their hand. So not only Baronius, and Binnius, and Sylvius, but also Bona,³ and Habertus,⁴ and even Mabillon,⁵ and Vossius⁶ understand it. But Baluzius, who is often more sagacious than the rest in telling the meaning of hard words, says, it means only the women's veil, which they were obliged to wear upon their heads by ancient canons, conformable to the rule of the Apostle.⁷ And for this he quotes an ancient collection of Canons, where in the Council of Mascon the *Dominicale* is expressly styled the veil, which the women wore upon their heads at the communion. So that whatever covering the women used for their hands, when they received the communion, it is plain it was a different thing from the *Dominicale*. The Council of Trullo⁸ speaks of some in the Greek Church, who would not receive the sacrament in their hands, but in some little instrument of gold or other precious material, out of a pretended reverence to it, but they condemn, and forbid it as a superstitious practice; ordering all persons to receive the communion in their own hands, set in the form of a cross, as is appointed

¹ Con. Antissiodor. can. xxxvi. Non licet mulieri nudâ manu eucharistiam accipere.

² Ibid. can. xlii. Unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, dominicalem suum habeat. Quod si non habuerit, usque in alium diem dominicum non communicet.

³ Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. xvii. n. 3.

⁴ Habert. Archieratic. par. x. observ. viii. p. 264.

⁵ Mabil. de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. cap. v. n. 25.

⁶ Voss. Theol. de Symbolis Cœnæ Dom. p. 477.

⁷ Baluz. Not. in Gratian. caus. xxxiii. Quæst. iii. cap. 19. Si mulier communicans dominicale suum super caput suum non habuerit, usque ad alium diem dominicum non communicet.

⁸ Con. Trull. can. 101.

in Cyril's Catechisms,¹ and some others before them: and for those, that pretended to bring those little trinkets to receive the communion with, they order them to be rejected, as persons who preferred inanimate matter to the living image of God. And withal they threaten suspension to any priest, that shall admit any communicants to receive in such manner. By which it is plain, no alteration was as yet allowed in this matter in the Greek Church.

SECT. 8.—The Eucharist usually delivered to the People with a certain Form of Words, to which they answered, Amen.

The next thing observable is, that the priest, in delivering the elements to the people, used a certain form of words, to which the people answered, Amen. The form at first seems to have been no more than this: "The body of Christ;" and, "The blood of Christ;" to each of which the people subjoined, "Amen." Tertullian is thought to refer to this,² when he asks a Christian, who was used to frequent the Roman theatres, "how he could give testimony to a gladiator, with that mouth, wherewith he was wont to say Amen, in the holy mysteries?" But that may refer as well to the Amen, which they used at the end of the great consecration prayer, as to this form at the delivery. However Cornelius, bishop of Rome, not long after, speaks expressly of it. For he says,³ Novatian was used to make the people of his party swear by the body and blood of Christ, when he delivered the eucharist to them, that they would not forsake his party and go over to Cornelius. "So," says he, "every man, instead of saying Amen, when he takes the bread, is forced to say; I will not return to Cornelius. The Author of the Constitutions speaks of the form in this manner:⁴ "let the bishop give the oblation, saying, 'The body of Christ:' and let the receiver answer, 'Amen.' Let the deacon hold the cup, and when he gives it say, 'The blood of Christ, the cup of life:' and let him that drinks it say, 'Amen.'" So St. Cyril,⁵

¹ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 18.

² Tertul. de Spectac. cap. xxv.

Quale est—ex ore quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere?

³ Ap. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. lxiii. p. 245.

⁴ Constit. lib. viii. cap. xiii.

⁵ Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 18.

bids his communicant receive the body of Christ, and say, Amen. And St. Ambrose,¹ “the priest says to thee, ‘the body of Christ,’ and thou answerest, Amen.” The like, as to the people’s answering Amen, is noted by St. Austin as the general practice of the whole world.² And so by St. Jerom,³ Leo Magnus,⁴ and many others. By the time of Gregory the Great, the form of delivery was a little enlarged: for then they said,⁵ “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul.” And by the time of Alcuin and Charles the Great, it was augmented into this form,⁶ “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.” Which is much the same with the former part of that which is now used in our Liturgy. The Scotch Liturgy also orders the people to answer, Amen; which, we see, is conformable to ancient practice. The Romanists generally draw this answer of the people into an argument for transubstantiation. Because saying Amen implies as much as the true body of Christ. But they might as well argue, that the bread is transubstantiated into the bodies of the people, and that they too are but one proper, substantial, true numerical body with their Lord; because St. Austin says, this is one meaning of the body of Christ, to which, when the priest spake it, they answered, Amen: “Ye answer, Amen,”⁷ says he, “to what ye are, that is, the body of Christ, and by your answer subscribe to the truth of it. Thou hearest the priest say, ‘The body of Christ,’ and thou answerest, Amen:’ be thou a member of the body of Christ, that thy Amen may be true.” In another place he says, it denoted their belief of the reality of Christ’s suffering for

¹ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 5. Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi: et tu dicis, Amen, id est, Verum. It. de Initiatis. cap. ix.

² Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xii. cap. 10. Habet magnam vocem Christi sanguis in terrâ, cum eo accepto ab omnibus gentibus respondetur Amen.

³ Hieron. Ep. 62. ad Theophil.

⁴ Leo Ser. vi. de Jejunio Septimi Mensis.

⁵ Joan. Diacon. Vit. Gregor. lib. ii.

⁶ Alcuin. de Offic. et Helgaldus Vita Roberti Regis Gallie. ap. Bonam. Liturgic. lib. ii. cap. xvii. n. 3.

⁷ Aug. Serm. ad Infantes. ap. Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopsis. cap. xi. Ad id quod estis, respondetis, Amen, et respondendo subscribitis. Audis corpus Christi, et respondes, Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut sit verum Amen tuum.

them, that his blood was truly shed for their sakes:¹ and that they made profession of this by saying Amen, this is true. And again,² “ Christ shed his blood upon the cross for our sakes: and ye, who are communicants, know what testimony ye bear to the blood, which ye receive: for ye say Amen to it. Ye know what that blood is, which was shed for many, for it is the remission of sins.” So that in whatever sense we take it, there is no necessity of making it to signify a corporeal and substantial presence, which it is certain St. Austin never thought of.

SECT. 9.—How Novatian and others abused the Communion to wicked Purposes.

It is here proper, before we pass on, to make a just reflection upon the horrible abuses of the communion, committed by some against the true end and design of it, which was intended by Christ to represent our union with Himself and one another, but wicked men made use of it to base ends and purposes. We have already heard how Novatian abused it to strengthen his schism, and bind men over by an oath upon it, that they would not desert his interest and party. And it was a like abuse that was some time allowed in the superstitious times of Popery under the general notion of many other superstitious practices called, canonical purgations. Which was, that, when any one was suspected of a crime, he was to purge himself by taking the sacrament upon it. Gratian cites a canon out of the Council of Worms³ to this purpose: “ whereas it often happens, that thefts are committed in monasteries, and they that commit them are not known: we therefore order, that, when the brethren are to purge themselves of such suspicions, mass shall be celebrated by the

¹ Aug. Ser. iv. De Feriâ sive Culturâ agri. tom. ix. p. 317. Quid dicit omnis homo, quando accipit sanguinem Christi? Amen dicit. Quid est Amen? Verum est. Quid est verum? Quia fusus est sanguis Christi.

² Id. Ser. xxix. de Verbis Apost. tom. x. p. 150. In cruce pro nobis sanguinem fudit: et nostis fideles quale testimonium perhibeatis sanguini quem accepistis. Certè enim dicitis Amen. Nostis qui sit sanguis, qui pro multis effusus est in remissionem peccatorum.

³ Con. WORMAT. can. xv. ap. Grat. caus. ii. quæst. v. cap. 23. Sæpe contingit, ut in monasteriis furta perpetrentur, et qui hæc committant ignorentur. Idcirco statuimus, ut quando ipsi fratres de talibus se expurgare debuerint, missa ab abbate celebretur, vel ab aliquo cui ipse abbas præceperit, præsentibus fratribus: et sic expletâ missâ, omnes communicent in hæc verba; ‘ Corpus Domini sit mihi ad probationem hodiè.’

abbot, or some other appointed by him, and when it is ended, every one of them shall communicate, saying these words, Let the body of Christ be my purgation this day." But though this was allowed by a Council, it is justly reckoned a great abuse by all sober men. Antonius Augustinus, in his Emendations upon Gratian,¹ passes this censure upon it, that it is to be ascribed to the great corruption and filth of the times, which allowed it. For even, as the old glosser upon Gratian observes,² the communion was not to be given to suspected persons, as he proves from other laws, particularly the extravagant *De Purgatione Canonica, cap. Cum dilectis*. And therefore he says, this canon in Gratian was of no force, being disannulled in law. So that we need not scruple to call this a great abuse of the holy communion, though it had synodical authority some time to enjoin the practice of it. I know nothing hardly that exceeds it under pretence of religion, unless it be that more horrible abuse, which Baronius³ himself relates out of the Greek historians, concerning Pope Theodore and the Roman Council, Anno 648, who, in their censure of Pyrrhus and Paulus, the Monothelite heretics, took blood out of the cup, and mingled it with ink, and therewith subscribed their condemnation. An unparalleled instance of intemperate zeal, for which there was neither law nor example in the Roman Church, as Baronius confesses, nor any instance like it, save one in the Greek Church, when Ignatius, in the Council of Constantinople, Anno 869, made use of the blood in the sacred cup, instead of ink, to condemn his adversary Photius, as Baronius also tells us⁴ out of Nicetas in his Life of Ignatius. But I pass over these horrible abuses, more becoming Draco, and his sanguinary laws, than the pens and practices of Christian bishops, and go on with the more innocent practices of the primitive Church.

¹ Anton. August. de Emendat. Grat. lib. i. dial. xv. p. 172. Hæc omnia sunt illorum temporum sordibus adscribenda. ² Glossa in Loc Gratiani. Huic capiti est derogatum, quia suspectis non est danda eucharistia.

³ Baron. an. 648. n. 15. ex Theophane.

⁴ Baron. an. 869. tom. x. p. 428.

SECT. 10.—Proper Psalms for the Occasion usually sung while the People were communicating.

During the time of communicating, while the elements were distributed to the people, it was usual, in most places, for the singers or all the people to sing some psalm suitable to the occasion. The Author of the Constitutions¹ prescribes the thirty-third psalm, which in our division is the thirty-fourth, for this purpose: “I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be always in my mouth.” Which was chiefly sung upon the account of those words relating to the sacrament, “O taste and see that the Lord is gracious, &c.” For so St. Cyril more plainly declares, when he says,² after this you hear one singing with a divine melody, and exhorting you to partake of the holy mysteries, and saying, “O taste and see that the Lord is gracious.” St. Jerom³ seems also to intimate, that they sung both this and the forty-fifth psalm, when he says, “they received the eucharist always with a good conscience, hearing the psalmist sing, ‘O taste and see that the Lord is gracious:’ and singing with him, ‘My heart is inditing of a good matter, I speak of the things, which I have made unto the king.’ This being a psalm peculiarly setting forth the praises of Christ, and the affection of the Church toward him: ‘Hearken, O daughter, and consider, incline thine ear, forget also thine own people and thy father’s house: so shall the king have pleasure in thy beauty; for He is thy Lord God, and worship thou Him.’” In Africa they seem to have delighted much in this custom, in so much, that, when one Hilarius, a tribune, railed against it and all other singing of psalms at the altar, St. Austin wrote a book particularly in vindication of it, which is now lost, but he mentions it⁴ in his Retractions. And both he and Tertullian seem to intimate, that among other psalms

¹ Const. lib. viii. cap. 13.

² Cyril. Mist. Catech. v. n. 17.

³ Hieron. Ep. xxviii. ad Lucin. Bœticum.

⁴ Aug. Retract. lib. ii. cap. 11. Morem, qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de Psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cùm distribuereetur populo quod fuisset oblatum, maledicâ reprehensione ubicunque poterat lacerabat, &c. Huic respondi, et vocatur Liber contra Hilarium.

they sung the one hundred and thirty-third. "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in unity." For Tertullian¹ says, they were used to sing this psalm when they supped together; by which most probably he means the Lord's supper. And St. Austin says, it was a psalm² so noted and well known by its constant use, that they, who knew nothing of the psalter, could repeat that psalm, as having often heard it sung, probably at the altar. And he seems to say,³ that they sung the thirty-third Psalm upon the same occasion. For he says expressly, they sung it daily, "I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall ever be in my mouth." Which, considering how many writers before speak of it, as sung at the distribution of the elements, it is probable St. Austin means the same, that it was sung daily at the altar. St. Chrysostom says, they sung the hundred and forty-fifth psalm upon this occasion, chiefly upon the account of those words in it, "The eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou givest them their meat in due season." For he interprets this of their spiritual meat at the Lord's table. "This psalm," says he,⁴ "is diligently to be noted: for this is the psalm, which has these words, which they that are initiated in the holy mysteries sing continually in concert, saying, 'The eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou givest them their meat in due season.' For he that is made a son, and partaker of the spiritual table; does justly give glory to his father. Thou art a Son, and partaker of the spiritual table; thou feedest upon that flesh and blood, which regenerated thee: therefore give thanks to Him, that vouchsafes thee so great a blessing, glorify Him, who grants thee these favours: when thou readest the words, compose and tune thy soul to what is said, and when thou sayest, 'I will exalt Thee, my God, my King,' which are the first words of this psalm, shew thy great

¹ Tertul. de Jejun. cap. xiii. Vide quàm bonum et quàm jucundum habitare fratres in unum. Hoc tu psallere non facile nôsti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas.

² Aug. in Psal. cxxxii. p. 629. Psalmus brevis est, sed valdè notus et nominatus. Ecce quàm bonum et quàm jucundum, &c. Ita sonus iste dulcis est, ut et qui psalterium nesciunt, ipsum versum cantent.

³ Ibid. p. 630. Impletum est in eo quod quotidie cantamus, si et moribus consonemus: Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus ejus in ore meo.

⁴ Chrys. in Psal. cxliv. tom. iii. p. 594.

love and affection to Him, that He may say to thee, as He said to Abraham, I am Thy God." In the Liturgy, which goes under St. Chrysostom's name,¹ there is mention of the people's singing at this time, but no psalm specified, as here in his genuine works. In the Liturgy called St. James's² of Jerusalem, the words of the thirty-fourth psalm, "O taste and see that the Lord is gracious," are appointed to be sung by the singers. St. Mark's Liturgy³ appoints the forty-second psalm, "As the hart desireth the water brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God." And Cotelerius⁴ has observed, that in some ancient rituals at the end of Gregory's *Sacramentarium* the hundred and thirty-ninth psalm is appointed: "O Lord, Thou hast searched me out, and known me, &c." So that, though the custom of singing psalms, in this part of the service, was universal, the particular psalms varied, according to the wisdom and choice of the precentor, or the different rules and usages of different Churches. I have now stated and resolved the several questions and cases that may be put concerning the manner of communicating in the ancient Church: and there remains but one thing more to be considered, which was the solemn thanksgiving and prayers after receiving, which may be included with some other concomitant rites in the general name of their post-communion-service; of which we will discourse in the following chapter.

¹ Chrys. Liturg. tom. iv. p. 618.
Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 20.

² Jacob. Liturg. Bibl. Patr.

³ Marci Liturg. ibid. p. 40.

⁴ Coteler. in Constit. lib. viii. cap. 13.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Post-Communion-Service.

SECT. 1.—The Communion-Service closed with several Sorts of Thanksgiving. First, the Deacon's Bidding Prayer and Thanksgiving.

WHEN all the people had communicated, and the deacons had removed the remainder of the elements into the *Pastophoria*, or place appointed for their reception ; it was usual first for a deacon to admonish the people to return thanks for the benefits, which they had received. The form of this exhortation in the Constitutions¹ runs thus: “ Now that we have received the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him, that hath vouchsafed to make us partakers of his holy mysteries ; and let us beseech Him, that they may not be to our condemnation, but salvation, for the benefit of our soul and body, for the preservation of us in piety, for the remission of our sins, and obtaining of the life of the world to come.” Then he bids them rise up, and commend themselves to God by Christ. Upon which the bishop makes a prayer of thanksgiving and commendation of the people to God in the following words:

SECT. 2.—The Bishop's Thanksgiving, or Commendation of the People to God.

“ O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy Christ, thy blessed Son ; who hearest those, that with an upright heart call upon Thee, who knowest the supplications of those, that in silence pray unto Thee ; we give Thee thanks for that Thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of thy

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 14. it is called Προσφώνησις μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν

holy mysteries, which Thou hast given us for the confirmation or full assurance of those things, which we stedfastly believe and know, for the preservation of our piety, for the remission of our sins; because the name of thy Christ is called upon us, and we are united unto Thee. Thou, that hast separated us from the communion of the ungodly, unite us with them that are sanctified unto Thee; confirm us in Thy truth by the coming of Thy Holy Spirit and his resting upon us; reveal unto us what things we are ignorant of, supply what we are deficient in, and strengthen us in what we know. Preserve thy priests unblameable in thy service, keep our princes in peace, our governors in righteousness, the air in good temperature, the fruits of the earth in plenty, and the whole world by thy almighty providence. Pacify the nations that are inclined to war; convert those that go astray; sanctify Thy people; preserve those that are in virginity; keep those that are married in thy faith; strengthen those that are in chastity; bring infants to mature age; confirm those that are newly baptised; instruct the catechumens, and make them fit and worthy of baptism: and gather us all into the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom unto Thee and the Holy Spirit be glory, honour, and adoration, world without end. Amen."

SECT. 3.—The Bishop's Benediction.

After this the deacon bids the people bow their heads to God in Christ, and receive the benediction. Then the bishop pronounces the benediction in this following prayer: "Almighty God, and True, with whom no one can compare, who art every where, and present unto all, yet not in them as things of which they consist, who art circumscribed by no place, not grown old with time, nor bounded by ages; who art without generation, and needest no preserver; who art above all corruption, incapable of change, and unalterable by nature; that dwellest in light which no one can approach unto, and art invisible by nature; that art known to all rational natures, that seek Thee with an upright heart, and art apprehended by those that search after

Thee with a pure mind ; O thou God of Israel, the Israel, that truly sees Thee, and the people, that believes in Christ, show thyself propitious, and hear me for thy name's sake ; Bless this people, that bow their necks unto Thee, and grant them the petitions of their heart, that are expedient for them, and suffer none of them to fall from thy kingdom ; but sanctify them, keep and protect, help and deliver them from the adversary, and from every enemy ; preserve their houses, and defend their going out and their coming in : for to Thee belongs glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration : and to thy son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and king ; and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, world without end. Amen."

SECT. 4.—The Deacon's Form of dismissing the People with the short Prayer, Go in Peace.

After this the deacon used a short form of words in the nature of a prayer for peace, which was the signal, where-with he dismissed the whole assembly ; intimating, that the whole service was now finished, and therefore praying, that the peace of God might continue with them, and preserve them, he said, " Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Depart in peace.*" This was the usual form of breaking up all religious assemblies in the Greek Church, as we have noted before in speaking¹ of the daily morning service out of this author : and we are assured of it from St. Chrysostom,² who, speaking of the frequent use of that short prayer of salutation, "Peace be with you," particularly takes notice of the deacon's using it at the dismissal of the assembly : the deacon, says he, when he dismisses you from this meeting, does it with this prayer, " Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Go in peace.*" Whence we may learn, that they did not use it, as an empty form, but as a short solemn prayer, to send them away with a benediction, or the blessing of God upon them.

¹ Book xiii. chap. x. sect. 8.
Pascha jejunant, tom. v. p. 713.

² Chrys. Hom. lii. in eos qui

SECT. 5.—What Account we have of these Prayers in other Writers.

As for the other prayers used in this part of the service, we have no particular account of them in other writers. But they tell us in general, that such forms of praise and thanksgiving were always used after the communion. St. Austin says,¹ when all was ended, and every one had received the communion, a solemn thanksgiving concluded the whole action. And so Cyril of Jerusalem² bids his newly baptised communicant stay, when the communion was done, to give thanks to God, who had vouchsafed to make him a partaker of so great mysteries. St. Chrysostom has a long invective³ against those, who would not stay these last prayers, but, as soon as they had communicated themselves, would be gone, and leave their brethren to give thanks alone: whom he compares to Judas, who left the Apostles after supper, before the last hymn was sung; but all the other Apostles staid to sing the hymn with their Lord, from whose example the Church took up the custom of making these last prayers after the communion. It is an excellent passage, and therefore I will transcribe it at length in his own words: “Would you have me to tell you, what is the cause of noise and tumult in the church? It is because we shut not the doors upon you, all the time of divine service, but suffer you to draw off and go home before the last thanksgiving; which is a great contempt of God’s ordinance. What meanest thou, O man, in so doing? Christ is present, the angels stand by him, the tremendous table is spread, thy brethren are yet communicating, and dost thou desert them and fly off? If thou art called to a common entertainment, thou dost not presume, whilst the rest are sitting, to depart before thy friends, though thou hast filled thyself before them: and dost thou here leave all and de-

¹ Aug. Ep. lix. ad Paulin. quæst. 5. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit.

² Cyril. Catech. Myst. v. n. 19.

³ Chrys. Hom. xxxiv. de Bapt. Christom. l. p. 317. It. Hom. lxxxii. al. lxxxiii. in Mat. n. 700.

part, whilst the holy mysteries of Christ are celebrating, and the sacred offices performing? What pardon can be expected, what apology can be made for this? Shall I tell you plainly, whose work they are a doing, who thus depart before all is finished, and wait not for the eucharistical hymns at the end of the supper? It may perhaps seem an hard and odious saying, but it is necessary to be said, to reprove the negligence of many. When Judas communicated at the last supper in that last night, whilst all the rest were sitting at table, he stole off and went out: and they imitate him, who go away before the last thanksgiving. For if he had not gone out, he had not been made the traitor; if he had not deserted his fellow-disciples, he had not perished; if he had not broken away from the flock, the wolf had not found him alone; if he had not separated himself from the shepherd, he had not been a prey to the wild beast. Upon this account we find him among the Jews, but the rest stay to sing an hymn, and go forth with their Lord. Do you not now see, that the last prayers after the sacrifice take their rise from that example?" Thus far St. Chrysostom, who seems to intimate, that they had not only prayers, but also psalms and hymns of thanksgiving, in imitation of our Saviour's singing an hymn, after his last supper with his disciples. And it is very probable, from what St. Chrysostom tells us in another place, that the Church, had such an affection for David's psalms, that she used and interspersed them in all her offices. "*Primus et medius et novissimus est David,*¹ *David was in the beginning, and middle, and end of her services.*" It is true, the Author of the Constitutions takes no notice of psalms or hymns in the forementioned place: but in another place,² where he has also a prayer "*Μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν, after participation,*" besides the thanksgiving, there is order to sing, "*Maranatha,*" that is, "*The kingdom of God,*" or "*the Lord cometh.*" And also, "*Hosanna to the Son of David,*" Blessed is He, that cometh in the name of the Lord: Blessed

¹ Chrys. Hom. vi. de Pœnitentia, in Edit. Latinis. lib. vii. cap. 26.

² Constit.

be the Lord our God, who was manifested to us in the flesh." Which seems to imply, that there were different usages in different Churches, and that this Author made his collections vary sometimes from themselves, by interposing the rites of different Churches. In the old Gothic Missal, published by Mabillon, there is nothing appointed, after the communion, but only two prayers, the one called, *Post communionem*; and the other, *Collectio, the collect*, or concluding prayer. And it is much after the same manner in the Mosarabic Liturgy, of which Mabillon gives a specimen or two in his Appendix. But in the Greek Liturgies, as that under the name of St. James,¹ besides the prayers, there are several short hymns and praises collected out of the Psalms and other Scriptures appointed to be said after the communion: as that of the fifty-seventh Psalm, "Set up Thyself, O God, above the heavens, and thy Glory above all the earth." And, "Blessed be the name of the Lord, from this time forth for evermore." And, "Blessed be He, that cometh in the name of the Lord. Save thy people, O God, and bless thine heritage." And, "O let our mouth be filled with thy praise, that we may sing of thy glory and honour all the day long," Psal. lxxi. 7. So in Chrysostom's Liturgy² the people are appointed to sing those words of the hundred and thirteenth Psalm, "Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore." And the whole thirty-fourth Psalm, "I will always give thanks unto the Lord, his praise shall ever be in my mouth."

SECT. 6.—The Thanksgivings always made in the Plural Number by the whole Body of the Church.

And it is observable, that in all the ancient forms, the thanksgiving prayers are always in the plural number, representing the whole body of the communicants, as returning their praises to God, for the mercies they had received. For then there were no private nor solitary masses, where the priest says the office alone by himself without any

¹ Liturg. Jacob. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 21.
Liturg. tom. iv. p. 621.

² Chrys.

hearers, or communicates alone without any partakers; but they all assisted and communicated together: and so long it was very rational and proper to return a general thanksgiving for the benefits of the communion which they had all received. But since private and solitary masses came in, all these forms are very improper and absurd, to tell God, they have all received the sacrament, and bless Him for it, when none has received it but one, and sometimes none has so much as heard the office, but the priest alone that repeats it. Yet these offices now stand in the Roman Mass, to the eternal reproach of those that abuse them. For they still say,¹ “*Quod ore sumpsimus, &c. That which we have received with our mouths, O Lord grant that we may receive with a pure mind; and of a temporal gift, make it unto us an eternal remedy.*” And there are many other prayers in the same tenour; all which suppose many to have communicated, when no one has received but the priest alone. Bona² confesses this is not according to the primitive custom. For those prayers were instituted at first for communicants, when all or a great part of the Church communicated together; for otherwise the very name of communion would here be improperly used, if more than one did not partake of the sacrifice. And all he has to say for their retaining those prayers, in the mass, when the use of them by private mass is become so improper, is only this: that though the ancient custom of many communicating together, be left off, yet no change is made in the prayers; but they are retained still, to show us what was done anciently, and to excite us, by the tenour of the very prayers, to return to the primitive fervour. How happy would it be, if the Roman Church would in all things observe this rule, and return to the laudable practice and simplicity of the ancient Church; reforming her offices by the primitive standard, and casting away all those corruptions, which appear from the whole series of this history to be manifest innovations, either privately crept in by connivance and

¹ Missal. Roman. p. 24. de Ritu celebrandi Missam, et in Canone Missæ. p. 306.

² Bona. Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. cap. xx. n. 1.

negligence in times of ignorance, or else forcibly imposed by tyranny and power, contrary to the usages of the ancient Church, and many times to the very design of divine-service, and the natural intent of holy institutions ! As it is plain in the case of having divine service in an unknown tongue, and worshipping saints and angels, and images and crosses with divine worship, and dividing the sacrament, and ministering it only in one kind, and many other things of the like nature ; which, as they contradict the very end of the divine ordinances, and the natural design of God's institutions ; so run counter to the whole practice of the ancient Church, as any one may see by considering the allegations produced in these collections, in which I have endeavoured to point out, as well the rise of errors, and the original of corruptions in latter ages, as the true ancient practice of the primitive Church in all the several parts of divine service relating to the ordinary worship of God.

And here I should have put an end to this account, but that there are a few questions more, that may be asked concerning some appendages and circumstances of the communion, which it will be proper to answer in this place. As 1. How they were used to dispose of the remains of the eucharist after communicating ? 2. What was their usage and practice in regard to their *Agape*, or *feast of charity*, so famous in ancient history ? 3. What preparation they required as necessary to communicants, to qualify them for a worthy reception ? 4. What time they administered the Lord's supper, and how often they exhorted or obliged all persons to receive it ? I will give as short an answer as I can to these questions, and therewith put an end to this discourse.

CHAP. VII.

How the Remains of the Eucharist were disposed of. And of their common Entertainment, called, Agape, or Feast of Charity.

SECT. 1.—Some Part of the Eucharist anciently reserved for particular Uses.

WE have observed before in several places of this book, that some part of the eucharist was commonly reserved for several particular uses, to be sent to the absent, and communicate the sick, and to testify the communion of distant Churches one with another. And this was one way of disposing of the remains of the consecrated elements when the communion was ended: to which, I conceive, the Author of the Constitutions had regard, when he orders the deacon¹ to carry what remained into the *Pastophoria* or *Vestry*, which was the repository for all holy things belonging to the church.

SECT. 2.—The Rest divided among the Communicants.

If any thing remained over and above what was necessary for these uses, then by other rules it was to be divided among the communicants. As appears from the canons of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, one of which is to this purpose:² “let the clergy and the faithful, (that is, the communicants,) divide among themselves the oblations of the eucharist, after all have participated, and let not a catechumen eat or drink of them.”

SECT. 3.—This Division of the consecrated Elements a distinct Thing from the Division of the other Oblations.

Some learned persons³ confound this division or consumption of the consecrated elements with that other divi-

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 13.

² Theoph. can. viii.

³ Lestrange, Alliance of Div. Office, chap. vii. p. 213.

sion of the oblations among the clergy, and allege the Author of the Constitutions for it, as if he intended this when he says,¹ “let the deacons divide what remains of the mystical *eulogiæ*, by the orders of the bishop or resbyters, among the clergy; to the bishops four parts, to the presbyter three parts, to the deacon two parts, to the rest of the clergy, subdeacons, readers, singers, deaconesses, one part. For this is acceptable to God, that every one should be honoured according to his dignity.” It is plain, he speaks not here of the consecrated elements, but of the division of the people’s oblations among the clergy, as Cotelierus rightly expounds it. For this was one way of maintaining the clergy in those days, as has been more fully shewn² in another place. And though he calls these by the name of the mystical *eulogiæ*, yet that does not determine it to the consecrated elements: for, as has been noted before, *eulogiæ* is a common name that signifies both. And Socrates³ takes it for the oblations in this very case, when, speaking of Chrysanthus, the Novatian bishop, he says, he never received any thing of the church save two loaves of the *eulogiæ* on the Lord’s day. Where he certainly means, not two loaves of the eucharist, but of the other oblations of the people, which it was customary for the clergy to have their proportioned shares in.

SECT. 4.—The Remains of the Eucharist sometimes given to innocent Children.

Sometimes what remained of the eucharist, was distributed among the innocent children of the church. For, as I have briefly hinted before, whilst the communion of infants continued in the Church, nothing was more usual in many places than both to give children the communion at the time of consecration, and also to reserve what remained unconsumed, for them to partake of some day in the week following. Thus it was appointed by the second Council of Mascon⁴ in France, Anno 588. “That if any remains of

¹ Constit. lib. viii. cap. 31.

² Book v. chap. iv. sect. 1.

³ Socratꝝ lib. vii. cap. 12.

⁴ Con. Matiscon. ii. can. 6. Quæcunque

the sacrifice, after the service was ended, were laid up in the vestry, he, who had the care of them, should, on Wednesday or Friday, bring the innocents to church fasting, and then sprinkling the remains with wine, make them all partake of them." And Evagrius¹ says, it was the custom of old at Constantinople to do the same: for when they had much remains of the body of Christ left, they were used to call in the children that went to school, and distribute among them. And he tells this remarkable story upon it, that the son of a certain Jew happening one day to be among them, and acquainting his father what he had done, his father was so enraged at the thing, that he cast him into his burning furnace, where he was used to make glass. But the boy was preserved untouched for some days, till his mother found him: and the matter being related to Justinian, the Emperor, he ordered the mother and the child to be baptised; and the father, because he refused to become a Christian, to be crucified as a murderer of his son. The same thing is related by Gregory of Tours² and Nicephorus Callistus,³ who also adds, that the custom continued at Constantinople to his own time, that is, the middle of the fourteenth century; for he says, when he was a child, he was often called to partake of the remains of the sacrament after this manner among other children.

SECT. 3.—And sometimes burnt in the Fire.

In some places they observed the rule given by God for disposing of the remainders of the sacrifices of peace-offerings and vows under the old law, which was to burn them with fire. Lev. vii. 17. This was the custom of the Church of Jerusalem in the fifth century, when Hesyehius, a presbyter of that Church, wrote his Comment upon Leviticus, where he speaks of it⁴ in these words: "God

reliquiæ sacrificiorum post peractam missam in sacrario supersederint, quartâ vel sextâ feriâ innocentes ab illo, cujus interest, ad ecclesiam adducantur, et indicto eis jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant.

¹ Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 36.

² Gregor. Turon. de Glor. Martyr.

lib. i. cap. 10.

³ Niceph. lib. xvii. cap. 25.

⁴ Hesyeh. in

Levit. lib. ii. Quod reliquum est de carnibus et panibus, in igne incendi

commanded the remainder of the flesh to be burned with fire. And we now see with our own eyes the same thing done in the Church: "whatever happens to remain of the eucharist unconsumed, we immediately burn with fire, and that not after one, two, or many days." From hence our learned writers¹ generally observe two things: 1. that it was not the custom of the Church of Jerusalem to reserve the eucharist so much as from one day to another, though they did in some other Churches. 2. That they certainly did not believe it to be the natural body and substance of Christ, but only his typical or symbolical body: for what an horrible and sacrilegious thing must the very Jews and Heathens have thought it, for Christians to burn the living and glorified body of their God? And how must it have scandalised simple and plain Christians themselves, to have seen the God they worshipped burnt in fire? And with what face could they have objected this to the Heathen, that they worshipped such things as might be burnt, which is the common argument used by Arnobius, Lactantius, Athanasius, and most others, if they themselves had done the same thing? If there were no other argument against transubstantiation and host-worship, this one thing were enough to persuade any rational man, that such doctrines and practices were never countenanced by the ancient Church.

SECT. 6.—The other Oblations partly disposed of in a Feast of Charity. Which all the Ancients reckon an Apostolical Rite accompanying the Communion.

We have seen how they disposed of the consecrated elements; and are next to examine what they did with their other oblations. It has been already observed, that some part of these, by what distinction made, is not very easy to tell, went toward the maintenance of the clergy.

præcepit. Quod nunc videmus etiam sensibiliter in ecclesiâ fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconsumta, non omnino ea quæ unâ die, vel duabus aut multis servata sunt.

¹ Vid. Du Moulin. Novelty of Popery. lib. vii. Controv. II. chap. xix. Albertin. de Euchar. p. 853. Whitby, Idolatry of Host-Worship.

Out of the rest a common entertainment was usually made, which from the nature and circumstances of it was usually called *Agape, or feast of charity*,¹ because it was a liberal collation of the rich to feed the poor. St. Chrysostom gives this account of it, deriving it from apostolical practice: he says,² “ the first Christians had all things in common, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; and when that ceased, as it did in the Apostles’ time, this came in its room, as an efflux or imitation of it. For though the rich did not make all their substance common, yet upon certain days appointed they made a common table, and when their service was ended, and they had all communicated in the holy mysteries, they all met at a common feast; the rich bringing provisions; and the poor, and those who had nothing, being invited, they all feasted in common together.” In another place he repeats the same thing,³ saying, “ from this law and custom, of having all things common, there arose then another admirable custom in the Churches. For when all the faithful met together, and had heard the sermon and prayers, and received the communion, they did not immediately return home upon the breaking up of the assembly, but the rich and wealthy brought meat and food from their own houses, and called the poor, and made a common table, a common dinner, a common banquet in the church. And so from this fellowship in eating, and the reverence of the place, they were all strictly united in charity, one with another, and much pleasure and profit arose thence to them all; for the poor were comforted, and the rich reaped the fruits of their benevolence, both from those whom they fed and from God.” The same account is given by the author, under the name of St. Jerom,⁴ who says, “ when they met in the church, they made their oblations separately, and after the communion whatever remained of those sacrifices, they

¹ Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. Ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. Ep. Interpol. calls it Δοχὴν. Constit. lib. ii. cap. 28. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 165.

² Chrys. Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. p. 559.

³ Id. Hom. xxi. Oportet

Hæreses esse, &c. tom. v. p. 310.

⁴ Hieron. in 1 Cor. xi. 20.

In ecclesiâ convenientes oblationes suas saporatim offerebant, et post communionem quæcunque eis de sacrificiis seperfuissent, illic in ecclesiâ communem cœnam comedentes pariter consumebant.

eat and consumed in a common supper together." The like is said by Theodoret,¹ Œcumenius, Theophylact, and others, upon that place of the Apostle. From whence it appears, that this was a rite always accompanying the communion. And it is a singular opinion of Albaspinæus, when he asserts,² that these *Agapæ*, and the communion, were never celebrated at the same time, which he maintains without any foundation against the concurrent sense both of ancient and modern writers.

SECT. 7.—Whether this Feast was before or after the Communion in the Apostles' Days.

There is some difference indeed between the ancient and modern interpreters concerning one circumstance of these love-feasts in point of time, as practised in the Apostles' days. The Ancients, as we have heard already out of St. Chrysostom and the rest, generally say, these feasts were not till after the communion, when the whole ceremony of preaching, praying, and participating of the sacred elements was over, and the remainders of the oblations were to be disposed of. But many of the Moderns think otherwise: Dr. Cave says,³ it is probable, that in the Apostles' time, and the age after them, this feast was before the communion, in imitation of our Saviour's institution, who celebrated the sacrament after supper; and St. Paul, taxing the abuses of the Church of Corinth, reproves them, that when they came together for the Lord's supper, they did not tarry one for another, but every one took his supper, and one was hungry and another was drunken. All this, he says, must needs be done before the celebration of the eucharist, which was never administered till the whole Church met together. In this opinion he has the concurrence of Suicerus,⁴ and Daillé,⁵ and Estius,⁶ who says that Pelagius, Primasius,

¹ Theod. in 1 Cor. xi. 16. Μετὰ τὴν μουσικὴν λειτουργίαν ἐπιῦσθαι, &c. Œcumen. in 1 Cor. xi. tom. i. p. 529. Theophylact. in 1 Cor. xi. 17.

² Albasp. Observat. lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 57.

³ Cave Prim. Christ.

par. i. c. xi. p. 344.

⁴ Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. Voce Ἀγάπη.

⁵ Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. ii. cap. 19.

⁶ Estius in

1 Cor. xi. 20.

Haimo, Hervæus, Aquinas, Lyra, Cajetan, and others of the Latins were of the same opinion. That which seems most probable is, that they observed no certain rule about this matter, but had their feast sometimes before, sometimes after the communion, as it appears to have been in some measure in the following ages.

SECT. 8.—How observed in the following Ages. The Eucharist commonly received fasting, and before this Feast, except upon some particular Occasions.

For when the Christians in time of persecution were obliged to meet early in the morning before day to celebrate the eucharist in their religious assemblies, then their feasting before communion could not well comport with the circumstances and occasion of their meeting. And therefore in the beginning of the second century we find the eucharist was received before, and the feast postponed. For so Pliny¹ represents it in the account, which he had from the Christians in the entrance of this century: for, having said, “that they met on the Lord’s day to sing hymns to Christ, and bind themselves by a sacrament,” it is added, “when this is done, our custom is to depart, and meet again to partake of an entertainment, but that a very innocent one and common to all.” It is plain here the communion was first, and the *Agape* some time after. And so Tertullian,² who gives the most particular account of it, speaks of it as a supper a little before night: “our supper, which you accuse of luxury, shews its reason in its very name: for it is called *ἀγάπη*, which signifies *love*, among the Greeks. Whatever charge we are at, it is gain to be at expense upon the account of piety. For we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it. For we do not sit down before we have first offered up prayer to God; we eat only to satisfy hunger; and drink only so much as be-

¹ Plin. lib. x. Ep. Quibus peractis morem sibi discedere, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.

² Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxix. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum sibi esse; ita fabulantur, ut qui sciunt Dominum audire. Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere, &c.

comes modest persons. We fill ourselves in such manner, as that we remember still that we are to worship God by night. We discourse as in the presence of God, knowing that he hears us. Then after water to wash our hands, and lights brought in, every one is moved to sing some hymn to God, either out of Scripture, or, as he is able, of his own composing: and by this we judge, whether he has observed the rules of temperance in drinking. Prayer again concludes our feast; and thence we depart, not to fight and quarrel, not to run about and abuse all we meet, not to give ourselves up to lascivious pastime; but to pursue the same care of modesty and chastity, as men that have fed at a supper of philosophy and discipline, rather than a corporeal feast." As this is a fine description of these holy banquets, where charity is the foundation, and prayer begins and ends the feast, and singing of hymns and religious discourses season the entertainment, and modesty and temperance run through the whole: so the particular mention made of lights, and worshipping God by night, shews that they came after the communion, and not before, in Tertullian's time; when they were used to receive the communion in the morning, and always fasting, even upon those days when they deferred it till three in the afternoon, as upon the stationary days, or till six at night. For it was a rule in the African Church, to receive the eucharist fasting at all times, except one day, which was the Thursday before Easter, commonly called *Cæna Domini*, because it was the day, on which our Saviour celebrated his last supper, and instituted the eucharist after supper: in imitation of which, it was the custom to celebrate the eucharist after supper on this day, in the African Churches, but on no other day whatsoever, as we learn from the third Council of Carthage and St. Austin. The Council of Carthage had an express canon to this purpose:¹ "that the sacrament of the altar be never celebrated by any but

¹ Con. Carth. iii. can. 29. Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi à jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cæna Domini celebratur. Nam si aliquorum pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, sive episcoporum sive cæterorum, commendatio facienda est, solis orationibus fiat, si illi qui faciunt, jam pransi inveniantur.

such as are fasting, except on one anniversary day, when the supper of the Lord is solemnized." And pursuant to this they order, "that if any commendation of the dead was to be made in the afternoon, it should only be done with prayers, and not with the celebration of the eucharist, if they, that assisted at the funeral-office, had pined before." St. Austin was a member of this Council, and he assures us, that this decree was conformable to the practice of the Universal Church in his age, which he thought to be derived from the appointment of the Apostles. For, "though it be very apparent, that when the disciples first received the body and blood of the Lord, they did not receive fasting; yet does any one now accuse the Universal Church,¹ because all men receive fasting? For so it pleased the Holy Ghost, that for the honour of so great a sacrament the Lord's body should enter into the mouth of a Christian before any other food. And therefore this custom is observed by the whole world. For neither, because the Lord gave it after meat, ought the brethren to meet after dinner or supper to receive it, or to imitate those whom the Apostle reproves and corrects, who mingled it with their tables. Our Saviour, to commend the greatness of this mystery, was minded indeed to fix it in the hearts and memory of his disciples as the last thing, before he went from them to his passion: but he did not therefore order in what manner it should be received, that he might reserve this for his Apostles to do, by whom he intended to order his Church. For, if he had appointed that men should receive it after meat, I suppose no one would have altered that custom. But, when the Apostle, speaking of this sacrament, says, 'The rest will I set in order when I come,' 1 Cor. xi. 34. we are given to understand, that he then appointed this custom of receiving fasting, which now the whole Church, over all the world, ob-

¹ Aug. Ep. cxviii. ad Januar. cap. vi. Liquido apparet, quando primum acceperunt discipuli corpus et sanguinem Domini, eos non acceperisse jejunos. Nunquid tamen propterea calumniandum est universæ Ecclesiæ, quod à jejunis semper accipitur? Et hoc enim placuit Spiritui Sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti, in os Christiani prius dominicum corpus intraret, quam cæteri cibi. Nam idcirco per universum orbem mos iste servatur, &c.

serves without any variation or diversity." But adds, "that some, upon a probable reason, were delighted to offer and receive the body of the Lord after meat, on one certain day in the year, when the Lord himself gave his supper, to make the commemoration of it more remarkable. And because some on that day chose to fast, and others not; therefore, in many places, it was customary to offer the sacrifice twice, to serve the ends of both." St. Chrysostom, also, frequently speaks of their receiving the communion fasting.¹ "Thou fastest," says he, "before thou receivest the eucharist, that thou mayest be worthy." And, in one or two places he vindicates himself from an objection, which his adversaries brought against him, as if he was used to transgress this rule both in administering baptism and the eucharist.² "They say, I gave the communion to some after eating. If I have done this, let my name be wiped out of the catalogue of bishops, and not be written in the book of the orthodox faith. If I have done any such thing, let Christ cast me out of his kingdom. But if they still go on to object this, let them also degrade St. Paul, who baptised a whole house after supper. Let them, also, depose the Lord himself, who gave the communion to his Apostles after supper." So again,³ "they object against me, thou didst first eat, and then administer baptism. If I did so, let me be Anathema; let me not be numbered in the roll of bishops; let me not be among the angels; let me never please God. But if I had done so, what absurdity had I committed? Let them depose Paul, who baptised the jailor after supper. Yea, I will say a bolder thing, let them depose Christ himself, for He gave the communion to his disciples after supper." This shews the custom of the Church was to administer both sacraments before eating, though at the same time it intimates, that to do otherwise, was not an unpardonable crime. Gregory Nazianzen hints also at this custom,⁴ when he says, "Every action of Christ is not necessary to be imitated by us: for he celebrated the mystery of the Passover with his

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. p. 567.
ad Cyriacum. tom. iv. p. 868.

² Chrys. Ep. 125.

³ Sermo ante quam iret in

⁴ Naz. Orat. xl. de Baptismo.

disciples, in an upper room, and after supper, but we do it in the church, and before supper." The like is said by St. Basil,¹ and many other of the Greek writers. And among the Latins there are several canons of the Councils of Braga,² Mascon,³ Auxerre,⁴ and Toledo,⁵ to this purpose. Some of which allow the African custom of communicating after eating on the Thursday in Passion-week, but others upon the account of the Priscillianists forbid it. And therefore Soerates notes it,⁶ as a singular thing in the churches of Egypt and Thebais, that on Saturdays they were used to administer the eucharist after eating in the evening. Which is prohibited by the Council of Trullo,⁷ not excepting the Thursday in Passion-week, which though the African Fathers for probable reasons might allow, yet they utterly forbid it. By all which it appears, that the general custom of the Church was to celebrate the eucharist fasting: and consequently that these love-feasts we are speaking of, must be held after the communion, and not before it. Yet it is but a sorry argument in Mabillon, to conclude hence,⁸ that the Ancients must needs believe transubstantiation, because they received the communion fasting. For he might as reasonably have concluded from Chrysostom, that the water in baptism was transubstantiated, because we have heard him say before, that they always administered baptism fasting. And some learned men are of opinion,⁹ that for the three first ages, though they generally received the eucharist fasting in the assemblies before day, yet sometimes they received after supper. For Cyprian, disputing against the Aquarians, who celebrated in the morning in water only, and in the evening in wine and water mixed together, does not contend with them about celebrating after supper, but only because they did not at both times mix wine with water after Christ's example. He would not so easily have passed over the prac-

¹ Basil. Hom. i. de Jejunio.
Bracar. ii. can. 10.

² Con. Bracar. i. can. 16.

³ Con. Matiscon. ii. can. 6.

⁴ Con. Antissiodor. can. ix.

⁵ Con. Tolet. vii. can. 2.

⁶ Soerat. lib. v. cap. 22.

⁷ Con. Trull. can. xxix.

⁸ Mabil. de Liturg. Gallicana. lib. i. cap. vi. n. 7.

⁹ Vid. Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. Lib. ii. cap. xix. p. 297. Foll. Not. in Cypr. Ep. lxi. p. 156.

tice of the Aquarians, in celebrating in the evening, had there been no instances of the like practice in the Church: but as it was customary in Egypt to celebrate the eucharist on Saturdays after dinner, and in Afric one day in a year after supper; all he pleads for upon this point, is only this,¹ that the general custom of the Church to celebrate the eucharist in the morning only, was not against the rule of Christ, though He gave it in the evening after supper: because Christ had a particular reason for what He did, which He did not intend should oblige the Church: Christ offered in the evening to signify the evening or end of the world; but we offer in the morning to celebrate our Saviour's resurrection. And he gives another reason why they did not celebrate in the evening generally, as in the morning, because the people could not so well all come together in the evening as in the morning. By which it is plain, in Cyprian's time there was no absolute rule to forbid communicating after supper, though the practice began generally to be disused, and the common custom was, to receive fasting and at morning service.

SECT. 9.—These Love-Feasts at first held in the Church: but afterwards forbidden by Orders of Councils.

There is one thing more to be observed of their love-feasts, that, as they were designed for the promotion of unity and charity, they were commonly held in the Church for the three first centuries, as learned men² conclude from that canon of the Council of Gangra,³ which was made

¹ Cypr. Ep. lxxiii. ad Cæcilium. p. 156. The Objection of the Aquarians: An illâ sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi manè aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen cùm ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus? Cyprian's Answer: Sed cùm cœnamus, ad convivium nostrum plebem convocare non possumus, ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus. The Aquarians object: At enim non manè, sed post cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus. Cyprian answers: Nunquid ergo dominicum post cœnam celebrare debemus, ut sic mixtum calicem frequentandis dominicis offeramus? Christum offerre oportebat circa vesperam diei, ut horâ ipsâ sacrificii ostenderet occasum et vesperam mundi.—Nos autem resurrectionem domini manè celebramus. ² Bevereg. Not. in Can. lxxiv. Trull. Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. i. p. 27.

³ Con. Gangren. can. xi.

against the Eustathians, “ If any one despises the feasts of charity which the faithful make, who for the honour of the Lord call their brethren to them, and comes not to the invitation, because he contemns them, let him be Anathema.” These Eustathians were men who held their meetings in private houses, and despised the church; which is the reason of this canon made against them. However such abuses were sometimes committed in these feasts, that the Council of Laodicea, not long after, made a law against having them in the church,¹ forbidding any to eat or spread tables in the house of God or the church. And a like decree was made in the third Council of Carthage,² forbidding the clergy to feast in the church, unless it were by chance in a journey for want of other entertainment: and orders are given to restrain the people as much as might be from such feasting in the church. But the custom was too inveterate to be rooted out at once; and therefore we find, by St. Austin’s Answer to Faustus,³ the Manichee, that they were still kept in the church. For whereas Faustus objected two things against them: 1. That they were but the spawn of the Gentile banquets, turned into Christian feasts. 2. That the Catholics were used to make themselves drunk at them in the memorial of the martyrs: St. Austin rejects the first charge as a mere calumny, telling him, that the end of their *Agape* was only to feed the poor with flesh, or the fruits of the earth; but the second charge he owns in part as true, that the people still held these feasts in the church, and that some excess was committed in them: “ but then,” says he, “ there is a great deal of difference between tolerating and approving: we do not approve of drunken-

¹ Con. Laodic. can. xxviii.

² Con. Carth. iii. can. 30. Ut

nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesiâ conviventur, nisi fortè transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiant: populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis, quantum fieri potest, prohibeantur.

³ Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx.

cap. 20. Nec sacrificia eorum vertimus in agapes.—Agapes enim nostræ pauperes pascunt sive frugibus sive carnibus, &c. It. cap. xxi. Qui autem se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo à nobis approbari possunt, cum eos, etiamsi in domibus suis id faciant, sana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus: aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, et donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur.

ness even in a private house, much less in a church: it is one thing which we are commanded to teach, and another what we are forced to tolerate and endure, till we can correct and amend it." St. Austin says,¹ all kind of feasting in the church was prohibited by St. Ambrose, at Milan, with good success: and it was he himself that gave the advice to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, to make the foresaid canon against it in hopes to extirpate it,² after the example of St. Ambrose. In France it was prohibited by the second Council of Orleance,³ Anno 541. Yet for all this, there were some remains of it in the seventh century, when the Council of Trullo was obliged to reinforce the canon of Laodicea, against feasting in the church, under pain of excommunication.⁴ So difficult a matter was it to extirpate the abuses of ancient custom, without destroying the custom itself, which was innocent in its original, and of so great service to the Christian Church, whilst it continued free from abuses, that it was the envy and admiration of the Heathen.

SECT. 10.—How the Christians were at first abused and calumniated by some of the Heathen, but admired and envied by Others, upon Account of these Feasts of Charity.

Some indeed were maliciously disposed to calumniate and traduce the Christians, upon the account of this innocent custom, as guilty of I know not what black designs. Origen says,⁵ Celsus charged them with holding clancular and seditious cabals upon the score of these *Agapes*, or meetings to shew kindness to one another. Which is also noted by Tertullian, in that chapter of his Apology,⁶ where he gives us that fine description of the Christian feasts in answer to this suggestion. Others charged these feasts with the practice of abominable uncleanness: in answer to which Minucius tells them,⁷ their feasts were not only chaste, but

¹ Aug. Confess. lib. vi. cap. 2.

² Aug. Ep. lxxiv. ad Aurelium.

³ Con. Aurel. ii. can. 12.

⁴ Con. Trull. can. lxxiv.

⁵ Orig.

cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 4. Βέλεται διαβαλεῖν τὴν καλεμένην ἀγάπην, &c.

⁶ Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxix.

⁷ Minuc. p. 92. De incesto convivio

fabulam grandem adversum nos demonum coitio mentita est.—At nos con-

sober; for they did not indulge either gluttony or drunkenness; but tempered their mirth with gravity; with chaste discourse, and chaster bodies." Others added that monstrous fable of their feeding upon human flesh, and feasting upon infant's blood. Which is mentioned and refuted by all the apologists, Athenagoras,¹ Theophilus,² Tertullian,³ Minucius,⁴ Origen,⁵ Justin Martyr,⁶ and many others, whom the reader may find at large, collected by the learned Kortholt,⁷ in his book *De Calumniis Paganorum*, &c. The reason of this charge is, by many of the Ancients, ascribed to the vile practices of the Carpentarians,⁸ and other heretics, at least tacitly or indirectly, whilst they accuse them of this crime, which the Heathens turned upon the Christians in general. And so it is said upon their authority by many modern authors.⁹ *Œcumenius* ascribes it to another reason:¹⁰ he says, in the persecution of the Christians at Lyons under Antonius, the Heathens having apprehended some servants of certain Christian catechumens, put them to the rack to make them confess some secret of the Christians; and they having heard their masters say, that the holy communion was the body and blood of Christ, and *supposing it to be truly flesh and blood—* αὐτοὶ νομιζοντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι—to gratify the inquisitors they told them what they had heard. And the Heathens understanding this, as if the Christians had *really*—αὐτόχρομα—eat flesh and blood, put two of the martyrs, Sanctus and Blandina, to the rack to make them confess it; to whom Blandina smartly replied, how should they endure to do this, who for exercise sake abstain from such flesh as they might lawfully eat? If this were true, it would prove that the Heathens grounded their calumny upon a false apprehension, they had of the Christian sacrament: but it

vivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed et sobria—casto sermone, corpore castiore.

¹ Athenag, Legat. p. 4.

² Theoph. ad Autolyce.

lib. iii.

³ Tertul. Apol. cap. vii. and xi.

⁴ Minuc. Octav.

⁵ Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi.

⁶ Just. Apol. i. and ii., and Dial. cum

Tryph.

⁷ Kortholt. de Calumn. Pagan. cap. xviii. p. 158, &c.

⁸ Epiphani. Hæc. 26. Gnostic. n. 5. Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 7. Aug. de Hæres. cap. xxvii.

⁹ Dallæ. de Objecto Cult. Relig. lib. ii. cap. 28. Baron.

an. 120. n. 22, and 179. n. 44.

¹⁰ Œcumen. in 1 Pet. iii. 16.

would by no means prove what Perron and many of the Romanists would have, that the ground of the fable was the real belief of the Christians, as if they believed the eucharist to be the real proper flesh and blood of Christ: for this is expressly said to be only a false apprehension of the Heathens, and utterly denied by the Christians, according as Œcumenius relates the story. Which yet is something different from the genuine Acts in Eusebius,¹ for there is no mention made of the eucharist in the story, but it is only said, that when some of the Christian servants, who were Heathens, were apprehended, they fearing to be tormented, did by the motion of Satan, and the instigation of the soldiers prompting them to it, falsely accuse the Christians, as if they used to feast upon man's flesh, and commit incest, and other the like things, which it is not fit either to speak or think, and which we can hardly believe were ever done by any men whatsoever. So that the Christians' belief about the eucharist could not be the ground of this story, but it either sprung from the practices of the Carpocratians, or else, as the learned Kortholt,² not without some probable reasons, inclines to believe, it took its rise from the pure malice and fiction of the Heathens themselves, some of whom never stuck at saying any thing that would render the Christians odious. However though there were many, who thus calumniated these Christian feasts by this variety of charges, yet there were some also, who could discern the good effects of them, and the great influence they had not only on their members, but the very Heathen, who sometimes would cry out, and say; See how these Christians love one another! as Tertullian notes,³ in speaking of their collations and charity. Nay, Julian himself, though the bitterest enemy the Christians ever had, could not help bearing testimony to the usefulness of this practice, which he looked upon with an envious eye, as that which he imagined chiefly to uphold the Christian religion, and undermine the religion of the Gentiles. For thus, in one of his

¹ Euseb. lib. v. cap. i. p. 156.

² Kortholt. *ubi supra*, p. 163.

³ Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxix.

letters to his Gentile priests, he provokes them to the exercise of charity, by the example of the Christians, and their feasts of charity: "there is the more reason to be careful in this matter," says he,¹ "because it is manifestly the neglect of this humanity in the priests, which has given occasion to the impious Galileans (so he commonly styles the Christians) to strengthen their party by the practice of that humanity, which the others have neglected. For as kidnappers steal away children, whom they first allure with a cake: so these begin first to work upon honest-hearted Gentiles, with their love-feasts and entertainments and ministering of tables, as they call them, till at last they pervert them to atheism and impiety against the Gods." This is a full vindication of them from all those aspersions, which the former Heathens had cast upon them, and an ample testimony of their usefulness from the mouth of an adversary, who saw and envied the progress, which Christianity made in the world by means of these feasts of charity, which he was minded to introduce into his own way of heathen-worship, with many other such rites, in imitation of the Christian institution. Happy had it been for the Christian religion, if Christians had never had occasion to object more against their own feasts of charity, than Julian, their bitterest enemy, could find to object against them! They might then have gone on with innocence and glory, and have continued an useful and laudable rite to this day.

¹ Julian. Fragment. Epist. p. 555.

CHAP. VIII.

What Preparations the Ancients required as necessary in Communicants, to qualify them for a Worthy Reception.

SECT. I.—A general Answer to this Question, by referring to the Professions made by every Christian in Baptism, of Repentance, Faith, and Holy Obedience.

I CANNOT better answer this question in general terms, than by saying, the preparation, which they required as necessary in every Christian, was the performance of the conditions and obligations, which every man laid upon himself in baptism; the observation of which put a man in a Christian state, and the favour of God; and was a continual preparation for death and judgment; and consequently a continual and habitual preparation for approaches to God in prayer and holy mysteries, (between which, as to what concerns preparation, the Ancients made little or no distinction,) since it was a preparation, that qualified a man for a constant daily or weekly communion, which was proper for those, who were to receive the communion in a manner every day, according to the rules and practice of those primitive ages, as we shall see in the next chapter. Now the obligation, which every man laid upon himself in baptism, as we have shewn in a former book, was the profession and actual performance of these three things: 1. Repentance, or a renunciation of all former sin, together with the author of it, the devil. 2. Faith, or belief of the several articles of the Christian institution or mystery of Godliness. 3. An holy and constant obedience paid to the laws of this holy religion. In the performance of which sincerely and without dissimulation, every man was supposed to be truly qualified for baptism: and what qualified him for baptism, also qualified him for the communion; of which there is this certain evidence, that as soon as any man was baptised, he was immediately com-

municated: which could not regularly have been done, but upon presumption, that he, that was duly qualified for baptism, was qualified for the communion also. So that he, that continued in the strict observance of all the particulars of his baptismal covenant, was presumed to be in a constant habitual preparation for the communion every day: and this was that happy state of a Christian life, which qualified those primitive saints for such frequent reception; when frequency of communion kept up a flaming piety and universal holiness in their souls, and such a state of continual holiness made them always fit for, and desirous of frequent communion. For these mutually acted in a holy combination, and reciprocally assisted each other: an habitual holiness was a constant preparation for the communion; and frequent communion was one of the best helps to keep them in a continual preparation for it. And to men of this character and behaviour there could be no great labour needful, besides the constant tenor of a pious life; nor any long time necessary to prepare for the Lord's table, when the whole business of their lives was but, as it were, one continued act of preparation for it. They lived as men, that always expected death, yet uncertain of the time, and therefore were in a continual preparation for it, which is the best preparation for the communion. Their loins were girded about, and their lamps burning; and they themselves like unto men that waited for their Lord, that when he came and knocked, they might open to him immediately. And to them belonged the blessing of Christ, Luke, xii. 37. "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching." It was true of them, if ever of any, that Christ came and found them watching: and he girded himself, and made them sit down to meat, in the spiritual feast, and came forth and served them.

SECT. 2.—What Failings are consistent with this Profession, and a State of Grace, and a continual Preparation for the Communion.

But it may be said, there is no such thing possible as constant preparation for the communion: for no man lives without sin to be repented of. "In many things we offend all:" and, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves,

and the truth is not in us." But notwithstanding this supposed difficulty, the Fathers assure us, there were anciently many, that were in a continual preparation for the communion, and did actually communicate every day. For those sins, which unqualify men absolutely for the communion, are not those lesser sins of human frailty and infirmity, which are called sins of daily incursion, without which no man lives; but habitual and reigning sins, which men indulge, or such single acts of greater sins, as are answerable to habits of sin, and require a more severe repentance; such as adultery, murder, and the like, which wound the conscience to an high degree, and are not ordinarily cured in an instant, but by a longer course of discipline, exacting both greater severities in repentance, and a longer time of probation. But those sins of human frailty, which the best of men daily commit in some degree or other, are not of this nature, but are such as are consistent with the profession of a good Christian, and a state of grace, and a continual preparation for the communion; and they do not exclude men from God's favour, so long as men labour and strive against them, and mourn for them, as for infirmities, in a general and daily repentance, upon which God is willing to pardon them. If it were not so, there could be no such thing as preparation for the communion at all: and it would not only destroy frequent and daily communion, but communion in general; since no man lives without such infirmities; and if he were not to communicate till he had perfectly cured them, he must for ever abstain from communicating, and never come at the Lord's table: which were at once to destroy the very ordinance itself, by making the qualification for it impracticable, and rendering it impossible for any man to be perfectly and truly prepared for it. And it is to be feared, that some in these later ages, by overstraining the point, have done this great disservice to religion, by obliging men to such a preparation for the communion as is impracticable in itself, and frightening tender consciences from the holy ordinance, under pretence of greater reverence to it. By which means it has sometimes happened, that they, who perhaps have been the best prepared to receive it, have by needless scruples or terrors been kept at the greatest

distance from it. But the Ancients were extremely cautious of this delusion, and carefully taught men to distinguish between such sins, as lay waste the conscience, and destroy a state of grace, and unqualify men for the communion; and such sins of infirmity and human frailty, as are consistent with a state of grace, and do not unqualify men for constant communion; being such as are done away by a general repentance, and daily prayer for pardon and forgiveness. This doctrine and distinction of sins is often inculcated by St. Austin and others. It will be sufficient to hear their sense, in St. Austin's words,¹ upon the article of remission of sins in the Creed: where, speaking to the catechumens, he tells them, "when they had received baptism, they should be careful to preserve a good life in the commands of God, that they might keep their baptism to the end. I do not say, that ye should live here without sin: but there are some venial sins, without which we cannot live in this life. Baptism is appointed for all sins, great and small: but for lesser sins, without which we cannot live, prayer is appointed. What says the prayer? Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us? We are once cleansed by baptism, we are every day cleansed by prayer. But do not commit those things, for which it will be necessary for you to be separated from the body of Christ; which God forbid. For those, whom ye see doing penance, have committed great crimes, either adultery, or some other grievous sins, for which they do pe-

¹ Aug. de Symbolo. lib. i. cap. 7. Cùm baptizati fueritis, tenete vitam bonam in præceptis Dei: ut baptismum custodiatis usque in finem. Non vobis dico, quia sine peccato hic vivetis: sed sunt venialia, sine quibus vita ista non est. Propter omnia peccata baptismus inventus est: propter levia, sine quibus esse non possumus, oratio inventa, &c. Vid. Aug. Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. lxxi. et Hom. cxix. de Tempore. Ep. cviii. ad Selucianum. Hom. xxvii. ex 50. cap. ii. Hom. xii. in Joan. p. 47. Serm. iii. in Psal. cxviii. Hom. xxvi. in Joan. p. 93. But especially his book *De Fide et Operibus*, cap. xxvi. where he distinguishes three sorts of sins. 1. Such great sins for which men did public penance. 2. Such great sins as deserved to be corrected and punished with severe reproof, though they did not bring men under public penance: such as anger and evil-speaking. 3. Sins of human frailty and daily incursion, for which the daily prayer was the daily medicine. This triple distinction of sins is the most exact of any other.

nance. For, if their transgressions had been light, the daily prayer had been sufficient to blot them out." By this we may judge, that sins of infirmity, to which all men are liable, and which were pardoned by their daily prayers, were reckoned no formal breaches of the baptismal covenant, nor consequently any just impediments to debar any man from receiving the communion every day; (since none, except the Pelagians, thought it possible for men to live in such angelical perfection, as to be above all manner of failings in this mortal state of human frailty :) and therefore they did not require of men, in order to communicate, such a perfection as human nature was not capable of attaining.

SECT. 3.—What Repentance required for such Failings.

Yet, for as much as lesser sins, even of infirmity, are transgressions of the law, and the remainders of corruption in our nature, and in strictness deserve punishment, if God should be extreme to enter into judgment with us for them; nay, and if they be indulged and neglected, may commence greater and deadly sins of wilfulness and contempt; therefore upon this account they advised, that men should not only ask pardon daily for them, and confess them with humiliation, and deplore them with sorrow; but also strive and labour against them with care, and diligence, and a perpetual watchfulness, and pray against them, and yield no consent to them, but have their wills continually bent against them, and hunger and thirst after the perfection of righteousness, and desire to be filled therewith when they came to the Lord's table. For as Gregory the Great expresses it,¹ "none are filled but those that hunger; who fast perfectly from sin, and receive the holy sacrament with a plenitude of virtue. Therefore, seeing the best of men cannot be wholly without sin, what remains, but that they

¹ Greg. lib. ii. in Reg. cap. i. tom. i. p. 189. Non saturantur ergò nisi famelici: qui à vitiiis perfectè jejunantes divina sacramenta percipiunt in plenitudine virtutis. Et quia sine peccato electi etiam viri esse non possunt, quid restat, nisi ut à peccatis quibus eos humana fragilitas maculare non desinit, evacuare quotidiè conentur? &c. Vid. Aug. Tract. i. in 1 Joan.

should endeavour daily to evacuate and purge themselves from those sins, with which human frailty never ceases to defile them? For he, that does not daily draw off the dregs of sin, though they be but little sins which he amasses together, they will by degrees fill his soul, and deprive him of the benefit of internal satisfaction." In like manner Gennadius persuades those,¹ who are guilty of no gross sins, but only of these lesser sins of infirmity, to communicate every Lord's day, or oftener if they please; only with this caution, that their mind be free from all affection and love to such sins. "For he, that still retains a willingness to commit them, will find himself more oppressed than purified by receiving the eucharist. And therefore let such a one, when he is smitten or bitten in mind for his sin, cherish no will or inclination to his sin for the future; and before he communicates, let him satisfy with prayers and tears; and so, confiding in the mercy of the Lord, who uses to pardon sins upon a pious confession, let him come to the eucharist in security and without doubting. But this I speak only of him, who is not pressed with capital and deadly sins."

SECT. 4.—What Crimes unqualified Men absolutely for the Communion, and what Sort of Repentance was required for them.

"But," says he, "if any man is pressed with the commission of mortal sins after baptism, I advise such an one to make satisfaction or amends by public repentance, and to be reconciled to communion by the judgment of the bishop or priest, if he would not receive the eucharist to his own judgment and condemnation." This he speaks of such heinous offences as were direct violations of the baptismal covenant, upon the account of which men were then by the usual discipline of the Church debarred from communion and prayers, till they had for a long time gone through the

¹ Gennad. de Eccles. Dogm. cap. liii. Quotidiè eucharistiæ communionem nec laudo nec reprehendo. Omnibus tamen dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor, si tamen mens sine affectu peccandi sit.— Sed hoc de illo dico quem capitalia et mortalia peccata non gravant, &c.

several stages of public penance, and given such evident testimonies of their abhorrence of sin, and sincere conversion, as were requisite and proper to satisfy the Church, that they were real and hearty penitents. In which state of probation they were held a year, or two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, according to the nature and quality of their offence; and sometimes all their lives, if their crime was extremely great and scandalous, when they were allowed communion only at the hour of death. And during this course of discipline, they were obliged constantly to attend the church, to hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached for their instruction; and to exercise themselves in prayers, and confession, and tears, and watchings, and fastings, and almsdeeds, and good works, and whatever was proper to demonstrate, that they were acting a sincere part, and not playing the hypocrite in the business of repentance. Then, according to their zeal and earnestness in such employments, a judgment was made upon their sincerity; and the time of their penance was lengthened or shortened, according to the measures of their activity, and when they were deemed perfectly to have amended their lives and become new men, answerable to the tenour of their first covenant, then they were reconciled, and absolved, and admitted again to the privilege of the communion. This was the standing rule of the Church with respect to those, who had committed gross and scandalous crimes, for which they were cut off from the body as putrified members, and kept at a distance from the prayers of the Church, and the communion of the faithful at the Lord's table.

SECT. 5.—Scandalous and notorious Sinners not to be admitted to communion, without giving satisfactory Evidences of their Repentance. 4

I need not stand here to enumerate all the particular crimes, that were deemed breaches of the baptismal covenant, and unqualified men for the communion. Some account has been given already of them,¹ in shewing what

¹ Book xv. chap. ii. sect. 2.

persons might, or might not make their oblations at the altar; for they, who might not offer, might much less communicate; and this matter will come to be considered more exactly in the next volume, when we treat of the discipline of the Church. Here I shall only observe in general, that the rules of the Church laid an obligation upon all ministers of the altar, to refuse the communion to all such notorious offenders, as were declared incapable and unworthy of it by the standing laws of communion, then well known to all in the Church: and that an overhasty admittance of such criminals, without sufficient time of probation and satisfactory evidence of their sincere conversion, was always reckoned a great transgression and failure in the exercise of the ministerial function. It will be sufficient at present to give two or three plain evidences of this out of Chrysostom and some others. "Let no cruel person," says Chrysostom,¹ "no unmerciful, no impure soul, come near this table. I speak this as well to you that receive the eucharist, as to you that minister. For it is necessary to say this to you that minister, that ye may distribute the gifts with great care. There is no small punishment hangs over your head, if ye give the eucharist knowingly to any flagitious man. His blood shall be required at your hands. Though it be a general, though it be a consul, though it be him that wears the crown, if he comes unworthily, restrain him: thou hast greater power than he. But you will say, how shall I know what such or such an one is? I speak not of those that are unknown, but of those that are known. I will say a fearful word: it is not so bad to admit energumens, or persons possessed with a devil, to this holy place, as those men, who, as St. Paul says, 'Tread Christ under foot, and count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, and do despite to the spirit of grace.' Let us not therefore cast out demoniacs only, but all such as come unworthily to be partakers of this table." It is a remarkable saying of St. Ambrose upon this occasion:² "Some men desire to be

¹ Chrys. Hom. lxxxiii. in Mat. p. 705. Vid. Chrys. in Psal. xlix. p. 303. Hom. xxiv. de Bapt. Christi xii. tom. i. p. 316. ² Ambros. de Pœnit. lib. ii cap. 9. Nonnulli ideò poscunt pœnitentiam, ut statim sibi

admitted to penance only for this reason, that they may presently receive the communion again: these men do not so much desire to be absolved themselves, as to bind the priest: for they do not put off their own evil conscience." Such a rash act in a priest, in receiving a notorious criminal without any clear evidences and fruits of repentance, puts him in the sinner's condition, and makes him a criminal before God for the abuse of the authority committed to him. Therefore, as the Novatians were generally condemned for being too rigorous in denying the communion for ever to all such as fell into great sins after baptism: so, on the other hand, the Audian heretics are censured for being too hasty,¹ in assuming authority to pardon sins by their own power, and granting remission upon a bare confession, without prescribing a time for repentance, as the laws of the Church always required. Cyprian gives as severe a reproof to such of the clergy, as were over hasty in admitting those that had lapsed into idolatry in time of persecution, before they had gone through a due course of penance, and had taken time to bewail and confess their sin, and give sufficient evidences of their repentance. "When as," says he,² "sinners for much lesser crimes take a just time to do penance, and according to the order of discipline come to confession, and by imposition of hands given them by the bishop and clergy receive a right to communicate: now they are very hastily and unseasonably admitted to communion, and their name is offered; and before they have done penance, before they have made their confession, before they have received the imposition of hands, the eucharist is given them, although it be said, that whosoever eats the bread, and drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." The martyrs, who lay in

reddi communionem velint. Hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quàm sacerdotem ligare, &c.

¹ Theodor. de Fabulis Hæret. lib. iv. cap. 13. ² Cypr. Ep. x. al. xvi. ad Cler. p. 37. Cùm in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundùm disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et permanens impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant: nunc crudo tempore—ad communicationem admittuntur, et offerunt nomen eorum, et nondum pœnitentiâ actâ, nondum exomologesi factâ, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero impositâ. eucharistia illis datur, &c

prison, were a little concerned in this irregularity: for they were used to intercede for such criminals, to gain them admission before their time: and therefore he wrote another¹ Letter to the Martyrs, to shew them the danger and inconveniences of such precipitated communicating of sinners, and to dissuade them from such unseasonable interposing in their behalf, before they had done their regular penance. And he also wrote a long Discourse to the Lapsers themselves,² wherein he more largely sets forth the fallacy, that was put upon them by this too indulgent facility in granting them such a preposterous peace, which did not really give them peace, but destroy it; nor grant them true communion, but hinder their salvation. By all which, and abundance more, that might be added upon this head, it is evident, that to reconcile a sinner to the altar, after the commission of any heinous and public crimes, they required him to go through a long course of penance publicly in the church, in order to give clear satisfaction and demonstration by manifest works and fruits of repentance, that he was a real convert, and worthy of the communion which he desired: and to admit him before, was only to impose upon the sinner, and incur the displeasure of God by prostituting his ordinance, and suffering the vile to tread under foot the Son of God.

But beside these heinous sins, which put men under the public censures of the Church, there were also many other crimes of an heinous nature, which unqualified men for worthy receiving, though they did not ordinarily bring them to a state of public penance, either because men could not be so directly and formally convicted of them, or because they did not seem to carry so great malignity and contempt of God in them as the former. Among these St. Austin reckons anger and evil speaking;³ and others add rash swearing, breach of promise, lying, covetousness, drunkenness, and sins of the like nature. Now, though these did not ordinarily subject men to public penance, yet they were confessed on all hands to be grievous and deadly

¹ Cypr. Ep. xi. al. xv. ad Martyr. p. 31.
p. 128, &c.

³ Aug. de Fide et Operibus. cap. xxvi.

Id. de Lapsis

sins, and such as men should not presume to come with, unrepented of, to the Lord's table. And therefore though the Ancients did not forcibly repel such sinners from communicating, yet they never failed to stave them off by admonitions and reproofs, declaiming sharply against all such vices, and shewing men the danger of them as well as those of the highest nature.

SECT. 6.—Whether they required Confession of private Sins to the Priest as a necessary Qualification for the Communion.

This was their constant way of proceeding with great and heinous sinners, when their crimes were public, notorious, and scandalous, in order to qualify them for a worthy participation of the eucharist, after any manifest breach or violation of their baptismal covenant. As to private crimes, they laid no necessity upon the conscience of men, to make either public or private confession of them to any beside God, to qualify them for the communion. They sometimes advised men to public confession for private crimes, and many times men voluntarily confessed their private crimes, and submitted to do public penance for them, as thinking this the securest way to obtain perfect forgiveness of God: and in some places a public minister, called the penitentiary, was appointed to hear men's confessions, and direct them in their public or private repentance. But, as yet, no indispensable obligation was laid upon men to make confession of their private crimes, as a necessary condition of communion: much less did they enjoin men auricular confession, in order to obtain private absolution of a priest, and do penance afterward, without giving at present any evident demonstrations of repentance. Their private confessions were all voluntary, and these chiefly in order to public penance: but whether for public or private penance, the confession of private sins was a matter of advice and prudence and free choice, and not forced upon men by any laws of necessity or indispensable obligation. I shall have further occasion to handle this matter more fully in the next book, about the discipline of the Church: and therefore I will only mention a passage or two here, that relate to men's preparation

for the communion. Chrysostom, explaining those words of the Apostle, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup:" says,¹ "he does not bid one man examine another, but every one himself; making the judgment private, and the trial without witnesses." And again,² expounding the very same words, "the Apostle," says he, "does not reveal or lay open the sore, he does not bring the accusation upon the open stage, he does not set witnesses of thy crimes against thee: but bids thee, within thy own conscience, none being present but God, who knows all things, to set up a judgment and search after thy sins; and, recounting thy whole life, to bring thy sins to the bar of thy own mind; to reform thy excesses, and so with a pure conscience to come to the sacred table, and partake of the holy sacrifice." And it is remarkable, that under Nectarius, St. Chrysostom's predecessor, a law was made upon occasion of a scandal that was given by the confession of a gentlewoman, defiled by a deacon at Constantinople, that the office of the penitentiary priest, which had been for some time in that Church, should be laid aside; and that liberty should be given to every one, upon the private examination of his own conscience, to partake of the holy mysteries. Which evidently shews, that they did not then believe, there was any divine law for the necessity of auricular confession, but that it was a matter of liberty and prudence only. Socrates, who relates the whole story, says,³ he had it from the mouth of Eudæmon, the presbyter, who gave Nectarius this advice; and Sozomen⁴ adds, that the bishops of most other Churches followed Nectarius's example. In the Latin Church, it appears also from Gennadius,⁵ that the general rule for great crimes

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxviii. in I Cor. p. 569.

de Pœnitent. tom. i. p. 700.

⁴ Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 16.

⁵ Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. cap. liii. Sed et secretâ satisfactione solvi mortalia crimina non negamus, sed mutato prius seculâri habitu, et confesso religionis studio per vitæ correctionem, et jugi, immo perpetuo luctu miserante Deo ita duntaxât, ut contraria pro iis quæ pœnitet agat, et eucharistiam omnibus dominicis diebus supplex submissusque usque ad mortem suscipiat.

² Chrys. Hom. viii.

³ Socrat. lib. v. cap. 19.

of a public nature was, to do public penance in the church: but for private crimes no other was necessarily required but private satisfaction by a change of life from secular to religious, by continual mourning to implore God's mercy, by doing things contrary to those whereof the sinner repents, and by receiving the eucharist every Lord's day to the end of his life. And Laurentius, bishop of Novaria,¹ speaking of repentance, says, "After baptism God hath appointed thee a remedy within thyself, He hath put remission in thy own power, that thou needest not to seek a priest when necessity requires; but thou thyself now, as a skilful master always at hand, mayest correct thy own error within thyself, and wash away thy sin by repentance." It were easy to add abundance more testimonies, both out of the Greek and Latin writers, but these are sufficient at present to shew, that they did not require private confession, as any necessary part of that preparation, which men were obliged to make for the purging of private sins before they came to the Lord's table: but their direction was the Apostle's rule, "let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup."

SECT. 7.—That Preparation consists not in coming to Communion at certain holy Seasons, but in Sanctity and Purity at all Times.

Yet they did not hereby discharge men of all obligation to cleanse themselves from sin, but carefully pressed upon the conscience the necessity of universal purity, when they came to feast upon the body and blood of Christ, at his table. "Let a man examine himself: for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." There were some so vain as to think, that a formal appearing at the Lord's table at some certain holy and solemn seasons was all the preparation, that was

¹ Laurent. Hom. i. de Pœnit. Bibl. Patr. tom. ii. p. 129. Post baptisma remedium tuum in teipso statuit, remissionem in arbitrio tuo posuit, ut non quæras sacerdotem, cùm necessitas flagitaverit: sed ipse jam, ac si scitus perspicuusque magister, errorem tuum intra te emendes, et peccatum tuum pœnitundine ablwas.

needful : as if the circumstance of time added any real qualification to their souls. Against these men's extravagance, St. Chrysostom inveighs with the greatest sharpness: " I observe many," says he,¹ " who are partakers of the Lord's body inconsiderately, and at all adventures, more out of custom, than by any rule, or reason, and understanding. If the holy time of Lent comes, or the day of Christ's Epiphany, or Nativity, then they partake of the holy mysteries, whatever condition they are in. But Epiphany is not the time of approaching : neither does Lent make men worthy to come, but the sincerity and purity of their souls. With this come at all times ; without it come never. Consider those, who were partakers of the sacrifices under the old law ; what abstinence did they use ? what did they not do ? what did they not perform, to purify themselves in every respect ? And dost thou, when thou comest to the sacrifice, at which the angels are even amazed and tremble, measure the business by the revolution and periods of certain times and seasons ? How wilt thou stand before the tribunal of Christ, who darest to touch his body with polluted hands and lips ? Thou wouldst not presume to kiss the king with a stinking mouth : and dost thou kiss the King of Heaven with a stinking soul ? That is the highest affront that can really be offered to him. Tell me, wouldst thou choose to come to the sacrifice with unwashed hands ? I suppose not, but wouldst rather not come at all, than with unclean hands. Since therefore thou art so scrupulous and religious in a small matter, how darest thou to come and touch the sacrifice with a polluted soul ? When as, thy hands only hold it for a time, but thy soul has it wholly dissolved into it. At other times ye come not to it, though ye be clean ; but, at Easter ye come, although ye be defiled with sin. Oh custom ! Oh prejudice !" Thus St. Chrysostom reproves those, who contented themselves with an outside, formal preparation, to comply with the general custom of receiving at some of the holy festivals ; which was a mere corporeal purification, like the Pharisaical righteousness : for " they made clean

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes. p. 1050.

the outside of the cup and platter, whilst their inward part was full of corruption and all uncleanness." In another place he thus opposes this fantastical preparation, and describes the true preparation of the soul, by the purity of a man's conscience, and a sanctified life.¹ "Many Christians now a days," says he, "are sunk into so great stupidity and contempt, that, though they be laden with sins, and take no manner of care of themselves, yet they come to the holy table, at the solemn festivals, hand over head, and just as mere chance directs them: not considering, that what makes it seasonable to communicate, is not merely a festival, or the time of a more solemn assembly, but a pure conscience, and a life free from sin. For, as he, who is conscious to himself of no enormous crime, ought to come every day; so, on the other hand, he, who is fettered in sins, and does not repent, cannot safely come upon a festival. For it is not our coming once a year, that discharges us of our sins, if we come unworthily: but this very thing rather increases our condemnation, that though we come but once a year, yet we come not even then with a pure conscience. Wherefore I exhort you all, not to come to the holy mysteries barely upon the account of a festival; but whenever ye design to partake of this holy sacrifice, to purgè yourselves many days before by repentance, and prayer, and alms, and attendance upon spiritual things; and not to return again like the dog to his vomit. Is it not absurd to spend so much care upon corporeal things, as that when a festival approaches, you will bring forth your best clothes out of your wardrobe, and make them ready many days before, and buy you shoes, and prepare a more splendid table, and think of many ways to deck and adorn yourself; but in the mean time have no regard to your soul, which lies neglected in filth and nastiness, and ready to perish with famine, and over-run with impurity? How absurd is it to present the body here finely adorned, but your soul naked and vilely clothed? When yet none sees your body but your fellow-servants; but your soul is nicely viewed by the Lord, who

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxxi. de Philogonio. tom. i. p. 402. Vid. Hom. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejnant. tom. i. p. 710.

will also severely punish your neglect of it. Know you not, that this table is filled with spiritual fire, and sends forth secret flames, as fountains do their water in abundance? Bring not therefore hither wood, hay, stubble, lest you increase the flame, and burn your soul by such a participation: but bring hither gold, silver, precious stones, that ye may make those materials still more pure, and go hence with greater gain and advantage. If any evil remains in your soul, chase and drive it thence. Has any one an enemy, from whom he has suffered great injuries and injustice, let him dissolve his enmity, and restrain his flaming, swelling mind, that there be no tumult or perturbation within. For thou art now about to receive a king by communion: and when a king enters into thy soul, there ought to be a perfect calm, tranquillity, and silence, and a profound peace in thy thoughts. But thou hast been exceedingly injured, and canst not bear to moderate thy anger against him. What then? Wilt thou therefore more grievously injure thyself? For thy enemy, whatever he does, cannot do thee so much harm, as thou dost to thyself, if thou art not reconciled to him, but tramplest on the laws of God. He has injured and affronted thee, and wilt thou injure and affront God? For not to receive an enemy to pardon and favour, is not so much to take revenge on him, as to affront God, who hast given us this law of reconciliation. Therefore, look not to thy fellow-servant, nor to the greatness of the injuries, that he hath done thee; but look unto God, and putting his fear into thy mind, consider this, that the greater violence thou offerest to thy soul, by compelling it to be reconciled after suffering a thousand indignities, so much the greater honour shalt thou obtain from Him, who prohibits thee revenge. And as thou receivest God with great honour here, He will receive thee with great glory hereafter, and recompence thee a thousand-fold for this obedience." Thus did this holy man explain in general the due manner and method of preparing to receive the eucharist, and with the strongest arguments of piety, and the utmost force of eloquence and reason, endeavour to persuade his hearers to the practice of it.

SECT. 8.—What Faith is required in Communicants.

I have not room to transcribe all that this author,¹ and the rest have said further in their general exhortations to make a due preparation for the communion: much less will it consist with the design of this work to descend to all the particular cases and questions, that might be moved about it, the handling of which would easily swell into a volume: and the reader may find it already done in a great measure, by our leared Bishop Taylor in his *Worthy Communicant*, where he states all the duties required in order to a worthy participation, together with the cases of conscience occurring in the duty of him that ministers, and in the duty of him that communicates, out of the ancient writers. I shall content myself to suggest a few things relating to these particulars, which are: 1. Faith. 2. Repentance and obedience. 3. Justice. 4. Peace and unity. 5. Charity and beneficence. 6. Pardoning of offences. 7. Lastly, men's behaviour at the time of communicating and afterwards, which I shall chiefly represent in the words of St. Chrysostom, who has spoken so largely upon this subject. And 1. With respect to faith, they required in every communicant, that was of years of discretion, not only an orthodox profession of the several articles of the Christian faith in general, but also a particular faith with relation to the mystical eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament. The former is evident from that usual form of words in the deacon's admonition to all, that had not a right to communicate, to withdraw; among whom all heterodox or heretical persons were admonished to be gone: "*Μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων, Let no heterodox person be present.*" And in regard to this St. Chrysostom,² or whoever was the author of the Sermon of Binding and Loosing Sin, speaking of men's private examination of themselves, says, "God hath given thee the power of binding and loosing.

¹ Vid. Chrys. in Psal. 133. p. 488. Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. p. 536. Hom. xvii. in Hebr. p. 1872.

² Chrys, Hom. in illud Quodcunque ligaveris. tom. vii. Edit. Savil. p. 268.

Thou hast bound thyself with the chain of covetousness ; loose thyself with the injunction of the love of poverty. Thou hast bound thyself with the furious desire of pleasure ; loose thyself by temperance. Thou hast bound thyself with the heterodox belief of Eunomius ; loose thyself with the religious embracing of the orthodox faith." But they did not only require an orthodox faith in general, but a particular faith with respect to the sacrament itself, teaching men, not the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, but that under the visible elements of bread and wine, sanctified by the spirit, the worthy communicant, by faith, might receive the spiritual food of Christ's body and blood, and all the blessed effects and benefits of his death and passion. To this purpose, they required men to come with the mouth of faith, spiritually to eat Christ's flesh and blood ; and to see him sacrificed with the eyes of their mind, whilst his real bloody sacrifice once offered was daily represented and commemorated in the visible images and symbols of bread and wine. St. Austin is very copious in setting forth this necessary doctrine of spiritual manducation by faith, as that, which makes both sense and piety of so many expressions in the Gospel, which otherwise would seem horrible and absurd. Explaining those words of our Saviour, " Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," he says,¹ " This seems to command a crime. Therefore it is a figurative speech, commanding us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and with a pleasure and profit to lay it up in our minds, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our transgressions." So again he brings in our Saviour telling his disciples,² " Ye are not to eat this body, which

¹ Aug. de Doctrinâ Christ. lib. iii. cap. 10. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura ergo est, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter, atque utiliter in memoriâ recondeudum, quod caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa et vulnerata est.

² Aug. in Psal. 98. tom. viii. p. 452. Non hoc corpus quod videtis, manducaturi estis ; et bibiturum illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi ; spiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos, et si necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi.

ye see, and drink that blood, which my crucifiers shall shed. But I have commended to you a certain sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, will quicken you; and though it be celebrated visibly, it is invisibly or spiritually to be understood:" meaning this faith, with which the body of Christ was to be received, to make it spiritually and really the true body, and life to the receiver. For the true body of Christ could no other ways be eaten but spiritually by faith,¹ whilst it was really absent in heaven. The hand could not reach that body, nor the teeth consume it;² but faith could ascend up to heaven, and there touch the body of Christ; and with the heart it might be eaten, though not with the teeth and oral manducation. This is therefore that special faith, which the Ancients so often require in every pious communicant, to qualify him to eat the flesh of Christ to life and salvation; a faith whereby in heart he ascends to heaven, (according to the usual phrase of the Church in her sacramental prayers, "*Sursum Corda, Lift up your hearts; We lift them up unto the Lord;*") and whereby he receives the real body of Christ by spiritual eating, which no wicked man can receive, though he receive the sacrament of his body both in his hand and mouth to his condemnation. Therefore St. Austin bids all communicants prepare their hearts,³ and not their mouths, to eat "the bread of life, which came down from heaven," and St. Chrysostom calls upon them to imitate eagles and fly up to heaven.⁴ "For where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together," says our Saviour, calling his body the carcase because of death. For if he had not fallen, we had not risen. But he calls us eagles, shewing, that

¹ Id. Ser. ii. de Verb. Apost. tom. x. p. 94. Manduca vitam, bibe vitam. Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis, si quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsâ veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur.—It. Tract xxvi. in Joan. tom. ix. p. 94. Qui manducat intus, non qui manducat foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.

² Aug. Tract. i. in I Joan. p. 236. Ipsum jam in cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed fide contingere.

³ Aug. Ser. xxxiii. de verb. Dom. p. 40. Nolite parare fauces, sed cor. &c.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. xxiv. in I Cor. p. 536. Vid. Hom. xiv. in Ephes. p. 1127.

he that comes to this body, ought to soar aloft, and have nothing to do with the earth, nor move downward and creep upon the ground, but always to fly upward, and look to the Sun of righteousness, and have the eyes of his mind quicksighted. For this table is the table of eagles, not of jack-daws. And they, who thus worthily receive him, may expect to meet him when he shall come down again from heaven.”

SECT. 9.—What Purity of Soul by Repentance and Obedience. How far Fasting useful or necessary to this Purpose.

2. But St. Chrysostom observes,¹ that to come unto Christ by faith, is not barely to receive him in the outward element, but to touch him with a pure heart. And therefore he discourses excellently upon this most necessary part of preparation, to some who put great confidence in their observation of the Lent fast, as if that were a just preparation for the communion. “Let us give up ourselves,” says he,² “to the practice of virtue. For at this end aims all our fasting, and Lent, and religious assemblies so many days together, and our hearing, and prayers, and preaching; that by these exercises we may wash away the guilt and stain of whatever sins we have any ways contracted during the whole year, and so come with piety and spiritual assurance to partake of that unbloody sacrifice. But if we do not thus purify ourselves, all that other labour is in vain and to no purpose, we reap not the least advantage from it. Let every one, therefore, consider with himself, and examine in his account, what defect he has amended, what virtue he has acquired, what vice he has washed away, in what part he is grown better: and if he finds any considerable advantage of this kind arise from his fasting, and that many of his wounds have been cured by it, let him come: but if he has been negligent, and has nothing to shew but his fasting, without any other goodness or amendment, let him keep off and abide without, and then come when he has purged him-

¹ Chrys. Hom. li. in Mat. p. 454. Simultate. tom. i.

² Chrys. Hom. xxii. de

self from all his sins. Let no man place his confidence in fasting only, who adheres to his sins without amendment. For it is possible a man, that does not fast, may obtain pardon, having the excuse of bodily infirmity: but he, that does not correct his faults, cannot possibly have any excuse. Thou hast omitted to fast by reason of the infirmity of thy flesh: but why hast thou not been reconciled to thy enemies? Canst thou here pretend bodily infirmity also? Thou still retainest hatred and envy: what excuse, I pray, canst thou plead for these? There is no flying for refuge to bodily infirmity in behalf of such sins as these." Thus Chrysostom shows the necessity of correcting every evil way, in thought, word, and deed, in order to prepare men for a worthy reception at God's table; and that no pretences of other qualifications without holiness, nor any excuses for sin will be accepted, while Christ has made his commandments very practicable, and recommended his yoke as easy, and his burden as light.

SECT. 10.—How necessary Justice and Restitution to a worthy Communicant.

3. And because there are some great sins, to which men have a more than ordinary propensity and affection, and are ready to find out a thousand arts to palliate and retain them with a semblance of piety and pretended devotion: the same author is always very careful to particularize about these in men's preparation, pulling off the visor and false colours they were apt to lay upon them. Thus, in the case of injustice, many were inclined to impose upon themselves by that old pharisaical pretence of giving something to the *Corban* to make a full atonement, as they thought, for their manifold rapines and oppression. Whom he thus reproveth, and lays open their folly: "Let no Judas, no Simon Magus come near this table:¹ for they both perished in their avarice and love of money. Wherefore let us fly from this pit, and not imagine it sufficient for our salvation, that when

¹ Chrys. Hom. li. in Mat. p. 455. It. Hom. lxxxvi. p. 722. cited before chap. iv. sect. 2.

we have spoiled widows and orphans, we offer a golden cup adorned with jewels to this table. Wouldst thou honour this sacrifice? Offer thy soul, for which Christ was offered, and make it a golden soul. But if thy soul remain worse than lead or earth, what will thy golden vessels profit thee? Let us not therefore labour to offer golden vessels only, but offer what we acquire by our just and honest labour. For these are more precious than gold, which are not the fruits of covetousness and injustice. The Church is not the work-house of silver and gold, but the congregation of angels. Therefore the purity of our souls is required: for God receives these things upon the account of our souls. Doubtless that table was not of silver, nor that cup of gold, wherein Christ gave his blood to his disciples: yet all was precious and full of reverence, because they were filled with the spirit." St. Chrysostom speaks this to men's own consciences in private, who knew their own extortions, when perhaps the Church knew nothing of them; and he lays upon them the necessity of justice and restitution, in their private accounts with God, before they could hope to gain his favour, or be accepted at his altar. For as to public offences of this kind, we have noted before,¹ that when they were such as the Church could take cognizance of, they fell under her public discipline: and it was a standing law, that the oblations of known oppressors should not be received; much less their persons to the communion of the altar.

SECT. 11.—The Necessity of Peace and Unity.

4. Another thing they much insisted on, was unity and a peaceable spirit: by which they chiefly intended that sort of peaceableness, which preserves the unity of the Church, not only in opposition to formed and professed schisms, but all factions and divisions within the bosom of the Church. As to formal and professed schismatics, they were objects

¹ Book xv. chap. ii. sect. 2.

of the public discipline, and not to be admitted to communion without public recantation and formal renouncing of their errors. But besides these, there were another sort of turbulent spirits, who without breaking forth into professed separations, were often the occasion of great tumults and disquiet in the Church. Such were those Corinthians, whom the Apostle so often rebukes for their factious zeal and unnecessary disputations and contentions one with another; which proceeded from many evil causes, and were attended with as bad effects. For they sprung from the bitter roots of envy and pride and ambition, and covetousness and self interest, and self-love, and a blind or else crafty and designing admiration of one teacher above another. "For one said, I am of Paul; and another, I of Apollos; I of Cephas; and, I of Christ." And the effects were debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults. Insomuch that in their sidings and partyings, they came to express a disdain and contempt of one another in that, which should have taught them the quite contrary lesson, the celebration of the Lord's supper and their feasts of charity. For in eating, every one took before others his own supper: and one was hungry and another was drunken. Upon which the Apostle gave them that most solemn admonition: 1 Cor. xi. 28. "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he, that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." It was not long after St. Paul's death, that Clemens, bishop of Rome, had occasion to write a long Epistle to these Corinthians upon the very same subject of their seditious factions and divisions, where, among many other arguments to persuade them to unity and peace, he bids them,¹ "beware, that the manifold blessings of God did not turn to their condemnation, if they walked unworthy of Him, and neglected to do what was good and pleasing in his sight with unanimity and concord." Therefore he bids² them, "quickly remove this evil, and fall down before the

¹ Clem. Rom. Ep. i. ad Cor, n. 21,

² Ibid. n. 48.

Lord, and weep and pray to Him, that He would be merciful and reconciled to them, and reduce and restore them to the pure and comely way of brotherly love. For this is the gate of righteousness which opens unto life. Charity unites us unto God;¹ charity covers a multitude of sins; charity beareth all things: charity has nothing of pride or baseness in it; charity has no schism; charity raises no sedition; charity does all things in concord. By charity all the elect of God are made perfect; without charity nothing is acceptable unto God." Therefore he advises the ring-leaders of the sedition and the heads of faction to be² "subject to their rulers and repent, and to lay aside all arrogant and proud boasting of the tongue; since it was better to be found little and approved in the fold of Christ, than to be high-minded and rejected from the hope of his kingdom." He bids them sacrifice their own interest to the peace of the Church. "Who among you is of a noble and generous temper?³ who has any bowels of compassion? who is filled with charity? let him say: if upon my account there be sedition and discord, and schism, I will willingly depart, and go away whithersoever you please; I will do what the people command me; only let the fold of Christ be in peace under the elders that are set over them. He, that does this, shall purchase to himself great honour in the Lord, and every place will receive him. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Thus did that holy man exhort the seditious Corinthians to lay aside their factious and turbulent spirit, and betake themselves to the ways of unity and peace, as ever they hoped to find mercy and favour at the hands of the Lord. And the Ancients generally use this argument against uncharitable strife and contention, and schism and division, that they are crimes of that magnitude, that without repentance even the blood of martyrdom will not wash away and blot out the stain and guilt of them. Which is a noted saying of Cyprian's,⁴ repeated and

¹ Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Cor. n. 21.

² Ibid. n. 57.

³ Ibid. n. 54.

⁴ Cypr. de Unit. Eccles. p. 113.

approved by Chrysostom,¹ St. Austin,² Fulgentius,³ and many others.

SECT. 12.—Of Charity and Mercy to the Poor.

5. Another thing, they much recommended as a necessary qualification in a worthy communicant, was the exercise of beneficence and charity to the indigent, especially to the poor members of Christ. For when they themselves were about to receive the greatest blessings in the world, they thought it but reasonable that they should shew kindness, according to their ability, to his and their brethren. This was the foundation of their oblations and love-feasts mentioned before; and the neglect or abuse, or partiality used in them, was always reputed a capital misdemeanour. But this was not all: they not only required men to be charitable in the act of communicating, but at all times; and allowed not the most plausible pretences, that could be offered to the contrary. Some apologised for their uncharitableness, as they did for their injustice; they wiped their mouths, and cried out, “*Corban*, it is a gift to Christ, wherewith thou mightest be profited by me:” and so they thought themselves discharged by commutation: they gave to God’s use some gift, which He required not, and let the poor perish, whom He had commanded them to sustain. To these St. Chrysostom thus elegantly discourses.⁴ “Would you honour the body of Christ? do not then despise Him, when He is naked. Do not honour Him here in the church with vestments of silk, and neglect Him without doors, when ready to perish with cold and nakedness. For He that said, ‘This is my body,’ and confirmed the thing with his word, said also, ‘ye saw me an hungered, and fed me not: and, for as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me.’ For this body of Christ, the eucharist, needs no

¹ Chrys. Hom. xi. in Ephes. p. 1107.
Donat. lib. iv. cap. 17.

² Aug. de Bapt. cont.

³ Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum. cap. xxxix.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. li. in Mat. p. 455.

clothing, but a pure mind : but that other body of his needs much of our care. Therefore let us learn to be wise, and honour Christ according to his own will. Give Him that honour, which He has commanded ; distribute your riches among the poor. God has no need of golden vessels, but of golden souls. I say not this, to forbid any man to offer such gifts ; but because I judge it proper, together with these, and before these, to do works of charity. For God indeed receives these, but the other are much more acceptable to Him. Vessels only profit him that offers them, but works of charity profit both the giver and the receiver. The one is often an occasion of ostentation, but the other is all humanity and mercy. What profit is it to Christ, that his table is filled with golden cups, whilst He himself is famished by want ? Therefore first feed Him when He is hungry, and then of your superfluity and abundance adorn his table. You make Him a golden cup, but will not give Him a cup of cold water. What does this profit Him ? You prepare coverings for his table, embroidered with gold ; but He himself is naked, and you cover Him not with necessary clothing. What advantage is there in all this ? Tell me, I pray : suppose you should see a man want necessary food, and you, instead of relieving his hunger, should only adorn his table with gold : would he take this as any kindness, and not rather look upon it with indignation ? Or, if you saw a man clothed in rags, and frozen with cold, and you, instead of giving him raiment, should erect golden pillars, and say, you did it for his honour : would he not rather say you mocked him, and think you put the greatest affront imaginable upon him ? you may apprehend the case to be the very same with Christ : when He wanders about as a stranger, having no house to cover his head, then thou neglectest to take Him in ; thou contemnest his person, but beautifiest his pavement and his walls, and the heads of his pillars : thou makest his lamps to hang on silver chains, but wilt not vouchsafe to visit Him when He is chained in prison. I speak not this to prohibit thee from doing these things, but to excite thee to do the other together with them, or rather before them. For no man was

ever condemned for not building magnificent temples, but, for neglecting the poor, hell is threatened, and the fire that shall never be quenched, and punishment with devils. Whilst therefore you adorn God's house, do not neglect your afflicted brother. For he is more properly the temple of God than the other. For those may be plundered of all their treasure by infidel kings, and tyrants, and thieves; but what thou dost to a brother, that is hungry, or a stranger, or naked, the devil himself cannot rob thee of, but it is laid up in a safe repository, where no violence can make a prey of it." It were easy to give the reader many other such affecting passages out of St. Chrysostom¹ and others, but this one is sufficient to shew what stress they laid upon charity or beneficence to the poor, in order to qualify men for a worthy reception of the holy communion.

SECT. 13.—Of Charity in forgiving Enemies, and pardoning Offences.

6. But this was not the only kind of charity they required to be exercised upon this occasion: there was another more difficult to be practised, and yet no less necessary to be performed by all, that would lay any just claim to the mercy of God in the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood: and that was the duty of pardoning and forgiving enemies, without which it was absurd and impudent to presume to ask God pardon at the holy table. Therefore St. Chrysostom,² explaining those words of our Saviour, Matth. v. "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift:" says, "By all this Christ intended to signify, that the holy table would not receive men, that were at enmity with one another: no, nor yet could they so much as offer their prayers acceptably to God. "Therefore hear this," says he, "all ye that are initiated in the holy mysteries, and come not in enmity to the communion of the altar. Let them also hear it, who are not yet initia-

¹ Vid. Chrys. Hom. i. in 1 Tim. p. 1631. Hom. ix. de Pœnitent. tom. i. p. 701. Hom. xxv. tom. v. p. 369.

² Chrys. Hom. xvi. in Mat. p. 166.

ted. For they have a common concern in these words also. For they offer likewise their gifts and their sacrifice, I mean their prayers and their alms; which the Psalmist often calls sacrifice: ‘the sacrifice of praise shall honour me:’ and, ‘Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise:’ and, ‘Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.’” Whence he concludes, “that if a man come to pray with such a mind, he had better leave his prayers, and go first and be reconciled to his brother, and then come and offer his prayers.” It is usual with Chrysostom upon this account to tell his hearers, that they,¹ who are unqualified for the communion, are unqualified for their prayers likewise: because they, in effect, pray to God to curse themselves, whilst they pray for forgiveness of sins only in the same manner as they forgive their enemies. “If we have designs of revenge in our hearts,” says he,² “when we pray, we pray against ourselves, saying, ‘forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.’ These are terrible words, and the same as if one said to God: ‘Lord, I have forgiven my enemy, forgive Thou me: I have loosed him, loose Thou me: I have pardoned my enemy, pardon me: If I have retained his sins, retain Thou mine; if I have not loosed my neighbour, do not Thou loose my offences: what measure I have meted to him, measure Thou to me again.’” It was with this argument, that he induced the people to shew mercy to their great enemy Eutropius, when he was fled for sanctuary to the altar. “How will you be able to take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer wherein we are commanded to say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them, that trespass against us,’ if you exact punishment of your debtor?” In another place³ he tells them, “if they forgave their enemies, they might then come with a pure conscience to the holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words contained in that prayer, ‘forgive us, as we forgive.’ But if they retained anger or malice in

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes. p. 1051. Hom. xxii. de Ira. tom. i. p. 288.

² Chrys. Hom. in Eutrop. tom. iv. p. 554. Hom. xxxviii. de Pœnitent. et Euchar. tom. v. p. 570.

³ Chrys. Hom. xxvii. in Gen. p. 358.

their hearts,¹ they were no fitter to partake of that holy table than fornicators or adulterers, or blasphemers. For how canst thou desire God to be gracious and merciful to thee, who art so implacable and inexorable to thy fellow-servant? Admit he has injured and affronted thee. Hast thou not often injured and affronted God? and what comparison is there betwixt the Lord and a servant? It may be also thy fellow-servant was injured by thee, and only returned the compliment, and payed thee in thy own kind, and thou art incensed at that: but thou, without any injury or provocation received from God, treatest Him contumeliously; nay, not only when He does thee no harm, but when He daily loads thee with blessings, and continually pours forth his benefits upon thee.” He adds,² that this sin of malice and revenge was the more dangerous and inexcusable, because it had none of the little pleas which were commonly urged in the behalf of other sins, to be offered in its favour. “If I bid you fast, you plead the excuse of bodily infirmity; if I bid you give to the poor, you plead poverty yourself, and the care of your own children: if I call upon you to attend divine worship, you pretend the avocations of worldly care and secular business; if I bid you hear sermons, and consider the power of the doctrine contained in them, you plead disability and want of learning to understand them; if I advise you to admonish and correct your brother, you tell me, he will not hearken to your counsel; you have admonished him, and he despises you. These are but cold excuses, yet they are excuses in some sort. But if I bid you lay aside your anger, which of these excuses can you make? You cannot plead bodily infirmity, nor poverty, nor want of understanding, nor want of time and leisure from worldly business, nor any other such excuse: therefore this of all others is a most unpardonable sin. How then will you hold up your hands to heaven, or move your tongue, or ask pardon of your sins, when if God were disposed to pardon them, you will not suffer Him to do it, while you refuse to pardon the offence of your fel-

¹ Hom. xxii. de Ira. tom. i. p. 277.

² Ibid. p. 282.

low-servant?" Having used these and many other excellent arguments, to shew men the necessity of reconciliation and mutual forgiveness, when they came to the holy communion, which is the covenant of forgiveness, and peace with God and man, he takes notice of two evasions, which some men used in this case to palliate and foster still something of an ill-natured temper, and make it seem consistent with their duty. Some were indeed afraid to say those words of the Lord's Prayer, "forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us;" as being sensible it was no better than cursing themselves, while they continued in such an evil disposition: and therefore they only said the first clause, "forgive us our trespasses," and dropped the second, which contains the condition of their forgiving others: and they were so vain as to think, this was a sufficient salvo to their consciences, and a security against the menaces that were threatened to a revengeful temper. To whom he replies,¹ "that this was but a vain caution, for whether they said the words or not, God would deal with them according to their actions; Christ having told them in the very next words, "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses." Others excused themselves by saying, I bear no hatred or malice against my enemy, I am not concerned or troubled at his enmity, I will have nothing to do with him. "But," says Chrysostom, "this is not enough, that thou wilt give him no trouble, that thou wilt do him no harm, that thou wilt bear no rancorous mind against him; but thou must endeavour to restore him to a friendly temper. For God has not commanded us to have nothing to do with our enemy, but to have many things to do with him. For this reason, he is our brother: and for this reason, God said not, forgive thy brother what thou hast against him; but, 'Go, and be reconciled to him, if he hath ought against thee;' and cease not, till thou hast brought that member to its proper harmony and concord." He has also there these remarkable words,² "I tell you before, I protest, I proclaim it

¹ Ibid. p. 289.

² Ibid. p. 285.

aloud, let no man that has an enemy, come to the holy table, and receive the body of the Lord. Let no man come, that has an enemy. Hast thou an enemy? come not. Wouldest thou come? Be reconciled, and then come and receive the holy body. Thy Lord, to reconcile thee to his Father, refused not to be slain, and shed his blood for thy sake: and wilt not thou speak a word, nor go to make the first offer, to reconcile thy fellow-servant?" This he says to those, who thought it below them, and an act of pusillanimity and disgrace, to seem to make the first step toward reconciling an enemy, by being first in the offer and motion of peace. But he assures them it was a duty, and an honourable duty, thus to imitate Christ in a charitable condescension: and whatever might be the effect of it here, it would have a double and a triple crown hereafter. Finally he tells them, with a solemn protestation,¹ in the close of all, that if, after forty days warning, he found any still persist irreconcilable to one another, he would no longer use admonitions, but proceed to severer methods, and order them to be kept back from the holy mysteries, till they should amend their fault, and come to the holy table with a pure conscience, which was the only proper way to partake of the communion.

SECT. 14.—Of their Behaviour at the Communion and afterwards.

These were some of those necessary qualifications they required in men before they came to the holy communion. And at the time of celebration, the very offices of the Church were so framed as to elevate men's souls to the highest pitch of reverence, devotion, and thankfulness to God, for his mercies in the sacrifice of Christ, his only son. To which purpose the reader may recollect what has been said of the great thanksgiving in the consecration of the eucharist; and the "*Sursum Corda*," or call to *lift up their hearts* to the Lord; and of the seraphical hymns and angelical glorifications intended to set forth the praises of God in this excellent mystery. To which may be added that advice of

¹ Hom. xxii. de Ira. tom. i, p. 294.

Origen,¹ that men should approach it with the profoundest humility, imitating the good centurion, and saying, "Lord, I am not worthy, that Thou shouldst come under my roof." That they should then quit all thoughts of earthly things, and consider that they were then in the midst of cherubims and seraphims, angels and archangels, and all the powers above. "For this mystery," in Chrysostom's phrase,² "turns earth into heaven. Open the gates of heaven, and see; or rather not heaven, but the heaven of heavens, and then you shall see what I say. For that, which is the most honourable of all things there, I will now shew you upon the earth; not angels, or archangels, not the heavens, or the heaven of heavens, but the Lord of them all, whom you not only see, but touch, and eat, and carry home with you." Therefore upon this he grounds several excellent exhortations. "Let us become eagles,³ and fly up to Him in heaven; let us have nothing to do with the earth, but look upward to the Sun of righteousness; let us not receive Him with polluted hands, but come to Him with reverence and all imaginable purity; saying, by this body I am no longer earth and ashes; I am no longer a captive, but free: for this I hope to receive heaven and all the good things therein, immortal life, the condition of angels, the society of Christ. Cleanse therefore and wash thy soul, prepare thy mind for the reception of these mysteries. If the son of a king in all his ornamental robes, his purple and his diadem, were put into thy hands to carry, thou wouldst contemn all earthly things. But now thou receivest not the son of a mortal king, but the only-begotten Son of God: and art thou not afraid still to retain the love of worldly things? Why is not this ornament alone sufficient for thee, but thou must yet needs look to the earth, and be in love with riches? Knowest thou not, that thy Lord has an aversion to all the pomp and magnificence of this life? Was He not therefore born of a poor mother, and at his birth laid in a manger? And was not his answer this, to the man who thought to make a gain

¹ Orig. Hom. v. de Diversis, tom. ii. p. 441.
in 1 Cor. p. 538.

³ Ibid. p. 536 and 538.

² Chrys. Hom. xxiv.

of his service. ‘The son of man hath not where to lay his head?’ Let us therefore imitate Him; and passing by the beauty of pillars and marbles, let us seek for mansions in heaven above; and trampling upon all worldly pride, and the love of riches, let us take to ourselves lofty souls, and mind the things that are on high.” “When you come to the holy table and the sacred mysteries,” says he in another place,¹ “do it with fear and reverence, with a pure conscience, with fasting and prayer. Consider what a sacrifice you partake of, what a table you approach unto. Consider, that thou, who art but dust and ashes, receivest the body and blood of Christ. God calls thee to his own table, and sets before thee his Son: where the angelical powers stand about with fear and trembling, and the cherubims cover their faces, and the seraphims cry with reverence, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts! Let us therefore come with the greatest reverence also, and give thanks, and fall down and confess our sins, and with tears bewail our offences, and offer up fervent prayers to God. And so purifying ourselves in quietness and decent order, let us come as to an heavenly King; and receiving the holy and immaculate sacrifice, let us kiss and embrace it with our mouths and eyes, and therewith warm our souls; that we come not together to judgment and condemnation, but to create in us sobriety of mind, and charity and virtue, and reconcile ourselves to God, and obtain a lasting peace, and whatever other blessings arise from thence; that we may both sanctify ourselves and edify our neighbours.”

And as they thus taught men, with what veneration and serious deportment they ought to behave themselves at the Lord’s table; so they endeavoured to make lasting impressions of virtue upon men’s minds by this argument, shewing them what obligations of holiness and purity, the reception of the body and blood of Christ laid upon every member of the body, and every faculty of the soul. It was an oblation of their bodies and souls to God; it was an oath, or bond and covenant to do no evil, but to exercise themselves in all

manner of virtue, as Pliny¹ represents it from the mouths of some Christians. Therefore Chrysostom elegantly represents it as an obligation laid upon every member of the body, the hands, the eyes, the lips and tongue, the heart and soul especially, to abstain from all pollution and impurity of sin. "Thou fastest before thou dost communicate, that thou mayest appear worthy:² and dost thou^c destroy all after communicating, when thou oughtest to be more temperate? I do not enjoin thee to fast, but to abstain from luxury and all the evil effects of it, immoderate laughter, disorderly words, pernicious jesting, foolish and vain discourse, and whatever a Christian ought not to speak, who has been entertained at Christ's table, and touched his flesh with his tongue: whoever thou art therefore, purify thy hands, thy lips and thy tongue, which have been the gates at which Christ entered into thee. When thou sittest down to a common table, remember that spiritual table, and call to mind that supper of the Lord.³ Consider what words thy mouth hath spoken, words worthy of such a table, what things thy mouth hath touched and tasted, what meat it has fed upon. Dost thou think it no harm with that mouth to speak evil of and revile thy brother? How canst thou call him brother? If he is not thy brother, how couldst thou say, 'Our Father?' for that implies more persons than one. Consider with whom thou stoodest in the time of the holy mysteries; with cherubims, with seraphims. But the cherubims use no reviling. Their mouth is filled with one office, glorifying and praising God. How then canst thou say with them, 'Holy! Holy! Holy!' who usest thy mouth to reviling? Tell me, if there were a royal vessel, always filled with royal dainties, and set apart only for this use; and one of the servants should use it to put dung in; would he dare after that to put it, thus filled with dung, among the other vessels appointed for royal use? No, certainly. Yet this is the very case of railing and reviling. You say at the holy table, 'Our Father,' and then immediately add, 'which art in heaven.' This

¹ Plin. lib. x. ep. 97.

² Chrys. Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. p. 567.

³ Id. Hom. xiv. in Ephes. p. 1127.

word raises you up, and gives wings to your soul, and shews that you have a Father in heaven. Therefore do nothing, speak nothing of earthly things. He hath placed you in the order of spirits above, and appointed you a station in that choir. Why then do you draw yourself downward? You stand by the royal throne, and do you revile your brother? How are you not afraid, lest the king should take it as an affront offered to himself? If a servant beats or reviles another in our presence, who are but his fellow-servants, though he does it justly, we rebuke him for it. And dare you stand before the royal throne, and revile your brother? See you not these holy vessels? Are they not always appropriated to one peculiar use? Dares any one put them to any other? But you are more holy than these vessels, yea, much more holy. Why then do you pollute and defile yourself? You stand in heaven, and do you still use railing? You converse with angels, and do you yet revile? You are admitted to the Lord's holy kiss, and do you yet revile? God hath honoured and adorned your mouth so many ways, by angelical hymns, by food, not angelical, but super-angelical, by his own kisses, and by his own embraces, and do you after all these revile? Do not, I beseech you. Let that which is the cause of so many evils, be far from the soul of a Christian." With what force and eloquence does this holy writer here shew us the obligation, which the reception of the eucharist lays upon men to abstain from evil-speaking? But it equally lays a restraint upon all the other members of the body, and operations of the soul, as well as the tongue. Which Chrysostom excellently deduces after this manner in another place.¹ "Be grateful to thy benefactor by an excellent conversation; consider the greatness of the sacrifice, and let that engage thee to adorn every member of thy body. Consider what thou takest in thy hand, and never after endure to strike any man: do not disgrace that hand by the sin of fighting and quarrelling, which has been honoured with the reception of so great a gift. Consider what thou takest in thy hand, and keep thy hand free from all rapines

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxi. ad Pop. Antioch. tom. i. p. 266.

and injustice. Think again, how thou not only receivest it in thy hand, but puttest it to thy mouth, and keep thy tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious speech, from blasphemy and perjury, and all words of the like nature. For it is a most pernicious thing, that the tongue, which ministers in such tremendous mysteries, and is dyed with the purple of such precious blood, and made a golden sword, should be put to the vile practice of railing and reviling, and scurrilous and abusive language. Regard with veneration the honour wherewith God has honoured it; and do not debase it to such mean offices of sin. Consider again, that after thy hand and thy tongue, thy heart receives that tremendous mystery: then never devise any fraud or deceit against thy neighbour, but keep thy mind pure from all malicious designs. After the same manner guard thy eyes and thy ears. For is it not most absurd, after that mystical hymn, that was brought from heaven by the cherubims, to defile thy ears with the songs of harlots, and effeminate music? And what punishment can be too great for thee, if thou sufferest those eyes, which have seen the unspeakable and venerable mysteries, to wander gazing after harlots, and committest adultery in thy mind?" Tertullian, among many other arguments which he uses against a Christian's going to be a spectator at the Roman games, uses this as one, taken from the same topic:¹ "What an absurdity is it for a man to go from the church of God into the church of the devil? Out of heaven, as the saying is, into the mire? First to lift up his hands in prayer to the Lord, and then to toss those very hands to weariness in the praise of a stage-player? To make that mouth, which was used to say Amen! at the holy eucharist, give testimony to a gladiator? To cry out, World without End! to others besides Christ his God?" By such familiar arguments drawn from the nature of the sacrament, and the inconsistency of all vicious ac-

¹ Tertul. de Spectac. cap. xxv. Quale est de ecclesiâ Dei in diaboli ecclesiam tendere? De cœlo, ut aiunt, in cœnum? Illas manus quas ad Dominum extuleris, postmodum histrionem laudando fatigare? Ex ore quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? Εἰς αἰῶναç alii omnino dicere nisi Deo Christo? See more such arguments in Cyprian. Ep. xxxvi. al. xxxviii. p. 125.

tions with the design, and circumstances, and whole tendency of it, did the Ancients endeavour to possess men's minds with the sense of their duty, and their great obligation to persevere in holiness, and glorify God both in body and spirit all their days. Which as it was but their reasonable service, so it was the only way to make this holy sacrament effectual to their salvation, and useful in their present state, by keeping up a perpetual and flaming love for Christ, which qualified them for a frequent reception, and almost daily repetition of it; which is the last thing to be considered in this whole inquiry.

CHAP. IX.

Of frequent Communion, and the Times of celebrating it in the Ancient Church.

SECT. I.—All Persons, except Penitents under Censure, anciently obliged to receive the Communion every Lord's Day, by the Canons of the Church.

IT has been shewn before, in speaking against private and solitary masses, that though it be now the custom in the Church of Rome for the priest to receive the eucharist without any other communicants, either clergy or laity, how many soever be present at the action, yet there was no such custom ever heard of in the ancient Church. And though in most other Churches this corruption be reformed, yet there remains a great defect still uncorrected, which is the want or neglect of frequent communion. I shall make no further inquiry into the causes of this neglect, whether it proceed from a general decay of Christian piety, or from a want of strict discipline in the Church, but only observe that it is a great declension from the zeal and fervour of the primitive ages. For then it is certain it was both the rule and practice for all in general, both clergy and laity, to receive the communion every Lord's day, except such as were

unqualified for it either as catechumens or penitents, who of course, for want of a due preparation, were obliged to abstain from it. Among the Apostolical Canons there are two to this purpose. The first says,¹ “ If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the clergy does not communicate, when the oblation is offered, let him shew cause why he does not, that if it be a reasonable cause, he may be excused; but if he shew no cause, let him be excommunicated; as giving scandal to the people, and raising suspicion against him that offers.” And the next canon says, “ If any of the faithful come to church to hear the Scriptures read, and stay not to join in the prayers and receive the communion, let them be excommunicated, as the authors of disorder in the Church.” The Council of Antioch, which was held in the middle of the fourth century, repeats this decree:² “ Let all those be cast out of the church, who come to hear the Scriptures read in the church, but do not communicate with the people in prayer, or disorderly turn away from the participation of the eucharist, till by confession and fruits of repentance and intercession they have obtained pardon.” These canons shew, that as often as they met together for divine service on the Lord’s day, they were obliged to receive the eucharist under pain of excommunication. And all other canons, which speak of the order of divine service, plainly shew, that the celebration of the eucharist was always one inseparable part of it. The Council of Laodicea,³ as has been often noted before, describes the whole in this order. “ First after the sermon the prayers of the catechumens, and then the prayers of the penitents, and after their departure, the prayers of the faithful, and then the kiss of peace, and last of all the offering of the holy oblation.” And all such canons, as forbid the penitents to be partakers of the eucharist,⁴ do plainly suppose all the rest of the people to be partakers of it. And if any man did not partake of it, it was an intimation either that he was doing penance, or at least

¹ Can. Apost. can. viii.² Con. Antioch. can. ii.³ Con. Laodic. can. xix. et xlix.⁴ Vide Con. Nicen. can. xi. et xliii.

Con. Ancyran. can. iv. v. vi. Κοινωνήτωσαν δίχα προσφορᾶς.

was conscious to himself of some great crime, for which he ought to do penance: for no others were allowed to abstain from the constant participation of the eucharist. "All they, that do not communicate," says St. Chrysostom,¹ "are penitents; if thou art of the number of those, who do penance, thou mayest not partake. For whoever does not partake, is one of that number." Which implies, that all were obliged constantly to communicate, who were not doing penance publicly or privately for their offences. And this was so much the practice of those days, that the Council of Eliberis orders,² that they, who would not communicate, should not be allowed to make their oblations. Which was a sort of excommunication of them. For the oblations and the eucharist commonly went together. The first Council of Toledo orders,³ those who come to Church, but neglect to communicate, to be admonished: and if they amend not upon admonition, then to be reduced to the state of formal penance for their crime. It were no hard matter to shew the like prescriptions in many other Councils,⁴ but these are sufficient to shew what was the standing rule of the first ages as to men's obligations to be constant in receiving the communion once a week in their solemn assembly on the Lord's day.

SECT. 2.—This shewn to be the constant Practice for the three first Ages.

And if we run over the whole history of the three first ages, we shall find this to have been the Church's constant practice. Ignatius exhorts the Ephesians to be diligent in assembling frequently to celebrate the eucharist and glorify God.⁵ "For when ye often meet together, ye demolish the power of Satan; and the harmony of your faith destroys the destruction which he meditates against you." This fre-

¹ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes. p. 1051.

² Con. Eliber. can. xxviii.

Placuit ab his qui non communicant, episcopus munera accipere non debere.

³ Con. Tolet. i. can. xiii. De his qui intrant in ecclesiam, et deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur. Quod si non communicant, ad pœnitentiam accedant.

⁴ Vid. Con. Matiscon. ii. can. 4. Con.

Antissiodor. can. xxxix.

⁵ Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. n. xiii. Σπεδά-
ζετε πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν. &c.

quency of communion may reasonably be supposed to be then, according to the known practice, once a week, on every Lord's day. For on this day, as Pliny, who was contemporary with Ignatius, informs us,¹ from the testimony and confessions of some Christians, whom he as proconsul of Bithynia examined, they were used to meet before it was light by reason of the persecutions, and then not only sing hymns to Christ their God, but also to bind themselves by a sacrament against the commission of all manner of wickedness. Justin Martyr says more expressly in his Apology to the Emperors,² that on a day called Sunday, they were all used to meet together both out of city and country, and hold a religious assembly in this manner: first, a reader read the writings of the prophets and Apostles: then the president of the assembly made a sermon; after which they all rose up to common prayers; and when those were ended, bread and wine were brought to the president, who consecrated them with prayer and thanksgiving, to which all the people said Amen! Then all the present members participated of the eucharist, and it was carried to the absent by the deacons. The like account is given by Clemens of Alexandria, when he says,³ that as soon as the bread was broken in the celebration of the eucharist, they permitted every one of the people to take his share of it. And we shall presently see more of this custom of communicating every Lord's day in the writings of Tertullian, and Cyprian, and Eusebius, and many others, who speak of other days, as well as the Lord's day, appropriated in some Churches to this service: but about these the custom varied: for on other days some Churches celebrated the eucharist, and others did not; but on the Lord's day it was universally celebrated in all Churches, and never omitted by any assembly of Christians whatsoever. In so much that some have observed,⁴ out of Chrysostom,⁵ that Sunday was anciently among other

¹ Plin. lib. x. Ep. 97.

² Justin. Apol. ii. p. 97. et 98.

³ Clem. Strom. i. p. 318. Vid. Con. Laodic. can. xlix. Innocent. Ep. i. ad Decent. Gaudent. Ser. ii. de Pascha.

⁴ See Bishop

Taylor's Constant Commun. p. 462.

⁵ Chrys. Hom.

v. de Resur. in Edit. Latinis.

names called *Dies Panis*, the day of bread, because the breaking of bread was so general a custom in the Church on that day.

SECT. 3.—The Eucharist celebrated on other Days besides the Lord's Day, in many Churches.

As to other days, we may observe out of Tertullian, that in his time they not only received the eucharist on Sundays¹ in their morning assemblies before day, but also at other times on other days; particularly on the anniversary festivals of the martyrs; and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, which were but one continued festival; and all their stationary days, that is, Wednesdays and Fridays in every week throughout the year. These things are not commonly observed by writers on this subject, but they add considerably to the argument about frequent communion. Tertullian says expressly of these stationary days, that they were always observed with receiving the eucharist. For he tells some, who objected against it on these days,² “that their station would be so much the more solemn for their standing at the altar.” And whereas they scrupled to communicate because they were afraid, that receiving the eucharist would be a breaking of their fast: for these were *Semi-jejunia*, *half-fasts*, which they observed till three in the afternoon: he takes away this scruple also,³ and tells them, that receiving the eucharist would be so far from breaking their fast, “that it would the more recommend it to God, and by doing this they would perfectly perform both duties together.” St. Basil agrees with Tertullian in making the stationary days not only fast-days, but days of communion.⁴ For reckoning four days in the week on which they received the communion, he counts Wednesdays and Fridays, with Saturdays and Sundays, to complete the number. And Socrates notes it,⁵ as a peculiar custom in the

¹ Tertul. de Coron. Mil. cap. iii. Antelucanis cœtibus eucharistiam sumimus, &c.

² Tertul. de Orat. cap. xiv. Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris?

³ Ibid. E go devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resolvit, an magis Deo obligat?

⁴ Basil. Ep. 219. ad Cæsaream Patriciam. tom. iii. p. 278.

lib. v. cap. xxii.

⁵ Socrat.

Church of Alexandria, that, though they had religious assemblies on these days, and all other divine service performed on them, yet they had not the communion. Which exception implies, that to receive the communion on those days, was the general custom of other Churches.

Tertullian as plainly intimates, that they received the communion upon all the festivals of the martyrs.¹ And the same is noted by Cyprian,² and Chrysostom,³ and Sidonius Apollinaris.⁴ The passages have been cited at large in another place,⁵ and therefore I need not here repeat them. Tertullian says further,⁶ that the fifty days of Pentecost, or all the days between Easter and Pentecost, were one continued festival. And since all festivals were communion days, we may conclude, that the communion was celebrated every day during this interval.

Saturday also or the Sabbath in every week, was observed as a religious festival in many Churches. And therefore on this day likewise they generally received the communion. This is expressly said by Socrates,⁷ and Cassian,⁸ and St. Basil,⁹ and Timothy of Alexandria,¹⁰ and St. Austin,¹¹ and the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions,¹² and the Council of Laodicea.¹³ I have already produced the several testimonies of these writers at large upon another occasion,¹⁴ and therefore it is sufficient here to make a short reference to them. By all this it appears undeniably, that in many Churches they had the communion four times every week, on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, besides incidental festivals, which were very frequent, for as Chrysostom tells us,¹⁵ there was scarce a week passed

¹ Tertul. de Coron. cap. iii. Ep. xxxix. al. xxxiv. tom. v. p. 779.

² Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. 5. Idololat. cap. xiv.

³ Cassian. Instit. lib. iii. cap. 2.

⁴ Timoth. can. xiii.

⁵ Constit. lib. ii. cap. 59.

⁶ Book xiii. chap. ix. sect. 3.

tom. i. p. 516. Hom. lxx. de Martyr. &c.

⁷ Cypr. Ep. xii. al. xxxvii.

⁸ Chrys. Hom. lix. de Martyr.

⁹ Sidon. lib. v. Ep. 17.

¹⁰ Tertul. de Coron. cap. iii. De

¹¹ Socrat. lib. v. cap. xxii. lib. vi. cap. 8.

¹² Basil. Ep. 289.

¹³ Aug. Ep. 118.

¹⁴ Con. Laodic. can. xlix.

¹⁵ Hom. xl. in Juventin.

in the year but they had one or two commemorations of martyrs.

SECT. 4.—And in some Places every Day.

But we are assured further, that in some places they received the communion every day. St. Austin says,¹ in some places only on the Saturday and the Lord's day; and in other places only on the Lord's day. For this was left to the liberty of every Church: but they, that communicated the seldomest, did it at least every Lord's day. So again,² "The sacrament of his body, the Church and its unity, is in some places prepared and taken every day at the Lord's table; in other places only on certain days with an interval of time between them." In the greater Churches probably they had it every day, in the lesser only once or twice a week. Carthage seems to have been one of those Churches,³ which had it every day from the time of Cyprian. For Cyprian,⁴ and Austin after him, speak of it as the custom of that Church to receive it daily, unless they were under some such grievous sin as separated them from the body of Christ, and kept them as penitents from communicating. Therefore Cyprian gives this as one sense of that petition in the Lord's prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," as if it might be understood in the spiritual sense, as well as the natural, as a petition to be daily fed with the flesh of Christ in the eucharist, which was the bread of life. In another place,⁵ he exhorts the martyrs "to

¹ Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. ii. Alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini dominico, alii certis diebus accipiunt: alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur, alibi sabbato tantum et dominico: alibi tantum dominico, &c.

² Id. Tract. xxvi. in Joan. p. 94. Hujus rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis et sanguinis Christi alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in dominicâ mensâ preparatur et sumitur. See also Aug. Ser. xxix. de verb. Dom. al. v. in Appendice. It. lib. ii. de Serm. Dom. in Monte. cap. vii. tom. iv.

³ Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p. 147. Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, &c.

⁴ Aug. de Dono Perseverantiæ, cap. v.

⁵ Cypr. ep. xxxvi. al. xxxviii. ad Thibaritanos. p. 120. Considerantes ideirco se quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere.

prepare themselves for the fight of persecution, considering that they therefore drink the cup of Christ's blood every day, that they may be able to shed their blood for Christ." Therefore, says he, a little after,¹ " Let us arm our hand with that spiritual sword, that it being mindful of the eucharist, the Christian sacrifice, may valiantly refuse those abominable and deadly sacrifices of the heathen; let that hand, which has received the body of the Lord, embrace the Lord himself, being afterward to receive the reward of an eternal crown from the Lord in heaven. To which may be added what he says in another place,² " that the priests who celebrated the daily sacrifices of God, did also prepare the martyrs to offer themselves as victims and oblations unto God." Where by the daily sacrifice he certainly means the eucharist, which is often called the daily sacrifice by the Ancients,³ for the same reason as the Lord's prayer is called the daily prayer, because they were both daily celebrated at the altar. St. Jerom assures us,⁴ it was the custom at Rome for the faithful to receive the body of Christ every day. Which he neither absolutely commends, nor disallows, but leaves every man to abound in his own sense, only requiring men to receive it with due preparation. In another place he says,⁵ it was not only the custom at Rome, but of the Spanish Church to communicate every day. And to one, who proposed the question to him as a case of conscience, whether he ought to communicate every day? he gives this answer, that the customs and traditions of every Church, which did not prejudice the faith, were to be observed in such manner as they were handed down by their forefathers; and the custom of one Church was not

¹ Cypr. Ep. xxxvi. al. xxxviii. ad Thibaritanos. p. 125. *Armemus dexteram gladio spiritali, &c.*

² Cypr. Ep. liv. al. lvii. ad Cornel. p. 118. *Sacerdotes, qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus, hostias Deo et victimas præparemus.*

³ So Chrys. Hom. iii. in Ephes. p. 1051. *Θυσία καθημερινή, καθ' ἐκάστην. &c.*

⁴ Hieron. Ep. l. ad Pammachium. cont. Jovin. cap. vi. *Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant: quod nec reprehendo nec probō. Unusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat.*

⁵ Ep. xxviii. ad Lucinium Bæticum. *De eucharistiâ quod quaeris in accipienda quotidie, quod Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Hispaniæ observare præhibentur, &c.*

to prescribe to, or overthrow the contrary custom of another. And he wishes, that all men might receive the eucharist every day, provided they might do it without condemnation and pricks of conscience for unworthy receiving." Which is the same resolution as St. Austin gave in the question: for having stated the arguments on both sides, for and against daily receiving; the one pleading, that men ought to abstain for a few days, that they might prepare to receive more worthily when they came to it: and the other arguing, that unless their sins were such as deserved excommunication, and the cure of a more solemn repentance, they ought not to separate themselves from the daily medicine of Christ's body; he divides the matter between them, determining, that each party might act according as their own judgment and faith in this case piously directed them. For,¹ "neither of them intended to dishonour the body and blood of the Lord, whilst they strove earnestly who should do the greatest honour to the holy sacrament of their salvation. In like manner as Zacchæus and the centurion were at no variance between themselves, neither did the one prefer himself before the other, when the one received the Lord into his house rejoicing, and the other said, 'Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof.' For they both really honoured their Saviour, though in a different, and as it were, in a contrary way, being both miserable in their sins, and both alike obtaining mercy. So it is with pious Christians in this case; the one out of honour dares not receive the sacrament every day, and the other out of honour, dares not let any day pass without receiving it. This was an holy strife indeed, and we see the dispute was not, whether they should receive it only once or twice a year, but whether they should receive it once or twice a week, or rather every day." We have heard Gennadius say before,² that he neither praises nor dispraises receiving the eucharist every day, but he persuades and exhorts all to receive it every Lord's day, if their minds be pure from

¹ Aug. Ep. 118. ad Januar. cap. iii.

² Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. cap. liiii. See the last chapter. Sect. 3.

affections to sin. St. Ambrose was more peremptory in his advice to receive it every day. "If it be our daily bread,"¹ says he, "why dost thou receive it once a year only, as the Greeks are used to do in the east? Receive that daily, which is for thy daily advantage: and so live, that thou mayest deserve daily to receive it. He that does not deserve to receive it every day, does not deserve to receive it after a year." Again,² "I ought always to receive that, which is shed for the remission of sins, that my sins may always be forgiven me: I, that am always sinning, ought always to have my medicine at hand, as he, that has a wound, seeks without delay for a cure." St. Ambrose here is very plain, that the communion was administered daily in the Western Church, but he seems to reflect upon the Greek Church, as if they had left off that custom. But he is to be interpreted by St. Austin,³ who speaks the same thing, but does not charge the whole Greek Church, nor any part of it with this innovation, but only some particular men in some parts, who did not think themselves under any obligation to receive it daily. And indeed it appears from St. Chrysostom and others, that about this time many began scandalously to neglect frequent communion, and contented themselves to receive once or twice a year upon some solemn festival. But the Church was far from encouraging this contempt: for she kept still to the custom of daily communion in many places, and in all places to the celebration of it on Saturday and the Lord's day, and in many places on Wednesdays and Fridays also; and they that were piously disposed, were constant communicants at these times; and they that were negligent and profane, were earnestly invited to be more frequent in communicating, and there are many severe invectives against their remissness. Eusebius says expressly,⁴ that they celebrated the memorial of Christ's body and blood,

¹ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. v. cap. 4. Si quotidianus est panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in Oriente facere consueverunt? &c.

² Id. lib. iv. c. 6. Qui semper pecco, semper debeo habere medicinam. &c.

³ Aug. de Sermone Dom. in Monte. lib. ii. cap. vii. tom. iv. Plurimi in orientalibus partibus non quotidie cœnæ dominicæ communicant, cum iste panis quotidianus dictus sit.

⁴ Euseb. Demonstr. Evangel. lib. i. cap. x. p. 37.

“ὄσημέραι, every day.” And it appears from the Council of Laodicea,¹ that they had it twice in the week, on Saturdays and Sundays, in Lent, and at all other times of the year more frequently. St. Basil speaks of four days in the week,² on which it was usual to receive the communion, besides incidental festivals of martyrs. And he commends it as good and useful to communicate and participate of the holy body and blood of Christ “every day,—καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν.” Palladius tells us,³ how Macarius advised a woman, that had been under the power of enchantment, never to omit receiving the communion; telling her, that that judgment had befallen her because that for five weeks she had neglected to partake of the holy mysteries. But no one is more express in this matter, nor more vehement against the neglect of frequent communion than St. Chrysostom. He tells us sometimes that they had communions every day for those that were more devoutly disposed; sometimes on the three more solemn days in the week, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, on which days the whole Church was expected; though for all this many came not above once a year. “In vain,” says he,⁴ “is the daily sacrifice,—καθημερινὴ θυσία,—in vain do we stand at the altar: there is none to participate.” He speaks this against those, who came but once a year out of mere custom at some solemn festival, whilst in the meantime the sacrifice was daily offered, though they refused to partake of it. In another place discoursing of the difference between the Jewish and Christian Passover, he says,⁵ “The Jewish Passover comes but once a year, but the Christian Passover is celebrated in every Synaxis or assembly.” And a little after, “Lent comes but once a year, but the passover is celebrated three times a week, and sometimes four, or as often as we please.”

¹ Con. Laodic. can. xlix.

² Basil. Ep. 269. ad Cæsaream.

³ Pallad. Hist. Lausiæ. cap. xix. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. ii. p. 923. See also Cassian. Collat. vii. cap. 30. Where he speaks of daily communion.

⁴ Chrys. Hom. iii. in Eph. p. 1051.

⁵ Chrys. Hom. lii. in eos qui Pascha jejnant. tom. v. p. 705 et 709.

Again,¹ “ This is what destroys all religion, that men measure their worthiness not by the purity of their souls, but by the length of time, and take this for piety and reverence, that they come not frequently to the Lord’s table; not considering that, if they come unworthily, though it be but once a year, they are worthy of punishment. It is not boldness to come frequently, but to come unworthily, though a man do it but once in all his life. But we are so stupid and insensible as to think, that when we have wallowed in sin all the year, without any care to repent, it is sufficient that we have not daily presumed in a contumelious manner to touch the body of Christ: not considering that the Jews, who crucified Christ, did it but once. But was their sin ever the less for that? And Judas betrayed him but once. But did that excuse him? Why therefore do we measure this matter by time only? Let the seasonable time of our coming be a pure conscience. The communion is the same now as it is at Easter, there is the same grace of the spirit, it is the Passover every day. The same sacrifice is offered on Fridays, and Saturdays, and Sundays, and the festivals of the martyrs. It is plain by all this, that the communion was celebrated ordinarily three or four times a week, if not every day; though some were so vain as to think, they were the more respectful to it, in not coming above once a year, out of a pretended reverence for it; who yet when they did come, came only to eat it to their condemnation, for want of a mind duly prepared to receive it. Whom he thus reflects upon in another place: “ Many partake of this sacrifice only once a year, others twice, and others frequently. Which of these are the most acceptable? they only who do it with a pure conscience, with a pure heart, with a life unblameable. With this qualification come always;² without it come not so much as once. For they that do so, take only judgment, condemnation, and punishment to themselves.” This he repeats over and over again in his Homilies. “ He that is

¹ Hom. v. in 1 Tim. p. 1548.
p. 1872.

² Chrys. Hom. xvii. in Hebr.

conscious to himself of no crime, ought to come to the Lord's table: but if men are laden with sin, and do not repent,¹ it is not safe for them to come even once upon a festival. The Jews have their annual memorials of God's benefits on their festivals, but thou, who art a Christian, hast a daily memorial,² as I may say, in these holy mysteries. The best preserver of kindnesses is the remembrance of them, and perpetual thanksgiving for them. Therefore those venerable and salutary mysteries, which we celebrate every day in our assemblies,³ are called the eucharist or thanksgiving: because they are the memorial of God's kindness to us." It were easy to collect abundance more such passages out of this ancient writer, but I will only add one place more, where he thus sharply taxes the people's negligence of frequent communion: "I often observe," says he,⁴ "a great multitude flock together to hear the sermon, but when the time of the holy mysteries comes, I can see few or none of them: which makes me sigh from the bottom of my heart, that when I, your fellow-servant, am discoursing to you, you are ready to tread upon one another for earnestness to hear, and continue very attentive to the end; but when Christ our common Lord and Master is ready to appear in the holy mysteries, the Church is in a manner empty and deserted. What pardon or excuse can be allowed for this? by this neglect you lose all the praise that is due to your diligence in hearing. If you had laid up in your hearts what I preach to you, it would retain you in the church, and prompt you to receive the holy mysteries with piety and veneration: but now, as if you were hearing one play upon an instrument, the preacher has no sooner done, but ye are all gone out of the Church." This I confess, proves that in Chrysostom's days there was a great abatement of the primitive zeal, and a great declension from the original practice: but still it is evident that frequent and daily communions were in some measure kept up by the

¹ Chrys. Hom. xxxi. de Philogon. tom. i. p. 403.

² Hom. li. in Mat. p. 455.

³ Hom. xxvi. in Mat. p. 359.

⁴ Hom. iii. de Incomprehensibili. tom. i. p. 362.

clergy and devouter sort of laity, who constantly frequented them, though many careless Christians had no other regard to them, but only to come formally once or twice a year, and that with superstition enough instead of religion, at some of the solemn festivals.

SECT. 5.—When first it came to be settled to Three Times in the Year.

When matters were come to this degeneracy, some Councils instead of reviving the ancient discipline, and quickening men by just censures to frequent communion, contented themselves to oblige the laity to receive three times a year, at the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, under the penalty of not being reputed Catholic Christians, if they neglected to communicate at those three noted seasons. Thus it was first determined in the Council of Agde,¹ about the year 506. And so things continued to the time of Charles the Great, when the third Council of Tours² made a decree to the like purpose, Anno 813. “That all laymen, who were not under the impediment of greater sins, should receive three times a year at least, if not more frequently.” And yet the clergy continued to communicate frequently with some of the devouter laity every Lord’s day, as appears from the writers of that age, particularly Rabanus Maurus³ and Bertram,⁴ who says the sacrament was administered not only at the paschal solemnity every year, but on every day throughout the year, when as yet the corruption of private and solitary mass did not prevail, which came not in till some ages after. And it is remarkable, that even in this age the Council of Aix la Chapelle⁵ made some attempt to restore the ancient practice to its primitive lustre,

¹ Con. Agathen. can. xviii. *Seculares, qui in Natali Domini, Paschâ, et Pentecoste, non communicaverint, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur.*

² Con. Turon. iii. can. 50. *Ut si non frequentius, vel ter laici homines in anno communicent, nisi fortè quis majoribus criminibus impediatur.*

³ Raban. de Propriet. Sermonis. lib. i. cap. 10. *It. de Instit. Cleric. lib. i. cap. 31.*

⁴ Bertram. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Præfat. Sacramenta—*non solum per omnes Paschæ solennitates celebrantur singulis annis, verum singulis in anno diebus.*

⁵ Con. Aquisgran. cap. lxx. ex Con. Antioch. can. ii.

by reviving the decree of the Council of Antioch, which orders all such as come to church to hear the Scriptures, but refuse to receive the holy communion, to be cast out of the Church, till they should amend their fault by confession and repentance.

SECT. 6.—And afterward to Once a Year by the Council of Lateran.

But the disease was grown too epidemical and inveterate to be easily corrected; and therefore in a degenerate age the corruption went on and increased, and the Council of Lateran under Innocent the III^d. added strength and confirmation to it; reducing the obligation to communicate still within narrower bounds. For whereas before, all men were obliged to communicate at least three times a year, this Council made it necessary to do it no more than once at Easter, when every man and woman, that was come to years of discretion, was bound to make auricular confession of all his sins to his own priest, and receive the communion,¹ unless the priest advised that for some reasonable cause he should abstain from it. This rule was afterward taken into the body of their canon law.² And here we may date the utter ruin of the ancient and apostolical practice of frequent and general communions. For from this time people began to think themselves discharged of the duty of frequent communicating, and contented themselves with receiving once a year at Easter, leaving their priests to communicate alone; which quickly was attended with another corruption of private and solitary masses, which usurped the room of the ancient general communions of the whole Church one with another, and made the ancient prayers a perfect heap and mass of absurdities, whilst they prayed and gave thanks to God for the whole congregation as communicants, when there was not so much as one com-

¹ Con. Lateran. iv. can. 21. *Omnis utriusque sexûs fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Paschâ eucharistiæ sacramentum, &c.*

² Decretal. Gregor. lib. v. tit. 38.

municant properly speaking among them, but all mere spectators of the priest pretending to act in the name of the whole Church, and communicate in pageantry without any real communion. This was the general state of the Romish service at the time of the Reformation, except in some few collegiate churches, where, if Bona say true,¹ the clergy continued to communicate with the officiating priest, according to ancient custom, without which, he confesses, it is hard to make intelligible sense of many of their prayers, that are daily used in their service.

SECT. 7.—What Attempt was made to restore frequent and full Communion at the Reformation.

Some attempt was made by the first reformers to rectify these abuses, and restore frequent and general communions in many places. And they happily carried their point so far, as to abolish private masses in all places: but the restoring the ancient way of the whole Church's communicating every Lord's day, was a matter not so easy to be effected; partly by reason of the prejudices which men had imbibed by the prevalency and long duration of contrary custom; and partly by reason of that affection which men retain for their vices, which will not suffer them to comply with an institution, that requires a constant purity of soul, and a conscience always void of offence, to qualify them for a worthy reception of a weekly or daily communion. Calvin laboured hard at his first coming to Geneva to establish a monthly or a weekly communion, as most agreeable to the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church: he pleads earnestly for it in his Institutions,² where he censures the popish custom of communicating only once a year, as most certainly the invention of the devil: yet after all he could not prevail to have so much as a monthly communion settled among the people, but was over-borne in his endeavours, and forced to yield to a rule, which requires the people to communicate

¹ Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. 17. n. 2. Sine quo vix possunt intelligi, quæ in liturgicis orationibus quotidie recitantur.

² Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xvii. n. 46.

only four times a year. However, he says,¹ he took care to have it entered upon record, that this was an evil custom, to the intent that posterity might with more ease and liberty correct it." But whether it ever was corrected to this day, is what I am ignorant of: most probably it never was, since I have had occasion to show in another work,² communicating only four times a year, continued to be the general standing custom in the French Church. Their discipline required no more, though they encouraged more frequent reception. The Church of England was a little happier in her attempts of this kind. For though her rules require the people in general to receive but three times a year, as of necessary ecclesiastical obligation; yet in our cathedral churches the eucharist is ordinarily celebrated every Lord's day; as it is also in some of the London parish churches; and others both in city and country have monthly communions. Yet there remains a great deal still to be done, to bring this matter to the primitive standard. For even in our cathedrals the communions are very thin, and there is still room for those complaints of St. Chrysostom, In vain do we stand at the altar, in vain is the daily sacrifice offered, there are none, in a manner, that communicate. The churches are crowded to hear the sermon, but when the time of the holy mysteries comes, they are empty and deserted. Men are earnest to hear their fellow servant preach an eloquent discourse, but when Christ the common Lord and master of all is ready to appear, and entertain them, they fly, though never so kindly invited, from his table. This must needs grieve the hearts of all pious servants of Christ, who stand there to minister in his name, whilst few hearken to their admonitions, and the generality excuse themselves from communicating, as if it were no Christian duty. And in country parishes the matter is still more deplorable, where the despair of success deters the minister from attempting it. For here men are generally so averse to a weekly communion, that they will not be prevailed upon

¹ Calvin Respons. de quibusdam Eccles. Ritibus. p. 206.

² French Church's Apology for the Church of England, book iii. chap. 11.

with all the serious exhortations that can be used, to comply with the standing rules of the Church, which oblige them to communicate three times a year, though the minister himself be under an obligation to present every such non-communicant as a notorious delinquent. "But if the foundations be cast down, what can the righteous do?" Experience tells us, it is as much labour in vain to present a negligent people for not communicating three times a year, as it is gravely to exhort them to a weekly communion.

This discouragement, which ministers commonly meet with, in trying to bring men to comply with the stated rules of communicating three times a year by Church censures, which are wholly neglected, makes them despair of going any higher towards the perfection of the primitive practice: since they, who cannot be prevailed upon by the present discipline to communicate three times a year, are too obstinate and stubborn to hearken to any the most serious admonitions, that can be used to incline them to a weekly communion.

SECT. 8.—Wherein this is still deficient, and what seems yet necessary to be done in order to reduce Communion to the Primitive Standard.

What effectual remedy can be applied to this inveterate disease, is not very easy to determine. Yet certainly the regaining of that, which was so much the glory of the primitive Church, and the great support of Christian innocence and piety, as frequent weekly communion certainly was, must be a thing worthy the most serious thoughts and consideration of all those, into whose hands God has put power and authority by a superior influence to redress abuses, when they can safely do it to edification, and not to destruction. If I were worthy to give any advice in the case, it should be this, first to restore the practice of the true ancient discipline, and after that the way would lie open to revive the practice of the true primitive way of communicating weekly every Lord's day. But it will be said, there lies an insuperable difficulty against the restoration of the ancient discipline in the present posture of affairs: the state of the present times, and the general corruption of men's

morals will not admit of it: the Church of England has for two hundred years wished for the restoration of this discipline, and yet it is but an ineffective wish ; for nothing is done towards introducing it, but rather things are gone backward, and there is less discipline for this last sixty years, since the times of the unhappy confusions, than there was before. To which it may be answered, that the difficulty is certainly great, but not insuperable ; for discipline is one of God's ordinances in his Church, and he appoints nothing but what is practicable in itself, if men be not wanting on their part to contribute toward the exercise of it. But to give rules in this case is a nice and tender point, and I had rather it should be done by the wisdom of others than myself. Something has already been suggested, by a late learned writer on this subject,¹ very useful for obtaining the end now proposed : and therefore I shall content myself at present to refer to his suggestions, and put an end to this discourse.

¹ Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church. cap. iv. London, 1714.

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