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ORIGINES LITURGICÆ,  
OR  
ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
THE ENGLISH RITUAL,  
AND



A DISSERTATION ON PRIMITIVE LITURGIES.

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BY  
THE REV. WILLIAM PALMER, M. A.  
OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOL. II.



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ANTIQUITIES

VOL. II.

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ANTIQUITIES  
OF THE  
ENGLISH RITUAL.

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CHAPTER IV.  
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THE HOLY COMMUNION.

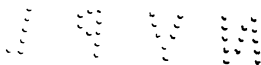
INTRODUCTION.

**I** HAVE already in the last chapter noticed the various books which were anciently used in the celebration of the eucharist. The particular details relating to the liturgy of the church of England will be found in the following chapter; but I wish first to consider some of the objections made to it, which, though in a few instances treated more at large in other parts of this work, I think it advisable to bring together here, that the reader may be able to estimate their amount and value.

I do not mean to produce the multiplied objections of the more irregular sects who have unhappily departed from the church in this empire, because they have been already answered by many writers. Yet the present work may convince them, of the injustice of representing the English ritual as derived from the modern offices of the Roman

church. It will be seen that Romanists are loud in their hostility to our liturgy, which in form and substance rather resembles the ancient Gallican, Spanish, Egyptian, and Oriental liturgies, than the Roman; while the expressions of our ritual are either taken from those liturgies just mentioned, or else from the ancient English offices which had been used in this country from the sixth century, and were *then* derived from the *primitive* Roman offices of the first four or five centuries after Christ. So that most of the expressions of the English ritual have continued in this church for above twelve hundred years, and in the Christian church for fourteen hundred years; many parts we trace back for sixteen hundred years, much to the apostolic age. If the modern Roman offices bear any resemblance to the English, it is in those points in which both resemble the offices of the primitive church.

The objections advanced by Romanists seem to merit more attention in this place, first, because they are more plausible and dangerous; secondly, a few of them have not yet perhaps been so formally refuted as their nature requires; and, thirdly, being advanced by men who preserve some external unity amongst themselves, they are uniform in their character and definite in their number. I have therefore taken considerable pains to collect all the arguments which such men have advanced against the English ritual, and will now proceed with the greatest brevity to notice and refute them. The objections resolve themselves into two classes; first, general objections against the whole ritual; secondly, objections against particular parts of it.





## GENERAL OBJECTIONS.

**FIRST,** It is argued that the English ritual having only been authorized by the king and parliament, who had no lawful jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs; and having been resisted and condemned by the bishops and clergy, who had the lawful jurisdiction in such matters; it is devoid of all spiritual sanction and authority, uncanonical and illegitimate <sup>a</sup>.

But if it should appear that Christian princes have some authority in ecclesiastical affairs; that the crown of England exercised in the present instance an authority for which there are precedents in ecclesiastical history; and that the bishops and churches of England assented to the introduction of the English ritual; the objection falls to the ground.

*First,* it is not true that Christian princes have no authority and jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs. The Christian church indeed does not derive her peculiar and spiritual right of jurisdiction from man, but from GOD; and of that power she can only be deprived by him who gave it. The pastors and teachers of the church are those whom Christ has given us for "the work of the ministry," for the preservation of unity and truth: and the Holy Ghost has commanded us to "obey" them. It is, however, also true, that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and that the duty of obedience to the civil government is imperative on Christians. Now while it is certain that ecclesiastical affairs be-

<sup>a</sup> Assemani Codex Liturgicus, tom. vi. p. xcvi. "Certain Considerations, &c." Collier's

Eccles. History, vol. ii. Records, p. 89.

long chiefly to the church, and civil affairs to the state, yet the word of God does not expressly mark the particular cases which form the limit of civil jurisdiction, and in fact the church has always allowed it to extend to many points of the ecclesiastical polity. It is indisputable that Christian emperors and kings have erected bishoprics, promoted sees from the suffragan to the metropolitan and patriarchal rank and jurisdiction; withdrawn churches from the jurisdiction of one patriarch, and placed them under another; given to bishops the power of receiving appeals in ecclesiastical causes; summoned, presided in, and confirmed, councils national and general; made constitutions and canons on every subject relative to ecclesiastical discipline; confirmed and invested bishops; directed special prayers to be repeated in churches; and made regulations for the performance of divine service. This sort of authority has been conceded and fortified by the church, not only as a tribute of high respect to rulers, but because it tends to dispose them to be favourable towards religion, and to assist, or at least not to oppose, the spread of the gospel. But some limits there are where concession *must* cease. No human authority and power can justify the enactment of any thing contrary to the law of God, or the essential discipline of the church. No prince can have such a right, his jurisdiction would in that instance be annulled, and the church would be bound by her allegiance to the King of kings, of whom all earthly princes are the "ministers," to suffer every extremity of persecution rather than obey. If Christ said, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," he added, "and unto God the things

that are God's." But the authority of Christian kings and governors in ecclesiastical affairs, when properly exerted, is certainly very great; and to deny its existence, and the validity of all its acts, is to oppose ourselves to the universal practice of the catholic church.

*Secondly*, if the authority of the state was exercised in the present instance in the abolition of one liturgy and the substitution of another, the same had been done by Christian emperors and kings before, and it had been admitted as valid and lawful by the catholic church. In France, the ancient Gallican liturgy was abolished and the Roman introduced, by the emperor Charlemagne. Cardinal Bona says, "that I may in the first place separate the certain from the uncertain, I suppose this as most clear, that the old rites were abrogated in the churches of Gaul, and the Roman introduced *by command* of the most pious *kings* Pepin and Charlemagne <sup>b</sup>." In the kingdoms of Castille and Leon, the ancient Spanish liturgy was abolished, and the Roman introduced by king Alphonso, who threatened death and confiscation to all who opposed this change, and so prevailed; although "the *clergy and people* of all Spain were disturbed at being *compelled* to receive the new office," and at last it became a proverb that, "quo volunt reges vadunt leges <sup>c</sup>." These kings have never been blamed by the Christian church for introducing a new liturgy

<sup>b</sup> "Ut autem certa ab incertis ante omnia secernam, hoc tanquam exploratissimum suppono, veteres ritus in Gallicanis ecclesiis abrogatos, et Romanos introductos fuisse

jussu piissimorum regum Pipini et Caroli Magni. Rer. Liturg. lib. i. c. xii. p. 78.

<sup>c</sup> Rodericus Toletanus, de Rebus Hisp. lib. vi. c. 26. quoted above p. 167. vol. i.

into their dominions; and therefore the crown of England cannot be said to have exercised an improper authority in the present case, by any who would defend the Christian church from a charge of culpable neglect, or unprincipled subserviency.

It may be replied, that the cases are different; for, in the *first* place, the patriarch of Rome approved of the changes in Gaul and Spain, and disapproved of those in Britain. I reply, that this patriarch had no right to interfere in the business, except in the way of friendly advice and counsel. For he never had, either by divine right, by the canons, or in fact, any universal jurisdiction over the catholic church; nor did he by the decree of any lawful general council, or by primitive custom, possess any patriarchal jurisdiction over Gaul, Spain, or Britain<sup>d</sup>. Therefore his constitutions relative to these churches were indebted for their authority solely to the consent of the catholic bishops and Christian princes therein; and of course his approbation or disapprobation did not affect the lawfulness of changes that were made in the ecclesiastical affairs of those churches. Therefore, although he approved of the changes in Gaul and Spain, and disapproved of that in Britain, those changes were all equally valid.

It may be objected, in the *second* place, that the cases are different, because the liturgy to be introduced in Gaul and Spain was orthodox, while that to be introduced in Britain was heretical. I reply, that there is no truth in the assertion. It is impossible to shew one single spot of heresy in the Eng-

<sup>d</sup> See the chapter on the English ordinations, at the end of this volume.

lish liturgy and ritual ; it never has been done ; and while the holy scriptures and the writings of the orthodox Fathers remain in the Christian church, it never will be done.

*Thirdly*, it may be said, that the Roman rites were efficacious for communicating the graces of the sacraments, while the English were not ; and therefore the former might lawfully be introduced, while the latter might not. I reply, that the English ritual is effectual and valid for communicating the graces of the sacraments, as may be seen by the following replies to all the particular objections urged against its validity, and by the whole substance of this book.

*Lastly*, it may be objected, that the bishops and clergy of Gaul and Spain approved of the change, and their kings merely gave the temporal sanction to their resolutions ; while the English bishops and clergy all opposed the change. In reply to the first part of this objection, I observe, that history informs us that the "clergy," as well as people of all Spain, were opposed to the reception of the Roman liturgy, and were only "compelled to submit by threats of death and confiscation." And with regard to Gaul, we are told that the alteration took place by "command" of Pepin and Charlemagne ; we read nothing of its being caused by the Gallican bishops ; and all we know as to their approbation of it is, that they submitted to the imperial decree, which is no proof that they desired or promoted the change. The Spanish clergy were therefore violently opposed to the change of liturgy ; the Gallican were at most only passive, and gave no signs of approbation ; yet the change took place in both churches at the com-

mand of their kings, and the liturgies then introduced have been ever since acknowledged by the church to rest on sufficient sanctions, and to be invested with spiritual authority. If then the English bishops and clergy opposed the change of liturgy, that change might nevertheless be valid; and it would be *made so* by their subsequent assent to, and adoption of, the liturgy introduced. It was thus that the Roman liturgy became valid in Gaul and Spain, though at first it was opposed, or not introduced, by the bishops; and I maintain, that the English ritual was assented to and received by the English and Irish prelates; for,

*Thirdly*, it is an incontestible fact, that although the English ritual was objected to by the prelates in the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, it was very shortly after admitted and approved of by all the bishops and clergy of England, and has been ever since used by their successors in the catholic church: and as to Ireland, the ritual was immediately adopted there without any opposition, except from one or two bishops, and has ever since received the approbation of the Christian church in that part of the British empire.

Since therefore Christian princes have authority in ecclesiastical affairs; since the British crown did not exercise an unlawful authority in promoting the change of the liturgy; and since the English ritual has received the approbation and assent of the church; it is not schismatical, uncanonical, or in any manner illegitimate; but, on the contrary, is invested with that sacred and spiritual authority, to which Christians are bound to yield their devoted and affectionate obedience.

SECONDLY. It has been calumniously asserted, that the English liturgy retains nothing of the primitive liturgies, except the preface and the words of our Redeemer<sup>e</sup>. For a refutation of this, I would refer the reader to the following chapter. In the same spirit of misrepresentation it has been said, that the object of the revisers of the English liturgy was, to remove from it all traces of antiquity<sup>f</sup>. To this I make the same reply.

## PARTICULAR OBJECTIONS.

FIRST. There is no consecration of the elements in the eucharist, because while we are commanded by the gospel to take the bread in our hands, to bless it, and break it, all this is omitted in the English liturgy<sup>g</sup>.

I reply, that some things in our blessed Saviour's administration were essential, and others were not. To take, bless, and receive the bread was essential: to take it in his hands, to break it, to receive it at supper, and before the blessing of the cup, was not. The church of Constantinople and all the east omit the ceremony of taking the bread into the hands<sup>h</sup>. The Roman ritualist Zaccaria says, that no one will contend that the breaking of bread is essential<sup>i</sup>. There could therefore be no objection to the validity of the consecration in the English liturgy, even if

<sup>e</sup> Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. v.

<sup>f</sup> Bossuet, Histoire des Variations.

<sup>g</sup> Scott, bishop of Chester, cited in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 428.

<sup>h</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. Liturg. Chrysostomi, p. 76.

<sup>i</sup> Zaccaria, Bibliotheca Ritualis, tom. i. p. lxix. "Vini et aquæ commixtio, fractio hostiæ, permixtio specierum, trisagion, Dominica oratio in liturgiis reperiuntur: quæ tamen omnia ad eucharistiæ consecrationem esse prorsus necessaria nemo contendet."

the priest did not take the bread in his hands, and break it, (which however he does.) The bread is *blessed*, according to the universal custom, with prayer and the word of God. The validity of the consecration in the English liturgy is therefore certain.

SECOND. There is no invocation of the Holy Ghost that the bread may be made the body, and the wine the blood, of Christ<sup>j</sup>; therefore the English liturgy is unlawful.

*Answer.* So is the Roman, if this invocation be necessary; for there is no more express invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Roman canon than in the English. It would be well therefore if Romanists would remember, before they bring such a charge against the English liturgy, that their own liturgy is open to the same objection, and that it would arm the Greek doctors with an irresistible argument against them. However, in another place I shall prove that the English liturgy is not deficient in this respect<sup>k</sup>.

THIRD. There is no intention in the minds of the English priests to consecrate the bread and wine; but this intention is essential to a valid consecration; therefore the elements are not consecrated<sup>l</sup>.

I reply, *first*, that it is not the doctrine of the catholic church, that a right intention is essential to the valid administration of the sacraments. No Romanist even is obliged to believe this<sup>m</sup>; for although

<sup>j</sup> Asseman, Codex Liturg. tom. vi. p. xcvi.

<sup>k</sup> See section xix. of this chapter.

<sup>l</sup> Bp. Scott, Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 428.

<sup>m</sup> However popular the doctrine of intention may be among Romanists, it is not a matter which they are compelled to believe. Ambrosius Catharinus, an eminent theo-



most of the schoolmen and modern controversialists teach the doctrine, yet that is not sufficient to make it an article of faith ; and the council of Trent uses expressions on the subject, which by no means prove the point. It denounces an anathema against any one who saith, that “an intention at least of doing what the church doth, is not requisite in the ministers while they make and confer the sacraments <sup>n</sup>.” But whether this intention be requisite for the *valid* administration of the sacraments, or for their *religious* administration, is not decided by these words. The acts of the council of Florence (or rather pope Eugenius) affirm, that “after the words of the consecration of the body have been repeated by the priest, with the intention of consecrating, the bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ <sup>o</sup>.” But this passage occurs in a decree for the Armenians, which was made after the council of Florence had been broken up, and therefore is denied by emi-

logian, who was made archbishop of Conza by Julius III. of Rome, A. D. 1551, maintained, that it is not necessary that the minister, in conferring the sacraments, should have the intention of doing what the church intends, provided that he performs the requisite ceremonies. Bellarmine says this doctrine approaches nearly to heresy : it has never been condemned, however, by the Roman church ; and without doubt has many adherents among Romanists at the present day. See Biographie Universelle, Paris, 1813. v. Catharin.

<sup>n</sup> Concil. Tridentin. sessio vii. can. 11. “Si quis dixerit, in ministris, dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia, anathema sit.”

<sup>o</sup> Decretum pro Armenis. Concil. Florentini, pars iii. Labbé, tom. xiii. col. 1211. “Dummodo enim panis substantia maneat, nullatenus dubitandum est, quin post præfata verba consecrationis corporis, a sacerdote cum intentione conficiendi prolata, mox in verum Christi corpus transubstantietur.”

nent Romanists to form part of its decrees <sup>p</sup>. And even the words themselves do not prove the absolute necessity of intention; for although a certain effect is here said to follow the repetition of the words of consecration, *with* an intention of consecrating, there is no direct assertion, or *necessary* consequence, that the same effect does not follow *without* that intention.

I reply, *secondly*, that the right intention of the minister is not absolutely requisite to the valid administration of the sacraments, when they are celebrated for the benefit of the church. For it is not the minister who confers the graces of the sacraments, but the supreme God, by whose commission he acts in the Christian church. The minister is the instrument by whom God chooses, in the ordinary course of his providence, to convey certain benefits to the faithful. But that infinite power, wisdom, and love, which devised the means of grace, will doubtless make them effectual to those for whom they are ultimately intended, although the ordinary instrument be ill regulated; for otherwise all would be punished for the fault of one. And further, if an intention of doing what the church requires be essential, we should never know whether the consecration had taken place, and consequently could never approach the holy table but with a doubtful and troubled mind.

I reply, *thirdly*, by asserting, that there is as much intention to consecrate in the minds of our clergy, as there can be in any others whatsoever; and who shall prove the reverse?

<sup>p</sup> Le Brun, Explication de la Messe &c. tom. v. p. 226.

**FOURTH.** The English priests, when they pronounce the words of our Lord, have no regard to the force of the expression, or the sacramental solemnity<sup>q</sup>.

This I deny. The English clergy have the same regard to these words which their predecessors had in the apostolical age; they esteem them to have great efficacy in the consecration.

**FIFTH.** There is no petition put up to God for the purpose of consecrating the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ<sup>r</sup>.

I reply, that there is as valid a prayer for this purpose in the English liturgy, as there is in the Roman for the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which Assemani declares to be essential<sup>s</sup>. If, then, the English prayer for consecration is invalid and illegitimate, so is the Roman. For a more full view of this subject, see section XIX. of the following chapter.

**SIXTH.** The wine of the eucharist is not mixed with water<sup>t</sup>.

I reply, that even if we were to admit this custom to be of apostolical antiquity, it is yet not essential to consecration by the admission of Zaccaria and Bona, who say that “no one will contend that it is necessary<sup>u</sup>,” and that “the opinion of theologians is fixed that it is not<sup>v</sup>.” But the church of England

<sup>q</sup> Bp. Scott, cited by Collier, vol. ii. p. 428.

<sup>r</sup> Scott, ut supra. Schultingius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, tom. iv. pars 2.

<sup>s</sup> Assemani objects to the English liturgy, because it does not contain the invocation of the Holy Spirit to make the

bread and wine the body and blood of Christ. *Codex Liturgicus*, tom. vi. p. xcvi.

<sup>t</sup> Schultingius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, tom. iv. pars 2.

<sup>u</sup> Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, tom. i. p. lxi.

<sup>v</sup> Bona, *Rer. Liturgicar. lib.* ii. c. 9. §. 3.

has never prohibited this custom, which is primitive and canonical.

**SEVENTH.** It is objected that there is no oblation, at least no truth and certainty of oblation, in the English liturgy, and therefore it is illegitimate<sup>w</sup>.

I reply, that every oblation recognised by the Christian church is contained in the English liturgy. There are the offerings of prayer and alms, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, the oblation of God's creatures of bread and wine, the reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice of ourselves, our souls, and bodies unto God. There is the whole rational, unbloody, and spiritual service, including the commemoration of the sacrifice once offered by Christ, of his body pierced, and his blood shed, for mankind. All this holy service is offered to the honour and glory of God, and infinitely surpasses the bloody and typical sacrifices of the Law. And it is as validly and effectually administered by the English liturgy, as by any other in existence. It is absurd in Romanists to object, that the English liturgy is devoid of the service offered in commemoration of that sacrifice which Christ once completed; for some of their own doctors teach, that this oblation is effected by the separate consecration of the bread and wine, which they know to exist in the English liturgy. Not indeed that we admit this doctrine of theirs, for there is no proof that the memorial of Christ's sacrifice is performed by consecration alone, and not by the whole service which he has enjoined.

**EIGHTH.** The body of Christ is not appointed to

<sup>w</sup> Assemani Codex Liturgicus, tom. vi. p. xcvi. Bp. Scott, Collier, vol. ii. p. 428. Schul-

tingius, Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, tom. iv. pars 2.

be venerated and adored by the English liturgy, therefore it is unlawful<sup>x</sup>.

*Answer.* If so, then the sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory, the liturgies of Mark, James, and many others, must also be illegitimate, for none of them contain any direction to venerate the body of Christ. But although the church of England gives no such direction in her liturgy, and protests against the idea of adoring "sacramental bread and wine," and abjures the imputation of worshipping "any *corporal* presence of Christ's *natural* flesh and blood<sup>y</sup>;" as if she believed the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation; yet she believes in the mysterious presence of that Redeemer, whose "body and blood" she declares are "verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful<sup>z</sup>." And to signify her "humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ *therein* given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such *profanation* and disorder in the holy communion as might otherwise ensue<sup>a</sup>," she directs all her children to receive the sacrament kneeling; that is, in an attitude of humble devotion. If the priest places the consecrated elements on the table, it is to be done "*reverently*<sup>b</sup>." If any of them remain after the communion, the

<sup>x</sup> Scott, ut supra.

<sup>y</sup> "No adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." Declaration at the end of the communion service.

<sup>z</sup> Catechism in the English Ritual, or book of Common

Prayer, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Declaration quoted above.

<sup>b</sup> "When all have communicated, the minister shall return to the Lord's table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth." Rubric after the form of communion.

priest and others shall “*reverently* eat and drink the same<sup>c</sup>.” These things shew plainly, that the church of England is careful to express her humble devotion to Christ when mystically present at the holy communion, and to prevent any profanation of the sacred symbols: and such was the discipline of the primitive church. But the church of England certainly does not prescribe the elevation of the sacrament for the purpose of adoration, which was not practised in the Christian church for eleven hundred years after Christ<sup>d</sup>, and was then introduced chiefly by those who were supporters of the evil doctrine of the corporal presence, or transubstantiation.

NINTH. The English liturgy does not contain prayers for the departed which occur in all ancient liturgies. It is therefore illegitimate<sup>e</sup>.

I reply, that these prayers are not essential to oblation, consecration, or communion; they are therefore not necessary for the valid administration of the sacrament. And even supposing them to be of apostolical antiquity, there would be no just ground of objection to the English liturgy on account of their absence. For those apostolical customs which are not necessary to salvation, may be suspended or abrogated by the successors of the apostles, if there be good reasons for doing so. Thus the prohibition against eating blood and things strangled, the love

<sup>c</sup> Rubric at the end of the communion service.

<sup>d</sup> Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. ii. c. 13. §. 2. Muratori says it is confessed by all the learned Romanists, that the elevation of the sacrament prevailed in the Roman catholic church *after* the heresy of

Berengarius. *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, tom. i. p. 227. See also Bingham, *Antiquities*, book xv. chap. 5. sect. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Bp. Scott, cited by Collier, p. 427. vol. ii. *Assemani Codex Liturgicus*, tom. vi. p. xcvi. Schultingius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiast.*

feasts, the giving of milk and honey, and of the eucharist to infants, trine immersion at baptism, the kiss of peace in the eucharist, prayer towards the east, &c. have all been suspended; altered, or annulled; yet all these are as ancient as prayers for the departed. In the tenth section of the following chapter I consider more particularly the reasons which justified the church of England in omitting these prayers.

**TENTH.** There is no worship nor commemoration of the saints<sup>f</sup>.

I reply, that Romanists admit the worship of saints not to be essential, and if we are to understand by that term, invocation and prayer to them, it has been found to have most injurious consequences. On this subject I refer the reader to chapter ii. page 289, &c. where I consider the reasons which justified the church in removing invocations of saints. That there is no commemoration of saints in the English liturgy is an error; for besides the festivals of the Apostles and martyrs, we celebrate the memory of "All Saints," and commemorate them in the eucharist and other offices.

**ELEVENTH.** None of the canon of the liturgy is said in secret. The liturgy is therefore illegitimate<sup>g</sup>.

This objection of Assemani is refuted by his own admission, that the decree of the emperor Justinian, directing the liturgy to be repeated *aloud*, was only a confirmation of the ancient discipline of the eastern church<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Assemani, Codex Liturgicus, tom. vi. p. xcvi. Bp. Scott; Collier, vol. ii. p. 427.

<sup>g</sup> Assemani, Codex Liturgi-

cus, tom. vi. p. xcvi.

<sup>h</sup> Codex Liturgicus, tom. v. p. liv.

TWELFTH. The Lord's Prayer is omitted after the canon of the liturgy<sup>i</sup>.

I shew elsewhere that there are precedents in the primitive church for doing so<sup>j</sup>.

THIRTEENTH. The priest reads the epistle, which ought to be read by the sub-deacon<sup>k</sup>.

I reply, that cardinal Bona has shewn that the Roman custom of appointing the sub-deacon to read the epistle was an innovation, the reader having formerly fulfilled that office. But if the priest reads the epistle in the English liturgy, it is only when there is no assistant minister present; a rule which is equally observed in the Roman and eastern liturgies.

FOURTEENTH. It is objected that confiteor, miseratur, Kyrie eleison, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Benedictions, sign of the cross, exsufflations, exorcisms, anointing, praying towards the east, &c. have been omitted<sup>l</sup>.

I reply, that most of these have not been omitted, and the remainder are unnecessary to the valid administration of the sacraments and offices.

These are all the objections I have been able to find against our liturgy and offices, except a few trifling cavils against the morning and evening prayer, which I have not thought it necessary to collect in this place, but have noticed them in the first chapter of this work.

<sup>i</sup> Schultingius, Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica.

<sup>j</sup> See section xix. of this chapter, near the end.

<sup>k</sup> Schultingius, Biblioth. Ec-

clesiastica.

<sup>l</sup> Bp. Scott, cited by Collier, Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 427.



## SECTION I.

## THE LORD'S PRAYER, AND COLLECT FOR PURITY.

We learn from the writings of Justin Martyr, and from other ecclesiastical monuments of the earliest antiquity, that the public service of the Christians began with lessons from holy scripture. "On the day which is called Sunday," says Justin, "all who live in the city or the country meet together, and the memoirs of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as circumstances permit<sup>a</sup>." The author of the Apostolical Constitutions, who is admitted by the most learned critics to have lived about the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, concurs with Justin in representing the reading of scripture as the commencement of the liturgy or communion-service of the primitive church<sup>b</sup>. It would be in vain, therefore, to attempt to trace any part of our communion-service, which precedes the lessons, to the earliest ages of the Christian church. It was probably in the fourth century that some of the eastern churches began to prefix psalms or anthems to the lessons. The author who bears the name of Dionysius the Areopagite probably lived in the latter part of this century, and he plainly speaks of psalmody at the beginning of the service<sup>c</sup>. Early in the following

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἄγρους μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Apolog. i. edit. Thirlby, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 57. p. 261.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁ μὲν ἱεράρχης εὐχὴν ἱερὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου τελήσας, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θυμῶν ἀρξάμενος, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἔρχεται τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ χωροῦ περιοχὴν ἀναλύσας δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον θυσιαστήριον,

century we find that it had also extended into Africa, where Augustine wrote a book in its defence against Hilary, a layman of rank, who, he says, inveighed against the custom of singing hymns taken from the book of Psalms, either before the oblation, or during the distribution of the elements; which, Augustine says, was then beginning at Carthage<sup>d</sup>. If we rely on the author of the *Liber Pontificalis*, Cœlestine, bishop of Rome, who was a contemporary of Augustine, appointed that the Psalms of David should be sung before the sacrifice, or liturgy, "which," he adds, "was not done before, but only the epistles of Paul and the holy gospel were read<sup>e</sup>." In after-ages, Gregory the Great selected anthems from the psalms, which he appointed to be sung before the lessons<sup>f</sup>; and the same practice was adopted in the church of Milan, and in most of the west. This anthem before the lessons was called *Introitus* in the Roman liturgy, *Ingressa*<sup>g</sup> in the

ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν ψαλμῶν μελωδίας, συναδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν ψαλμικὴν ἱερολογίαν ἀπάσης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακοσμήσεως. Dionys. Areop. de Eccl. Hierarch. c. 3. tom. i. p. 283. ed. Corderii.

<sup>d</sup> "Hilarius quidem vir tribunitius laicus catholicus, nescio unde adversus Dei ministros, ut fieri adsolet irritatus, morem qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de Psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribuereetur populo quod fuisset oblationem, maledica reprehensione ubicumque poterat lacerabat," &c. Augustin. lib. ii. *Retractat.* c. 11. p. 45. tom. i. edit. Be-

nedict.

<sup>e</sup> "Hic constituit ut ex Psalmi David ante sacrificium psallerentur antiphonatum, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum recitabantur Epistolæ Pauli et Sanctum Evangelium et sic missæ fiebant." Auctor *Libri Pontificalis* in vita Cœlestini.

<sup>f</sup> "Cœlestinus papa psalmos ad introitum missæ cantari instituit: de quibus Gregorius papa postea antiphonas ad introitum missæ modulando composuit." Honorius in *Gemma Animæ*, lib. i. c. 37. p. 1205. of Melchior Hittorp's *Collection of writers de Divinis Cath. Eccl. Officiis.* Paris. 1624.

<sup>g</sup> *Miss. Ambros.* fol. 1, &c.

Ambrosian, or that of Milan, and in the English church was formerly used under the name of *Officium*<sup>h</sup>, or *Introit*.

It appears probable that some prayers likewise were used before and between the lessons from a period of great antiquity. It will appear in the third section, that we may trace back the original of collects to the fourth century at least, in the western churches, and that it is not improbable that in the patriarchate of Alexandria they may be of still greater antiquity. To present an idea of the variety which, from the fifth or sixth century, prevailed in different churches, with regard to that part of the liturgy which preceded the lessons, I shall briefly state the substance of this part of the ancient liturgies. In the patriarchate of Alexandria, the service began with a prayer of thanksgiving<sup>i</sup>, followed by collects and petitions for the emperor of the east<sup>j</sup>, the patriarch or pope of Alexandria<sup>k</sup>, and other objects. At Milan, in Germany, and probably Ireland, we find an anthem sung at the beginning<sup>l</sup>. This was followed by the form of *Kyrie eleison*, derived from the eastern church, and a long litany, in which the deacon directed the people to pray for many different objects, and the people responded<sup>m</sup>. This form was manifestly taken from the ancient practice of the eastern church also<sup>n</sup>. After the li-

<sup>h</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. 13. et passim.

<sup>i</sup> Liturgia Basilii Coptica, apud Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 2. Liturg. Marci, ibid. p. 131.

<sup>j</sup> Liturgia Marci, p. 132.

<sup>k</sup> Liturg. Basil. p. 5. Marci, 133.

<sup>l</sup> Miss. Ambrosii. Gerbert, Vet. Liturg. Aleman. tom. i. p. 293. O'Conor, Appendix to vol. i. of Catalogue of MSS. in Stowe Library, p. 41.

<sup>m</sup> Miss. Ambrosii, fol. 63. 70. Antiq. Liturg. tom. iii. p. 307. O'Conor, Appendix, p. 41.

<sup>n</sup> Goar, not. 62. in Liturg.

tany was concluded, the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* was sung, and the collect read. At Rome the same rite prevailed, except that the *Gloria in excelsis* was not sung when the litany was said. In the patriarchate of Constantinople, the introduction to the lessons contained a litany, (which was probably the original of the western litanies just alluded to<sup>o</sup>), three anthems, and the celebrated hymn *Trisagios*<sup>p</sup>, which was introduced into that liturgy in the time of the emperor Theodosius the younger, when Proclus was patriarch of Constantinople.

In the churches of Gaul and Spain the liturgy commenced with an anthem, followed by the hymn *Trisagios*, in imitation of the eastern rite; after which the "Song of the Prophet Zacharias," beginning *Benedictus*, was sung, and a collect was repeated by the priest before the lesson from the Old Testament<sup>q</sup>.

It thus appears that a very great variety prevailed in the introductory part of the ancient liturgies during the ages which followed the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451; and that the Roman introduction was used in comparatively a small portion of the world.

In point of brevity, our own introduction to the reading of scripture in the communion-service may be regarded as approaching nearer to the primitive customs than perhaps that of any other liturgy now

Chrysost. p. 123; see also p. 46. 64. Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* p. 337, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Goar, *Liturg. Chrysostom.* p. 64.

<sup>p</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68. et not. 80.

<sup>q</sup> Germanus, *de Missa*, ap.

Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. v. p. 92. Martene's *Introduction*, p. 85, &c. Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, &c. tom. iii. See *Dissertation on primitive Liturgies*, vol. i. p. 159.

used. This introduction consists of the Lord's Prayer and collect for purity; to which, in places where they sing, an anthem is prefixed.

A custom prevails in the cathedral church of Worcester which is worthy of remark. There, the morning prayer being concluded at an early hour, after an interval of time the communion-service or liturgy begins with the litany. We have already seen, that the same order prevailed anciently in Italy, Germany, and Ireland; and that it derived its origin from the churches of the patriarchate of Constantinople. In the Roman liturgy this custom has long been relinquished; at Milan only is the litany repeated at the beginning of the liturgy during Lent. Goar and Bona agree that the litany continued to be used in this place till the ninth century in the west<sup>r</sup>.

The Lord's Prayer and collect for purity had been long used by the English church in their present position, when the revision and reform of our offices took place in the reign of Edward the Sixth. They were found in the liturgy of Salisbury<sup>s</sup>, which was revised and corrected by Osmund, bishop of that see about 1080. Whether they formed part of the liturgy in the time of that prelate we cannot determine, but certainly they had been long used before the time of Edward the Sixth. It was from the offices of the English church therefore, and not from any foreign source, that these prayers were derived. With regard to the antiquity of the collect for purity, we know that it is at least 900 years old; for it appears in a manuscript sacramentary of

<sup>r</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. lib. ii. c. 4.  
123. Bona, *Rer. Lit.* p. 338.      <sup>s</sup> Fol. 71. *Miss. Sarisb.*

the tenth century, which was used in England<sup>t</sup>. The same collect appears in the sacramentary ascribed to Alcuin, a doctor of the Anglo-Saxon church, who was the friend of the emperor Charlemagne about the end of the eighth century.

We have no means of ascertaining the period at which the Lord's Prayer was first introduced into this part of the English liturgy. Certainly in primitive times, while the ancient discipline of the church with regard to catechumens existed, the Lord's Prayer could not have been recited at the beginning of the liturgy. The catechumens were those converts from heathenism who were under a course of discipline and instruction preparatory to the reception of the sacrament of baptism. The substance of the Christian faith was only communicated gradually to these persons, in proportion as they were found fit to receive it. It was only after they had been for some time under instruction, when they had attained to the highest class, known by the name of "competentes," and were then immediately to be baptized, that they were for the first time taught the Lord's Prayer<sup>u</sup>. The reason of this was, that the Lord's Prayer was looked on by the primitive Christians as peculiarly their own<sup>v</sup>;

<sup>t</sup> I allude to the sacramentary of Leofric, bishop of Exeter.

<sup>u</sup> Προσευχῆς δὲ τύπον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, δεδωκώς, προσέταξε λέγειν ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. ταύτην δὲ τὴν προσευχὴν, οὐ τοὺς ἀμνήτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσταγωγούμενους διδάσκωμεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀμνήτων λέγειν τολμᾷ, πᾶτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,

μήπω δεξάμενος τῆς υἰοθεσίας τὸ χάρισμα, κ. τ. λ. Theodoret. Hæretic. Fabular. lib. v. c. 28. p. 316. tom. iv. Oper. edit. Sirmond. Paris, 1642. See Bingham, Antiq. b. x. c. 5. §. 9.

<sup>v</sup> Ὅτι γὰρ πιστοῖς αὕτη ἡ προσευχὴ προσήκει, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσι, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς εὐχῆς. ὁ γὰρ ἀμνήτος οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πατέρα καλεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Chrysostom. Hom.

and it could only be used with propriety by those, who, by admission into the church by the sacrament of baptism, were entitled to call God their Father. It was termed "the prayer of the faithful," and regarded as the most sacred and precious of all prayers. To have recited it therefore in any part of the service when the catechumens and heathen were present, would have been to make public a prayer which was purposely kept secret. But while the lessons were read, and the sermon delivered, the catechumens, and even heathens, were allowed to remain in church <sup>w</sup>. The Lord's Prayer could not therefore have been recited before the lessons in the primitive church.

But when Christianity had prevailed, and infidelity had by the grace of God become extinct within the limits of the Christian churches, the necessity of adhering to the discipline which supposed the existence of heathens and of heathen converts ceased. Hence we find, that in the eighth and ninth centuries many prayers were brought into the introductory part of the liturgy, which could not have been placed there in primitive times; and here in England, at length, even the Lord's Prayer came to be repeated in this part of the service.

At the first revision of the English liturgy in the reign of Edward the Sixth, a form of introduction somewhat similar to the Roman was retained. After the Lord's Prayer and collect for purity, the

xix. al. xx. in Matthæum, p. 252. tom. vii. ed. Benedict.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. Carthagin. iv. c. 84. "Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et au-

dire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive hæreticum, sive Judæum, usque ad missam catechumenorum."

form of "Lord have mercy upon us," &c., or *Kyrie eleison*, was repeated; and then followed the hymn *Gloria in excelsis*. At the next revision these last forms were omitted; and there is now no resemblance between the Roman introduction and our own. The custom of the church of Worcester, already alluded to, resembles that of the eastern church during the fifth or sixth century, and was anciently used in many churches of the west.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen x.

THE COLLECT FOR PURITY.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name; through Christ our Lord. *Amen*.

Deus cui omne cor patet, et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum; purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri; ut te perfecte diligere, et digne laudare mereamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen y.

x Missale Sarisb. fol. 71.

y Ibid. MS. Leofr. fol. 213. Alcuin. Liber Sacrament. c. 1.



## SECTION II.

## THE LAW.

This part of our liturgy may be traced to the apostolic age. We know from scripture that the law and the prophets were read in the synagogues<sup>a</sup>, and that our Lord himself read from the book of Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazareth on the sabbath-day<sup>b</sup>. There can be no doubt that from the Lord and his apostles, the whole church received the custom of reading the scriptures in their public assemblies. When the gospels, and the epistles of the holy apostles were written, they also were read as canonical scripture in the church, after the law and prophets. We find this custom mentioned by Justin Martyr in the second century<sup>c</sup>. Tertullian, at the end of the same century, speaks of the reading of scriptures in the church<sup>d</sup>; and in one place more especially, he seems to tell us that the law and the prophets were read in Africa before the epistles and gospels<sup>e</sup>. Towards the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, the author of the Apostolic Constitutions represents the liturgy of the eastern church as beginning with the law of Moses<sup>f</sup>. In the fourth

<sup>a</sup> Acts xiii. 15. xv. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Luke iv. 16, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Justin. Apolog. i. ed. Thirlby, p. 97.

<sup>d</sup> "Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimur, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus," &c. Apolog. c. xxxix. p. 31. ed. Rigalt.

<sup>e</sup> "Legem et Prophetas cum Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis miscet (ecclesia) et inde potat fidem." Tertull. de Præscript. c. 36.

<sup>f</sup> Μέσος δ' ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τίνος ἐστὼς, ἀναγινωσκέτο τὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν κριτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλείων, τὰ τῶν παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπανόδου πρὸς τούτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰωβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκαίδεκα προφητῶν. ἀνὰ δύο

and fifth centuries we find that all churches read some portion of the Old Testament before they read the New Testament. Thus Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, refers in one of his homilies to the lessons that were read that day, which were from Isaiah, Psalms, Acts, and Matthew<sup>g</sup>. Chrysostom speaks of the prophets and apostles being read<sup>h</sup>. We learn from Augustine, that the lesson from the epistles was sometimes preceded by one from the prophets<sup>i</sup>. In the Gallican church, the epistle and gospel were always preceded by a lesson from the prophets or Old Testament. The same may be said of the Spanish or Mosarabic church, where to this day a lesson from the prophets is always read before the epistle<sup>j</sup>. The Ambrosian liturgy, or the liturgy of Milan, still retains the same custom. The churches of the patriarchate of Constantinople frequently read lessons from the law and prophets and psalms, before the epistle and gospel. So it is also amongst the Monophysites, who have held the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria since the fifth century<sup>k</sup>.

δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερος τις τοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω. μετὰ τοῦτο αἱ πράξεις αἱ ἡμέτεραι ἀναγνωσκέσθωσαν, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου — καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγνωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια — καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσκόμενον ᾖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας. Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 57. p. 261, &c. tom. i. Cotelerii Patr. Apost. ed. Clerici.

<sup>g</sup> Basil. Hom. in Sanct. Baptisma, xiii. p. 114. tom. ii. Oper. ed. Garnier.

<sup>h</sup> Chrysost. Hom. de David et Saul. ii. p. 770. tom. iv. ed. Benedict.

<sup>i</sup> August. Sermo xlvii. "Lectio prima prophetica quid nobis commendaverit, me commemorante recolite," p. 268. tom. v. ed. Benedict. See also the passage cited above, vol. i. p. 136, note <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>j</sup> See Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies, vol. i. p. 159, 173.

<sup>k</sup> "Orientales Christiani Græcorum exemplo, plures Sacræ Scripturæ lectiones in Liturgia celebrant, et in quibusdam diebus aut solemnibus festis, le-

The church of England always reads a portion of the law of Moses before the epistle and gospel.

There are two things worthy of remark in this reading of the law according to the English liturgy. First, that the matter of it is invariable, being always taken from the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and comprising the commandments of God, which he delivered on Mount Sinai. It is from this circumstance that it is commonly known by the name of the "Ten Commandments;" a name which, though very proper, yet tends sometimes to make people forget that it is properly a lesson from the Old Testament. Secondly, this lesson from the law is divided into short verses, or capitula, each of which is followed by a response.

There is nothing contrary to the canons or the customs of the church in appointing one portion of scripture to be read continually. During the primitive ages the scriptures were read in course in the church, according to the directions of the bishop. Afterwards, particular books were read at particular seasons. It was some time before any special lessons were appointed for each Sunday or other feast-day. When a particular portion of scripture was selected by the church, and annexed perpetually to the office of a particular day, it might by the same authority have been annexed to many offices, or to all. We find, in fact, that in a liturgy of the Irish church there was only the same epistle and

gunt primo caput aliquod ex Veteri Testamento, et ex Prophetis, Psalmi semper interponuntur, nec in numerum veniunt. Sed in singulis Litur-

giis fiunt lectiones ex Epistolis Pauli, et ex Catholicis." Renaudot. Collect. Oriental. Liturg. tom. i. p. 530. v. tom. ii. p. 68.

gospel for every day in the year<sup>1</sup>. If the Irish church used the same epistle and gospel continually, the English church may likewise very well use the same lesson from the law. We also learn from Le Brun, that there is reason to think that in the church of Malabar in India, the same gospel and the same epistle were almost always used<sup>m</sup>. In the office for the communion of the sick, the church of England acts again on the same principle. Here an epistle and gospel are prescribed, which never vary.

It will not be denied that the church of England has exercised a sound discretion in the selection which she has made from the law, for the continual admonition of her children. We here listen to that moral law to which God required obedience from the beginning of the world<sup>n</sup>; and which was continued under the Mosaic dispensation, to receive extension and augmentation by the advent of God in the flesh, and to remain binding on all Christians to the end of the world<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. O'Connor says, that in the ancient Irish missal "we find no selection of epistles or gospels. Here is only the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, and the Gospel of St. John, c. 6. which in parallel expressions record the institution of the eucharist . . . Neither does St. Columbanus's missal, which was discovered in the monastery of Bobio, a thousand years after his death, and is now in the Ambrosian library, contain the selections for the Sundays of the year." Appendix to vol. i. of Catalogue of Stowe MSS. p. 45.

<sup>m</sup> Le Brun, Explication de la Messe, tom. vi. p. 487.

<sup>n</sup> "Deus primo quidem per naturalia præcepta, quæ ab initio infixæ dedit hominibus, admonens eos, id est per Decalogum (quæ si quis non fecerit non habet salutem) nihil plus ab eis exquisivit." Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. 15. p. 244.

<sup>o</sup> "In quam vitam præstruens hominem, Decalogi quidem verba ipse per semetipsum omnibus similiter Dominus loquutus est: et ideo similiter permanent apud nos, extensionem et augmentum, sed

I have to remark, secondly, on the division of this lesson into short verses or little chapters, and on the responses which follow them. In the primitive church nothing was more common than to vary the reading of scripture by short prayers, or by responses and anthems from the book of Psalms. In the patriarchate of Alexandria, it was customary at the beginning of the fifth century to repeat a collect after each psalm in morning and evening prayers <sup>p</sup>. In other churches, as those of Asia and Phrygia, the psalms and lessons were read alternately <sup>q</sup>. Thus it was in the church of England at the period when our liturgy was revised. In the liturgies <sup>r</sup>, and offices for morning and evening prayer as used before that time, we find lessons, sometimes long and sometimes short, followed by responses. The offices of morning prayer, especially, contained lessons which were frequently not above one or two verses long, and each of which was followed by a response <sup>s</sup>: so that a chapter was divided into many little portions or lessons, just as our lesson from the law is.

Originally this custom of dividing the lessons by responses, was introduced to cause an agreeable variety; that the alternate repetition of lessons, and psalms, and prayers, might relieve the mind, and enable it to proceed through the offices of devotion with greater ease and pleasure. It is no less true, that this custom was afterwards abused so as to

non dissolutionem accipientia  
per carnalem ejus adventum.”  
Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 16. p. 247.

<sup>p</sup> Cassian Institut. lib. ii. c.  
5, 6. &c.

<sup>q</sup> Canon 17. Concil. Laodi-  
cen. Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν ἐπισυνάπτειν

ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς,  
ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσον καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλ-  
μὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν. Bevereg.  
Pandectæ. tom. i. p. 460.

<sup>r</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. 35, 36.

94.

<sup>s</sup> Brev. Sarisb. fol. 3, &c.

cause an interruption in the reading of scripture. In the church of England, however, the abuse was put an end to at the reformation; for though the ancient system of varying the lessons by singing psalms and hymns, was retained in the morning and evening prayer, it would be impossible to maintain with any semblance of reason that it interrupts the reading of scripture: and although in the present instance the lesson from the law is divided into several parts by responses, yet the weight and importance of each part affords ample room for a separate meditation and prayer.

In the primitive church the lessons were read from the pulpit, or ambon, and in many places the custom has remained to the present day, especially in the patriarchate of Constantinople. According to Martene, the lessons are read from the pulpit in many of the churches of France †. In the church of Rome the gospel was always read from the pulpit ‡; though there is no direction about it in the modern missal. Pope Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the third century, speaks familiarly of the lessons being read from the pulpit §. The lessons were at first read by any one appointed by the bishop, but it was soon found expedient to set apart particular persons for this office, and thus began the ecclesiastical order of

† Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 4. Art. 4.

‡ Bona 374.

§ Cyprian. Epist. 39. (al. 34.) Speaking of Celerinus whom he had appointed a reader, he says "Hunc ad nos, fratres dilectissimi, cum tanta Domini dignatione venientem . . . quid aliud quam super

pulpitum, id est super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur?" p. 77. Epist. edit. Fell.

*readers.* From the writings of Cyprian, we find this order completely established at Carthage so early as the third century, and they may have existed in many other places about the same time. Certainly it appears that in the following ages there were regular readers in all parts of the world<sup>w</sup>. These persons were of course well instructed and fitted for their office. In the church of Constantinople the reader, or *ἀναγνώστης*, according to the ancient usage, still reads the lessons which precede the gospel<sup>x</sup>. In the Roman church this has long fallen into disuse, the duty of reading the epistle having devolved on the sub-deacon since the eighth or ninth century<sup>y</sup>. The lessons were always read from the pulpit in cathedral and collegiate churches in England<sup>z</sup>, and in the injunctions of king Edward the sixth, A. D. 1547, we find a direction that the epistle and gospel shall be read “in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same<sup>a</sup>.” The Decalogue being a lesson also, would probably have been included in this direction, had it been at that time read in the English liturgy; but the reading of the law was not reestablished for some years afterwards.

I have observed in the monuments of the English liturgy, an example of the celebration of the communion, which may remind us of this first part of our liturgy at present. On the eve of Pente-

<sup>w</sup> Bingham, *Antiquities*, book iii. c. 5.

<sup>x</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græcum*, p. 128, 129. 57.

<sup>y</sup> *Bona Rer. Lit. lib. ii. c. 7.* p. 373.

<sup>z</sup> “*Incepta vero ultima oratione ante epistolam, subdia-*

*conus per medium chori ad legendum epistolam in pulpitu accedat. Et legatur epistola in pulpito omni die Dominica, &c.*” *Miss. Sar. fol. x.*

<sup>a</sup> Sparrow’s *Collection of Articles, &c.* p. 7.

cost <sup>b</sup>, the office began with the Lord's Prayer, after which different persons read lessons from the law of Moses without titles, that is, without naming the books from which they were taken. Each lesson was followed by a response and collect; then, after some intermediate rites, the collect, epistle, and gospel were read. In the same manner our office begins with the Lord's Prayer and collect for purity, proceeds to lessons or capitula from the law, read without titles, each followed by a response, and then comes to the collect, epistle, and gospel.

A portion of the Decalogue was read in the church of England in Lent, beginning thus,

## LECTIO LIBRI EXODI.

<p>God spake these words— Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Thou shalt do no murder. Thou shalt not commit adul- tery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false wit- ness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.</p>	<p>Hæc dicit Dominus Deus. Honora patrem tuum et ma- trem tuam, ut sis longævus su- per terram, quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi. Non oc- cides, non mæchaberis, non furtum facies, non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium, non concupisces domum proximi tui, nec desi- derabis uxorem ejus, non ser- vum, non ancillam, non bo- vem, non asinum, nec omnia quæ illius sunt.—in omni loco in quo memoria fuerit nominis mei <sup>c</sup>.</p>
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The lesson was followed by a response which is not unlike our own.

<p><i>Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.</i></p>	<p><i>Miserere mei Domine, quo- niam infirmus sum, sana me Do- mine <sup>d</sup>.</i></p>
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<sup>b</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. 94, 95.    <sup>c</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. 42.    <sup>d</sup> Ibid.



## SECTION III.

## THE COLLECTS.

The collects of the communion may be divided into three classes: first, the collects for the king; secondly, the collects for the day; and, thirdly, other occasional collects. Before I consider these classes in detail, it may be expedient to consider the antiquity of the custom of using any collects in this place, namely, before or between the lessons, and therefore in that part of the liturgy which all persons, whether believers or not, are permitted to attend. I have, however, already considered this subject at large in the beginning of the last chapter, and nothing more will now be requisite than to recapitulate what has been there said.

It seems that collects have been repeated before and between the lessons of the liturgy in the patriarchate of Alexandria, at least from the time of Athanasius, who appears evidently to allude to them; they are mentioned by Cassian, who lived in the following (fifth) century, and have been continually used since, both in the liturgy, and the offices of morning and evening prayer. The use of collects is traced back to the latter part of the fourth century in Africa, and it is likely that they may be as ancient in the patriarchate of Rome, that is, in the southern half of Italy and Sicily, because they are found in Roman sacramentaries of the fifth century. In Britain they have been used as at present for more than twelve hundred years, having been introduced by Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury; and in Ireland we may probably trace back their origin to the time of Patrick. No collects like ours

are found in the oriental liturgies of Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and Constantinople.

COLLECTS FOR THE KING.

In the liturgy of the orthodox of Alexandria there were petitions for the king and church before the reading of the lessons<sup>e</sup>. The liturgy of the Irish church also, in the sixth or seventh century, contained a collect for the king amongst several others which occurred before the epistle<sup>f</sup>. In the church of England, however, before the reformation, no collect for the king was appointed to be said at this place, although several others, amounting sometimes to seven, were repeated<sup>g</sup>: and it certainly appeared right that there should be a special prayer for the king, on whom, under God, the church depends for protection and for peace; and accordingly, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, collects for the church and king, or the king and people, were introduced into this part of the liturgy. In a general synod of the church of Scotland, A. D. 1225, it was commanded that five collects should be always said, the first of which was to be for the church, and the second for the king<sup>h</sup>; and the collect appointed for this purpose was that which in after-times was altered into the second collect for the king in the English liturgy. In the

<sup>e</sup> *Liturgia Marci*, Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 132.

<sup>f</sup> See *Dissertation on primitive Liturgies*, vol. i. p. 182.

<sup>g</sup> *Missale Sarisb.* fol. 10. 72.

<sup>h</sup> *Concil. Provinciale Scotican.* cap. 70. "Sacra Synodi approbatione salubriter duximus statuendum, ut per dioecisim nostram in celebratione

missarum, præterquam in festis duplicibus, dicantur quinque collectæ, una de pace ecclesiæ, scilicet 'Ecclesiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine preces,' &c. alia pro Domino nostro Rege et Regina et eorum Filiis, scilicet, 'Deus in cujus manu corda sunt Regum.'" Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 617.

churches of Lyons, Vienne, Tours, Rouen, and all the other principal churches of France, in former ages, the collect of the day was immediately followed by prayers termed *lauds*, which were short petitions in the form of a litany for the king, queen, bishops, judges, army<sup>i</sup>, &c. which were also found in the ancient German liturgy<sup>j</sup>. The same custom is said to have prevailed formerly at Rome, and even so far back as the time of Gregory the Great, A. D. 600<sup>k</sup>. If any thing were wanting to shew the propriety of our collect for the king in this place, these would be sufficient warrants for our practice.

In our liturgy the collect is preceded by the words "Let us pray." In primitive times the deacon generally made this proclamation, and he not only directed the people to pray, but informed them what they were to pray for. Thus, in the liturgy of the orthodox of Alexandria, the prayer which corresponds to our collect for the king was thus introduced. The deacon proclaimed aloud, "Pray ye for the emperor," on which the whole people prayed three times, crying aloud, "Lord have mercy upon him." And then the priest or bishop summed up or *collected* their devotions in the following collect, to which all the people responded Amen<sup>l</sup>.

"O Lord God our Governor, Father of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech thee to preserve our emperor in peace, strength, and righteousness. O Lord, subdue before him every enemy and foe; take thine arms and shield, and arise to help him. O Lord, grant him victory, that he

<sup>i</sup> Martene, de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 4. art. iii. p. 363.

<sup>j</sup> Goldastus, Alamann. Antiq. tom. ii. pars 2. p. 175.

<sup>k</sup> Bona, Rer. Lit. lib. ii. c. 5. §. 8. p. 358.

<sup>l</sup> Liturgia Marci, p. 132. Renaudot, Lit. Oriental.

may have a peaceful mind towards us and thy holy name; that so, in the tranquillity of his days, we may lead a calm and quiet life, in all piety and godliness; through the grace, mercy, and love of thy only-begotten Son. Through whom, and with whom, to thee, and the most holy, good, and lifegiving Spirit, be glory and dominion now, and ever, and world without end."

In the very ancient liturgy of the monophysites of Alexandria, which bears the name of Cyril, we find in the *Anaphora*, or solemn prayers, which include the consecration, forms which were probably the originals of those now cited<sup>m</sup>. But it is sufficient to have directed the attention of the reader to this; to cite them in this place would be inconvenient.

Some expressions in our collects for the king are found in ancient prayers of the English church.

Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy goodly wisdom: we humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the heart of *N.* thy servant our king and governor,

that in all his thoughts, words, and works, he may ever seek thy honour and glory,

and study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, &c.

Deus in cujus manu sunt corda Regum, qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, et protector omnium in te sperantium, da Regi nostro *N.* et Reginae nostrae *N.* populo christiano, triumphum virtutis tuae scienter excolere,

ut—semper rationabilia meditantés, quæ tibi placita sunt, et dictis exequantur et factis<sup>n</sup>.

ut plebem sibi commissam, cum pace propitiationis, et virtute victoriae, feliciter regere, mereatur<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Liturgia Cyrilli, Renaudot, Lit. Oriental, tom. i. p. 41.

<sup>n</sup> Missale Sarisbur. Commune, fol. 26.

<sup>o</sup> Benedictio super Regem noviter electum, MS. Leofr. Exon.

## COLLECTS FOR THE DAY.

What has been already remarked with regard to the antiquity of collects as used in this part of the liturgy, applies to the collects of the day. It is only in the church of Alexandria, and in the west, that collects ever appear to have been used in this place in primitive times. There is nothing like our collects in the Oriental, Greek, and Russian liturgies at the present day. The church of England, however, has now for above 1200 years used collects in the place which our liturgy assigns to them. Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury, brought the sacramentary of Gregory the Great into England, and that sacramentary prescribed collects at this place. In Ireland they may have been used at an earlier period; for Patrick probably brought the primitive Roman liturgy thither; and Columbanus, in the sixth century, appears to have recited several collects in this part of the liturgy <sup>p</sup>.

The antiquity of the collects themselves which we use is generally very great. They have been read in the liturgies of the church of England from the most remote period. Not only do we find them in the liturgies of the English church before the reformation <sup>q</sup>, but in those of the Anglo-Saxon church long before the conquest <sup>r</sup>. Most of these collects can, in fact, be traced back to the very beginning of the Anglo-Saxon church; and by that church they were originally derived from the liturgy

<sup>p</sup> Agrestius objected to this custom in the synod of Matiscon, A. D. 624. See vol. i. p. 182.

<sup>q</sup> As in the missale Sarisburiens. Hereford. Eboracens.

<sup>r</sup> As in the MS. of Leofric, Bp. of Exeter.

of the Roman patriarchate in primitive times<sup>o</sup>. We are thus in many instances enabled to trace them back to the fifth century. So that our collects, with some exceptions, have been used for fourteen hundred years in the church of God; and their origin lies in the distant glory of primitive Christianity.

Only one collect is appointed at this place in each distinct office for Sundays or other holydays in the English ritual; but the number in practice may sometimes be enlarged. Besides the collect for the king, and that of the day, it is sometimes necessary to repeat others. For instance, in Advent and Lent a collect is appointed to be said during the whole season after the collect of the day. Thus three or four collects may sometimes be said at this place. On Good Friday five collects are appointed to be said, videlicet, one for the king, three for the day, and one for Lent. It appears that several other collects may also be added.

#### OCCASIONAL COLLECTS.

It is permitted by the rubric of the English liturgy to use one or more of six collects after those of the communion. These six collects are placed at the end of the liturgy or communion office. They are preceded by the following rubric: "Collects to be said after the offertory, when there is no communion, every day one or more; and *the same may be said also*, as often as occasion shall serve, after the collects of morning or evening prayer, *communion*, or litany, by the discretion of the minister."

The second of these collects was formerly used as

<sup>o</sup> In the sacramentaries of Gregory, A. D. 590. Gelasius, 494. Leo, 483.

a special prayer for those who were about to enter on a journey<sup>p</sup>. This induces me to notice an ancient custom of many of the western churches. In the time of war or tumult, famine or pestilence, storms or rain, or any other evil; whenever calamities were to be specially deprecated, or blessings specially implored, appropriate collects were added to the communion-service at this place. This custom is mentioned in an ancient ritual of the church of Soissons in France, where it is remarked, that “only one collect is said at communion, contrary to the custom in many other places, unless some commemoration of a feast is to be made; or, urged by necessity, we cry to God for peace, or fine weather, or for rain, for the sick, or for those that are going on a journey, or other things of the same kind<sup>q</sup>.” The same custom prevailed in England, as appears by the liturgy of the church of Salisbury<sup>r</sup> and others, and is worthy of commendation. We find the principle of this custom adopted in the English ritual at this day, since several collects of the same kind are appointed to be said after the collects of morning or evening prayer, or before the two last prayers of the litany.

<sup>p</sup> Miss. Sarisb. commune, fol. xxx. Gelasii Sacramentarium. Muratori, Lit. Vet. Rom. tom. i. p. 703.

<sup>q</sup> “Ad magnam missam nunquam consuevimus post primam collectam ullam aliam dicere, sicut multis in locis plures consueverunt, nisi fecerimus memoriam de festo aliqujus sancti, vel octavæ, vel necessitate agente, clamaveri-

mus ad Deum, pro pace videret, aut aëris serenitate, pro pluvie postulatione, pro infirmis, pro iter agentibus, et aliis hujusmodi, pro quibus sancta mater ecclesia orare consuevit.” Rituale MS. Eccl. Suessionens, citat. a Martene, De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 4. art. 3. p. 362.

<sup>r</sup> Miss. Sar. commune, fol. 22. 24. 33, &c.

## SECTION IV.

## THE PROPHECY OR EPISTLE.

During the early ages of the church, the lesson which is now ordinarily designated as the epistle, was more generally known by the appellation of "the apostle." We find it generally called by this name in the ancient liturgies and the writings of the Fathers. Thus Augustine often speaks of it<sup>s</sup>; and in the sacramentary of Gregory the Great it is said, "the apostle follows<sup>t</sup>," meaning the epistle or apostolical writing is then read. In the patriarchate of Constantinople, where ancient customs have been preserved more perfectly than any where else, the epistle is called "the apostle" to this day<sup>u</sup>. In the west this lesson has however long been known by the name of "the epistle," being most commonly taken from the epistles of St. Paul.

In the church of England this lesson of scripture is taken not only from the epistles of the holy apostles, but sometimes from their acts, and occasionally from the prophets. Thus we retain the custom of the church of God, which "mingled the law and the prophets with the writings of the evangelists and apostles<sup>v</sup>."

During the early ages of the church, the apostle or prophet was generally read by a special reader from the ambon, or pulpit, which stood in the middle

<sup>s</sup> "Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus, consonant omnes divinæ lectiones ut spem non in nobis sed in Domino colloceamus." Sermo 165. de Verbis Apost. (*alias* 7.) p. 796. tom. v. Oper. ed. Benedict.

See also Sermo 176. (*alias* 10.) p. 839.

<sup>t</sup> "Sequitur apostolus." Menard. Sacram. Gregorii, p. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, p. 68.

<sup>v</sup> Tertullian. de Præscript. Hæretic. c. 36.



of the church amongst the faithful<sup>w</sup>. The church of Constantinople and the other eastern churches still retain the ancient custom of employing a reader for this office<sup>x</sup>. The church of Rome abandoned it about the eighth or ninth century, when it became the office of the sub-deacon to read the epistle<sup>y</sup>. We are blamed by Schultingius for permitting it to be read by the priest<sup>z</sup>, but it is only read by the officiating minister when no assistant is present; and we might with as much reason blame the church of Rome for permitting the sub-deacon to read the epistle, of which there is no trace in primitive times: but it is in truth a matter of little importance.

It was the ancient custom of the church of England to read this lesson from the pulpit<sup>a</sup>. When no other clergyman was present who could read the epistle, the priest himself read it at the right or south corner of the holy table, which thence obtained the appellation of *cornu epistolæ*. The injunctions of king Edward the Sixth, in 1547, appoint the epistle to

<sup>w</sup> See Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 57. quoted above, page 27. note f. Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διψήθερας ψαλλόντων ἑτέρουσ τινας ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Canon. 15. Concil. Laodicen. "Quid aliud quam super pulpitem id est super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi ut . . . legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, &c." Cypr. Ep. 39. (*alias* 34.) p. 77. Epist. ed. Fell. See also Bingham, Antiquities, &c. book viii. c. 5. §. 4. p. 293.

<sup>x</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. not.

93. in Chrysost. Liturg. p. 129.

<sup>y</sup> Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 365.

<sup>z</sup> Schultingius, Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, tom. iv. pars 2. p. 135.

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. x. "Incepta vero ultima oratione ante epistolam: subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendum epistolam in pulpitem accedat. Et legatur epistola in pulpito omni die Dominica, &c." On Sundays and principal feast days it was read in the pulpit, on other days it was read at the step of the choir.

be read in the pulpit or in some convenient place <sup>b</sup>; and in the injunctions of queen Elizabeth, we find that a special reader, entitled an "Epistoler," was to read the epistle in cathedral and collegiate churches, vested in a cope <sup>c</sup>.

Before noticing the particular passages of scripture which have been selected for this lesson, it is worthy of remark, that, in the only liturgy of the ancient Irish church now in existence, there is only one portion of scripture appointed for the epistle, which was to be read every day <sup>d</sup>. In the first ages of the church (as has already been observed) there were no selections from the scriptures for special occasions. The books of scripture were read in number and quantity according to the direction of the bishop. In after-times particular books or lessons were read at particular seasons <sup>e</sup>; and it is said that Jerome made a selection of lessons for every holy-day in the year, which he collected in a book entitled, "Comes," and this book, it is said, was brought into use in the Roman church <sup>f</sup>: but the tradition is very doubtful <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Sparrow, p. 124. In the cathedral of Durham, and in some other churches, the epistle is still read by a particular reader or epistoler.

<sup>d</sup> O'Connor, Appendix to vol. i. of Catalogue of MSS. at Stowe, p. 45.

<sup>e</sup> "Meminit sanctitas vestra Evangelium secundum Johannem ex ordine lectionum nos solere tractare: sed quia nunc interposita est sollemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in

ecclesia recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint; ordo ille quem susceperamus, necessitate paululum intermissus est, non amissus." Augustin. Prolog. Tractat. in Epist. Johan. tom. iii. pars 2. p. 825. ed. Benedict. Concil. Toletan. iv. c. 17. A. D. 633. appoints the Apocalypse to be read between Easter and Pentecost. See Bingham, Antiq. book xiv. c. 3. §. 3. p. 678, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 363.

<sup>g</sup> It only appears in the pages of Micrologus, Berno,

The proclamation of the title of the books before lesson began, was very common in early times. It was generally made by the person who was about to read. The deacon first directed the people to be silent and attentive <sup>h</sup>.

Almost all the lessons now read as epistles in the English liturgy have been appointed to their present place and used by the church of England for many ages. They are found in all the liturgies of the English church used before the revision of our offices in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and they also appear in the monuments of the English liturgy before the invasion of William the Conqueror. It is in fact probable that they are generally as old as the time of Augustine, A. D. 595; since we find that the most ancient lectionaries of the early church of Rome contain nearly the same selections, and therefore Augustine probably brought these selections into use in England. In this view, the lessons entitled epistles in our liturgy have been used for above twelve hundred years by the church of England <sup>i</sup>. We must consider this more as a subject of interest and pleasure than of any great importance, since "all scripture is given us by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Yet we may remark, that the extracts read

and Hugo à S. Victore, writers of the 12th and 13th centuries.

<sup>h</sup> This is mentioned by Chrysostom, Hom. xix. in Act. Apost. cited by Bingham, book xiv. c. 3. §. 8. It is also alluded to by Ambrose, see the quotation in note <sup>k</sup>, p. 127.

vol. i. and by Cyril of Alexandria, de Adorat. in Spiritu et Verit. p. 454. tom. i. lib. xiii.

<sup>i</sup> I have endeavoured to trace the antiquity of the epistles in chapter iii. to which I beg to refer the reader for further information.

from the epistles are generally devotional and practical, and therefore best adapted for ordinary comprehension and general edification.

In the Roman liturgy anciently, a psalm was sung after the epistle, which was called *Graduale*<sup>i</sup>, and is still used. This was followed by *Alleluia* except from Septuagesima to Easter<sup>k</sup>. In the churches of Gaul and Spain the gradual was not used<sup>l</sup>, and the church of England at the revision of her liturgy omitted it likewise. The origin of the gradual, though its present place in the Roman missal is not, in my opinion, the place which it originally occupied, is to be traced to a greater antiquity than liturgical writers have generally thought<sup>m</sup>. In the apostolic and following ages, many lessons were read in the liturgy, and amongst these was frequently one from the book of Psalms. Thus we find from the Apostolical Constitutions that the eastern church in the third or fourth century, read lessons from scripture at their assemblies in this order. The law, prophets, psalms, epistles, and gospels<sup>n</sup>. The psalm was therefore one of the lessons.

<sup>i</sup> The psalm, or verses of a psalm, sung after the epistle, was always entitled *gradual*, from being chanted on the steps (*gradus*) of the pulpit. When sung by one person without interruption, it was called *tractus*, when chanted alternately by several singers, it was termed *responsory*. See Le Brun, Explication de la Messe, tom. i. p. 205.

<sup>k</sup> See Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 369.

<sup>l</sup> Concil. Toletan. 4. can. 12. "In quibusdam quoque His-

paniarum ecclesiis laudes post Apostolum decantantur, priusquam evangelium prædicetur; dum canones præcipiunt post Apostolum non laudes, sed evangelium annuntiari, &c." forbidding the custom.

<sup>m</sup> The gradual has been ascribed to Cælestinus and Gregory the Great, bishops of Rome. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 367. See also Le Brun, Explication de la Messe, &c. tom. i. p. 204. &c.

<sup>n</sup> Apost. Const. lib. ii. cap. 57. cited above, p. 27.

In the west we find Augustine in the fifth century considering the psalm as a lesson. "We have heard," said he, "the apostle, we have heard the psalm, we have heard the gospel; all the divine *lessons* agree °." In another sermon he says, "We have heard the first lesson from the apostle, . . . then we have sung a psalm, . . . after this came the lesson from the gospel; these three *lessons* we will discourse upon, as far as time permits<sup>p</sup>." Ambrose says, "When the psalm is *read*, it causes silence by its own means<sup>q</sup>." It appears, therefore, that the gradual was anciently looked upon as a lesson from scripture even when it was sung; and if we regard it as a lesson, I see no reason to consider it less ancient than the epistle or the gospel which have been used since the apostolic age. It appears from Augustine, that the psalm was sung between the epistle and gospel in the fifth century by the African church. But this was probably not its original position. As a lesson from the Old Testament it would have come naturally in the order of the Apostolical Constitutions, namely, after the law and the prophets. In the time of Augustine, however, it is certain that the lessons from the Old Testament were often omitted, and the liturgy be-

° "Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus, consonant omnes divinæ lectiones." Sermo 165. de Verb. Apost. tom. v. ed. Benedict. p. 796.

<sup>p</sup> "Primam lectionem audivimus Apostoli . . . Deinde cantavimus psalmum . . . post hæc evangelica lectio . . . Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertracte-

mus, &c." Augustin. Sermo 176. de Verb. Apost. tom. v. ed. Benedict. p. 839.

<sup>q</sup> "Quantum laboratur in ecclesia ut fiat silentium cum lectiones leguntur? Si unus loquatur obstrepunt universi: cum psalmus legitur ipse sibi est effector silentii. Omnes loquuntur, et nullus obstrepit." Ambros. Præf. in Psal. 1. p. 741. tom. i. ed. Benedict.

gan even then with the epistle, to which, on certain occasions, lessons from the Old Testament were prefixed. It is probable, that when the western churches began to discontinue the lessons from the Old Testament, they placed the psalm between the epistle and gospel, to preserve the semblance of the ancient custom, according to which the psalm had always intervened between the Old and New Testament.

Even to the present time the Roman liturgy prefixes lessons from the Old Testament to the epistle and gospel on some particular days, and these lessons are followed by a *tractus*, or psalm. This is probably a relic of the ancient custom. In the patriarchate of Constantinople the lessons from the epistles and gospels are often preceded by lessons from the Old Testament; and these latter are separated from the epistle and gospel by a psalm<sup>r</sup>. Even on ordinary occasions, when the Old Testament is not read, there is a psalm, or some verses of it, read before the epistle, and it is preceded by the customary solemnity which takes place when a lesson is to be read. The deacon proclaims to the people *Σοφία*, “Wisdom”—the reader begins “Alleluia! a psalm of David.” The deacon exclaims again, “Pay attention;” and the reader proceeds to read the *προκείμενον*, as this psalm or anthem is called<sup>s</sup>. The churches of Spain which did not adopt the Roman position of the gradual and alleluia, had a custom

<sup>r</sup> “Orientales Christiani Græcorum exemplo, plures sacræ scripturæ lectiones in liturgia celebrant, et in quibusdam diebus aut solemnibus festis, legunt primo caput aliquod ex

Veteri Testamento, et ex Prophetis, Psalmi semper interponuntur, nec in numerum veniunt.” Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. Collect. tom. i. p. 350.

<sup>s</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 68.

which approaches nearly to the eastern form just alluded to. After the reading of the prophet, and before the epistle, they sung the hymn of “the Three Children<sup>†</sup>.” This was a fixed lesson, which had probably taken the place of the ancient psalm. And even now the church of Milan places the psalm after the lesson of the Old Testament which they always read, and before the epistle. This psalm they call *Psalmellus*, not *tractus*, or *gradual*.

The *Alleluia* which is often sung in the Roman liturgy after the epistle, is said to have been first brought into use by Damasus, bishop of Rome, in imitation of the church of Jerusalem. Gregory the Great affirms this<sup>‡</sup>, but the tradition seems very doubtful. In the eighth century Notker, abbot of St. Gall in Switzerland, composed several hymns in verse, which acquired the name of *prosaë*, or *sequentiaë*, and were sung after the gradual<sup>§</sup>. Many other authors followed the example of Notker, and the church of England used several of these hymns before the reformation<sup>¶</sup>; but as they were in many instances unwisely composed, and had no claim to primitive antiquity, the revisers of our liturgy, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, entirely omitted them.

<sup>†</sup> In Gaul, however, the Song of the Three Children was sung between the apostle and the gospel. See Germanus de Missa, Martene Anecdota, tom. v. p. 92. Pamelii Liturgica Latin. tom. i. p. 295. See vol. i. p. 159, 173.

<sup>‡</sup> Gregor. Mag. Epist. ad Johan. Syracus. lib. ix. Epist. 12. p. 940. tom. ii. Oper. ed. Benedict.

<sup>§</sup> Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 370.

<sup>¶</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. 11, 12. et passim.

## SECTION V.

## THE GOSPEL.

The gospel, being the more immediate history of the Saviour of mankind, has always been read in the catholic church with peculiar respect and devotion. It was generally the office of the deacon to read the gospel in the primitive ages. Thus we find it to have been in the patriarchate of Antioch, in the time of Jerome<sup>x</sup>; and the same custom prevailed in the churches of Gaul<sup>y</sup> and Spain<sup>z</sup> at an early period. In the patriarchate of Alexandria it was read by the archdeacon, or chief of the deacons; but in some churches it was read by the priest only, and on the Lord's day by the bishop<sup>a</sup>. In the church of Constantinople it has always been read by a deacon, except on some particular feasts when the bishop reads. The church of England permits it to be read either by a deacon or a priest. In the fourth century the deacon was preceded by

<sup>x</sup> "Evangelium Christi, quasi Diaconus lectitabas." Hieron. Epist. ad Sabinianum lapsum, p. 758. tom. iv. ed. Benedict.

<sup>y</sup> Concil. Vasense 3. anno 529. canon ii. "Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicere, sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ a Diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni sunt Diacones quod Christus in Evangelio locutus est legere; quare indigni judicentur sanctorum Patrum expositiones publice recitare." Labbé, Concilia, tom. iv.

<sup>z</sup> Isidorus Hispalens. de Eccl. Off. lib. ii. c. 8. "Ipsi enim (Diaconi) clara voce in mo-

dum præconis admonente cunctos sive in orando, sive in flectendo genua, sive in psallendo, sive in lectionibus audiendo: ipsi etiam, ut aures habeamus ad Dominum, clamant: ipsi quoque evangelizant."

<sup>a</sup> Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον (εὐαγγελίον) ἀναγνώσκει ἐνθάδε μόνος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος. παρὰ δὲ ἄλλοις, διάκονοι. ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ἐκκλησίαις, οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι· ἐν δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις, ἐπισκόποι, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἑορτῆς. Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19. p. 735. ed. Valesii. Paris. 1668.



lighted wax tapers to the pulpit, in the eastern churches<sup>b</sup>, as a sign of rejoicing for the advent of him who was the light of men. The bells also were rung in some churches before the gospel, and in Æthiopia this ceremony has continued to the present day<sup>c</sup>. When the deacon had ascended the pulpit, or ambon, and announced the title of the gospel, the people with one voice exclaimed, "Glory be to thee, O Lord!" This custom of giving glory to God for his holy gospel appears to have prevailed from remote antiquity in all the churches of the east and west<sup>d</sup>; and the church of England has not ceased for many centuries to follow so pious and laudable an example.

It was also usual for all persons to arise before the gospel, and stand while it was recited. "When the gospel is read," says the ancient author of the Apostolical Constitutions, "let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand in great silence<sup>e</sup>." It was considered a peculiar custom of the church of Alexandria in the fifth century, that the pope or patriarch of Alexandria continued sitting during the reading of the gospel<sup>f</sup>. In the church of Constantinople the custom is preserved still. The

<sup>b</sup> "Per totas Orientis Ecclesias, quando legendum est Evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum." Hieronymus adv. Vigilantium, tom. iv. pars 2. p. 284. ed. Benedict.

<sup>c</sup> Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 213. The bells of the oriental churches are made of boards, which are struck with a hammer.

<sup>d</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 69. Rupertus Abbas, lib. i. de Div. Officiis, c. 36. "Respondemus, gloria tibi Domine, glorificantes Dominum, quod misit nobis verbum salutis."

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priest exclaims, “*Σοφία* (Wisdom)—Stand up—Let us hear the holy gospel<sup>g</sup>.” In the west it has always been usual to stand when the gospel is read; and the church of England has for many ages adopted the custom.

The gospel was read from the pulpit in places where there were several clergy. This was also customary in the English church<sup>h</sup>, and it is recognised in the injunctions of king Edward the Sixth<sup>i</sup>. The injunctions of queen Elizabeth direct, that in cathedral and collegiate churches there should be a “gospeller,” or particular person to read the gospel<sup>j</sup>, who was to wear a cope. This also had long been the custom of the English church. In places where there were no assistant ministers, the priest himself read the gospel at the north corner of the holy table, which thence obtained the name of *cornu evangelii*<sup>k</sup>.

When the gospel was ended, the churches of Spain and Gaul anciently sung an alleluia, or anthem<sup>l</sup>. A custom like this prevails in many churches in England, where, the gospel being ended, the people say, “Thanks be to thee, O Lord, for thy holy gospel,” or, “Thanks be to thee, O Lord.”

Besides the lessons from the canonical scriptures, it was often customary, in the primitive church, to read the epistles or writings of churches, bishops,

<sup>g</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 69.

<sup>h</sup> *Miss. Sar.* fol. 11.

<sup>i</sup> Sparrow's Collection, &c. p. 7.

<sup>j</sup> Sparrow's Collection, p. 124. There is still a “gospeller” in the church of Durham, and in other English cathedrals.

<sup>k</sup> Gavantus says, the epistle

is chanted on solemn occasions, “*juxta cornu altaris, ubi celebrans legit epistolam—et est dextra pars ecclesiæ, intrantibus in eam.*” Tom. i. p. 202. The gospel is read at the other, or *north* corner of the altar.

<sup>l</sup> See vol. i. p. 159. 173.

or fathers. Thus the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians was often read, as well as the epistle of the church of Smyrna, describing the martyrdom of Polycarp<sup>m</sup>, &c. But this, like many other ancient usages, has gradually become obsolete throughout the Christian church, and perhaps it is not desirable that it should be revived<sup>n</sup>.

With regard to the particular passages of scripture which the church of England has selected for the gospel of each day, the same observations may be made as have been already offered on the epistles. They have generally been fixed in their present positions for above twelve hundred years; a fact which I have endeavoured to prove elsewhere<sup>o</sup>.

## SECTION VI.

## THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED.

This creed was chiefly composed by the orthodox Fathers of the first general council of Nice, A. D. 325, to define the Christian faith, in opposition to the heresy of Arius. As sanctioned by this assembly, it ended with "I believe in the Holy Ghost," the remainder was added by the second general council, held at Constantinople A. D. 381, in which the heresy of Macedonius, with regard to the divinity of the Holy Spirit, was condemned. The latter part of this creed seems, however, to have been used by the Christian church even before the council of Constantinople, as it occurs in a creed preserved by Epiphanius, which is probably much older than that council<sup>p</sup>. In the fifth century, the

<sup>m</sup> Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 16.

<sup>n</sup> Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii.

c. 6. §. 2.

<sup>o</sup> Chapter iii.

<sup>p</sup> See Bingham, Antiquities

western churches added to this creed the words *filioque*, in conformity with the doctrine, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, as well as from the Father, which in after-times produced controversies and schisms between the eastern and western churches<sup>q</sup>.

It appears that it was some time before the Constantinopolitan creed began to be used in the liturgies of the Christians. There is no reason to think that any creed was ever used in the liturgy during the first ages of the church. It was probably introduced to exclude heretics more effectually from the communion, none of whom were ever allowed to partake of the bread and cup by the Christian church. It is said that Peter Fullo, patriarch of Antioch, was the first who inserted the creed in the liturgy, about A. D. 471.<sup>r</sup> About the year 511 it was received into the liturgy of Constantinople by Timotheus, patriarch of that church<sup>s</sup>. In these liturgies the creed was placed in the part which followed the dismissal of the catechumens and hearers, and before the solemn prayers or canon. In the year 589, the churches of Spain appointed it to be said with a loud voice before communion, that the true faith might receive the testimony of acceptance from the communicants<sup>t</sup>. In after-times the Constantinopo-

of the Christian Church, book x. ch. 4, for much information connected with this subject.

<sup>q</sup> See Bingham as above, also bishop Pearson on the Creed, article viii.

<sup>r</sup> Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κναφέα ἐπινοῆσαι—καὶ ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι. Excerpta ex Eccl. Hist. Theodor. Lectoris

a Nicephoro Callisto. edit. Valesii. p. 566. Paris, 1673.

<sup>s</sup> Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, κατ' ἐκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν. Theodor. Lect. ibid. p. 563.

<sup>t</sup> Concil. 3. Tolet. anno 589. canon 2. “ Quo et fides vera manifestum testimonium ha-

litan creed was received into the liturgy of the French, Irish, English, and Roman churches. The Roman church was probably the last which adopted the use of this creed in the liturgy. Berno says, that the creed only began to be sung at Rome about the year 1012<sup>u</sup>; but Martene shews with some degree of probability, that it had been read for some time before<sup>v</sup>.

It has been observed of the eastern, and it is equally true of the western churches, that the creed was not recited while the catechumens or infidels were present. After their dismissal, the creed was recited as a further test of the orthodoxy of those that remained and professed to be faithful. In the course of ages however, the ancient exclusion of catechumens and infidels became obsolete, because the Christian religion was universally prevalent. Thus it was in England, as in most other countries. The distinction between the *missa catechumenorum*, or that part of the liturgy which catechumens might attend; and the *missa fidelium*, or that part when the faithful or Christians only were present, gradually became extinct. Hence we find that in the middle ages the sermon, or instruction to the people, was sometimes delivered after the creed and offertory<sup>w</sup>; thus excluding the creed from that part of the office which was originally intended for the

beat, et ad Christi Corpus et sanguinem prælibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant."

<sup>u</sup> Berno Abbas de Reb. ad Missam pertinentibus, c. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Martene de Ant. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 4. art. 5. p. 376, 377.

<sup>w</sup> Durantus says that the sermon followed the creed in his time, that is, in the sixteenth century. "Post symboli pronunciationem sequitur prædicatio." De Rit. Eccl. Catholicæ, lib. ii. c. 25.

faithful only. This custom of the church of England is still visible in our liturgy, where the sermon follows the creed, instead of preceding it, according to the primitive rule. In the next section some proofs and further remarks will be offered on this subject. How long the Constantinopolitan creed has been used by the English church on this occasion it would be hard to determine, but we find it in the ancient liturgies of the churches of Salisbury, York, and Hereford<sup>x</sup>, in the same position which it still occupies in ours. The creed was not said on week days when there was no feast or other solemn occasion<sup>y</sup>. The same rule also was adopted in the Roman church, where it has continued to the present day.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pon-

πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων. καὶ εἰς τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου

<sup>x</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. 11. 73. Miss. Ebor. Ordo Missæ infra Fest. Pentecost. Miss. Here-

fordens. Dom. 1. Adventus.  
<sup>y</sup> Ibid.



tius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and Giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Ca-

Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν\*.

\* Labbé Concilia, tom. ii. col. 951, 954. Bull, Defensio Fidei Nicænæ, vol. v. p. 14. of his works, edited by the Rev. Edward Burton. Bingham, Antiquities, book x. ch. 6. §. 14, &c. Our text of the Constantinopolitan creed is the same as that which has long been received by the western churches, and is translated from the ancient English liturgies. "Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ, visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia sæcula, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines et propter

nostram salutem descendit de cœlis, et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est, et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, et ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos, cujus regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per Prophetas. Et unam sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam; confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi sæculi. Amen." Missale Sarisburiense, fol. 73.

tholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins, And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

## SECTION VII.

## THE SERMON OR INSTRUCTION.

From the earliest ages of the Christian church, the exhortations and instructions of God's ministers have followed the lessons of holy scripture. During the apostolic age, when the Spirit was poured out abundantly on all flesh, those who were inspired with the gifts of interpretation and prophecy, as well as they who ruled the church, taught and expounded the will of God at this part of the liturgy. When miraculous gifts ceased, they that bare rule in the church by divine commission continued the same practice. The bishops, or successors of the apostles, taught and exhorted their people in every public assembly or liturgy<sup>a</sup>. By their permission the presbyters of the church also preached in churches where the bishop was not present; but in the event of his presence, the presbyter generally made some respectful allusion to the subject, and the bishop himself preached afterwards<sup>b</sup>. It was not indeed unfrequent in the primitive church for several presbyters and bishops to deliver their exhortation in

<sup>a</sup> Πανσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προσετός διὰ λόγον τὴν νοουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν (vel παράκλησιν) τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. Justin. Martyr. Apolog. i. ed. Thirlby, p. 97. Concil. Laodicen. can.

19. Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 19. p. 734. ed. Vales.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος. Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 57. p. 263. tom. i. ed. Clerici.

succession ; and in this case, the greatest of the bishops, or the bishop of the church, generally terminated the instruction <sup>c</sup>. According to Sozomen, there were no sermons or exhortations delivered in the Roman church in the fifth century, which he remarks as a singular custom of that church <sup>d</sup>. Leo, bishop of Rome in the fifth century, appears to have been the only bishop who preached in the Roman church for many centuries ; and it is said, that none of his successors, until the time of Pius the Fifth, five hundred years afterwards, imitated his example <sup>e</sup>.

The instructions of the preacher may be divided into four parts, according to the ancient practice of the church of England : first, the announcement of feasts or holydays, and of the administration of the communion ; secondly, the publication of excommunications and other ecclesiastical acts ; thirdly, the prayer preparatory to the sermon ; and, fourthly, the sermon or homily.

*First*, the church has long been accustomed to proclaim the feast or holydays for the ensuing week, and give notice of feasts, at this part of the liturgy. We find in an ancient monument of the English church, which contains the prayers to be said before the sermon, a rubric directing the feasts which were to be kept holy, and which is evidently intended for the use of the preacher <sup>f</sup>. By this document we trace the existing practice of the English church to

<sup>c</sup> Bingham's Antiquities, book ii. c. 3. §. 4. book xiv. c. 4. §. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Οὐτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησιαίας διδάσκει. Sozomen, Hist. Eccl.

lib. vii. c. 19.

<sup>e</sup> Bingham's Antiquities, book xiv. c. 4. §. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Lestrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 341. \*

the fourteenth century. But it had long been customary to make public announcements at the same place<sup>g</sup>; for,

*Secondly*, this was the time at which sentences of excommunication were generally read in the time of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims in the ninth century, who directed his priests to publish an excommunication against certain depredators, not immediately after the gospel, as the custom was, but after the epistle, because some of the guilty departed from the church immediately after the gospel<sup>h</sup>. At this time also, in many churches, those who had performed public penance were absolved and reconciled<sup>i</sup>.

*Thirdly*, the prayers. How long the present form of prayer, directed by the canons of 1603, may have been used in the English church, would be difficult to determine. We have memorials of these prayers as used in England in the fourteenth century<sup>j</sup>. Ivo Carnotensis, who flourished about

<sup>g</sup> It seems that this was the time to announce any thing to the people, as may be collected from Augustin. Sermo cxi; at the end of which follow these words: *Et post concionem* "Quod novit caritas vestra suggerimus. Dies anniversarius ordinationis Domini senis Aurelii crastinus illucescit. Rogat et admonet per humilitatem meam caritatem vestram, ut ad basilicam Fausti devotissime convenire dignemini. Deo gratias." Tom. v. p. 563.

<sup>h</sup> "Propterea fratres unusquisque vestrum quotiescumque cantat missam, usque dum ista quam patimur miseria in

parochia nostra cessaverit, quoniam tales homines sunt, qui non propter salutem, sed propter consuetudinem, ad ecclesiam veniunt, et usque ad evangelium, juxta quod *ista predicare debueratis*, in missa stare solent, et recedunt statim post apostolum id est post epistolam, hanc admonitionem ab initio usque ad finem, cum verbis prophetæ vel apostoli legite." Hincmar Remens. tom. ii. epist. 7. p. 149. ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1645.

<sup>i</sup> Morinus de Pœnitentia, lib. viii. c. 14. §. 4.

<sup>j</sup> Lestranger's Alliance, &c. ut supra.

A. D. 1080, cites a canon of a council of Orleans, which evidently alludes to a form of prayer like that of the church of England<sup>k</sup>. The characteristics of both are, that the preacher admonishes the people what they are to pray for; and the people being supposed to offer up a silent petition for each object that is mentioned, the preacher at the conclusion sums up their devotions in collects or the Lord's Prayer.

These prayers, perhaps, may have passed from France into England. They were at first intended, as appears by the canon cited by Ivo, to follow the sermon; but in the following ages, when there were very few clergy qualified to preach, these prayers were recited without any sermon. Sermons, we know, were very seldom delivered in the Roman church; and during the dark ages, when that church had a great influence in the western churches, the incapacity of the clergy to deliver sermons may have been encouraged by the example of the see of Rome. At length in England it became necessary for those that were in authority, to remedy the evils which arose from the ignorance of the clergy, and in 1281 John Peckham, archbishop

<sup>k</sup> Ivo. Decretum, pars ii. cap. 120. "Ex concilio Aurelianensi, c. 3. Oportet ut in diebus Dominicis vel festis post sermonem missarum intra solemnia habitum, plebem sacerdos admoneat, ut juxta apostolicam institutionem, omnes in commune pro diversis necessitatibus preces fundant ad Dominum, pro rege et episcopis, et rectoribus ecclesiarum,

pro pace, pro peste, pro infirmis, qui in ipsa parochia lecto decumbunt, pro nuper defunctis, in quibus singulatim precibus plebs orationem Dominicam sub silentio dicat. Sacerdotes vero orationes ad hoc pertinentes per singulas admonitiones solenniter expleant. Post hæc sacra celebretur oblatio, Ait enim primum omnium fieri orationes, &c."

of Canterbury, in a council held at Lambeth, made a constitution, instructing the priest of each parish how to teach the people, once every quarter of the year, the meaning of the creed, the commandments of the law and gospel, the good works to be done, the sins to be avoided, the principal Christian virtues, and the doctrine of the sacraments<sup>1</sup>. In 1408 archbishop Arundell renewed this constitution, enjoining also the "customary prayers" to be said at the same time<sup>m</sup>. These customary prayers, according to Lyndwood, who commented on Arundell's Constitution in a few years after it was published, were made to the people on Sundays, after the offertory<sup>n</sup>; and we find from the processional, or litany book, of the church of Salisbury, that the prayers made after the offertory on Sundays were exactly the same as those enjoined by the council of Orleans, and which we still use<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Constitutiones Peckham. Wilkins, Concilia Mag. Brit. tom. ii. p. 54.

<sup>m</sup> Sacerdotes vero parochiales seu vicarii temporales et non perpetui—in ecclesiis illis in quibus hujusmodi officia gerunt, illa sola simpliciter prædicent, *una cum precibus consuetis*, quæ in constitutione provinciali a bonæ memoriæ Joanne prædecessore nostro, bene et sancte in suppletionem ignorantie sacerdotum (quæ incipit, "ignorantia sacerdotum &c.") continentur expresse. Const. Arundel. tom. iii. p. 315. Wilkins, Concilia Magn. Brit.

<sup>n</sup> Lyndwood remarks on the words "precibus consuetis"

above, "sc. in diebus Dominicis post offertorium solitis fieri ad populum." Lyndwood, Provinciale, p. 291.

<sup>o</sup> In the *processional* of Sarum, at the beginning, the bidding prayers and collects are printed at full length, for the purpose of being said in cathedrals immediately before the liturgy began, and "hæ preces prædictæ dicuntur supradicto modo, omnibus Dominicis per annum—Ita tamen quod in ecclesiis parochialibus, non ad processionem, sed post evangelium et offertorium supradicto modo dicuntur ante aliquod altare in ecclesia, vel in pulpito ad hoc constituto." Processionale Sar. fol. 6. These

From the circumstance of these prayers being found in the processional of Sarum, of their being mentioned as customary in the church of England in 1408, and appearing to have existed long before; it is not improbable that these prayers, as now repeated before the sermons, may have been used in our churches before, or shortly after, the Norman conquest. If we regard their form, we are carried back to a more distant antiquity. In the primitive liturgies we often find long prayers like these<sup>p</sup>, where the deacon enjoined or required the prayers of the faithful; and they either prayed in silence, or answered to each petition "Lord have mercy," while at the close some collect or prayer summed up their devotions. It is from the same original that our litany is derived; the chief difference being, that in the litany the people respond aloud, while in the prayers before the sermon they pray in secret. In the primitive church it does not appear that it was customary to use any particular prayer before the sermon, though many of the Fathers, either at or near the beginning of their homilies occasionally addressed short and devout prayers to God for his holy Spirit<sup>q</sup>. But it is evident that this was not general. The sermons which our Saviour and his apostles delivered in the synagogues appear to have been preceded by no prayers, but after the scriptures were read, the preacher immediately delivered his exhortation.

prayers also occur in the *ma-  
nual* of the church of York,  
near the end, under the title  
of "preces pro diebus Domi-  
nicis."

<sup>p</sup> As in the Apostolical Con-  
stitutions, the liturgies of James,  
Basil, Chrysostom, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Bingham, *Antiquities*, book  
xiv. c. 4. §. 13.

I proceed, *fourthly*, to the principal and most important part of the preacher's office, which consists in teaching the doctrines and the duties of Christianity, and in delivering the word of exhortation and admonition. In the primitive ages, as I have observed, the bishop chiefly taught in the cathedral church, and the presbyters in lesser or parish churches. Here they instructed the people in all the branches of religion, and adapted all those methods of reasoning, persuasion, encouragement, or rebuke, which they esteemed best calculated to benefit the souls of the faithful. When the barbarians of the north had overrun the civilized portion of the world, and for a lengthened period, the arts and sciences were almost extinct, it became difficult, from the extreme ignorance of the times, to find clergy sufficiently qualified to preach. Hence, in several churches, homilies were selected from the writings of orthodox divines, and appointed by public authority to be read to the people<sup>r</sup>. In England, about the year 957, Elfric, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, required the priest in each parish to explain the gospel of the day, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer, on Sundays and holydays<sup>s</sup>. The same person afterwards compiled homilies in the Anglo-Saxon language, which for some time continued to be read in the English church<sup>t</sup>. At length these

<sup>r</sup> Thus in Gaul Alcuin composed homilies by the command of Charlemagne; see Cave, *Histor. Literaria*, tom. i.

<sup>s</sup> "Sacerdos diebus Solis et diebus festis populo sensum Evangelii Anglice dicere debet, et per orationem Dominicam

ac symbolum apostolicum quam sæpissime potest, homines illos incitet, ut credant, et Christianismum colant," &c. Canon xxiii. *Ælfrici*. Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. i. p. 253.

<sup>t</sup> See Cave, *Historia Literaria*, tom. ii.



homilies probably became either unpopular or obsolete; so that in the year 1281 preaching seems to have been generally omitted. In that year John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, made the Constitution which I have already described, and which provided for the delivery of four sermons in the year, during the time of the communion-service, or liturgy. It does not appear that any great alteration took place for some time after the Constitution of archbishop Arundell; however, in a book entitled, the *Liber Festivalis*, published in the reign of Henry the Eighth<sup>u</sup>, we find a series of homilies for all the holydays of the year, followed by the “quatuor sermones,” as directed by archbishop Peckham, and all in the English language. This book, however, does not appear to have been published by authority, and was probably not much in use.

By the injunctions of king Edward the Sixth, in 1547, it was ordered that every Sunday when there was no sermon, the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and Ten Commandments should be recited from the pulpit for the instruction of the people<sup>v</sup>. This was in fact little more than a renewal of the Constitutions of the archbishops of Canterbury. The subsequent composition and publication of homilies by authority is so well known that I need not dwell on it. Nor is it necessary to speak of the gradual increase of knowledge and education, which have in later times completely restored the ancient custom of preaching, which had so long been desired by the Christian church.

<sup>u</sup> *Liber Festivalis*. London, 1511. Printed before in 1497.

<sup>v</sup> Sparrow's Collection, &c. p. 4.

In the primitive ages, the bishop generally delivered his sermon or exhortation from the steps of the altar; presbyters preached from the pulpit, or ambon. But these rules were not strictly adhered to, and the preacher generally took his seat<sup>w</sup> in the place where he could be best heard by the people. The catechumens, those that were undergoing the penitential discipline, and even infidels, were allowed to hear the lessons and the sermon<sup>x</sup>. It was only when the more solemn part of the office was about to commence that these persons were dismissed. In the churches of Antioch<sup>y</sup> and Asia<sup>z</sup>, and in other oriental churches, there were distinct prayers for one or more of these classes, by the deacon and people, and each class was dismissed after the prayers that had been made for it were concluded. In most liturgies these prayers, owing to the extinction of the ancient discipline, have been omitted. Indeed it does not appear that in the churches of Italy, Africa, and Spain, any such prayers were ever used at this place; and it is very doubtful if they were customary in the Gallican church. But in the liturgies of the church of Constantinople the prayer for the catechumens remains even to this day<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> The preacher very generally sat during the sermon, while the hearers stood. See Bingham, *Antiquities*, b. xiv.

<sup>x</sup> See page 25. note <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 30. vol. i.

<sup>z</sup> Concil. Laodicen. canon xix.

<sup>a</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 70.

SECTION VIII.

OBLATIONS OF THE PEOPLE, AND OFFERTORY.

There can be no doubt that it has been the universal custom of Christians since the apostolic age to offer alms and oblations to the glory of God. In the writings of the primitive fathers, and the acts of synods, we find this practice recognised throughout the whole world. We learn its prevalence in Africa from the writings of Optatus, Cyprian, Tertullian, and the decrees of the councils of Carthage<sup>b</sup>. In the patriarchate of Antioch its existence is testified by Chrysostom, the Apostolical Constitutions, and Justin<sup>c</sup>. Ambrose is a witness for Italy<sup>d</sup>; Gregory Nazianzen for Cæsarea and Pontus<sup>e</sup>; the council of Eliberis for Spain<sup>f</sup>; Irenæus, Cæsarius of Arles, and the council of Matiscon, for Gaul<sup>g</sup>; Augustine for

<sup>b</sup> “Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ carbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?” Cyprian. de Oper. et Eleemosynis, p. 203. ed. Fell. “Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit. Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert, &c.” Tertull. Apolog. c. 39. Optatus Milev. lib. vi. de Schism. Donatist. p. 93. ed. Albaspin. Paris. 1631. Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 93, 94.

<sup>c</sup> Chrysost. Hom. 50. in Matt. p. 518. tom. vii. ed. Benedict. *Χρή δὲ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι τίνων ὀφείλει δέχσθαι καρποφορίας, καὶ τίνων οὐκ ὀφείλει.*

*φυλακταῖοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς δόσω κάπηλοι . . . φευκταῖοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόρνοι κ. τ. λ.* Apost. Const. lib. iv. c. 6. *οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ πρῶστῳ ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὔσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὔσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρεῖα οὔσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται.* Justin Martyr, Apolg. i. p. 98. ed. Thirlby.

<sup>d</sup> Ambros. Epist. 17. ad Valent. p. 827. tom. ii. ed. Benedict.

<sup>e</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 20. p. 351. tom. i.

<sup>f</sup> Concil. Eliberitan. can. 28, 29.

<sup>g</sup> Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 18. See

England<sup>h</sup>; and Patrick for Ireland<sup>i</sup>. The custom of offering voluntary oblations was therefore universal in the primitive church. These oblations were of various sorts. Some offered money, vestments, and other precious gifts, and all, it appears, offered bread and wine, from which the elements of the sacrament were taken. But though all the churches of the east and west agreed in this respect, they differed in appointing the time and place at which the oblations of the people were received. In the west, the people offered bread and wine in the public assembly, immediately after the catechumens were dismissed, and before the solemn prayers began. We have no authentic record of the prevalence of any such custom in the east. It appears that the oblations of the people were made in the eastern churches before the liturgy began, or at least not during the public assembly. No trace of the western oblation of the people and offertory is found in the ancient liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Alexandria. It is not alluded to by the Apostolical Constitutions, nor by the Fathers of the eastern churches. From whence it may be concluded, either that the oblations of the

also Hom. 265. Augustini in Append. tom. v. Oper. which is ascribed to Cæsarius of Arles, Concil. Matiscon. anno 585. can. 4.

<sup>h</sup> *Prima interrogatio beati Augustini episcopi Cantuariorum ecclesie.* "De episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis convertentur, vel de his quæ fidelium oblationibus accedunt altario; quantæ debeant fieri portiones, et qualiter episcopus agere in

ecclesia debeat." Beda. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 27.

<sup>i</sup> Synod. S. Patricii, can. 12. "Quicumque Christianus excommunicatus fuerit, nec ejus eleemosyna recipiatur," p. 3. tom. i. Wilkins, *Concilia Magn. Brit. Synodus alia S. Patric.* cap. 2. "Contentus tegmento et alimento tuo, cætera dona iniquorum reprobata, quia non sumit lucerna nisi quo alitur." p. 4. *ibid.*

people were not made during the liturgy of the eastern churches; or else, that the custom has been very long discontinued. In the churches of Gaul, Spain, Rome, Milan, and England, the people long continued to offer during the liturgy, and memorials of the custom remain to this day in most parts of the west. In the councils and the writings of the Fathers of those churches, we find many allusions to it, many injunctions regulating it. In time, when the clergy received donations of a more permanent nature, the oblations of the people fell off. In many places they became extinct, and in the rest there remained little more than the shadows and memorials of the primitive customs. Oblations are now in general never made by the laity in the Roman liturgy; yet in some remote parts the country people, according to Bona, still continue the practice<sup>j</sup>.

In the church of Milan, which has retained its peculiar rites for a long series of ages, and which did not receive the alterations made in the Roman liturgy by Gregory the Great, A. D. 590, the custom of offering bread and wine is still in some degree preserved. At the proper time the officiating priest, accompanied by his assistants, and preceded by two attendants with silver vessels to receive the oblations, descends from the altar to the entrance of the presbytery, where two old men of the school of St. Ambrose, attended by all their brethren, offer three cakes of bread, and a silver vessel full of wine. The priest and his attendants then descend to the entrance of the choir, where they receive the same sort of oblations from the women<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>j</sup> Bona, *Rer. Lit. lib. ii. cap.*  
8. §. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Bona, *Rer. Lit. lib. i. cap.*  
10. §. 3.

In England the people have been accustomed to offer oblations since the time of Augustine, who wrote in A. D. 601 to Gregory, patriarch of Rome, to consult him how the oblations of the people should be divided<sup>l</sup>; but we can have no doubt that in the British church the same practice had prevailed long before, since no western church can be named in which the people had not made oblations from the most primitive ages. A synod also, held in Ireland in the time of Patrick, first archbishop of the Irish, in the fifth century, forbids the oblations of sinning brethren to be received<sup>m</sup>. This shews that the practice of lay oblation prevailed then in Ireland. In England the oblations of the people gradually became less as the church was endowed with lands, and different rules as to the payment of offerings were adopted in different places. In 1287, the synod of Exeter, cap. 9, required all priests celebrating the communion in chapels annexed to churches, to restore fairly whatever oblations they received to the rector of the church<sup>n</sup>. Henry Woodloke, bishop of Winchester, in his Constitutions of A. D. 1308, enjoined every person above eighteen years of age, who had sufficient means, to offer due and customary oblations on four great feast days in the year<sup>o</sup>. In 1367, Simon

<sup>l</sup> Quoted above, page 68.

<sup>m</sup> Cited above, page 68.

<sup>n</sup> "Statuimus, ut sacerdotes in dictis capellis ministrantes, universas oblationes, quas in ipsis offerri contigerit, ecclesiæ matricis rectori cum integritate restituant." Wilkins, Concilia Magn. Brit. tom. ii. p. 137.

<sup>o</sup> "Statuimus etiam, quod

a singulis parochianis, annum octavum decimum excedentibus, dum tamen bona habeant mobilia, aut extra domos paternas pro certis stipendiis commorentur, in quatuor festivitibus, natiuitatis, scilicet, paschæ, festiuitate sancti loci, et dedicationis ecclesiæ, oblationes debitæ et consuetæ persolvantur." Wilkins, Concilia

Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, took measures to try a dispute between the clergy of London and the citizens, who were unwilling to pay the oblations which the clergy alleged to be due from every house in proportion to its value<sup>p</sup>. We also find the subject alluded to in other canons of the English and Scottish churches<sup>q</sup>. Thus the custom of lay oblation was continually kept up in some degree in England, till the time when the reformation at last began, and then we find the church continuing and reinforcing it. The English liturgy, in the year 1549, contained this rubric: "In the mean time, while the clerks do sing the offertory, so many as are disposed, shall offer to the poor man's box, every one according to his ability and charitable mind; and at the offering days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the curate, the due and accustomed offerings." Afterwards the rubric was amended to its present form, in which the deacons or the officers of the church are required to collect the alms and devotions of the people: and the custom of oblation is to this day preserved in the church of England, having never been intermitted from the most primitive ages.

I have already observed, that when the people offered bread and wine, the elements for the sacrament were taken from their oblations. It was for this reason, partly, that we find the liturgies speaking in the plural number when the verbal oblation of the gifts was made, as if the bishop or priest re-

tom. ii. p. 298. The same rule, nearly, occurs in the 54th chapter of the synod of Exeter, anno 1287. p. 160. Wilkins.

<sup>p</sup> Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 67.  
<sup>q</sup> Concil. Londinense 1457. Concil. Scotican. 1225. See Wilkins, Concilia tom. iii. and i.

presented the members, and placed before God the offerings and prayers, of the whole church<sup>r</sup>.

In the primitive ages, the white linen cloth and the vessels for the sacrament were not placed on the table until this time, when the catechumens had been dismissed, and when the offerings of the faithful were to be received. In the church of Constantinople this practice continues to the present day, when the linen cloth, or *εἰλητόν*, is laid by the priest, after the catechumens are dismissed<sup>s</sup>. In the church of Milan the same custom formerly prevailed<sup>t</sup>. It was always practised in the primitive Roman church<sup>u</sup>. In the modern Roman liturgy the linen cloth is only laid at this time on solemn occasions<sup>v</sup>; at other times, they, like the church of England, and the Monophysites of Antioch and Alexandria<sup>w</sup>, place the cloth on the holy table before the liturgy begins. It was very usual in the primitive church to fill up

<sup>r</sup> “Memento Domine—omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio: *qui tibi offerunt* hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis, et incolumitatis suæ, tibi reddunt vota sua, æterno Deo, vivo et vero.” Sacrament. Gregorii, Menard. p. 2. “Offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ, &c.” *ibid.* p. 3. *Προσφέρομεν.* Lit. Chrysost. p. 77. Basilii, p. 168. Goar, Rit. Græc. “Hæc sancta dona proponimus.” Lit. Cyrilli, Renaudot. tom. i. p. 47, &c. “Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum.” Irenæus,

lib. iv. c. 18. p. 250. “Cum simplicitate Ecclesia offert,” *ib.* “Hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert Fabricatori,” *ibid.* p. 251.

<sup>s</sup> Liturg. Chrysost. Goar, p. 70.

<sup>t</sup> As appears by the prayer which occurs at this place, entitled, “Oratio super sindonem,” that is, a prayer after the linen cloth is laid. Miss. Ambros. fol. 1, 3, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Ordo Romanus, apud Melchior. Hittorp. de Offic. p. 19.

<sup>v</sup> Missale Romanum, Ritus celebrandi Missam, vi.

<sup>w</sup> Vid. Liturg. Jacobi. Syr. Renaudot. Collect. Liturg. tom. ii. p. 2, 3. Liturg. Basilii, tom. i. p. 183.



any intervals of divine service which might appear tedious, with psalmody. Thus in almost all churches a psalm was sung while the people communicated. On the same principle, the western churches sung a psalm while the people made their oblations. When this began, it is impossible to say. Bona refers to Augustine, lib. ii. *Retract.* c. 11. as proving that the offertory or anthem sung while the people offered was in use in the time of Augustine<sup>x</sup>. But I think Augustine there refers to the anthem called *Introit*, sung before the lessons, which appears to have been introduced into the Roman church, about the time of Augustine, by Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome. There are anthems for the offertory in the Antiphonarium of Gregory, bishop of Rome<sup>y</sup>, who is commonly, but without sufficient reason, reputed to have been the author of the offertory.

The anthem called *offertory* has without doubt been received in the English church since the end of the sixth century, when Augustine brought the sacramentary and other books of Gregory to England<sup>z</sup>. But it may have been used long before by the British church. Formerly, this anthem was probably sung in choirs; but in the English church it has long been customary for the officiating priest to repeat or chaunt it with his ministers. It was

<sup>x</sup> Augustin. lib. ii. *Retractat.* c. xi. p. 45. tom. i. ed. Benedict. "Morem qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de Psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum."

<sup>y</sup> Antiphonarium Gregorii apud Pamel. Liturgica, tom. ii. p. 63, 64, &c.

<sup>z</sup> It appears in all the liturgies of the English church used before the reformation, as in the Miss. Sarisb. Eborac. Hereford.

probably this reason which induced the revisers of the English liturgy to appoint the offertory to be said by the priest. "Then shall the priest return to the Lord's table, and begin the offertory, saying one or more of these sentences following," &c. In the liturgy of York the rubric is, "Deinde dicitur offertorium<sup>a</sup>;" in that of Hereford, "Sacerdos—canat cum suis ministris offertorium;" in that of Sarum, "Deinde dicitur offertorium<sup>b</sup>." This shews sufficiently that the offertory was said by the priest formerly in the English church as it is now.

## SECTION IX.

### THE PREPARATION OF THE ELEMENTS.

In the western churches, the vessels and linen cloth having been laid on the table, and the oblations of the people received, as has been already remarked, the priest selected from them one or more cakes or loaves of bread, which he placed on the table, and wine, which he mingled with a small proportion of water in the cup. The elements were then covered with a veil, or a portion of the linen cloth<sup>c</sup>. In the church of Constantinople a different rite has long prevailed. There, after the catechumens have been dismissed, the deacon and priest convey in solemn procession the discus and chalice, containing the bread and wine, from the table of *prothesis* to the altar<sup>d</sup>. According to the Roman

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Ebor. fol. 73.

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. 72.

<sup>c</sup> Mabillon. Liturgia Gallicana, p. 41. Gavanti Thesaurus, cum not. Merati, tom. i. p. 137, 139. In this last are various instances of churches

where the linen cloth, or *corporale*, is still used to cover both the table and the cup.

<sup>d</sup> This is called ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος. Vide Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 73, 131.

liturgy, the bread is placed on the linen cloth, without any thing intervening<sup>e</sup>. The custom of the church of Constantinople and the east is to retain the bread in the *patena* or *discus*, which is placed along with it on the cloth<sup>f</sup>.

The custom of mingling water with the wine of the eucharist, is one which prevailed universally in the Christian church from the earliest period. Justin Martyr of Syria, Irenæus of Gaul, Clemens of Alexandria, and Cyprian of Carthage, bear testimony to its prevalence in the second and third centuries<sup>g</sup>. There is, in fact, no sort of reason to deny that the apostles themselves had the same custom. It is even probable that the cup which our Saviour blessed at the last supper contained water as well as wine, since it appears that it was generally the practice of the Jews to mix the paschal cup, which our Saviour used in instituting the sacrament of his blood<sup>h</sup>. It has, however, been long decided by theologians, that the mixture of water is not essential to the validity of the sacrament. Bona, presbyter cardinal of Rome, refers to Bernard as speaking of some persons who thought that water was essential; "but," he adds, "the judgment of theologians is certain, that consecration is valid, even if water be

<sup>e</sup> "Deponit hostiam circa medium anterioris partis corporalis ante se, et patenam ad manum dextram aliquantulum subtus corporale." Miss. Rom. Ritus celebrandi Missam, vii.

<sup>f</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 73.

<sup>g</sup> "Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προσώπῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. Justin. Martyr. *Apolog.* i. p. 95, 96. ed. Thirlby. 'Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ

τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὸς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ. S. Irenæi, lib. v. c. 2. p. 294. ed. Massuet. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Pædagogus*, lib. ii. c. 2. p. 177. ed. Potter. tom. i. Cyprian. *Epist.* 63. p. 148, &c. ed. Fell.

<sup>h</sup> Maimonides, lib. de Solennitate Paschali, c. 7.

omitted, though he who omits it is guilty of a serious offence<sup>i</sup>.”

The Armenians were the first Christians who prohibited the mixture of water with the wine; but they were condemned for this in the council in Trullo, A. D. 691, and the decree has been received by all Christians, except by the Monophysites of Armenia, who have never since adopted the mixture, even to the present day. In the church of England, the wine of the eucharist was always, no doubt, mixed with water. In the canons of the Anglo-Saxon church, published in the time of king Edgar, it is enjoined, that “no priest shall celebrate the liturgy unless he have all things which pertain to the holy eucharist, that is, a pure oblation, pure wine, and pure water<sup>j</sup>.” In after-ages we find no canons made to enforce the use of water, for it was an established custom. Certainly none can be more canonical, and more conformable to the practice of the primitive church. In the English church it has never been forbidden or prohibited; for the rubric which enjoins the priest to place bread and wine on the table, does not prohibit him from mingling water with that wine.

Another circumstance worthy of notice, as connected with the preparation of the elements, is, the

<sup>i</sup> “Refert Bernardus, Epist. 69. quorundam opinionem existimantium aquæ mixtionem necessariam esse ad Sacramenti integritatem; sed certa est theologorum sententia, omissa aqua validam esse consecrationem, quamvis omittens graviter peccat.” Bona, Rer. Lit. lib. ii. c. 9. §. 3.

<sup>j</sup> “Docemus etiam, ut sacerdos nunquam præsumat missam celebrare, nisi omnia habeat quæ ad S. Eucharistiam pertinent, hoc est, puram oblationem, et vinum purum, et aquam puram.” Canones editi sub Edgardo rege, A. D. 960. Wilkins, Concilia Magn. Brit. tom. i. p. 227.

unity of the bread. The bread or loaf which our Saviour used in celebrating the sacrament was whole and unbroken ; for he took bread, and blessed it, and broke it. He did not break it before, but after, it was sanctified. The apostle Paul proves the unity of Christians from the unity of that bread of which they were all partakers : 1 Cor. x. 17. " For we being many, are one bread, and one body : for we are all partakers of that *one* bread." And, accordingly, it has always been the practice of the Christian church to place the bread on the table whole and unbroken, and only to break and divide it into portions for distribution when it is consecrated <sup>k</sup>. The eastern churches at the present day use cakes of bread, which, in order that they may be easily broken, are pressed with some instrument when they are made, so as to be deeply indented with transverse lines. This is not an ancient practice, because in primitive times the sacramental bread was taken from the oblations of the people, which of

<sup>k</sup> It is not by any means uncanonical, or inconsistent with the practice of the Christian church, to *prepare* the bread before the service begins, by making *partial* incisions ; which, without passing entirely through it, render it easy to be broken and divided at the proper time, but which do not destroy its *unity*. This custom has, in fact, prevailed for a long time in the patriarchate of Constantinople and in all the east, as may be seen in the preparatory part of the liturgy of Chrysostom, published by Goar in the " *Rituale Græcum*." But to divide the

bread completely into small fragments, (as may possibly be done in some places, from want of consideration and familiarity with ecclesiastical rites,) is a practice which cannot be justified, and which should be carefully avoided. When there were many communicants, in primitive times, there were several cakes or loaves, in proportion to the number ; and it took some time, after the consecration was finished, to break and divide them into pieces for distribution : so that in some churches an anthem was sung while the bread was broken.

course were plain. It is not essential to the validity of the sacrament that the bread should be whole and entire before consecration, and broken afterwards; but the universal practice of the Christian church, derived from the apostles and from Jesus Christ himself, ought not to be infringed in this matter.

## SECTION X.

### THE OBLATION, PRAYERS, AND COMMEMORATIONS.

The bread and the cup having been placed on the table, the verbal oblation and prayers begin. This part of the liturgy comprises several very important particulars, and it will be necessary to examine each by itself, in order to observe that the church of England is authorized by ancient practice in assigning to it the place which it holds. The prayer entitled "for the church militant" may be divided into three parts: first, the oblation; secondly, the commemoration and prayers for the living; thirdly, the commemoration of the departed faithful.

### THE OBLATION.

My present design does not lead me into a consideration of the various respects in which the eucharist was regarded by the primitive church as an oblation or sacrifice<sup>1</sup>; but to inquire into the nature of the verbal and direct forms of oblation in the primitive liturgies, and to observe how far they

<sup>1</sup> Much information on this subject will be found in Waterland's *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, chap. xii. p. 532; Bp. Patrick on

the Christian Sacrifice; Joseph Mede on the holy Altar; Dr. Hickes on the Christian Priesthood; Bp. Bull's *Answer to M. Bossuet of Meaux*.

justify and support the English liturgy. By verbal oblation, I mean an oblation expressed in words, for all oblations are not so expressed. It is obvious to all readers, that the ancient liturgies contain certain passages in which something is directly and verbally offered to God. Let us begin with the form contained in the liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions, which represents the great oriental rite towards the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century. After the words of institution, and a commemoration of Christ's death, resurrection, &c. the following passage occurs: "To thee, our King and God, we offer this bread and this cup, according to Christ's institution; giving thanks to thee through him, because thou hast thought us worthy to stand before thee, and to minister unto thee <sup>m</sup>." It would seem impossible to deny that this is an oblation, or sacrifice, of bread and wine to God. A prayer immediately follows, which is just as explicit, "that God would send his holy Spirit, the witness of Christ's passion, upon this *sacrifice*, that he may make this bread the body of Christ, and this cup the blood of Christ <sup>n</sup>." Here the bread and wine are evidently spoken of as the sacrifice; for when God is implored to send his holy Spirit on the sacrifice, *that* the bread may be made Christ's body, and the wine his blood, it seems evident that the bread

<sup>m</sup> Προσφέρομεν σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντες σοι δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιον σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι. Apost. Const. lib. viii. c. 12. p. 403. ed. Clerici.

<sup>n</sup> Καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφήνη τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Ibid.

and wine are identical with the sacrifice, otherwise there is no connection between the former and the latter parts of the prayer.

The liturgy of Cæsarea, which represents the great oriental rite as used at Cæsarea A. D. 370, and probably for centuries before, after the words of institution, and the verbal commemoration of Christ's death &c., as above, proceeds thus : “Offering to thee thine own things out of thine own,—we praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, O Lord ; and we pray, O Lord our God. Wherefore, most holy Father—we approach thy holy altar ; and having set before thee the antitypes of the body and blood of thy Christ, we pray and beseech thee, O most holy, according to the good pleasure of thy beneficence, that thy holy Spirit may come upon us, and upon these gifts lying before thee, and bless them, and sanctify them, &c.”<sup>o</sup> We here recognise the same sort of verbal oblation as in the former case. For the oblation to God of “things which are his own, taken out of his own,” plainly refers to the bread and wine, which are God's creatures, and therefore are his own ; and, further on, the elements are called *gifts*, that is, things given or offered, which God is implored to sanctify, and make Christ's body and blood.

In the ancient liturgies of the Alexandrian patri-

<sup>o</sup> τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρου-  
 ροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα,  
 σε ὑμνοῦμεν, σε εὐλογοῦμεν, σοι  
 εὐχαριστοῦμεν, Κύριε· καὶ δεόμεθα,  
 ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. διὰ τοῦτο Δέσποτα  
 πανάγαμε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ  
 καὶ ἀνάξιοι δούλοι σου—προσ-  
 θέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου  
 σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ

σου, δεόμεθα καὶ σε παρακαλοῦμεν,  
 ἅγιε ἅγιον, εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθό-  
 τητος, ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ  
 ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκει-  
 μενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐλογήσαι  
 αὐτὰ, καὶ ἀγιάσαι, κ. τ. λ. Litur-  
 gia Basilii, Græc. Goar, Ri-  
 tuale Græc. p. 168, 169.



archate, the same sort of oblation is found. Thus, "Before thy glory, O holy Father, we place these holy gifts, out of those things which are thine own:" then, "Send down from above—the Holy Spirit upon us thy servants, and upon these venerable gifts placed before thee, upon this bread, and upon this cup," &c.<sup>p</sup> In another Alexandrian liturgy nearly the same words occur: "We, O Lord God, have set before thee thine own, out of thine own gifts, and we pray and beseech thee to send from on high—thy Holy Spirit upon these loaves, and these cups, to hallow and consecrate them<sup>q</sup>," &c. In a very ancient Alexandrian liturgy the verbal oblation is simply, "We offer to thee this bread and this cup<sup>r</sup>." It appears, therefore, that in the ancient Alexandrian liturgy, the *bread* and *wine* were verbally offered.

The liturgies of Rome and Italy contained two oblations; one before, the other after consecration. In both the elements are offered as they are bread and wine. The first is as follows: "We beseech thee, O Lord, propitiously to receive this oblation of our service, and of all thy family's—which obla-

<sup>p</sup> "Tu es coram cujus gloria hæc sancta dona proponimus, ex illis quæ tua sunt, Pater sancte — Et mitte deorsum ex excelso tuo sancto &c.— Spiritum tuum sanctum &c.— super nos servos tuos, et super hæc veneranda dona proposita coram te, super hunc panem, et super hunc calicem," &c. Liturgia Cyrilli Copt. Renaudot. Lit. Oriental. Coll. tom. i. p. 47, 48.

<sup>q</sup> σοι κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σά

ἐκ τῶν σῶν δῶρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιον σου. καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν σε, φιλόνηρωπε ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ ἁγίου σου—ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρτοὺς τούτους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμα σοῦ τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἀγιάσῃ, κ.τ.λ. Liturgia Marci. Renaudot. tom. i. p. 156, 157.

<sup>r</sup> "Offerimus tibi hunc panem et hunc calicem." Liturgia Æthiop. Renaudot. tom. i. p. 517.

tion do thou, O Lord, deign to make in all respects blessed, received, ratified, reasonable, and acceptable, that *it* may be made to us the body and blood of thy most beloved Son, our Lord God Jesus Christ<sup>s</sup>." After consecration there is another oblation: "We do offer unto thy most excellent Majesty, out of thine own donations and gifts, a pure sacrifice, an immaculate sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation, upon which vouchsafe to look propitiously, and to accept them<sup>t</sup>." This is evidently an oblation of the elements as they are, bread and wine, God's "donations and gifts" for the use of man. For it would be altogether vain, and indeed impious, to beseech God to "look propitiously" on the body of his own Son, and to "accept" it.

It appears, then, that in all these liturgies there was a verbal oblation of bread and wine, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Fathers often speak of an oblation of bread and wine being used

<sup>s</sup> "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias—quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi." Sacramentar. Gregor. Menard. p. 2.

<sup>t</sup> "Offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis per-

petuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere," &c. Menard. Sacr. Greg. p. 3. There are strong grounds for thinking that this second oblation did not originally exist in the Roman liturgy, since it is not found in the most ancient MSS. of the liturgy of Milan, which was originally derived from the Roman rite; see Muratori Liturgia Rom. Vet. tom. i. p. 134, when Milan MSS. of the ninth or tenth century are cited which do not contain it. For the derivation of the Milan rite from the Roman, see vol. i. p. 125, &c.

in the Christian church, in token of humility and gratitude towards God.

I proceed now to consider the liturgy of Constantinople, in which it would appear that a second verbal oblation is introduced. "We offer to thee thine own, out of thine own—we praise thee, we bless thee, we give thanks to thee, and we pray thee, O Lord, our God. *Also*, we offer to thee this reasonable and unbloody worship<sup>u</sup>." It appears, I think, that two things are here offered, the elements, and the reasonable and unbloody worship. This last probably means the whole service, comprising the devotions, thanksgivings, and commemoration, which may altogether be very properly so termed.

In the last place, let us look to the liturgy of Antioch and Jerusalem. The expressions in which the oblation is conveyed, can be traced back in this case to the fifth century; since they are found almost word for word the same in the liturgies of both orthodox and monophysites, who have held no communion since the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. After the words of institution, and the verbal commemoration of Christ's death, &c. it proceeds thus: "We offer to thee this dreadful and unbloody sacrifice<sup>v</sup>." These words form the direct verbal oblation in the liturgy of Antioch, and it would seem unreasonable to refer them to the oblation of bread and

<sup>u</sup> τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρωμεν κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα, σε ὑμνοῦμεν, σε εὐλογοῦμεν, σοι εὐχαριστοῦμεν κύριε, καὶ δεόμεθα σου, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. ἐπὶ προσφερόμεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην, καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, κ. τ. λ. Liturgia Chrysostomi Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 77.

<sup>v</sup> " Offerimus tibi hoc sacrificium terribile et incruentum." Liturgia Jacobi Syriac. Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 32. προσφερόμεν σοι, δέσποτα, τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν. Liturgia Jacobi, Græc. Assemani, Codex Liturg. tom. v. p. 38.

wine; for though that sacrifice be *unbloody*, how could it be called *dreadful* or *tremendous*? This word signifies something mysterious and awful, and of greater dignity than any oblation of mere bread and wine could be, even if it were offered by the whole church. Neither can we refer these words of oblation to the elements considered as the body and blood of Christ, for *after* the above oblation is made this prayer follows: "Send thy holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, &c.—that coming, he may make this *bread* the life-giving body, the salutary body, &c.—and that he may make what is mixed in the cup, the blood of the new covenant, the salutary blood, &c.—of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ<sup>w</sup>." Now this prayer supposes that the consecration had not taken place, or at least was imperfect when the oblation was made, and therefore the sacrifice then offered cannot be a sacrifice of the consecrated elements, as Christ's body and blood.

It only remains, then, that we interpret the "dreadful and unbloody sacrifice" to be the *whole service* or worship then performed. So that the meaning is, "We offer to thee this whole unbloody sacrifice of thanksgiving and commemoration, dreadful from the sublime mysteries therein celebrated."

If this interpretation be correct, it appears first, that in the liturgy of Antioch and Jerusalem there

<sup>w</sup> "Mitte Spiritum tuum sanctum Dominum et vivificantem, &c.—ut adveniens efficiat panem istum, corpus vivificum, corpus salutare, &c.—et mistum quod est in hoc calice, efficiat sanguinem testamenti

novi, sanguinem salutarem, &c. —Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi," &c. Liturgia Jac. Syr. Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 33. See also Liturg. Jac. Græc. Ass. tom. v. p. 39, 40.

was no direct verbal oblation of the bread and wine; secondly, that in the other liturgies, (except that of Constantinople,) there was no verbal oblation of the whole sacrifice or service; thirdly, that the liturgy of Constantinople contained a verbal oblation of the elements, and of the service or worship also.

We may infer from these facts, that the validity of the Christian sacrifice does not depend on its *verbal* expression, or mention in the liturgy; for there is no one oblation that is found in *all* the liturgies. Some contain an oblation of the whole service, while others do not. Some contain an oblation of the elements, which is not found in the others. *None contain a verbal oblation of Christ's body and blood.* This is not found in the Roman liturgy, nor is it a form that has at any time been used in the Christian church. Therefore the Christian Fathers, who contemplated several real oblations in the eucharist, could not have thought it necessary to express those oblations verbally in the liturgy; and consequently every oblation recognised by them may exist in the English liturgy, whether it be expressed verbally or not. We may infer in particular, that a verbal oblation of the bread and wine in the eucharist is not essential to a real oblation of those elements. For the liturgy of Antioch and Jerusalem had no such oblation. In truth the act of devoting or setting apart a certain portion of bread and wine for the service and honour of God, to be converted into the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, would seem to be as valid an oblation as the act of the layman in presenting the elements to the priest. Now we know that the latter was considered a valid oblation, though it was not of-

ferred with any form of words<sup>x</sup>; and therefore the act of setting apart the bread and wine for the sacrament to the honour and glory of God, would appear to be a valid oblation of those elements. We may argue also, that a verbal oblation of the elements is not necessary to the validity of their oblation, because the thanksgiving, which is certainly a sacrifice to God, does not appear to have been verbally or formally offered to him in the liturgies, all of which, however, contain the thanksgiving. We may further argue for the validity of the oblation of the elements without any verbal oblation, from the mystical or commemorative sacrifice of the eucharist, which is not made by any verbal form of oblation, but consists in performing the memorial of Christ's sacrifice, which he has himself appointed.

If, therefore, the English liturgy were devoid of any verbal oblation of the bread and wine to God, it nevertheless would not be destitute of a valid oblation of those elements. However, the English liturgy is not without a verbal oblation, which occurs at the beginning of the prayers and commemorations. After the elements have been placed on the table, and thus devoted to the service and honour of God, the priest prays to God thus: "We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty." Here three species of sacrifice or oblation are verbally offered:

<sup>x</sup> "Locuples et dives es et Dominicum celebrare te credis, qui corban omnino non respicis, quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio quod pauper

obtulit sumis." Cypr. de Op. et Eleemos. p. 203. ed. Fell. There is no trace of any verbal oblation made by the laity in presenting the sacrifice of bread and wine to the priest.

first, the “alms,” which St. Paul describes as a sacrifice well pleasing to God<sup>y</sup>; secondly, the “oblations,” namely, the creatures of bread and wine; thirdly, the “prayers” which, according to Saint John, are offered with incense on the heavenly altar<sup>z</sup>, and of which the holy Fathers speak as a sacrifice and oblation to God<sup>a</sup>.

It may be said in conclusion, that it is indifferent in what part of the liturgy or communion-service the verbal oblation occurs. In the liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Alexandria, it took place before the elements were fully consecrated; in the liturgies of Milan and Rome, it occurred both before and after the consecration. If the verbal oblation is not an oblation of the elements as Christ’s body and blood, (a form of oblation which does not occur in any of the ancient liturgies,) it is indifferent in what part of the liturgy of the faithful it may be placed.

COMMEMORATIONS AND PRAYERS FOR THE LIVING.

This portion of the liturgy may be divided into five particulars: first, a prayer for the catholic church; secondly, for kings and rulers; thirdly, for bishops and clergy; fourthly, for the people and congregation; fifthly, for those that are in any ca-

<sup>y</sup> Hebr. xiii. 16.

<sup>z</sup> Revelations viii. 3, &c.

<sup>a</sup> “Sacrificamus—quomodo præcepit Deus pura prece.” Tertull. ad Scapulam, p. 69. ed. Rigalt. “Sacrificium mundum, scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura.” lib. iv. adv. Marcion. *Argumentum*. Speaking of the figurative sacrifices

of the law, he says, “Significabant hominem quondam peccatorem, verbo mox Dei emaculatum, offerre debere munus Deo apud templum, orationem scilicet et actionem gratiarum apud Ecclesiam, per Christum Jesum catholicum Patris sacerdotem.” Adv. Marcionem, lib. iv. c. ix. p. 420. edit. Rigalt.

lamity or distress. The prayers for the living are accordingly divided into so many parts in the following pages; and to each part is annexed such portions of the ancient liturgies as confirm and illustrate our own. I must premise, however, that I do not cite these ancient liturgies, in the present instance, with any intention of exhibiting the exact originals of our prayers, but to evince their propriety and consistence with primitive customs. It would not indeed be a matter of much importance to prove that our forms were literally the same with some one of the primitive liturgies, for they all differ from each other in the mere expressions; whence it is evident, that the general sense is all that we need desire to know.

PRAYER FOR THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

All the ancient liturgies contained prayers for the universal church, in conformity with the directions of St. Paul, to make "supplications for all saints," Eph. vi. 18; and that "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men," 1 Tim. ii. 1. In none, however, is there a more comprehensive form than in our liturgy.

ENGLAND. Which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the Spirit of truth, unity, and concord.

SARUM, MILAN, ROME. Tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare,

CÆSAREA. Ἐπὶ σου δεόμεθα, μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτήν, ἣν περιποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου<sup>b</sup>.

ALEXANDRIA. Memento Domine pacis unius unicæ sanctæ

<sup>b</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 171.



custodire, adunare, et regere digneris, toto orbe terrarum<sup>c</sup>.

JERUSALEM AND ANTIOCH. Προσφέρω σοι δέσποτα . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς, κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, πλουσίας καὶ νῦν τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, ἐπιχορήγησον αὐτῇ δέσποτα<sup>d</sup>.

ENGLAND. And grant, that all they that do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love.

Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ, quæ est a finibus ad fines usque terræ, omni populo et terris benedic.<sup>e</sup>

CONSTANTINOPLE. Ἐπὶ προσφέρω σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας<sup>f</sup>.

CÆSAREA. Παύσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν . . . τὰς τῶν αἰρέσεων ἐπαναστάσεις ταχέως καταλύσον, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος<sup>g</sup>.

FOR KINGS AND RULERS.

According to the apostolical direction, all the ancient liturgies contained prayers "for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty," 1 Tim. ii. 2. The words of the apostle are used in several of the ancient liturgies.

ENGLAND. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; and specially thy Servant *N.* our King; that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: And grant

CONSTANTINOPLE. Ἐπὶ προσφέρω σοι . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστοτάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, παντὸς τοῦ παλατιῶν καὶ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν. δὸς αὐτοῖς κύριε εἰρηνικὸν τὸ βασίλειον. Ἰνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἤρε-

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. lxxviii. Miss. Ambros. ap. Pamelii Liturg. tom. i. p. 301. Sacram. Gregorii Menard. p. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Liturgia Jacobi, Asseman. tom. v. p. 41.

<sup>e</sup> Liturg. Cyrill. Copt. Renaudot. tom. i. p. 41.

<sup>f</sup> Liturg. Chrysost. Goar, p. 78. See also Liturg. Jacobi Syr. Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 34. Marci, Renaud. tom. i. p. 146. Æthiop. tom. i. p. 514.

<sup>g</sup> Liturgia Basil. Goar, p. 173.

unto his whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of true religion and virtue.

ÆTHIOPIA. Memento Domine Regis nostri *N.*, conserva eum nobis in pace<sup>i</sup>.

SARUM, MILAN, ROME. Tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua . . . una cum . . . Rege nostro *Ni*.

ÆSAREA. After prayers for the emperor follow these : *μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου*<sup>k</sup>.

*μον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν πάση ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ, καὶ σεμνότητι*<sup>l</sup>.

ALEXANDRIA. Domine misereere Regis terræ famuli tui. Conserva illum in pace et justitia et potentia, ut subjiciantur illi omnes barbari et gentes quæ bella volunt: da nobis bonorum affluentiam: loquere ad cor ejus pro pace unice tuæ Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ: fac ut cogitet ea quæ pacis sunt erga nos et erga nomen tuum sanctum, ut vitam tranquillam et placidam ducamus, atque in omni pietate et honestate confirmati inveniamur apud te<sup>m</sup>.

ANTIOCH. Not unlike Constantinople and Alexandria<sup>n</sup>.

#### FOR BISHOPS AND CLERGY.

It has been always the custom of the Christian churches to pray for their own pastors, and for the bishops and clergy throughout the whole world. It was formerly customary to recite the name of the bishop of the church at this place; and if the church was within the limit of any patriarchate, the patriarch also was prayed for by name<sup>o</sup>. This last

<sup>i</sup> Liturgia Æthiop. Renaud. tom. i. p. 514.

<sup>j</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. lxxviii. Miss. Ambros. ap. Pamel Liturg. tom. i. p. 301. Gregorii Sacram. Menard. p. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Liturg. Basil. Goar, p. 171.

<sup>l</sup> Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, p. 78.

<sup>m</sup> Liturg. Cyrilli Renaudot.

tom. i. p. 41.

<sup>n</sup> Liturg. Jacobi, Syr. Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 36.

<sup>o</sup> See Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 144. Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. 11. Liturgia Jacobi, Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 34. et observationes. Liturg. Basilii, tom. i. p. 10.

rule obviously does not apply to the church within the British empire, which from the beginning was independent of all the patriarchs. And though more than patriarchal authority was for a time usurped by the bishop of Rome, the ancient liberties and independence of the catholic church in these realms have long since been vindicated and restored.

ENGLAND. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments.

ANTIOCH. Memento Domine sanctorum Episcoporum nostrorum, qui nobis recte verbum veritatis dispensant. Præcipue vero Patris Patrum et Patriarchæ nostri Domini *N.*, et Domini *N.* Episcopi nostri, cum reliquis omnibus Episcopis orthodoxis. Canitiem ipsis venerandam concede Domine, multis annis ipsos conserva pascentes populum tuum cum omni pietate et sanctitate. Memento Domine, Presbyterii hujusce et cujuscumque alterius loci, Diaconatus in Christo, omnisque ministerii et omnis ordinis Ecclesiastici *P.*

CONSTANTINOPLE. Ἐπί παρακαλοῦμεν σε, μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξου, τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας, καὶ παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος *q.*

ALEXANDRIA. After prayer for the patriarch. "Memento Domine Episcoporum orthodoxorum in quocumque loco sint, Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, &c." *r*

ROME, MILAN. Offerimus pro Ecclesia tua . . . una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro *N.*, et Pontifice (vel Antistite) nostro *N.* *s*

The liturgies of Cæsarea, Æthiopia, and the orthodox of Jerusalem and Alexandria, contain prayers which do not materially differ from those cited *t.*

*p* Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 35.

*q* Liturg. Chrysostomi, Goar, p. 78.

*r* Liturgia Cyrilli Copt. Re-

naudot. tom. i. p. 43.

*s* Sacramentar. Gregorii Menard. p. 2. Miss. Ambros. Pamel. Liturgic. tom. i. p. 301.

*t* Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p.

## FOR THE PEOPLE.

The petitions contained in this part of the prayer are found in almost all the liturgies of the primitive church. In addition to prayers for the whole people, and the congregation then present, it was also common in primitive times to pray by name for those persons who had contributed liberally to the support of God's ministers and of the poor <sup>u</sup>.

ENGLAND. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and especially to this congregation here present; that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word; truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

ANTIOCH. Rursus meminisce dignare eorum qui nobiscum in oratione consistunt, patrum, fratrum, magistrorumque nostrorum, et eorum qui absunt <sup>v</sup>.

CÆSARÆA. Μνήσθητι κύριε τοῦ παρεστῶτος λαοῦ, καὶ τῶν δι' εὐλόγους αἰτίας ἀπολειφθέντων, καὶ ἐλέησον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου. τὰ ταμεία αὐτῶν ἐμπλήσον παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, τὰς συζυγίας αὐτῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμοιοῖα διατήρησον, τὰ νήπια ἐκθρεψον, τὴν νεότητα παιδαγωγῆσον, τὸ γῆρας περικράτησον, κ. τ. λ. <sup>w</sup>

MILAN, ROME. Memento Domine famulorum famularumque *N. et N.*, et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio <sup>x</sup>.

There is a prayer of the same kind in the liturgy of Alexandria <sup>y</sup>.

173. Æthiop. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 514. Jacobi Græce, Assemani, Codex Liturg. tom. v. p. 41. Marci, Renaudot, tom. i. p. 140.

<sup>u</sup> See Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 8.

<sup>v</sup> Liturg. Jacobi Syr. Re-

naud. tom. ii. p. 35.

<sup>w</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 171.

<sup>x</sup> Sacramentarium Gregorii Menard, p. 2. Miss. Ambros. Pamel. Liturg. tom. i. p. 301.

<sup>y</sup> Liturgia Cyrilli Copt. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 44.

## FOR THOSE THAT ARE IN CALAMITY.

Such petitions as these occur abundantly in the eastern liturgies of Constantinople, Cæsarea, Antioch, and Alexandria. But they are not found in the ancient liturgies of Milan and Rome. It is a matter of some surprise, that the western churches, who borrowed so many things from eastern liturgies, did not adopt these prayers, which breathe the very spirit of that “pure and undefiled religion” described by the apostle James.

ENGLAND. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

CÆSAREA. *Χηρῶν πρόστηθι, ὀρφανῶν ὑπεράσπισον, αἰχμαλώτους ῥύσαι, νοσοῦντας ἴασαι, τῶν ἐν βήματι, καὶ ἐξορίας, καὶ πάσῃ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ περιστάσει ὄντων μνημόνευσον ὁ Θεός<sup>a</sup>.*

CONSTANTINOPLE. *Μνήσθητι κύριε πλεόντων, ὀδοιπορούντων, νοσοῦντων, καμνόντων, αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν<sup>z</sup>.*

ALEXANDRIA. Solve captivos, salva eos qui necessitatem patiuntur, esurientes satia, conforta pusillanimes, lapsos erige, stantes confirma, errantes converte, perduc eos omnes ad viam salutis tuæ, numera illos omnes cum populo tuo<sup>b</sup>.

The liturgies of Antioch and Ethiopia contain prayers which scarcely differ from the above<sup>c</sup>.

## COMMEMORATION OF THE DEPARTED FAITHFUL.

We proceed, lastly, to a general commemoration of all the servants of God who have entered into

<sup>z</sup> Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, p. 79.

<sup>a</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 171.

<sup>b</sup> Liturgia Cyrilli Copt. Re-

naudot, tom. i. p. 45.

<sup>c</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaud. tom. ii. p. 34. Æthiop. tom. i. p. 515.

their rest since the beginning of the world. Here, though we name them not, we commemorate the patriarchs, the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the departed righteous, and testify our belief in the immortality of the soul, and in life everlasting.

In primitive times these commemorations were accompanied by prayers for the departed. *When* the custom of praying for the dead began in the Christian church has never been ascertained. We find traces of the practice in the second century, and either then, or shortly after, it appears to have been customary in all parts of the church<sup>d</sup>. The first person who objected to such prayers was Aërius, who lived in the fourth century; but his arguments were answered by various writers, and did not produce any effect in altering the immemorial practice of praying for those that rest. Accordingly, from that time all the liturgies in the world contained such prayers. These facts being certain, it becomes a matter of some interest and importance to ascertain the reasons which justified the omission of these prayers in the liturgy of the English church for the first time in the reign of king Edward VI. Some persons will perhaps say that this sort of prayer is unscriptural; that it infers either the Romish doctrine of purgatory, or something else which is contrary to the revealed will of God, or the nature of things. But when we reflect that the great divines of the English church have not taken this ground,

<sup>d</sup> Prayers and offerings for the departed faithful are mentioned by Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, &c. See Bingham's Antiquities, b.

xv. ch. 3. §. 15, &c. Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, part 2. book ii. §. 2. Archbishop Usher's Answer to the Challenge, &c.

and that the church of England herself has never formally condemned prayers for the dead, but only omitted them in her liturgy, we may perhaps think that there are some other reasons to justify that omission<sup>e</sup>.

The true justification of the church of England is to be found in her zeal for the purity of the Christian faith, and for the welfare of all her members. It is too well known that the erroneous doctrine of purgatory had crept into the western churches, and was held by many of the clergy and people. Prayers for the departed were represented as an absolute proof that the church had always held the doctrine of purgatory<sup>f</sup>. The deceitfulness of this argument can only be estimated by the fact, that many persons at this day, who deny the doctrine of purgatory, assert positively that the custom of praying for the departed infers a belief in purgatory. If persons of education are deceived by this argument, which has been a hundred times refuted<sup>g</sup>, how is it possible

<sup>e</sup> It has been indeed thought by some great and respectable characters, that prayers for the dead are not entirely omitted in the liturgy and offices of the English church, but this is not clearly or satisfactorily proved in my opinion; and it appears almost certain, that if the prayers in the liturgy, and the office for burial of the dead, may imply some petition for the departed, such a petition was not intended by the revisers of the English liturgy in the year 1551; for had they designed to retain prayers for the departed, how are we to account for their omission in

the communion-service? The commemoration that closes the prayer which is the subject of the present section, was not introduced until the last review in 1661.

<sup>f</sup> Prayer for the dead *presupposeth* purgatory. Harding's Answer to Jewel's Apology, f. 119. Antwerp, 1565. "Oratio pro mortuis quæ purgatorii doctrinam invehit *necessario*." Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 296.

<sup>g</sup> See the writings of almost every divine who has argued against the doctrine of purgatory. For instance, Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, art.

that the uneducated classes could ever have got rid of the persuasion that their church held the doctrine of purgatory, if prayers for the departed had been continued in the liturgy? Would not this custom, in fact, have rooted the error of purgatory in their minds? If, then, the church of England omitted public prayer for the departed saints, it was to remove the errors and superstition of the people, and to preserve the purity of the Christian faith. According to scripture, they that die in the Lord are "blessed," and "rest" from their labours, although, as St. James saith, "in many things we offend *all*." According to the doctrine of the catholic Fathers, these souls rest in peace, and joyfully await the time of their resurrection and perfection in eternal glory; and if all prayers for them were omitted, they could not be made unhappy, nor would their felicity and refreshment be diminished. But, on the other hand, the living, who were yet in perils and temptations, might have been led astray, if prayers for the departed had been continued, and thus being brought into dangerous and presumptuous superstitions, might finally have offended God and been condemned.

Granting the doctrine of purgatory to be false, I think it is impossible to deny, that the danger which would have arisen to the living, had prayers for those that rest continued, would have been greater than any advantage that the souls of the blessed could have derived from those prayers. The satisfactory and sufficient reason, therefore, for the omission of such prayers in the English liturgy is, that

xxii; Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive*    admirable *Defence of Arch-*  
 from Popery; Bp. Stillingfleet's    bishop Laud, p. 643, &c.



they were *inexpedient*. Considering the circumstances of the times, more evil than good would have been the result of the continuance of this practice. It was therefore relinquished, and the happy consequence was, that all the people gradually became free from the error of purgatory. Thenceforward the catholic doctrine prevailed in England, that the righteous after death are immediately translated to a region of peace, refreshment, and joy; while the wicked are consigned to a place of torment from whence there is no escape. And when the doctrine of purgatory had been extirpated, the English church restored the commemoration of saints departed in the liturgy, which had been omitted for many years from the same caution and pious regard to the souls of her children.

ENGLAND. And we also bless thy holy name, for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

CÆSAREA. Ποίησαι ἵνα εὐρωμεν ἔλεον καὶ χάριν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοι εὐαρεστησάντων, προπατέρων, πατριάρχων, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτυρῶν,

ALEXANDRIA. Ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ πάντων ἁγίων, τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοι εὐαρεστησάντων, γενόμεθα μέτοχοι τῶν αἰωνίων σου ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἡτοίμασας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι σε κύριε ἡ.

ANTIOCH. Dignos effice ut omnium illorum qui a sæculo tibi placuerunt, memoriam agamus. Patrum sanctorum et patriarcharum, prophetarum et apostolorum, Johannis præcursoris et Baptistæ, sancti Stephani primi diaconorum, et primi martyrum, et sanctæ Θεοτόκου semper que virginis beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum.

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ἡ Liturgia Basilii, Alexandrina. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 75. Marci, ibid. 150.

ὁμολογητῶν, διδασκάλων, καὶ παν-  
τὸς πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει  
τετελειωμένου <sup>i</sup>.

MILAN. Nobis quoque mi-  
nimis et peccatoribus famulis  
tuis, de multitudine misericor-  
diæ tuæ sperantibus, partem  
aliquam et societatem donare  
digneris cum tuis sanctis apos-  
tolis et martyribus . . . . et  
cum omnibus sanctis tuis: in-  
tra quorum nos consortium,  
non æstimator meriti sed ve-  
niæ quæsumus largitor ad-  
mitte <sup>j</sup>.

Rogamus te, Domine multæ  
misericordiæ, qui impossibilia  
veluti possibilia creas, consti-  
tue nos huic ecclesiæ, statue  
nos per gratiam tuam inter  
electos illos qui scripti sunt in  
cælis <sup>k</sup>.

ALEXANDRIAN ORTHODOX. Ἡ-  
μῖν τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ  
εὐάρεστα, καὶ ἀναμάρτητα δώρησαι·  
καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κληρὸν ἔχειν  
μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου <sup>l</sup>.

ROME. Nearly the same as  
Milan <sup>m</sup>.

#### POSITION OF THE PRAYERS AND COMMEMORATIONS.

The general prayers and commemorations which we have been considering, occupied very different places in the different liturgies of the primitive church. In the patriarchates or exarchates of Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantinople, these prayers followed the consecration of the elements <sup>n</sup>. In the patriarchate of Alexandria and Æthiopia they preceded the consecration, and occurred in the middle of the thanksgiving, between *Sursum corda* and the hymn *Tersanctus* <sup>o</sup>. In the Roman patriarchate, the exarchate of Italy or Milan, and probably in Africa, the solemn prayers for the living occurred before the consecration, and for the departed after consecration, but both within the canon which followed

<sup>i</sup> Liturgia Basillii, Goar, p. 170.

<sup>j</sup> Miss. Ambros. Pamel. Liturg. tom. i. p. 303.

<sup>k</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaud. tom. ii. p. 86.

<sup>l</sup> Liturgia Marci Renaudot, tom. i. p. 150.

<sup>m</sup> Sacrament. Gregorii, Menard. p. 3.

<sup>n</sup> See vol. i. p. 28, 65, 77.

<sup>o</sup> Vol. i. p. 98.

*Tersanctus*<sup>p</sup>. It appears from this, that the general prayers may be placed as well before the consecration as after it. None of these liturgies, however, afford an exact parallel to the order of the English liturgy, where the living and departed are commemorated not merely before consecration, but before the canon or more solemn part of the liturgy begins. We are not, however, without an ancient (I had almost said an apostolical) example of this practice. In the ancient liturgies of Gaul and Spain, the solemn commemoration of living and departed was made in exactly the same place as it is in the English liturgy. There, after the gifts of bread and wine were laid on the table, and before the canon, the names of the living and dead, including the names of kings, bishops, clergy, benefactors, &c. and of apostles, martyrs, and the departed faithful, were recited; and then the officiating priest offered a prayer for all<sup>q</sup>.

## SECTION XI.

## THE EXHORTATION TO THE PEOPLE.

An exhortation or address to the people at this part of the liturgy did not generally occur in the rites of the Christian churches during the very first ages; we cannot therefore claim for it the antiquity which belongs to most other parts of our liturgy. However, exhortations delivered to the people during the divine liturgy, at a different time from the sermon, are not without parallel in very ancient rites. In the primitive Gallican and Spanish liturgies an address to the people called *Præfatio* oc-

<sup>p</sup> Vol. i. p. 122. 127. 137.<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 160. 174.

curred very nearly at this place, immediately before the general prayers for all men, while the address in our liturgy occurs immediately after them. In this exhortation they were informed of the principal events which they were assembled to commemorate, and thus were prepared to listen with more attention and devotion<sup>r</sup>. In the liturgy of Antioch, used for a great length of time by the Syrian monophysites, there is an address from the deacon to the people, which nearly corresponds in position with our exhortation. It is placed before the salutation of peace and the beginning of the solemn thanksgivings and prayers<sup>s</sup>. It consists chiefly of praises and thanks to God, and prepares the minds of the faithful, by speaking of the body and blood of Christ then shortly to be received. What may be the antiquity of this address I know not, but many reasons induce me to think that it is more recent than the separation of the monophysites and orthodox in A. D. 451.

It appears, therefore, that the position of our exhortation is not by any means without parallel in ancient liturgies; and in the exhortation itself we recognise the very life and soul of primitive devotion and orthodox faith.

#### SALUTATION OF PEACE.

As we have now entered on a part of the liturgy which must be regarded as peculiarly preparatory, it may be well to remark, that the preparation of the people in ancient liturgies was generally of three kinds: first, the preparation of repentance; secondly,

<sup>r</sup> Vol. i. p. 160. 174.

naudot, tom. ii. p. 29. see also

<sup>s</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Re- p. 75.

of faith; thirdly, of charity. The English liturgy provides for the first in the confession and benediction, or absolution of penitents, which will be reviewed in the next section. The second is provided for by the repetition of the Constantinopolitan Creed. The third is accomplished by us in the exhortation to charity, which occurs in the middle of the address, which I consider in the present section. In the primitive church it was customary for the faithful to testify their charity by mutual salutations some time before the distribution of the sacrament<sup>t</sup>. In early ages, the common salutation of friendship was a kiss; even within our own age such a custom has (I apprehend) existed in some foreign countries. In the eastern churches, the men sat at one side of the church, the women at the other; so that when the kiss of peace was given, according to the apostle Paul's directions, no sort of impropriety could occur<sup>u</sup>. In the west, whatever might have been the original custom, certainly in after-ages

<sup>t</sup> Καὶ ὁ διάκονος εἶπάτο πᾶσιν, ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ, καὶ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν οἱ τοῦ κλήρου τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οἱ λαϊκοὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς λαϊκοὺς, αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς γυναῖκας. Const. Apost. lib. viii. c. 11. p. 398. ed. Clerici. Εἶθ' οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τὸ πρεσβυτέρους δοῦναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε τοὺς λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοναι. Concil. Laodicen. canon 19. Beverg. Pandect. tom. i. p. 461. Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπάζομεθα πανσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν. Justin. Martyr. Apolog. 1. ed. Thirlby, p. 95. "Jejunantes habita oratione cum fratribus subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod

est signaculum orationis—quale sacrificium est, a quo sine pace receditur." Tertulian de Oratione, c. xiv. p. 135. ed. Rigaltii.

<sup>u</sup> Εἰς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος οἱ λαϊκοὶ καθεζέσθωσαν μετὰ πάσης ἡσυχίας καὶ εὐταξίας· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἀπαι καθεζέσθωσαν. Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 57. Εἰ κέκλεισται ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ διεστάλθω τὰ πράγματα, ἄνδρες μετὰ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ γυναικῶν. Cyrill. Hierosolym. Præf. ad Cat. No. 8. p. 11. ed. Milles. See Bingham's Antiquities, book viii. chap. 5. §. 6.

men and women prayed indiscriminately in the churches. This circumstance, combined with the alteration of the habits of common life, and the decline of Christian sanctity in the great body of the faithful, rendered it no longer possible to continue the apostolic kiss of peace. But instead of substituting some other salutation, which would have at once suited the manners of the age, and fulfilled the apostolic injunction, an entirely different course was adopted. A relic or picture, entitled the *osculatorium*, was passed from one person to the other; and all that part of the congregation who kissed this memorial, thought only of venerating it<sup>v</sup>. Thus the apostolical custom became extinct both in letter and spirit; and all that remained at the period of the English reformation was the name of the *osculum pacis*. If our reformers omitted a name, which had long been connected with a practice that led to superstition, and often to idolatry, they at least substituted in its place an exhortation, which was intended to promote that internal charity which the apostolical salutation of peace was meant to express. The salutation occurred before the Anaphora or solemn prayers and consecration in the patriarchates or exarchates of Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Ephesus, and in Gaul and Spain<sup>w</sup>. In the English liturgy,

<sup>v</sup> See Ducange, Glossar. vobis *osculatorium*, *osculum*. He says of the salutation of peace in the west, "Abrogatus deinde *osculatorum pacis* in ecclesia usus, inductusque alius, ut dum sacerdos verba hæc profert, 'Pax Domini sit semper vo-

biscum,' diaconi vel subdiaconi imaginem quandam adstantibus clericis, et plebi, osculandum porrigant, quam vulgari vocabulo *pacem* appellamus."

<sup>w</sup> See vol. i. p. 31, 65, 77, 98, 108, &c. 161, 174.

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## SECTION XII.

## THE ADDRESS, CONFESSION, AND ABSOLUTION.

Independently of the self-examination and repentance which the primitive church required from the faithful, preparatory to the reception of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; we find that in some churches there was a general confession of sins made by the people during the liturgy; after which, the bishop or priest pronounced a benediction or absolution of the penitents. I shall consider this more at large, by viewing separately the forms of confession and absolution which occur at this part of the English liturgy.

<sup>x</sup> See vol. i. p. 161, 174.    <sup>y</sup> Vol. i. p. 123, 128, 130, 135.

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<sup>x</sup> See vol. i. p. 161, 174.    <sup>y</sup> Vol. i. p. 123, 128, 130, 135.

## THE ADDRESS.

It was generally the office of the deacon, in the primitive church, to make proclamations in the assembly, to command silence, to invite to prayer or psalmody, and to direct the attitudes which befitted attention or reverence<sup>z</sup>. However, if the deacon was not present, the priest himself might very properly fulfil this office. In the liturgy of the church of Jerusalem, the deacon addressed the people thus before communion: "Draw near with the fear of God, with faith, and charity<sup>a</sup>." This address plainly resembles the commencement of our own, to which we have added an exhortation to the people to confess their sins.

## CONFESSION.

It has been very anciently the custom in many churches for the priest or the people to confess their sins in the liturgy, either aloud or in silence. In the liturgies of Rome and Milan, in early times, the priest made a long confession of his sins in silence, after the catechumens had been dismissed, and the linen cloth laid<sup>b</sup>; and at the same time the people also may have probably made a similar confession and prayer in secret. In the ancient western mis-

<sup>z</sup> See Bingham's Antiquities, book ii. chap. 20. sect. 10. 14. These various offices are all mentioned in the ancient liturgies. Isidor. Hispalens. de Eccl. Off. lib. ii. c. 8. "Ipsi enim (diaconi) clara voce in modum præconis admonent cunctos sive in orando, sive in flectendo genua, sive in

psallendo, sive in lectionibus audiendo."

<sup>a</sup> Ὁ διάκονος. μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε. Liturgia Jacobi. Assemani, Codex Liturgicus, tom. v. p. 58.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. i. p. 122. note x, p. 129.

sal, published by Illyricus, there is an apology or confession of the priest, and a prayer of the people for him, immediately after the elements are placed on the table and offered, and before the canon begins <sup>c</sup>. This instance perhaps accords more nearly with the position of our confession than any other. In the middle ages the secret apology of the priest and people became obsolete, though we have good reason for thinking that it had prevailed from the most primitive ages. A confession and absolution were placed at the beginning of the liturgies of Rome and Milan; and this custom having been introduced into England also, the confession and absolution stood at the beginning of our liturgy, when it was to be revised in the reign of Edward the Sixth <sup>d</sup>. At present the confession occupies a place in our liturgy much more consistent with the primitive Roman and Italian liturgies, than the modern Roman missal itself prescribes. In the liturgy of the orthodox of Jerusalem we find, exactly in this place, a long apology or confession of the priest <sup>e</sup>, in which he acknowledges the sins of himself and the people, and implores God to have mercy upon them. This form occurs between the *osculum pacis*, which is represented by our exhortation, and the form of *Sursum corda*, as our confession does.

In the liturgy of the church of England before the reformation, the priest confessed his sins before the choir, or people, who prayed for him when he had concluded. The people then confessed their

<sup>c</sup> Martene, de Antiq. Ecclesiæ Ritibus, lib. i. c. 4. art. 12. p. 503. 506.

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. 71. Miss.

Eborac. modus præparandi. Miss. Hereford. idem.

<sup>e</sup> Liturgia Jacobi. Asseman. Codex Lit. tom. v. p. 25, &c.

sins, and in turn the priest implored the divine benediction upon them<sup>f</sup>. We have now united these confessions; the priest or one of the ministers repeats the confession, and both priest and people approach God together, as sinners needing God's pardon and absolution. In the liturgies of Alexandria, Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantinople, though we find the priest confessing his unworthiness and weakness in the sight of God, yet we do not perceive the solemn confession of priest and people which has so long been used in the liturgies of the west.

If we cannot directly trace all the words and expressions of our confession to primitive liturgies, we find examples of confessions in very old rituals, which in substance are not materially unlike our own.

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. Have

A te Domine supplex in confessione peto veniam et indulgentiam de universis meis malis, et iniquitatibus: quicquid ab infantia mea usque in hanc horam in cogitatione, locutione, et operatione, et delectatione mala, et deliberatione turpissima in conspectu tuo peccavi. Multo Domine peccavi, et innumerabilia et graviora sunt super arenam maris. In omnibus malis miser sum, misericors es, miserere mei<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Sar. Ebor. Hereford. ut supra.

<sup>g</sup> Extracted from a sacra-

mentary of the time of Charlemagne. Martene, lib. i. c. 4. art. 12. p. 517.

mercy upon us, Have mercy  
upon us, most merciful Father.

For thy Son our Lord Jesus  
Christ's sake, Forgive us all that  
is past; And grant that we may  
ever hereafter Serve and please  
thee In newness of life, To the  
honour and glory of thy holy  
Name; Through Jesus Christ  
our Lord. Amen.

Tribue mihi indulgentiam  
omnium delictorum meorum . .  
et doce me facere voluntatem  
tuam cunctis diebus vitæ meæ,  
Salvator mundi qui vivis &c.<sup>h</sup>

THE ABSOLUTION.

The benediction or absolution of the penitent faithful has always been committed to bishops and presbyters in the Christian church. No instance can be assigned from antiquity in which the deacons and ministers of Christ's church were permitted during the liturgy to give the benediction.

The benediction or absolution of those who have confessed their sins, is always, in the present case, according to the rule of the English church, performed by the bishop, if he be present, and if he is not present, by the presbyter. There was scarcely any ancient liturgy which did not contain a benediction of the people before communion. In the liturgy of Cæsarea, about the year 370, the deacon proclaimed to the people, "Incline your heads to the Lord," and then the bishop blessed them, saying, "O Lord our Ruler, Father of mercies and God of all comfort; bless, sanctify, keep, strengthen, and defend those who have bowed down their heads unto thee; remove them from every evil work, fit them for every good work, and grant that they may without condemnation be partakers of these pure

<sup>h</sup> From a liturgy of the church of S. Gatian at Tours, nine hundred years old. Martene, lib. i. c. 4. art. 12. p. 534.

and life-giving sacraments, for the remission of their sins, and the communion of the Holy Ghost<sup>i</sup>.” In the ancient Alexandrian liturgy we find the benediction before communion termed the *absolution*, and approaching to the form and substance of our own. After an introduction, which it is unnecessary to transcribe, the priest proceeded thus: “May thy servants and handmaidens, therefore, be absolved by the mouth of the holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and by the mouth of me, a sinner, thy unworthy servant. O Lord our God, thou art he who takest away the sins of the world; receive the repentance of thy servants and handmaidens. Cause the light of life to shine upon them, and forgive them their sins; for thou art good and merciful, O Lord our God; long-suffering, and of great mercy, and righteous. Whatever we have sinned against thee, O Lord, in word, deed, or thought, pardon, absolve, forget, for thou art the gracious lover of mankind. O Lord our God, grant that we may be all absolved, and with us absolve all thy people<sup>j</sup>.”

The absolution which occurs at this place had long been used in the English liturgy at the very beginning of the service. But it is certainly much more consistent with primitive customs to reserve this benediction, as we do now, to a considerably later period. In the ancient liturgy of the monophysites of Antioch, a benediction occurs in this part of the liturgy, namely, after an exhortation of the deacon, and before the *osculum pacis*, and the form of *Sursum corda*<sup>k</sup>. The ancient western li-

<sup>i</sup> Liturgia Basili, Goar, p. 174.

<sup>j</sup> Liturgia Æthiopic. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 519. Cyrilli, et

Basili, tom. i. p. 22.

<sup>k</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 40.

turgy published by Illyricus contains a confession of the priest, and prayers of the people for him, just at this place, as I have observed<sup>1</sup>. We are not, therefore, without several precedents in antiquity both for the substance and the position of our absolution. The following extract from the ancient liturgies of the English church will shew the source from which our absolution is derived.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra: liberet vos ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat æternam<sup>m</sup>.

In the liturgy of the orthodox of Jerusalem, a prayer of perhaps the seventh or eighth century contains the following petitions, which are not dissimilar: *Καὶ νῦν δεόμεθα σου κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τελείας φιλανθρωπίας ἀξιῶσον ἡμᾶς ὀρθοτόμησον τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῶν ῥίζωσον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ φόβῳ σου, καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου βασιλείας ἀξίωσον, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν<sup>n</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Martene de Antiq. Ecclesiæ Rit. lib. i. c. 4. art. 12. p. 503, 506.

<sup>m</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. lxxi. Miss. Ebor. et Hereford. Præparatio

ad Missam.

<sup>n</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Græc. Assesman. Codex Liturgicus, tom. v. p. 64.

## SECTION XIII.

## THE SENTENCES.

Though it was not the custom of the most primitive ages to enrich the liturgy with short detached sentences, yet we find that pious men in after-times selected verses of scripture remarkable for their devotion, or for some other circumstance, which were appointed to be said at some particular part of the liturgy. Thus we find in the liturgy of the orthodox of Jerusalem several sentences from scripture, which were repeated by the priest in this part of the liturgy, before his confession. The priest said, "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, goodwill to men," three times; "Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise," three times; "Let my mouth be filled with thy praise, O Lord, that I may celebrate thy glory, and all the day thy magnificence," three times<sup>o</sup>. So also in the liturgy of Constantinople, on Sundays, the beatitudes at the beginning of our Saviour's sermon on the mount are sung some time before the scriptures are read<sup>p</sup>.

## SECTION XIV.

## INTRODUCTION TO THE THANKSGIVING.

We now enter upon the most solemn part of the liturgy, or rather that part which constituted peculiarly the liturgy according to the judgment of the primitive church<sup>q</sup>. All the preceding lessons and

<sup>o</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Græcè, Asseman. Codex Liturgic. tom. v. p. 24, 25.

<sup>p</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 67.

and note 73. in Liturg. Chrysostomi.

<sup>q</sup> Theodoret describes the commencement of the mystical



prayers are preparatory; it is here that the mystical and solemn prayer of thanksgiving, of blessing, and commemoration commences. This sacred service has been from the earliest ages commenced or introduced by the sentences and responses which I proceed to consider. Cyprian, in the third century, attested the use of the form "Lift up your hearts," and its response, in the liturgy of Africa<sup>r</sup>. Augustine, at the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of these words as being used in *all* churches<sup>s</sup>. And accordingly we find them placed at the beginning of the Anaphora, or canon, (or solemn prayers,) in the liturgies of Antioch and Cæsarea, Constantinople, and Rome, Africa, Gaul, and Spain. How long these introductory sentences have been used in England it would be in vain to inquire; we have no reason, however, to doubt that they are as old as Christianity itself in these countries. The Gallican and Italian churches used them, and Christianity with its liturgy probably came to the British isles from one or other of those churches. We may be certain, at all events, that they have been used in the English liturgy ever since the time of Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, in 595.

liturgy to be the benediction, "The grace of our Lord," &c. of which presently.

<sup>r</sup> "Quando autem stamus ad orationem, fratres dilectissimi, vigilare et incumbere ad preces toto corde debemus. Cogitatio omnis carnalis et sæcularis abscedat, nec quidquam tunc animus quam id solum cogitet quod precatur: ideo et sacerdos, ante orationem præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum

mentes dicendo: *Sursum corda*; ut dum respondet plebs: *Habemus ad Dominum*, admonetur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere." Cyprian. de Orat. Dom. p. 152. Oper. ed. Fell.

<sup>s</sup> "Quotidie per universum orbem humanum genus a pene voce respondet sursum corda se habere ad Dominum." Aug. de Ver. Relig. c. 3.

It appears that these sentences were preceded by a salutation or benediction in the ancient liturgies. According to Theodoret, the beginning of the mystical liturgy, or most solemn prayers, was that apostolic benediction, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all<sup>t</sup>." The same was also alluded to by Chrysostom, when he was a presbyter of the church of Antioch<sup>u</sup>. We find that this benediction, with the response of the people, "And with thy spirit," has all along preserved its place in the east; for in the liturgies of Cæsarea, Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, it is uniformly placed at the beginning of the *Anaphora*, just before the form "Lift up your hearts." In Egypt<sup>v</sup>, Africa, and Italy, the apostolic benediction was not used at this place, but instead of it the priest said, "The Lord be with you," and the people replied, "And with thy spirit<sup>x</sup>." In Spain, and probably Gaul, as now in England, there was no salutation before the introductory sentences<sup>y</sup>.

*Priest.* Lift up your hearts.

*Sacerdos.* Sursum corda.

*Answer.* We lift them up unto the Lord.

*Respons.* Habemus ad Dominum.

*Priest.* Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

*Sacerdos.* Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

*Answer.* It is meet and right so to do.

*Respons.* Dignum et justum est<sup>z</sup>.

In the liturgy of Cæsarea the introduction to the thanksgiving was as follows :

<sup>t</sup> See vol. i. p. 29.

Menard. p. 1. See also vol. i. p. 127. 136.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 31.

<sup>v</sup> Liturg. Cyrilli Copt. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 40.

<sup>y</sup> Missa Mosarabic. ap. Pamel. Liturg. Lat. tom. i. p. 646.

<sup>x</sup> Sacramentar. Gregorii a

<sup>z</sup> Miss. Sarisbur. fol. 67.

**Sacerdos.** Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἶη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. **Populus.** Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος σου. **Sacerdos.** Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας. **Populus.** Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. **Sacerdos.** Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. **Populus.** Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι προσκυνεῖν Πατέρα, Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀχώριστον<sup>a</sup>.

## SECTION XV.

## THE THANKSGIVING OR PREFACE.

The thanksgiving in the sacrament was instituted by our blessed Saviour himself, for we learn from holy scripture, that when he had taken bread and wine he gave thanks to God, and blessed them<sup>b</sup>. And we find that the same custom has prevailed in the Christian church from the beginning. In fact, we continually meet in the earliest writings of the Christian Fathers, the word *eucharistia*, or thanksgiving, applied both to the service and to the consecrated elements, so great a portion of the liturgy in those days consisted of thanksgiving. The term was used in these senses by Ignatius in the apostolical age, by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian shortly afterwards<sup>c</sup>, and

<sup>a</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xxvi. 26, 27; Mark xiv. 22, 23; Luke xxii. 19, 20.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐκεῖνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὔσα, ἡ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrnæos, c. viii. εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διακονοὶ διδάσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ εὐχαριστη-

θέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος. Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. p. 96. ed. Thirlby. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι. Irenæi fragment. Epist. ad Victorem Romanens. Episcop. p. 341. ed. Benedict. Clemens Alexandrin. Pædagog. lib. ii. c. 2. p. 178. ed. Oxon. "Eucharistia pascit." Tertullian. de Præscript. c. xxxvi. p. 215. ed. Rigalt.

thenceforward by numerous Christian writers. We have, however, an earlier allusion to the liturgy under the title of *eucharistia*, or thanksgiving, in the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians; where, in forbidding and reasoning against the practice of some persons, who used the miraculous gift of tongues in an improper manner, namely, by celebrating the liturgy in an unknown language, he says, “when thou shalt *bless* with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy *giving of thanks*, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?” 1 Cor. xiv. 16. ἐπεὶ, ἐὰν εὐλογήσης τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῆ εὐχαριστία; ἐπειδὴ, τί λέγεις, οὐκ οἶδε. The meaning of this passage is obvious: “If thou shalt bless the bread and wine in an unknown language which has been given to thee by the Holy Spirit, how shall the layman say Amen, ‘so be it,’ at the end of thy thanksgiving or liturgy, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest<sup>d</sup>?” It is undeniable that St. Paul in this place uses exactly the same expressions to describe the supposed action as he has employed a short time before in designating the sacraments of Christ’s body and blood, and describing our Lord’s consecration at the last supper. Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ; “the cup of *blessing* which we *bless*, is it not the com-

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Waterland says, “this construction of the text appears too *conjectural* to build upon, and is rejected by the generality of interpreters: I think, with good reason, as *Estius* in particular hath mani-

festated upon the place.” Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, &c. ch. i. p. 45. It is strange that Doctor Waterland did not perceive the weakness of Estius’s arguments.

munion of the blood of Christ?" 1 Cor. x. 16. Ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο, ἔλαβεν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε, 1 Cor. xi. 23. "the Lord Jesus, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had *given thanks*, he brake it." The language of St. Paul also in the passage under consideration, as well as the action which he describes, is perfectly conformable to the description given by Justin Martyr of the celebration of the eucharist. "Then bread and a cup of water and wine is offered to the president of the brethren; and he, taking them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of all, in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and makes a very long thanksgiving, because God has thought us worthy of these things. And when he has ended the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people that are present signify their approbation, saying, Amen. For Amen in the Hebrew language signifies 'so be it.'" Here we observe the "president" corresponding to the person who "blesses," according to St. Paul, and performs the "thanksgiving." The "people" corresponding to the "unlearned person" (or layman, as Chrysostom and Theodoret interpret the word<sup>f</sup>) of St. Paul,

<sup>e</sup> Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. p. 96, 97. ed. Thirlby.

<sup>f</sup> Chrysostom, commenting on this passage, says, *ιδίωτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει, καὶ δείκνυσι καὶ αὐτὸν οὐ μικρὰν ὑπομένοντα τὴν ζημίαν, ὅταν τὸ Ἄμην εἰπεῖν μὴ δύνηται. ὃ δὲ λέγει τοῦτο ἔστιν ἂν εὐλογίης τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, οὐκ εἰδὼς τί λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἐρμηνεύσαι δυνάμενος, οὐ δύναται ὑποφωνῆσαι τὸ Ἄμην ὁ λαϊκός. οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*

*τῶν αἰώνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ Ἄμην.* Hom. 35. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. tom. x. Oper. ed. Benedict. p. 325. Chrysostom obviously understood the apostle to speak of the liturgy by alluding to the words *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, which he says *ἐστὶ τέλος*, that is, the end of the liturgy. And accordingly look to the liturgies of Antioch, where he preached these Homilies, and we find

and replying Amen, "so be it," at the end of the thanksgiving in both passages. If we refer to all the ancient and primitive liturgies of the east and of Greece, the peculiar applicability of St. Paul's argument to the Christian liturgy will appear still more. In the liturgy of Constantinople or Greece, which has probably been always used at Corinth, the bishop or priest takes bread, and "blesses" it in the course of a very long "thanksgiving," at the end of which all the people answer, "Amen<sup>g</sup>." The same may be said of the liturgies of Antioch and Cæsarea<sup>h</sup>, and in fine of all the countries of the east and Greece through which St. Paul bare rule or founded churches. It may be added, that there is, I believe, no instance in the writings of the most primitive Fathers, in which the Amen is ever said to have been repeated at the end of an office containing both blessing and thanksgiving, except in the liturgy of the eucharist.

All this shews plainly that the argument of St. Paul applies immediately and directly to the celebration of this sacrament. Whether we regard his own previous expressions, the language and the words of the earliest Fathers, or the customs of the primitive church exhibited in the ancient liturgies, we see the accurate coincidence between the case

those words terminating the liturgy. *Liturgia Jacobi Græc.* Asseman. Cod. Lit. tom. v. p. 48; *Syr.* Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 38.

Theodoret comments thus on the passage: *ιδιώτην καλεῖ τὸν ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ τάγματι τεταγμένον· ἐπειδὴν καὶ τοὺς ἕξω τῆς*

*στρατιῶς ὄντας ιδιώτας καλεῖν εἰώθασιν.* In *Epist. 1. ad Cor. c. 14.* tom. iii. *Oper. ed. Sirmond.* p. 191.

<sup>g</sup> *Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 75—79.*

<sup>h</sup> See last note but one, and *Liturg. Basilii, Goar, p. 165—173.*

which he refers to, and the celebration of the eucharist.

Estius, a Romanist, who had reasons for denying the applicability of this passage of St. Paul to the eucharist, objects that the words *εὐλογεῖν* and *εὐχαριστεῖν* are of general signification, and therefore may apply to any benediction and giving of thanks<sup>i</sup>. This is true in general, but in the present instance they refer to the benediction and thanksgiving of the eucharist, because the layman is said to answer Amen; and we have no instance in primitive times of such a thanksgiving and benediction by the priest, and such a response by the laity, except in the eucharist. Estius objects, *secondly*, that Paul could not have spoken of the consecration and oblation of the eucharist in this place, because by the appointment of the apostle this was performed at Corinth, and the other churches of Greece, in prescribed words, and only in the Greek language. But granting that the apostle had appointed the order and substance of the liturgy, still he might not have given directions for the use of a particular language, because the use of the vernacular tongue in the public worship of God might have seemed a matter of course. Therefore his directions for the use of a known language in the present instance, may very properly be referred to the liturgy of the eucharist. The *third* objection of Estius is, that the apostle does not reprehend bishops or priests in this place, but only reproves generally those who, endowed with the gift of tongues, uttered prayers and praises in the assembly of the faithful, which

<sup>i</sup> Guilielmus Estius, in Epist. Pauli, 1 ad Cor. p. 456. tom. i. Commentar. Duaci, A. D. 1614.

were unintelligible to themselves and to others. From which it may be inferred that he does not speak of the eucharist in this place, because if he had, he would have addressed himself expressly to those who only had the power of celebrating it. I reply, that it was unnecessary that the apostle should expressly mention bishops and priests, because all the church must have known that the words of the apostle could only apply to them. They knew that it was only the bishop and the priests who could bless and perform that thanksgiving to which the laity answered, "Amen." And besides this, the apostle distinguishes the person who blesses and gives thanks from the layman, "how shall the *layman* say 'so be it,' at the end of thy eucharistia," as Chrysostom and Theodoret interpret it; the person that blessed therefore was not a layman. The objections of Estius against the application of this passage of St. Paul to the liturgy of the eucharist are therefore invalid; and we may conclude that the apostle referred directly to the blessings and thanksgivings of the liturgy, when he forbid the use of an unknown tongue in the "blessing" and "thanksgiving."

However, though I must contend that the apostle referred *immediately* to the liturgy in this place; it is very true, as Estius has observed, that this passage may be applied to benedictions and thanksgivings in general, and to prayers, praises, and psalms; in short to all parts of public worship; though in an indirect manner: in other words, we may infer from the apostle's reproof of the use of an unknown tongue in the celebration of the eucharist, that it is inconsistent with apostolical discipline to perform



any public service in a language not understood by the people, and therefore that it is the duty of the church to make the language of the ritual intelligible to the laity, as far as it is in her power.

The thanksgiving formed a large portion of every primitive liturgy, and although the principal portion of it generally preceded the blessing or consecration, yet the tone and language of thanksgiving was carried all through, and generally terminated the liturgy with a doxology, to which all the people answered, "Amen." The chief portion of the thanksgiving occurred at the beginning of the mystical liturgy as ours does; and immediately followed the introductory sentences which were the subject of the last section. In all the primitive liturgies, during the first four or five centuries, thanksgivings were used which were substantially alike. The church, by means of the bishop or presbyter, sent up praises and thanksgivings to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the work of creation and redemption, for his mercy and love to fallen man, and the various means and dispensations by which he had sought to benefit the human family. In the course of this thanksgiving, or at the end of it, the whole body of the people sung or repeated with a loud voice that hymn which Isaiah describes to have been chanted before the throne of glory, by angels and archangels, and six-winged seraphim.

In the liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, Constantinople, Gaul, and Spain, the hymn *Tersanctus* occurred in the middle of the thanksgiving, which continued on at some length afterwards, until it came up to the consecration. In the liturgies of Alexandria, Rome, Milan, and probably Africa, this

hymn occurred at the termination of the thanksgiving, or very nearly so. The liturgies of Alexandria and Æthiopia differed from all the liturgies of the east and west, by inserting the solemn prayers for all estates of men, and for all things, in the course of the thanksgiving, and before the hymn *Tersantus*.

About the end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century, various thanksgivings, or prefaces, as they began to be called, were written in the western churches. And we may hence conjecture that it had been probably customary for the bishops to introduce some variety into their thanksgivings from a more remote period; always, however, preserving the order and the great body of the liturgy which had descended to them from preceding times. The fifth century produced a number of new prefaces in the west, so that before long every holyday and nativity of the martyrs possessed a distinct preface peculiar to itself<sup>j</sup>. The African church was obliged to interpose at the beginning of this century, and perhaps the end of the fourth; and provide that no new prayers and prefaces should be used which had not been approved by public authority<sup>k</sup>. It was this custom of varying the prefaces

<sup>j</sup> As may be seen in the sacramentaries of Leo and Gelasius, and the Gallican sacramentaries. See Muratori, *Liturgia Romana*, and Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*.

<sup>k</sup> “Placuit etiam et illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive *prefationes*, sive commendationes, seu manûs impositiones ab omnibus celebren-

tur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.” Concil. Milevit. A. D. 416. canon 12. See also codex Canon. Eccl. Afr. can. 103. Concil. African. can. 70.

and other prayers to suit the occasion of the day, that gave to the Gallican, Roman, and Italian churches, those large liturgical volumes, which were at first called Sacramentaries, or books of Sacraments, and afterwards were known by the name of Missals, or books of Missæ. In after-times, the number of prefaces or thanksgivings were retrenched in the western churches<sup>1</sup>, and at the period when our liturgy received its revision, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, prefaces for a very few special occasions were used in the English church, which are retained with little alteration. In the oriental churches, the variety of prefaces which has long prevailed in the west has not been introduced. The principal liturgies of the east certainly have the advantage of possessing thanksgivings which are derived from the most remote antiquity, and formed on the most primitive models, The liturgy of Cæsarea or of Basil<sup>m</sup>, and that of the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, described accurately by Cyril about the year 340<sup>n</sup>, present noble specimens of thanksgivings, full of primitive faith and devotion, and as instructive as they are beautiful. In the Roman liturgy, which has gradually come to be extensively used in the west, and in the English, the thanksgiving is on ordinary oc-

<sup>1</sup> It has been said that Pelagius the Second, bishop of Rome, affirmed that only nine prefaces were to be used in the church. But this is a perfect fable, since long after the time of Pelagius we find the sacramentaries of the Roman church to have contained numerous prefaces.

<sup>m</sup> Liturgia Basili, Goar Rit. Græc. p. 165, 166.

<sup>n</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 31. Liturg. Jac. Græc. Asseman. Codex Liturg. tom. v. p. 33. or Bibliotheca Patrum. Compare Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. Mystag. v. art. 5. p. 296, 297. ed. Milles.

casions not so full or complete as those of the eastern catholic churches. In the English liturgy it would appear that the common preface might be enlarged without injury, so as to correspond in length with the prefaces appointed for peculiar days. The common preface has been used in England from a remote period of antiquity; but what that period may have been I am unable to determine.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying :

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, Æterne Deus.

Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus, hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus, sine fine dicentes<sup>o</sup>:

#### PREFACE FOR THE NATIVITY.

The preface formerly used in the church of England on this occasion was not the same as ours, which rather seems to resemble the ancient collect for the day before, in the sacramentary of Gelasius, patriarch of Rome, A. D. 494. I rather cite this collect to shew the conformity of doctrine than for any other object.

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born as at this time for us; who, by the operation of the

Deus, qui per beatæ Mariæ sacræ Virginis partum sine humana concupiscentia procreatum, in Filii tui membra veni-

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<sup>o</sup> Missale Eboracens. Præfatio Communis ante Canonem.

Miss. Herefordens. ante Canonem.

<p>Ghost, was made very of the substance of the in Mary his mother; and without spot of sin, to e us clean from all sin. therefore with Angels &amp;c.</p>	<p>entes paternis fecisti præjudiciis non teneri: Præsta, quæsumus, ut hujus creaturæ novitate suscepta vetustatis antiquæ contagiis exuamur. Per eundem Dominum P.</p>
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FOR EASTER.

This preface may be considered as old as the fifth century, as it occurs in the sacramentary of Gelasius; and it has been used in the English church since the arrival of Augustine, in 595, as it is also found in the monuments of the Anglo-Saxon church, in all the English liturgies anterior to the reformation.

It chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: For he is the Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with Angels &c.

Et te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum nocte gloriosius prædicare: Cum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis &c.

FOR ASCENSION.

This preface is to be regarded as the composition of Gregory the First, patriarch of Rome, about the

sacramentar. Gelasii Monument. MS. Leofr. Exon. c. lxxv. fol. 68. In the Sacramentary of Gelasius it is read, "In Vigilia Domini prima Oratio."

¶ Sacramentar. Gregorii Mercurii. p. 75, 76. Muratori Lit. Rom. tom. ii. p. 67. Gelasii Sacramentar. Murat. tom. i. p. 572. MS. Sacramentar. Leofr. Exon. fol. 115. Miss. Sar. fol. lxxiv. Miss. Ebor. et Herefordens.

year 590, and has been used in the English church for above twelve hundred years.

Through thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord; who after his most glorious resurrection manifestly appeared to all his Apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither we might also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with Angels &c.

Per Christum Dominum nostrum: qui post resurrectionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit. Et ipsis cernentibus est elevatus in cœlum, ut nos divinitatis suæ tribueret esse participes. Et ideo cum Angelis &c.<sup>r</sup>

FOR PENTECOST.

The preface formerly used in the church of England for Pentecost was not equal to that which we use at present, as it contained a very short and imperfect allusion to the great event which is this day commemorated. We may compare our preface with that of the ancient Gallican church on the same occasion, without feeling that there is any inferiority either in the ideas or language of our own.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise, the Holy Ghost came down as at this time from heaven with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the Apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth; giving

In hoc præcipue die, in quo sacratissimum Pascha quinquaginta dierum mysteriis tegitur; et per sua vestigia, recursantibus dierum spatiis, colleguntur: et dispersio linguarum, quæ in confusione facta fuerat, per Spiritum Sanctum adunantur. Hodie enim de cœlis repente sonum audientes Apo-

<sup>r</sup> Sacramentar. Gregorii Meruard. p. 95. Muratori, tom. ii. p. 85. MS. Sacramentar. Leofr.

Exon. fol. 128. Miss. Sar. fol. lxxv. Miss. Ebor. Herefordens.

them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel unto all nations; whereby we have been brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with Angels &c.

stoli, unius Fidei Symbolum exceperunt: et linguis variis Evangelii tui gloriam gentibus tradiderunt, per Christum Dominum nostrum<sup>s</sup>.

## FOR TRINITY SUNDAY.

This preface is as old as the time of Gelasius, patriarch of Rome, A. D. 494; it also appears in the sacramentary of Gregory the First; and being found in the monuments of the Anglo-Saxon church, as well as in the more recent English liturgies, there can be no doubt that it has been used in the church of England for above twelve hundred years.

Who art one God, one Lord; not one only Person, but three Persons in one Substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with Angels &c.

Qui cum unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto, unus es Deus, unus es Dominus, non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius trinitate substantiæ: quod enim de tua gloria, revelante te, credimus; hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque Deitatis, et in personis proprietas, et in essentia unitas, et in majestate adoretur æqualitas<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Missale Gothicum. Mabilon de Liturgia Gallicana, p. 269.

<sup>t</sup> Gelasii Sacramentarium. Muratori Liturg. Rom. tom. i.

p. 606. Gregorii Sacrament. Menard. p. 104. MS. Sacram. Leofr. Exon. episcopi, fol. 135. Miss. Sar. fol. lxxv. Miss. Ebor. Hereford.

## SECTION XVI.

## THE SERAPHIC HYMN, OR TERSANCTUS.

It is probable that this hymn has been used in the Christian liturgy of the east and west since the age of the apostles. Certainly no liturgy can be traced in antiquity, in which the people did not unite with the invisible host of heaven in chanting these sublime praises of the most high God. From the testimony of Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem, we find that the seraphic hymn was used in the liturgy of Antioch and Jerusalem in the fourth century<sup>u</sup>. The Apostolical Constitutions enable us to carry it back to the third century in the east<sup>v</sup>. In the same century with Cyril and Chrysostom, Gregory, bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, testified its use in the patriarchate or exarchate of Cæsarea<sup>w</sup>; and Severianus of Gabala attested the same for the church of Constantinople<sup>x</sup>. Cyril, pope of Alexandria, and Origen, in the fifth and third centuries, allude to the seraphic hymn, as used in the patriarchate of Alexandria<sup>y</sup>. In Gaul it was mentioned by Hilary of Poitiers, Cæsarius of Arles, the council of Vaison, and Gregory of Tours<sup>z</sup>; who inform us, that it was sung by all the people. Isidore of Seville speaks of its use in the Spanish liturgy<sup>a</sup>. In the liturgy of Milan it has been used from time immemorial, under the name of *Trisagium*; and in Africa we learn that it was customary in the second century from Tertullian<sup>b</sup>. Thus it appears that this hymn

<sup>u</sup> Vol. i. p. 32, 35.<sup>v</sup> Ibid. p. 39.<sup>w</sup> Ibid. p. 69.<sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 78.<sup>y</sup> Ibid. p. 102.<sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 161.<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 174.<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 137.



was universally prevalent in the Christian liturgies from the very earliest period; and therefore it is most highly probable that the apostles themselves communicated it to all churches. I have not read that any allusion to this hymn has been found amongst the voluminous works of Augustine; but this may perhaps have been from some oversight on my part.

I may venture to observe, that, owing perhaps to a want of clear and definite rubrical direction, or from some mistake, it has been customary in many of our churches for the clerks and people to repeat, not only the seraphic hymn itself, but a portion of the preface also, beginning at “therefore with angels” &c. This never was the custom of the primitive church, and could not have been intended by those who revised our liturgy, nor is it warranted by the nature of the preface itself. It has perhaps arisen from the custom of printing the latter part of the preface in connexion with the hymn *Tersanctus*, and from the indistinctness of the rubric, which, in fact, gives no special direction for the people to join in repeating the hymn *Tersanctus*.

The seraphic hymn, as used by the church of England, contains little more than the words which Isaiah describes as being sung by the angels and six-winged seraphim. In this respect the practice of the English liturgy approximates to that of the ancient liturgies of the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria.

ENGLAND.	ANTIOCH.	ALEXANDRIA.
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth	Πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα εἰ- πάτω Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅ- γιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ	<i>Populus.</i> Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sa-

are full of thy glo- πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ baoth. Pleni sunt  
ry: Glory be to thee, ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. cœli et terra sancti-  
O Lord most High. εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰ- tate gloriæ ejus<sup>d</sup>.  
*Amen.* ὤνας. Ἀμήν<sup>e</sup>.

In the liturgies of Constantinople, Cæsarea, and of Antioch and Jerusalem at a later period, we find added to the seraphic hymn, the hymn used by the multitude who rejoiced when the blessed Redeemer entered Jerusalem. It was probably from these liturgies that the Roman and Italian churches adopted the same addition. The church of England has all along used the hymn *Tersanctus*: but at the period of the revision of our liturgy in the reign of Edward the Sixth, it was thought proper to omit this latter part, in accordance with the more ancient liturgies of the east and of Egypt.

CÆSAREA, CONSTAN-  
TINOPLE, JERUSA-  
LEM.

Ἅγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος,  
Κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλή-  
ρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ  
τῆς δόξης σου. ὦσαννὰ  
ἐν τοῖς ὑψιστοῖς. εὐ-  
λογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος  
ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. ὦ-  
σαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψί-  
στοις<sup>e</sup>.

ANTIOCH.

Sanctus, Sanctus,  
Sanctus es, Domine  
Deus fortis Sabaoth.  
Pleni sunt cœli et  
terra gloria et de-  
core majestatis tuæ,  
Domine. Hosanna  
in excelsis. Bene-  
dictus qui venit et  
venturus est in no-  
mine Domini. Ho-  
sanna in excelsis<sup>f</sup>.

ROME.

Sanctus, Sanctus,  
Sanctus, Dominus  
Deus Sabaoth. Pleni  
sunt cœli et terra  
gloria tua. Osanna  
in excelsis. Bene-  
dictus qui venit in  
nomine Domini. O-  
sanna in excelsis<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Apost. Const. lib. viii. c. 12. p. 402. ed. Clerici.

<sup>d</sup> Liturg. Æthiop. Renaud. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 516. Liturg. Cyrilli et Marci, ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar Ri-  
tuale Græc. p. 166. Chrysos-

tomii, ibid. p. 76. Jacobi Græc. Assemani, Codex Liturg. tom.

v. p. 34.

<sup>f</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 31.

<sup>g</sup> Menard. Sacram. Grego-  
rii. p. 1.

The hymn of the seraphim is generally repeated in the church by all the people, without singing; and this is the most ancient custom, as it may also be admitted to be the best. But in places where there are singers, it has often been customary to sing or chant it, which is not by any means to be blamed. Music is not inappropriate on so sublime and solemn an occasion. The Christians have sung or chanted hymns from the time of our Lord himself; and this is the most ancient, the most celebrated, and the most universal of Christian hymns.

## SECTION XVII.

## PRAYER AFTER THE SERAPHIC HYMN.

That part of the liturgy which followed the hymn *Tersanctus*, and preceded the beginning of the consecration, varied much in the ancient liturgies as to substance. In Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantino-ple, this intervening part consisted of a continuation of thanksgiving, including more especially a commemoration of the principal events of our Saviour's life and ministry, which gradually was brought on to a commemoration of his words and deeds at the last supper, with which consecration began. The liturgies of Gaul and Spain followed the same order. On the other hand, in the Roman and Italian liturgies there was nothing of the kind in this part of the liturgy; but as soon as the seraphic hymn was concluded, the priest proceeded to commend the oblations of the people to the acceptance of God, and to offer the solemn prayers for the church, &c. All the solemn prayers for the living occurred here in the Roman and Italian liturgies, while in those

oriental liturgies already alluded to, they took place after consecration. In the ancient liturgy of Alexandria, again, this part appears to vanish entirely; for though there are a few words in that liturgy as used in the fifth century<sup>h</sup>, imploring the benediction of God on the elements, &c.; yet there is reason to think that this petition was not used in the time of Athanasius, A. D. 330, when the Æthiopians derived their liturgy from the Alexandrian; for the Æthiopian liturgy does not contain this petition<sup>i</sup>.

The intermediate part of the English liturgy, which intervenes between the end of the seraphic hymn and the beginning of consecration, may be considered to include not only the prayer which is the subject of the present section, but a portion of the next also. The part of the prayer of consecration which may be considered as forming part of the intermediate portion of the liturgy, is the introduction, which terminates with these words, “until his coming again.” I shall endeavour to compare the part of our liturgy included in the prayer after *Tersanctus*, and the preface of the prayer of consecration, with the corresponding part of ancient liturgies, which intervenes between the seraphic hymn and the beginning of consecration. I shall follow the order of our liturgy, and only comment on the former prayer at present, reserving for the next section any remarks which may occur on the preface.

The humble deprecation of this prayer is perhaps best paralleled by the liturgy of Cæsarea or of

<sup>h</sup> Liturgia Cyrilli Copt. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 46. Marci, p. 154, 155.

<sup>i</sup> Liturgia Æthiopum Renaudot, tom. i. p. 517. See

section iv. of Dissertation on primitive Liturgies, vol. i. p. 89, &c. for remarks on the Æthiopian liturgy.

Basil. In this liturgy, that part which follows *Tersanctus* begins with an acknowledgment of our unworthiness and sin. "With these blessed powers, O merciful Lord, we *sinner*s also cry and say," &c. After which it proceeds to commemorate the dispensations of God and the principal actions of Christ's life and ministry. This may be regarded as affording a parallel to our liturgy, where, first, in the prayer after *Tersanctus*, we in like manner acknowledge our sins; and, secondly, in the preface of the prayer of consecration, we commemorate the dispensation of God in giving Christ to die for us, and the actions of Christ, in offering himself as a sacrifice for us, and commanding us to continue a memorial of his precious death. In a subsequent part of the liturgy of Cæsarea, (before, however, the consecration is completed,) we find the slight hint which occurred at the commencement of the intervening part cited above, enlarged and developed, so as to bear a marked resemblance to the first part of the prayer after *Tersanctus* in the English liturgy.

We do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the same Lord whose property is always to have mercy.

Διὰ τοῦτο, δέσποτα πανάγιε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀνάξιοι δουλοὶ σου, οἱ καταξιωθέντες λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐ διὰ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἡμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσαμεν τι ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἐλέη σου, καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου, οὓς ἐξέχεας πλουσίας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ<sup>κ</sup>.

<sup>ι</sup> μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων δυνάμεων, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ βοῶμεν καὶ λέ-

γομεν, κ. τ. λ. Liturg. Basilii Goar, p. 166.

<sup>κ</sup> Liturg. Basilii Goar, p. 169.

Let us now consider the latter part of our prayer, and compare it with a passage which occurs in the liturgy of Cæsarea before communion, and we shall perceive that the whole prayer, which is the subject of the present section, is accordant in substance and spirit with one of the most famous and venerable liturgies of primitive times.

Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

Σὺ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ προσδεξάμενος τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα, καθάρισον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ διδάξον ἀγιωσύνην ἐπιτελεῖν ἐν φόβῳ σου· ἵνα ἐν καρῶν τῇ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἡμῶν ὑποδεχόμενοι τὴν μερίδα τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου, ἐνωθῶμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σώματι καὶ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὰ ἀξίως, σχῶμεν τὸν Χριστὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ γενόμεθα ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος<sup>1</sup>.

## SECTION XVIII.

### INTRODUCTION OF THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION.

It has been observed in the last section, that in the liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantinople, the part of the service which intervened between the seraphic hymn and the beginning of consecration, consisted chiefly of a commemoration of God's benefits to the human race in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the actions of our Saviour's life and ministry on earth. It has been shewn that the English liturgy, as far as relates to the first part of its corresponding portion, is supported by the liturgy of Cæsarea. I now come to

<sup>1</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 173.

the second part of this intervening portion, and shall endeavour to shew, that (as I have already observed) it is similarly supported. I proceed to cite those portions of both the English and Cæsarean liturgies which immediately precede the beginning of consecration.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again.

Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν, ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ υἱῷ σου, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησας—ἐπειδὴν γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, εὐδόκησεν ὁ μονογενὴς σου υἱὸς—κατακρίναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ. ἵνα οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ ἀποθνήσκοντες ζωοποιηθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ—ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντάλλαγμα τῷ θανάτῳ ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα πεπραγμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν—κατέλιπε δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους, ταῦτα, ἃ προτεθείκαμεν κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς<sup>m</sup>.

The intermediate part of the liturgy of Constantinople, between the Seraphic hymn and the beginning of consecration, is even shorter than our own, and contains fewer allusions to the events of our Saviour's ministry. It is as follows: "With these blessed powers, O Lord, thou lover of mankind, we cry aloud and say: Holy art thou, and most holy, thou and thine only-begotten Son, and thy Holy Spirit; Holy art thou, and most holy, and thy glory is magnificent, who didst so love the world, that thou gavest thine only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlast-

<sup>m</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 167, 168.

ing life. He came into the world, and fulfilled all the dispensation for our sakes<sup>n</sup>." And then it proceeds to an account of the last supper and consecration. In the liturgy of Antioch, the commemoration of the events of our Saviour's ministry is longer than in that of Constantinople, and resembles more the corresponding part of the liturgy of Cæsarea, which has been cited above<sup>o</sup>.

It appears, then, that the portion of our liturgy between the hymn *Tersanctus*, and the actual commencement of consecration, is in order and substance conformable to, or supported by, the ancient oriental liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantinople; although it does not bear the most remote resemblance to the corresponding portion of the liturgies of Milan and Rome. So that we may refer to the practice of the greatest and most ancient churches in the world, fifteen or sixteen hundred years ago, in confirmation of this portion of our liturgy.

## SECTION XIX.

### SECOND PART OF THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION.

The immediate or proper prayer of consecration follows the preface, which I have considered in the last section, and begins with the words, "Hear us, O merciful Father." This prayer may be divided into two particulars: first, the prayer itself, or *ἐπίκλησις*, in the language of the primitive church; and, secondly, the commemoration of our Lord's deeds and words at the last supper. For the sake

<sup>n</sup> Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, p. 76.      naudot, tom. ii. p. 31, 32.  
Apost. Const. lib. viii. ch. 12.

<sup>o</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Re- p. 402. ed. Clerici.



of convenience, the subject will be treated of under these two heads.

THE PRAYER OR ΕΠΙΚΑΗΣΙΣ.

In all the ancient liturgies, and indeed in all the writings of the Fathers, we find memorials and traces of some prayer at the time of consecration, in which God was requested to confer on his people then assembled, the benefit which the sacrament was peculiarly intended to exhibit. In other words, we find in all, some petition that in partaking of the elements of bread and wine the faithful might be partakers of the body and blood of Christ.

The forms of this prayer varied much in different churches. In some, the request was addressed to God in more direct, pointed, definite terms; elsewhere, in less. In the east and much of the west, the church supplicated God to send down from on high his Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine, and make them the body and the blood of our Lord and Saviour. In Rome and Italy, they implored God to bless the sacrifice of bread and wine, that to them it might be Christ's body and blood. In order that we may more fully appreciate and compare the ancient forms of prayer on this subject, let us present the two forms as used in the ancient liturgies of Constantinople and of Rome. The extract of the Roman liturgy I transcribe as it was before the time of Gregory the Great, A. D. 590.

CONSTANTINOPLE. Παρακαλοῦ-  
μεν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν,  
κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἁ-  
γιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκεί-  
μενα δῶρα ταῦτα. ποιήσον τὸν μὲν

ROME. Hanc igitur oblatio-  
nem servitutis nostræ, sed et  
cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsu-  
mus Domine, ut placatus acci-  
pias per Christum Dominum

ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τὸ δὲ ἐν ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἀγίῳ P.

nostrum; quam oblationem tu Domine in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus, et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi q.

It may be said that all the oriental liturgies agree with that of Constantinople in substance, and almost in words. Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria; in all these churches a direct invocation of God to send his holy Spirit, and make the bread Christ's body, and the wine his blood, prevailed<sup>r</sup>. The African churches also used the invocation of the Holy Ghost, as did the churches of Spain<sup>s</sup>; and there can be no doubt, from the general texture of the Gallican liturgy, that the same form was always used in it in primitive times. A form supported by such a cloud of witnesses in the primitive church, is, it must be confessed, of great weight and value; and no one can pretend to deny that it is perfectly orthodox, and highly laudable. But I must contend that it is not essential; and this I do on two grounds: first, because the form was never used in the churches of Italy, and the apostolic church of Rome; secondly,

<sup>p</sup> Liturg. Chrysostomi, Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 77.

<sup>q</sup> Gregory introduced that passage, "diesque nostros" &c. according to Bede. See vol. i. p. 113. note c.

<sup>r</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 169.

<sup>s</sup> Optatus Milevitan. mentions the invocation of the Holy Ghost; see vol. i. p. 138.

note v. Isidore Hispalensis, describing the prayers of the liturgy, says, "Porro sexta ex hinc succedit confirmatio sacramenti, ut oblatio quæ Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum, corporis et sanguinis (sacramentum) confirmetur." Isid. Hisp. de Officiis, lib. i. c. 15.

because it is not necessary in prayer to God to mention the means by which he is to accomplish the end which is prayed for.

First. There is no trace of any prayer for the Holy Ghost to bless and consecrate the elements in the ancient liturgies of Milan, Italy, and Rome. The only proofs that have ever been brought to shew that the Roman liturgy possessed such a form of prayer are perfectly insufficient. It is alleged that the liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions professes to be the liturgy of Clement, bishop of Rome; and this liturgy contains the form of invocation in question. But it is well known that the Apostolical Constitutions are the composition of some author who lived in the third or fourth century; and therefore the name of Clement affixed to the liturgy contained therein proves nothing. And besides, that liturgy is evidently the same as the oriental liturgy, and differs as much as possible from the liturgy which, in the fifth century, had been established from time immemorial at Rome. It is also alleged that Gelasius, patriarch of Rome in the fifth century, ascribed the sanctification of the elements to the power of the Holy Ghost<sup>t</sup>. It is very true that he did so, but that is no proof that he ever expressly prayed for the Holy Ghost to perform this sanctification. If then there has never been any direct prayer for the Holy Ghost to sanctify the elements, used in the churches of Italy and Rome, the question as to the necessity of that prayer to a valid consecration is decided, because the whole

<sup>t</sup> In tractatu contra Nestorium et Eutychem. "In hanc, scilicet in Divinam transeunt,

Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam, permanente tamen in sua proprietate natura."

catholic church held communion with the churches of Italy and Rome during the primitive ages ; and had there been any essential defect in the form of consecration in those churches, it must have been noticed and objected to by the rest of the world. Now no such objection was ever made against the Roman and Italian liturgies during the first six or eight centuries, and therefore the forms were valid according to the judgment of the primitive church.

I argue, secondly, that it is not essential to pray expressly for the Holy Ghost to sanctify the elements ; because it is not essential in prayer to mention to God the means by which he is to accomplish the end which we pray for. God is all wise. He knows all the methods by which any thing can be accomplished. If we mention them to him, it is chiefly to testify our knowledge of and faith in any revelation which he has been pleased to make of those methods that he employs. God needs not that we should mention the way by which certain objects are to be accomplished, even though he may require us to pray for those objects. If, for instance, we prayed to him for the Christian virtues of humility and charity through Jesus Christ, such a prayer would be as valid, as if we also testified our knowledge, by praying that the Holy Ghost might be the means of communicating to us that charity and humility ; because God knows that the influence of the Holy Ghost is essential to the existence and growth of these Christian virtues, and in praying for them, we pray in effect for the Holy Ghost. It is the same in any prayer for consecrating the elements into Christ's mystical body and blood. However true it be that God effects this consecra-

tion by means of the Holy Ghost, it is unnecessary to pray expressly for the Holy Ghost to consecrate the elements of bread and wine, because God knows perfectly all the means and methods of consecration, and because any prayer for consecration is in fact a prayer that it may be accomplished by all the means which are known to INFINITE WISDOM.

These remarks will tend to illustrate and confirm the English prayer for consecration, which I now proceed to examine. It is as follows: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." The petition of this prayer, that we "may be partakers of Christ's most blessed body and blood," in "receiving these God's creatures of bread and wine," although it be not in itself necessarily referred to the *sacramental* participation of Christ's body and blood, yet is made to refer directly to this sacramental participation, by the words of limitation which accompany the passage. It is not merely a request, that in receiving the creatures of bread and wine we may partake of Christ's body and blood, which would not necessarily infer that we hoped to receive it in a sacramental manner; but it is a request that we may be partakers of Christ's body and blood, by receiving the bread and wine "according to Christ's *holy institution*," in "*remembrance of his death and passion*." These expressions define precisely the sort of participation of Christ's body and blood which we pray for, namely, that which is peculiar

to the sacrament of the eucharist. This prayer for the participation of Christ's body and blood in the sacramental manner, may be reduced to the following short formula, by divesting it of the introduction and the limitations: "Grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, may be partakers of Christ's body and blood." Although this prayer does not expressly mention the consecration of the elements, it is nevertheless in effect a prayer for that consecration. For it is necessary that consecration should take place before the bread and wine are the communion of Christ's body and blood. If then we pray that we may partake of Christ's body and blood in a sacramental manner, by receiving the bread and wine, we in effect pray that the elements may first be consecrated. If we pray for the end, we pray for all the means which are to accomplish it. And it is unnecessary to mention expressly those means to a God of infinite wisdom.

In fact, the omission of a direct prayer for consecration, in this prayer of the English liturgy, is analogous to the omission of the direct prayer for the Holy Ghost to consecrate the elements, in the ancient Roman and Italian liturgies. And if it be granted that the Roman form is a valid prayer for consecration, though it does not speak of the means of consecration; it must also be granted, that the English form is a valid prayer for the partaking of Christ's body and blood in a sacramental manner and therefore for the consecration, which alone renders this possible, although the consecration itself is not spoken of.

## COMMEMORATION OF THE HOLY INSTITUTION.

If we refer to primitive liturgies and the writings of the Fathers, we shall find that a commemoration of our Saviour's words and deeds at the last supper was used throughout the whole Christian church in the course of the benediction of the bread and wine, and was esteemed to have great efficacy in the sacrament; so that no consecration of the bread and cup could be effected without their repetition<sup>u</sup>. However, a considerable variety of expression is observable in the ancient liturgies at this place. Some described the whole action in concise terms, others in a more expanded and minute manner. Some liturgies did not enter into all the particulars which scripture has recorded, and others added circumstances which are not directly contained in scripture. Still all agreed in reciting the words which our Saviour made use of at the delivery of the elements. It will appear from the following extracts, that the English form of commemoration resembles the form of the ancient Spanish, and probably Gallican churches, in that part which relates to the bread; and the liturgies of Cæsarea, Constantino-ple, and Alexandria, in what relates to the cup. The variety of these forms will shew sufficiently

<sup>u</sup> The orthodox Fathers, though they attributed great efficacy to the words of institution, yet did not by any means consider that *prayer* for the consecration of the bread and wine was unnecessary. See Bingham's *Antiquities*, book xv. chap. 3. §. 11; and the portion of Albertinus de

Eucharistia, there referred to. See also Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, &c. tome v. p. 242, &c., who concurs with the most learned men in representing the necessity of the prayer of invocation, as well as of the words of our Redeemer.

that it is quite unnecessary to the validity of this commemoration to follow the particular form of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The Roman form resembles much that of Milan, which is cited below.

ENGLAND. Who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took Bread; and, when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body, which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

CÆSAREA. Τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχάντων χειρῶν, ἀναδείξας σοι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλόγησας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπὼν· Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου λαβὼν, κέρασας, εὐχαρι-

SPAIN AND GAUL. In qua nocte tradebatur accepit panem, et gratias agens, benedixit ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens. Accipite, et manducate. Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur. Quotiescunque manducaveritis, hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Similiter et calicem, postquam cœnavit, dicens. Hic est calix Novi Testamenti in meo sanguine, qui pro vobis et pro multis, effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Quotiescunque biberitis, hoc facite in meam commemorationem v.

ALEXANDRIA. Ea ipsa nocte in qua traditus est, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, beatas, et immaculatas, asperxit in cœlum, ad te Patrem suum, gratias egit, benedixit, sanctificavit, et dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite, manducate ex eo vos omnes: Hic panis est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum. Similiter calicem εὐχαριστίας benedixit et sancti-

v Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, p. 448.



στήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἀγιάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπών· Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλετε, τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογεῖτε <sup>W</sup>.

MILAN. Qui pridie quam pro nostra et omnium salute pateretur, discumbens in medio discipulorum suorum, accipiens panem, elevavit oculos ad cœlum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens ad eos: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Simili modo postquam cœnatum est, accipiens calicem, elevavit oculos ad cœlos ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, tradidit discipulis suis, dicens ad eos: Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, Mysterium fidei, quo pro vobis et

ficavit, et dixit illis: Hic est calix sanguinis mei, qui pro vobis effundetur, pro redemptione multorum. Et quotiescumque id feceritis memoriam mei facietis <sup>X</sup>.

CONSTANTINOPLE. Τῇ νυκτὶ ἧ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδοτο ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ ἀμωμήτοις χερσίν, εὐχαριστήσας καὶ εὐλογήσας, ἀγιάσας, κλάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλύμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι λέγων· Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν <sup>Y</sup>.

<sup>W</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, p. 168.

<sup>X</sup> Liturgia Æthiop. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 517. See also

Liturg. Cyril. ibid. p. 46. Marci, 155.

<sup>Y</sup> Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, p. 76.

pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Mandans quoque et dicens ad eos : Hæc quotiescumque feceritis, Mortem meam prædicabitis, Resurrectionem meam annuntiabitis, Adventum meum sperabitis, donec iterum de cælis veniam ad vos <sup>z</sup>.

BREAKING OF BREAD.

We read in the holy scriptures, that after our Saviour had given thanks, and blessed the bread, he broke it, and gave it to his disciples <sup>a</sup>. The immediate reason for this breaking was doubtless to divide the bread into small portions, that each of the disciples might take a part. But it has been always thought, that there is likewise a typical allusion in this act to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, which seems to be derivable from our Saviour's own words : for after breaking the bread, he delivered it to them, saying, "This is my body which is *broken* for you."

It was probably to represent in a still more lively manner the analogy between the breaking of the bread and the sacrifice of Christ's body on the cross, that some churches, in addition to the breaking or division which took place after the consecration, used also a form of breaking the bread while the words of our Saviour, or his acts at the last supper were recited. I am not aware that this latter form was ever used in the liturgies of Rome or Milan, nor in those of Constantinople and Cæsarea.

<sup>z</sup> Miss. Ambros. antiq. canon. Muratori, Liturg. Rom. tom. i. p. 134. See Pamel.

Liturg. tom. i. p. 302.

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xxvi. 26.

It does not now occur in any of them. In the Alexandrian liturgy however, as used by the Coptic Monophysites, the bread is broken when it is said, "he brake it." But it is again united together, in order to be completely broken and divided into small fragments immediately before distribution<sup>b</sup>. I am not aware that any other liturgy, except the English, prescribes a breaking of bread during the benediction. But all liturgies, including the Alexandrian just alluded to, appoint the bread to be broken after the benediction is completed<sup>c</sup>. It would appear that the same custom was used in the church of Corinth in the days of St. Paul, as prevails there at present. The apostle says to the Corinthian brethren, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλάμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν; 1 Cor. x. 16. The bread, according to St. Paul, was the communion of Christ's body *when* it was broken: now it could not have been the communion of Christ's body until after it was blessed; and therefore it was then blessed before it was broken, even as it has been in all after-ages in all the countries where St. Paul had especially the care of the churches<sup>d</sup>. It

<sup>b</sup> Renaudot, Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 259.

<sup>c</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaudot. tom. ii. p. 41, 111, 112. Lit. Jac. Græc. Asseman, Codex Lit. tom. v. p. 54, 55. Lit. Chrysostomi, Goar, p. 81; the ceremonies of which are observed in the liturgy of Basil. Liturgia Basil. Copt. p. 19. Renaudot, tom. i. Cyrilli, p. 49. Marci, p. 162. Missale Roman. canon missæ. Missale

Ambros. ibid. Bingham, Antiquities, &c. book xv. ch. 3. §. 34. Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, lib. i. c. 5. N<sup>o</sup>. 21. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 15. N<sup>o</sup>. 4. p. 463. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 4. art. 9.

<sup>d</sup> In the liturgy of Constantinople, which is used all through Greece, the bread is broken after the blessing and consecration is finished. Vide

appears to me that the church of England did not mean to exclude or prevent the ancient division of the bread after the benediction, by directing a "breaking" to take place while the institution was recited. This is to represent more vividly and forcibly the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. But it would be inconvenient at the middle of this solemn description of the last supper, to divide the bread into a number of small portions for the convenience of distribution, which was certainly the original and primary intention of this act, both in our Saviour's liturgy and in all subsequent liturgies.

It may be well here to notice a custom which has extensively prevailed in the Christian church. After the consecration was finished, and the bread broken, some of it was put into the cup. This ceremony was commonly known by the name of the *union* of the two kinds, and in many places was performed with appropriate prayers<sup>e</sup>. The custom is certainly not of primitive antiquity, since we find no mention of it in scripture, nor the early Fathers. This rite, doubtless, arose from the custom of communicating the laity with the sacrament of the body dipped in the cup. This most probably began in the east, where it has remained in use to the present day, and it also prevailed formerly in the west<sup>f</sup>. It was introduced to prevent the inconve-

Liturg. Chrysost. Liturg. Basilii. The same rite prevails through the whole eastern and western church.

<sup>e</sup> Liturg. Jacobi Syr. Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 41. 108, 109; Jacobi Græc. Asseman. Cod. Lit. p. 54. tom. v. Chrysostomi Goar, p. 82. Basilii

Copt. Renaud. tom. i. p. 19. 261, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Bingham, Antiquities, book xv. ch. 5. §. 2. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 18. art. 3. It would appear that this custom is older in the east than the councils of Chalcedon 451, and Ephesus 431, since the Euty-

niences which were imagined to arise from the reception of both kinds separately by the laity. The consecrated bread dipped in the cup was then given in a spoon to the laity, and to accomplish this more conveniently, when the bread was broken, some of it was put into the cup, from which the clergy took out with a spoon small particles tinged with the wine; and thus communicated the laity. This account of the origin of the *union* of the two kinds, serves also to explain why *all* the bread was not put into the cup <sup>g</sup>. The clergy were still permitted to receive the communion in both kinds separately, because they were too well instructed to permit the sacrament to fall on the ground, or experience any irreverence, and accordingly a portion of bread was reserved for their use which was not put into the cup.

According to the rite of the primitive church; in the oriental and English churches, the words of institution are repeated aloud to the present day. Asseman very properly admits that this has been the ancient custom of the eastern churches, which was enforced by the decree or injunction of the emperor Justinian in the sixth century <sup>h</sup>.

Before we proceed to the next section, it will be proper to consider the substance of the primitive liturgies which intervened between the completion of

chians and the Nestorians, as well as the orthodox of the east, have used it all along. See Renaudot Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 261.

<sup>g</sup> A portion is reserved by the Monophysites of Antioch, Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 112. See

also almost all the liturgies and places referred to for the breaking of the bread and the "union" of the two kinds.

<sup>h</sup> Assemani, tom. v. cod. Lit. Præf. p. liv. Menard, Sacramentar. Gregorii, p. 389.

consecration, and the distribution of the elements to the clergy and people. In the liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantinople, the consecration was followed by the general prayers for all men and all things, the Lord's Prayer, and the breaking of bread. In the Roman liturgy the consecration was followed by an oblation of the elements as they were bread and wine, a petition for the departed faithful, a prayer for communion with them, the breaking of bread, and the Lord's prayer. It is probable from the ancient MS. of the liturgy of Milan, published by Muratori<sup>i</sup>, that the Roman liturgy did not originally contain any more at this place than the Alexandrian, which we proceed to consider. After consecration, the Alexandrian liturgy preferred a request, that they who were about to communicate might be partakers of various spiritual benefits. Then the bread was broken, and the Lord's Prayer repeated. All these liturgies terminated before the Lord's Prayer and breaking of the bread with a doxology ascribing glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to which all the faithful responded with a loud Amen. This is the Amen of which the apostle Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Corinthians, and to which we find various allusions in the writings of the primitive Fathers. The English canon terminates with the consecration, and it may perhaps be thought too abruptly: but this is merely a matter of taste. However, the people answer at the end of the benediction with that Amen which has been handed down from the apostles themselves. The only point

<sup>i</sup> Muratori Liturg. Rom. tom. i. p. 134.

which seems to merit serious consideration with regard to this part of the liturgy, is the omission of the Lord's Prayer. So very general has been the use of the Lord's Prayer between the consecration and communion, that it might appear almost essential to the office; and Gregory the first, patriarch of Rome, has been understood to affirm that the apostles consecrated the elements with no other form<sup>j</sup>. But it appears plainly that the Lord's Prayer was not universally used at this place in primitive times. The liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions, though it does not appear to have been used in any particular church, is nevertheless, beyond all doubt, the same liturgy as that of the church of Antioch. It is evidently derived from the same stock. We do not find the Lord's Prayer used after consecration by the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions<sup>k</sup>, although we certainly know that this Prayer was used in the liturgy both at Antioch and Jerusalem in the fourth century<sup>l</sup>. Now to suppose that the author of the Apostolical Constitutions would have omitted the Lord's Prayer in this place, if it had been used from time immemorial, is altogether improbable. What conceivable reason could there be for omitting it under such circumstances? Does not the fact then of his omitting it prove that either it had not been introduced when he wrote, or that it was then known to have been introduced at a period subsequent to the apostolic

<sup>j</sup> "Orationem Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent." Greg. Magni

Epist. 64. lib. vii.

<sup>k</sup> Apost. Const. lib. viii. c. 12. p. 404. ed. Clerici.

<sup>l</sup> Cyril and Chrysostom mention it; see vol. i. p. 33. 36.

age? Either supposition, is I think, enough to shew that the Lord's Prayer was not used in this part of the liturgy of Antioch during the first ages. I cannot forbear to make a similar remark with regard to the liturgy of Alexandria. In the Ethiopian liturgy, which was derived from the primitive liturgy of Alexandria, the Lord's Prayer does not occur between the consecration and communion <sup>m</sup>. It may be said in this case as in the last, that no conceivable reason can be assigned for the omission of the Lord's Prayer in this place, if it had been used for any great length of time in the Alexandrian liturgy.

Whether it might have been the Ethiopian or some other church to which Augustine referred, it is certain that he alludes to churches where the Lord's Prayer was not repeated between consecration and communion in the fifth century <sup>n</sup>. In saying that *almost* every church used this Prayer in that interval of the liturgy, he evidently implies that there were churches which did not follow the same custom.

However anciently, therefore, the Lord's Prayer has been used in some churches, and however certainly in the fifth century, it was used in almost all; no one can justly say that it is *necessary* to have it in this place. I am not however contending against the propriety of its use here. No liturgy in existence, except those I have mentioned, is without the Lord's Prayer shortly before communion; and certainly it is a very appropriate place, since

<sup>m</sup> Liturgia Æthiopum Renaudot, tom. i. p. 518.

<sup>n</sup> See vol. i. p. 138. note <sup>u</sup>.

“Quam totam petitionem *ferè* omnis ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit.”



the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," may be mystically understood as a prayer for the bread of the soul then shortly to be received, even as the fathers and doctors of the church have expounded it<sup>o</sup>.

## SECTION XX.

## COMMUNION.

It is impossible to deny that the English liturgy prescribes a mode of communion perfectly conformable to the practice of the primitive church. Here the bishops, priests, and deacons receive the sacrament in both kinds first, and then the people are communicated in like manner. No one denies that this is the primitive order of delivering the elements. It is also indisputable, that the English custom of delivering to all the people both kinds separately, and not united, is the apostolic method. The same may be said of our custom of delivering the sacrament of the body, which we give into the hands of the faithful. In all this the English church preserves customs whose apostolical antiquity it is in vain to dispute<sup>p</sup>. In all the eastern churches the sacrament has been given to the laity in both kinds, even to the present day. It is true that they are not given separately, but at the same moment, by means of a particle of bread dipped in the cup<sup>q</sup>; but this is merely a variety of discipline, which does not in the slightest degree affect the verity of the communion

<sup>o</sup> Cyprian de Orat. Dominica. Cyril, Hierosolym. Cat. Mystag. v.

<sup>p</sup> Bingham's Antiquities, b. xv. ch. 5. §. 1. 2. 6. Mabillon de Liturgia Gall. lib. i. c. 5.

N<sup>o</sup>. 16. 24, 25. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 17, 18.

<sup>q</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 151. Renaudot, Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 282.

in both kinds. The same custom formerly prevailed all through the western churches<sup>r</sup>, but in later times the laity were in most places entirely deprived of the sacrament of Christ's blood; in order to obviate inconveniences which some persons thought might follow from an obedience to Christ's commands, and the practice of the catholic church.

It was not remembered that God could prevent his sacraments from real profanation; and that proper instruction might suffice, as it had done in primitive times, to teach the people their duty. It became necessary in after-times to defend this practice, and then it was heard for the first time that the sacrament of Christ's body or flesh was also the sacrament of his blood.

The church of England does not prohibit the laity from coming to the chancel, or *bema*, and receiving at the rails of the holy table. In different churches different rules have been adopted, as to the place of lay-communion. According to the eastern canons, the people may not approach the table<sup>s</sup>. The same rule was made by the fourth council of Toledo in Spain<sup>t</sup>. In the church of Gaul, as now in England, the laity, both men and women, were allowed to approach the holy table, and receive the sacrament in their hands<sup>u</sup>.

It was the custom of the primitive church to fill up the time during which the people communicated

<sup>r</sup> Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 18. §. 3. Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 153.

<sup>s</sup> Concil. Laodicen. canon 19.

<sup>t</sup> Concil. Toletan. 4. canon 17.

<sup>u</sup> Concil. 2. Turon. canon 4. "Ad orandum et communicandum laicis et fœminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum." Vid. Mabillon de Lit. Gall. lib. i. c. 5. N<sup>o</sup>. 24, &c.

by singing a psalm. We find from Cyril, Chrysostom, and Jerome, that in the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, "O taste and see," &c. was sung during the communion in the fourth century. In the west we find numerous traces of the same custom. Augustine expressly mentions it<sup>v</sup>, and it appears to have prevailed in Gaul and Italy. In after-times it was generally adopted in the west, and the anthem was called *communio*<sup>w</sup>. With regard to any words used at the delivery of the elements, we know not when they began to be used. Our Lord made use of expressions in the delivery of the sacrament which the apostles commemorated in their thanksgiving and consecration; but there is not the slightest reason to think that these expressions were ever in any way used at the delivery of the elements in the primitive church. However, in the second and third centuries it appears that a certain form was used in many, if not all, churches. The minister, in presenting the bread to every communicant, said, "The body of Christ," and the communicant, to signify his faith, said, "Amen<sup>x</sup>." It appears that in the time of Gregory the Great, the ancient form of delivery had been changed into a prayer. "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul;" to which the party receiving answered, "Amen<sup>y</sup>;" but this was not the original design of the form.

<sup>v</sup> Augustin. *Retract.* lib. ii. c. 11. quoted in vol. i. p. 136. note d.

<sup>w</sup> Bingham's *Antiquities*, b. xv. ch. 5. §. 10. *Antiphonarius Gregorii Pamel.* Liturg. tom. ii. p. 62, 63, &c. *Miss. Sarisb.* fol. 11.

<sup>x</sup> Cornel. Roman. apud Eusebii *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 43. p. 245. ed. Valesii; *Apost. Const.* lib. viii. c. 13. p. 405. edit. Clerici; Cyril Hierosol. *Cat. Mystag.* 5, N<sup>o</sup>. 18.

<sup>y</sup> Johannes Diaconus in *Vita Gregorii* lib. ii.

During all the primitive ages, the whole body of the faithful communicated at each celebration of the liturgy, and the sacrament was never distributed to those who were in health, except at this time<sup>z</sup>. But as charity grew chill the number of communicants became less, until there were scarcely any. In order to preserve a semblance of the communion, bread was blessed by the priest and distributed to the people at the close of the liturgy. However, in after-times even the custom of giving "eulogiæ," or blessed bread, as a substitute for the sacrament became extinct; and now in a large part of the west the people never receive the communion, or even a semblance of it, at the celebration of the liturgy<sup>a</sup>.

## SECTION XXI.

## THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The Lord's Prayer cannot be inappropriate in any part of the liturgy. It must be acknowledged, however, that we have no certain instance in the liturgies of the primitive church of its use in this place, immediately after communion. The Ethiopic liturgy, indeed, appears either to prescribe the prayer itself,

<sup>z</sup> Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, p. 96.

<sup>a</sup> The learned Romanist, Bona, regrets the departure of the Roman church, and those that communicate with her, from the primitive practice. "Tepescente successu temporis fervore, multa ex his, ne missa prolixior evaderet, ab ea paulatim sejuncta sunt; adeo ut etiam ipsa communio post missam differatur, *non sine magna rituum ecclesiasticorum perturbatione*; quia orationes, quæ

post communionem a sacerdote dicuntur, pro ipsis communicantibus sunt." Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. 14. §. 5. p. 457. Would that they who communicate with the Roman church were not too timid or too lukewarm to return to the practice of the primitive church in this and many other respects.

With regard to the custom of giving eulogiæ, see Bingham, Antiquities, book xv. c. 4. §. 3. Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 19. §. 7.

or a part of it, after communion<sup>b</sup>; but no such thing appears in the Alexandrian, the Oriental, Roman, Italian, Gallican, or Spanish liturgies. Nor do we find any traces of such a custom amongst the writings of the Fathers. The use of the Lord's Prayer therefore in this place cannot be traced to any very great antiquity, though certainly in the fifth century it was a general custom to use it before communion, and in some churches it may have been used there even from the apostolic age. When the Lord's Prayer was repeated before communion, it was repeated by all the people, as well in the Gallican church, as in all the churches of the east<sup>c</sup>. At Rome it was only repeated by the priest, according to Gregory the Great<sup>d</sup>.

## SECTION XXII.

### THE POST-COMMUNION THANKSGIVING.

In all churches it was anciently customary to return thanks to God after receiving the sacrament, and to implore his grace for the future. The second form, which the church of England has appointed for this occasion, (though it would be presumptuous to say that it is more appropriate than the first,) may be fairly said to accord most with the thanksgivings which the primitive church used at this place. Let us, then, regard the second form of thanksgiving and prayer prescribed in this place by the English liturgy, and trace its analogy with ancient liturgies.

<sup>b</sup> Liturg. Ethiop. Renaudot. Liturg. Oriental. tom. i. p. 521.

<sup>c</sup> Mabillon, Liturgia Gallic. lib. i. c. 5. No. 22. p. 49.

<sup>d</sup> " Sed et Dominica oratio

apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur: apud nos vero a solo sacerdote." Gregor. Mag. lib. vii. Epist. 64.

ENGLAND. Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical Body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

CÆSAREA. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων, καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων, ἃ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ, καὶ ἴασει τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν. αὐτὸς δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων, δὸς γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυποκρίτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν σοφίας, εἰς ἴασιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου<sup>e</sup>.

Similar forms occur in all the ancient liturgies; amongst which that of Antioch, and the beautiful form of the Alexandrian liturgy of Basil, are particularly deserving of notice<sup>f</sup>.

It would be useless to cite the prayers in the ancient Gallican, Roman, and Italic sacramentaries, which correspond to this form, because they do not resemble it more than the oriental forms already

<sup>e</sup> Liturgia Basilii, Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 175.

<sup>f</sup> Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Re-

naudot, tom. ii. p. 42. Basilii Copt. tom. i. p. 24.

cited and alluded to; and also because it is impossible to ascertain which of the numerous "missæ" in each sacramentary is the oldest. The form transcribed from the liturgy of Cæsarea is perhaps fifteen hundred years old, or even more ancient.

With regard to the first prayer after communion, it is impossible not to admire the excellence of its composition, but I do not think that we find the topics to which it alludes mentioned in this part of ancient liturgies; however, the expressions of which it makes use are truly orthodox and pious, and may very properly be employed on the present occasion.

## SECTION XXIII.

## THE HYMN GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.

We read in the holy gospel, that after the sacrament the Lord and his disciples sung an hymn before they went to the mount of Olives<sup>g</sup>. Whether the apostles and the church during the most primitive ages followed this example, I am not able positively to decide. It would appear probable that the liturgy terminated with a thanksgiving during the earliest ages, and not with a hymn; yet in after-times there were few liturgies which did not use a psalm, anthem, or hymn, after communion. Thus in the liturgy of Constantinople the twenty-second psalm, *εὐλογῆσω τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ*, is sung by the choir<sup>h</sup>. After the end of the Roman liturgy, the hymn of "the Three Children," or *Te Deum*, is sung<sup>i</sup>. Amongst the Syrian monophysites, who use the ancient liturgy of Antioch, the psalm *Dominus*

<sup>g</sup> Matt. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26.

<sup>i</sup> Bona, *Rer. Lit. lib. ii. c. 20. §. 6. p. 519.*

<sup>h</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc. p. 85.*

*pascuit me et nihil mihi deerit*, is said by the priest after the communion<sup>j</sup>. In a very ancient liturgy of the western church, which is supposed to be as old as the seventh century, and which belonged to the Irish monks of Luxovium in Gaul, the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* is found exactly in the position which the English liturgy assigns to it, namely, amongst the thanksgivings after communion<sup>k</sup>. This celebrated hymn owes its origin to the eastern church, where it was used in the time of Athanasius, in the beginning of the fourth century<sup>l</sup>. In the churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, and the rest of the east, it has never been used in any part of the liturgy, but it is still used as it was in the time of Athanasius, as part of the morning service for every day<sup>m</sup>.

Western liturgical writers have ascribed this hymn to various authors: some have given it to Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, A. D. 150; others to Symmachus, bishop of the same see, A. D. 500; others to Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in the fourth century. None of these conjectures have any sufficient foundation<sup>n</sup>. As to the *Liber Pontificalis*,

<sup>j</sup> Renaudot, Liturg. Oriental. tom. ii. p. 26.

<sup>k</sup> Mabillon Museum Italicum, tom. i. p. 281. Muratori Liturg. Rom. tom. ii. p. 780. O'Conor, Rer. Hibern. Scriptores, tom. i. p. cxxx. &c. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 4. art. 3. p. 360.

<sup>l</sup> Athanasius Liber de Virginitate, tom. ii. No. 20. p. 122. ed. Benedict. Πρὸς ὄρθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε· ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς μου, πρὸς σὲ ὀρθρίζω· ἐδίψησέ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου. διάφανμα

δέ· εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου τὸν κύριον. δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. This hymn is prescribed in the Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 47. as the προσευχὴ ἑωθινή. p. 385. ed. Clerici.

<sup>m</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 54. 58. It is called by the Greeks ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία.

<sup>n</sup> Bona Rer. Liturg. lib. iii. c. 4. §. 4.



which ascribes it to Telesphorus, no reliance can be placed on it in a matter of such antiquity. No trace of the authorship of Hilary appears in the writings of the Fathers for four hundred years after his time; and, in fact, we know that it was used in the east before the time of Hilary and Symmachus. It appears probable, however, that Symmachus appointed this hymn to be sung on every Sunday and holyday at the beginning of the Roman liturgy, and from thence it came gradually to be used very generally in the west in a similar position. In the Roman liturgy it was only said when a litany was not repeated before the office, according to the direction of Gregory, or some other bishop°. This hymn is more than fifteen hundred years old in the eastern church, and the church of England has used it either at the beginning or end of the liturgy for above twelve hundred years.

<p>Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, goodwill towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.</p> <p>O Lord, the only-</p>	<p>Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, κύριε βασιλεῦ, ἐπουράνιε Θεέ, Πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ, κύριε νιὲ μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, καὶ Ἅγιον</p>	<p>Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis. Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te, gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam, Domine Deus, Rex cœlestis, Deus Pater omnipotens.</p> <p>Domine Fili uni-</p>
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° Sacramentar. Gregorii Menard. p. 1. "Item dicitur *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, si Episcopus fuerit, tantummodo die Domi-

nico, sive diebus festis. A Presbyteris autem minime dicitur, nisi solo in Pascha."

begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest on the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord; thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

Πνεῦμα. Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμὼς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ αἵρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ αἵρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἀμήν ρ.

genite Jesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris, qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis, qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram, qui sedes ad dexteram Patris miserere nobis, quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen ρ.

## SECTION XXIV.

## THE FINAL BENEDICTION.

There are two places in which chiefly we find the benedictions of the people to have occurred in primitive liturgies: first, before communion; secondly, after it. The former I have already considered in section XII, in treating of the absolution. It remains now to consider the latter. In the ancient

ρ From the Alexandrian MS. copied by Dr. Smith, Account of the Greek Church, &c. p. 295. In this MS. it is entitled, ὑμῶς ἐωθινός.

ρ Mabillon, Museum Italicum, tom. i. p. 281. Muratori Liturg. Rom. tom. ii. p. 780. Miss. Sarisb. fol. lxxii. Miss. Ebor. et Herefordens.

liturgies of the east we generally find the benedictions by the bishops and presbyters to have been more long and comprehensive than those of the west. In the Gallican and Spanish liturgies, however, which appear to have been imitated by the ancient English church during the time of the Saxon monarchs, blessings of considerable length are also found<sup>r</sup>. Long prayers of benediction occur in the Alexandrian liturgies, like our own, after thanksgiving<sup>s</sup>. A benediction of the same sort occurs in the Constantinopolitan liturgy, and in that of Cæsarea: the same may be said of that of Antioch<sup>t</sup>. In the Roman liturgy also a benediction has been used in latter times, which Bona does not consider to be of any considerable antiquity<sup>u</sup>. The formulary which we use is more comprehensive than many benedictions that have been used in the west, and seems to be a judicious enlargement of benedictions which were used in the English church perhaps before the year 600.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God,

Benedictio Dei Patris omnipotentis et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, maneat semper vobiscum<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana. Missale Gothicum, p. 189, &c. and p. 451. The MS. sacramentary of the Anglo-Saxon church of the ninth or tenth century, given by Leofricus to the church of Exeter, now in the Bodleian library, contains long benedictions of the same kind, as does also the ancient sacramentary of the English Benedictines, published by Schultingius, tom. iv.

Biblioth. Eccl. pars iii. p. 177.

<sup>s</sup> Liturgia Basillii Renaudot, tom. i. p. 25. Cyrilli, p. 51.

<sup>t</sup> Liturgia Chrysost. Goar, p. 85. Basillii *ibid.* p. 175. Liturgia Jacobi Syr. Renaud. tom. ii. p. 42. Jacobi Græc. Asseman, Codex Liturg. tom. v. p. 62. Apost. Const. lib. viii. c. 15. p. 406. ed. Clerici.

<sup>u</sup> Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 20. N<sup>o</sup>. 4. p. 515.

<sup>v</sup> Saxon Office in Appendix

and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord : and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always.

Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et pax Domini, sit semper vobiscum<sup>v</sup>.

## SECTION XXV.

COLLECTS TO BE REPEATED AT CERTAIN TIMES.

Three of these collects have been used by the English church from the sixth century to the present time. The others I have not yet been able to trace in any very ancient formularies, though their spirit and composition are truly primitive.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation ; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify, and govern, both our hearts and bodies, in the ways of thy laws, and in the works of thy commandments ; that through

Adesto Domine supplicationibus nostris : et viam famulorum tuorum in salutis tue prosperitate dispone : ut inter omnes viæ et vitæ hujus varietates, tuo semper protegantur auxilio, per Dominum<sup>x</sup>.

Dirigere et sanctificare et regere dignare Domine Deus, quæsumus, corda et corpora nostra in lege tua, et in operibus mandatorum tuorum : ut hic et in æternum te auxiliante sani et salvi esse mereamur ;

to Dr. Hickeys's Letters to a Popish Priest, London, 1705, ad finem Completorii.

<sup>v</sup> Benedictiones in quotidianis diebus MS. Leofric. Exon. fol. 332.

<sup>x</sup> Sacramentarium Gelasii Muratori Lit. Rom. tom. i. p. 703. MS. Leofr. Exon. Episc. fol. 222. Missale Sarisb. fol. 30. commune.

thy most mighty protection, per Dominum nostrum Jesum,  
 both now and ever, we may qui tecum vivit &c. y  
 be preserved in body and soul;  
 through our Lord and Saviour  
 Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Prevent us, O Lord, in all  
 our doings with thy most gra-  
 cious favour, and further us  
 with thy continual help; that  
 in all our works begun, con-  
 tinued, and ended in thee, we  
 may glorify thy holy name,  
 and finally by thy mercy ob-  
 tain everlasting life; through  
 Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Actiones nostras, quæsumus  
 Domine, et aspirando præveni  
 et adjuvando prosequere: ut  
 cuncta nostra operatio et a  
 te semper incipiat, et per te  
 cæpta finiatur. Per &c. z

## SECTION XXVI.

### ON THE FIRST RUBRIC AFTER THE OFFICE.

This rubric directs that on "Sundays and other holydays (if there be no communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the communion, until the end of the general prayer, (For the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth,) together with one or more of these collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the blessing."

Lestrange, in his Alliance of Divine Offices, has very justly remarked, that the practice here inculcated resembles that which was known in the middle ages under the appellation of the *missa sicca*, or *missa nautica*. The earliest notice of this practice, according to Bona, is in the writings of Petrus

y Gregorii Liber Sacramen-  
 tor. Menard. p. 213. Brev. Sa-  
 risb. fol. 13. Psalt. pars hyema-  
 lis. Appendix to Hickes's Let-

ters, &c. at the end of prime.

z Gregorii Liber Sacramen-  
 torum Menard. p. 41. Pamelii  
 Liturgica Latin. tom. i. p. 370.

Cantor, who flourished A. D. 1200; and it seems to have prevailed extensively in the west for some centuries afterwards<sup>a</sup>. The *missa sicca*, or “dry service,” as it was called, consisted of a repetition of all the preparatory and concluding parts of the liturgy, omitting the canon. No elements were laid on the table, and there was neither consecration nor communion. As the canons forbid priests to celebrate the liturgy more than once in the day, except in cases of urgent necessity; and as some covetous and wicked priests were desirous of celebrating more frequently, with the object of receiving oblations from the people; they availed themselves of the *missa sicca*, and thus deceived the people, who intended to offer their prayers and alms at a real commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ. This evil practice rendered it necessary for several councils to interpose their prohibitions; and thence the *sicca missa*, though an innocent and laudable service in itself, and though approved of by many pious and learned divines, gradually fell into disuse. Genebrardus, in his book of the Apostolical Liturgy, cap. 30, after recommending the custom, observes, that it still prevailed at Turin A. D. 1587, when it was solemnly celebrated with two assistant ministers at the funeral of a nobleman, who was buried in the evening, at which time the real liturgy could

<sup>a</sup> See Ducange's Glossary; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. cap. 15. §. 6; Bingham's *Antiquities*, book xv. chap. 4. §. 5. Bingham seems to have suffered his judgment to be prejudiced against the *missa sicca* by the representations of Bona. The custom was in itself quite

harmless, though it was abused to the worst and most unprincipled ends; and under proper regulation might, with great propriety, be adopted in circumstances where it was inexpedient or impossible to celebrate the actual liturgy.

not canonically have been performed. And, according to Martene, the Carthusians still occasionally perform it. Durandus approved of the *sicca missa*, and in his Rationale gives directions for celebrating it. If the priest from devotion, but not from superstition, desired to perform the whole office of the liturgy, without the oblation and consecration, he is directed to put on the usual dress, and proceed with the service to the end of the offertory. He might repeat the preface, though it seemed better not to do so. The canon, or prayer of consecration, was to be omitted. Afterwards he was to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and a concluding collect and benediction <sup>b</sup>.

This certainly approaches very nearly to the office enjoined by the church of England when there is no communion. In like manner we read all the liturgy to the end of the offertory, adding the prayers for all men; then, passing over the preface and consecration, we conclude with one or more collects and a benediction.

<sup>b</sup> Durandi Rationale, lib. iv. c. i. num. 23.

## CHAPTER V.

## BAPTISM.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE English ritual resembles that of the eastern church in the circumstance of combining all the offices of the church in one volume. The *Euchologium*, or ritual of the Greeks, now comprises the offices for morning and evening prayer, the liturgy or eucharist, baptism, litany, orders, &c. The western churches have more commonly divided these offices into at least four parts, entitled, the *Breviary*, the *Missal* or liturgical book, the *Ritual*, and the *Pontifical*. The *Ritual* and *Pontifical* correspond to that part of the English ritual which begins with the office of baptism. The *Ritual*, termed in the English churches of Salisbury and York, and elsewhere, *Manual*<sup>a</sup>, comprised all those occasional offices of the church which a presbyter could administer. The *Pontifical* contained those only which a bishop could perform<sup>b</sup>.

The euchologium, or ritual of the Greek church, illustrated with notes by Goar, is well known and easily accessible, and furnishes abundant information with regard to all the rites of the catholic church in the east. The baptismal and some other

<sup>a</sup> The ritual was sometimes also called *Manuale*, *Agenda*, *Institutio*, *Pastorale*, *Sacerdotale*, or *Sacramentale*; and it sometimes received other appellations during the middle ages. See Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, tom. i. p. 147, 154, &c. During the middle ages also we occasionally find

several distinct books containing offices, such as the *Processionale*, for litanies and processions, the *Baptismale*, or Baptism-book, &c. See Zaccaria, p. 157, &c. See also Ducange's Glossary.

<sup>b</sup> The different editions of the *Pontifical* are mentioned by Zaccaria, tom. i. p. 164, &c.



occasional offices of the Jacobites or Monophysites of Alexandria, Antioch, and Armenia, and of the Nestorians, have been published by Assemani, in his "Codex Liturgicus." Many of the oriental offices for ordination, as well as all the western, are to be found in the learned treatise of Morinus "de Ordinationibus." The most valuable collection of records relative to the occasional offices of the western churches has been published by Martene, in his work, "De Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus." This author, with indefatigable industry, transcribed and edited a multitude of ancient manuscripts, and collected whatever had previously been published. So that there is scarcely any branch of ritual knowledge which he has not greatly elucidated.

It is almost needless to add, that the learned Bingham, in his "Origines Ecclesiasticæ," has collected almost every thing which the monuments of primitive antiquity contain relative to baptism and all the other offices.

The office of holy baptism, according to the English ritual, may be divided into three parts: first, the introduction, which includes nearly one half of the office, extending from the beginning to the prayer which follows the exhortation after the gospel, inclusively; secondly, the preparatory office, including the renunciations and professions; and, thirdly, the action of the holy sacrament, and the conclusion.

## SECTION I.

### THE INTRODUCTION OF THE OFFICE.

While it is certain that this portion of the baptismal office is excellently calculated to be placed in the position which it now occupies, it is nevertheless

true, that the introduction of the baptismal service was not originally derived from the rites celebrated at the time of baptism, but from those by which the candidate for baptism was made a catechumen, and thus prepared in due time to receive regeneration. During the primitive ages, those persons who desired to become Christians were first received into the class of catechumens, and gradually instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, according to the capacity of their faith and morals. Some form of admission to the class of catechumens was used in all churches at an early period; and it seems most commonly to have consisted of the imposition of hands, with prayer for the person<sup>c</sup>. To this in many places were added various rites; such as signing the forehead of the candidate with the cross, the consecration and giving of salt, which was entitled the *Sacrament of Catechumens*<sup>d</sup>, repeated exorcisms, or prayers and adjurations to cast out the power of Satan, anointing with oil, and other mystical and figurative rites. In the course of many ages, when the Christian church had overspread the face of the world, and infidelity had become in most places extinct, the

<sup>c</sup> Bingham's Antiquities, &c. book x. ch. 1. §. 2, 3.

<sup>d</sup> Concil. Carthag. 3. canon. 5. "Per solemnissimos Paschales dies sacramentum catechumenis non detur, nisi solum sal." Augustine alludes to this custom thus: "Et quod accipiunt (catechumeni) quamvis non sit corpus Christi; sanctum est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur, quoniam sacramentum est." Liber ii. de Peccatorum meritis, c. 26. The consecration of this

salt contained the following passage: "Exorcizo te creatura salis—ut in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis efficiaris salutare sacramentum ad effugandum inimicum." Manuale Sarisb. fol. 34. It also occurs in a sacramentary above nine hundred years old, referred to by Martene, de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 40. The sacrament of salt was peculiar to the western churches, as we do not find any notice of it in the monuments of the eastern church.

form of admission to the class of catechumens was from a veneration for old customs, in many places conjoined to the office of baptism, and administered at the same time with it to the candidates for that sacrament, whether they were infants or not<sup>e</sup>. It is not easy to determine the exact reasons which induced the practice of admitting *infants* as catechumens before they received baptism; it is probable that the custom was recent, and proceeded in a great degree from want of consideration, and ignorance of the original of ecclesiastical rites. It is, however, a certain fact, that at the period when our offices were revised, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, the church of England had been accustomed to perform the rite of making the infant a catechumen immediately before it was baptized. For we find in the manuals of the churches of Salisbury and York, that the office of baptism commenced with the “*Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum.*” This *ordo* contained all the ancient rites of making a catechumen, including signing with the cross, imposition of hands, benediction and giving of the sacrament of salt; and finally, the officiating minister took the infant by the hand, and introduced him into the church as a complete catechumen<sup>f</sup>. From this *ordo*, which (as

<sup>e</sup> This may be seen in the manuals of the churches of Salisbury and York, the latter of which places the title of “*Baptismus Puerorum*” at the top of each page, both of the office for making a catechumen, and the actual office of baptism. The Roman ritual also, published by order of Paul the Fifth, bishop of Rome, combines the two offices, without

any distinction, under the title of “*Ordo Baptismi Parvulorum.*” It seems from the offices of the oriental churches, published by Asseman in the three first volumes of the *Codex Liturgicus*, that something of the same kind has occurred amongst them.

<sup>f</sup> *Manuale Sarisb.* fol. 33—36. *Manuale Eboracens.*

I have observed) immediately preceded baptism, the revisers of our ritual chiefly derived the introductory part of the office of baptism. In this part of the office, as first revised, were contained the rite of signing with the cross, and the exorcism; and at the end of it, the priest was to "take one of the children by the right hand, the others being brought after him, and coming into the church toward the font," to repeat a certain benediction<sup>s</sup>. On further consideration, the revisers of the English ritual did not think it advisable to retain any of these rites in the introductory part of the office of baptism. Nor was it proper that they should have retained them. For if they be regarded as a portion of the *baptismal* office, they are comparatively modern rites, and are never mentioned by the Fathers. And if they be regarded as forming the office for making a catechumen, it appears to be perfectly unnecessary to use them in infant baptism, because, though infants may receive remission of sins and divine grace by baptism, they cannot be instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and therefore cannot really be catechumens. And nearly the same reason will justify the omission of these rites in the introduction to adult baptism. For the ancient catechetical discipline of the church being extinct, it is useless to continue ceremonies which have no longer any meaning; and at all events men were not baptized immediately after they were made catechumens, as is now the case in the Roman ritual. However, as the prayers which accompanied these ceremonies at the first revision of the English ritual were very

<sup>s</sup> Prayer Book, 1549. Public Baptism, fol. 3.

good, it was not thought expedient to remove them. So that to the present day the introduction to the office of baptism derives its origin, in some measure, from the ancient office for making a catechumen.

From the custom of considering the office for making catechumens as a portion of the baptismal office, it happened that the corresponding introduction of the revised English ritual, when it received several alterations or additions of prayers and exhortations, assumed much more of the appearance of a portion of the baptismal office than it had formerly possessed. In the ancient offices the priest prayed that "the child might advance *from day to day*, that he might be made fit to obtain the grace of baptism <sup>f</sup>." This evidently inferred that baptism was not yet to be conferred for some time longer. In the revision of the office, baptism was spoken of throughout, as then and there to be administered.

The office is preceded by an inquiry whether the child hath been already baptized or not. This question is also directed by the ancient manuals of the churches of Salisbury and York <sup>g</sup>. After this the priest commences an address or preface to the congregation, inviting them to pray for the child. We can perhaps scarcely find any parallel to this amongst the primitive rituals of the church, except

<sup>f</sup> "Aperi ei Domine janua[m] pietatis tuæ, ut signo sapientiæ tuæ imbutus omnium cupiditatum fœtoribus careat, et ad suavem odorem præceptorum tuorum lætus tibi in ecclesia tua deserviat, et *proficiat de die in diem*, ut idoneus efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi tui." Manuale Sar.

ad faciendum Catechumenum, fol. 33.

<sup>g</sup> "Inprimis deferatur infans ad valvas ecclesiæ et inquirat sacerdos ab obstetrice utrum sit infans masculus an fœmina. Deinde si infans fuerit baptizatus domi." Man. Sar. fol. 33. Man. Eborac. Baptism. Pueror.

in those of the churches of Gaul. The Gothic and ancient Gallican liturgies or missals published by Thomasius and Mabillon, prescribe an address or preface of this kind at the very commencement of the office of baptism <sup>h</sup>. It is true, that the following address does not coincide exactly in expressions with that of the English ritual, but still there is a general resemblance: and indeed we find that a very different address was used even in the Gallican church at another time or place. The collect which follows the address in the Gothic missal, bears also some resemblance to the collect which immediately follows our address, as will be seen below.

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin; and that our Saviour Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost; I beseech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant to this child that thing which by nature he cannot have; that he may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy church, and be made a lively member of the same.

Auctorem ac reparatorem nostrum omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, qui ornamenta naturæ amissa per culpam, dignatus est reparare per gratiam; sub reverendo mysterii præsentis officio suppliciter exoremus: ut aquis his virtutem transfundat, et ad peragendum sacratissimæ regenerationis effectum præsentia trinæ majestatis adsistat: confringat et conterat super has aquas caput draconis: et sub undis fecibus transactione secreta chirographum pristinum evacuetur, et debitoribus cum Christo per baptismum consepultis, ita hic agatur mortis imitatio, ut salvatis perditis sola se sentiat in terris perditione. Per Dominum <sup>i</sup>.

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<sup>h</sup> Miss. Gothic. p. 247; Miss. Gall. vet. p. 362. Mabillon de

Liturg. Gallicana.

<sup>i</sup> Miss. Gallican. vet. ap.

Almighty and everlasting God, who of thy great mercy by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin ; we beseech thee, for thine infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully look upon this child, wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost : that he, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church ; and being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally he may come to the land of everlasting life, there to reign with thee world without end ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Deus qui Jordanin fontem pro animarum salute sanctificasti : descendat super aquas has Angelus benedictionis tuæ : ut quibus perfusi famuli tui, accipiant remissionem peccatorum ; ac renati ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, devoti tibi serviant in æternum. Per Dominum j.

The next collect has been very anciently used in the English churches, since we find it in the manuals of Salisbury and York : in these ritual books it occurs in the office for making a catechumen ; which, as I have observed, formed the first part of the baptismal service. It is also found in many ancient MSS. some of which seem to have been used nine hundred years ago <sup>k</sup>.

Mabillon, Lit. Gall. p. 362. I have printed this formulary as I found it, not thinking it advisable to alter the language of the original.

j Miss., Gothicum, ibid. p. 247.

k " Ex duobus MSS. libris sacramentorum insignis ecclesiæ Turonensis ante annos octingentos (900.) exaratis." Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 41.

Almighty and immortal God, the aid of all that need, the helper of all that flee to thee for succour, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead; We call upon thee for this infant, that he, coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration. Receive him, O Lord, as thou hast promised by thy well-beloved Son, saying, Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: So give now unto us that ask; let us that seek find; open the gate unto us that knock; that this infant may enjoy the everlasting benediction of thy heavenly washing, and may come to the eternal kingdom which thou hast promised by Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Deus, immortale præsidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum; te invoco super hunc famulum tuum *N.* qui baptismi tui donum petens, æternam consequi gratiam spirituali regeneratione desiderat. Accipe eum Domine: et quia dignatus es dicere: Petite et accipietis: quærite et invenietis: pulsate et aperietur vobis, petenti præmium porrige et januam pande pulsanti: ut æternam cœlestis lavacri benedictionem consecutus: promissa tui muneris regna percipiat. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen*<sup>1</sup>.

The portion of St. Matthew's Gospel, which is appointed to be used immediately after the preceding prayer, is also found in the introductory office for making a catechumen, according to the rites of the English churches of Salisbury and York. How long it may have been used in this place it is hard to determine, but a manuscript ritual of the church of Beauvais in France, 800 years old, directs a gospel to be read in this place<sup>m</sup>; and in a ritual of the monastery of Remiremont, written 700 years ago<sup>n</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 34.  
Manuale Eborac. Baptism. Pueror.

<sup>m</sup> Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 43.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 44.



we may observe the same portion of St. Matthew's Gospel, which was used by the churches of Salisbury and York in ancient times, as it is by all the English churches at present.

*The priest shall say,*

Hear the words of the Gospel, written by Saint Mark, in the tenth chapter, at the thirteenth verse.

They brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them; and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.

*His dictis, dicat sacerdos,*  
Dominus vobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spiritu tuo. *Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Mattheum. Resp.* Gloria tibi Domine. In illo tempore, oblatis sunt Jesu parvuli ut manus eis imponeret et oraret. Discipuli autem ejus increpabant eos. Jesus autem ait illis, Sinite parvulos et nolite prohibere eos venire ad me: talium est enim regnum cœlorum. Et cum imposuisset eis manum, abiit inde<sup>o</sup>.

The address and collect which follow the gospel, and terminate the introduction of the baptismal office, do not occur in the ancient offices of the English church, as far as I can perceive. However, in annexing these forms to the office, the church only exercised that authority which had been delivered to her by the holy apostles; namely, the power of adding such rites and prayers to the essential matter and form of the sacraments, as she

<sup>o</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 36. Man. Ebor. ut supra.

judged most suited to benefit and edify her children.

## SECTION II.

### THE RENUNCIATIONS.

In the position of the renunciations and professions the English ritual agrees with those of the patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch. According to the ancient rites of those churches, the renunciations and professions preceded the benediction of the water<sup>p</sup>; in the Roman and several other western rituals they followed the benediction<sup>q</sup>. The English order in this place may be compared with that of the Constantinopolitan ritual, where the renunciations and professions are made at the direction of the bishop, in the course of a long exhortation which he delivers before baptism is administered<sup>r</sup>. In like manner the priest, according to the English ritual, delivers an address to the candidates for baptism, or their sponsors, in which he exhorts them to renounce the Devil, to believe God's holy word, and obediently to keep his commandments; and at the close of the exhortation the renunciations and professions are made according to his direction.

It has been customary in the Christian church, from the most remote period, for the candidates for baptism to renounce the Devil and all his works

<sup>p</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 338. 341. 350, &c. *Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 41, 42, 43.* See also the oriental rites in the first volume of Asseman's *Codex Liturgicus*, at p. 158. 172. 237, &c.

<sup>q</sup> *Sacramentar. Gelasii Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet. tom. i. p. 570.* *Miss. Gallican Vet. Mabillon de Lit. Gall. p. 364.*

<sup>r</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 340, 341.

they were admitted to that sacrament. Tertullian<sup>s</sup>, Cyprian, Ambrose, Basil, Jerome, Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>t</sup>, and many other fathers and doctors of the church during the first four centuries, speak of renunciation as an established and universal

the fourth century the renunciation was made with great solemnity. Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking of those who had been recently baptized, said, "First have entered into the vestibule of the baptistery, standing towards the west, you have heard, I have been commanded, to stretch forth your hands, and renounce Satan, as if he were present<sup>u</sup>." This custom of turning to the west at the renunciation of baptism is also spoken of by Jerome, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ambrose; and it was sometimes performed with insufflations and other external signs of hostility to Satan, and rejection of him and his works. To the present day these customs remain in the patriarchate of Constantinople, where the candidates for baptism turn to the west to renounce Satan, stretching forth their hands, and using an

"Aquam adituri, ibidem, et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu conuertitur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis mundi tui, qui in maligno positus est." Hieronymus, Com. in Matt. xv. 26. Cyril, Catechesis Mystag. 1. "Εἰσηίετε πρώτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐστῶτες ἠκούσατε καὶ προσετάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ. Cyril. Cateches. Myst. 1. p. 278. ed. Milles.

DL. II.

et luxuriæ ejus ac voluptatibus." Ambros. de Initiatis, c. 2. "Renuncio tibi Diabolo, et pompæ tuæ et vitii tuis, et mundo tuo, qui in maligno positus est." Hieronymus, Com. in Matt. xv. 26. Cyril, Catechesis Mystag. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Εἰσηίετε πρώτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον, καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐστῶτες ἠκούσατε καὶ προσετάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ. Cyril. Cateches. Myst. 1. p. 278. ed. Milles.

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insufflation, as a sign of enmity against him <sup>v</sup>. And the Monophysites of Antioch and Jerusalem, Alexandria and Armenia, also retain the custom of renouncing Satan with faces turned to the west <sup>w</sup>.

ENGLAND. Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow, nor be led by them?

*Answer.* I renounce them all.

ANTIOCH. Abrenuncio Satanæ ego *N.* et omnibus operibus ejus, et omni militiæ ejus, et omni cultui ejus, et omni pompæ ejus, et omni errori ejus mundano et cuilibet ei consentienti eumque secanti <sup>a</sup>.

ALEXANDRIA. Abrenuncio tibi Satana, et omnibus operibus tuis immundis, et omnibus dæmoniis tuis nequam, et ministris tuis malis, et omni virtuti tuæ, et sordido tuo famulatui, et omnibus fraudibus tuis malignis et illecebris, et

GAUL. Abrenuncias Satanæ, pompis seculi, et voluptatibus ejus? *Respons.* Abrenuncio <sup>x</sup>.

ROME. Abrenuntias Satanæ? *Resp.* Abrenuntio. Et omnibus operibus ejus? *Resp.* Abrenuntio. Et omnibus pompis ejus? *Resp.* Abrenuntio <sup>y</sup>.

CONSTANTINOPLE. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ. They repeat it thrice after the priest, and then he asks them, Ἀπετάξασθε τῷ Σατανᾷ; they reply, Ἀπεταξάμεθα <sup>z</sup>.

JERUSALEM. Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾷ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>v</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 338. 341.

<sup>w</sup> Asseman, *Codex Liturgic.* tom. i. p. 237. 158. 172.

<sup>x</sup> Mabillon de *Liturgia Gall.* p. 364.

<sup>y</sup> Muratori *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* tom. i. p. 563.

<sup>z</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græcum.* p. 341.

<sup>a</sup> Asseman, *Codex Liturg.* tom. i. p. 237.

<sup>b</sup> Cyril Hierosolym. *Catechesis Mystagog.* 1. p. 279, &c. ed. Milles.

omni militiæ tuæ, et omni potestati tui, et reliquis omnibus impietatibus tuis. *Ter dicit,*  
Abrenuncio tibi <sup>e</sup>.

## SECTION III.

## THE PROFESSION OF FAITH.

The renunciation of Satan was always followed by a profession of faith in Christ, as it is now in the English ritual. However, different churches adopted different rules as to the time at which this profession was made. In the eastern churches of Constantinople, Antioch, &c. the profession was made immediately after the renunciation, as it is in the English ritual. In the Roman church, according to the sacramentary of Gelasius, the renunciation was made some time before the office of baptism, which only contained the profession<sup>d</sup>. The promise of obedience and faith in Christ was made by the catechumens and sponsors with their faces turned towards the east, as we learn from Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>e</sup> and many other writers.

Tertullian speaks of the profession of faith made at baptism, in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and in the church<sup>f</sup>. Cyprian mentions the interrogation, "Dost thou believe in eternal life, and remission of sins through the holy church<sup>g</sup>. Euse-

<sup>c</sup> Asseman, Codex Liturg. tom. i. p. 158.

<sup>d</sup> Sacramentary. Gelasii Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet. tom. i. p. 563. 570.

<sup>e</sup> Cyril. Hieros. Cat. Myst. i. p. 283. ed. Milles.

<sup>f</sup> Tertullian. de Baptismo, c. 6. "Quum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio

salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur ecclesiæ mentio: quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est." p. 226.

<sup>g</sup> "Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam cum dicimus, credis in vitam æternam, et

bius and many other Fathers also speak of the profession of faith made at this time<sup>g</sup>; and it is especially noted in the Apostolical Constitutions, which were written in the east at the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century<sup>h</sup>. The profession of faith in the eastern churches has generally been made by the sponsor, or the person to be baptized, not in the form of answers to questions, but by repeating the creed after the priest<sup>i</sup>. In the western churches the immemorial custom has been, for the priest to interrogate the candidate for baptism, or his sponsor, on the principal articles of the Christian faith. The profession was made in this manner in Gaul, as we find by the ancient Gallican missal, which was used before the introduction of the Roman liturgy and offices into France<sup>j</sup>. We also find that it was customary in Africa, by the testimony of Cyprian; and the ancient offices of the Roman church exhibit the same.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified,

*N. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem cœli et terræ?*

*Respondeant. Credo.*

*Item Sacerdos. Credis et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum natum et passum?*

*Respondeant. Credo.*

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remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam? Intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari." Cypr. Epist. ad Episcop. Numid.

<sup>g</sup> Euseb. Epist. ad Cæsarienses ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. 8.

August. Conf. lib. viii. c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 42.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. Cyril. Cat. Mystagog. i. p. 283. edit. Milles. Goar. Rituale Græc. p. 347.

<sup>j</sup> Miss. Gall. Vet. Mabillon de Lit. Gal. p. 364.

and buried; that he  
down into hell, and also  
ise again the third day;  
ie ascended into heaven,  
itteth at the right hand  
d the Father Almighty;  
rom thence shall come  
at the end of the world,  
dge the quick and the

*Item Sacerdos.* Credis et in  
Spiritus Sanctum, sanctam  
Ecclesiam Catholicam, Sanc-  
torum communionem, Remis-  
sionem peccatorum, carnis Re-  
surrectionem, et vitam æter-  
nam post mortem?

*Respondeant.* Credo <sup>k</sup>.

d dost thou believe in  
oly Ghost; the holy Ca-  
Church; the Commu-  
of Saints; the Remission  
is; the Resurrection of  
esh; and everlasting life  
death?

*wer.* All this I steadfastly  
e.

## SECTION IV.

### THE CONCLUDING QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

ie first interrogation and answer after the pro-  
on of faith do not occur, as far as I am aware,  
ie rituals of any of the eastern churches, but  
have long been used in the west. A manu-  
t of the church of Rheims in France, written  
ousand years ago, contains this form, as does

lanuale Sarisburiens. fol.  
See also Gelasii Sacram.  
tori, tom. i. p. 570. Many  
rn rituals, however, gave  
estions at greater length,  
ling all the articles of the  
les' Creed; for example,  
sacramentary of Bobio,  
n before the year 800.  
Muratori, Liturg. Rom.

Vet. tom. ii. p. 851. See also  
another sacramentary, 1000  
years old, in Martene de An-  
tiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 176.  
The candidates for baptism,  
or their sponsors, repeat the  
Constantinopolitan Creed on  
this occasion in the eastern  
churches.

another MS. above nine hundred years old<sup>1</sup>; and the English offices have long interposed it between the profession of faith and the administration of baptism. We do not, however, find this interrogation in the sacramentaries of Gelasius or Gregory, nor in the most ancient monuments of the Gallican church.

Wilt thou be baptized in this faith? *Item Sacerdos.* Vis baptizari?

*Answer.* That is my desire. *Respondeant.* Volo<sup>m</sup>.

The succeeding promise of obedience is of very great antiquity. Justin Martyr says that those who were to be baptized promised that they would live according to the rules of Christianity<sup>n</sup>. The Apostolical Constitutions, written about the end of the third century, appoint a promise of obedience, to be made after the renunciation of Satan, as the church of England does; but this promise precedes the profession of faith in the Constitutions<sup>o</sup>.

The form of promising obedience in the eastern churches, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions, and the rituals of the churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, together with the testimonies of Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, and others<sup>p</sup>, consisted of a solemn adoption of the service of Christ, and was generally conveyed

<sup>1</sup> Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 180. 192.

<sup>m</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 43.

<sup>n</sup> Ὅσοι ἂν πειθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὐχέσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἀφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συν-

ευχομένων καὶ συννηστεύοντων αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται. Justin Martyr, Apol. i. p. 88. ed. Thirlby.

<sup>o</sup> Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 42.

<sup>p</sup> Bingham's Antiquities, b. ii. c. 7. §. 6.



in a very few words; such as, "I give myself up to the government of Christ." The form of question and answer in which the promise of obedience in the English ritual is conveyed, has been adopted in order to preserve uniformity with the renunciations and professions, which have from time immemorial been made in that form by the English and all other western churches.

ENGLAND. Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?

*Answer.* I will.

ANTIOCH. Consentio tibi Christe Deus. Ego *N.* et omni doctrinæ, quæ a te divinitus tradita est per Prophetas, Apostolos, et Sanctos Patres. Confiteor et credo, et baptizor in te, et Patre tuo, et in Spiritu tuo vivo et Sancto ¶.

ALEXANDRIA. Confiteor te Christe Deus noster, et omnes leges tuas salutare, et omnem religionem tuam vivificam, et omnia opera tua, quæ vitam impertiuntur<sup>r</sup>.

CONSTANTINOPLE. Καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ . . . *Interrogat eos, Συνεράξασθε τῷ Χριστῷ; Et dicunt, Συνεραξάμεθα*<sup>s</sup>.

## SECTION V.

### THE BENEDICTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE WATER.

We have now considered all the preparatory parts of the office of Baptism. These parts were sometimes separated by an interval of time from the administration of the sacrament; but the remainder of the office has most commonly been all repeated at the same time. The part of the English baptismal office which I consider at present, consists of benedictions of the candidate for baptism, and of the

¶ Rituale Syrorum, Asseman. Codex Lit. tom. i. p. 238.

<sup>r</sup> Rituale Copt. Asseman.

Codex Liturg. tom. i. p. 159.

<sup>s</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 341.

water prepared for the administration of the sacrament. We find in many ancient rituals that these benedictions were conveyed in a form which bore a near resemblance to that of the eucharist. Thus in the Gallican church the benediction was preceded by the form of *Sursum corda*, "Lift up your hearts," &c. and then began, "It is very meet and right, O holy Lord, Father Almighty, eternal God," &c. It then proceeded to commemorate the mercies of God in a thanksgiving, in the course of which God was implored to sanctify the water, and send down his Holy Spirit, and to confer various benefits on those who were to be baptized therein<sup>t</sup>. The benediction of the font in the church of Constantinople is made in a manner similar to that just described, except that it does not begin with *Sursum corda*<sup>u</sup>. In like manner we find the benediction of the font and solemn prayers in the church of Antioch to have begun with thanksgiving, and afterwards proceeded to prayer, benediction, and invocation of the Holy Spirit<sup>v</sup>. In the patriarchate of Alexandria the consecration of the font begins with *Sursum corda*, &c. then the priest makes a thanksgiving, as in the liturgy, or eucharist, in the course of which the deacon commands those that sit to arise, and look towards the east; and, at the close, the people all repeat *Tersanctus*. And then the priest proceeds to pray for the Holy Spirit to bless the water, and those that are to be baptized therein, and to give them remission of their sins, and regeneration, &c.

<sup>t</sup> Missale Gothicum, Mabilon, Lit. Gallican. p. 247. Missale Gallican. vetus, ibid. p. 363. Sacramentar. Gallican. Bobiense, Muratori Lit. Rom.

Vet. tom. ii. p. 849.

<sup>u</sup> Goar, Rituale Græcum, p. 352.

<sup>v</sup> Rituale Syr. Asseman. Codex Liturg. tom. ii. p. 218.

the close of this prayer and consecration the people all repeat the Lord's Prayer<sup>w</sup>. All this bears remarkable similarity to the eastern liturgies. However, we do not find, in the ancient sacramentary of Gelasius, that the benediction of the font resembled that of the eucharist<sup>x</sup>. Nor does similarity appear in the sacramentary of Gregory Great<sup>y</sup>. However, in subsequent times the benediction in the Roman church, and in several other eastern churches, was preceded by the form of *sum corda, &c.*<sup>z</sup>; which custom may perhaps have been derived from the eastern churches, or from the churches of Gaul. In most of the old manuals we find that the font was hallowed with various ceremonies besides prayer. It was customary to make the sign of the cross, as we learn from the testimony of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Pseudo-nysius<sup>a</sup>. The Roman church, and the monasteries of Armenia, pour chrism, or holy ointment composed of oil and balsam, into the water. The church of Constantinople does not<sup>b</sup>. Various others have been devised by the Christian churches, some of which are used in one place, and some in

Rituale Copt. Alexandrin.  
man. Codex Liturg. tom.  
. 169—176. Compare this  
with the canon of the Coptic  
of Basil, Renaudot. Li-  
. Oriental. Collectio, tom.  
13, &c.  
Sacramentar. Gelasii, Mu-  
ri, tom. i. p. 568, &c.  
Sacramentar. Gregorii à  
Lugdun. p. 71.  
Martene de Antiq. Eccl.  
tom. i. p. 176. 185. 189.  
Manuale Rom. p. 176.  
Chrysost. Hom. 54. al. 55.

in Matt. p. 475. ed. Commelin.  
Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τελείνται τὰ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέη, σταυ-  
ρὸς παραγίνεται, &c. Augustin.  
Hom. 27. olim 50. tom. x. p.  
175. "Quia Baptismus, id est,  
aqua salutis, non est salutis,  
nisi Christi nomine consecrata,  
qui pro nobis sanguinem fudit,  
cruce ipsius aqua signatur."  
See also Dionys. de Hierarch.  
Eccl. c. 2.  
<sup>b</sup> Asseman. tom. ii. p. 207.  
note 1.

another. But every church is to be left to her own liberty as to the rites of consecration; for not only do we find, from the Apostolical Constitutions, that the consecration of the water was originally made only by prayer<sup>c</sup>, as it is in the English ritual; but it has always been held by orthodox divines, that the sanctification of the water is not necessary to the effectual administration of the sacrament of regeneration.

The following benedictions as to substance are found in the most ancient monuments of the eastern and western churches; and the form in which they are conveyed, according to which, the response of Amen frequently occurs, is visible, not only in all the most ancient western benedictions of the people, but in the office for consecrating the water in the Alexandrian church<sup>d</sup>.

It is worthy of notice, that the English ritual, in directing that the water should be sanctified for every occasion on which baptism is to be administered, is supported by the ancient and immemorial practice of the churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and the other eastern churches<sup>e</sup>. The Roman church only appoints the water to be changed, and new water to be consecrated, when that which has been in the font becomes unfit for use<sup>f</sup>.

O merciful God, grant that  
the old Adam in this child may  
be so buried, that the new

Domine Deus æterne . . . fiat  
locus iste dignus, in quem Spi-  
ritus Sanctus infuat : sepelia-

<sup>c</sup> Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Rituale Alexandrin. Copt. Asseman. tom. ii. p. 173.

<sup>e</sup> Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 352, 353.

<sup>f</sup> Rituale Romanum, p. 6. de Materia Baptismi.

man may be raised up in him.  
*Amen.*

Grant that all carnal affections may die in him, and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in him.  
*Amen.*

Grant that he may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph, against the Devil, the world, and the flesh. *Amen.*

Grant that whosoever is here dedicated to thee by our office and ministry may also be endowed with heavenly virtues, and everlastingly rewarded, through thy mercy, O blessed Lord God, who dost live, and govern all things, world without end. *Amen.*

Almighty, everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood; and gave commandment to his disciples, that they should go teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;

Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation; sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin; and grant that this child,

tur hic illic Adam vetus, resurgat novus:

Moriatur omne quod carnis est, resurgat omne quod Spiritus . . .

. . . Quicumque hic renunciauerint Diabolo, da eis triumphare de mundo. Qui te in hoc loco invocaverit, tu eum cognoscas in regno . . .

Quicumque hic se sibi negaverit, te lucrifaciat: et per ministerium nostrum, et mysterium tuum consecratus tibi populus, æternis ad te præmiis consecretur. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Benedico te (*sc.* aquam) et per Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum . . . qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit, et discipulis suis jussit ut credentes baptizarentur in te, dicens; ite docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

Hæc nobis præcepta servantibus, tu Deus omnipotens, clemens adesto, tu benignus aspice, tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito, ut præter na-

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g Missale Gallican. Vetus, apud Mabillon de Liturg. Gall. p. 363.

another. But every church is to be left to her own liberty as to the rites of consecration; for not only do we find, from the Apostolical Constitutions, that the consecration of the water was originally made only by prayer<sup>c</sup>, as it is in the English ritual; but it has always been held by orthodox divines, that the sanctification of the water is not necessary to the effectual administration of the sacrament of regeneration.

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O merciful God, grant that  
the old Adam in this child may  
be so buried, that the new

Domine Deus æternæ . . . fiat  
locus iste dignus, in quem Spi-  
ritus Sanctus influat: sepelia-

<sup>c</sup> Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Rituale Alexandrin. Copt. Asseman. tom. ii. p. 173.

<sup>e</sup> Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 352, 353.

<sup>f</sup> Rituale Romanum, p. 6. de Materia Baptismi.

may be raised up in him.

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¶.

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r and strength to have  
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Devil, the world, and the  
 . *Amen.*

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mighty, everliving God,  
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of our sins, did shed out  
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tur hic illic Adam vetus, re-  
surgat novus :

Moriatur omne quod carnis  
est, resurgat omne quod Spi-  
ritus . . .

. . . Quicumque hic renun-  
ciaverint Diabolo, da eis tri-  
umphare de mundo. Qui te in  
hoc loco invocaverit, tu eum  
cognoscas in regno . . .

Quicumque hic se sibi nega-  
verit, te lucrifaciat : et per  
ministerium nostrum, et mys-  
terium tuum consecratus tibi  
populus, æternis ad te præmiis  
consecratur. Per Dominum  
nostrum Jesum Christum ꝑ.

Benedico te (*sc. aquam*) et  
per Jesum Christum Filium  
ejus unicum Dominum nostrum  
. . . qui te una cum sanguine  
de latere suo produxit, et dis-  
cipulis suis jussit ut credentes  
baptizarentur in te, dicens, ite  
docete omnes gentes, bapti-  
zantes eos in nomine Patris, et  
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Hæc nobis præcepta servan-  
tibus, tu Deus omnipotens, cle-  
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Missale Gallican. Vetus, apud Mabillon de Liturg. Gall.

13.

now to be baptized therein, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful and elect children ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

turalem emundationem, quam lavandis possunt adhibere corporibus, sint etiam purificandis mentibus efficaces<sup>h</sup>. Adimple eum (*puerum*) gratia Spiritus tui Sancti . . . ne sit filius carnis, sed filius thalami tui nuptialis, et hæres regni tui inamissibilis atque perennis<sup>i</sup>.

## SECTION VI.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM.

The churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, have from time immemorial administered the sacrament of baptism immediately after the water was consecrated<sup>j</sup>; and the English ritual has appointed the same order. According to the ancient customs of the Roman church, represented in the sacramentary of Gregory, the profession of faith occurs between the hallowing of the water and the administration of the sacrament<sup>k</sup>. We find that this custom has been long used in the Roman church ; since the sacramentary of Gelasius, A. D. 494, appointed the confession of faith to be made immediately before baptism, though the renunciations were made some hours before<sup>l</sup>. The English ritual appoints baptism to be administered “ in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” which was the form directed by our Saviour Jesus Christ, and which has ever been used

<sup>h</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 41. Sacr. Gregorii, p. 72. Sacr. Gelasii, Muratori, tom. i. p. 569.

<sup>i</sup> Rituale Copt. Alexandrin. Asseman. tom. ii. p. 151.

<sup>j</sup> Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 355. Asseman. tom. ii. p. 225. 180.

<sup>k</sup> Menard. Sacr. Gregorii, p. 73.

<sup>l</sup> Muratori, tom. i. Sacr. Gelasii p. 570.



the Christian church. We find indeed from ancient rituals, that certain additions were made to the words in some churches, but the substance of the words used by the English church is found in the Christian rituals.

ENGLAND. *N.* I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

CONSTANTINOPLE. *Βαπτίζεται* οὗτος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ δέσνα. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. *Nōn* καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ALEXANDRIA. Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris. Amen. Et te baptizo *N.* in nomine Spiritus Sancti.

ARMENIA. *N.* Baptizatur in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Redemptus sanguine Christi a servitute peccatorum, consequitur libertatem adoptionis filiorum Patris, ut fiat coheres Christi, et amplius Spiritus Sancti, et semper, et in sæcula ætatorum<sup>o</sup>.

GAUL. Baptizo te credentem in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; ut habeas vitam æternam in sæcula sæculorum *P.*—*Another form.* Baptizo te *III.* in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in remissionem peccatorum; ut habeas vitam æternam. Amen<sup>q</sup>.

ANTIOCH. Baptizatur *N.* in nomine Patris. Amen. Et Filii. Amen. Et Spiritus vivi et Sancti in vitam sæculi sæculorum<sup>r</sup>.

ROME. Et ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti<sup>s</sup>.

CHALDÆA. Ego baptizo te *N.* serve Christi, in nomine Patris. *Respondent.* Amen. Et Filii. *Respondent.* Amen. Et Spiritus Sancti in sæcula. *Respondent.* Amen<sup>t</sup>.

Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 355.  
Lituale Copt. Alexandrin.  
nan. Codex Liturg. tom.  
180.  
Lituale Armen. Asseman.  
r Liturgic. tom. ii. p. 200.  
Missale Gallican. Vetus,  
London, Liturg. Gall. p. 364.

<sup>q</sup> Missale Gothicum, Mabil-  
lon, Lit. Gall. p. 248.

<sup>r</sup> Rituale Syrorum Asseman.  
Codex, tom. ii. p. 225.

<sup>s</sup> Sacr. Gregorii, p. 73.

<sup>t</sup> Rituale Chaldæor. Nesto-  
rian. ac Malabaror. Asseman.  
Codex Liturg. tom. ii. p. 212.

## SECTION VII.

## SIGNING WITH THE CROSS.

We learn from Tertullian that the Christians were accustomed to sign their foreheads with the sign of the cross in all the actions of their lives<sup>u</sup>; and it may well be supposed that such a custom would be also employed in religious offices and prayers. Accordingly we find that this sign was made in some part of almost every Christian office. Omitting, however, all consideration of the use of this sign in the liturgy, and other parts of divine service, let us notice briefly the accounts which we have of the sign of the cross, as used in the rites of baptism. The sign of the cross was made on those persons who in primitive times were admitted to the class of catechumens, and it was often repeated during the course of their instruction<sup>v</sup>. The candidates for baptism in the eastern church about the fourth century were three times signed in the forehead, before the water was consecrated, and baptism administered<sup>w</sup>. In many churches also the water was consecrated with the sign of the cross, and prayer<sup>x</sup>. It is manifest from this, that in primitive times the sign of the cross was not only made on the forehead of the elect at the time of baptism, but was used very often in other ways. It does not

<sup>u</sup> "Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quæcumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus." Tertull. de Corona Militis, c. 3.

<sup>v</sup> See Bingham's Antiquities, book x. c. 1. §. 3. and c. 2. §. 8.

<sup>w</sup> Dionys. Hierarch. Eccl. c. 2.

<sup>x</sup> See Dionysius Areop. Augustin. and Chrysostom, cited by Bingham, book ii. c. 10. §. 3.

that any of the most ancient rituals appointed sign of the cross to be made on the forehead of a person exactly at the time which the English ritual directs. The position of this consignation therefore be regarded as originally peculiar to churches of the British empire, though the act is probably not more recent than the apostolical. The form of words with which the priest directed to administer this rite in the English ritual is not devoid of resemblance to forms used in all ancient rituals on similar occasions.

LAND. We receive this into the congregation of thy flock, and do sign him the sign of the cross, in that hereafter he shall be ashamed to confess the name of Christ crucified, and to fight under his banner against sin, the world, the Devil; and to continue thy faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end. *Amen.*  
 R. Trado tibi signaculum in fide catholica perpetuum et habebis vitam æternam, as in sæcula sæculorum.

BOBIO. Accipe signum crucis tam in fronte quam in corde. Semper esto fidelis. Templum Dei ingredere—Credo Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et Jesum Christum filium ejus, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem, cum Spiritu Sancto in sæcula sæculorum<sup>2</sup>.

CONSTANTINOPLE. *Σημειωθήτω ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ φεύγειν τὴν ματαίωτα τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ πάσαν τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ ἔχθροῦ, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ τοῖς προστάγμασί σου<sup>2</sup>.*

[Manuale Sarisb. fol. 37. Also Martene, tom. i. p. who quotes it from a MS. written in France, written 1032. Missale Bobiense, 1100

years old, Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet. tom. ii. p. 848. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 37.  
<sup>2</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 321.

## SECTION VIII.

## CONCLUSION OF THE OFFICE.

The administration of baptism was succeeded by various rites in the primitive church. In Gaul, Spain, and Milan, the priest washed the feet of the newly baptized<sup>b</sup>; but this ceremony has long become obsolete in all parts of the Christian church. At this time also the newly baptized received a taste of milk and honey<sup>c</sup>, and were clothed in white garments<sup>d</sup>. But the former of these rites has long been extinct in almost all parts of the church<sup>e</sup>, and the English church has not deemed it expedient to continue the latter. Formerly also, confirmation followed immediately after baptism<sup>f</sup>. And in the eastern churches, where presbyters are permitted to confirm, the same custom prevails to the present day<sup>g</sup>. But as the discipline of the western churches has not so far relaxed as to concede to presbyters the power of administering confirmation ordinarily, it became necessary that when they administered baptism, confirmation should be deferred to some future time, when the bishop was present.

<sup>b</sup> See Bingham's Antiquities, book xii. ch. 4. sect. 10. Compare Miss. Goth. p. 231; Miss. Gall. Vet. p. 364; Mabillon, Liturg. Gallican. This rite was abolished in Spain by the council of Eliberis.

<sup>c</sup> Tertullian de Corona Militis, c. iii. p. 102, speaks of this as one of the ancient traditions of the church. It is also mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, and Jerome, &c. See Bingham, book xii. ch. 4. §. 6.

<sup>d</sup> See Bingham *ut supra* §. 1. This custom is still preserved in some degree in many rituals of the east and west.

<sup>e</sup> I say *almost* all, because the Æthiopians or Abyssinians still retain this and many other rites of immense antiquity. See Ludolfi Hist. Æthiopic. lib. iii. c. 6. No. 34.

<sup>f</sup> See Bingham, b. xii. c. 1.  
<sup>g</sup> Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 355, 356.

The conclusion of the office of baptism resembles that described in the Apostolical Constitutions, where the newly baptized are directed to repeat the Lord's Prayer and another concluding prayer<sup>h</sup>. An order also, somewhat similar to ours, is observable in the monuments of the ancient Gallican church.

Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits; and with one accord make our prayers unto him, that this child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed, &c.

We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church. And humbly we beseech thee to grant, that he being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being

Laudes et gratias Domino referamus, fratres dilectissimi, quod augere dignatus est ecclesiæ suæ congregationem per caros nostros, qui modo baptizati sunt. Petamus ergo de Domini misericordia ut baptismum sanctum, quod acceperunt, illibatum, inviolatum, et immaculatum perferant ante tribunal Christi.

Domine Deus omnipotens, famulos tuos, quos jussisti renasci ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto; conserva in eis baptismum sanctum quod acceperunt, et in nominis tui sanctificationem perficere dignare, ut proficiat in illos gratia tua semper, et quod te ante donante susceperunt, vitæ suæ integritate custodiant<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> Apost. Const. lib. vii. c. 44, 45.

<sup>i</sup> Miss. Bobiense ante annos 1100. scriptum. Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet. tom. ii. p. 852.

This may also be compared with the prayer in the ritual of the monophysites of An-

tioch. "Deus qui redemptionem per Christum tuum tribuisti nobis, et dedisti huic famulo tuo, qui baptizatus est, regenerationem per Spiritum tuum Sanctum. Tu Domine, hominum amator, adjuva et conserva eum in sanctitate,

buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin; and that as he is made partaker of the death of thy Son, he may also be partaker of his resurrection; so that finally, with the residue of thy holy church, he may be an inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The office of baptism is followed by an exhortation addressed to the sponsors, instructing them in their duties towards the child recently baptized. The ancient offices of the churches of Salisbury and York appointed a similar exhortation to be made on the same occasion<sup>j</sup>. What may be the antiquity of this custom I know not. Nor have I observed a similar order in any of the western offices, except in those of the English church, and in an ancient ritual of the church of Limoges in France, published by Martene<sup>k</sup>.

## SECTION IX.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRIVATE BAPTISM.

The catholic church has always been accustomed to permit the private baptism of persons who are unable from sickness to receive that sacrament in public. In such cases of necessity baptism was administered with

fulgentem lumine tuo, et coram sacro altari tuo adstantem: dignum effice eum beatitudine tua cœlesti; quoniam gloriosum est nomen tuum, semperque benedictum, nunc et semper et in sæcula sæculorum." Ordo sacri baptismatis auctore

Severo patriarcha Antiocheno monophysita. Asseman. Cod. Lit. tom. ii. p. 305.

<sup>j</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 43. Manuale Eboracens. ad finem baptismi.

<sup>k</sup> Martene, tom. i. p. 208 —

very few forms, and often consisted of nothing more than the affusion of water on the person baptized; with a repetition of the words of baptism. It is unnecessary for me to enter on the discussion relative to the proper ministers of baptism, which has been treated with his usual learning by Bingham, in his *Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism*. The church of England has not encouraged the practice of baptizing children by the hands of laymen or women, even in urgent cases. But it cannot with reason be apprehended, that infants who depart before baptism can be administered, are without the benefits of that sacrament. Because the catholic church has always held that the wish to receive baptism is sufficient in a case of necessity; and if the church who hath the power of administering this sacrament, be prevented by the visitation of God from fulfilling her intentions, her desire and wish are sufficient to remove apprehension<sup>1</sup>. It is needless to make any lengthened observations on the practice of the church of England in the administration of baptism in private. The minister is directed to perform the office, by repeating the Lord's Prayer, and any other collects of the office of public baptism which the time permits. Amongst these it would certainly seem proper that the benedictions beginning "O merciful God, grant that the old Adam," &c. and the following prayer for the sanctification of the font of water should be used. For we observe that in the ancient offices for the baptism of the sick in the church of Constantinople, and in the sacramentary of Gelasius, there is a short form for consecrating the water<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hooker, b. viii. 60.

Gelasii Sacramentar. Muratori,

<sup>m</sup> Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 370. tom. i. p. 595, &c.

The rules of the English church, as to supplying that portion of the rites of baptism which was omitted in a case of private baptism, are nearly the same as those which prevailed before the reformation of our offices<sup>n</sup>.

The rubric informs us, that we should “not doubt but that the child so baptized is lawfully and sufficiently baptized, and ought not to be baptized again.” This is also a rubric in the manual of the church of Salisbury<sup>o</sup>. In case the child recovers, the rubric directs him to be brought into church; and if the minister himself baptized the child, he is directed to notify it to the congregation; but if he did not, he is directed to inquire whether the sacrament was rightly performed, and in like manner to notify to the congregation the validity of that baptism. This is also prescribed in the manual of the church of Salisbury, except the two cases of notification<sup>p</sup>. After notifying to the congregation the validity of the private baptism, the priest is directed to perform the whole office of baptism, with the exception of the benediction and consecration of the water before mentioned: and the same directions occur in the manuals of Salisbury and York<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 44.

<sup>o</sup> “Et si puer fuerit baptizatus secundum illam formam, caveat sibi unusquisque ne iterum eundem baptizet.” Manuale Sar. fol. 44.

<sup>p</sup> “Sed si hujusmodi parvuli convallescant, deferantur ad ecclesiam, et dicantur super eos exorcismi et catechismi cum unctionibus et omnibus aliis supradictis præter immersionem aquæ et formam baptismi, quæ omnino sunt omittenda—.

Et ideo si laicus baptizaverit puerum antequam deferatur ad ecclesiam, interroget sacerdos diligenter quid dixerit, et quid fecerit: et si invenerit laicum discrete et debito modo baptizasse, et formam verborum baptismi ut supra in suo idiomate integre pertulisse, approbet factum, et non rebaptizet eum.” Man. Sarisb. fol. 44. Eboracens. ad finem baptismi.

<sup>q</sup> See former part of last note.



In case the priest should doubt from the answers of those who bring the child, whether it was lawfully baptized, a form of proceeding is appointed, which is also prescribed by the ancient rubrics of the English churches.

But if they which bring the infant to the church do make such uncertain answers to the priest's questions, as that it cannot appear that the child was baptized with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (which are essential parts of baptism,) then let the priest baptize it in the form before appointed for public baptism of infants; saving that at the dipping of the child in the font, he shall use this form of words :

If thou art not already baptized, *N.* I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

*Si vero dubitet rationabiliter sacerdos utrum infans ad baptizandum sibi oblatus prius in forma debita fuerit baptizatus, vel non : debet omnia perficere cum eo sicut cum alio quem constat sibi non baptizatum, præterquam quod verba sacramentalia essentialia proferre debeat sub conditione, hoc modo dicendo :*

*N. si baptizatus es, ego non rebaptizo te : sed si nondum baptizatus es, ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen* †.

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† *Manuale Sarisb. fol. 44, 45. Eboracens. ad finem baptismi.*

## CHAPTER VI.

## CONFIRMATION.



## SECTION I.

## ANCIENT RITES OF CONFIRMATION.

**T**HE rite of confirmation (which is sometimes called a sacrament by the Fathers, though not in the same high and peculiar sense as baptism and the eucharist<sup>a</sup>) was regarded as an appendix to the sacrament of baptism. Not indeed that baptism was in any way imperfect or invalid without confirmation; but that the grace which the Holy Spirit communicated at baptism, for the remission of sins and regeneration, was increased and strengthened by confirmation. In primitive times, when many persons were baptized together on the vigils of Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany, in the presence or by the hands of the bishop, the newly baptized, after ascending from the water, were immediately confirmed by him, with imposition of hands and

<sup>a</sup> The Fathers gave the name of *sacrament* or *mystery* to every thing which conveyed one signification or property to unassisted reason, and another to faith. Hence Cyprian speaks of the "sacraments" of the Lord's Prayer, meaning the hidden meaning conveyed therein, which could only be appreciated by a Christian. The Fathers sometimes speak of

confirmation as a sacrament, because the chrism signified the grace of the Holy Ghost; and the imposition of hands was not merely a bare sign, but the form by which it was conveyed: see Bingham, book xii. c. 1. sect. 4. Yet at the same time they continually speak of *two* great sacraments of the Christian church.

prayer for the Holy Ghost. In after-ages, when baptisms were administered in many other churches besides the cathedral, and the presbyters and deacons received a commission from their bishops to administer this sacrament, it became necessary either to disjoin confirmation from baptism, or to give presbyters a commission to perform both. The former course has been followed by the western churches of England, &c. where confirmation is always administered by the bishop, and generally several years after baptism; and the latter has been adopted by the patriarchate of Constantinople and all the eastern churches, in which presbyters have, from time immemorial, been permitted to confirm; and in those churches confirmation is always administered to infants immediately after baptism. To the apostolical rites of prayer and imposition of hands, the church added that of anointing with an unguent or chrism, made of oil and balsam, and hallowed by the prayers of the bishop. It is difficult, if not impossible, to state the period at which the use of chrism was introduced into the church; but we learn from the writings of Tertullian and Origen, that it was already customary both in the east and west at the end of the second or beginning of the third century<sup>b</sup>. This chrism was intended to signify the grace of the Holy Spirit then conferred.

Notwithstanding the antiquity of chrism in the church, yet the imposition of hands is still more

<sup>b</sup> Tertull. de Baptismo, c. 7. "Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta uncti-one—" c. 8. "dehinc manus

imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum." Origen. Hom. ix. in Levit.

primitive<sup>c</sup>. By this rite, accompanied with prayer, the apostles conferred the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit; and in the same manner the successors of the apostles communicated those spiritual gifts which are not perceived by the senses, but by faith.

In all the rituals of the Christian church, and in those of the Monophysites and Nestorians, who have in some respects separated from the apostolic doctrines, we find prayers at confirmation, in which the bishop or his representative invokes the grace of the Holy Spirit on those who are to be confirmed: and in almost all we find this prayer preceded or followed by an imposition of hands. The ancient Roman order, according to the sacramentary of Gelasius, and the *ordo Romanus*, and many other monuments, directed the bishop to give the imposition of hands to all the candidates at the same time, whilst he invoked the manifold gifts of the Holy Ghost for them<sup>d</sup>. In the church of Alexandria a similar invocation was followed by an imposition of hands and a benediction. The Nestorians, who separated from the catholic church about A. D. 431, still retain the imposition of hands on each individual, followed by a benediction and prayer<sup>e</sup>. The churches

<sup>c</sup> Sirmond, a learned Jesuit, admits the imposition of hands to be the peculiar rite of confirmation, to which the church added chrism. See his sentiments at p. 341, 352 of the *Anæreticus Petri Aurelii*, Paris, 1633. Habertus and Estius agree with him. See Bingham's *Antiq.* book xii. c. 3. §. 2.

<sup>d</sup> *Sacramentar. Gelasii*, Muratori, tom. i. p. 571. "Deinde

ab episcopo datur eis Spiritus septiformis. Ad consignandum imponit eis manum in his verbis." *Ordo Romanus* apud Hittorp. p. 83. "Pontifex vero veniens ad infantes—elevata et imposita manu super capita omnium, det orationem super eos, cum invocatione septiformis gratiæ Spiritus Sancti."

<sup>e</sup> *Rituale Copt. Alexandrin.* Assemani, tom. iii. p. 84. *Ordo Chald. Nestorian.* ib. p. 138.

Constantinople, of Armenia, and of Antioch and Jerusalem, all desire prayer to be made for the Holy Spirit<sup>f</sup>, but they do not seem directly to notice the imposition of hands. However, we know that originally it was used in the east by the testimony of Apostolical Constitutions<sup>g</sup>. Nor may we justly say that these churches are devoid of a valid confirmation, because they retain the prayer for the Holy Spirit: and if we do not reckon the imposition of hands in the anointing to be the original form, it may yet suffice; since we have no reason to judge that the ancient form was omitted from any church. It should be noticed, that the imposition of hands seems not to have been given to each individual in the ancient Roman ritual<sup>h</sup>, though in the patriarchate of Alexandria, and in Chaldea, such a rite appears to have prevailed<sup>i</sup>. And although the rubric of England has directed the bishop to lay his hand on the head of each individual with a benediction, yet the ancient rite of the Roman church, in which the bishop lifted up his hands over all the

Joar, Rit. Græc. p. 355.

Confirm. Armen. Asse-  
Codex, tom. iii. p. 118.

Syror. ib. p. 149, 155.

ἄντα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα  
ἐκάστου γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς  
εὐχίας ἐστὶν αὐτῆ. Apost.  
lib. vii. c. 44. p. 381.  
lerici.

This appears from the ancient Ordo Romanus, where, as stated in note <sup>d</sup>, the bishop is said to invoke the grace of the Holy Spirit on the children.

“elevatâ et impositâ super capita omnium;” then, the prayer being

ended, and the deacons asking the name of each of the children, “Pontifex tincto pollice in chrismate, faciat crucem in frontibus *singulorum* ita dicendo,” &c. p. 83. This form coincides with that appointed by the Roman Pontificale de Confirmandis, except that the rubric does not distinctly recognise it as an imposition of hands. “Tunc extensis *versus* confirmandos manibus,” is somewhat different from “elevatâ et impositâ manu super capita omnium.”

<sup>i</sup> See note <sup>e</sup>, p. 200.

candidates at the same time, and blessed them, ought not to be blamed, or considered invalid.

## SECTION II.

### CONFIRMATION OFFICE.

The office of confirmation begins with a preface or address, in which the bishop, or some person appointed by him, reminds the candidates for confirmation of the promises made by their sureties, which they must now themselves renew. This preface, and the following question of the bishop, in which he inquires whether the candidates for confirmation renew the solemn promises and vows made for them at baptism, are probably peculiar to the English office of confirmation; but it would be difficult to find any fault in them; and as we know that the office of baptism in the primitive Gallican church commenced with a preface or address, and there were always questions and vows made in that office, it seems very consistent with ancient customs to place an address and question in the cognate office of confirmation.

After the reply of the candidates in the affirmative, the office proceeds with some versicles and responses, which in ancient times formed the beginning of the office in the English church of Salisbury.

*The Bishop.*

Our help is in the name of the Lord;

*Answer.* Who made heaven and earth.

*Bishop.* Blessed be the name of the Lord;

*Imprimis dicat Episcopus,*

*Vers.* Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

*Resp.* Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

*Vers.* Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

*Answer.* Henceforth, world  
without end.

*Resp.* Ex hoc nunc et usque  
in sæculum.

*Bishop.* Lord, hear our  
prayers.

*Vers.* Dominus vobiscum.

*Answer.* And let our cry  
come unto thee.

*Resp.* Et cum spiritu tuo<sup>k</sup>.

The following prayer is one of very great antiquity, and is found in the sacramentary of Gelasius, of Gregory, and of many of the western churches. Originally it was accompanied by the imposition of hands; that is, the bishop held his hands raised over the heads of all who were to be confirmed, while he repeated it, as we may perceive by the sacramentary of Gelasius, and the old *ordo Romanus*, and also by the sacramentary of Leofric bishop of Exeter, where it is entitled, *Ad manús impositionem*<sup>1</sup>. As the following prayer is found in the sacramentary of Gelasius, we may say that it is at least as old as the year 494; but it is probably much more ancient. The invocation of the Holy Spirit, or prayer for his grace, seems essential to this rite, and we may justly conclude that the following prayer is one of the most important parts of the whole office. In every ritual now extant in the world, whether of the western or eastern churches, we find a similar form to that of the English ritual, which has been used by our church for above twelve hundred years.

*The Bishop.* Let us pray.

Almighty and everliving God,  
who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost,

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos tuos ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedisti

<sup>k</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 156.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Leofr. fol. 286.

and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins ; strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace ; the spirit of wisdom and understanding ; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength ; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness ; and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of thy holy fear, now and for ever. *Amen.*

eis remissionem omnium peccatorum : immitta in eos septiformem Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum de caelis : spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus ; spiritum scientiæ et pietatis ; spiritum consilii et fortitudinis ; et imple eos spiritu timoris Domini<sup>m</sup>.

The solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit is followed by the imposition of hands, which is given to each individual while the bishop repeats a benediction. As I have before observed, this imposition of hands does not seem, in early times, to have been given to every distinct individual in the Roman church ; nor have we any account of it in the other churches of the west ; but the rituals of Chaldea and Alexandria both direct the priest or bishop to give the imposition of hands to every separate person ; though the former does not prescribe any particular benediction in each case, but one general prayer after the individual imposition of hands<sup>n</sup>. In the Alexandrian ritual, as in the English, there is first a general prayer for the Holy Spirit, and after-

<sup>m</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 156. Miss. Leofr. fol. 286. Sacram. Gregorii a Menard. p. 74. Muratori, Sacram. Gelasii, tom. i. p. 571. Compare Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 249. where it is copied from the

pontifical of Egbert, abp. of York, in the eighth century. See also the other orders which he gives.

<sup>n</sup> Assemani Cod. Lit. tom. iii. p. 138.



is a particular benediction, accompanied with imposition of hands on each individual<sup>o</sup>.

Then follows the Lord's Prayer. I do not find the churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Rome, Milan, or any others in the west, have ever used it in this place. But it is unnecessary to determine the use of this prayer on any occasion, as no orthodox Christian can object to it. However, in the patriarchate of Antioch it has long been customary for the people to recite the Lord's Prayer : confirmation has been administered<sup>p</sup>. The Church of England has used it in this place since the review of the ritual in A. D. 1661.

The collect which follows the Lord's Prayer has been used, with some variation, for many centuries in the churches of England : we find it in the manual of Salisbury, and in a manuscript pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, in the middle of the eighth century ; from which last I transcribe the following ritual.

Almighty and everliving God, make us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy divine Majesty ; We make our humble supplications unto thee for thy servants, upon whom we have now laid hands, to certify them (by the sign) of thy favour and

Deus, qui Apostolis tuis Spiritum dedisti, et per eos, eorumque successores, cæteris fidelibus tradendum esse voluisti ; respice propitius ad humilitatis nostræ famulatum, et præsta ut eorum earumque corda, quorum vel quarum hodie frontem delinivimus et signo crucis confirmavimus, Spiritus Sanctus adveniens, tem-

<sup>p</sup> Assemani Cod. Lit. tom. 82, 84.

<sup>p</sup> Assemani Codex, Rituale Syrorum, p. 156, 171, 178.

gracious goodness towards them. Let thy fatherly hand, we beseech thee, ever be over them; let thy Holy Spirit ever be with them; and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that in the end they may obtain everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

plum gloriæ suæ dignanter inhabitando perficiat. Per<sup>q</sup>.

The collect which succeeds is a most excellent form, but I am not aware that it is very ancient, or that it can be traced in the primitive formularies of the English church, or of any other. The benediction at the conclusion is directed by the manual of Salisbury; and we find very long benedictions used at this place by the English church in the eighth century, according to the pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York<sup>r</sup>.

The blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be upon you, and remain with you for ever.  
*Amen.*

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen<sup>s</sup>.

The rubric at the conclusion is also derived from the ancient practice of the English church.

<sup>q</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 156. Pontificale Egberti ap. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom.

i. p. 249.

<sup>r</sup> Pontif. Egberti ut supra.

<sup>s</sup> Man. Sarisb. ut supra.

d there shall none be ad-  
d to the holy communion,  
such time as he be con-  
d, or be ready and desir-  
o be confirmed.

Item nullus debet admitti ad  
sacramentum corporis et san-  
guinis Christi Jesu, extra mor-  
tis articulum, nisi fuerit confir-  
matus, vel a receptione sacra-  
menti confirmationis fuerit ra-  
tionabiliter impeditus †.

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† Man. Sarisb. fol. 46. Man. Ebor. ad finem Baptismi.

## CHAPTER VII.

## M A T R I M O N Y .

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**T**HERE can be no reasonable doubt that the office of matrimony has from the earliest period been performed by the ministers of the Christian church. Tertullian asks, "How shall I sufficiently declare the happiness of that marriage which the church makes, the oblation confirms, and the benediction seals<sup>a</sup>?" We find frequent mention made of the benediction of marriage, and of the rites which attended it, by Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and other Fathers, and early councils<sup>b</sup>. It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the particular times when it has been held most proper to administer this holy rite, and of the restrictions as to seasons and persons, which in various ages have been made, altered, or abrogated, in the Christian church<sup>c</sup>. We may therefore proceed, without further preface, to consider the office of matrimony according to the English ritual. The greater portion of this office has been used for a lengthened period in the English church, as will appear by the following extracts from the ancient manuals of Salisbury and York.

<sup>a</sup> "Unde sufficiam ad enarrantam tantam felicitatem matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio." Tertull.

ad Uxorem, lib. ii. c. 8. p. 171. ed. Rigalt.

<sup>b</sup> See Bingham, Antiquities, book xvii. ch. 4. sect. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ch. 2. sect. 14.

¶ *At the day and time appointed for solemnization of matrimony, the persons to be married shall come into the body of the church with their friends and neighbours: and there standing together, the man on the right hand, and the woman on the left, the priest shall say,*

Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation, to join together this man and this woman in holy matrimony; which is an honourable estate, instituted of God, in the time of man's innocency, &c. . . . . It was ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity. Into which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can shew any just cause, why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

¶ *And also speaking unto the persons that shall be married, he shall say,*

I require and charge you both, as ye will answer at the dreadful day of judgment,

*Statuantur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ coram Deo et sacerdote et populo, vir a dextris mulieris, et mulier a sinistris viri . . . Tunc interroget sacerdos banna dicens in lingua materna sub hac forma.*

Ecce convenimus huc fratres coram Deo, angelis, et omnibus sanctis ejus, in facie ecclesiæ, ad conjungendum duo corpora scilicet hujus viri, et hujus mulieris, (hic respiciet sacerdos personas.) Ut amodo sint una caro, et duæ animæ, in fide et in lege Dei, ad promerendam simul vitam æternam, quicquid ante hoc fecerint. Admoneo igitur vos omnes, ut si quis ex vobis aliquid dicere sciat, quare isti adolescentes legitime contrahere non possunt, modo confiteatur<sup>d</sup>.

Idem in lingua materna ad virum et ad mulierem hoc modo.

Also I charge you both and eyther be yourselfe, as ye wyll answer before God at the day

<sup>d</sup> Manuale Sarisb. de Sponsalibus, fol. 47.

when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that if either of you know any impediment, why ye may not be lawfully joined together in matrimony, ye do now confess it. For be ye well assured, that so many as are coupled together otherwise than God's word doth allow are not joined together of God; neither is their matrimony lawful.

¶ *At which day of marriage, if any man do allege and declare any impediment, &c. . . . or else put in a caution . . . . then the solemnization must be deferred, until such time as the truth be tried.*

¶ *If no impediment be alleged, then shall the curate say unto the man,*

*M.* Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her in sickness and in health; and forsaking all other, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?

¶ *The man shall answer, I will.*

¶ *Then shall the priest say unto the woman,*

*N.* Wilt thou have this man

of dome, that yf there be any thyng done pryvely or openly, betwene yourselfe: or that ye knowe any lawful lettynge why that ye may nat be wedded togyder at thys tyme. Say it nowe, or we do any more to this matter<sup>e</sup>.

*Si vero aliquis impedimentum aliquod proponere voluerit, et ad hoc probandum cautionem præstiterit, differantur sponsalia quousque rei veritas cognoscatur<sup>f</sup>.*

*Postea dicat sacerdos ad virum cunctis audientibus in lingua materna sic,*

*M.* Vis habere hanc mulierem in sponsam, et eam diligere, honorare, tenere, et custodire, sanam, et infirmam, sicut sponsus debet sponsam, et omnes alias propter eam dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit?

*Respondeat vir, Volo.*

*Item dicat sacerdos ad mulierem hoc modo,*

*N.* Vis habere hunc virum

<sup>e</sup> Manuale Eboracens. Ordo in sponsalibus. Man. Sarisb. fol. 47.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

to thy wedded husband, to live together after God's ordinance in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, and serve him, love, honour, and keep him in sickness and in health; and forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?

¶ *The woman shall answer, I will.*

in sponsum et ei obedire et servire, et eum diligere, honorare, ac custodire sanum et infirmum, sicut sponsa debet sponsum, et omnes alios propter eum dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit?

*Respondeat mulier, Voloꝝ.*

This first part of the office was anciently termed the *espousals*, which took place some time before the actual celebration of marriage. The espousals consisted in a mutual promise of marriage, which was made by the man and woman before the bishop or presbyter and several witnesses; after which, the articles of agreement of marriage, (called *tabulæ matrimoniales*,) which are mentioned by Augustin, were signed by both persons. After this, the man delivered to the woman the ring and other gifts, an action which was termed *subarrhation*<sup>h</sup>. In the latter ages the espousals have always been performed at the same time as the office of matrimony, both in the western and eastern churches; and it has long been customary for the ring to be delivered to the woman after the contract has been made, which has always been in the actual office of matrimony.

When marriage was to be celebrated, the man and woman, accompanied by their relatives, or a

<sup>g</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 48. Eboracens. in Sponsalibus.

<sup>h</sup> See Martene, de Antiq.

Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 9. art. 3. p. 605, &c. Bingham, book xxii. c. 3.

friend who gave away the woman, (the *paranympus* is spoken of by Augustin<sup>i</sup>,) came to church, and gave their consent to marriage; and while they performed this public contract, they gave each other their right hands, a custom which is mentioned by Tertullian and Gregory Nazianzen<sup>j</sup>. These rites, accompanied or followed by the benediction of the priest, seem to have been always used in the office of matrimony.

¶ *Then shall the minister say,*  
Who giveth this woman to  
be married to this man?

¶ *Then shall they give their  
troth to each other in this  
manner. The minister, re-  
ceiving the woman at her fa-  
ther's or friend's hands, shall  
cause the man with his right  
hand to take the woman by  
her right hand, and to say  
after him as followeth.*

I *M.* take thee *N.* to my  
wedded wife, to have and to  
hold from this day forward,  
for better for worse, for richer  
for poorer, in sickness and in  
health, to love and to cherish,  
till death us do part, accord-  
ing to God's holy ordinance;  
and thereto I plight thee my  
troth.

¶ *Then shall they loose their  
hands; and the woman, with  
her right hand taking the  
man by his right hand, shall*

*Deinde detur femina a patre  
suo, vel ab amicis ejus . . .*

*Vir eam recipiat in Dei fide  
et sua servandam, sicut vovit  
coram sacerdote, et teneat eam  
per manum suam dexteram in  
manu sua dextera, et sic det  
fidem mulieri per verba de  
præsenti, ita dicens, docente  
sacerdote.*

I *N.* take the *N.* to my  
wedded wyf, to have and to  
holde, fro this day forwarde,  
for bettere for wers, for richere  
for porere: in sykenesse and  
in hele: tyll dethe us departe:  
if holy chyrche it wol ordeyne:  
and therto Y plight the my  
trouthe.

<sup>i</sup> Augustin. Sermo 293.

<sup>j</sup> Greg. Nazianzen. ad Any-

sium Epist. 57. Tertull. de  
Veland. Virgin. c. 11.



*likewise say after the minister,*

I *N.* take thee *M.* to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and obey, till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee my troth.

¶ *Then shall they again loose their hands; and the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book, with the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk. And the priest, taking the ring, shall deliver it unto the man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand. And the man holding the ring there, and taught by the priest, shall say,*

With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the man leaving the ring upon the fourth finger of the*

*Manum retrahendo. Deinde dicat mulier docente sacerdote.*

I *N.* take the *N.* to my wedded husbonde, to have and to holde, fro this day forwarde, for better for wors: for richer for porere: in sykenesse and in hele: to be bonere and buxum, in bedde and at borde, tyll dethe us departhe: if holy chyrche it woll ordeyne: and therto I plight the my trouthe.

*Manum retrahendo. Deinde ponat vir aurum, argentum, et annulum super scutam vel librum . . . accipiens sacerdos annulum tradet ipsum viro: quem vir accipiat manu sua dextera cum tribus principalibus digitis, a manu sua sinistra; et tenens dexteram sponsæ docente sacerdote dicat,*

With this ryng I the wed, and this gold and silver I the give, and with my body I the worshipec, and with al my worldeley cathel I the endowe: *Et tunc inserat sponsus annulum pollicis sponsæ dicens; In nomine Patris; Deinde secundo digito dicens, Et Filii; Deinde tertio digito dicens, Et Spiritus Sancti; Deinde quarto digito dicens, Amen.*

*Ibique dimittat annulum . . . deinde inclinatis eorum capi-*

*woman's left hand, they shall both kneel down; and the minister shall say,*

Let us pray.

O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, Giver of all spiritual grace, the Author of everlasting life; send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy name; that, as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made, (whereof this ring given and received is a token and pledge,) and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

*tibus dicat sacerdos benedictionem super eos*<sup>k</sup>.

Oremus.

Creator et conservator humani generis; dator gratiæ spiritualis; largitor æternæ salutis; tu Domine mitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum . . . quem nos in tuo sancto nomine benedicimus: ut quæcunque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat, et in tua voluntate permaneat, et in tuo amore vivat et crescat et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum. Per Dominum<sup>l</sup>.

The succeeding rites, in which the priest, with a certain formulary, joins their right hands together, and afterwards pronounces the marriage to be complete, are perhaps peculiar to the church of England.

The benediction which succeeds this declaration is of ancient use in the English church, as it appears in the manuals of Salisbury and York, though it is in the latter placed in a subsequent part of the office.

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost,      Benedicat vos Deus Pater, custodiat vos Jesus Christus,

<sup>k</sup> Manuale Sar. fol. 48.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

bless, preserve, and keep you; the Lord mercifully with his favour look upon you, and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, that ye may so live together in this life, that in the world to come ye may have life everlasting. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the minister and clerks, going to the Lord's table, shall say or sing this psalm following.*

*Beati omnes.* Psalm cxxviii.

Blessed are all they that fear the Lord : and walk in his ways, &c.

¶ *The Psalm ended, and the man and the woman kneeling before the Lord's table, the priest standing at the table, and turning his face towards them, shall say,*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Answ.* Christ, have mercy upon us.

*Min.* Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, &c.

*Min.* O Lord, save thy servant, and thy handmaid ;

*Answ.* Who put their trust in thee.

*Min.* O Lord, send them help from thy holy place,

illuminet vos Spiritus Sanctus. Ostendat Dominus faciem suam ad vos, et det vobis pacem, impleatque vos omni benedictione spirituali in remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, ut habeatis vitam æternam, et vivatis in sæcula sæculorum. *Amen*<sup>m</sup>.

*Hic intrent ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris, et sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris dicat hunc psalmum sequentem.*

Beati omnes qui timent Dominum : qui ambulant in viis ejus.

Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Kyrie eleison.

*Tunc prostratis sponso et sponsa ante gradum altaris roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis dicendo.*

Pater noster qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum &c.

*Vers.* Salvum fac servum tuum et ancillam tuam.

*Resp.* Deus meus sperantes in te.

*Vers.* Mitte eis Domine auxilium de sancto,

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<sup>m</sup> Manuale Sarisburiens. fol. 49. Man. Eboracens. ordo in sponsalibus.

*Answ.* And evermore defend them.

*Min.* Be unto them a tower of strength,

*Answ.* From the face of their enemy.

*Min.* O Lord, hear our prayer.

*Answ.* And let our cry come unto thee.

*Minister.* O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, bless these thy servants, and sow the seed of eternal life in their hearts; that whatsoever in thy holy word they shall profitably learn, they may in deed fulfil the same. Look, O Lord, mercifully upon them from heaven, and bless them. And as thou didst send thy blessing upon Abraham and Sarah, to their great comfort, so vouchsafe to send thy blessing upon these thy servants; that they obeying thy will, and always being in safety under thy protection, may abide in thy love unto their lives' end; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O merciful God, and heavenly Father, by whose gracious gift mankind is increased; we beseech thee, assist with thy blessing these two persons, that they may both be fruitful in procreation of children, and

*Resp.* Et de Syon tuere eos.

*Vers.* Esto eis Domine turris fortitudinis.

*Resp.* A facie inimici.

*Vers.* Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

*Resp.* Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus. Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, benedic adolescentes istos et semina semen vitæ æternæ in mentibus eorum, ut quicquid pro utilitate sua didicerint, hoc facere cupiant, per &c. Oremus. Respice Domine de cœlis, et benedic conventionem istam. Et sicut misisti sanctum angelum tuum Raphaellem ad Tobiam et Saram filium Raguëlis: ita digneris Domine mittere benedictionem tuam super istos adolescentes, ut in tua voluntate permaneant, et in tua securitate persistent, et in amore tuo vivant et senescant. Ut digni atque pacifici fiant, et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Respice Domine propitius super hunc famulum tuum, et super hanc famulam tuam, ut in nomine tuo benedictionem cœlestem accipiant, et filios filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum, usque ad tertiam et quar-

also live together so long in godly love and honesty, that they may see their children Christianly and virtuously brought up, to thy praise and honour; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

tam progeniem incolumes videant, et in tua voluntate perseverent, et in futuro ad celestia regna perveniant. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen <sup>n</sup>.

Formerly, in the English church, that part of the office which we have been considering was followed by the celebration of the eucharist; after which, the solemn benediction, to which I now proceed, occurred. But the celebration of the eucharist at this time is no longer enjoined. Nor is the church of England to be blamed for this, since the churches of Constantinople and the east do not celebrate their solemn marriage benediction during the time of the liturgy, as we may perceive from the euchologium of the Greeks; neither do we find that the new married couple are obliged by the eastern church to receive the sacrament of the eucharist immediately at the time of marriage<sup>o</sup>. The following benediction was formerly repeated after the prayer of consecration, and before communion, according to the English and other western rituals; but a different form is found in the most ancient monuments of the western rites, as in the sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory the Great<sup>p</sup>. However it has been long used in the English churches of Salisbury and York, and is likewise found in manuscripts of the Gallican church, written seven hundred years ago.

<sup>n</sup> Manuale Sarisb. fol. 49. Man. Eboracens. ordo in sponsalibus.

<sup>o</sup> Goar, Rituale Græcum. Officium Coronationis Nuptia-

rum, p. 385, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Sac. Gelasii Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet. tom. i. p. 722. Sac. Gregori Menard. p. 287.

*It is to be found in the old Sacramentary of Gregory  
written by Distinctio 1000 (371)*

O God, who by thy mighty power hast made all things of nothing; who also (after other things set in order) didst appoint, that out of man (created after thine own image and similitude) woman should take her beginning; and, knitting them together, didst teach that it should never be lawful to put asunder those whom thou by matrimony hadst made one: O God, who hast consecrated the state of matrimony to such an excellent mystery, that in it is signified and represented the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and his church; look mercifully upon these thy servants, that both this man may love his wife, according to thy word, (as Christ did love his spouse the church, who gave himself for it, loving and cherishing it even as his own flesh,) and also that this woman may be loving and amiable, faithful and obedient to her husband; and in all quietness, sobriety, and peace, be a follower of holy and godly matrons. O Lord, bless them both, and grant them to inherit thy everlasting kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Deus, qui potestate virtutis tuæ de nihilo cuncta fecisti, quique dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem Dei facto, ideo inseparabile mulieris adjutorium condidisti: ut foemineo corpori de virili dares carne principium: docens quod ex uno placuisset institui, nunquam liceret disjungi. *Hic incipit benedictio sacramentalis.* Deus, qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti; ut Christi et ecclesiæ sacramentum præsignares in fœdere nuptiarum. *Hic finitur benedictio sacramentalis.* Deus, per quem mulier jungitur viro . . . . respice propitius super hanc famulam tuam quæ maritali jungenda consortio, quæ se tua expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea jugum dilectionis et pacis: fidelis et casta nubat in Christo, imitatrixque sanctarum permaneat foeminarum . . . . et ad beatorum requiem, atque ad cœlestia regna perveniat. Per Dominum &c. per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ Man. Sarisb. fol. 55. Man. Ebor. Missa in Sponsalibus. MS. Pontificale Monast. Lyren-

sis Martene, lib. i. cap. 9. art. 5. p. 619.

The benediction which concludes the office is found in the ancient manuals of the churches of Salisbury and York, though not exactly in the place which it now occupies; but these manuals varied as much from each other in the arrangement of their prayers and benedictions as the position of the present benediction does from either of them. It is also found in a pontifical of the monastery of Lyre, in France, seven hundred years old.

Almighty God, who at the beginning did create our first parents, Adam and Eve, and did sanctify and join them together in marriage; pour upon you the riches of his grace, sanctify and bless you, that ye may please him both in body and soul, and live together in holy love unto your lives' end.  
*Amen.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui primos parentes nostros Adam et Evam sua virtute creavit, et in sua sanctificatione copulavit, ipse corda et corpora vestra sanctificet et benedicat, atque in societate et amore veræ dilectionis conjungat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen<sup>r</sup>.

The office of matrimony is followed by an exhortation or address from the presbyter to the persons newly married, instructing them in their relative duties. It does not seem that such an exhortation was used in the English churches before the reform of our offices, in the time of Edward the Sixth; but the rituals of the churches of Liege and Milan<sup>s</sup> contain directions for a similar exhortation in this place.

<sup>r</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 50. Man. Ebor. ordo in sponsalibus.

<sup>s</sup> Martene, p. 648, 650, 651.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## VISITATION OF THE SICK.

IT has ever been customary for the presbyters of the church to visit the sick, and after praying for them, and (if necessary) reconciling them to the church by the blessing of absolution, to communicate to them the sacraments of our Lord's body and blood<sup>a</sup>. For these purposes the English ritual contains a formulary, which has for the most part been used, from a period of remote antiquity, in our churches. Almost all the succeeding directions and prayers are found in the ancient manuals of Salisbury and York, and some of them may be traced to the primitive ages. Formerly, the sick were anointed with oil; but as the original object of this was to "save," or procure a miraculous recovery of the infirm, by remission of the temporal punishment which they had merited for their sins, and such cures had long ceased in the church, it was thought unnecessary to be continued<sup>b</sup>. Nor did the sick receive any injury by this; for on repentance, accompanied by the benediction and prayer of the priest, and the

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Nicæn. 1. can. 13. Concil. Gangr. can. 6. Carthagin. 4. can. 76, 77, 78. Aurelianens. 2. can. 12. Auresic. 1. can. 3. Toletan. 1. can. 18. Concil. Agathens. can. 15. Dionys. Alex. Epistola ad Fabium

ap. Euseb. Hist. lib. vi. c. 44. See Bingham, Antiq. book xv. c. 4. sect. 9; and Martene, de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. iii. c. 11. p. 546, &c.

<sup>b</sup> See Clagget on Extreme Unction, part i. §. 3. p. 13, &c.



worthy reception of the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, they obtained remission of all their sins.

¶ *The minister of the parish . . . coming into the sick person's house, shall say,*

Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it.

*Et cum intraverit domum dicat,*

Pax huic domui, et omnibus habitantibus in ea, pax ingredientibus, et egredientibus . . .

¶ *When he cometh into the sick man's presence he shall say, kneeling down,*

Remember not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers: spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

*Answ.* Spare us, good Lord.

¶ *Then the minister shall say,*  
Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Christ, have mercy upon us.*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c.

*Min.* O Lord, save thy servant;

*Answ.* Which putteth his trust in thee.

*Min.* Send him help from thy holy place;

*Answ.* And evermore mightily defend him.

*Min.* Let the enemy have no advantage of him;

*Answ.* Nor the wicked approach to hurt him.

Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra vel parentum nostrorum, neque vindictum sumas de peccatis nostris. Parce Domine, parce famulo tuo, quem redemisti precioso sanguine tuo et ne in æternum irascaris ei . . .

. . . *et statim sequatur,*

Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, &c.

*Vers.* Salvum fac servum tuum,

*Resp.* Deus meus, sperantem in te.

*Vers.* Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto,

*Resp.* Et de Sion tuere eum.

*Vers.* Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo,

*Resp.* Et filius iniquitatis non opponat nocere ei.

*Min.* Be unto him, O Lord,  
a strong tower,

*Answ.* From the face of his  
enemy.

*Min.* O Lord, hear our  
prayers;

*Answ.* And let our cry come  
unto thee.

*Minister.*

O Lord, look down from  
heaven, behold, visit, and re-  
lieve this thy servant. Look  
upon him with the eyes of thy  
mercy, give him comfort and  
sure confidence in thee, de-  
fend him from the danger of  
the enemy, and keep him in  
perpetual peace and safety;  
through Jesus Christ our Lord.  
*Amen.*

Hear us, Almighty and most  
merciful God and Saviour; ex-  
tend thy accustomed goodness  
to this thy servant who is  
grieved with sickness. Sanc-  
tify, we beseech thee, this thy  
fatherly correction to him; that  
the sense of his weakness may  
add strength to his faith, and  
seriousness to his repentance:  
that, if it shall be thy good  
pleasure to restore him to his  
former health, he may lead the  
residue of his life in thy fear,

*Vers.* Esto ei, Domine, turris  
fortitudinis,

*Resp.* A facie inimici.

*Vers.* Domine, exaudi ora-  
tionem meam;

*Resp.* Et clamor meus ad te  
veniat<sup>c</sup>.

Respice, Domine, de cœlo, et  
vide et visita hunc famulum  
tuum *N.* Et benedic eum sic-  
ut benedicere dignatus es A-  
braham, Isaac, et Jacob. Re-  
spice super eum, Domine, ocu-  
lis misericordiæ tuæ, et reple  
eum omni gaudio et lætitia et  
timore tuo. Expelle ex eo om-  
nes inimici insidias, et mitte  
Angelum pacis qui eum custo-  
diat et domum istam in pace  
perpetua. Per Christum Do-  
minum nostrum<sup>d</sup>.

Exaudi nos, omnipotens et  
misericors Deus, et visitatio-  
nem conferre digneris super  
hunc famulum tuum *N.* quem  
diversa vexat infirmitas; visita  
eum Domine sicut visitare dig-  
natus es socrum Petri puerum-  
que centurionis, et Tobiam et  
Saram per sanctum angelum  
tuum Raphaellem. Restitue in  
eo, Domine, pristinam sanita-  
tem, ut mereatur in atrio do-  
mus tuæ dicere, castigans cas-  
tigavit me Dominus, et morti

<sup>c</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 88.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. fol. 89.

and to thy glory: or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the minister exhort the sick person after this form, or other like.*

Dearly beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and of all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly, that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you . . . know you certainly, that if you truly repent you of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy, for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render unto him humble thanks for his fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly unto his will, it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life. . . . And forasmuch as after this life there is an account to be given unto the righteous Judge . . . I require you to examine yourself and

non tradidit me: Salvator mundi. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen<sup>e</sup>.

*Deinde, priusquam . . . infirmus . . . communicetur, exhortetur eum sacerdos hoc modo.*

Frater charissime, gratias age omnipotenti Deo pro universis beneficiis suis, patienter et benigne suscipiens infirmitatem corporis, quam tibi Deus immisit, nam si ipsam humiliter sine murmure toleraveris, inferet animæ tuæ maximum præmium et salutem . . . Et frater charissime, quia viam universæ carnis ingressurus es, esto firmus in fide: qui enim non est firmus in fide, infidelis est, et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo. Et ideo si salvus esse volueris, ante omnia opus est ut teneas catholicam fidem, quam nisi integram, inviolatamque servaveris, absque dubio in æternum peribis . . . Deinde bonum et valde expediens est, ut sacerdos exprimat infirmo XIV articulos fidei, quorum VII primi ad mysterium Trinitatis, et VII alii ad Christi humanitatem pertineant: ut si forte prius in aliquo ipsorum erraverit, titubaverit, vel du-

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<sup>e</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 88.

your estate, both toward God and man . . . Therefore I shall rehearse to you the Articles of our Faith, that you may know whether you do believe as a Christian man should, or no.

¶ *Here the minister shall rehearse the Articles of the Faith, saying thus;*

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; that he went down into hell, and also did rise again the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again at the end of the world, to judge the quick and the dead? And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy catholic church; the communion of saints; the remission of sins; the resurrection of the flesh; and everlasting life after death?

bis fuerit ante mortem . . . ad fidem solidam reducaturf.

*Et si infirmus laicus vel simpliciter literatus fuerit, tunc potest sacerdos articulos fidei in generali ab eo inquirere sub hac forma;*

Charissime frater, credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse tres personas, et unum Deum, et ipsam benedictam atque indivisibilem Trinitatem creasse omnia creata, visibilia et invisibilia. Et solum Filium, de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, incarnatum fuisse ex Maria Virgine, passum et mortuum pro nobis in cruce sub Pontio Pilato, sepultum descendisse ad inferna, die tertia resurrexisse a mortuis, ad caelos ascendisse, iterumque venturum ad judicandos vivos et mortuos, omnesque homines tunc in corpore et anima resurrecturos, bona et mala secundum merita sua recepturos; et remissionem peccatorum per sacramentorum ecclesiae perceptionem; et sanctorum communionem, id est omnes homines in charitate existentes, esse participes omnium

f Man. Sarisb. fol. 89.

bonorum gratiæ, quæ fiunt in ecclesia, et omnes qui communicant cum justis hic in gratia communicaturos cum eis in gloria.

¶ *The sick person shall answer,*  
All this I steadfastly believe.

¶ *Then shall the minister examine whether he repent him truly of his sins, and be in charity with all the world; exhorting him to forgive, from the bottom of his heart, all persons that have offended him; and if he hath offended any other, to ask them forgiveness; and where he hath done injury or wrong to any man, that he make amends to the uttermost of his power . . .*

¶ *The minister should not omit earnestly to move such sick persons as are of ability to be liberal to the poor.*

¶ *Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.*

*Deinde respondeat infirmus,*  
Credo firmiter in omnibus . .

*Deinde dicat sacerdos,*

Charissime frater, quia sine charitate nihil tibi proderit fides, testante apostolo, qui dicit: Si habuero omnem fidem ita ut montes transferam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil sum; ideo oportet te diligere Dominum Deum tuum super omnia ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et proximum tuum propter Deum sicut teipsum. Nam sine hujusmodi charitate nulla fides valet. Exerce igitur charitatis opera dum vales: et si multum tibi affuerit, abundanter tribue, si autem exiguum illud impartire stude. Et ante omnia si quem injuste læseris, satisfacias si valeas, si autem non valeas, expedit ut ab eo veniam humiliter postules. Dimitte debitoribus tuis et illis qui in te peccaverunt: ut Deus tibi dimittat . . . Charissime frater, si velis ad visionem Dei pervenire, oportet omnino quod sis mundus in mente et purus in conscientia. Ait enim Christus in evangelio, Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Si ergo vis mundum

*After which confession the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort :*

Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences : and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

cor et conscientiam sanam habere, peccata tua universa confitere § . . . .

*Deinde absolvat sacerdos infirmum ab omnibus peccatis suis hoc modo dicens :*

Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat. Et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli : et auctoritate mihi tradita, absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis his de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es : et ab omnibus aliis peccatis tuis de quibus si tuæ occurrerent memoriæ libenter confiteri velles : et sacramentis ecclesiæ te restituo. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen<sup>h</sup>.

The prayer which immediately follows the preceding form, is in fact the original absolution which has been given to dying penitents for more than thirteen hundred years in the western churches. This ancient absolution or reconciliation of a penitent near death is not only found in the old formularies of the English church, where it was used long before the preceding indicative form was introduced, but in the sacramentary of Gelasius, A. D. 494; and for many centuries was commonly used in the churches of the west.

§ Man. Sarisb. fol. 90, 91.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. fol. 91.

Let us pray.

O most merciful God, who, according to the multitude of thy mercies, dost so put away **the sins** of those who truly repent, that thou rememberest them no more; open thine eye of mercy upon this thy servant, who most earnestly desireth pardon and forgiveness. Renew in him, most loving Father, whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the Devil, or by his own carnal will and frailness; preserve and continue this sick member in the unity of the church; consider his contrition, accept his tears, assuage his pain, as shall seem to thee most expedient for him. And forasmuch as he putteth his full trust only in thy mercy, impute not unto him his former sins, but strengthen him with thy blessed Spirit; and, when thou art pleased to take him hence, take him unto thy favour, through the merits of thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the minister say this psalm.*

*In te, Domine, speravi.* Ps. lxxi.

In thee, O Lord, have I put

Oremus.

Deus misericors, Deus clemens, qui secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum, peccata pœnitentium deles, et præteritorum criminum culpas venia remissionis evacuas: respice super hunc famulum tuum *N.* sibi remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum tota cordis contritione poscentem. Renova in eo piissime Pater quicquid diabolica fraude violatum est: et unitati corporis ecclesiæ tuæ membrum infirmum, peccatorum percepta remissione, restitue. Miserere Domine gemituum ejus; miserere lachrymarum; miserere tribulationum atque dolorum: et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia, ad sacramentum reconciliationis admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum<sup>i</sup>.

*Deinde dicatur psalmus.*

In te, Domine, speravi, non

<sup>i</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 92. Misale MS. Leofrici, fol. 239. Gelasii Sacramentar. Muratori, tom. i. p. 552. In a MS. a thousand years old, printed by

Martene, this form is entitled, "Reconciliatio Pœnitentis ad Mortem;" see Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. iii. c. 15. p. 590.

my trust ; let me never be put to confusion ; but rid me, and deliver me in thy righteousness, &c.

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.

¶ *Adding this.*

O Saviour of the world, who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us, save us, and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.

confundar in æternum ; in justitia tua libera me et eripe me, &c.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

*Finito psalmo dicatur Antiphona.*

Salvator mundi, salva nos, qui per crucem et sanguinem tuum redemisti nos : auxiliare nobis te deprecamur, Deus nostri.

Of the two benedictions which conclude this part of the office, the former is (as far as I am aware) peculiar to the English ritual, into which it seems to have been introduced in the time of king Edward the Sixth. The latter is derived from the benediction which the priest was directed to give under the covenant of the law, and which has been adopted by almost every Christian church for some occasion or other. This benediction is directed to be used in the office for visiting the sick according to the Irish ritual, which sir W. Betham published in the first number of his *Antiquarian Researches*, from a MS. which he refers to the seventh century. It would be tedious to enumerate the many offices and churches which have prescribed this benediction, and I shall therefore content myself with citing it from the liturgy of the ancient Gallican church.

Unto God's gracious mercy      Benedicat vos Dominus et  
and protection we commit thee.      custodiat semper.      Ostendat



The Lord bless thee, and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

Dominus faciem suam super vos, et misereatur vestri. Convertat Dominus vultum suum ad vos, et det vobis pacem. Per Dominum<sup>k</sup>.

## COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

The English ritual, in conformity with the universal practice of the catholic church, has directed the holy communion to be administered to the sick. It is of course unnecessary to defend or justify this practice to those who have a right faith with regard to that sacrament; but it may be objected to the English ritual, that the custom of the Christian church has been to reserve the sacraments of Christ's body and blood from the public liturgy, and not to consecrate them in private. It is true, that this reservation has been the most usual, and, perhaps, the most ancient, practice of the church; but there are many instances in antiquity of the celebration of the eucharist in private for the sick. Thus Paulinus, bishop of Nola, caused the eucharist to be celebrated in his own chamber not many hours before his death<sup>l</sup>. Gregory Nazianzen informs us, that his

<sup>k</sup> Missale Gallican. vet. Maillon de Liturg. Gell. p. 371; also MS. Leofr. fol. 332.

<sup>l</sup> "Cum ante triduum, quam de hoc mundo ad cœleste habitaculum vocaretur, cum jam de salute ejus omnes desperâssent, et duo ad eum episcopi visitandi studio convenissent, id est, S. Symmachus et Bene-

dictus Hyacinthinus—quasi profecturus ad Dominum, jubet sibi ante lectulum suum sacra mysteria exhiberi, scilicet ut una cum sanctis episcopis oblato sacrificio animam suam Domino commendaret." Vita Paulini Nolani auctore Uranio Presbyt. apud Surium, Junii 22, p. 733.

father communicated in his own chamber, and that his sister had an altar at home<sup>m</sup>; and Ambrose is said to have administered the sacrament in a private house at Rome<sup>n</sup>. The English church is therefore justified in directing the eucharist to be consecrated in private houses, for the benefit of the sick; and she has taken care, in the rubric immediately preceding the office, that the sacrament should be decorously and reverently administered. "Having a convenient place in the sick man's house, with all things necessary so prepared, that the curate may reverently minister, he shall there celebrate the holy communion." In case "a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood," the minister is to comfort him in the following manner, which has long been customary in the English church :

The curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly re-

Deinde communicetur infirmus, nisi prius communicatus fuerit, et nisi de vomitu, vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur: in quo casu, dicat sacerdos infirmo: Frater in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et

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<sup>m</sup> Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 19. de Laude Patris; Orat. 11. de Gorgonia.

<sup>n</sup> "Per idem tempus cum trans Tiberim apud quemdam

clarissimum invitatus, sacrificium in domo offerret," &c. Vita Ambrosii a Paulino p. iii. Append. tom. ii. Oper. Ambros. edit. Benedict.

membering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.

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° Man. Sarisb. fol. 97.

## CHAPTER IX.

## BURIAL OF THE DEAD.



THE office for the burial of the dead, according to the English ritual, commences on the approach of the body towards the church. In primitive times, the body, immediately after death, was washed and arrayed in new garments; and the clergy and people watched the remains until the time of burial came. During this interval psalms were sung, and lessons read<sup>a</sup>. The body was then carried to the church, with singing of psalms or anthems, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions, from Dionysius Areopagite, Chrysostom, and other sources<sup>b</sup>. With this custom all the rituals of the eastern and western churches, that I have seen, concur<sup>c</sup>; and, amongst others, the ritual of the English church directs the priest and other clergy to meet the corpse at the entrance of the cemetery, and precede it into the church, or towards the grave, singing or saying certain anthems appropriate to the occasion. Of these anthems, the two former have been long used in the English church in some part of the office for the departed.

<sup>a</sup> Martene de Antiq. Ecclesie Ritibus, lib. iii. c. 12. p. 553, &c. Bingham, Antiquities, book xxiii. c. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Martene, lib. iii. c. 14.

p. 573, &c. Bingham, ut sup.

<sup>c</sup> See the various orders for burial of the dead in Martene, lib. iii. c. 15. Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 526, &c.

I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord; he that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.

Ego sum resurrectio et vita: qui credit in me, etiam si mortuus fuerit, vivit: et omnis qui vivit et credit in me, non morietur in æternum<sup>d</sup>.

Credo quia Redemptor meus vivit: et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum. Quem visurus sum ego ipse et non alius: et oculi mei conspecturi sunt<sup>e</sup>.

When the procession has entered the church, the office proceeds with psalmody and reading of scripture. A similar custom is mentioned by the author called Dionysius, as prevailing in his time in the east<sup>f</sup>; and we find frequent mention of the same amongst the oriental fathers. Nearly the same order prevails in the patriarchate of Constantinople, where many anthems and psalms are sung, and lessons from the Epistles and Gospels are read<sup>g</sup>. In the western churches it seems that the eucharist was celebrated at this time, in which prayers were made for the happiness of the deceased. This was customary in Africa in the fifth century, according to Augustine<sup>h</sup>; and in Italy in the time of Ambrose<sup>i</sup>;

<sup>d</sup> Manuale Sarisb. Vigiliæ Mortuorum, fol. 127.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. fol. 106.

<sup>f</sup> Dionys. Eccl. Hierarch. c. 7.

<sup>g</sup> See Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 526, &c.

<sup>h</sup> August. Confess. lib. ix.

c. 12.

<sup>i</sup> Paulin. Vita Ambrosii: "Il-lucescente die Dominico, cum corpus illius, peractis sacramentis divinis de ecclesia levaretur, portandum ad Basilicam Ambrosianam," &c.

and we find it recognized in all the western rituals. But it was not usual in the east, where the liturgy is not performed at funerals even to the present day<sup>k</sup>. The psalms which are appointed by the church of England on the present occasion are highly appropriate. A part of the lesson which follows has been used by the English church for a considerable length of time. It was anciently read in the celebration of the eucharist, which formerly took place in England, as in other western churches, at this time; and although the English church has not continued the custom, but adopted the practice of the church of Constantinople, the importance of this part of scripture has caused it to be used as the proper lesson on the present occasion. In the church of Constantinople they read part of the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, and a gospel from St. John<sup>l</sup>.

1 Cor. xv. 20.

Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order, &c.

Epistola ad Corinthios.

Fratres, Christus resurrexit a mortuis, primitiæ dormientium; quoniam quidem per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur; unusquisque autem in suo ordine<sup>m</sup>.

From the church the procession advances to the sepulchre, where, as the necessary preparations are

<sup>j</sup> Martene, p. 595, 604, 606, 608, &c. &c.

<sup>k</sup> Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 525, &c. &c.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 535.

<sup>m</sup> Man. Sarisb. missa pro defunctis, fol. 136.

making, the priest and clergy sing or repeat anthems; and then, the body being interred with a certain formulary, another anthem is sung or said. The same order is found in the ancient rituals of the eastern and western churches. The only thing worthy of notice in this part of the English ritual is, the form repeated by the priest, beginning, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God," &c. This form of committing the "body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes," &c. seems, as far as I can judge, to be peculiar to our church; as we find that most other rituals of the east and west appoint some psalm or anthem to be sung or said while the body is placed in the tomb: but the same form nearly has been used in the English church for many ages, though anciently it followed after the body was covered with earth, and not while the earth was placed upon it. The anthems which precede and follow this formulary have generally been very anciently used in the English church on occasions connected with that which we at present consider.

Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down, like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay.

In the midst of life we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeas'd?

Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore: repletus multis miseriis: qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur, et fugit velut umbra: et nunquam in eodem statu permanet <sup>n</sup>.

Media vita in morte sumus, quem quærimus adiutorem nisi te, Domine! qui pro peccatis nostris juste irascaris <sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Man. Sar. in Vigil Mortuorum, p. 119.

<sup>o</sup> Brev. Sarisb. Psalt. fol. 55.

Yet, O Lord God most holy,  
O Lord most mighty, O holy and  
most merciful Saviour, deliver  
us not into the bitter pains of  
eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the  
secrets of our hearts; shut  
not thy merciful ears to our  
prayer; but spare us, Lord  
most holy, O God most mighty,  
O holy and merciful Saviour,  
thou most worthy Judge eter-  
nal, suffer us not, at our last  
hour, for any pains of death,  
to fall from thee.

Forasmuch as it hath pleas-  
ed Almighty God of his great  
mercy to take unto himself the  
soul of our dear brother here  
departed, we therefore com-  
mit his body to the ground;  
earth to earth, ashes to ashes,  
dust to dust; in sure and cer-  
tain hope of the resurrection  
to eternal life, through our  
Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

I heard a voice from heaven,  
saying unto me, Write, From  
henceforth blessed are the  
dead which die in the Lord:  
even so saith the Spirit; for  
they rest from their labours.

Sancte Deus, Sancte fortis,  
Sancte et misericors Salvator;  
amaræ morti ne tradas nos.

Noli claudere aures tuas ad  
preces nostras, Sancte fortis.  
Qui cognoscis occulta cordis,  
parce peccatis nostris. Sancte  
et misericors Salvator amara  
morti ne tradas nos P.

Commendo animam tuam  
Deo Patri omnipotenti; terram  
terræ, cinerem cineri, pulve-  
rem pulveri: in nomine Patris  
et Filii et Spiritus Sancti q.

Audivi vocem de cœlo, di-  
centem mihi, Scribe, Beatimor-  
tui qui in Domino moriuntur,  
amodo enim jam dicit Spiritus,  
ut requiescant a laboribus suis,  
opera enim illorum sequuntur  
illos r.

After this anthem is concluded, the prayers com-  
mence with the short litany, which is followed by

P Brev. Sarisb. Psalt. fol.  
55.  
q Manuale Sar. fol. 149. In-

humatio defuncti.

r Man. Sar. Antiphona in  
Vigil. Mortuorum, fol. 112.



the Lord's Prayer, two collects, and a benediction. The ancient manuals of the English church appointed a similar order to succeed the burial; but the collects which we use in this place are not of great antiquity, though the preface of the first is found in the manual of Salisbury, and in some very ancient monuments of the western church.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Kyrie eleison.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Christe eleison.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Kyrie eleison.

Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, &c.

Pater noster qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, &c.<sup>s</sup>

Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity, &c.

Deus, apud quem spiritus mortuorum vivunt, et in quo electorum animæ deposito carnis onere plena felicitate lætuntur, præsta supplicantibus nobis ut anima famuli tui, &c.<sup>t</sup>

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<sup>s</sup> Man. Sar. Inhumatio defuncti, fol. 151.      <sup>t</sup> Ibid. fol. 148.

CHAPTER X.  
 THE THANKSGIVING OF WOMEN  
 AFTER CHILD-BIRTH.



**H**OW long a particular office has been used in the Christian church, for the thanksgiving and benediction of women after child-birth, it would be difficult to say; but it is probably most ancient, since we find that all the western rituals, and those of the patriarchate of Constantinople, contain such an office<sup>a</sup>. That which we use in the English ritual occurs in the ancient Manual of the church of Salisbury, with little variation. It begins with a short address to the woman, followed by two psalms. The address seems peculiar to the English ritual; but two psalms were repeated at the beginning of the office, according to the Salisbury manual<sup>b</sup>, though they were different from those used at present. The remainder of the office will speak for itself, on comparison.

|                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>¶ <i>Then the priest shall say,</i><br/>         Let us pray.<br/>         Lord, have mercy upon us.<br/> <i>Christ, have mercy upon us.</i><br/>         Lord, have mercy upon us.</p> | <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Sequatur.</i><br/><br/>         Kyrie eleison.<br/>         Christe eleison.<br/>         Kyrie eleison.</p> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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<sup>a</sup> Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 9. p. 639, 643.  
 Rituale Rom. p. 256. Goar,

Rituale Græc. p. 324.  
<sup>b</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 46.

CHAP. X. *Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth.* 239

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

*Min.* O Lord, save this woman thy servant ;

*Ans.* Who putteth her trust in thee.

*Min.* Be thou to her a strong tower ;

*Ans.* From the face of her enemy.

*Min.* Lord, hear our prayer.

*Ans.* And let our cry come unto thee.

*Min.* Let us pray.

O Almighty God, we give thee humble thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to deliver this woman from the great pain and peril of child-birth ; Grant, we beseech thee, most merciful Father, that she, through thy help, may both faithfully live, and walk according to thy will, in this life present ; and also may be partaker of everlasting glory in the life to come ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Pater noster qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur, &c.

Domine salvum fac ancillam tuam ;

Deus meus, sperantem in te.

Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis,

A facie inimici.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

Deus, qui hanc famulam tuam de pariendo periculo liberasti, et eam in servitio tuo devotam esse fecisti : concede ut temporali cursu fideliter peracto, sub alis misericordiæ tuæ vitam perpetuam et quietem consequatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen<sup>c</sup>.

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<sup>c</sup> Man. Sarisb. fol. 46.

## CHAPTER XI.

## A COMMINATION,

AND

PRAYERS FOR THE FIRST DAY OF LENT.



**T**HIS office is one of the last memorials we retain of that solemn public penitence which, during the primitive ages, occupied so conspicuous a place in the discipline of the Christian church. In the earliest ages, those who were guilty of grievous sins were solemnly reduced to the order of penitents; they came fasting, and clad in sackcloth and ashes, on the occasion, and after the bishop had prayed over them, they were dismissed from the church. They then were admitted gradually to the classes of *hearers*, *substrati*, and *consistentes*; until at length, after long trial and exemplary conduct, they were again deemed worthy of full communion<sup>a</sup>. This penitential discipline at length, from various causes, became extinct, both in the eastern and western churches; and, from the twelfth or thirteenth century, the solemn office for the first day of Lent was the only memorial of this ancient discipline in the west. It seems that at least from about the eighth century there was a solemn office for public penitents on the

<sup>a</sup> See Bingham's Antiquities, book xviii. ch. 1. and 2.

first day of Lent<sup>b</sup>; but in after-ages this office was applied indiscriminately to all the people, who received ashes, and were prayed for by the bishop or presbyter. Thus the office lost its ancient character. The English churches have long used this office nearly as we do at present, as we find almost exactly the same appointed for the first day of Lent in the missals of Salisbury and York, and in the MS. sacramentary of Leofric, which was written for the English church about the ninth or tenth century.

The peculiar office which the church of England has appointed for the first day of Lent, commences after the morning prayer and litany are concluded. In the ancient offices of Salisbury also we find that this office began after the prayers which were said at the sixth hour, or twelve o'clock in the day<sup>c</sup>; and many of the western offices appointed the litany at the beginning of this service<sup>d</sup>. The English office then proceeds with an address or sermon full of exhortations to penitence and conversion from sins, which is called a *commination*; and in the course of it the priest recites the curses of God against sin, to each of which the people, according to the custom of the old law, are invited to testify their assent. It has long been customary in the western churches for the bishop or presbyter to make a discourse or sermon on the subject of penitence at this part of the office, as we may see in the missals of Salisbury,

<sup>b</sup> Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 6. p. 3. See Bingham, book xviii. ch. 2. §. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Fer iv in capite Jejuniæ post sextam imprimis fiat sermo ad

populum si placuerit.

<sup>d</sup> Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. lib. i. c. 6. p. 86, 95. De Antiqua Eccl. Discipl. in Div. Officiis, c. 7. p. 140, &c.

and in several western rituals mentioned by Martene<sup>e</sup>. After this sermon or commination, the fifty-first psalm, anciently noted in the church as one of the penitential psalms, and especially called the *psalm of confession*, is appointed to be sung by the priest and clergy.

¶ *Then shall they all kneel upon their knees, and the priest and clerks kneeling (in the place where they are accustomed to say the litany) shall say this psalm.*

*Miserere mei, Deus. Ps. li.*

Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness; according to the multitude of thy mercies do away mine offences, &c.

*Deinde prosternant se clerici in choro: et dicant VII psalmos pœnitentiales cum "Gloria Patri," et "sicut erat," et antiphona "Ne reminiscaris" . .*

*Miserere mei, Deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam, &c. §*

The ancient sacramentary of the English church, written in the ninth or tenth century, alluded to above, directs the same psalm to be sung on the present occasion<sup>h</sup>. It also concurs with the missals of York and Salisbury, and other western formularies, in prescribing the following parts of the office.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

*Christ, have mercy upon us.*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

*Min.* O Lord, save thy servants;

Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster qui es in cœlis. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas;

<sup>e</sup> See note <sup>c</sup>, p. 241. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. in Div. Officiis, c. 17. p. 135, 136, 137, 141, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Missale Sarisb. fol. 29.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Missale Leofric. fol. 80.

*Answ.* That put their trust  
in thee.

*Min.* Send unto them help  
from above.

*Answ.* And evermore might-  
ily defend them.

*Min.* Help us, O God our  
Saviour.

*Answ.* And for the glory of  
thy name deliver us; be merciful  
to us sinners, for thy  
name's sake.

*Min.* O Lord, hear our  
prayer.

*Answ.* And let our cry come  
unto thee.

Deus meus, sperantes in te.

Mitte eis, Domine, auxilium  
de sancto.

Et de Syon tuere eos.

Adjuva nos Deus salutaris  
noster.

Et propter gloriam nominis  
tui, Domine, libera nos et propitius  
esto peccatis nostris  
propter nomen tuum.

Domine, exaudi orationem  
meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat<sup>i</sup>.

The following prayers are derived from formularies of great antiquity, being very like prayers not only used on this occasion in the missals of Salisbury and York, but found in the sacramentary above alluded to, and in the sacramentary of Gelasius, A. D. 494.

*Minister.* Let us pray.

O Lord, we beseech thee,  
mercifully to hear our prayers,  
and spare all those who confess  
their sins unto thee; that  
they, whose consciences by  
sin are accused, by thy merciful  
pardon may be absolved;  
through Jesus Christ our Lord.  
*Amen.*

O most mighty God, and  
merciful Father, who hast com-

Oremus.

Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras,  
et confitentium tibi parce  
peccatis: ut quos conscientie  
reatus accusat, indulgentie tue  
miseratio absolvat<sup>j</sup>.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,  
qui misereris omnium, et nihil

<sup>i</sup> Miss. Sarisb. fol. 30. Eboracens. in capite Jejunii.

<sup>j</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. 30. Ebor.

ut supra. Sacramentar. Gelasii Muratori, tom. i. p. 504. MS. Leofr. fol. 80.

passion upon all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made; who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but that he should rather turn from his sin, and be saved; mercifully forgive us our trespasses; receive and comfort us, who are grieved and wearied with the burden of our sins. Thy property is always to have mercy; to thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins. Spare us therefore, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed; enter not into judgment with thy servants, who are vile earth, and miserable sinners; but so turn thine anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults, and so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

odisti eorum quæ fecisti<sup>k</sup> . . .  
 Domine Deus noster, qui offensione nostra non vinceris sed satisfactione placaris, respice quæsumus super famulos tuos: qui se tibi graviter peccasse confitentur: tuum est enim absolutionem criminum dare, et veniam præstare pœnitentibus, qui dixisti pœnitentiam te malle peccatorum quam mortem. Concede ergo, Domine, his famulis tuis ut tibi pœnitentiæ excubias celebrent, ut correctis actibus suis, conferri sibi a te sempiterna gaudia gratulentur. Per &c.<sup>l</sup>

These prayers are followed by a supplication, which is said by the clergy and people, and a benediction. The former of these was originally entitled an anthem, and was to be sung. It seems to have been in part derived from the anthems which formerly concluded the office in the Salisbury missal. It is now appointed to be said by all, in imitation of the direction given in the second chapter of the prophet Joel.

<sup>k</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. 30.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. Miss. Ebor. Sacr.

Gelasii Murat. tom. i. p. 504.

MS. Leofr. fol. 80.



Turn thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned. Be favourable, O Lord, be favourable to thy people, who turn to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying. For thou art a merciful God—

—Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, and let not thine heritage be brought to confusion.

—Hear us, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, and after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us.

*Antiphona.* Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro, in jejunio, et fletu, et planctu, dicit Dominus <sup>m</sup>.

*Antiphona.* Juxta vestibulum et altare plorabunt sacerdotes et Levitæ ministri Domini dicentes; Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo: et ne dissipet ora clamantium ad te, Domine <sup>n</sup>.

*Antiphona.* Exaudi nos, Domine, quia benigna est misericordia tua, secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice nos Domine <sup>o</sup>.

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<sup>m</sup> Brev. Sar. in capite Jejunii, fol. 64.

<sup>n</sup> Miss. Sar. fol. 30. Antiphonar. Gregorii Pamel. Li-

turg. tom. ii. p. 84.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. Antiphonar. Greg. ibid.

## CHAPTER XII.

## ORDINATIONS.



## SECTION I.

MISSION OF THE ORTHODOX CLERGY IN THIS EMPIRE  
VINDICATED.

**T**HE right of the clergy to perform ministerial duties is so intimately connected with the sacraments and other offices of the church, that some remarks on the point would have naturally occurred in this place, even if the course of our ritual had not regularly brought the ordinations before us. It is doubtless important that the clergy should be able to prove this right, as well for their own satisfaction as for that of their people; but it is more particularly expedient to consider this matter, when our orders and mission are denied, when we are accused of a schismatical intrusion on the offices of others, and all our ecclesiastical and ministerial acts are characterized as null, and devoid of all spiritual efficacy.

I do not think it necessary to enter on any of the general and abstract questions connected with this subject, because they would take too large a compass, and perhaps might seem misplaced in a work relating more peculiarly to ritual matters<sup>a</sup>;

<sup>a</sup> It is scarcely necessary to refer the reader, for information on these subjects, to the latter part of the fifth and the seventh book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. The works

but it may be well to state briefly the historical facts which establish the spiritual rights of the orthodox ministry in this empire.

Romish authors are sensible that, while those rights are acknowledged, a powerful bond of unity exists among the orthodox, and a mighty barrier opposes itself to the tide of error. Hence we find them at one time endeavouring to represent our ordinations as invalid, and denying us the title or character of bishops, priests, and deacons; at another, affirming that if we have valid orders, yet we have no *mission* or right to exercise those orders.

It certainly is essential that the true ministers of God should be able to prove that they have not only the *power*, but the *right*, of performing sacred offices. There is an evident difference between these things, as may be seen by the following cases. If a regularly ordained priest should celebrate the eucharist in the church of another, contrary to the will of that person and of the bishop, he would have the *power* of consecrating the eucharist, it actually would be consecrated; but he would not have the *right* of consecrating; or, in other words, he would not have *mission* for that act. If a bishop should enter the diocese of another bishop, and contrary to his will, ordain one of his deacons to the priesthood, the intruding bishop would have the *power*, but not the *right* of ordaining: he would have no *mission* for such an act.

of archbishop Potter on Church Government, of bishops Taylor and Hall on Episcopacy, and Leslie on the Qualifications requisite to administer the Sacraments, are all of great va-

lue. Mr. Rose's able and eloquent Sermons on the Commission and consequent Duties of the Clergy should be in the hands of every one.

In fact, mission fails in all schismatical, heretical, and uncanonical acts, because God cannot have given any man a right to act in opposition to those laws which he himself has enacted, or to those which the apostles and their successors have instituted, for the orderly and peaceable regulation of the church: he *is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints*<sup>b</sup>; and yet, were he to commission his ministers to exercise their offices in whatever places and circumstances they pleased, confusion and division without end must be the inevitable result.

Mission can only be given for acts in accordance with the divine and ecclesiastical laws, the latter of which derive their authority from the former; and it is *conferred by valid ordination*. It would be easy to prove this in several ways; but it is enough at present to say, that no other method can be pointed out by which mission is given. Should the ordination be valid, and yet uncanonical, mission does not *take effect* until the suspension imposed by the canons on the person ordained, is in some lawful manner removed.

I am now to state briefly the facts which shew that the clergy of this realm have mission, or a right to exercise their respective orders in the places, and over the persons, now entrusted to their care. They are proved to be the successors of the apostles, and the true ministers of God, by the succession of apostolical ordination; by prescriptive, rightful, and original possession; and by the succession of apostolical doctrine.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

by a regular series of bishops, canonically from the beginning down to the present can therefore not only prove that we are by valid ordinations from the apostles Paul, but can point out the dioceses which successors have rightly possessed even from old times. We stand on the ground of pre-terrestrial immemorial possession, not merely of Patrick and Augustine, but from remote ages, when the bishops and priests of our predecessors attended the councils of Nice, when Tertullian and Origen bore the fame of our Christianity had extended to the east.

But there are some schismatical Romish churches in these islands, but they are of a recent origin, and do not shew the prescription and possession. Some of these teachers do

bishops of our churches, but are places which we know not. Others of various churches in these islands, do not possess themselves, nor can their predecessors have ever occupied them. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, many of these churches, unhappily and blindly refused to obey and acknowledge the pastors, who, in accordance with the canon, were expelled from the churches, and the canon was not observed. The churches were then left to the care of the Romish clergy, who were not allowed to perform any religious services, and were left in a state of confusion and neglect.

The pastors who originally preached the gospel, and converted the inhabitants of these realms to Christianity, were legitimately ordained, and therefore had divine mission for their work. The ancient British bishops, who sat in the councils of Arles and Nice, in the fourth century<sup>e</sup>, were followed by a long line of successors, who governed dioceses in Britain; so were those prelates from Ireland, who, in the seventh century, converted a great portion of the pagan invaders of Britain<sup>f</sup>; and so also was Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, who was sent by Gregory of Rome about the same time, and who preached to another portion of the Anglo-Saxons. The churches, deriving their origin from these three sources, were governed by prelates, who all filled distinct dioceses; and those dioceses have been oc-

<sup>e</sup> See Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, ch. 2 and 3. This work contains a learned history of the antiquity of our church, which was in existence in the second century, and was probably founded by S. Paul, according to bishops Stillingfleet and Burgess, and other divines.

<sup>f</sup> The kingdom of Mercia, containing the counties of Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Salop, Northampton, Leicester, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rutland, Warwick, Worcester, Oxford, Gloucester, Buckingham, Bedford, Hereford, and part of Hertford, was converted to Christianity by Finan, Diuma, Ceollach, and Trumhere, all Irish bishops. Bede, *Historia*, lib. iii. c. 21. The kingdom of Northumberland,

which contained York, Lancaster, and the northern parts of England, and extended a considerable way into Scotland, was chiefly converted by Aidan, another Irish bishop. Paulinus had been sent on this mission by Justus of Canterbury, successor of Augustine, but was soon obliged to retire, and paganism resumed its sway, until Aidan arrived under happier auspices, and converted the nation. *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 3, 5, and 6. Essex, Middlesex, and Hertford were converted by Cedd, another Irish bishop, after they had relapsed into paganism. *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 22. The Picts and Scots of Scotland were converted by Columba, an Irishman, first abbot of Iona, in the sixth century. *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 4.

cupied by a regular series of bishops, canonically ordained, from the beginning down to the present day. We can therefore not only prove that we are descended by valid ordinations from the apostles Peter and Paul, but can point out the dioceses which our predecessors have rightly possessed even from the beginning. We stand on the ground of prescriptive and immemorial possession, not merely from the times of Patrick and Augustine, but from those more remote ages, when the bishops and priests that were our predecessors attended the councils of Arles and of Nice, when Tertullian and Origen bore witness that the fame of our Christianity had extended to Africa and the east.

It is true, that there are some schismatical Romish bishops in these realms, but they are of a recent origin, and cannot shew the prescription and possession which we can. Some of these teachers do not profess to be bishops of our churches, but are titular bishops of places which we know not. Others usurp the titles of various churches in these islands, but neither are in possession themselves, nor can prove that their predecessors have ever occupied them. This sect arose in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when certain persons, unhappily and blindly devoted to the see of Rome, refused to obey and communicate with their lawful pastors, who, in accordance with the law of God and the canons, asserted the ancient independence of the British and Irish church: and the Roman patriarch then ordained a few bishops to sees in Ireland, which were already occupied by legitimate pastors<sup>g</sup>. In Eng-

<sup>g</sup> The Irish bishops almost unanimously consented, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, to remove the jurisdiction of

land this ministry is of a later origin; for the first bishop of that communion was a titular bishop of Chalcedon in the seventeenth century<sup>h</sup>. I must observe further, that the orthodox and undoubted bishops of Great Britain and Ireland are the only persons who in any manner, whether by ordination or possession, can prove their descent from the ancient saints and bishops of these isles. It is a positive fact, that they, and they *alone*, can trace their ordinations from Peter and Paul, through Patrick, Augustine, Theodore, Colman, Columba, David, Cuthbert, Chad, Anselm, Osmund, and all the other worthies of our church. No popish bishops can by any possibility trace their spiritual descent by ordination from the original pastors of our churches; for their line of succession began at Rome, scarcely more than two centuries ago; and none of them have ever received ordination from any British or

the Roman pontiff. See Leland's History of Ireland, b. iv. ch. 1. The consequence was, that for a length of time there were scarcely any popish bishops in Ireland. Macgavran, titular archbishop of Armagh, was sent over from Spain, and slain in the act of rebellion against his sovereign. In 1621, we are informed by O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. Ibernæ, that there were two popish bishops in Ireland, and two others who resided in Spain. These persons were ordained in foreign countries, and could not trace their ordinations to the ancient Irish church.

<sup>h</sup> The Romish sect in England at first was governed by

Jesuits and missionary priests, under the superintendance of Allen, a Roman cardinal, who lived in Flanders, and founded the colleges at Douay and Rheims. In 1598, Mr. George Blackwall was appointed *Arch-priest* of the English Romanists; and this form of ecclesiastical government prevailed amongst them till 1623, when Dr. Bishop was ordained titular bishop of Chalcedon, and sent from Rome to govern that society in England. Dr. Smith, the next bishop of Chalcedon, was banished in 1629, and the Romanists were without bishops till the reign of James the Second. See the history of this sect by Dodd.



Irish bishops, descended from the ancient line of prelates, who for so many ages have represented the apostles in these realms. These facts are sufficient to prove that the orthodox bishops in possession are really the true, the apostolical ministers of God. And hence we are justified in demanding of schismatical bishops, “Wherefore do you presume to invade the offices of those whose predecessors have possessed these churches from the beginning? What can your claims avail against the representatives of those primitive British and Irish bishops, with whom you cannot trace a single link of connection? Cease then to trouble an inheritance which God has entrusted to others, and, before it is too late, implore his pardon for the schism of which you have been guilty.”

*Thirdly,* The true and orthodox bishops and pastors teach those doctrines which the catholic church has taught in all ages from the beginning. We are ready to give a reason for the faith that is in us, and to prove irresistibly, that the faith we hold is the same which the apostles delivered, and which has descended by a continual succession in the catholic church even to the present day. Those points in which Romanists differ from us have never at any time been the doctrine of the church. The doctrines of transubstantiation, purgatory, the papal supremacy, &c. as erroneously taught by schismatical bishops, were never more than the opinions of individuals in the western churches, till the council of Trent: they were believed by some, and disbelieved by others<sup>i</sup>. All the great eastern and aposto-

<sup>i</sup> See Stillingfleet's most excellent Account, &c. being a Vindication of Abp. Laud's

lical churches of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Cæsarea, Russia, Georgia, as well as the ancient sects of monophysites and Nestorians in Egypt, Syria, Chaldæa, Persia, Armenia, India, Tartary, and China, always rejected these doctrines, as they almost universally do at the present day. The meeting termed the council of Trent did not represent the universal church, being illegitimately summoned, and neither attended nor received by the eastern patriarchs, the metropolitans and bishops of these realms, nor any of the orthodox. Hence it is manifest that the erroneous doctrines taught by Romish pastors have never been those of the catholic church.

These three things being certain ; that the bishops and clergy now possessing the churches of these realms have received a valid apostolical ordination ; that they and their predecessors from the beginning have been canonically and rightly ordained to and possessed of these churches ; and that they teach the doctrines which the apostles delivered to the catholic church ; then it follows, that they are the true successors of the apostles, and consequently have divine mission.

But Romanists may object, that mission, or the right of performing ministerial offices, is lost by schism, and therefore that we cannot have mission,

Conference," &c. part ii. ch. 4. p. 366, &c. The profoundly learned Dr. Field, in his book on "the Church," book iii. and Appendix, proves incontestibly that the maintainers of Romish errors were only a *faction* at the period of the reformation,

and that those errors were never the doctrine of the western church.

j The eastern churches are proved to be true and visible churches by Stillingfleet, in his *Vindication of Laud*, part i.

because our predecessors and ourselves are involved in schism, and separated from the catholic church.

In reply to this, we have only to deny that we or our predecessors have either been guilty of schism, or separated from the catholic church. How is it that we have committed schism? Was it in continuing to communicate with the Roman patriarch, when, in the ninth century, he separated from the eastern church? This, at least, will hardly be objected to us as a crime by Romanists. Was it in asserting the ancient liberties of our church, and declining the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, already prohibited by the general councils of Nice and Ephesus? This could not have been schism, because it was strictly according to the canons. And if the Roman patriarch, and his party in the west, excommunicated our predecessors for doing so, that excommunication did not separate *us* from the catholic church, but its own authors and upholders. There is then no proof that we are in schism, and therefore the mission of our clergy remains unquestionable.

Before I conclude this section, it is necessary to meet another objection, which persons of various tenets will no doubt advance. They will say, "that the bishops and clergy of these churches before the reformation differed in several points from their successors; that we must believe they were heretical in several doctrines; and therefore they could not have been legitimate bishops, nor could they have transmitted to others a mission which they had not themselves."

It is true, that certain Romish errors prevailed amongst many of our predecessors for some time

before the reformation ; but that those errors were universally held by them, or that they were viewed as matters of faith, and not of *probability*, is more than any man can prove certainly, or even probably. Hence it is as impossible to prove, as it is uncharitable and unnatural to maintain, that our predecessors in any age were a heretical body.

*Secondly*, Admitting that many of the British and Irish bishops were formerly infected with errors in matters of faith, yet this alone does not prove them heretics, for many of the most illustrious fathers and doctors have erred on particular points. Our predecessors are defended from the charge of heresy by the same reasons which Bossuet uses to exculpate the council of Frankfort, and all the bishops of Gaul, Germany, and Britain, for rejecting the worship of images<sup>k</sup>. They were not considered heretical, because they seemed to inquire about those matters with good intentions, and not with stubborn and pertinacious zeal. They erred from want of sufficient information, and accordingly have never been condemned by the church ; and hence we have no right to say that those British and Irish bishops who held erroneous doctrines were all heretics.

*Thirdly*, Even supposing that some of those prelates were pertinaciously erroneous, and actually heretical, yet no one can prove that a bishop, canonically ordained, loses all his mission for *good* and *beneficial* acts by heresy *ipso facto*<sup>l</sup>; no one can

<sup>k</sup> Bossuet, Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani, lib. vii. c. 31.

<sup>l</sup> Alphonsus a Castro says, that the church has never decreed (as far as he knows)

that an heretical bishop is deprived of his episcopal office *eo ipso*. De Just. Hæreticor. Punit. lib. ii. c. 23. Such a bishop may be deposed; but until he is so, he has divine

prove that such an heretical bishop, against whom the church has made no decree of deposition and excommunication, is devoid of mission for the purpose of ordination: and therefore, even supposing the case, that there have been *heretics* in the line of our ordinations, yet, as those heretics were not publicly known to be such, excommunicated and deposed when they acted, they had the power of conveying mission to their orthodox successors.

## SECTION II.

THE ROMAN PATRIARCHS' CONSENT UNNECESSARY TO  
CANONICAL ORDINATION.

Notwithstanding the satisfactory proofs which establish the divine mission of the orthodox clergy, it is unfortunately true, that Romish authors have deemed themselves bound by necessity to deny it, and to make every possible exertion of ingenuity, learning, and dexterity, to extinguish, or at least obscure it<sup>m</sup>. Many have denied the validity of our ordinations; but others, who have perceived that this was untenable ground, and even admitted and proved it to be so<sup>n</sup>, have contented themselves to

mission for all beneficial acts of the ministry.

<sup>m</sup> Pere le Quien was indignant that Courayer should have defended the validity of the English ordinations, and thereby shaken one of the most *convenient* arguments used by Romish missionaries against the church. See the preface of his Reply to Courayer.

<sup>n</sup> Bossuet admitted the validity of the English ordinations in his letter to Mabillon,

quoted in the Appendix of Courayer's Defence, &c. Peter Walsh, a learned Franciscan friar, though a schismatic, acknowledged the validity of the English ordinations. "Were I to deliver my opinion of that matter," he says, "or were it to my purpose to speak thereof, I would certainly hold myself obliged in conscience (for any thing I know yet) to concur with *them who doubt not* the ordination of bishops, priests,

brand us with the charge of heresy, and maintain that our ordinations are uncanonical and schismatical, which, they think, would either destroy or render dubious the mission of our clergy.

I shall not detain the reader in proving the validity of our ordinations, or the orthodoxy of our doctrines. These are points which every one amongst ourselves has considered, and about which Romanists themselves are divided. I have already assumed them in stating the mission of our clergy. But the objections deduced from the charge of uncanonical and schismatical proceedings are perhaps not so familiar to us, and therefore may merit some consideration in this place. They relate chiefly to the period when the usurped jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff was abolished in these realms, and more especially to the transactions which occurred in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign<sup>o</sup>. It is alleged,

and deacons in the protestant church of England to be (at least) *valid*. And yet I have read all whatever hath been to the contrary objected by the Roman catholic writers, whether against the matter, or form, or want of power in the first consecrators, by reason of their schism or heresy, or of their being deposed formerly from their sees, &c. But I have withal observed *nothing of truth* alleged by the objectors, which might *in the least persuade* any man who is acquainted with the known divinity or doctrine of our present schools, (besides what Richardus Armachanus long since writ,) and with the annals of our own Roman church, un-

less peradventure he would turn *so frantic* at the same time as to question even the *validity of our own ordination* also in the said Roman church." History of the Irish Remonstrance, p. xlii. printed A. D. 1674. Courayer, canon regular of St. Genevieve, defended the validity of the English ordinations in the most powerful manner in two books. Barnes, the Benedictine, went so far as to write a book (Catholico-Romanus Pacificus) to induce the Roman patriarch to receive the English church into his communion, and to justify us from the charge of schism and heresy.

<sup>o</sup> These arguments have been used by a multitude of Romish

first, that archbishop Parker should, according to the canons of the council of Nice, have been confirmed and ordained by his ecclesiastical superior, the patriarch of the west, or the bishops of the province delegated by him; and since he was not, that his ordination was schismatical, and he had no mission <sup>P</sup>.

Few controversies are capable of a more satisfactory decision than the present. I observe, in the first place, that the objection does not assume any imaginary divine right in the see of Rome to confirm and ordain all metropolitans, but takes the lower ground of an ecclesiastical or canonical right. Of the former indeed there is no trace in apostolical tradition. The several ordinary powers and privileges which our Saviour promised to St. Peter, for the sake of commending unity, he conferred on all the apostles and their successors, as Bossuet<sup>q</sup>, Du Pin<sup>r</sup>, Richer<sup>s</sup>, and other eminent Romish divines have proved, both from the words of scripture and the tradition of the church in all ages. The customs and canons of the church gave the bishop of Rome, who, like other bishops, was a successor of Peter and the apostles, a primacy of *honour*, and a patriarchal jurisdiction over the suburbicarian provinces

authors, from Champney down to Milner, and Trevern, bishop of Aire, who have recently advanced them with much confidence.

<sup>P</sup> Trevern, Champney.

<sup>q</sup> *Defensio Declarat. Cleri Gallicani*, lib. viii. c. 12. *Collar. Defens.* c. 11.

<sup>r</sup> *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Dis-*

*ciplina*, Dissertat. iv. c. 1.

<sup>s</sup> *Libellus de Eccl. et Polit. Potest.* p. 15, &c. Colon. 1683. It must be almost needless for me to refer to Barrow's unanswerable Treatise upon the Pope's Supremacy, as the best refutation of all the claims of the Roman pontiff and his adherents.

in Italy and Sicily<sup>t</sup>. His jurisdiction did not extend to any part of the eastern church, nor to Africa, Gaul, Spain, Britain, or Ireland, in the west, as Du Pin<sup>u</sup> and others have admitted and proved. Britain and Ireland were independent of Roman jurisdiction when the council of Nice was held, A. D. 325, as we are informed by Barnes, the learned Benedictine<sup>v</sup>; and therefore, supposing that the canon to which M. Trevern refers, gave patriarchs the power of ordaining all metropolitans within their patriarchates, yet it did not apply to Britain and Ireland, because they were not within any patriarchate.

The ancient British church had existed at least from the second century, if not from the apostolic age. Its bishops sat in the councils of Arles, Nice, Sardica, and Ariminium, in the fourth century; and none of them were ordained or confirmed by the Roman patriarch. They did not send any appeals to him in ecclesiastical causes, nor did they attend councils summoned by him<sup>w</sup>. About the middle of the fifth century, the pagan Saxons invaded Britain, and gradually subdued a large portion of the coun-

<sup>t</sup> Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Diss. i. §. 14. Stillingfleet's *Origines Britt.* c. 3. Bingham's *Antiquities*, book ix. ch. 1. §. 9, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Du Pin, *ut supra*.

<sup>v</sup> Barnes, "Catholico-Romanus Pacificus, sectio iii. *De insulæ magnæ Britannicæ privilegiis*," defends the ancient liberties of the British church in a most able manner; and remarks, that these rights or privileges (as he terms them)

may be retained by us without any mark of schism and "sine dispendio catholicismi." This learned and candid man was, in consequence of his liberal notions, seized at Paris, carried prisoner to Rome, immured in the dungeon of the inquisition, and ere long thrust into a madhouse, where he died. See also Bingham's *Antiquities*, book ix. chap. 1.

<sup>w</sup> Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, chap. 2, 3, 4.



try; but this calamity cannot be imagined to have destroyed the ancient rights of the church of Britain. A continual succession of bishops was still preserved; and even in the latter part of the sixth century there were British bishops at London and York, as well as in the western and unconquered parts of the country<sup>x</sup>. At the end of this century, Augustine was sent by Gregory of Rome to convert the Anglo-Saxons; a task which the British bishops had, from various circumstances, found it impossible to accomplish. Gregory subsequently directed Augustine to ordain several bishops to aid him in this work, and he was perfectly justified in doing so. The succeeding Roman pontiffs continued to ordain pastors for the English church; and while there was a necessity for so doing, while the church was weak, and required external assistance, they could not be accused of ambition, but deserved commendation and praise.

These laudable acts, however, cannot be imagined to have invested the Roman bishops with patriarchal jurisdiction over Britain. When the necessity which justified them was extinct, the ancient original rights of the British church revived. When the common faith was assailed, or when infidelity was to be converted, it was the duty of all Christian churches to lend assistance to their brethren who needed it. And

<sup>x</sup> Theonus of London and Thadiocus of York were obliged to fly into Wales, in A. D. 586: see Usher's Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 5. Kentigern, about this time, ruled the British church in Glasgow and Cumberland. Ibid. c. 14, 15. *Seven British*

bishops met Augustine in the conference at Augustine's oak. Beda, lib. ii. c. 2. At this time the Irish church was perfectly independent of the Roman patriarch, and was united in the closest amity with the church of Britain.

in the present case we find that the Irish afforded still more effectual aid to the cause of Christianity than the Roman patriarch, of whom they were independent; for by far the greatest portion of the Anglo-Saxons were converted by missionaries and bishops from Ireland<sup>y</sup>. But even supposing that all the Anglo-Saxons had been baptized by Augustine and his followers, this would not have established a patriarchal right for the Roman pontiff in Britain. In this we are borne out by several examples. The Roman See sent seven bishops into Gaul, in the third century, to aid the original Gallican church in propagating Christianity<sup>z</sup>; yet we have the testimony of Du Pin that Gaul was not a portion of the Roman patriarchate on that account; and we are told by Bossuet, *De Marca, Baluzius, &c.*<sup>a</sup> that the Roman pontiff did not ordain the metropolitans of France in consequence. Hence no right of

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 250, note f.

<sup>z</sup> Gregory of Tours, lib. i. c. 28. x. c. 31. *De gloria Confessorum*, c. 30. *De Marca*, archbishop of Paris, informs us, that the most celebrated authors of the Roman communion, such as Carolus Molinæus, Fauchetius, Pasquierius, Pithæus, Hotmannus, Servinus, and others, teach "that the Roman pontiff exercised no authority in Gaul before the sixth century; that in all that interval, of almost 600 years, *the king alone* presided over the Gallican church as head, and not the pope." *Prolegomena ad lib. de Conc. Sac. et Imp.* p. 71.

<sup>a</sup> Bossuet, *Defensio Decla-*

*rat. Cleri Gallicani*, lib. viii. near the end. *De Marca, De Concord. Sacer. et Imperii*, lib. iv. c. 4, proves, that not only the ordinations of Gallican metropolitans were made without the authority and bulls of the Roman patriarch, but likewise those of Africa, Spain, Illyricum, Italy, and all other countries beyond the suburbicarian provinces. How enormously must the power of that prelate have extended since those times; for he now not only arrogates to himself the exclusive ordination of all metropolitans in the world, but even all bishops must have his confirmation before they are ordained.

ordination, or any other patriarchal right in Britain, accrued to the see of Rome, from having sent Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons. A still stronger case is supplied by the Irish church. Celestine of Rome successively ordained Palladius and Patrick bishops, for the conversion of the Irish; and yet Ireland did not become subject to the Roman patriarchate, but for seven hundred years ordained its own metropolitans, till, at the synod of Kells, A. D. 1152, the Irish archbishops consented, for the first time, to receive palls from Rome. The ordinations of Augustine and his successors for some time were justifiable, owing to the necessity and weakness of the church; but then these were only exceptions from the rule, relaxations of the canons, and the ancient rights of Britain remained unshaken.

These unquestionable facts, while they prove that the canon of Nice, so much dwelt on by certain persons, has no force in these churches, also shew that the Roman patriarch can have no jurisdiction over us by divine right. But we shall presently see that they go much further. The sixth canon of the council of Nice, A. D. 325, commanded that the "ancient customs should prevail," and the "privileges of churches be preserved." The council of Ephesus, A. D. 430, forbade bishops to assume jurisdiction over provinces, which had not from the beginning been subject to their predecessors. It enjoined on all who might have taken such provinces an immediate restitution, and decreed "that *every province* should preserve pure and inviolate the rights which it had from the beginning; that," as the council added, with the wisest foresight, "the canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor

the *pride of worldly dominion* enter under the presence of the sacred ministry<sup>b</sup>." The churches of Britain and Ireland were at that time independent of the Roman patriarch, and had been so from the beginning. The councils of Nice and Ephesus therefore forbade that bishop to assume jurisdiction over our churches. His jurisdiction began in Britain in the seventh century, and gradually increased in after-ages. It was not created nor confirmed by the decree of any general council, but from necessity was justifiable at first, and for convenience and custom was afterwards tolerated and admitted by the bishops of Britain. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, however, the yoke of Roman dominion became intolerable; and the bishops and clergy of all England and Ireland, determined that the Roman patriarch had no jurisdiction in these realms, and, declining any further submission to that prelate, concurred in the several acts of the civil power, by which his usurped jurisdiction was rendered illegal, and extinguished. Those bishops and clergy had the power of abolishing that jurisdiction, for it was not *jure divino*, nor did it rest on the decree of a general synod, nor on any thing but their predecessors' and their own *temporary* consent. They had a right to abolish it, because it had increased to an extent prejudicial to the church and state, and because the see of Rome put forward claims, as a matter of divine right, which were inconsistent with the dignity and

<sup>b</sup> Labbé, Concilia, tom. iii. p. 801. The patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople had already manifested some of that usurping spirit; but the

patriarch of Rome in after-ages justified in the fullest manner the wisdom and necessity of this canon.

independence of the king and the clergy. They acted canonically in abolishing it, for the general councils of Nice and Ephesus forbade its exercise, and enjoined them to maintain the liberties which their predecessors had from the beginning.

The jurisdiction of the Roman see was therefore lawfully, rightly, and canonically abolished in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and was as perfectly extinct as if it had never existed: having been formally abolished by the church, it needed to be canonically *created*, before its exercise could be in any way permissible. Now a patriarchal authority could only be canonically erected in England by a general synod; because it required such an authority to repeal the canon already made, by an equal authority, at Nice and Ephesus, which prohibited the extension of patriarchal authority to Britain. The jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople over Thrace, required to be confirmed by the second general council; his authority over Asia and Pontus needed the confirmation of the fourth; and even then Leo of Rome objected to the decree, because it was contrary to the canon of Nice<sup>c</sup>. But no general synod gave the Roman pontiff patriarchal authority in Britain; and therefore the ancient customs and rights of the church of Britain, which she had from the beginning, which were confirmed by the councils of Nice and Ephesus, and resumed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, were still canonically binding, when Abp. Parker was to be consecrated. But why do I speak of a general synod? There was not even any decree of a *national* synod in Britain creating

<sup>c</sup> Leo, Epist. 78, 79, 80.

this jurisdiction. If there was, where was that synod held? Let its acts be produced; let us see those canons (never before heard of) which formally and regularly created the bishop of Rome patriarch of Britain. Nor is this all: we deny that the acts of the bishops of England in the time of queen Mary, can be conceived to have given the sanction of the church to the introduction of Roman jurisdiction. For if they acted without sufficient information, or from motives of superstition; if they did not know their own rights, nor those of the Roman see; then any act of theirs, performed under such circumstances, could not be taken for the act of the church of England, but must have remained over until confirmed, after more mature investigation. An act performed without mature deliberation or information could not be final or conclusive; it could not compromise the liberties of the church, nor the canons. Now what was the fact? The English bishops in the reign of Mary did not canonically and regularly create the bishop of Rome patriarch of England, but made their *submission* to him, confessing that they had been guilty of *schism* and *heresy* in removing his jurisdiction. They proved that they did not know their own place, nor the power of the English church, nor the canons, when they confessed *schism* and *heresy* in an act which was, on the contrary, perfectly canonical and valid<sup>d</sup>. They shewed

<sup>d</sup> The learned Franciscan, Barnes, says, "Ex can. 8. Ephesino, debent conservari, imo et vi ablata repeti, ecclesiarum antiqua privilegia: Insula autem Britanniae gavisata est olim privilegio Cyprio, ut nullius pa-

*triarchæ legibus subderetur.* Hoc autem privilegium etsi aboliturum olim fuit bellorum tumultibus et vi, tamen cum tempore Henrici octavi totius regni consensu fuit repetitum, et ab eo tempore pacifice præscrip-

that they had an exaggerated and erroneous notion of the rights of the Roman see, when they designated as *schismatical* the removal of a jurisdiction which was contrary to the canons. If then those prelates had, even in a canonical synod, formally erected the Roman jurisdiction in Britain, yet still their judgment could not be conclusive; it could not compromise the rights of the catholic church, because they acted without sufficient information, and on erroneous principles.

Nor are these the only proofs which demonstrate that the Roman jurisdiction was not canonically in existence in Britain, when Parker was to be consecrated. Whatever we may think of *patriarchal* jurisdiction, we are not bound to think the same of *papal*. And even supposing that the bishops of England had the power of creating the former, we peremptorily deny that they could have had any right to create the latter. Papal authority had grown up contrary to, and had long set itself above, the canons<sup>e</sup>. To create this authority without pro-

tum, videtur pacis ergo retineri debere *sine dispendio catholicismi, et absque schismatis ullius nota,*" &c. Cath. Rom. Pacif. sect. iii. "Mores antiqui Britanniae vi et potentia Anglo-Saxonum erant abrogati, potius quam synodico consensu"—"Hæc cum ita essent, tres status Angliæ volentes antiqui regni jura, potius vi et potentia quam ex canonum norma ablata, repetere; ex concessione canon. 8. Ephesini, anno 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Statutorum, decreverunt lites intra regni limites terminari sine provocatione ad exteros." Ib.

<sup>e</sup> Bossuet says, that in the course of time "the Roman pontiffs began to turn away from obedience to the canons, and by extraordinary mandates, reservations, tenths, heavy burdens, pecuniary impositions, &c. to draw all the rights of the bishops and clergy to themselves." Defens. Declar. Cleri Gallicani, lib. xi. c. 9. Trevern, bishop of Aire, admits that "exorbitant power" was attributed to the Roman see at the period of the reformation, and, "with all the respect which he professes for his brethren of the ultramon-

per limitations, without a restoration of all the canons on which it had trampled, to their full force, without a bridling which should effectually keep it within its proper limits; to surrender *unconditionally* (as queen Mary's bishops did) the liberties of the catholic church to a power which professed to be unlimited and above all canons; I say that this was to immolate the canonical and divine rights of the Christian church to a spirit of ignorance, of superstition, and of error: and for such an act there could be no power or right, canonical or divine.

It may be objected here, that if Roman jurisdiction was uncanonical in Britain, then all the ordinations of English metropolitans, from the time of Gregory the Great of Rome, were uncanonical, since the Roman patriarch always confirmed and ordained them. But this objection is of no force, because the necessity and advantage of the church justified these things at first; and afterwards, the custom was tolerated for a time, because the Roman pontiff was too strong, and perhaps, too, from want of considering the canons, and partly from weakness and su-

tane churches," deems it necessary to remark, that they are "imbued with exaggerated principles" on this point; and exhorts them to remember, "that even *the ocean* in its plenitude has its bounds;" a simile which he uses to illustrate the authority of the Roman pontiff. Discuss. Amicale. p. 229, &c. Those divines amongst the Romanists who are considered most orthodox, sustain that the bishop of Rome cannot be judged by any earthly power, even a general council; Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont.

lib. ii. c. 26. And it is thence inferred, that he is not bound by any human precepts or canons. Alphonsus a Castro de Just. Hæret. Punit. lib. ii. c. 23. The great primate Bramhall exposes the usurpations and tyranny of the Roman patriarch, and shews the many reasons we had for abolishing his jurisdiction, in his "Vindication of the Church of England from the Charge of Schism," ch. 6, and "Schism Guarded," sect. 1. ch. 4, &c. See also Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy.



perstition: but this toleration, or temporary relaxation of the canons, is not to be taken as a proof that the church relinquished her rights, or gave a canonical permanent establishment to the Roman jurisdiction.

Nor let it be said or thought for an instant, that the abolition of Roman jurisdiction in England was schismatical, or that it rent asunder the *unity* which the Redeemer enjoined and established in his church. Does unity consist in submission to the jurisdiction of the Roman see, without considering whether that jurisdiction is established by the canons, and the law of God? Does it infer the *unconditional* surrender of all the rights and privileges of God's church to the interpretation and dictation of the Roman see? Is it a breach of unity to enforce the decrees of general synods, and the ancient indefeasible rights of the catholic church, against the uncanonical usurpations of that see? When it has been proved that the Roman patriarch is the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that all bishops are only his vicars, and have no divine right of their own; that he is above all canons, above a general synod, not subject to any tribunal upon earth, infallible in all his decisions; then will the advocates of Rome have proved that the church in these realms committed schism; and at the same moment have convicted, along with her, the fathers, the councils, and the catholic church from the beginning, of error on all these points, and of perpetual opposition to all the greatest principles of ecclesiastical discipline<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> See Bossuet, and the other defenders of the Gallican liberties, who reduce the authority of the Roman patriarch very nearly to its proper dimensions.

But I return to the question before us. It is, whether archbishop Parker, in order to his canonical consecration, needed the confirmation and ordination of the Roman patriarch, or his commissioners? I reply, without doubt or hesitation, that he did not. For that patriarch had no canonical jurisdiction in Britain at the time when Parker was to be consecrated; his jurisdiction having been regularly removed, and never created again. Hence it was not merely *unnecessary* for Parker to receive confirmation and ordination from the Roman patriarch, but he would have been *uncanonical* and *schismatical* if he had sought and obtained them. Need I add, that there is no force whatsoever in the objection against his mission, derived from the want of that confirmation and ordination.

### SECTION III.

#### ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S CONSECRATORS JUSTIFIED.

It is objected farther by Romish divines, that Parker was not consecrated by bishops who possessed dioceses in England, but by others who had been deposed, were without sees or jurisdiction, and were heretical themselves, or had been ordained by heretics<sup>g</sup>.

It is true, that Parker was not ordained by bishops in actual possession of dioceses in England; and it is also true, that the bishops of the province were those that, according to the canons, had a full right to ordain him: nevertheless his ordination was canonical, as we shall presently see. I shall assume, for the sake of meeting the objection more fully, that the bishops possessed of sees in the province of

<sup>g</sup> Trevern, Champney, &c.

Canterbury, were all *canonically* possessed of those sees, though we shall see good reasons hereafter to deny this. Those bishops then had a right to ordain their metropolitan Parker<sup>h</sup>; but then they *forfeited* that right by schismatically and uncanonically refusing to exercise it.

The church must have a remedy, if bishops refuse to provide pastors for vacant sees. If those who are bound by the laws of God and of his church to provide pastors for the flock of Christ, are led astray by error and prejudice, their rights devolve on other bishops, and they are themselves liable to punishment. The bishops who occupied sees in England refused to ordain archbishop Parker, and consequently their rights devolved on the neighbouring bishops. Those of Gaul, Spain, and most others in the vicinity, were however too much under the dominion of Rome, to leave any expectation that they would ordain him. Excommunication would have been one of the least punishments of any prelate in those churches, who had assisted in providing a metropolitan for England. Ignorance, party spirit, and we may add, error and heresy, were so powerful in those countries, that it would have been in vain to expect ordination from thence. The bishops of Ireland afforded their sanction to the ordination of Parker, as they gave the right hand of fellowship and communion to that orthodox primate, and to all the bishops of England ordained by him.

It being manifest that neither the provincial bishops of England, nor, in their default, the bishops

<sup>h</sup> Concil. Aurelianus, ii. c. 7.      c. 16. §. 15. De Marca, Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. iv. cap. 4.  
 Concil. Toletan. iv. c. 18. See Bingham's Antiquities, book ii.

of neighbouring churches, would or could provide a pastor for the church of Canterbury, the right of ordination devolved on the next bishops of the catholic church; and such were Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins, who actually consecrated Parker archbishop of Canterbury. The three first bishops were *not* canonically deposed for marriage, in the reign of Mary, as some persons pretend. Barlow voluntarily resigned his see of Bath and Wells, as appears by queen Mary's *cong e d' lire* for the election of his successor; and although it is said that he was afterwards deposed, yet there is no sufficient evidence of the fact. Scory was not deposed, but was expelled by royal authority, from the see of Chichester; and Day, who had previously occupied that see, was restored. Both these prelates were canonically *vacant*<sup>i</sup>; the former having resigned his see, and the latter having been translated to his *dubio jure*, and afterwards expelled by queen Mary. Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, was uncanonically ejected, and his predecessor restored by royal authority, although that predecessor had, several years before, freely and spontaneously resigned that see, as appears by his own words still extant. Hodgkins was also canonically vacant, as no one pretends that he was deposed. These four prelates were therefore *at least* canonically vacant, if indeed two of them were not still legitimately bishops of English dioceses. Now vacant bishops have mission<sup>j</sup> for all

<sup>i</sup> A vacant bishop, in the canonical sense, means one who has not obtained, or who has lost possession of, a diocese, without any fault of his own. He is differently circumstanced

from a bishop regularly deposed, who is forbidden by the laws of the church to exercise any part of his office.

<sup>j</sup> Bishops, at their ordination, receive divine mission,

acts permitted by the canons; and the canons, in the present instance, permitted them to act; for the apostolical and ecclesiastical laws required that a pastor should be provided without delay for the see of Canterbury<sup>k</sup>; but that pastor could not be ordained by the bishops occupying sees in England, nor by the neighbouring bishops, because they were too much under the power of the Roman see, and laboured under various impediments of uncanonical possession or ordination, schism, heresy, &c.; therefore the right devolved on the next catholic bishops. Those bishops who did ordain were orthodox, and cannot be proved to have been heretics; and, as we shall presently perceive, the bishops actually occupying sees in England were not rightly and canonically in possession, and had not as good a right to ordain a bishop for the vacant see of Canterbury, as those who actually did so.

or right of performing all ministerial acts permitted by the law of God and the canons. A vacant bishop may have the chair, title, and exercise of the episcopal office, with the knowledge and consent of the bishop in whose diocese he lives. (Canon Apostol. xxxvi. Concil. Antioch. can. xviii. and the Commentaries of Balsamon, &c.) He may teach, preach, and ordain, with the same consent. (Balsamon and Zonaras on the 18th canon of the council of Antioch.) If several other bishops approve, he may take possession of a vacant see, when canonically elected. (Concil. Antioch. canon xvi. and Balsamon's Commentary.) He

may go among the heathen, preach, baptize, and found churches. (Amandus resigned the see of Utrecht, and went to preach to the Gentiles. In those ages it was common to ordain bishops *sine titulo*, to preach to the Gentiles. See Du Cange's Glossary, voce *Episcopus vacans*.) There can be no doubt, therefore, that vacant bishops have divine mission for all acts permitted by the law of God and the canons.

<sup>k</sup> The 25th canon of the council of Chalcedon commanded vacant sees to be filled by ordination in three months, unless in a case of inevitable necessity.

Champney endeavours to shew that bishop Barlow had no mission, and could not ordain archbishop Parker, as Cranmer, who consecrated him, was a heretic: but this is more than any man can prove. He thinks we must confess, at least, that they who ordained Cranmer were heretics, because, he affirms, they were of a different religion from that prelate<sup>1</sup>. But what proof is there that those prelates had a different religion from Cranmer? When were they condemned or excommunicated by him, or by the church? The communion which those prelates had with Cranmer, is a strong presumption that they all held the same religion.

#### SECTION IV.

##### THE OATH OF SUPREMACY CONSIDERED.

Before I proceed to consider the remaining objections of Romanists against the mission of the orthodox clergy, it will be necessary briefly to consider the oath of supremacy, as it was in the time of queen Elizabeth. In this oath it is professed, that “the king is the only supreme governor of this realm of England, and of all other his majesty’s dominions, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal: and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm <sup>m</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Champnæus de Vocat. Ministror. cap. ix. and x.

<sup>m</sup> The oath of supremacy was altered in the reign of king William the Third, and

the declaration against the deposing power of the pope of Rome, inserted in place of the first clause.

It is unnecessary for us to consider the *grounds* of the royal authority in ecclesiastical or spiritual matters, because the oath does not allude to them, but merely to the matter of fact that there is such an authority. The church of England, and the kings of England themselves, have not rested it so much on the ground of divine institution, as of divine and ecclesiastical *permission*, and custom <sup>n</sup>.

It is only necessary to remark the authority which several of the kings of Israel and of Judah exercised in ecclesiastical affairs, without any rebuke from the prophets, to be convinced that such an authority is not *opposed* to the divine will. There can be no doubt also, that Christian emperors and kings from the beginning, have been acknowledged to have the power of keeping the clergy and laity to their religious duties; of enforcing the ecclesiastical canons; and of making new laws and regulations for the external and internal benefit of the church, with the consent and advice of their bishops <sup>o</sup>. If this be not

<sup>n</sup> The judicious Hooker makes the following remarks on this subject: "As for supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, the word of God doth no where appoint that all kings should have it, neither that any should not have it; for which cause, it seemeth to stand altogether by human right, that unto Christian kings there is such dominion given." *Eccl. Polity*, book viii.

<sup>o</sup> "No one denies," says Champney, "that kings, in their own order and degree, govern ecclesiastical affairs; that is to say, in making laws

for the church, according to the tenor of the canons, and the judgment of bishops; indeed this is their chief office, for which they are given the power of the sword by God." *De Vocat. Ministr.* c. 16. "It is not denied that a prince, magistrate, or community, has the power—of making laws for the peace of the church; of proclaiming, defending, and vindicating doctrines against violation." Stapleton, *Princip. Doctr. lib. v. c. 17*. The imperial edicts, *novellæ*, and capitulars of Justinian and Charlemagne, and a number of other

properly to rule and govern the church, what else is it? An exciting, controlling, legislative power is government. He who enforces laws, restrains disobedience to laws, makes laws with the advice and consent of others, what else is he but a *governor*? Now as it is impossible to deny that Christian kings have always had such an authority, whatever may be its foundation, it follows that they are governors of the church; and since there can be no other temporal governors of the church above them, they are also *supreme governors* of the church; and therefore there could be no just reason for refusing this title to the king of England. It is indifferent by what name this dignity and authority is distinguished; for the various appellations of "ruler," "judge," "magistrate," "head," might also be applied with equal propriety to the supreme temporal governor of the church in this empire<sup>p</sup>.

And further, the oath does not affirm that the king is a patriarch, primate, bishop, or *spiritual* minister of God. It does not deny that the bishops

emperors and kings, which are found amongst the canons, prove to demonstration the acknowledged power of Christian princes, to make laws for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, according to the canons, and the exigency of the case.

<sup>p</sup> The title of "head of the church of England," was given to Henry the Eighth by the clergy and parliament of England: but this title, though perfectly harmless in itself, gave such offence to many persons, that queen Elizabeth relinquished it for that of

"governor." "The most celebrated authors of the Roman communion," says De Marca, "teach—that the *king alone* presided over the Gallican church *as head*, and *not the pope*:" see above, p. 262, note 2. The bishops of Spain, A. D. 705, addressed their king as "he who *rules* ecclesiastical affairs." Concil. Emeritens. Mason, de Minist. Anglic. lib. iii. c. 4. The Russian church acknowledges the emperor to be "supreme judge" in ecclesiastical affairs, as will be presently seen.



and pastors, who succeed the apostles, have a divine right to feed the flock of Christ, and exercise all the ordinary powers, rights, and privileges, which God gave to his apostles and their successors.

All this oath of supremacy affirms is, that the king of England, like his predecessors, and all other Christian kings and emperors, has the right, from ancient custom, universal consent of the church, and expediency, to direct, control, and support the affairs of the church in this empire, for its own good, and according to the law of God and the canons; while at the same time it permits us to add, that there are pastors, who have a divine right to administer spiritual affairs; that the king himself cannot invade their peculiar office; that he can do nothing lawfully against the Christian faith and discipline, the canons, or the benefit of the church.

If it be plain that this oath only ascribes to the king such a power as a king ought to have, (and the monarchs of England have repeatedly disclaimed any authority, beyond that which the church has always conceded to Christian rulers,) then there could be no proper objection to the part of this oath, which ascribes the supreme government of the church of England to the king. No one, in fact, could object to it, except those who vainly imagined that the Roman patriarch has universal jurisdiction, or that his patriarchate extends to these realms.

The church of England is justified for permitting this oath of supremacy to be taken by her clergy, not only by the ancient custom of the Christian world, but by the actual practice of the eastern church at the present day. All the bishops of Russia swear to "yield *true obedience* to the holy

legislative synod of all the Russias, as instituted by the pious emperor Peter the Great<sup>1</sup>;" and every member of that legislative synod, whether he be a bishop, an abbot, or a dean, declares that "he acknowledges, upon oath, that the monarch of all Russia himself is the *supreme judge* of this spiritual college<sup>r</sup>." The Russian bishops promise obedience to those who swear that the emperor is *supreme judge* in ecclesiastical affairs, and therefore justify the English church for affirming, that the king is *supreme governor* in such affairs. All the eastern patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, hold communion with those bishops; and therefore we have the testimony of the whole eastern church at the present day, that there is nothing heretical or uncanonical in admitting the king to have supreme authority in the church.

And if it should be objected to us, that the kings of England have sometimes stretched their prerogative too far in ecclesiastical affairs, this does not touch us in the least:—for we are not bound to defend *abuses*; and if the church has submitted sometimes to them, it was to avoid greater evils. Patriarchs also, as well as kings, are sometimes ambitious and unjust; but occasional acts of injustice do not afford sufficient reasons for withholding obedience to their lawful authority.

<sup>1</sup> King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 295.

<sup>r</sup> See Consett's Present State of the Church of Russia, A. D. 1729, p. 10. The "Spiritual Regulation" for the supreme Russian synod, composed by

Theophanes, archbishop of Novogrod, and published by Peter the Great, is a most important document, and is well worthy of perusal. It occurs in Consett's work. See also Voltaire's Peter the Great, ch. 10.

## SECTION V.

## THE ENGLISH BISHOPS NOT INTRUDERS.

We are told by Romish divines, that all the bishops of England appointed in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were intruders and schismatics, because their predecessors had been 'uncanonically and impiously deprived by the civil power; and consequently that they had no divine mission or right to exercise their offices, and could not confer any on their successors<sup>s</sup>.

This certainly appears a very sweeping argument; but let us reduce it to its just proportions before we actually meet it. *Twelve* bishoprics were vacant by the death of their incumbents before any consecrations took place in Elizabeth's reign<sup>t</sup>. Intrusion cannot be objected to the twelve bishops elected and ordained for these sees. The remaining sees were occupied by bishops, and fourteen of these were expelled. Let us consider, whether we are to view their successors in the light of schismatics and intruders.

*First*, Without deciding whether the queen of England acted rightly in removing these prelates from the churches they occupied, there can be no doubt that she had ample *power* to do so. The state, whether justly or unjustly offended, had power

<sup>s</sup> This argument perpetually recurs in a work of M. Trevern of Aire against the English church and the reformation. It is also dwelt on by Champney, and most other Romish controversialists.

<sup>t</sup> Canterbury, Salisbury, Norwich, Hereford, Chichester,

Rochester, Oxford, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor, Man, were vacant before, or shortly after, the accession of Elizabeth. Tunstall of Durham died shortly after he was expelled, and before his successor was ordained.

to expel them, and to prevent them from exercising any episcopal functions, and it actually did so. The church would then have been left desolate; there would have been no pastors to feed the flock of Christ; the ministers of God would have become extinct, or been replaced by men without ordination, without the power or right of performing sacred offices; the sacraments and rites of the church would not have been administered; heresies and schisms would have spread, unity would have become impossible, and true religion ceased to exist.

With such perils before her mind, the catholic church has provided a remedy against them, by permitting orthodox pastors to be ordained in the place of those that have been expelled by the imperial authority, even when that expulsion has been unjust. Methodius and Nicephorus Callistus<sup>u</sup>, amongst the eastern catholics, and Dr. Hody and others, in the western church<sup>v</sup>, have proved that the universal practice has been, to ordain bishops to sees vacant *de facto* by the deprivations of emperors and kings; and that it has always been reckoned schismatical

<sup>u</sup> The tract of Methodius occurs in the third volume of the Ancient Remains, published by Angelo Maio, p. 247, &c. That of Nicephorus was edited by Dr. Hody, at Oxford, A. D. 1691.

<sup>v</sup> Hody's "Case of Sees, vacant by an unjust or uncanonical Deprivation, stated." Lond. 1693. M. Trevern frequently alludes to the arguments of Dodwell against the deprivation of those bishops, who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William the Third,

as applying equally to the case of the bishops expelled in Elizabeth's time: but he does not state that Dodwell, after the death of those expelled prelates, wrote a book, to prove that the bishops *in possession*, ought to be obeyed and *communicated* with. If his former arguments are brought to shew the impropriety of depriving bishops in the reign of Elizabeth; his latter prove, that after the death of those expelled prelates, the bishops *in possession* were to be obeyed.

to refuse communion with the bishops so ordained, provided their doctrine was orthodox. When the state even wrongfully expels a pastor, if there is no possibility of successfully opposing that act, the next best thing must be done; a bishop must be appointed in his place; and it is the duty of the expelled pastor and the people to submit, lest greater evils should fall upon the church; unless it appears evidently that the object of the prince is to destroy religion, that his hostility is directed, not against the individual bishops, but against the doctrine, discipline, and existence of the church. Hence, supposing that the queen had only private and personal motives for expelling those bishops in the beginning of her reign, and supposing that they were actually canonical bishops, that they had a right to the sees they held, that there were no just reasons for expelling them; still, according to the universal practice of the church, successors should have been appointed to their places, and would be canonical bishops.

But this, in reality, was not the state of the case. The queen did not act without a sufficient cause. These prelates positively refused to acknowledge the authority of the crown in ecclesiastical affairs, and therefore acted in a disloyal manner<sup>w</sup>. They persisted in maintaining the jurisdiction of Rome in

<sup>w</sup> De Marca says, that the Christian emperors of Rome "sometimes punished contumacious bishops by *expulsion from their sees*, and suspension from the execution of their offices," as he proves from Justinian; "and which custom,"

he says, "that prince had not introduced into the church, but had derived from his predecessors, whose constitutions frequently alarm the clergy with threats of expulsion, exile, and fines." De Concordia Sacerdot. et Imperii, lib. iv. c. 18.

these realms, contrary to the councils of Nice and Ephesus, and the canonical determinations and practice of the English church; and therefore they were disobedient to the canons. After repeated admonitions, ample time for reflection, those bishops remained fixed in their errors relative to the divine right of Roman jurisdiction, and refused to their prince any of that authority which Christian kings have ever had. After a violent opposition, in the course of which they were even designing excommunication to their sovereign, they refused to take the oath of supremacy, which as subjects, and as bishops of the British church, they were bound to have taken. It is even probable that they refused that oath on grounds which were politically dangerous. The false doctrines of those who taught that the patriarch of Rome had supreme power over the whole world, as well in *temporal* as in spiritual matters, were then more prevalent than they are at present. And we have the testimony of Bossuet to the fact, that the popish sect during the reign of Elizabeth were so infected with these notions, that those who were punished by the laws of the land suffered as rebels, and could not be considered as martyrs to religion\*. Now from whom could these unhappy sectarians have derived their opinions on this point, except from the very bishops whom they acknowledged to be their pastors? So that queen Elizabeth had good reasons for saying to them, that she would consider as the enemies of her crown those who sustained the jurisdiction of the Roman

\* Bossuet, Defens. Declar. Cleri Gallicani, near the end, where he speaks of the evil consequences of these doctrines.

bishop. If the duty and right of the sovereign was to see the canons enforced, and the rights and liberties of the church maintained; if he had a right to restrain with the civil sword those who refused to obey the canons, and admit the authority of the crown; and if those prelates, whose bounden duty it was to act in accordance with the canons, refused positively to obey them, or to yield any submission to their prince; then there was no resource left but to expel those refractory and disobedient persons, and invite the church to ordain wiser and better men in their places. This was accordingly done, and it received the consent, not only of the orthodox primate Parker, and all the bishops who were ordained to vacant sees in England, but of all the synod of Irish bishops, who communicated with the bishops of England. And if it did not receive the approbation of the other neighbouring bishops, it was because they were ignorant, or heretical, or too much under the power of the Roman see to act freely.

But the propriety of this expulsion will still further appear, when we reflect that they who were expelled, though ordained and possessed of sees according to the laws of the land and acts of parliament<sup>y</sup>, were not canonically or spiritually in posses-

<sup>y</sup> The parliament of queen Mary erected the Roman jurisdiction in England. The bishops appointed under that authority were therefore parliamentary, legal bishops; and it was for this reason that Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, crowned Elizabeth. As some persons doubted whether the bishops

were ordained, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, strictly according to the laws of the *land*, and therefore whether they had the *civil* rights attached to their offices, the parliament, in 1566, determined that all had been legally done. Romish authors artfully confound the civil with the canon-

sion. Of these bishops, Heath had been translated to the metropolis of York, and Thirlby to the see of Ely, by the authority of the Roman patriarch, forbidden by the canons. The bishops of Lincoln, Lichfield, Bath, Peterborough, St. Asaph, Carlisle, Chester, had been ordained by the schismatical metropolitans, Pole and Heath, who had been ordained or confirmed by the Roman patriarch, contrary to the canons. The bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and St. David's, had intruded, the legitimate pastors being still alive; and all were likewise ordained by an uncanonical metropolitan. The bishop of Worcester was illegitimately restored, after having been deprived for absence from his duty. None of these prelates (whatever *legal* and *parliamentary* right they might have had) had any valid *canonical* or *spiritual* right to the sees they occupied<sup>z</sup>, and all had acted contrary to the canons, in attempting to introduce the Roman jurisdiction. So that even if there was no reasonable objection to their *faith*, that expulsion would yet have been perfectly just. But there is more than this yet to come; for these pretended prelates were erroneous in several mat-

ical and *spiritual* rights of our clergy; and because the orthodox pastors were confirmed in the *former* by act of parliament, it is insisted, that they derive *all* their powers and rights from merely human authority, and not from divine.

<sup>z</sup> Romanists may object, that these prelates were admitted to be canonical bishops, because queen Elizabeth directed a commission to some of them to ordain archbishop Parker. But this of course was only

done in the expectation that they would enter into communion with the orthodox bishops, repent of their own errors, and make satisfaction for their offences against the canons, by relinquishing the Roman jurisdiction, and ordaining Parker. And had they acted so, doubtless they would have had sufficient mission for that ordination, though they might have required to be confirmed in the possession of their sees.



ters of doctrine, such as the doctrine of purgatory, papal supremacy, the eucharist, &c. which they held with pertinacity, and taught with zeal; and even persecuted to death those who were orthodox on these points. But it is needless for us to prove that they were erroneous in their doctrines, because all Romanists at the present day confess that they in all points agreed with themselves; and therefore whatever errors and heresies are now held by Romanists, were maintained by those persons who were expelled.

Let us in conclusion briefly sum up these observations, and reply to the objections on this point. The bishops consecrated in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were not intruders, because the sees to which they were ordained were already vacant, either by death, or the lawful expulsion of those who had previously occupied them. The latter were justly expelled, because they were hostile to the ancient rights and independence of the crown and the church, disloyal and disobedient to their sovereign and the holy canons, illegitimately ordained or intruded into sees, and heretical in their doctrines. The crown had a right to expel them, because it was bound to enforce the canons, the liberties of the church, and its own rights; and all the catholic bishops, who could act freely, gave their consent and approbation. The vacant sees were filled up by the appointment of orthodox pastors, who were all canonically consecrated by their primate, (whose ordination I have already considered;) and the divine mission, the holy, orthodox, apostolical, faith which they possessed, have descended through the long line of their illustrious successors even to the pre-

sent day. Hence the mission of the orthodox bishops and clergy is beyond all doubt. They can prove a continual possession of the churches they now hold. They, and they alone, can trace their ordinations through all the ancient saints and worthies of the British and Irish church, to the apostles Peter and Paul. They alone can trace an unbroken line of prelates, filling all the dioceses within this realm. They alone can prove that their predecessors and themselves, have vindicated the divine and apostolical liberties of the catholic church, against the encroachment and usurpation of foreign patriarchs. They alone are, and can style themselves, bishops "by the grace of God," and not "by the grace of the Roman see<sup>a</sup>." They are not the "vicars," deputies, or delegates of a foreign prelate<sup>b</sup>, but vicars of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

<sup>a</sup> All the Romish bishops style themselves "by the grace of the apostolical see;" and so they may well do; since every one of them must be ordained, if not nominated, by the authority of the Roman pontiff; and they all take an oath, invented in modern times, which binds them to the most abject submission to him. How can any one who has read the works of De Marca, Thomassin, Du Pin, Bingham, and the other learned writers on Christian antiquities, fail to perceive the difference there is between the patriarchal authority of Rome in primitive times, and that which is now exercised?

<sup>b</sup> It is needless to observe that the popish bishops in Eng-

land style themselves "vicars of the apostolic see." It is a favourite notion with the high Romanists, that all episcopal jurisdiction resides in the pope of Rome, and that bishops are merely his deputies or delegates. See Vargas, Bellarmine, &c. Dr. Milner, a Romish bishop of some note, derives the mission and jurisdiction of the clergy entirely from Rome. "Every catholic pastor," he says, "is authorized and enabled to address his flock as follows:"—"I am authorized to preach and minister to you by such a prelate, who received authority for this purpose from the successor of St. Peter, in the apostolic see of Rome." *End of Controversy, Letter XXIX.*

## SECTION VI.

## CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

Having considered the mission of the clergy in this empire, I shall briefly review the forms of their ordination. It is unnecessary for me to detail the various modes, in which the election or nomination of bishops was conducted in ancient times. Whoever wishes to acquire information on these points, will find it in the fourth book of Bingham's Antiquities, and in the work of Thomassin on ecclesiastical benefices. Suffice it to say that various rules have been adopted, and that for many ages Christian kings have had considerable influence and authority in the nomination of bishops.

In the most primitive ages, when there were as yet no Christian princes, bishops were elected by the clergy and people in the presence of the metropolitan and other provincial bishops, who immediately proceeded to examine into the faith and morals of the prelate elect, and, according to the result, either annulled or confirmed the election.

In later ages elections were celebrated without the presence of any bishops, and therefore confirmation took place at a different time, when the provincial bishops, and in process of time, the metropolitan alone, examined the election, and confirmed it <sup>a</sup>.

After election and confirmation, or in some churches after the king's nomination <sup>b</sup>, the most important

<sup>a</sup> See Bingham's Antiquities, book iv. ; Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, part i. liv. ii. ch. 14—20 ; De Marca, de Concordia Sacerdot. et Impe-

rii, lib. vi. cap. 2 ; Martene, de Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, tom. ii. cap. 8. art. 10.

<sup>b</sup> The kings of France, and other Christian emperors and

part was yet to come. The successors of the apostles assembled, and solemnly ordained the person elected to the episcopal office.

According to the English ritual, the consecration of bishops and archbishops is always to be performed on a Sunday or holyday, and during the liturgy or communion-service. The antiquity of this custom is so remote, and its prevalence so universal, that there is no reason to doubt that it proceeds from the apostles themselves. In fact, as it was intended always that bishops should be ordained in the most solemn public manner, it seems that they must from the beginning have been generally ordained on Sundays or holydays, when the whole body of the faithful assembled to hear God's word, and partake of his holy mysteries.

The consecration however did not always take place exactly in the same part of the liturgy. In the church of Constantinople and the east it occurred before the epistle was read <sup>c</sup>. In the Roman church it was commonly between the epistle and gospel <sup>d</sup>. Other churches deferred it till after the gospel as the British ritual does at present. And there are instances found where the consecration immediately joined on with the canon, or prayer of consecration in the liturgy <sup>e</sup>.

In our ritual there are a proper collect, and proper epistles, and gospels for the occasion. The first epistle, 1 Tim. iii. 1, has been read in the consecration

kings, frequently nominated to bishoprics without any election. See numerous cases cited by Thomassin, part ii. liv. ii. ch. 34. See also part i. liv. ii.

ch. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græcum*, p. 302.

<sup>d</sup> Martene, tom. ii. p. 329.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*

of bishops from a period of remote antiquity, as we find it in a sacramentary of the English church 1000 years old<sup>f</sup>.

The gospels appointed by our ritual I have not observed in any very ancient lectionaries.

After the Nicene Creed and Sermon the office begins. The elected bishop, according to the ancient rites of our church detailed in a manuscript 1000 years old, according to Martene, is presented by two bishops to the archbishop of the province<sup>g</sup>, and they request him to ordain that prelate to the vacant see.

The elected bishop—shall be presented by two bishops unto the archbishop of that province—the bishops that present him saying,

Most reverend father in God, we present this godly and well learned man to be ordained and consecrated bishop.

Comprovinciales episcopi offerant electum domino archiepiscopo, his verbis :

Reverende pater, postulat sancta mater ecclesia *N.* ut hunc presentem presbyterum ad onus episcopatus sublevetis<sup>h</sup>.

The archbishop then demands the king's mandate for the consecration, which is read. It has been long customary for the king of England to issue a mandate for the consecration of elected prelates, and there are many instances of a similar practice in early ages. Thomassin cites a great number of cases in which the kings of France, during the sixth and seventh centuries, commanded bishops to ordain; and he informs us that it was customary at that time for the king to consent to the election,

<sup>f</sup> In the MS. sacramentary of Leofric, bishop of Exeter, in the Bodleian library, fol. 278.

<sup>g</sup> Martene, de Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, tom. ii. p. 340.

<sup>h</sup> Pontificale Turonens. Martene, tom. ii. p. 411.

and then write letters to the bishops who were to consecrate the new prelate<sup>i</sup>. In the Roman pontifical, the patriarch of Rome's bull for the consecration is directed to be read.

The bishop elect is now required to make professions or oaths rejecting the authority and jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch, and all foreign princes and prelates, and promising canonical obedience to the metropolitan. In the church of Russia the bishops are also obliged to make a profession or promise before they are ordained, that they will defend the customs of the eastern church against the encroachments of Rome, that they will bear allegiance to the emperor, and will pay canonical obedience to the holy legislative synod established by Peter the Great<sup>j</sup>. In primitive times, bishops were ordained after they had made a profession of orthodox faith, and a general promise of obeying the canons. The character of Christian pastors was so venerated, that for many centuries it was not thought necessary to impose on them any oaths of allegiance; but rulers trusted to those sacred obligations of loyalty and obedience which Christianity imposed<sup>k</sup>. Many circumstances, however, rendered it necessary to make an alteration. The grasping ambition of the Roman pontiffs, who attempted to subdue the whole world beneath their *temporal* sway, and other causes, induced princes to require oaths of allegiance and supremacy from their bishops; and in the reigns of king Henry the Eighth, and his successor, an oath of submission to the Roman pontiff, which had

<sup>i</sup> Thomassin, part ii. liv. ii. Greek Church, p. 295—299.  
ch. 34. §. 8.

<sup>k</sup> Thomassin, Discipline de

<sup>j</sup> See King's Rites of the l'Eglise, part iii. liv. 2. ch. 37.

been previously taken by our bishops: was prohibited; and the oaths of royal supremacy and canonical obedience to the metropolitan, introduced in its place. The promise of obedience to the metropolitan was not customary in the earliest ages. It seems to have commenced in Spain, where the eleventh council of Toledo, A. D. 675, directed that every ecclesiastical person should promise obedience to his superior at ordination<sup>1</sup>. In the ninth century the bishops of Gaul made written promises to obey their metropolitans, which were deposited among the archives<sup>2</sup>; and it may be worth while to compare with our formulary, that which occurs in a parchment of the church of Tours in France, written 700 years ago.

In the name of God, Amen.  
I N. chosen bishop of the church and see of N. in profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the archbishop and to the metropolitan church of N. and to their successors: in help me God, through Jesus Christ.

Teu ille N. sancte N. ecclesie nunc ordinandus episcopus, subjectionem et reverentiam et sanctis patribus constitutum, secundum precepta canonum, sancte sedis N. ecclesie, totiusque eius et presentium futurorum archiepiscopum metropolitane exhibiturum promitto, et super sanctum altare proprio manum firmo<sup>3</sup>.

After this the archbishop exhorts the people to pray, in much the same manner which has been prevalent from the earliest ages, and which we find

<sup>1</sup> This oath was of modern date, as it was only imposed on metropolitans in the eleventh century: Thomassin, part iv. liv. 2. ch. 52; and there is no reason to believe that bishops took it until long after. See

Thomassin, part ii. liv. 2. c. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Thomassin, part ii. liv. 2. ch. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, part iii. liv. 2. ch. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Martene, tom. ii. p. 409. See also p. 128.

in the offices used by our own church 1000 years ago.

Brethren,—Let us, following the example of our Saviour Christ and his apostles, first fall to prayer, before we admit, and send forth this person presented unto us, to the work whereunto we trust the Holy Ghost hath called him.

Oremus dilectissimi nobis, ut huic viro, ad utilitatem ecclesiæ provehendo, benignitas omnipotentis Dei gratiæ suæ tribuat largitatem. Per Dominum nostrum P.

The litany is then said, with a special petition for the elected bishop, and a proper collect at the end. This has been customary in the eastern church from the most remote antiquity, and is found in the rituals of the church of Constantinople<sup>q</sup>, but placed further on in the service, when the consecration has actually begun, and is not yet completed. In the ordinations of the Syrians it occurs after the gospel<sup>r</sup>. In some of the western rituals the litany was repeated before the epistle<sup>s</sup>; in others, between the epistle and gospel<sup>t</sup>. But wherever it may be placed, it has been used in the ordination service for at least a thousand years in the western church, being found in manuscripts of that antiquity; and in the east it has probably been used on this occasion for more than fourteen hundred years, as both the Jacobite and the orthodox rituals contain it. There are also special petitions in these ancient formularies as there are in our own.

<sup>p</sup> MS. Leofricid fol. 278. So also in the pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, written one thousand years ago, Martene, de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. ii. p. 340.

<sup>q</sup> Goar, Ritual. Græc. p. 303.

<sup>r</sup> Assemani Codex Liturgic. tom. x. p. 13.

<sup>s</sup> Martene, tom. ii. p. 362, 372.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 404.



That it may please thee to bless this our brother elected, and to send thy grace upon him, that he may duly execute the office whereunto he is called, to the edifying of thy church, and to the honour, praise, and glory of thy name;

*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*

Ἐπεὶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ δέϊνος, τοῦ νυνὶ προχειριζομένου ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὅπως ὁ φιλανθρώπος Θεὸς ἀσπιλον καὶ ἀμώμητον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην χαρίσῃται, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Κύριε ἐλέησον<sup>u</sup>.

Ut fratrem nostrum electum pontificem in vera religione conservare digneris ;

*Te rogamus, audi nos<sup>v</sup>.*

The archbishop now proceeds to examine the bishop elect, instructing him in the several parts of the episcopal office, according to the canons of the council of Carthage<sup>w</sup> and the customs of the church. It was also usual in ancient times to examine into the orthodoxy of his faith ; but the necessity of this is removed amongst us by the subscription which has been previously made to the Articles of Religion, and other formularies of the church. Several parts of this examination are extremely similar to forms which have been used in some parts of the western church for at least nine hundred years.

Brother, forasmuch as the holy scripture, and the ancient canons command, that we should not be hasty in laying on hands, and admitting any person to government in the

Antiqua sanctorum patrum institutio docet et præcipit, ut is qui ad ordinem episcopatus eligitur—antea diligentissime examinetur—et interrogetur de diversis causis vel moribus,

<sup>u</sup> Goar, *Rituale Græc.* p. 303.

<sup>v</sup> E Codice 600 annorum,

Assemani, *Cod. Lit.* viii. 180.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. Carthaginens. iv.

church of Christ, which he hath purchased with no less price than the effusion of his own blood; before I admit you to this administration, I will examine you in certain articles, to the end that the congregation present may have a trial, and bear witness, how you be minded to behave yourself in the church of God—

Are you persuaded that the holy scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined out of the same holy scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge; and to teach or maintain nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the same?

*Answer.* I am so persuaded, and determined, by God's grace—

*The Archbishop.* Will you deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; that you may shew yourself in all things an example of good works unto others, that the adversary may be ashamed, having nothing to say against you?

*Answer.* I will so do, the Lord being my helper.

quæ huic regimini congruunt, et necessaria sunt retineri; secundum Apostoli dictum: Manus nemini cito imposueris: et ut etiam is qui est ordinandus, antea erudiat, qualiter sub hoc regimine constitutum oporteat conversari in ecclesia Dei—

Eadem auctoritate et præcepto, interrogemus te, dilectissime frater, caritate sincera, si omnem prudentiam tuam, quantum tua capax est natura, divinæ scripturæ sensibus accommodare volueris?

*Resp.* Ita ex toto corde volo in omnibus obedire et consentire.

Vis ea, quæ ex divinis scripturis intelligis, plebem, cui ordinandus es, et verbis docere et exemplis?

*Resp.* Volo.

Vis mores tuos ab omni malo temperare, et quantum poteris, Domino adjuvante, ad omne bonum commutare?

*Resp.* Volo.

Vis castitatem et sobrietatem cum Dei auxilio custodire et docere?

*Resp.* Volo.

— *The Archbishop.* Will you shew yourself gentle, and be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help?

*Answer.* I will so shew myself, by God's help.

*The Archbishop.*

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who hath given you a good will to do all these things, grant also unto you strength and power to perform the same; that, he accomplishing in you the good work which he hath begun, you may be found perfect and irreprehensible at the latter day; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Pauperibus et peregrinis omnibus indigentibus, vis esse propter nomen Domini affabilis et misericors?

*Resp. Volo.*

*Et dicatur ei,*

Hæc omnia et cætera bona retribuatur tibi Dominus, et custodiat te, atque corroboret in omni bono.

*Et respondeant omnes, Amen x.*

The bishop elect now puts on the remainder of the episcopal habit, according to the custom of several ancient rituals<sup>y</sup>; and kneeling down, the hymn *Veni Creator* is chanted over him by the metropolitan and other bishops. This sublime hymn is of very great antiquity, and has long been used by our church at ordination. Thomasius published it amongst the collection of ancient hymns used in the western churches<sup>z</sup>, and it is generally ascribed to the composition of St. Ambrose, in the fourth century. However, the Benedictine editors of Ambrose's works do not think there is sufficient evidence for the fact.

<sup>x</sup> Pontificale quoted by Martene, tom. ii. p. 386; written at least 900 years ago.

<sup>y</sup> So it is in the pontifical

of Tours, cited by Martene, tom. ii. p. 415.

<sup>z</sup> Thomasii Opera a Vezzosi, tom. ii. p. 375.

Veni Creator Spiritus,  
Mentes tuorum visita :  
Imple superna gratia  
Quæ tu creasti pectora.

Qui Paraclitus diceris,  
Donum Dei altissimi :  
Fons vivus, ignis, charitas,  
Et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,  
Dextræ Dei tu digitus ;  
Tu rite promissum Patris,  
Sermone ditans guttura,

Accende lumen sensibus,  
Infunde amorem cordibus :  
Infirma nostri corporis  
Virtute firmans perpetim.

Hostem repellas longius,  
Pacemque dones protinus :  
Ductore sic te prævio  
Vitemus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus da Patrem,  
Noscamus atque Filium :  
Te utriusque Spiritum  
Credamus omni tempore.

Sit laus Patri cum Filio,  
Sancto simul Paraclito :  
Nobisque mittat Filius,  
Charisma Sancti Spiritus. Amen <sup>a</sup>.

The form of consecration now commences : the archbishop pronounces a prayer invoking the grace of God to fit the elected prelate for his sacred office ; and, with all the bishops present, lays hands upon

<sup>a</sup> Breviarium Sarisb. pars Miss. Sarisb. fol. 71. Thomæ Hyemalis, Psalter. fol. 97. siii Opera, ut supra.

his head, and pronounces a benediction upon him in the name of the holy Trinity. I need not enter into an explanation and defence of this form, because it has been done long ago by Courayer, in his *Defence of English Ordinations*, and his *Supplement to the Defence*. Suffice it to say, that the only mode of ordination which can be proved to have existed from the beginning, consists in the imposition of hands, with a benediction or prayer that the Holy Spirit may enable the person ordained, to fulfil his office in the Christian church. The formularies of the English ritual do not exactly coincide with any others; but as all the Christian rituals differ from each other in the forms and prayers at ordination, this is a matter of no consequence. However, there is some similarity between our prayers, and those of the rituals anciently used in the east and west. A portion of them are found in manuscripts of the church of England, written a thousand years ago.

*The Archbishop.*

Almighty God, and most merciful Father, who of thine infinite goodness hast given thine only and dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, to be our Redeemer, and the Author of everlasting life; who, after that he had made perfect our redemption by his death, and was ascended into heaven, poured down his gifts abundantly upon men, making some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and

Deus Dominus, ab æterno occultorum cognitor—ille qui pretioso sanguine unigeniti Domini nostri Jesu Christi, acquisivit ecclesiam sanctam, et constituit in ea apostolos, et prophetas, et doctores, et sacerdotes, quorum manibus multiplicaretur scientia veritatis, quam Filius tuus unigenitus dedit humano generi. Tu, Domine, etiam nunc illumina faciem tuam super hunc servum tuum, et eum elige electione

doctors, to the edifying and making perfect his church ;

Grant, we beseech thee, to this thy servant such grace, that he may evermore be ready to spread abroad thy gospel, the glad tidings of reconciliation with thee ; and use the authority given him, not to destruction, but to salvation ; not to hurt, but to help : so that as a wise and faithful servant, giving to thy family their portion in due season, he may at last be received into everlasting joy ; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who, with thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, one God, world without end.

sancta per Spiritus Sancti unctionem <sup>b</sup>.

Sint speciosi munere tuo pedes ejus ad evangelizandum pacem, ad evangelizandum bona tua. Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis,—Utatur, nec gloriatur potestate quam tribuis, in ædificationem, et non in destructionem—sit fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituas, Domine, super familiam tuam, ut det illis cibum in tempore necessario <sup>c</sup>.

Then the archbishop and bishops present lay their hands upon the head of the elected bishop, kneeling before them upon his knees, the archbishop saying,

Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands ; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen, &c.

Accipe Spiritum Sanctum <sup>d</sup>.  
Ἡ θεία χάρις, ἡ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῆ θεραπεύουσα, καὶ τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα, προχειρίζεται τὸν δέοντα, τὸν θεοφιλέστατον πρεσβύτερον, ἐπίσκοπον <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> From the ordinations of the Nestorians in Chaldæa, &c. cited by Martene, tom. ii. p. 576.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Leofrici, fol. 280. So also in the pontifical of Egbert, Abp. of York ; Martene, p. 341. Gelasii Sacramenta-

rium, Muratori Lit. Rom. Vet. tom. i. p. 625, 626.

<sup>d</sup> Martene, tom. ii. p. 330, says that these words are found in offices for the ordination of bishops written 500 years ago.

<sup>e</sup> Goar, Rituale Græcum, p. 302.

The ceremony of giving the Bible to the newly ordained bishop, is derived from the ancient practice of the English church. Martene says that the delivery of the gospels to deacons, appears to have been originated by our church, for some of our manuscripts written 900 years ago, are probably the oldest writings in which it appears; and it seems to have been adopted by other western churches after us<sup>f</sup>. According to the fourth council of Carthage, the gospels were laid on the head of the prelate elect while he was ordained, and this rite has been much used both in the eastern and western churches, but there is no certainty that it has been generally prevalent from the most primitive ages. Alcuin and Amalarius say that neither the tradition of the church, nor the authority of the canons, can be produced for it<sup>g</sup>, and some of the old ordines published by Mabillon do not contain it<sup>h</sup>; nor do the ordinations of the Syrians and Maronites; and therefore the church of England has long been accustomed to present the Bible to the prelate ordained, instead of laying it upon his shoulders.

The rest of the office contains nothing remarkable: the offertory and the remainder of the communion-service follows, in the same manner as is prescribed by all the ancient rituals of the church of England, and the rest of the western and eastern churches; and the newly ordained bishop communicates with the archbishop and others.

<sup>f</sup> Martene, tom. ii. p. 314.

<sup>g</sup> Alcuinus de Divinis Officiis.  
Amalar. de Off. lib. ii. c. 14.

<sup>h</sup> Mabillon, Museum Itali-

cum, tom. ii. ordines 8 and 9.

See also Morinus de Sacris Ordinibus pars iii. exercit. ii. c. 1.

## SECTION VII.

## ORDINATIONS OF PRIESTS AND DEACONS.

The remarks which I shall make on the ordinations of priests and deacons will not be many. The rites used in the earliest ages were very simple. In later times, especially in the western churches, they received very considerable additions, but these have been almost entirely removed from our ordinal. The writings of Bingham, Burnet<sup>i</sup>, Morinus<sup>j</sup>, Thomassin<sup>k</sup>, and Martene, contain much information relative to the election or nomination of priests and deacons in the primitive church, and those matters which were essential to the validity of their ordinations.

The beginning of our office for the ordination of priests, which very much resembles that for deacons, has been used for a great length of time in the English and other western churches, as we find it in manuscripts written more than a thousand years ago.

*The archdeacon—shall present unto the bishop—all them that shall receive the order of priesthood that day—and say,*

Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these persons present, to be admitted to the order of priesthood.

*Venit archidiaconus, et offert eum qui ordinandus est, pontifici, ita dicens,*

Postulat sancta mater ecclesia catholica ut hunc præsentem diaconum ad onus presbyterii ordinetis.

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<sup>i</sup> Vindications of the Ordinations, &c. London, 1677.

<sup>j</sup> Commentarius de Sacris

Ordinat. Paris. 1655.

<sup>k</sup> Discipline de l'Eglise, &c. Paris, 1679.



¶ *The Bishop.*

Take heed that the persons, whom ye present unto us, be apt and meet, &c.

¶ *The archdeacon shall answer,*

I have inquired of them, and also examined them, and think them so to be.

*Interrogat episcopus,*

Scis illum dignum esse ?

*Respondet offerens,*

Quantum humana fragilitas nosse sinit, et scio et testificor ipsum dignum esse ad hujus onus officii<sup>1</sup>.

The next portion of this service is of still greater antiquity, as it occurs not only in the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, written 1000 years ago, but in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, A. D. 494.

¶ *Then the bishop shall say unto the people ;*

Good people, these are they whom we purpose, God willing, to receive this day unto the holy office of priesthood—But yet if there be any of you, who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime, in any of them, for the which he ought not to be received into this holy ministry, let him come forth in the name of God, and shew what the crime or impediment is.

¶ *Then the bishop, commending such as shall be found meet to be ordered, to the prayers of the congregation,*

*Annunciat pontifex in populum, dicens ;*

Auxiliante Domino Deo Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo, eligimus in ordinem diaconii sive presbyterii, *Ill.* subdiaconum, sive diaconum de titulo *Illo.* presbyterum de titulo *Illo.* Si quis autem habet aliquid contra hos viros, pro Deo et propter Dominum, cum fiducia exeat et dicat, verumtamen memor sit conditionis suæ<sup>m</sup>.

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos ad presbyterii munus elegit, cælestia dona multiplicet: et quæ ejus dignatione suscipiunt, ejus exequantur auxilio<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From a manuscript of the abbey of Corbey, published by Morinus, pars ii. p. 271.

<sup>m</sup> Sacr. Gelasii, Muratori

Liturgia Romana Vet. tom. i. p. 512. Pontificale Egberti, Martene, tom. ii. p. 344.

<sup>n</sup> Sacr. Gelasianum, p. 513.

—shall, with the clergy and people present, sing or say the *Litany*—

That it may please thee to bless these thy servants now to be admitted to the order of priests, and to pour thy grace upon them; that they may duly execute their office, to the edifying of thy church, and the glory of thy holy name.

*Et post modicum intervallum mos incipiant omnes Kyrie eleison, cum Litania*°.

Ἐπὲρ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ δείνος, τοῦ νυνὶ προχειριζομένου πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν P.

The office of the holy communion then commences, and after a proper collect, epistle, and gospel, the bishop addresses the candidates for the priesthood in a discourse of some length, in which he reminds them of the great importance and responsibility of the office to which they are called, and explains some of the principal duties which are incumbent upon them. This address, in the most ancient times, seems to have been delivered to the candidates at their nomination, and before ordination<sup>q</sup>; in fact, it was made when the ecclesiastical canons were read to the candidates for orders, which, according to the third council of Carthage, A. D. 397, took place some time before their ordination<sup>r</sup>; but in later ages we find some traces of it in the ordination service itself. A manuscript pontifical, cited by Martene, and written more than six hundred years ago, contains a short formulary of the kind, which is placed, as ours is, in immediate connexion with some questions addressed to the candidates for ordination, and directly before the most

° Pontificale Egberti, and Sacramentar. Gelasii, ut supra.

P Goar, Rit. Græc. p. 293.

q Martene, tom. ii. p. 304.

r See Bingham's Antiquities, book iv. ch. 6.

solemn part of the office<sup>s</sup>. The questions which follow the address in our ordinal seem to be in some degree peculiar to it. Probably no church requires from her priests such solemn vows as our own. They seem to have been modelled, in a great degree, after the parallel formularies used in the ordination of bishops; and might perhaps have been introduced here, (independently of their importance,) to preserve greater uniformity in the offices. The last question is probably the most ancient of them all, and is found in manuscript ordinals written eight hundred years ago, where it is placed in exactly the position which it holds in our service, before ordination begins, and not at the end of the communion, as in the Roman pontifical.

*The Bishop.*

Will you reverently obey your ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over you; following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting yourselves to their godly judgments?

*Answer.* I will do so, the Lord being my helper.

*The Bishop.*

Almighty God, who hath given you this will to do all these things, grant also unto you strength and power to perform the same, &c.

*Interrogat Episcopus—*

Vis episcopo tuo, ad cujus parochiam ordinandus es, obediens esse secundum justitiam et ministerium tuum?

*Respons.* Volo.

Voluntatem tuam bonam et rectam ad perfectionem sibi beneplacitam Deus perducere dignetur<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> Pontificale Cameracens. annorum 600, Martene, tom. ii. p. 448.

<sup>t</sup> Pontificale Salisburgens. Martene, tom. ii. p. 401.

The hymn *Veni Creator*, which immediately follows, has been already noticed in the ordination of bishops. We find it to have been used at the ordination of priests in some churches of France seven hundred years ago, as manuscripts of that date, which contain it, are still in existence<sup>u</sup>.

The prayers and rites by which the ordination is actually perfected, now come before our view; but it is not my design to enter on the interesting field of discussion which they open. The validity of these forms has been satisfactorily proved; and it is impossible to examine ancient rites, without coming to the conclusion of Martene, Morinus, and all the most learned and judicious divines, that the imposition of hands, and prayers or benedictions, are the only essentials of valid ordination. Other rites have been added by different churches in the course of ages; but every church is at liberty to act for itself in this respect, provided nothing is done inconsistently with edification and Christian piety.

The prayer of ordination is not, as far as I perceive, so immediately derived from ancient formularies as some other parts of the service. It does not resemble that which is found in the sacramentary of Gelasius, nor in that of Gregory; and the similarity between it and that of the church of Constantinople is not so striking as to induce me to copy the latter. Perhaps it bears more affinity to the prayers used on this occasion in the rituals of the Egyptian and Syrian churches<sup>v</sup>; yet it is not necessary to occupy space in transcribing them, for the

<sup>u</sup> Martene, tom. ii. p. 396.

<sup>v</sup> Rituale Copt. Martene, tom. ii. p. 590; Syror. Asse-

mani Codex, tom. ix. p. 123, &c.; Nestorianorum, Martene, p. 570.

resemblance is not striking. In fact, every one of these formularies differs very much from the rest in ideas and expressions, though they are all intended for the same object.

The rubric directs those priests who are present to lay their hands, along with the bishop, upon the heads of those who receive ordination. This practice is peculiar to the western church, for in the east none but the bishop has ever laid hands on persons to be ordained. With us, however, the custom is ancient and canonical; for the fourth council of Carthage, which has been adopted generally in the west, gives particular directions on the point, which deserve comparison with our present rubric.

¶ *When this prayer is done, the bishop with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood . . . the bishop saying,*

Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente: etiam omnes presbyteri qui presentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant <sup>w</sup>.

Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a priest in the church of God . . . .  
Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments, &c.

Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remisieris peccata, remittuntur eis; et quorum retinueris, retenta sunt <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> Concil. Carthag. iv. can.

3.

<sup>x</sup> This form is found in western pontificals written 600

years ago, and has been used in the ordination of priests at least since the tenth century. See Martene, tom. ii. p. 317.

The rest of the service does not seem to require any particular notice; and I may refer the reader for further information on the ordination of priests and deacons to the Supplement of Nicholls's Commentary on the Common Prayer, where the similarity between our ordination service, and the ancient rites and customs of the church, is traced with much learning.

# APPENDIX.

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ON ECCLESIASTICAL VESTURES.  
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## SECTION I.

**T**HE rubric of the English ritual which immediately precedes the office for morning prayer, contains the following words relative to the ornaments of the church and ministers: "And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this church of England, by authority of parliament, in the second year of the reign of king Edward the Sixth." This refers to the Act of Uniformity, passed in that year, authorizing the "Book of Common Prayer," &c. And that book contains the following directions relative to the subject; which, for the sake of clearness, I shall compare with the version of Alesse<sup>a</sup>, who translated the English ritual into Latin immediately after it was published in 1549.

### RITUAL OF 1549.

¶ And whensoever the bishop shall celebrate the holy communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surpless or albe, and a cope

### ALESSE'S VERSION.

Episcopus in celebratione cœnæ, et administratione sacramentorum, induat lineam aut albam, et cappam vel casulam, et habeat baculum pastoralem. P. 455.

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<sup>a</sup> Inter Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 379, &c. Basil. 1577.

or vestmente, and also his pastoral staffe in his hande, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.

¶ Upon the day and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration; that is to say, a white albe, plain, with a vestment or cope. And when there be many priests or deacons, then so many shall be ready to help the priest in the ministration as shall be requisite; and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, albes, with tunicles.

¶ Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the king's majesty's Injunctions. And though there be none to communicate with the priest, yet these days (after the Litany ended) the priest shall put upon him a plain albe or surpless, with a cope, and say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's supper,) until after the offertory.

¶ In the saying or singing of matins and evensong, bap-

Die destinato ad celebrationem cœnæ Domini, sacerdos indutus alba, casula, vel cappa, astabit altari; et in locis ubi sunt plures sacerdotes et diaconi, tot ex his juvabunt pastorem quot opus haberint, induti vestibus destinatis ad eorum ministerium, hoc est albis et tunicis. P. 422.

Diebus Mercurii et Veneris, litania Anglica cantatur, vel dicatur omnibus locis, sicut a serenissimo rege est præscriptum. Cum autem non adsunt communicantes, tamen diebus dictis, post litaniam sacerdos indutus alba aut linea, cum cappa, recitabit ea, quæ in cœna Domini recitari solent, usque dum perveniat ad offertorium. P. 431.

In matutinis et vesperis, baptismo, sepultura, etc. in paro-



tizing and burying, the minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a surpluss: and in all cathedral churches and colleges, the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, and prebendaries and fellows being graduates, may use in the quire, besides their surplusses, such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surpluss or not.

chialibus ecclesiis, minister induat vestem lineam. In cathedralibus et collegiis, archidiaconi, diaconi, doctores, præpositi, magistri, possunt uti ornamentis suorum graduum et dignitatum. Sed in omnibus aliis locis, liberum erit ministris, uti et non uti linea veste. P. 455.

The vestures, &c. mentioned in the preceding passages, are the *vestment*, *cope*, *tunicle*, *albe*, *rochette*, *hood*, *surplice*, and *pastoral staff*; which, with the *scarf* or *stole*, and the *chimere*, used by the church, though not mentioned in the preceding quotations, I shall briefly notice<sup>b</sup>.

## SECTION II.

## THE VESTMENT.

The *vestment* or *chasible*, called in the western churches *casula*, *planeta*, *pænula*, *amphibalum*, &c., and in the eastern *φαινόλιον* or *φενώλιον*<sup>c</sup>, has been used by the ministers of the Christian church from a period of remote antiquity. Gregory of Tours

<sup>b</sup> The authors from whom I have chiefly compiled the following pages are, Bona, Rerum Liturgicarum lib. i. cap. 24; Gerberti Vetus Liturgia Ale-

mannica, tom. i. disquisit. iii. cap. 3; Goar, Rituale Græcum; Du Cange's Glossary; Ferrarius de Re Vestiaria.

<sup>c</sup> Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 112.

speaks of the *casula* of Nicetius, bishop of Lyons, about A. D. 560<sup>d</sup>; Isidore Hispalensis mentions its use in Spain<sup>e</sup>; and Sulpicius Severus alludes to the “*amphibalum*” or vestment of Martin, bishop of Tours, A. D. 380<sup>f</sup>, a word which is used by a subsequent Gallican writer as a name for the *casula*<sup>g</sup>. In the patriarchate of Constantinople and the east, the *phenolion* has been used from time immemorial; and the monophysites of Antioch and Alexandria have retained the use of it since their separation from the catholic church A. D. 451. The former call it “*faino*;” the latter, “*alborno*z<sup>h</sup>.” We have very ancient pictures representing this vesture. The sacramentary of Gregory the Great, written in Gaul in the time of Charlemagne, and published by Menard<sup>i</sup>; a manuscript of the works of Gregory Nazianzen, written in the east about the year 860, and copied by Ducange<sup>j</sup>; and a mosaic in the church of Ravenna in Italy, as old as the time of the emperor Justinian A. D. 540<sup>k</sup>; enable us to describe the ancient form of this vesture. It was a garment extending from the neck nearly to the feet, closed all the way round, with only one aperture, through which the head passed. When the Liturgy or other offices were to be performed, this vesture was lifted up at the sides, while the front and back still re-

<sup>d</sup> Gregorius Turonensis, *Vitæ Patrum*, cap. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Isidorus, *lib. xix. Originum*, cap. 24.

<sup>f</sup> Sulpitius, *dialog. ii. de Vita S. Martini*, n. 1 and 2.

<sup>g</sup> “*Casula quam amphibalum vocant.*” Germanus de Missa, Martene, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. v. p. 99.

<sup>h</sup> Renaudot, *Liturgiar. Oriental. tom. i. p. 179; tom. ii. p. 55.*

<sup>i</sup> Menard, *Sacramentar. Gregorii*, p. 1 and 364.

<sup>j</sup> Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. iii. p. 125.

<sup>k</sup> Ferrarius de *Re Vestitaria*, p. 108. Paris, 1654.

maintained pendent. We find innumerable monuments of this dress in the east and west ; and in England almost all the figures or statues of bishops now extant, represent the casula raised at the sides. At the end of this Appendix the reader will find engraved illustrations of the ecclesiastical dresses. Figures I. and II. represent bishops arrayed in the vestment or chasuble, (marked with the number 2,) according to the ancient form as used by the fathers and bishops during the most primitive ages. The Greeks still retain the ancient form of the vestment. The Latins in process of time divided this garment at each side for the sake of convenience. Originally the casula was worn, not only by bishops and presbyters, but by all the inferior clergy ; but in the course of ages it became peculiar to presbyters and bishops. The casula varied in its materials and decoration with the means of those who gave it. Sometimes it was made of wool or hair ; sometimes of linen, silk, velvet, or cloth of gold. It was adorned at pleasure with needlework, gold, silver, and jewels. It admitted various colours, as white, black, green, yellow, purple, blue. Most anciently, however, it was always white, which was the favourite colour in primitive times, as denoting internal purity ; and to this day no other colour is used by the Egyptian churches, nor in the patriarchate of Constantinople. The vestment is appointed by the English ritual to be worn by bishops in celebrating the eucharist, and in all other public ministrations ; in which, however, they may use a cope instead of it. The vestment is also appointed to be used by priests in celebrating the eucharist, but on no other occasion. The rubrics containing directions for the use of the vestment

have been mistaken by some persons, who have confounded the vestment with the cope; but this is evidently an error; for Alesse uniformly translates vestment by the word *casula*, while he distinguishes cope from it by the appellation of *cappa*; and in the rubric of the ritual of 1551 the distinction is evident: "the priest shall use neither albe, vestment, or cope."

### SECTION III.

#### THE COPE.

The *cope*, termed by ancient writers *capa*, *cappa*, *pallium*, *pluviale*, &c. is a garment of considerable antiquity. It seems, like the *casula*, to have been originally derived from the ancient *pænula*; which, from the descriptions and figures given by Ferrarius in lib. ii. de Re Vestiaria, p. 79 and 80, appears to have been a cloak closed all round, with an aperture for the head to pass through, and a short division in the lower part of the front. To this garment was attached a hood or cowl, which in wet weather was drawn over the head. The *casula* is often called *pænula* by ancient writers, and the chief respects in which it differed from the cope were in having no cowl, and in not being divided in the front. The cope, being intended for use in the open air, retained the cowl, and in process of time was entirely opened in the front. The original identity of the cope and *casula* appears from the writings of Isidore Hispalensis<sup>1</sup>, and Durand<sup>m</sup>, the latter of whom says, that the cope is the same as the *casula*; and Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, A. D. 520, possessed

<sup>1</sup> Gavanti Thesaurus, p. 122.

<sup>m</sup> Durandus, lib. ii. cap. 9.

a "casula processoria," which is generally understood to mean a cope<sup>n</sup>. The cope, as I have remarked, is a cloak reaching from the neck nearly to the feet, open in front except at the top, where it is united by a band or clasp. To the back was attached a hood or cowl, which in later times has given place to a sort of triangular ornament of the same shape, which sometimes extends over the shoulders. Figures III and IV represent bishops dressed in copes. Figure III, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, is an ancient cope resembling those delineated and described by Gerbert, *Liturgia Alemanica*, tom. i. p. 250, 251. Figure IV, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, represents a cope as used in England in the thirteenth century; N<sup>o</sup>. 2. is the hood or cowl at the back. It was made of various materials and colours like the vestment, and often with fringes and rich embroidery. William the Conqueror, king of England, sent a cope to Hugh abbot of Clugny, almost entirely made of gold, and adorned with pearls and other gems<sup>o</sup>; and Walafridus Strabo informs us, that the kings of France in the ninth century were in possession of the cope of Martin bishop of Tours, A. D. 380<sup>p</sup>. The English ritual permitted the bishop to wear a cope instead of a vestment in his public ministrations, if he chose, and gave the same liberty to presbyters in celebrating the eucharist. The Injunctions of queen Elizabeth in 1564, and the canons of 1603, directed the cope to be used. The former also appointed the epistler and gospeller, or assistants at the eucharist in cathedral and collegiate churches, to wear copes; a custom which was pre-

<sup>n</sup> Cyprianus Tolonens. Vita  
Cæsarii Arelatens. Num. 23.

lib. i. cap. 24. §. 17.

<sup>o</sup> See Bona, *Rer. Liturgiar.*

<sup>p</sup> Liber de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 31.

served in the consecration of archbishop Parker to the see of Canterbury. We are informed by Le Brun, that the Armenians and the Nestorians of Chaldæa and India use the cope and not the chasuble at the celebration of the eucharist<sup>a</sup>. The assistant ministers have very anciently worn copes in the western churches on solemn occasions, especially in cathedrals, as we find the ancient *Ordo Romanus*, written, according to some, in the seventh century, directing them to use it when a bishop celebrates the eucharist<sup>r</sup>. I have not learned that the cope is worn by the clergy of the patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, but the *mandyas*, used by certain clergy of Constantinople and Russia<sup>s</sup>, seems very much to resemble it. Formerly the cope was used by the clergy in processions or litanies, and on solemn occasions in morning and evening prayers, and was generally worn by the bishop except in celebrating the eucharist, ordination, and some other occasions, when he used the vestment.

## SECTION IV.

## THE TUNICLE OR DALMATIC.

The tunicle, called *tunica*, *dalmatica*, *tunicella*, &c. in the west, was used in the earliest ages of the Christian church. Originally it had no sleeves, and was then often called *colobium*. The garment used by deacons in the Greek church, and all the east, and called *sticharion*, seems to be the ancient colobium. It is said that wide sleeves were added to the colobium about the fourth century in the west, which

<sup>a</sup> Le Brun, Ceremonies de la Messe, tome v. p. 80.

torpii Officia, p. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Ordo Romanus apud Hit-

<sup>s</sup> See Goar, Rituale Græc. p. 113.

thenceforth was often called *dalmatic*; and when used by subdeacons, *tunicle*. But the shape of the garment was the same, by whomsoever it was worn. In the middle ages, several distinctions were made relative to the use of the tunic by bishops and others; but the Greek and eastern churches do not use the sleeved tunic, and with them no such distinctions are in existence. The tunic was made of the same sort of materials, &c. as the cope and vestment; and the English ritual directs it to be used by the assistant ministers in the holy communion<sup>t</sup>. Figures V. and VI. represent deacons arrayed in tunicles. Fig. V, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, is a tunicle, as used in England in the ninth and tenth centuries. Fig. VI, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, represents the eastern *sticharion* or tunicle, with separate *ἐπιμανίκια* or sleeves added, (see Goar, p. 111.) from an ancient picture published by Du Cange.

## SECTION V.

## THE ALBE.

The albe bore different names in the writings of ancient authors. Amalarius calls it *camisia* or *alba*, lib. ii. c. 18. Isidorus Hispalensis calls it *poderis* or *camisia*, lib. xix. Origin. c. 21. In the old *Ordo Romanus* of the seventh century it is called *linea*. Whether the albe and tunic were originally the same is not certain, but I think it not improbable. In the east it was early called *poderis*, from its reaching to the feet; and it is mentioned under that name by Eusebius and Gregory Nazianzen. The *poderis* was the same as the *sticharion*, which is

<sup>t</sup> See Bona, *Rer. Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. 24. §. 18. Gavanti *Thesaurus a Merati*, tom. i. p.

124. *Du Cange's Glossary*, &c. Gerbertus, *Liturgia Alemannica*, tom. i. p. 243.

spoken of by Athanasius, Sozomen, and Gregory Nazianzen. The albe of the western church is spoken of by the fourth council of Carthage ; by that of Narbonne, A. D. 589 ; and by various ancient writers referred to above<sup>u</sup>. It was made of white linen, and generally bound with a girdle of the same ; but the sticharion of the Greeks is not girded. The albe is directed by the English ritual to be used by the bishop, presbyters, and deacons in celebrating the eucharist. The first, however, is allowed to use a surplice instead of it in his public ministrations. Fig. VII, N<sup>o</sup>. 2, represents the albe.

## SECTION VI.

### THE SCARF OR STOLE.

The scarf is not mentioned in the rubric of the English ritual ; but as it is often used in the church during the performance of divine service, I think it merits consideration in this place. The scarf is worn by bishops, with the rochette, and generally by dignitaries and prebendaries in cathedrals, and by chaplains. The origin of this custom is obscure, and I have not seen the subject noticed in any place. The scarf is not worn because the person is a doctor, by whom, in universities, a scarf is used ; for many persons who are not doctors wear it. And therefore it seems to me more natural to refer this custom to the ancient practice of the church, according to which presbyters and bishops wear a scarf or stole in the administration of the sacraments, and on some other occasions. The stole or *orarium* has

<sup>u</sup> See Gavanti Thesaurus, turgicar. lib. i. c. 24. §. 3. Du tom. i. p. 143. Bona, Rer. Li- Cange, Glossary.



been used from the most primitive ages by the Christian clergy. It is spoken of by the first council of Braga, A. D. 563; by Isidore Hispalensis, A. D. 600; the council of Laodicea in Phrygia, A. D. 360; Severianus Gabalitanus, in the time of Chrysostom; and many others<sup>v</sup>: and it has been continually used by all the churches of the west and east, and by the monophysites of Antioch and Alexandria. The stole, always called *ὠράριον* by the Greeks, was a long scarf, which was fastened on one shoulder of the deacon's albe, and hung down before and behind. The priest had it over both shoulders, and the two ends of it hung down in front. The eastern churches call the stole of the priests *ἐπιτραχήλιον*. Thus simply were the dresses of deacons and priests distinguished from each other in primitive times. Fig. VI, N<sup>o</sup>. 3, represents the stole as worn by deacons over the left shoulder; Fig. VII, N<sup>o</sup>. 1, represents it as used by priests.

The origin of the pall, which has been generally worn by the western metropolitans, is disputed; but whoever considers the ancient figures of it which are found in manuscripts, and in the mosaic of the church of Ravenna, constructed about A. D. 540, (see Fig. I. N<sup>o</sup>. 1. and Fig. II. N<sup>o</sup>. 1.) will see that it was originally only a stole wound round the neck, with the ends hanging down behind and before. In the east the pall is called *omophorion*, (*ὠμοφόριον*), and has been used, at least, since the time of Chrysostom, who was charged with accusing three dea-

<sup>v</sup> Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. 24. §. 6. Gavanti p. 147. Bingham's *Antiquities*, b. xiii. c. 8. §. 2. Gerberti *Liturg. Aleman.* tom. i. p. 240.

cons of taking his *omophorion* <sup>w</sup>. It is worn by *all* the eastern bishops, above the *phenolion* or vestment, during the eucharist; and, as used by them, resembles the ancient pall much more nearly than that worn by western metropolitans.

## SECTION VII.

## THE ROCHETTE AND CHIMERE.

The rochette is spoken of in the old *Ordo Romanus*, under the title of *linea*; and has, no doubt, been very anciently used by bishops in the western church. During the middle ages it was their ordinary garment in public. The word *rockette* is not however of any great antiquity, and perhaps cannot be traced further back than the thirteenth century<sup>x</sup>. The chief difference between this garment and the surplice formerly was, that its sleeves were narrower than those of the latter; for we do not perceive, in any of the ancient pictures of English bishops, those very wide and full lawn sleeves which are now used.

Dr. Hody says, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth our bishops wore a scarlet garment under the rochette; and that in the time of Edward the Sixth they wore a scarlet *chimere*, like the doctors' dress at Oxford, over the rochette; which, in the time of queen Elizabeth, was changed for the black satin *chimere* used at present. History of Convocations, p. 141.

The chimere seems to resemble the garment used

<sup>w</sup> See Photii Bibliotheca, p. 55. Paris, 1611.

<sup>x</sup> Gavanti Thesaurus, tom. i. p. 142.

by bishops during the middle ages, and called *mantelletum*; which was a sort of cope, with apertures for the arms to pass through. (See Da Cange's Glossary.) The name of *chimere* is probably derived from the Italian *zimarra*, which is described as "vesta talare de' sacerdoti et de' chierici." *Ortografia Enciclopedica Italiana, Venezia, 1826.* Fig. VIII. represents a bishop dressed in a chimere, N<sup>o</sup>. 2; and rochette, N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

## SECTION VIII.

## THE PASTORAL STAFF.

The pastoral staff, called *baculus pastoralis, cambutta, &c.* was spoken of in the fourth council of Toledo, held near 1200 years ago, as being used by bishops. In the western church it was frequently given to bishops at their ordination. Fig. III, N<sup>o</sup>. 4, represents a pastoral staff of an ancient form, such as is depicted on the curious font in the cathedral of Winchester, and in a manuscript of the Barberini library, copied by Gerbert, Liturg. Aleman. Tabula VIII. N<sup>o</sup>. 2. p. 251. In later times it was curved into the form of a shepherd's crook. The eastern bishops use a pastoral staff of another form, which may be seen in Goar's Greek Ritual, p. 115. For additional information on this subject, see Bona, Rerum Liturgicarum lib. i. cap. xxiv. §. 15, and Gerbertus de Liturgia Alemannica, tom. i. p. 256, 257.

## SECTION IX.

## THE SURPLICE.

It is by no means improbable that the surplice was, in very ancient times, not different from the

albe. In fact, it only varies from that garment, even now, in having wider sleeves. The inferior clergy were accustomed to wear the albe at divine service, as we find by the council of Narbonne, A. D. 589, which forbid them to take it off, until the liturgy was ended. Probably in after-ages it was thought advisable to make a distinction between the dresses which the superior and the inferior orders of clergy wore at the liturgy; and then a difference was made in the sleeves. And from about the twelfth century the name of *surplice* was introduced. In Latin, it was *superpelliceum*, or *cotta*; see Bona, Rerum Liturg. lib. i. cap. 24. §. 20. Fig. III. N<sup>o</sup>. 2. Fig. IV. N<sup>o</sup>. 3. represent surplices.

During the middle ages, bishops very frequently wore the surplice with a cope, and above the rochette, as is represented in Fig. III.

## SECTION X.

### THE HOOD, AND SQUARE CAP.

The hood, in Latin *caputium*, *almucium*, *amicia*, &c. is perhaps as ancient a garment as any of which I have spoken, and was formerly not intended merely for distinction and ornament, but for use. It was generally fastened to the back of the cope, casula, or other vesture, and in case of rain or cold was drawn over the head. It was formerly used by the laity as well as the clergy, and by the monastic orders. In universities, the hoods of graduates were made to signify their degrees by varying the colours and materials. In cathedral and collegiate churches, the hoods of the canons and prebendaries were frequently lined with fur or wool, and always worn in the choir. The term *almutium*, or *amice*, was par-

ticularly applied to these last. See Du Cange, Glossary, Paris 1733, vocibus *Capucium* and *Almucium*. Du Cange supposes that the square cap was formerly that part of the amice which covered the head, but afterwards separated from the remainder. See his Glossary, voce *Amicia*. If this conjecture be right, the square caps used in the universities, and by the clergy, derive their origin from the customs of the canons regular during the middle ages. All our clergy are permitted to wear the hood at the daily service, and on other proper occasions.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

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Figure I. From a figure of Gregory Nazianzen, in a manuscript of Basil's Works, written near a thousand years ago. See Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. iii. p. 125.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The archiepiscopal or episcopal pall, or omophorion.  
2. The vestment, or casula. 3. The albe.

Figure II. A bishop, from a mosaic in the church of Ravenna, constructed in the reign of Justinian, about A. D. 540. See Ferrarius de *Re Vestiaria*, lib. i. c. 38. p. 108.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The pall. 2. The casula. 3. The albe.

Figure III. A bishop in a cope.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. An ancient cope, from the picture of one in Gerbert. *Liturgia Aleman.* tom. i. p. 250. 2. A surplice. 3. A rochette. 4. A pastoral staff.

Figure IV. A bishop, from an illuminated manuscript representing the chief events of the New Testament, written in the thirteenth century, now in the British Museum.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The cope. 2. The hood or cowl, at the back of the cope. 3. The surplice. 4. The albe.

Figure V. A picture of Laurence the deacon, from an ancient vestment found in the tomb of St. Cuthbert, at Durham, and given by queen Ælfleda to Frithestanus, bishop of Winchester, A. D. 905. See Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*, p. 207.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The tunicle, or dalmatic. 2. The albe.

Figure VI. A deacon of the eastern church, from an ancient Greek painting representing St. Stephen, copied by Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. iv. p. 137. Also a MS. of the library of Casano, of the ninth century. Gerbert. *Liturgia Aleman.* tom. i. plate 7. p. 247.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The *σροιχάριον*, or tunicle. 2. An under garment. 3. The deacon's stole.

Figure VII. A priest, from old manuscripts.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The stole, as worn by priests. 2. The albe girded.

Figure VIII. A bishop, partly from a portrait of bishop Fox.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. Scarf, or stole. 2. Chimere. 3. Rochette. 4. Cassock, or under garment.

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|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Breviarium,</i>    | Eboracense, Venetiis, 1493.        |
| —————                 | Herefordense, Rouen, 1505.         |
| —————                 | Sarisburiense, Paris, 1535.        |
| —————                 | Romanum, a Quignon, Lugduni, 1546. |
| <i>Manuale,</i>       | Eboracense, London, 1509.          |
| —————                 | Sarisburiense, Rouen, 1543.        |
| <i>Missale,</i>       | Ambrosianum, 1522.                 |
| —————                 | Eboracense, York, 1516.            |
| —————                 | Herefordense, Rouen, no date.      |
| —————                 | Sarisburiense, London, 1529.       |
| —————                 | Romanum, Antwerp, 1619.            |
| <i>Processionale,</i> | Sarisburiense, Antwerp, 1525.      |
| <i>Rituale,</i>       | Romanum, Antwerp, 1652.            |

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CORRIGENDA.

- Vol. I. p. 170, l. 10, does *add not*.  
p. 285, l. 28, liturgy *read* litany.  
Vol. II. p. 121, l. 7, were *read* was.
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*To the Binder.*

Insert the Plates opposite page 322 of this volume.







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