

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING LITURGIES.

By the late Learned and Judicious Divine,

Mr. DAVID CLARKSON.

Πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τεχνασμάτων γεγονότες πατέρες, οἱ τὰ αἰώνια ὄρια τῶν ἐνθес-
μων πατέρων μετᾶραι φιλονεικήσαντες, οὐκ ἠρκέθησαν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκγόνοις, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ
τῶν πάλαι πολεμίων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπλαθρίδια δυσγενῆ κακῶς ἀποκλέψαν-
τες, ὡς εὐγενῆ καὶ τέλειον τοκόν [δογμάτων] προβάλλονται.

"They who strive to remove the everlasting landmarks of the legitimate fathers, having become the parents of many and wicked inventions, content not themselves with their own offspring, but maliciously steal the ignoble bantlings of the ancient enemies of the apostolical church, and thrust them before the world as the high-born and unattainted offspring of her principles."

Maxim. in Athan. tom. ii. p. 266.

Καταπαύσω τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις παραιῶν, ἄνευ φιλονεικίας συνιδεῖν καὶ εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς
εἴρηται τῷ Θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τῷ γεγραφῶτι συγγνώμην νεῖμαι, τῷ μὴ ἀπο-
φνημαίνῃ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις ἐπιτρέψαντι τὴν ψήφον.

"I will conclude by exhorting my readers to weigh the matter duly and without contentiousness, and if I have well said, to acknowledge the thanks to be God's; but if otherwise, to grant pardon to the writer who commits the decision, not to the demonstrator, but to his readers."

Sic concludit Ep. cxli. Isidor. Pelus. lib. iv.

Δεῦρο δὴ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας βαδίζων ἀνερρεύνησον τὴν ἀρχαιογονίαν αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ νεώτε-
ρον τὸ ἐφεύρημα. Πατέρων ἐστὶ τὸ κειμήλιον· πᾶν τὸ ἀρχαιότητι διαφέρον, αἰδέσιμον.

"Go through history and search out its original; for the invention is not modern. It is a relic of the fathers. Every excellence of antiquity is to be venerated."

Basil. de Jejun. Hom. i. p. 130. [Edit. Par. 1722, p. 3, A. tom. ii.]

Μάθωμεν πότε εἶναι Χριστιανοὶ· εἰ εὐχεσθαι οὐκ ἴσμεν, ὕπερ ἐστὶν εὐκολον καὶ
σφόδρα ῥάδιον, τὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰσδόμεθα; μάθωμεν εὐχεσθαι ὡς Χριστιανοί.

"Let us learn to be Christians at some time or other. If we know not how to pray, which is a simple and very easy affair,—what shall we know of other matters? Let us learn to pray as Christians."

Chrysost. in 1 Tim. Hom. vi. p. 273.

London: Printed for THO. PARKHURST, at the Bible and Three Crowns
in Cheapside; JONATHAN ROBINSON, at the Golden Lion in St. Paul's
Churchyard; and THO. COCKERIL, at the Three Legs in the Poultry.

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THE reputation of prescribed liturgies depends on their supposed antiquity ; this is their great, their best support. They pretend not to Scripture, nor will their advocates maintain, that the apostles either used such, or left any order for the composing and prescribing of them.

And it will seem strange to those that reverence antiquity, that good reason should be found for them, if the ancients for four or five ages could see none, in such circumstances as might render it equally visible to them and us.

If they had seen it, it would appear in their practice, there especially where the reason is thought to be most cogent, viz., in the administration of the sacraments. It is presumed,^a that there first of all, there especially, forms of prayer were (and are to be) prescribed ; and so it will be granted, that if antiquity be not for them there, it owns them nowhere.

By prescribed forms are meant such as are imposed upon the administrator, so as those must be used, and no other, nor otherwise, without adding, detracting, or transposing. The favourers of such forms suppose they have been the constant usage of the church, everywhere, ever since extraordinary gifts ceased. Their opposites^b judge this hath been rather taken for granted than proved ; and suspect they are *ὑπὸ συνηθείας προκαταλεημμένοι*, “prejudiced by custom ;” and that this opinion had not got entertainment, but upon a presumption, that things

^a “The ancient churches, from the very first century, did use such public wholesome forms of sound words, in their sacramental celebrations especially, and afterwards in other holy administrations or public duties, as made up their solemn, devout, and public liturgies.”—D[r.] G[auden,] Consideration touching Liturgies, p. 8.

^b opponents.

were so of old, because they are so now;^a and that the mistake had not so long prevailed, if it had been sooner examined.

It is not denied, but there were some forms of prayer of old, viz., arbitrary and particular, such as this or that person composed himself, or made choice of, composed by others, for his use in public. There is an intimation of this latter sort, Can. 23, Conc. Carthag. 3, held in the conclusion of the fourth age; and it is the first that I meet with. But common forms (though arbitrary,) viz., such as many churches made use of in the same words, I cannot discover till many years after; unless the Lord's Prayer be made an instance hereof.^b This indeed was used anciently, but far otherwise than of late, not more than once at one assembly, not in prayers before or after sermon, not at all in the catechumen's office,^c no where in their ordinary service; but *ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν πιστῶν*, "in the season allotted to the faithful,"^d as Chrysostom calls the eucharistical office; and there commonly in the conclusion of the prayer for the blessing of the elements.

But though they used the words of it there, yet not out of any apprehension, that Christ did enjoin them there to use it. Augustine declares it plainly,^e that Christ in the delivery of those petitions, did not teach

^a Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς ψήφους ἐκφέρουσιν, "Many men draw conclusions from matters belonging to their own time, concerning other matters."—Isid. Pelus. lib. v. Ep. 18. [B. Ed. Paris. 1638.]

Τοῦν γε νοῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἀπόρρητον κεκτημένοι τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ κριτήριον σαφὲς ἐστὶ τὸ ἀληθές, "The truth is clear to the intelligent, and to those who have gained their judgment concerning the facts without prejudice."—Isid. lib. iii. Ep. 191. [C.]

^b Ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι μετὰ τὰς θαυμασίους ὁδῶνας τὰς ἐν τῷ θεῷ βαπτίσματι δίκαιοι ἂν εἶεν τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν λέγειν ὡς ἐπιδεικνύμενοι γνησιότητα, &c. "Those only who have passed through the miraculous birth-pangs experienced in Divine baptism, could be right in saying, Our Father, &c., since these manifest their legitimacy as sons."—Isid. Pelus. lib. iv. Ep. 24. [p. 451, C.]

^c Ὅτι γὰρ πιστοὺς αὐτῇ ἡ προσευχῇ προσήκει, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσι, καὶ τὸ προσοίμεν τῆς εὐχῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἀμνηστὸς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο Πατέρα καλεῖν τὸν Θεόν, "That this prayer pertains to the faithful, the laws of the church and the commencement of the prayer both teach. For one uninitiated could not call God 'Father.'"—Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. [xix.] p. 139; and Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. p. 553. Amongst other things there recited, which the catechumens were not partakers of, this is one:—οὐδέπω γὰρ εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ εἰσενεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "For they possess not as yet the prayer dispensed and introduced by Christ." Hence when he is to speak of the Lord's Prayer, he uses the ordinary form of concealment, whereby the ancients denote what was peculiar to the *fideles*, ἵστε δὲ οἱ πιστοὶ, "Ye who are believers understand," (In 1 Tim. Hom. [vi.] p. 273,) and ἴσασι οἱ μεμνημένοι, "The initiated understand," (In Gen. Hom. xxviii. p. 214,) and that the baptized were admitted to say it presently after baptism.—Vid. In Coloss. Hom. v. p. 122.

Hanc orationem baptizati orant, "This prayer the baptized use."—August. Epist. 54. [Ed. Antw. Ep. 153. cap. 13.]

Vide Albaspin. Observ. lib. i. cap. 9; and in him Cyprian, Cyril, Ambrose.

Quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit, "Which whole service almost every church closes with the Lord's Prayer."—Aug. Ep. 59. [Ed. Antw. Ep. 149.]

^d In 2 Cor. Hom. [ii. p. 557.]

^e Aug.: "Non te ergo movet quod summus Magister, cum orare doceret discipulos, verba quædam docuit, in quo nihil aliud videtur fecisse, quam docuisse quomodo in orando loqui oporteret?" Adeodatus: "Nihil me omnino istud movet; non enim verba, sed res ipsas eos verbis docuit, quibus et se ipsi commonefacerent, a quo et quid esset orandum, cum in penetralibus, ut dictum est, mentis orarent." Aug. "Recte intelligis." "Aug.—Does not the authority of the Lord, the supreme master, weigh with thee, who, when he taught his disciples to pray, taught them certain

his disciples what words they should use in prayer, but what things they should pray for; and understands it to be a direction for secret and mental prayer, where no words are to be used. The coherence^a in Matt. vi. led him to explain it of such praying, as Christ is speaking of verse 6, which he took to be mental, and none deny to be secret.

It is granted also, that divers churches had a certain order, wherein they agreed to administer the several parts of worship, and particularly the severals^b in the sacraments; so as each had its known and fixed place. An order there is visible in Chrysostom,^c and in Augustine to Paulinus.^d This was settled in some churches by custom; and in some there was in time a rule for it, such is that, Can. xix. Syn. Laodiceen. whose title in the Latin copies is, De Ordine Orationum Catechumenorum atque Fidelium, "Of the Order of the Catechumens' and Believers' Prayers." And in the west, the twenty-seventh canon of the Synod of

words, wherein he appears to have done nothing more than teach them how they ought to speak in prayer? ADEODATUS—It weighs with me not in the least: for he taught them not words, but things themselves by means of words; whereby they themselves also might bring to mind what to pray for, when they prayed in the hidden chambers of the heart, as the saying is. AUG.—Thou understandest it aright.—Lib. de Magistro, cap. i. p. 172, tom. i. edit. Lugdun.

To the same purpose Beda, in Matt. vi. And of late writers some of the most eminent: "Noluit præscribere Filius Dei quibus verbis utendum sit, ut ab ea quam dictavit formula deflectere non liceat," "The Son of God had no wish to prescribe the words which we are to use, in such a manner that it should be unlawful to deviate from that form which he has dictated."—Calvin in Matt. vi. 9. So Musculus.

Maldonat. sic: Non his necessario verbis, sed hac aut simili sententia; nam non apostolos orando his ipsis verbis usos fuisse legimus; aliis legimus Act. i. 24. Neque voluit Christus, ut quotiescunque oramus, ista omnia quæ hæc oratione continentur peteremus; sed ut omnia, aut aliqua, aut nihil certe his contrarium peteremus, "Not necessarily in these words, but with this or the like mind: for we read not that the apostles used these very words; nay, we read that they used others, Acts i. 24. Neither did Christ intend that so often as we pray, we should seek for all the things which are contained in this prayer; but that we should seek for all, or for some, or at least for nothing inconsistent with these things."—In Matt. vi. 9.

Cornel. à Lapide.

Grotius, in Matt. vi. 9, οὐτως: In hunc sensum; non enim præcipit Christus verba recitari, quod non legimus apostolos fecisse (quanquam id quoque fieri cum fructu potest) sed materiam precum hinc promere. In Luc. xi., Docet nos compendium rerum orandarum, neque enim eo tempore syllabis adstringebantur, "Οὕτως, i. e., according to this sense. For Christ does not teach us to recite these words, which we do not read the apostles did, (though this also may be done to good purpose,) but to draw hence the matter of our prayers. Idem on Luke xi.—He teaches us a summary of what things we should pray for; for at that time they were not tied down to syllables."

Casaubon, Exercit. 235: Christus vero non de prædicatione Dei laudem agit; sed, ut recte monet Augustinus, de modo concipiendi preces privatas, "Christ is not treating of the public celebration of the praises of God, but, as Augustine rightly hints, of the manner in which we should frame our private prayers."

Mr. Mede conceives that the disciples understood not that Christ, in Matthew, intended it for a form of prayer unto them, but for a pattern and example only, &c. p. 5.

And surely they could less understand, by that in Luke xi., that Christ intended they should use the same words (as in a set form,) since the same words are not there used.

Hence Jansenius infers, that Christ would not have any so careful of the words, as of the things to be prayed for. "Itaque ut disceremus in oratione, non tam de verbis, quam de rebus, esse anxii, ac de spiritu orationis, diversis verbis orationem tradidit, in Luc. xi., "Therefore that we may learn not to be so careful in prayer about words as about things, and about the spirit of our devotion, he delivered the prayer in different words, in Luke xi."

^a context.

^b details.

^c In 2 Cor. Rom. xviii. p. 647.

^d Epist. lix. Quæst. v. pp. 340, 341. [Ed. Antw. Ep. 149.]

Pau, in the beginning of the sixth age. And it is provided for in general terms by the Council of Vannes,^a in the latter end of the fifth age.

Besides such directions as is in those canons, other written rubrics were not needful. For the actual disposing of the severals^b in their proper place, the *ὡράριον* served them, of which, vid. Can. xxii. and xxiii., Conc. Laodic. This managed by a deacon, acquainted with the usages of the church where he ministered, was sufficient, without other rubric for that purpose, supposing it answered that description of its ancient use, which we have in Balsamo.^c

There was also some kind of uniformity in their sacramental prayers; that is, a general agreement to pray for the same things, though not in the same words. They might have said thereof, *quamlibet alia verba dicamus, nihil aliud dicimus*, “though we utter diverse words, we utter no diverse thing.” This appeared especially in the general prayer before the eucharist. Therein for whom, and for what they prayed, very many of the ancients give some account. Thereby it is manifest, that they prayed for the same persons, (for all of all sorts,) and for the same things, with respect to the various conditions of those several sorts of persons; and this in variety of expressions. So that herein was exemplified that of Augustine, *Liberum est aliis atque aliis verbis, eadem tamen in orando dicere*, “We are at liberty to utter ever-varying words, so that we utter the same things.”^d And this is the uniformity in prayer which Celestine urgeth against the Pelagians,^e all churches through the world agreeing to pray for those persons, and those things, which were inconsistent with their tenets. And that mode of praying, which as the author of the books, *De Vocatione Gentium*,^f says, the Lord, by the apostle, having prescribed, the devotion of all sorts did *concorditer*, “harmoniously” observe.

^a [Can. xv.]

^b details.

^c Διάκονοι διδοῦσιν εἶδῃσιν διὰ τοῦ ὡραρίου τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἁμβῶνι διακόνοις, τῆς ὀφειλουμένης γίνεσθαι ἐκφωνήσεως ἢ γοῦν τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς ἐκτενοῦς, τῶν αἰτήσεων τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, “The deacons give a signal by means of the *orarium** to the deacons in the reading-desk of the bidding proper to be made, or of the time to which the prayers of the catechumens and of the other classes extend.”—In Con. Laod. Can. in Cod. 126.

^d Epist. cxxi. [cap. xii. ad Probam.]

^e Epist. pro Prosper. et Hilari. cap. xi.

^f Precipit itaque apostolus, imo per apostolum Dominus, qui loquebatur in apostolo, fieri obsecrationes, &c., pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, &c., quam legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit, in qua hujusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis Christianis. Supplicat ergo ubique ecclesia Deo, non solum pro sanctis, et in Christo jam regeneratis; sed etiam pro omnibus infidelibus et inimicis crucis Christi, pro omnibus idolorum cultoribus, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris ipsius prose-

* The *orarium* signified at first a handkerchief for wiping the face, from *os*, the countenance. See Dr. Smith's *Dic. Gr. and Rom. Ant.* p. 674. In the ecclesiastical sense, it appears to have denoted a part of the vestments hanging down from the shoulder, and to have been used by the clergy in making signals to each other during Divine service. Bishops and presbyters were privileged to wear this on each shoulder. Deacons only on one, and that, as testified by a canon of the fourth council of Toledo (held A.D. 633) the left. See Bingham, *Ant. Christian Church*, vol. iv. p. 208.—ED

Such particular and voluntary forms, such an order in administering such an uniformity in praying, is not in question; nor am I concerned in common forms if arbitrary, though settled by custom. But this is it which is denied, that in the ancient church, for many ages after Christ, such liturgies, or forms of prayer, were commonly imposed on those who administered the sacraments, as are before described; or that in the ancient church, while its condition was tolerable, or its practice imitable, the common and ordinary way of administering the sacraments, was by such prescribed liturgies and forms of prayer, as are before described; wherein the administrators had no liberty left to change words or order, to abridge or enlarge, or otherwise vary from the imposed models.

If there had been such liturgies anciently, as are contended for, and are now in use, prayers would have been read then, as they are now. But ἀναγινώσκειν εὐχὰς, or *preces legere*, or *de scripto recitare*, “read prayers—recite from a manuscript,” or any forms of speech equivalent, are phrases unknown, and not to be found, so far as I can yet discover, in any writers of the four or five first ages at least; and therefore the thing in all probability [was] not known, nor practised in those times.

We meet not only with the reading of psalms,^a reading of lessons; but reading of the narratives of the martyrs’ sufferings.^b Reading of epistles from some eminent persons or churches; as Dionysius of Corinth says Clemens’ epistle had been read, as it was wont to be in their Lord’s days assemblies.^c And Athanasius wills those of Antioch to read the epistle sent from the synod at Alexandria, ἐνθα καὶ εἰώθατε συνάγεσθαι ἀνιγνῶτε ταῦτα,^d “When according to custom ye meet together, read

quantur, pro Judæis, pro hæreticis, et schismaticis. Quid autem pro istis petit, nisi ut, relictis erroribus suis, convertantur ad Deum, accipiant fidem, accipiant charitatem, et de ignorantie tenebris liberati, in agnitionem veniant veritatis? “The apostle, therefore, teaches, yea, the Lord, by the apostle, that supplications, &c. be made for all men, for kings, &c. (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2,) which rule of prayer, the devotion of all bishops and of all the faithful, so harmoniously observes, that there is no part of the world in which prayers of this kind are not offered by Christian people. Therefore, the church everywhere supplicates God, not only for the regenerate already in Christ, but even for all unbelievers and enemies of the cross of Christ; for all idolaters; for all who persecute Christ in his members; for Jews, for heretics, and schismatics. But what does she seek on their behalf but that, abandoning their errors, they may be converted to God, may receive faith, may receive love, and, emancipated from the shades of ignorance, may come to the knowledge of the truth?”—De Voc. Gent. lib. i. cap. xii.

^a Theod. lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 63. [F.]

^b Liceat itaque legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur, “Therefore it is a lawful practice to read the passions of the martyrs when their anniversaries are kept.” Conc. Carth. iii., Can. xlvii., Caranz. p. 116.

Τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται μέχρις ἐσχάτου, “The memoranda of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as is suitable.”—Just. M. Apol. ii. [p. 98. Ed. Col. 1686.]

Περὶ τοῦ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγελίου μετ’ ἑτερον γράφον ἀναγινώσκεισθαι, “Of the reading of the Gospels on the Sabbath after the other scripture.”—Conc. Laod. Can. xvi.

^c Euseb. lib. iv. [cap. xxiii.]

^d Ad Antioch. p. 451, tom. i. [In Edit. Colon. 1686, p. 759, C.]

this." And Cornelius was wont to read Cyprian's epistles to the church at Rome.^a Reading of the diptyches, τῶν ἱερῶν πτυχῶν ἀνάβρησις,^b "the rehearsal of the sacred diptyches;"^c καὶ μόνον ἐλέχθησαν αἱ προσηγορίαι,^d "the names were read."

In a word, of the reading of everything that was wont to be read; but of the reading of prayers, not a syllable. We may as soon find a saying of mass, as reading of prayers. None had then the opportunity till since it has been the happiness of many to merit the commendation which Pliny gave of his servant Zosimus.^e

If their prayers had been written, and they confined precisely to the words and syllables of the writing, as in prescribed forms, this would have obliged them to have had the writing before them, and to have read the prayers out of it, to prevent varying from the prescribed model, since there had been as much necessity to read then, as there is now.

Besides, reading and praying are still represented as distinct things, and such as were not then coincident. The deacon, when he called to reading, was said, κηρύσσειν τὴν ἀναγνώσιν, "to bid reading;" but when to prayer, κηρύσσειν τὴν εὐχὴν, "to bid prayer." Prayer began in Justin Martyr's time, πανσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, "when the reader had done."^f So Athanasius calls to praying and reading in terms quite different; προστάξας διάκονον κηρύξαι εὐχὴν, αὐθις ψαλμὸν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασε, "after commanding the deacon to bid prayer, he again caused a psalm to be read." So Socrates,^g which in Theodoret is, ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμὸν προέτρεπον, καὶ προστάξας εὐχὴν,^h "he moved him to read a psalm, and having directed prayer," &c. And Sozomen, where he shows there was an uniformity in his time in public worship, tells us, καὶ εὐχαῖς δὲ καὶ ψαλμωδίαῖς ταῖς αὐταῖς, ἥ ἀναγνωσμασί κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν οὐ πάντας κεχρημένους εὐρεῖν ἔστιν,ⁱ "It cannot be found that the same prayers or psalms, yea, or the same lessons, were used by all at the same time."

Indeed it cannot be apprehended how they could read their prayers, who, while they prayed, had their eyes lift up to heaven. And that this was the posture of the ancient Christians in prayer, there is abundant evidence.

Tertullian thus represents them praying; *Illuc suspicientes Christiani*,^k "thither the Christians intently gazing."

And Clemens Alexandrinus,^l Πᾶσαν γὰρ τὴν ἐνδιάθετον ὁμιλίαν ὁ Θεὸς

^a Cyp. Ep. 12.

^b Dionys. Eccl. Hier. cap. [iii. p. 88, D. Ed. Paris. 1615.]

^c The Diptyches were registers of the names of eminent saints, bishops, and martyrs, which for some ages were recited publicly by the deacons in the churches, as an introduction to the services in commemoration of the dead.—Eb.

^d Heyl. Antid. p. 342.

^e Ep. xix. l. v.

^f Apol. ii. [p. 98, D. Ed. Paris. 1686.]

^g Lib. ii. [cap. xi. p. 559.]

^h Lib. ii. [cap. xiii. pp. 63, 64.] Vide D[r.] H[ammond], Preface to Psalms, and Tertull. cited by him.

ⁱ Soz. lib. vii. cap. xix. Vide Just. Nov. vi. p. 36, cap. iv.

^k Apoll. cap. xxx.

^l Strom. lib. vii.

ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπάτει, ταύτη καὶ προσευτέινομεν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἴρομεν : “ God constantly hears all that mentally regulated converse wherein we raise our heads and lift up hands to heaven.”

To whom we might add Cyprian Ad Demetrium.

Arnobius,^a *Ad sidera sublevavit et cælum, et cum Domino rerum Deo, supplicationum fecit verba, atque orationum colloquia miscere*, “ he lifted his hands towards the stars and toward heaven, and made the utterances of his supplications, and the converse of his prayers, have to do with the Lord God of the universe.”

And Lactantius. *Oculos eo dirigamus, quo illos naturæ suæ conditio direxit*,^b “ Let us thither direct our eyes, whither their own nature directs them.” *Cur igitur oculos in cælum non tollitis?*^c “ Why do ye not lift your eyes heavenward?”

So Dionysius of Alexandria representing to Xystus of Rome, the case of that troubled person, and that, amongst other scruples, he durst not join with them in prayer, does it in these terms, *μηδὲ παρρησίαν ἔχειν ἐπᾶραι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*,^d “ neither has he the confidence to lift up his eyes to God.” Lifting up the eyes to heaven, is a phrase by which prayer is understood in this third age.^e

In the fourth age, this was *εὐχομένου σχῆμα*, “ the posture of a suppliant.” And when they represented Constantine in a praying posture, it was with eyes lift up to heaven. So his effigies in his coins, *Ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίσμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς εἰκόνα ᾧδε γραφέσθαι διετίπου, ὡς ἂν βλέπειν δοκεῖν ἀνατεταμένος πρὸς Θεὸν τρόπον εὐχομένου*,^f “ He formed the project of having his own image portrayed on his golden coin, as one stretching forth his hands to God after the manner of a suppliant, to show that he looked on high.” So in his palace; *Ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις—ἐστὼς ὄρθιος ἐγράφετο, ἂνω μὲν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐμβλέπων τῷ χεῖρι δ' ἐκτεταμένος εὐχομένου σχήματι*,^g “ In the palace itself, he was painted in a standing posture, looking on high towards heaven, with his hands stretched out in the manner of a suppliant.” Others, *Ἄνω βλέπειν εἰς οὐρανὸν*,^h “ to look on high toward heaven,” in praises.

Chrysostom observes, from Christ's posture in prayer expressed, John xvii. 1,ⁱ “ These words spake Jesus, and lift up his eyes to heaven;” that thereby we are taught, when we pray, to lift up both eyes of body and mind: *Διὰ γὰρ τούτων παιδευόμεθα τὸ ἐκτενὲς τὸ ἐν ταῖς δέησεσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐστῶτες ἀναβλέπωμεν μὴ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς διανοίας*.^k

^a Lib. i. p. 28.

^b Lib. vi.

^c Lib. ii. cap. ii.

^d Euseb. lib. vii. [cap. ix.] p. 188.

^e Or shutting their eyes. Origen contra Celsum, lib. vii. p. 362. Astyrius, *Ἀναεῦσαντα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκετεύσαι*, “ lifted up his hands toward heaven and prayed.” Euseb. lib. vii. [cap. xvii.] p. 195.

^f Euseb. De Vita Constantini, lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 394.

^g Ibid.

^h Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. xxix.

ⁱ [Hom. lxxx.]

^k P. 890. So Hilary, Euthymius, Theophylact, Leontius, Ammonius, in Maldonat. on Matt. xiv. 19. cap. cccli.

And Augustine intimates as much, when he tells us upon the same place, *Ita se Patri exhibere voluit precatorem, ut meminisset nostrum se esse doctorem*; he so prayed, as minding to teach us how we should pray.^a

Yea, Damascen, upon those words,^b “Jesus lift up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee,” &c. observes, *propterea oculos sustulisse ut formam nobis traderet orandi*, “therefore he is said to have lifted up his eyes, that he might deliver to us the manner in which we should pray.”

Whereby it appears, that not only this *de facto* was their posture in praying, but that they thought themselves obliged to it by Christ's example.

Some bishops (what may we think of presbyters and deacons) could not read.^c

So that in Damascen's time, when set forms were grown common, this reading was not in fashion;^d I will not inquire into the reasons: it may be, that which made Pliny loth to read his pleadings, might hinder them from reading their prayers. What he suggests, is obvious to each one's reason and common sense; and whether it be not applicable to some pleaders at another bar, let others judge. *Neque enim me præterit, actiones*, &c. Then he says, they are thereby bereaved of many advantages, which render the plea fervent and available, *ut quas soleant commendare*, and the want of which must needs dull the auditory; *quo minus mirum est, auditorum intentio languescit*.

Hortaris ut orationem amicis pluribus recitem, faciam quia hortaris: quamvis vehementer addubitem, neque enim me præterit, actiones quæ recitantur, impetum omnem caloremque, ac prope nomen suum perdere, ut quas soleant commendare, simul et accendere,—dicentis gestus, incessus, discursus etiam, omnibusque motibus animi consentaneus vigor corporis,—recitantium vero præcipua pronuntiationis adjumenta, oculi, manus præpediuntur; quo minus mirum est si auditorum intentio languescit, nullis extrinsecus aut blandimentis capta aut aculeis excitata;^e “You recommend me to read my orations to a number of my friends. I will do so since you recommend it, although I am seriously in doubt about it: for I do not forget that pleadings which are read, lose all their force and warmth, and well nigh their very name, as being things which the gestures of the speaker, his bold advances, even his changes of position

^a Tract. in Joh. [civ.] tom. ix. p. 621.

^b John xi. 41.

^c Blondel, pp. 500, 501.

^d Hereby it appears that reading of old was not in fashion: none had then the opportunity, (though since it has been the happiness of many) to merit the commendation which Pliny gave of his servant Zosimus. *Idem tam commode orationes legit, ut hoc solum didicisse videatur.* “He reads speeches so well, that he seems to have studied nothing else.” Plin. Ep. xix. lib. v. Yet Pliny was loth his orations should be read. His reasons, though they concern not the ancients, may be considerable to others.

^e Plin. Ep. ix. lib. ii.

and the activity of the body in harmony with all the emotions of the mind, are wont at once to enforce and kindle. But the eyes and hands of one who reads, which are the main auxiliaries of delivery, are fettered, so that it is no wonder if the attention of the auditors flags, since it is enchained by no charms, and awakened by no excitements from without." What would he have said, how would this wise and judicious person have aggravated these disadvantages, how intolerable would this great orator have accounted the motion, if Cerealis had moved him to read the same oration to his friends whenever they met, at every solemn meeting !

Chrysostom tells us, that in his judgment, it required a greater confidence than Moses and Elias had, to pray as they were wont to do before the eucharist. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν Μωύσεως καὶ τὴν Ἡλιοῦ παρρησίαν οὐδέπω πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην ἱκετηρίαν ἀρκεῖν ἡγοῦμαι ; " I judge that even the confidence of Moses and Elias would never suffice for such prayer." Now why such boldness was needful, if they had the prayer in a book before them, and no more to do than read it, I apprehend not. I never heard of any, who were masters of the art of reading, that found so much confidence necessary to exercise their faculty upon any prayer whatsoever. Παρρησία,^b in him is equivalent to ἐλευθεροστομία, as Phavorinus, a boldness to express one's self freely.^c No freedom is left him, who must only read what is prescribed him.^d

If the ancient churches had no written liturgies, no books of public prayers ; they could have no prescribed, no imposed, no nor any common liturgies, (viz. the same in many several congregations) though not imposed. And if there had been any such service books, it is not imaginable, but there would have been some notice of them in some of the writers of those ages ; yet for this, both we, and those who are most concerned to find it, are still to seek.

We meet not with any mention of such books, upon such occasions, where it might be expected they would be mentioned, if anywhere ; and where we might justly look to find them, if they had been to be found.

Those who give a particular account of the books, vessels, and several utensils, which were to be found in the church, make no mention of any such thing as this.^e

Amongst other things, wherewith Athanasius was falsely charged by the Arian faction, to make way for his condemnation : Macarius (with reflection upon that great person who employed him) is accused, to have

* De Sacerd. [Orat. vi.] p. 46.

^b Εἶχει πεπαρρησιασμέναι, Epist. xxxviii. p. 118.

^c Epist. exc. p. 186.

^d Vid. in Eph. Hom. ult. p. 892, where παρρησία is ἵνα πάντα ἃ ἐπέμψθην εἰπεῖν, εἴπω, " That I may say all things which I was sent to say." Vid. D[r]. H[ammond]. N. T. [p. 291.]

^e Vid. Dall. De Objecto Cultus.

leaped upon the altar, overthrown the table, broke the communion cup, burnt the Bible: *εἰσπυλῆσας εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀνέτρεψε μὲν τὴν τράπεζαν, ποτήριον δὲ κατέαξε μυστικόν, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ βιβλία κατέκαυσε.*^a

Now it may well be presumed that Ischyrras, the false accuser, encouraged with hopes of a bishopric (which was his reward afterward) and so concerned to swell the charge as big, and render it as odious as he could, would have added to the rest some indignity offered to the sacred liturgy. This had been as easily alleged as the rest (if the subject had been extant), and might have been as heinously resented, if there had been such liturgies, or such opinion of them, as in our times.

When Georgius, the Arian bishop, came to take possession of the bishopric of Alexandria, and entered a church by force, of what abuses were offered to all things therein, Athanasius gives a particular account: the table, *ἁγίαν τράπεζαν*, "the holy table:" the Scriptures, *τὰς θείας τῶν γραφῶν βιβλους*, "the Divine volumes of the Scripture:" the font, *ἅγιον βαπτιστήριον*, "the holy font:" the wine, *οἶνον πολὺν ἀποκείμενον*, "great store of wine:" the oil, *ἐλαιον*, the doors and latticed partitions, *θύρας καὶ τοὺς κακκέλους*, the candlesticks, the tapers, *λυχίας καὶ τοὺς κηρίωνας*.^b But not a word of a service book, no more than of a book of homilies.

When the multitude of Christians so increased at Constantinople, that it was thought necessary to dispose of them in several churches, Constantine takes care, that those churches should be respectively furnished with Bibles: and writes to Eusebius of Cæsarea to have them prepared accordingly.^c Now (let those that are for prescribed liturgies be judges) would it not have been requisite, that those churches should have been also furnished with service-books: and care taken, that these should have been likewise writ out for them, if any such had been then in use? Would Constantine have omitted this, if he had been of their mind: or would not Eusebius (who overlooks nothing of that nature) have added this in commendation of him, if he had made any such provision?

Does it not hence appear, that churches were then thought sufficiently provided with books, necessary for Divine service, when they were furnished with Bibles? And can it be supposed that Constantine, whose generousness towards the church is known to have run out in many superfluities, would have been deficient in things accounted in any degree necessary?

In the fourth council of Carthage, it is provided, when the bishop is

^a Soer. Hist. lib. i. [cap. xxvii.] p. 539.

^b Ad Orthodoxos, Ep. tom. i. p. 729. [In Edit. Col. 1686, p. 944, tom. i.]

^c *Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῖ θεοῖ ἐπεποισμένος, περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν λογίων εἰς τὸ μέτερον προσεποι ἐπέπεσε, τοῖ γραμμα.* "In his care for the churches of God, he wrote to us a letter concerning a supply of the inspired oracles." Euseb. De Vit. Constant. lib. iv. cap. xxxiv., and cap. xxxvi. p. 401, where we have that *γραμμα*.

ordained, the book of the Gospels shall be held over his head, *teneat evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus*,^a “let him hold the book of the Gospels over his head and neck.” When the exorcist is ordained, a book of exorcisms is to be given him; *accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi*,^b “let him receive from the hands of the bishop the book in which forms of exorcism are written.” When the reader is ordained, the Bible, out of which he is to read, is to be delivered him, *tradet ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum; Accipe, et esto lector verbi Dei*,^c “he shall deliver to him the book out of which he is to read, saying, Receive this, and be thou a reader of the word of God.”

But no book of public prayers is either used, or delivered, or mentioned, in the ordination of bishop, presbyter, or deacon, (the only persons who ministered in the prayers of the church,) or any other officer. Yet here, if any where, we might reasonably have expected to have met with a service book, if there had been any at that time.

One of the first books for public service, which I meet with, is the *libellus officialis*,^d which seems rather but a short directory, than a complete liturgy, given to every presbyter at his ordination, to instruct him how to administer the sacraments; lest, through ignorance of his duty herein, he should offend. *Quando presbyteri in parochiis ordinantur, libellum officialem a suo sacerdote accipiant, ut ad ecclesias sibi deputatas instructi succedant, ne per ignorantiam etiam ipsis divinis sacramentis Christum offendant*, “When presbyters are ordained in their parishes, let them receive the book of offices, that they may go to the churches entrusted to them well instructed, lest through ignorance they offend Christ in the Divine sacraments.” And many of the canons of that council had been needless, if those churches had been before furnished with such a liturgy; since that would have provided sufficiently for the severals^e there decreed.^f

To ascend a little higher; in the times of the church's persecution, in the beginning of the fourth age, if there had been such service books, why did not their persecutors call for the delivery of them, as they did, not only for the Bible, but for other church utensils?^g Why hear we of no *traditores*^h upon this account? It was not the Christians' belief contained in the Scripture concerning the true God, or the Gentiles' false gods, that did more exasperate the heathen against them, than their worship. The Jews, whose belief was as opposite to theirs, had a toleration many times, when the Christians were destroyed. And

^a Can. ii. ^b Can. vii. ^c Can. viii. ^d In Conc. Tol. iv. Can. xxvi. an. 633.

^e particulars.

^f Can. ii. v. vi. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii.

^g Vid. Conc. Arelat. Can. xiii. in Caranz. p. 65.

^h The *traditores* were such as, in times of persecution, delivered up the Bibles and other sacred furniture of the churches to the heathen to be burnt.—Ed.

Origen (as is remarked by Grotius^a) observes, that they were not wont to persecute any for their opinions, *Διὰ ποῖον γὰρ δόγμα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις γεγενημένων κολάζονται καὶ ἄλλοι;*^b “For which of the doctrines current among men are others punished?” There were opinions amongst their persecutors concerning God as scandalous to the heathen, as those which the Scripture taught the Christians. The Epicureans wholly denied Divine providence,^c which is Origen’s instance,^d *τοὺς πάντα πρόνοιαν ἀναιροῦντας*, “those who subvert all providence,” holding that their gods were composed of atoms, *οἱ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου θεοὶ σύνθετοι ἐξ ἀτομῶν τυγχάνοντες*,^e “the gods of Epicurus, composed of atoms by chance;” that there were no rewards nor punishments after death; nor any true good, but what is sensible. The Stoics maintained, that a wise man was equal to their great god Jupiter. *Solebat Sextius dicere, Jovem plus non posse quam bonum virum.—Deus non vincit sapientem felicitate, etiamsi vincit aetate.—Sapiens tam æquo animo omnia apud alios videt contemnitque, quam Jupiter: et hoc se magis suspicit, quod Jupiter uti illis non potest, sapiens non vult.*^f *Est aliquid, quo sapiens antecedit Deum: ille naturæ beneficio non suo sapiens est; suo sapiens.*^g “Sextius was wont to say that Jupiter was not more powerful than a good man—God does not surpass a wise man in bliss, even if he does in duration—a wise man surveys and despises all things among his fellows with as even a mind as Jupiter; and in this respect he prides himself more, viz., that Jupiter cannot avail himself of these things; the wise man has no wish to do so. There is a something in which

^a Neque de diis non recte sentire crederentur, eam non fuisse veram sævitiae causam ex eo probat Origenes, quod Epicureis aliisque philosophis, omnem omnino divinam providentiam tollentibus parcebatur.—Grot. “Neither were they (the Christians) deemed to be of perverse sentiment concerning the gods. Origen proves this not to have been the true cause of the cruelty practised against them, from the fact that the Epicureans and other philosophers who altogether denied a Divine providence were spared.”

^b Adv. Cels. lib. ii. p. 68.

^c Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτομάτως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσιν, ὡς οἱ Ἐπικούριοι ἃ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων πρόνοιαν καθ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ εἶναι μυθολογοῦσι, “Some say that all things come to pass spontaneously and as it were by chance, as the Epicureans, who feign that there is no universal providence concerned with themselves.” Athanas. De Incarnatione Verbi, p. 38, tom. i. [p. 54, C. tom. i. Ed. Col. 1686.]

Εἰ γὰρ αὐτομάτως τὰ πάντα χωρὶς προνοίας κατ’ αὐτοὺς γέγονεν, &c. “If, according to their view, all things have been produced spontaneously without a providence,” &c. Athan. De Incarn. Verb. p. 38, tom. i. [In Edit. Col. 1686, p. 54, tom. i.]

Τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν μηδὲ εἶναι τὸ θεῖον ἐνόμιζον, οἱ δὲ εἶναι μὲν, μὴ προνοεῖν δὲ καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοεῖν μὲν τῶν δ’ οὐρανίων μόνον, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνων τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων, οὐ πάντων δὲ ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξόχων, οἷον βασιλέων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοματισμὸν, οἱ δ’ εἰμαρμένην οἱ δ’ εἰκὴ φέρεσθαι τὰ πάντα. “Some among men have thought that there is no Divinity; others that, though there is, yet that he is without care; some also that he cares only for celestial beings; others that he cares not only for celestial beings, but for terrestrial as well, and yet not for all such, but only for the principal, such as kings and rulers. Some say all things are mechanism; some destiny; and others, that they are upheld by chance.” Isidor. lib. iv. Epist. [lix. C.]

^d Ibid.

^e Lib. iv. p. 169.

^f Senec. Ep. lxxiii. pp. 672, 673. [Ed. Antw. 1614, pp. 516, 517.]

^g Ep. liii. liv. [Ed. Antw. p. 474, A.]

a wise man surpasses God ; the latter is wise by the gift of nature, not of himself ; the wise man is so of himself." *Τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν λέγοντες ἀνθρώπου καὶ Θεοῦ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι, μὴ εὐδαιμονέστερον λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεὸν τοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφῶν, ἀλλ' ἴσην εἶναι τῶν ἀμφοτέρων εὐδαιμονίαν,*^a "the Stoic philosophers, who ascribe the same virtue to man and to God, to avoid saying that God over all is happier than he who, according to their estimation, is wise, and to make the happiness of both equal."

And the Peripatetics, with other^b philosophers, curtailed and confined the providence of God to generals,^c or to the orb of the moon, so as human affairs were not regarded by him ; and all human addresses to him, were to no purpose ; *τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου ἀναιρόντων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν, καὶ τὴν σχέσιν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ Θεοῦ,*^d "the Peripatetics deny all 'providence concerning us, and the relation of the Divinity to men." Or, as Justin Martyr represents them,^e *Ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειροῦσι πείθειν, ὥς τοῦ μὲν σύμπαντος, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γενῶν καὶ εἰδῶν ἐπιμελεῖται Θεός, ἐμοῦ δὲ καὶ σοῦ οὐκ ἔτι καὶ τοῦ κατέκαστα, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἡνυχόμεθα αὐτῷ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, κ.τ.λ.* "They undertake to persuade you, that God takes care of the whole, and of genera and species, but not of you and me and of the individual ; seeing that not even if we should pray to him through the whole day and night," &c.

Nor was it their opinions concerning worship, delivered in the Scripture, so much as the exercise of their worship, which incensed the Gentiles against them ; for divers of the heathen held and published opinions highly derogatory to their worship ; as that of Heraclitus, that to pray before images was as wise an act, as to talk to a wall, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus,^f *Σοὺ ἄκουσον φιλοσόφου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Ἡρακλείτου, καὶ ἀγάλμασι τουτέοισιν εὐχονται ὁκοῖον εἴ τις δόμοις λεσχηνεύοιτο,*^g "hear your own philosopher, Heraclitus the Ephesian, And they pray to these images with as much wisdom as if one should prate to the walls ;" and that of the Pythagoreans, who thought it not fit to pray, because it was uncertain what was profitable, and so fit to be prayed for, *οὐκ ἔα εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἑαντῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ συμφέρον,*^h "he does not permit prayer for

^a Origen. adv. Cels. lib. vi. p. 309.

^b Epicur. in Senec. de Benefic. lib. iv. cap. xix. p. 442. Vid. Grot. De Jure Belli, p. 443. Ibid. Cicero, Plutarch. Euseb. [lib. v.] cap. v. *Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μεχρὶ σελήνης στήσας τὸ Θεῖον, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη περιγράφει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσεως,* "Aristotle allows the Divinity place as far as the moon, but marks off all the other portions of the universe from the Divine administration." Vid. Spens. Not. in Orig. xvi. Chrysostom in Act. Hom. liv. p. 911. *Αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀφ' αἷσι προνοίας ἀπολαύειν τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην.* "They grant not that sublunary matters have the benefit of a Providence." Vide Doun. Notas Arist. Metaphys. lib. x.

^c general matters.

^d Orig. cont. Celsum, lib. iii. p. 156.

^e Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 1.

^f Clem. Alexandrin. Protept. [lib. i. Ed. Lutet. 1629, p. 33, B.]

^g *Ἡλιθιον εἶναι τὸ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὐχεσθαι,* "They think prayer to images silly." Orig. contr. Cels. lib. vii. p. 375, lib. i. p. 6, and lib. vii. p. 373.

^h Laert. in Pythag. [Ed. Londin. 1664, p. 216, B.]

one's self, on account of our not knowing what is best for us ;" or, that of the philosophers in Justin Martyr, who, denying a particular providence, conceived God would take no notice of any person, though he sought him night and day, οὐδ' ἂν ἡυχόμεθα αὐτῷ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας,^a "not even if we should pray to him through the whole night and day ;" and that of the Peripatetics, that prayers and sacrifices were good for nothing, as Origen represents^b them,^c Μηδὲν φάσκοντας ἀνύειν εὐχὰς, καὶ τὰς ὡς πρὸς τὸ Θεῖον θυσίας, "they say that prayers and sacrifices to the Deity are of no use ;" and that of the Platonists, that there was no immediate intercourse betwixt mortals and celestial gods ; but all addresses were to be made by the mediation of the demons, which was cross to the practice of the generality of the heathen in their devotions. And what more vilifies their worship, than that of Seneca, *Que omnia sapiens servabit, tanquam legibus jussa, non tamquam diis grata?* "All which things a wise man will observe as things enjoined by the law, not as pleasing to the gods." And that, *sic adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum magis ad morem, quam ad rem pertinere?*^d "we will so worship as to bear in mind that devotion is rather an affair of fashion than of reality." Just such apprehensions as many prudential conformists^e have

^a Dial. cum Tryph. Princip.

^b Οὐ μόνον τὸ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς ἀγάμασι ἡλιθιὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ συμπεριφερόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς προσποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀγάμασιν εὐχεσθαι—ὅποιον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἐπικούρου ἢ Δημοκρίτου ἀσπαζόμενοι. "It is folly not only to pray to images, but also to make believe to pray to images in compliance with the crowd, as the Peripatetic philosophers say, and those who embrace the sentiments of Epicurus, or of Democritus." Orig. con. Cels. lib. vii. p. 375.

^c Lib. ii. p. 68.

^d Quomodo sint dii coleudi, solet præcipi. Accendere aliquem lucernam sabbathis prohibeamus : quoniam nec lumine dii egent, et ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine. Vetemus salutationibus matutinis fungi et foribus assidere templorum. Humana ambitio istis officiis capitur ; Deum colit, qui novit. Vetemus lintea et strigiles Jovi ferre, et speculum tenere Junoni. Non quaerit ministros Deus, &c. satis illos coluit, quisquis imitatus est. "It is customary to give precepts as to how the gods are to be worshipped. We forbid the lighting of any lamps on their festivals ; for the gods are not without light ; even men delight not in darkness. We forbid the morning obeisances, and sitting at the doors of the temples. Human ambition only is captivated with these services. He worships the Divinity who knows God. We forbid the carrying of napkins and strigil* to Jupiter, and the holding a mirror to Juno. The Divinity does not seek lacqueys, &c. He worships the gods enough who imitates them." Senec. Ep. xcv. p. 791. [Ed. Antw. p. 604, A.B.]

Οὐδὲν οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ὡς συνηθείας παλαιῆς τυραννίς—οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω θορυβεῖ ψυχὴν, κἂν ἐπὶ χρησίμῳ τινὶ γίνηται, ὡς καινοτομεῖν τε καὶ ξενίζειν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν περὶ λατρείας καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξης τοῦτο γίνηται. Πάντα γὰρ τίς εὐκολώτερον ἀμείψκειν ἢ τὰ περὶ θρησκείας—διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τίνες τῶν ἔξωθεν δευτέραν φύσιν τὴν συνηθειαν ἐκάλεσαν. "There is nothing so influential with men as the tyranny of ancient custom. For nothing so disturbs the soul even if it attach to aught useful as novelty and strangeness, especially if it affect the worship and glory of God.—Things of every kind admit of change more readily, than the circumstantial of worship.—On this account some of those without the church, called use a second nature." Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. vii. p. 286.

^e Who have studied to deserve Aristippus's character, ἦν γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ, καὶ πᾶσιν περιστάσιν ἀρμονίας ὑποκρίνασθαι, "he was able to accommodate

* The strigil was an instrument used by the Romans to scrape off the perspiration from their bodies after bathing.—Ed.

of our formality and ceremonious worship, yet both complying with the present modes enjoined, and making some show of liking what they secretly deride; for which feigned consent, and not setting up any other way of worship, they (several sorts of the philosophers) escaped then, and ours now well enough.

Now, if the exercise of the Christian worship, which lay, as is supposed, in the pretended liturgy, were as odious to the heathen, as their tenets concerning God and his worship, which lay in the Bible; if there had been any such liturgies, why would not the Gentiles have been as zealous to destroy them as the Scriptures?

However, it may well be supposed, that the delivery of the Christians' liturgies, if there had been any, would have been required, if not as much as that of their Bibles, yet more than that of their other church utensils;^a since it is observable, that the Romans, who forced the Christians upon that crime, for which they were denominated *traditores*, were more zealous against new liturgies, though heathenish, than against new gods. These they did more than tolerate, those they would not endure. An instance hereof we have in Livy.^b Some at Rome made bold to sacrifice and pray in a way not conformable to the Roman mode. *Mulierum turba erat, nec sacrificantium nec precantium Deos patrio more*, "There was a crowd of women, who neither sacrificed nor prayed after the manner of the country." This was heinously resented by all sorts; *primo secretæ bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur, deinde ad patres etiam, et ad publicam querimoniam excessit res*, "first the secret umbrage of good men was buzzed about; then the affair reached the senate, and grew to a matter of public complaint." The inferior magistrates are sharply taken up by the senate, because they did not hinder it; *incusati graviter ab senatu ædiles, triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent*. "The ædiles, and the capital triumvirs,^c were sharply reprimanded by the senate, because they had not prevented it." And when their endeavours were not effectual to suppress it, the prætor is employed therein by the senate; who, by their order, commands all the new liturgies to be delivered in to him by such a day,—*Edixit ut quicumque libros vaticinos, precationesve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet, eos libros omnes literasque ad se ante calend. Apriles deferret*, "He gave command that whoever had in his possession prophetic books or forms of prayer,

himself to place, time, and person, and to act every circumstance of conformity." Diogen. Laert. Aristipp. [Ed. Londin. 1664, p. 49, D.]

^a Torti Prodoxis, Euseb. lib. viii. p. 242.

^b Dec. iii. lib. v. p. 111.

^c These were officers of the Roman state, first appointed about B.C. 292. It was their duty to inquire into all capital crimes, (hence their name *capitales*,) and to receive information respecting such offences. It was also a part of their office, in connexion with the ædiles, to prevent all unlawful assemblies of the people. See *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant. s. v. Triumvir*.—ED.

or a written rubric of sacrifice, should deliver all these books and documents to him before the first of April."

We see, they would not tolerate heathenish liturgies, differing from what they used only in mode and rites, though conformable as to the substance and object of their worship. Would they not be more violent for the delivering up of Christian liturgies, more opposite to them every way, if there had been any? But there is not a word, in the ancients, of any such demand, or any compliance therewith, or any censure of such compliance; when the demand and delivery of other things less material, less offensive to them, and proceeding against the traditors, are frequently mentioned.

Augustine alleges some things frequently prayed for in public, but not as in the words of any written liturgy, but of the administrator, *Ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare,*^a &c. "When hearest thou God's priest at the altar?" &c. And the same petitions he afterwards sets down in other words; which signifies, he had them not out of any prescribed or written liturgy; for then they would, they must, have been the same. *Pro non credentibus, ut eos Deus ad fidem convertat;* "for unbelievers, that God may convert them to the faith;" but, in another place,^b *ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat,* "that he may influence the unbelieving nations, that they may be brought to faith in him." *Pro fidelibus, ut perseverent in eo quod esse ceperunt, munere suo;* "for the faithful, that by his gift they may persevere in that profession which they have begun to assume;" and elsewhere,^c *ut proficiant in eo quod esse ceperunt,* "that they may make progress in that profession which they have begun to assume."

Augustine mentions the public prayers against the Pelagians; but no otherwise, than as he might have alleged the extemporaneous petitions of such, who seeking the same things that Christians usually do, use not the same words; and agreeing in the subject, vary other ways in the expressions; without any intimation, that they were prescribed or in variable forms. And elsewhere he speaks with some note of uncertainty, whether they did pray so and so, or whether such and such were their words in public; whereas if they had been in a common written liturgy, he would have known it, and might have been positive. Or with some intimation of liberty they had to use such and such words or not, those or others; *si voluerimus,* "if we shall so please."

Finally, it cannot with any reason be supposed, but, if there had been such liturgies, they would have been made use of against the errors, and for deciding the controversies, wherewith the church was exercised in the ages we are concerned in. To waive others, there were two especially as to which they might have been this way apparently serviceable;

^a Ep. cvii. p. 567. [Ed. Antw. Ep. ccxvii.]

^b p. 577.

^c p. 578.

viz., that concerning the Godhead of Christ, opposed in the first, second, third, and fourth age especially. And that concerning the *ἀναμαρτησία*, “sinlessness,” of the faithful; and other errors, with which Pelagius and his adherents troubled the churches in the beginning of the fifth age, and afterwards.”

None will fancy a Christian liturgy, wherein there is not some acknowledgment of, or some address to Christ as God, or wherein there is not some confession of sin, or some petition for pardon, in prayers proper to the faithful, something equivalent to the petition in the Lord’s prayer, Forgive us our trespasses, and so no liturgies, wherein there was not evidence enough against both those errors, and others also of the Pelagians, inconsistent with the necessity of the grace of God.

And it will be granted, that if those who were judicious had the managing of those controversies, if they thought it requisite to make use of human testimony, they would make choice of that which is most cogent and convictive.

Now they did make use of human testimony, as we find by that unnamed author,^b who, confuting Artemon’s error, who maintained Christ was only *ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*, “a mere man,” alleges Justin Martyr, Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens, Irenæus, Melito, and the hymns composed by the brethren of old, *ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφείσαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες*; “so many psalms and odes composed by the faithful brethren, from the beginning celebrate Christ, the word of God, calling him God;” but not a word of any prayers, ancient or written, by brethren or fathers; which yet (by one who, as it is apparent, industriously sought out all sorts of confirmations) would not have been omitted; as tending as much, if there had been some written of old; but contributing much more, to the confirming of that truth, if there had been any enjoined to be publicly and generally used. Also Athanasius against the Arians, and Augustine against the Pelagians,^c two of the most judicious writers that those ages afforded, make use of the testimonies of their predecessors and contemporaries; but allege not one passage out of a service-book, or any prayers written, or so as to give us occasion to think there were any such used publicly, and authorised; whereas they could not but apprehend as well as we, that one clear allegation out of an ancient and commonly received liturgy would have been more cogent and convictive than any or all the particular testimonies they produce; (since the judgment of

^a His tenet see August. contr. ii. Ep. Pelag. lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 239.

^b Eusebius, lib. v. cap. [xxviii.] p. 145.

^c Athanasius Syn. Nic. contr. Hæres. Arian. Decret. tom. i. p. 240. [In Edit. Col. 1686, pp. 274, 277, tom. i.] quotes Theognostos, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων. Also Dionys. of Alexand. and Dionys. of Rome, with Origen. Elsewhere Ignatius. [Vid. p. 992, A. Ed. Col. 1686.]

whole churches, in several ages too, is far more considerable, than [that] of many particular persons.)

Augustine, and others allege, against the Pelagians, divers things, which were frequently prayed for in public ; but without signifying in the least wise, that the prayers were written or ancient, (which he in Eusebius thought it requisite to express, concerning the hymns he mentions,) or that they were generally received, or in the same form, or authorised for the public service, or prescribed to be invariably used. Yet in these particulars lay the force and the advantage of such an allegation ; and that which would render it most considerable, and of far more weight than the testimony of single writers : and therefore undoubtedly would these have been insisted on (if there had been any such thing to urge) by any, who knew how to manage an argument, or to make use of a very obvious advantage.

So that we may conclude, either [that] the greatest wits and judgments of those times were not wise enough to discern the best advantages they had from human testimony, such as were obvious to every eye ; and either could not manage them, as those of ordinary capacities amongst us can do ; or would not improve them, as the interest of the truth they contended for, and their faithfulness to it required ; and so were either injudicious or unfaithful ; or else that they had no such advantages to make use of, and so no such liturgies.

Further, if there were such liturgies, how comes it to pass, that we meet with no intelligence of any changing of them, or alterations made in them, upon such occasions, as we may well conceive would necessarily draw on such changes, and in all probability bring us some account thereof? *Quisquis unquam, says one, religionem mutavit, et orandi rationem mutavit : nulla unquam hæresis fuit, quæ non continuo suas effinxerit preces.*“ “Whoever has made a change in religion, has made also a change in the method of prayer. There never was a heresy which did not suddenly devise prayers of its own.” This being so, we may expect to meet with frequent mention of rejecting old liturgies, and composing new, of altering or correcting them, if the ancient mode of praying was by prescribed liturgies. But I have not yet met with any mention thereof, no not in those circumstances wherein, if anywhere, it might be expected.

The heresy of Artemon, holding that Christ was a mere terrene creature, having seized on Paulus Samosatenus, (λέγει Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κάτωθεν, “he says that Christ was of the earth,”) bishop of Antioch ; the fathers of the council held there, upon that occasion, tell us, in their circular epistle, that he prohibited the use of the psalms sung in the

honour of Christ, *ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας.*^a And would he have tolerated a liturgy, whose contents were as much for the honour of Christ? Or, can there be supposed a liturgy, which had nothing in it for the honour of Christ, *ὡς ἄνωθεν*, “as from heaven?” And if he had made as bold with a liturgy, would this have been concealed by those fathers, who are so large and particular in giving an account of all his impieties, innovations, presumptions, (that the justice of their proceeding against him might be clear to the world,) not omitting those hymns, which were of less moment?

When the Arians so far prevailed, as they had possessed themselves of all the public churches, in a great part of the Christian world, the east especially (so as the orthodox, reduced to conventicles, were glad to keep them in private houses, fields, woods, or where else they could or durst) they had power and opportunity to make what changes they would; and no less will and forwardness, showing sufficiently how much they were given to change, and that no respect would restrain them from altering anything, which crossed their tenet, by the alterations they made in the doxology, in the words of Christ for administering baptism, yea, in the Scriptures themselves, as Ambrose tells us.^b And remarkably in the universally received confession of faith, since they made a new creed almost every other year. Socrates gives a particular account of three in little more than twenty years.^c

And what could restrain this innovating humour (when they had power enough) from abolishing or altering the supposed liturgies, if they were but tempted to it, by what they would count a just occasion? And such occasion they had, if those liturgies contained anything in favour of the eternal Godhead of Christ, or his equality with the Father, or the divinity of the Holy Ghost, (which the semi-Arians opposed.) And some things (if not many) of this tendency they contained, if they were Christian liturgies. Why is it, then, that we hear not a word of their changing any old liturgy, or composing any new; when we hear of their making bold both with that of greater moment and less? And how is it that their antagonists, who thought themselves and their cause concerned to give a full account of their innovations, (conceiving their novelties to be one of the great advantages they had against them, and improving it, by publishing them to the world) make no mention of any such thing? In all reason this must be, because there was no such thing, no occasion for it, no such liturgies then in fashion.

We hear also afterwards, when Eutychianism was prevailing, what a tumult was made in Constantinople, what a noise through the world by

^a Euseb. lib. vii. cap. xxx.

^b De Spiritu Sancto, iii. xi.

^c Hist. [lib. ii. cap. xxx.] p. 604.

the adding of one word or two, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, "who was crucified for us," to the Trisagion, the hymn so called.^a

And could more changes be made in settled liturgies (with whose forms and prayers the people are presumed to have been as well acquainted, and longer accustomed to them, than to that hymn) without any noise, without any notice?

Certainly, if they had been abolished, or such alterations made in them, we should have heard of it, somewhere or other. And if there were no changes made therein, upon such changes of the Christian religion, it was because there was none to be changed, no such liturgies extant.

In general, that they had no such public liturgies for the administration of the sacraments, appears by this, that they thought themselves obliged, with all care to conceal the symbols, the rites, the prayers used in these administrations, from the sight and knowledge of all that were not initiated. The Christians, in the fourth and fifth ages especially, counted it a heinous crime, to have any of the heathen or catechumens acquainted therewith; some of them make it no less^b than sacrilege,^c one of the greatest crimes, and^d worthy of the highest censure, *prolixiori anathemate*.

Hence, they durst not administer them in the sight of the ἀμύητοι, "uninitiated," nor discourse of them intelligibly in the hearing of such, nor commit them to writing for common use; that being the way to have them divulged.

They called baptism, and the Lord's supper, and the prayers used therein, with some other rites, μυστήρια,^e "mysteries," and used them

^a Theodor. Lect. Collect. lib. ii. p. 187. [C.]

^b Christianis ipsis minime consecratis sine sacrilegio videri non potest, "It cannot be seen by uninitiated Christians even, without sacrilege." Auctor Sermon. De Continentia; not Zeno Veronensis, who lived about A. D. 360; but one who says in that sermon, he writ four hundred years after the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians was written.

^c "Ὅσον γὰρ ἡ ἱεροσουλία κακὸν, οὕδε ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, "How great a crime sacrilege is, is not even possible to say." Chrysost. in 2 Tim. Hom. ii. p. 338.

^d Concil. Ilerdens. [Can. xvi.]

^e Sacrae orationis mysterium, "The mystery of the sacred prayer." Ambros. De Fide, ad Gratianum, cap. v. Μεταποιεῖται γὰρ ἀρρήτοις λόγοις ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλογίας. "With words ineffable this bread is transformed by means of the mystic benediction." Theodoret in Job vi. And Chrysostom of the words used in baptism, μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν μυστικῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ φοβερῶν—ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, "after the enunciation of those mystic and fearful words—when they are about to baptize." In 1 Cor. Hom. xl. p. 514. Obsecrationum sacramenta, "the mysteries of supplications." Cælestin. Epist. cap. xi. in Crab. p. 525. Obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respiciamus, quæ ab apostolis tradita in toto mundo, atque in omni catholica ecclesia uniformiter celebrantur. "Let us have respect to the mysteries of the priestly supplications which were taught by the apostles in all parts of the world, and are celebrated in uniform manner in every Catholic church." Ibid. et in fine Operum Prosperi, p. 894, uniformiter, because they all pray for the same things, viz. those which he speaks of; that there was everywhere an uniformity in words, is apparently* false.

^f Ἐπιτηροῦντες τὰς τῶν ἁγίων εὐχῶν τελετὰς, "Keeping close the mysteries of the sacred prayers." Balsam. in Can. cxxvi. Cod. Μυστικὰς εὐλογίας, "the mystic benedictions." Cyril. Alexandr. Epist. ad Nestor. cum 12 Anathem.

according to the import of the word, which in Phavorinus, is ἀρρήτων σέβας καὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον, “an object of awe, not to be spoken of: also what is ineffable,” and derived^a παρὰ τὸ ἅπαντα μύσαντα δεῖ τηρεῖν ἔνδον, “according to the signification, viz. ‘certain things which men must keep within, by shutting them up,’” as concerned to keep those secrets to themselves, and confine them to their own breasts, without communicating them to others, either by action, word, or writing. It is not at all a mystery, says Basil, if it be exposed to common notice; οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως μυστήριον τὸ εἰς τὴν δημόδην καὶ εἰκαίαν ἀκοὴν ἔκφορον.^b It is a mystery, says Chrysostom, therefore keep all close, &c. μυστήριον ἐστὶν — κλείσον τοῖνυν τὰς θύρας ἵνα μὴ τις ἴδῃ ἅπερ ἐπιδείξαι οὐ θέμις,^c using a like phrase to that wherewith Orpheus^d begins the discourse of his mysteries, for the divulging of which Diagoras (amongst other crimes of the like nature) was proscribed, Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι πάντες ὁμῶς, “I will utter my mind to those to whom it is lawful; but all ye profane shut to the doors.”

Indeed the Christians came not far short of the heathen herein, if they had not a design to overtake them.

Celsus objecting the secrets of Christianity, τὸ κρύφιον δόγμα, as matter of accusation, Origen answers, it was not peculiar to Christians (οὐ μόνον ἴδιον τοῦ Χριστιανῶν λόγου) to have some things reserved from common knowledge (μὴ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς φθάνοντα.) The heathen had their mysteries also, and those both philosophical and devotional. He instanceth^e in both. For the former, Pythagoras (who himself was obliged to be circumcised, that he might procure admission to the Egyptian secrets,^f) had some hearers who learnt in secret, such things as were not fit for profane ears, nor yet purified; ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διδασκόμενοι τὰ μὴ ἄξια φθάνειν εἰς ἀκοὰς βεβήλους, καὶ μηδέπω κεκαθαρμένους.^g And for the latter, he says, all the mysteries everywhere, both in Greece, and amongst the barbarians, were not blamed for being kept

Nos autem quoties sacramenta sumimus, quæ per sacræ orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus, “As often as we take the sacraments, which by the mystery of sacred prayer, are transfigured into flesh and blood, we show forth the Lord’s death.” Ambr. De Fide, ad Grat. cap. v.

Christi corpus et sanguinem dicimus illud tantum, quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum, et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus. “We call that only the body and blood of Christ, which having been taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by the mystic prayer, we worthily receive.” August. De Trinitate, lib. iii. cap. iv.

Τὸν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖτοις καὶ φρικτοῖς μέλλοντα προσεῖλαι μυστηρίους ἐρηρηγομέναι χορῇ, “It behoves him who is about to approach the sacred and tremendous mysteries to be watchful.” Chrysost. Cateches. de Baptismo ad Illuminandos.

Μυστήριον γὰρ γνωριζόμενον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ λοιπὸν θαυμαζόμενον, “A mystery when made known is no longer an object of awe.” Auth. Quæst. ad Antioch. in Athanas. tom. ii. p. 275. [Respons. ad Quæst. i.]

^a From μύειν, to shut up, and τηρεῖν, to keep.—ED.

^b De Spiritu Sancto, [cap. xxvii.] p. 273. [Ed. Par. 1722, tom. iii. p. 55, D.]

^c In Matth. Hom. lxxi. p. 451.

^d [In Just. M. Exhort. ad Græcos, p. 15, C.]

^e gives examples.

^f Clem. Alexandr. Strom. i. [Ed. Lutet 1629, p. 302, C.]

^g Lib. i. Contr. Cels. p. 7.

secret, καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ πανταχῶν μυστήρια κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βαρβάρων κρύφια ὄντα οὐ διαβέβληται.^a And Seneca before him mentions both, where he will have Lucilius observe the difference between δόγμα and *præceptum*.^b *Idem dicere de præceptis possum, aperta sunt; decreta vero sapientiae in abdito. Sicut sanctiora sacrorum tantum initiati seiant, ita in philosophia arcana illa admissis receptisque in sacra ostenduntur; at præcepta et alia hujusmodi profanis quoque nota sunt,*^c “I may speak of the *preepts*; they are public matters. But the fundamentals of wisdom are secret. As the initiated know the more sacred truths of religion, so in philosophy, these arcana are shown to such only as are admitted and received to the mysteries. But the precepts and other matters of that sort are made known to the profane as well.” None were admitted to the sight of their mystical rites, but the initiated; others were warned to withdraw.^d

—Procul, O procul este profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque abstitite luco.^e

“‘Far hence! far hence! go, ye profane,’ the prophet cries, ‘and stand off from the whole grove!’”

Ἐκὰς ἐκὼς ὅστις ἀλίτρος. f

“Far hence! far hence! every profane one!”

And if they would venture to be present, it was at their peril. As Pentheus in Pausanias;^g and those of Acarnania in Livy^h found it. Nero durst not venture, *Eleusiniis sacris, quorum initiatione impii et seclerati voce præconis submoverentur, interesse non ausus est,*ⁱ “He did not dare to be present at the Eleusinian mysteries, from whose initiatory rites the impious and profane are warned off by the voice of a herald.”

They would not speak of them in the hearing of others, ὁ λέγων τοῖς ἀμύητοις τὰ μυστήρια ἀσεβεί; he is impious that speaks of the mysteries to those that are not initiated, says Chrysippus in Laertius. This was

^a Ibid. p. 8. “Ἄλλο γὰρ δόγμα καὶ ἄλλο κήρυγμα, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δόγματα σιωπᾶται, τὰ δὲ κηρύγματα δημοσιεύεται, “Dogma is one thing, and preaching another. For our dogmas are held in silence, but our preaching is for the public.” Basil. De Spiritu Sancto, cap. xxvii. p. 273. [Ed. Par. 1722, tom. iii. p. 55, E.]

^b Ep. xcv. [Ed. Antw. 1614. p. 606, A.]

^c Page 794.

^d So Prudentius in Apoth. represents the heathen, excluding Christians from their mysteries. —Lotus procul esse et unctus, “Every baptized and anointed person is excluded.”

^e Virg. Æn. vi. [258, 259.]

f [Callimach. Hymn. in Apollon.]

^g Pentheum aiant, ut fœminarum operta sacra specularetur, in arborem ascendisse, atque inde omnia conspicatum, quod cum Bacchæ animadvertissent, impetu facto viventem eum lacerasse, ac membratim discerpissse, “It is narrated that Pentheus, in order that he might have a full view of the sacred rites of the women, climbed a tree and witnessed the whole; which when the votaries of Bacchus perceived, they rushed upon him, mangled him alive, and tore him limb from limb.” Pausan. lib. ii. [cap. ii.]

^h Tempore initiorum duo juvenes Acarnanes, qui non initiati erant, Athenas venerant, et in sacrarium Cereris, cum aliis popularibus suis intraverunt; ob hoc tanquam nefas summum—cæsi sunt. Flor. Brev. “At the time of initiation two young men of Acarnania who had not been initiated came to Athens, and entered into the sacred chapel of Ceres, together with the others of their own nation. On account of this, as of the greatest of crimes, they were slain.” Liv. Dec. iv. lib. i. c. 7.

ⁱ Sueton. Ner. [cap. xxxiv.]

part of Alcibiades' crime, *mysteria Ceresis enuntiavisse*,^a "that he divulged the mysteries of Ceres." And Augustus, when he was to hear a cause wherein these mysteries were touched, would not let it be opened till the company was dismissed.^b

They would not commit them to writing. And so we may observe, that when the ancient writers have occasion to deliver anything particularly concerning them, they waive it with an *οὐ θέμις*, "it is unlawful:" so Apollonius of the Samothracian mysteries:

Νῆσος ὁμῶς κεχάρτοτο, καὶ οἱ λάχον ἔργα κείνα,
Δαίμονες ἐνάετται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμυν ἀείδειν.^c

"But farewell that island! and the gods dwelling thereon, who receive that mysterious worship whereof it is unlawful for us to sing."

Numenius venturing to write of them, understood by a dream, [that] he had incurred *offensam numinum*, "the displeasure of the gods," as Macrobius tells us.^d But M. Atelius fared worse, suffering as a parricide, for permitting the Sibyls' books in his custody (containing *secreta civilium sacrorum*, and used by the Romans as their extraordinary ritual) to be transcribed; *ὥς πατροκτόνον ἐς ἄσκον ἐρράψας βοειὸν ἐρρίψεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος*,^e &c. "He sewed him up in a linen sack and cast him into the sea as a parricide."

If they trusted them to writing, it was in a secret character, such as

^a Alcibiades absens Athenis insimulatur mysteria Ceresis initiorum sacra, nullo magis quam silentio solemnia enuntiavisse, "Alcibiades during his absence from Athens, was charged with having divulged the mysteries of Ceres, whose sacredness consists mainly in their secrecy." Justin, Hist. lib. v. cap. i. Vid. Cornel. Nepos. in Alcibiad.

^b Athenis initiatus, cum postea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticæ Ceresis cognosceret, et quædam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso concilio et corona circumstantium solus audit disceptantes, "After his initiation at Athens, when in his judicial capacity he had to decide concerning the privileges of the priests of the Attic Ceres, and some things of a more private nature were about to be laid before him, he caused the council and the crowd of bystanders to withdraw, and himself alone gave audience to the parties." Sueton. Octav. August. cap. xciii. p. 103.

Pausanias says, *Οἵτινες δ' εἰσιν οἱ κάβειροι καὶ ὅποια ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τὰ ὀρώμενα, σωπὴν ἄγοντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συγγιγμένη παρὰ ἀνδρῶν φιληκόων ἔστω μοί*, "But as to who the Cabeiri are, and what rites are celebrated to their honour and to the honour of Cybele, I shall be pardoned by the curious if I keep silence concerning these things." Bæot. [cap. xxv.] Vid. Dionys. Halicarnassens. infra.

^c [Argon. lib. i. 924.]

^d Numenio denique inter philosophos occultorum curiosior offensam numinum, quod Eleusina sacra interpretando vulgaverit somnia prodiderunt, "Numenius, a man more curious in recondite matters than most philosophers, was informed in dreams that he had incurred the displeasure of the gods, because by interpreting he had divulged the Eleusinian mysteries." Somn. Scip. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 25.

^e Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. iv. [cap. lxii.]

Tarquinius autem rex M. Atellium duumvirum, quod librum secreta civilium sacrorum continentem custodie suæ commissum, corruptus Petronio Sabino describendum dedisset, culeo insutum in mare abjici jussit; idque supplicii genus multo post parricidis lege irrogatum est, "Tarquin ordered that Marcus Atellius, one of the duumvirs,* should be sewn in a sack and cast into the sea, because he had given to Petronius Sabinus to be copied, a book intrusted to his keeping, which contained the secrets of the state religion. This kind of punishment was some time after decreed by law for parricides." Val. Max. lib. i. cap. i. p. 8.

* The duumvirs here referred to, are the *duumviri sacrorum*, two officers who had charge of the Sybilline books, to which allusion is made in this passage.—En.

could not be understood by those from whom they were to be concealed.^a *Ipsa mysteria figurarum cuniculis operiuntur*, "the mysteries are communicated by means of the secret way of cipher," says Macrobius; *et*

* *Literis ignorabilibus*, as Apuleius of the rites of Isis. *Summus sacerdos—de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros literis ignorabilibus prenotatos; partim figuris ejusdemmodi animalium, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes; partim nodosis et in modum rotæ tortuosis, capreolatimque condensis apicibus, a curiositate profanorum lectione munita. Indidem mihi prædicat quæ forent ad usum teletæ necessario præparanda*, "The high-priest brought forth from secret cells certain books marked over with characters which I could not recognise: in some parts suggesting by means of figures of every kind of animal the shortened words of a preconceived discourse; the reading being secured in other parts against the curiosity of the profane by figures knotted and tortuous, like a wheel with connected ends projecting like two horns. Out of these books he described to me the preparation requisite to be made by a candidate for initiation." *Metamorp.* lib. xi. p. 208. [Edit. Bipont. p. 271.]

Σιωπῆς δὲ εἶδος καὶ ἡ ἀσάφεια ἢ κέχρηται ἡ γραφὴ δυνθεώρητον κατασκευάζουσα τῶν δογμάτων τὸν νοῦν, &c. "The silence, so to speak, and obscurity which the writing employs, is not readily seen to convey the sense of the dogmas." Basil. *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. xxvii. p. 273. [Ed. Par. 1722, tom. iii. p. 56, A.] And Leo Imperator says, that laws were not to be writ obscurely, because they were not mysteries, οὐ γὰρ μυστήρια τοῦ νόμου τὰ θέσμιαι ὥστε ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτὰ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν καταλήψεως, "Legal ordinances are not mysteries, that we should place them beyond the reach of the understanding of the multitude." *Novel.* lxxvii.

Ἐγὼ δ' ὅσα μὲν ὁρᾶν ἅπανιν οὐ θέμις, οὔτε παρὰ ὁρῶσι τῶν ἀκούειν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιγράφειν οἶμαι δεῖν, "Matters, which it is not lawful for all to witness, nor to hear from the witnesses of them, must not, I think, be described." *Dionys. Halicarnass.* lib. i.

Ὁὐ δὲ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατήχονμένοις λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλὰ λέγομεν ἐπιτεκαλημμένως, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες, μὴ βλαβῶσι, "We speak not clearly of the mysteries before the catechumens, but often say many things under a veil, that the faithful may understand, and that, at the same time, those unacquainted therewith may get no harm." *Cyril. Catech.* vi. p. 60.

Ἱερολογεῖται δὲ καὶ τεθείασται τὰ Ὀσίριδος, ὥστε κίνδυνος παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν. *Osiridis historia sacris sermonibus mysticisque celebris est ita ut periculosum sit eam monumentis et narrationibus commendari*, "The history of Osiris is commemorated in sacred revelations and mysteries, so that it is perilous to commit it to parchment and popular description." *Synes. De Providentia*, p. 123. Ed. Paris. 1633.]

Ἱερὸς λόγος ἐστίν, ὃν οὐκ ὅσιον ἐξαγορεύειν οὐδὲ ἐν μύθῳ σχήματι, "It is a sacred matter, which it is profane to expose even figuratively." *Id. ibid.* sect. i. p. 115. Συγγραφὰς ἀνέπαφα μὴ (monimentis intacta) καὶ τίσιν οὐ θέμις ὄμμα βάλλεσθαι, "Things not committed to parchment, lest the eye fall on things whereon it is unlawful to look." p. 124.

Εἰ γὰρ Θεῶν λόγων κατήκοοι ἐγένοντο τὸ τῆς εὐαγτοῦ καὶ ἀμομήτου ἡμῶν θρησκευαῖς σεβίσμιον ἐφύλιτον, καὶ τοὺς ἐθνικοὺς καὶ ἀλόγους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἁγίων καὶ σεβασμιῶν ἱψυσθαι οὐ συνεχώρουν, "Were they obedient to the Divine oracles, they would respect the veneration due to our irreproachable and innocent worship, and would not suffer heathen and unreasonable men to touch our sacred and religious things." *Ibid.* lib. iv. p. 144.

Λόγοι Βοιωτῶν τοὺς ἐναλλομένους καὶ ἐσπτεόντας ὄργια Διονύσου σπαράττονσι, ὅ τε γὰρ ἐκφύνας, ὅ τε ἰδὼν νεμεσᾶται παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "Boeotian arguments distract those who burst in to witness the Dionysian mysteries. For both he who exposes them, and he who beholds them, incur vengeance from the Deity." *Id. ibid.* p. 124.

Λέγομεν ἢ δυνάμεθα παρακαλύπτοντες τὰ ἀβέβηλα, "We speak as we are able, veiling things sacred." *Id. ibid.*

Ἄλλ' εὐλαβητέον γὰρ ἥδη μὴ τί καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἐσορῆσώμεθα, "We must take heed lest we expose any of the mysteries to contempt." *Id.* p. 125.

Τοὺς ἀπογρήτοις τοῦ μύθου—ὅποια ἅτα ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ οὕτω θέμις ἐξαγορεύειν, "The ineffable portions of the narrative, such as it is unlawful for us to publish." *Id.* p. 128.

Ἴσταν δὲ οἱ μύσται τὸ λεγόμενον, "The initiated know what is meant." *Id. Epist. clxii. lib. iv.*

Καὶ τελεταὶ μὲν μὴδὲ ὁ λόγος κινεῖται, "Let not the discourse even touch upon the initiatory rites." *Id. De Insomniis.* [p. 133.]

The council of Laodicea, setting down the place and order of those prayers, shows us, they were made μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, "after the catechumens depart." [Can. xix.]

Ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους μὴ τις τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀναμέμικται, "Know one another, lest any of the strangers mingle with you." *Chrys. Adv. Judæos.*

figuris defendentibus a vilitate secretum,^a “and by characters which secure the secret from depreciation.” Such were the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and used on purpose for such concealment; they could not be understood without a *μυσταγωγός*, “an initiator,” to interpret them; and he explained them not, but in secret; and there but to some few select hearers, as the author of the *Quæstiones ad Orthodoxos* tells us; τὰ ἱερογλύφικα καλούμενα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις, οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐγκρίτοις παραδιδόμενα,^b “the so-called hieroglyphics which are communicated in secret cells, and not to everybody, but to those only who are approved.”

I will not say, the Christians imitated the Gentiles herein, especially if the practice began so early as Tertullian (which some suppose, because he waives the mention of the sacrament, when he had occasion to give the heathen an account thereof, in such circumstances, as Justin Martyr before him had plainly described it.) For there is a great zeal visible in his writings against compliances with the heathen. Yet will I not deny, but that this custom amongst the Gentiles might have some influence upon Christians in after ages; when it was thought a good expedient (how rightly experience afterwards showed) for drawing the pagans over to them, to meet them in some of their observances. And it is evident, that many usages amongst the ancients were continued upon other considerations than those to which they owed their original.

However, it is undeniable, that such concealments were in use amongst them, and particularly as to the prayers which were made in the administration of the sacraments, and some other rites counted mysterious.

None but the initiated were permitted to be present at these prayers; τῶν ἀμυήτων οὐδένα χρή παρῆναι, as Chrysostom, having said before, ὅταν ἀκούσης Δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ, “when thou hearest the words, Let us all pray together.” None but the faithful were to be present, when they began eucharistical prayers. Those that were not fit to partake of the mysteries, were not fit to hear the prayers, οὐκ εἰ τῆς θυσίας ἄξιος, οὐδὲ τῆς μεταλήψεως: οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐχῆς, “Thou art not worthy of the sacrifice nor of communication; neither then art thou worthy to hear the prayers;” they were warned to depart, ἀκούεις ἐστῶτος τοῦ κήρυκος, καὶ λέγοντος Ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέλθετε πάντες—ἀπέλθετε οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι δεηθῆναι, “Thou hearest the herald who stands and says, All ye that are penitents depart—Depart ye that may not pray.” And this was done in reference to the prayers, τοῦτο γίνεται διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν, διὰ τῆς βοῆς τοῦ κήρυκος, “This takes place at the time of the prayers, by proclamation of the herald.” Those that were unworthy to see, were

^a Scmn. Scip. lib. i. cap. ii. p. 23.

^b p. 146.

unworthy to hear; ἀνάξιοι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν θεαμάτων τούτων, ἀνάξια καὶ ἄκοι,^a “ Their eyes are unworthy these spectacles; so also are their ears unworthy.”

So elsewhere, he says, the catechumens were forced away from these prayers, ἀπελύνονται τῶν φρικτῶν εὐχῶν ἐκείνων γνωμένων; they never heard those concealed mysteries, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤκουσαν τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων, applying that of the apostle to them, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε,^b &c, “ which eye hath not seen,” &c.

So for baptism, the first council of Orange decrees, the catechumens should not come at the font, *Catechumeni ad baptisteria nequaquam admittendi*,^c “ The catechumens are by no means to be admitted to the baptisteries.” And the pretended Dionysius begins his discourse of baptism with μηδὲς ἀτέλεστος ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ ἱερωσίᾳ,^d “ Let no uninitiated person come to the spectacle;” conformably enough to the usage of his times, though not [to that] of the apostle.

When they have occasion to speak of these prayers in their sermons to a promiscuous auditory, they decline any recital of them, with their usual aposiopesis, *Norunt fideles, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, οἱ μύσται, or οἱ πιστοὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον*, “ The faithful know—The initiated know—The faithful know what is meant,” so frequent in Augustine, Chrysostom, Theodoret, as to the eucharist. For the prayers in baptism, see Chrysostom.^e

Nor might they commit them to writing; that was the way to divulge them. Writing was counted a publishing, though but in an epistle to a private friend. So Basil to Meletius,^f ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ σῇ τελείωσει, γράμμασι δημοσιεύσω—διηγησάμην τῷ ἀδελφῷ Θεοφράστῳ τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον

^a In Ephes. Hom. iii. pp. 778, 779.

Adversariis Athanasii, pro crimine magno objectum sit, quod de calice confRACTO contenderint coram Ethnicis, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ταῦτα—ἐπὶ κατηχομένων καὶ τὸ γὰρ χεῖριστον ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων τραγωδοῦντες τὰ μυστήρια, οὐ χρὴ γὰρ τὰ μυστήρια ἡμῶν ταραδοῦν. ἵνα μὴ Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀκούοντες γελῶσι, κατηχοίμενοι δὲ περιεργὸν γινόμενοι σκανδαλίζονται, “ It was cast in the teeth of the adversaries of Athanasius as a great crime, that they went to the law before a heathen concerning a broken chalice. ‘And they are not ashamed of this, that in the presence of catechumens, and what is far worse, in the presence of Greeks, they enacted the mysteries. For it is unlawful to enact the mysteries in the presence of the uninitiated, lest the ignorant Greeks ridicule them, and the catechumens becoming over-curious, be scandalised.’” Syn. Alexandrina apud Athanasium, Apol. ii. p. 569, tom. i. Edit. Commel. 1601. [Ed. Col. 1686, p. 731, A. tom. i.]

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔθνικῶν ἐξέταζον περὶ ἐκκλησίας, περὶ ποτηρίων, περὶ τραπέζης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τὸ δεινότερον, ἐθνικοῖς ἐκάλουν μάρτυρας, περὶ ποτηρίου μυστικοῦ ζητοῦντες, “ They instituted legal proceedings before heathens concerning the church, concerning the chalice, concerning the table, and things sacred; and what was a more fearful thing, they called heathens as witnesses touching the mystic chalice.” Ibid. p. 571. [Ed. Col. p. 733, D.]

So Julius expresses himself astonished, that παρόντων κατηχομένων τὸ γὰρ χεῖριστον ἐπὶ ἔθνικῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν διαβεβλημένων περὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμόν ἐξέτασις περὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καὶ σώματος Χριστοῦ γίνεται, “ In the presence of catechumens, and worse still, in the presence of heathen and Jewish slanderers of Christian religion, inquisition is made concerning the body and blood of Christ.” Epist. in Apol. ii. [Ed. Col. p. 750, A.]

^b In 2 Cor. Hom. ii. p. 553.

^c Can. [xix.]

^d Hier. Eccl. cap. ii. sect. i. p. 21.

^e In Gal. iv. 28, p. 743; in 1 Cor. xv. 29; Hom. xl. p. 514; in 2 Cor. i.; Hom. ii. p. 555.

^f Ep. lvii. [Ed. Paris. 1722. p. 151, D. tom. iii.]

ἀπαγγεῖλαι, that what he was intimating, might not be divulged by writing it, he would acquaint Theophrastus therewith, who should declare to him all particularly, by word of mouth." As they had their *mysteria chartulæ non committenda*, "mysteries not to be committed to parchment," in Origen's phrase;^b so these mysterious prayers were to be kept as secret. To write them, so as strangers might come to the sight thereof, was not τηρεῖν ἔνδον, "to keep them close," to use them as mysteries, no more than to recite them in their hearing. What they durst not plainly pronounce, they would not venture to write; according to that of Clemens Alexandrinus,^c φοβούμενος γράφειν ἂ καὶ λέγειν ἐφύλαξάμην, "Fearing to write those things which we are cautious not to speak." By this means they might come to the knowledge of aliens. Rufinus puts this in the account he gives, why the creed was at first not written, (*idecirco denique hæc non scribi chartulis aut membranis*, "Therefore this is not to be written on paper and parchment,") it was to be used as a watch-word, whereby they might know friends from foes, (*interrogatus symbolum, prodat, si sit hostis an socius*, "When asked for the creed, he shows whether he is an enemy or a friend.") But if it had been written, and the Christians got it by reading, the design might have been frustrated; for this way, the infidels might have got the word, *ut certum esset hæc neminem ex lectione quæ interdum pervenire etiam ad infideles solet, dulicisse*.^d "By means of this reading, which after a while is liable to come to the ears of even the unbelievers."

That which they would have kept secret, they did not commit to writing, for the view or use of others. Therefore Baronius says, the way of drawing up their *litteræ formatæ*,^e was not in writing; because they were concerned to keep it secret, lest it should be counterfeited, *existinamus ejusmodi formulam nequaquam ab eis fuisse scripto traditam—sed penes episcopos catholicos retentam esse secretam*,^f "In our opinion this kind of cipher was by no means committed to writing, but was kept as a secret in the custody of the Catholic bishops."

And there wants not direct evidence, that they had not any prayers thus writ. Basil says expressly [that] the words they used in blessing the

^a Page 307.

^b In Ep. ad Rom. ii. 4. [Ed. Paris. 1759, tom. iv. p. 479, C.]

^c Strom. i. [Ed. Lutet. 1629, p. 276.]

^d Expos. in Symb. in Cypr. Opera, p. 4. [In Hieronym. Oper. Ed. Paris. 1706. col. cxxviii. tom. v.]

^e The *litteræ formatæ* were letters of recommendation sent from the bishops of one church to the bishops of another. They were of three kinds: the first sort were only given to persons of quality, or to those whose character had been called in question; the second sort were given to any communicant who had occasion to change his abode; the third kind were granted only to the clergy who were removing from one church to another, and these were called also *letters dimissory*. These letters of commendation were called *formatæ*, from the very circumstance to which the author makes reference above, viz. from their being distinguished by certain *forms* or characters, as a safeguard against forgery.—En.

^f Ad anno 325. n. 44.

elements, τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα, were not written, they had them not ἐγγράφως; and that what they said, both before and after the consecration, they had not from any writing, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλάβοντες, “We premise and subjoin other things besides as contributing great efficacy to the mystery, and these we derive from the unwritten tradition.” As much he says of the prayers in baptism; (the words we shall have occasion to produce hereafter:) and so having reckoned the prayers made in the administration of the sacraments; amongst other things, which of old were kept secret and unwritten; he tells us the ancients were well instructed to reserve them, as mysterious things, in great secrecy, καλῶς ἐκέينو (οἱ πατέρες) δεδιδαγμένοι τῶν μυστηρίων τὰ σεμνὰ σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι; and adds, those administrations, at which the non-initiated might not be present; how could it be lawful, to expose the notice thereof by writing them? ἃ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμύητοις, τούτων πῶς ἂν ᾖ εἰκὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκθριαμβεύειν ἐν γραμμασὶ;” And all along these prayers with the other arcana there mentioned, are ἀπόρρητα, ἀδημοσίευτα, ἄγραφα, and, τὰ ἄγραφα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια;” “ineffable—private—unwritten—the unwritten mysteries of the church.”

Dionysius (who, though he belied his name, and would have been thought elder by some hundred of years than he was, yet hath credit in reporting the usages of times wherein he really lived^d) declaring why he, writing of other rites and practices of the church, declined^e to give

^a De Spir. Sancto. cap. xxvii. p. 273. [Ed. Par. 1722. p. 55. tom. iii.]

^b Page 274.

^c Itaque silentium hoc quodcumque sit non opponi voci sed scriptioni; ut non sit sensus, non debuisse pronuntiari: sed tantum non debuisse scripto tradi, “Therefore this silence, whatever it be, is not to be opposed to speech but to writing. Since it would not be sense that the mysteries ought not to be enunciated, but only that they ought not to be committed to writing.” Chamier, tom. iv. lib. vi. cap. viii. sect. xxvi.

Nolebat Basilus eam traditionem ἐκθριαμβεύεσθαι ἐν γραμμασιν, atque id periculosum existimabat τῷ σεμνῷ τῶν μυστηρίων, “Basil was averse to that tradition’s being paraded in writing, and thought that such a proceeding would imperil the reverence due to the mysteries.” Id. sect. xxix.

^d Cum et hic, et alii apocryphorum scriptores, sua soleant ad præsentis suo ævo ecclesiæ ritus, mores ac sermonem cõffigere; primo plerique eo potissimum consilio sua figmenta sub vetustiorum nomine edant, ut res sui sæculi novas falso antiquitatis nomine constituent et confirment; clarum est etiam, ex istius generis apocryphis magnam utilitatem percipi posse, si diligenter observetur, quos illi mores, et quos ritus ecclesiæ, et Christianis illis tribuant de quibus loquuntur, “Since both this and other writers of apocryphal books are in the habit of feigning things of their own after the model of the rites, customs, and manner of speaking in use in the church existing in their own age; and since very many the rather in consequence of this their chief design, viz., to establish and support the novelties of their own age by a forged ancient name, publish their own figments under the name of their predecessors, it is clear that great benefit may accrue from apocryphal writings of that stamp, if we carefully note what customs and what ecclesiastical rites they ascribe to those Christians concerning whom they speak.” Dr. Laëus de Lib. Suppositis Dionys., &c. lib. ii. p. 250.

^e Cur reticuerit precatōnes quæ in mysteriis adhibentur, “The reason why he has observed silence as to the prayers which are offered in the mysteries,” says his translator, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἦτοι τὰς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεις, καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐσιώπῃσιν, “The reason why he has kept silence as to all, or at least, as to the sacred invocations, and their effects,” says Maximus, his scholiast, p. 96. If it be said, ἐν γραφαῖς ἀφερμεῖν, is to explain or write commentaries on their prayers, not simply to commit

an account in writing concerning the sacramental prayers; (τελεστικὰς ἐπικλήσεις) assigns this reason, οὐ θέμιτον ἐν γράφαις ἀφερμηνεύειν; it is not lawful to declare them in writing, being mystical and secret, μυστικούς οὕσας καὶ ἀπορρήτους, (as Pachymeres,) being secret, and not to be divulged. To deliver them in writing would have been ἐκ τοῦ κρυφίου πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐξάγειν, to bring them out of secrecy into common view, as he expresseth it afterward.^a

For the Latin church, Innocentius I., bishop of Rome, may satisfy us. Decentius of Eugubium consulting him about divers particulars concerning the church service; Innocent^b in his epistle in answer thereto, refers him, not to any written orders or prescriptions, which may well be presumed he would have done, if there had been any; but to what he had seen practised at Rome, when he was there. But more particularly and expressly,^c he determines that the presbyter might anoint the baptized with chrism, *non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare*; but not anoint their foreheads with it; that being reserved by him (and first by him) to bishops: but what words should be used in that rite, he might not tell him in writing; *verba vero dicere non possum, ne magis prodere videar, quam ad consultationem respondere*; lest he should seem a betrayer (of the church's arcana) rather than an adviser. Now if they were thus reserved and cautious in a baptismal rite, as much or more caution would be thought requisite as to the Lord's supper, which was anciently, in their style and account, *secretum*,^d and ἡ κρυφία, "a mystery—the secret ordinance." And indeed he shows himself no less reserved about the eucharist; so we find him.^e *Cum post omnia quæ aperire non debeo, par*

them to writing, I answer if it were so, this proves as much what I allege him for, as the other. For this was unlawful, not as commentaries, but as written, it was οὐ θέμιτον, "unlawful," not to explain or render them intelligible, but to divulge or make them common, εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐξάγειν. Now they were exposed to common view by being written, not by being intelligible, for intelligible they were in the most reserved use of the church; unless their prayers were riddles, and they offered to God they knew not what for a reasonable service.

^a Hierarch. Eccles. fin.

^b Sæpe dilectionem tuam ad urbem venisse, ac nobiscum in ecclesia convenisse, et quem morem vel in consecrandis mysteriis, vel in cæteris agendis arcanis teneat, cognovisse, dubium non est; quod sufficere ad informationem ecclesiæ tuæ, vel reformationem satis certum haberem—nisi de aliquibus consulendos nos esse dixisses, "It is indubitable, beloved, that thou hast often come to the city, and met with us in the church, and observed the routine which obtains as well in consecrating the mysteries as in other secret offices; which I should imagine sufficient for the ordering or reformation of your church; unless you say that it is necessary to consult us touching certain matters." Præfat. Epist. ad Decentium, in Crab. Conc. tom. i. p. 452.

^c Cap. iii.

^d Innocentius negat se tunc temporis, i. e. cum scriberet ad Decentium Eugubinum debere dicere, "Innocent says that he ought not at that time, (i. e. when he wrote to Decentius of Eugubium,) to mention the arcana," (Chamier, tom. iv. lib. vi. cap. viii. sect. lii.) lest the writing might have come into the hands of the non-initiated. Populus pars erat ἀμύητοι, pars μεμνημένοι, illis neque videre licebat, neque audire, et hi satis erant, ut non auderet omnia literis Innocentius committere, "Part of the people were uninitiated persons, part initiated. The former were allowed neither to see nor hear; and the latter were so numerous, that Innocent did not dare to commit all matters to writing."

Id. sect. liii. Vid. Bellarm. sect. l.

^e Cap. i.

sit necessario indicenda, "Since subsequently to all those parts of the service which I am in duty bound not to expose, the salutation of peace must be pronounced." Those things, which passed in the celebration of the eucharist, before the salutation of peace (before which were all the prayers) he might not open to him in writing ;^a and in reference to the whole, he speaks thus, towards the conclusion, *Reliqua vero quæ scribi fas non erat, quum adjueris, interrogati, poterimus edicere*,^b "For the rest, which it is not lawful to write, when thou art here, we may, being desired, declare them." Now, if to write this in an epistle to a particular person, who was not only *μεμνημένος*, "initiated," but, as Nyssen speaks, *μυστηρίων λανθανόντων μυσταγωγός*,^c "an initiator into the secret mysteries," would have been no less than *prodere*, no better than treachery, a betraying the *arcana ecclesie*, "the arcana of the church," what would it have been to have had them written for public use, and exposed in common prayer-books !

I suppose it is hereby manifest, that they were not wont, in those times, to commit their sacramental prayers to such books or writings ; and I cannot apprehend, how the prayers requisite to make up a liturgy for the sacraments could be either prescribed, or of common invariable use, in many churches, if they were not so written.

Finally, since they thought themselves obliged to keep the things we speak of secret,^d making account [that] the order of the churches, and the reverence due to those mysteries could not be otherwise secured ; we cannot suppose they would take a course, which would make it next to

^a If a catechumen ask thee what the teachers say, μηδὲν λέγει τῷ ἕξω, μυστήριον γὰρ σοὶ παραδίδομεν, &c. "Say nothing to one who is without ; for we entrust to you a mystery."—*Ægroti vinum quandoque postulant ; quod si intempestive detur phreî hunc erigâset, καὶ οὐδὲ κακὰ γίγεται καὶ ὁ νοσῶν ἀπόλλυται, καὶ ὁ ἰατρός διαβάλλεται* οὕτως ὁ κατηχούμενος ἐν ἀκοῇ παρὰ πιστοῦ, καὶ ὁ κατηχούμενος φρενιτυῖ, οὐκ οἶδε γὰρ τι ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐλέγχει τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἐκμυκτηρίζει τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ ὁ πιστὸς ὡς προδότης κατακρίνεται, &c. "Sick men sometimes ask for wine, which if it be unreasonably given produces delirium, and two evils supervene ; the patient dies, and the physician is blamed. So if a catechumen hear these things from a believer, the catechumen in like manner grows delirious ; for he knows not what he hears, and reasons about the matter, and scoffs at what is said : also the believer is condemned as a traitor." Cyril. Procatech. [cap. vii. Ed. Oxon. 1703. p. 9.]

^b Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔθος ἔθνικοῖς διηγείσθαι, "It is not our manner to expound these matters to the heathen." Catech. vi. [Ed. Oxon. sect. xvi. p. 97.]

^c De Christi Baptismo.

^d Ἀγνοασία σεμνότης ἐπὶ τελετῶν, "Ignorance in regard to the sacred mysteries is dignity." Synes. de Provid. sect. ii. p. 124.

Ἐν τῷ κεκρυμμένῳ καὶ ἀφθέγκτῳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐφίλασσαν, "They preserved by concealment and silence the reverence due to the mysteries." Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. xxvii. p. 273. Οὗτος ὁ λόγος τῆς τῶν ἀγράφων παραδόσεως, ὡς μὴ καταμεληθεῖσαν τῆς δογμάτων τῇ γνώσει, ἐνκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολλοῖς γίνεσθαι διὰ συνήθειαν, "The reason for unwritten tradition is this, that the knowledge of our principles being to be learnt only by experience, may not be exposed through folly to the contempt of the multitude." Id. ibid. Τοσοῦτων ὄντων ἀγράφων καὶ τοσαύτην ἐχόντων ἰσχύν εἰς τὴν εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, "So many things being unwritten which possess such great importance in reference to the mystery of godliness." Id. p. 274.

Lysis, the Pythagorean, Τὸ γὰρ δημοσίᾳ φιλοσοφεῖν, μεγάλης εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἥρε των Θεῶν καταφρονήσεως, "Philosophising in public originated a great contempt for Divine things," reproving his friend for publishing something. In Synesius, Ep. cli. [p. 279, B. Ed. Paris. 1633.]

impossible to conceal that which they deemed themselves so much concerned to keep secret.

Now, if their prayers had been written out, for the use of many thousands, or many hundred churches, (indeed the supposition must be for all in the world; for all are supposed to have some or other, though not all the same) would not this have been a divulging of them, and a ready way to make them *ἐκφορα τοῖς ἑξῶ*, “divulged to them that are without?” Could all, of such multitudes of copies, be kept either from the heathen, who were so inquisitive after the *κρύφια*, “secret doctrines,” of the Christians, as they used all means fair and foul^a (sometimes tortures, sometimes odious misinterpretations, sometimes subtle insinuations) to get the knowledge of them? Or, from the catechumens, passionately eager to be acquainted with these secrets, any way though surreptitiously; as for other reasons, so because their acquaintance herewith would have advanced them immediately into the higher form of the *πίστες*, “faithful.”^b

It is no way probable, [that] these prayers and their other *ἐσωτέρικα*, “esoteric doctrines,” could have been concealed, if they had been written for common use; and therefore, since they thought it their duty to keep them secret, we may conclude, they had them not thus written, and

^a Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere. Nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam immodicam. “I therefore deemed it necessary to wring the truth by torture from two serving-women, who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing save a corrupt and intemperate superstition.” Plin. Ep. Trajano, xevii. Just. Martyr. Apol. i. p. 133.

Δόξα μωτην μηδὲ νοήσας ἀκριβῶς τὸ κρύφιον τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ διαβάλλει αὐτὸ, “Therefore in vain does he, who does not even correctly understand the Christian religion, slander it.” Origen contr. Cels. lib. i. p. 8.

Maximus Madaurens. Ep. ad Augustin.

Τὸ πιστοὶ ἡμῖν ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀποκρύπτου κοινωνίας οἶεται εἶναι σύνθημα, “He deems the cipher to be the proof to us of the obscure and secret doctrine of the communion.” Celsus in Origen. lib. viii. p. 339.

^b *Εἰ δὲ τις κατ’ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβῃ, τοῦτον τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μύσητε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονήσῃ ἐξέλθαι*, “If any communicate in ignorance, instruct him immediately in the elementary doctrine, and initiate him, that he may not depart a scorner.” Clem. Constit. lib. v. cap. xxvi. *fine*.

Quodam canone uno comperimus, si cui contigisset catechumeno, casu aliquo, ac fortuito sacrificiis interesse, aut oculis illa sacra intueri, eum protinus sacro fonte abluendum fuisse.—A Deo magnum quoddam in se profectum beneficium arbitrabantur, si casus quidam insperatus tulisset, ut ea sacrificia, non tam mentis, quam oculis corporis contemplarentur, “We find by one canon in particular, that if it chanced to any catechumen to be present by some accident at the sacrifices, or to look upon those sacred things with his eyes, he was to be baptized forthwith.—They esteemed it a great blessing sent to them by God, if any unexpected chance brought to pass that they should gaze on those sacrifices with the eyes, not of the mind but of the body.” Albaspin. Observ. lib. ii. cap. ii. pp. 206, 207. Vid. Notas in Can. p. 206. Timotheus Alexandrinus, in respon. canon. interrogatus, si puellus catechumenus, vel homo jam perfectus, dum fieret oblatio, opportune affuerit, ejusque nescius particeps factus sit, quid debet de eo fieri? Respond. debet illuminari, a Deo enim vocatus est, “Timotheus of Alexandria, being asked for a canonical solution of the question—If a child, who is a catechumen, or an adult, should be present at the very time when the oblation is offering, and should become an ignorant participator of the same, what ought to be done in the case of such a one? answered, He ought to be baptized, because such a one is called of God.” In Vicecom. de Bapt. Rit. lib. ii. cap. v.

consequently they could have no prescribed liturgies for the administration of the sacraments.

And the impossibility of concealment will be more evident, if liturgies were to be not only in the hands of the several ministers, bishops, presbyters, deacons ; but also in the people's hands ; as it was necessary they should be, unless they were quite other things, than either the modern now imposed, or the pretended ancient liturgies ; for then the people bear such a part in the prayers, as shows their direction by a book necessary. And some part they had of old, as appears by Cyril.^a Though nothing so much, as in the written liturgies, nor what they might not have by custom without book.

This may suffice for the sacraments in general, to show how far those that administered them were from being confined to prescribed forms.

For the eucharist in particular, let us view the twenty-third canon of the third council of Carthage : *Ut nemo in precibus, vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre nominet, et cum ad altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quascunque sibi preces aliquis^b describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructoribus fratribus contulerit.* "That no man, in prayers, shall name, either the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father. And when they are at the altar, the prayer shall always be directed to the Father. And what prayers soever any shall copy out for himself, he shall not use them, unless he first discuss them with his discreeter brethren."

The middle clause of this canon evidently concerns the eucharistical prayers ; the first and last respect both these, and the prayers also in other parts of the administrations ; each of them make it plain, that in those times, they were not under any restraint by imposed forms.

For the first. Those, who in their prayers named the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father, used not prescribed forms ; for surely the church would not prescribe what the council forbids. And as they used none before, so these fathers leave them at liberty, for the future, to use what they thought fit, only imposing this on them, not to name the Father for the Son, &c.

For the next clause. If no prayers were used, in the administration of this sacrament, but what were prescribed by the church (and consequently allowed by the synod, as duly directed already) it was vain and ridiculous to make such an order, *ut semper ad Patrem*, that the prayers be always directed to the Father. This is clearly a restraint upon those, who before had liberty, in celebrating this ordinance, to address their prayers to any Person of the sacred Trinity ; ordering that from

^a Catech. Mystag. v. And Chrysostom in 2 Cor. Hom. xviii. p. 647.

^b Hardouin reads *quicunque* and *aliquae*.—ED.

henceforth they should direct such prayers only to the Father. And as it clearly supposes, they were neither limited nor directed, by any prescribed forms before; so it leaves them free, to use what prayers they judged meet, *cum ad altare assistitur*, "when they stand at the altar," provided that they were addressed only to the Father.

Yea, the weaker and indiscreeter sort, of those that officiated, are allowed, by the next clause, to use what prayers they would anywhere make choice of, with this limitation only, that their more discreet brethren should first be conferred with about them. That of Augustine, who was a great part of the African councils, at this time,^a is the best comment which can be desired upon this passage. Having showed, that divers of his brethren had many things against the faith, in prayers which they used in sacramental administrations, he gives this account of it: *Multi irruunt in preces, non solum ab imperitis loquacibus, sed etiam ab hæreticis compositas; et per ignorantie simplicitatem, non eas valentes discernere, utuntur iis, arbitantes quod bonæ sint*, "Many light upon prayers, not only which are composed by unskilful babblers, but also by heretics; and through the simplicity of their ignorance, not being able to discern, they use them, judging that they are good." Here we have persons as fit to be confined to prescribed forms, as any we can expect to meet with; (such as could neither make prayers themselves, nor make tolerable choice of prayers made by others; being so ignorant, as they could not discern an heretical prayer, when they met with it.) These are circumstances, which might justify the imposition of set forms, if any could do it. And yet the African fathers^b saw no suffi-

^a De Baptismo, contra Donat. lib. vi. cap. xxv. p. 568.

^b Now since some, angry at this canon, (for what reason appears not, unless because it shows what they would not have seen) would shift it out of the African constitutions; let it be observed, that it was originally a decree of the council at Hippo, as appears by the brief of its canons; in which it is the twenty-third, in number of forty-one. Crab. tom. i. p. 433. A general council this was, as we learn by that of Possidonius, Vit. August. cap. vii. *Coram episcopis, hoc illi jubentibus in plenarium totius Africæ concilium Hippone agebant*, "Thus did they in the presence of the bishops, who summoned him to a full council of all Africa." Vid. August. Retract. lib. i. cap. xvii. And of such esteem, that, as Baronius tells us, *Ceteræ quæ postea in Africa celebratæ sunt synodi, ex Hippo-nensi tanquam archetypo quodam, complura fuerint mutuatæ*, "The other councils which were afterwards held in Africa, borrowed very many things from that at Hippo, as from a kind of model. Ad anno 393, n. 5.

And no African council hath fuller approbation, nor that so frequently and solemnly declared. It was confirmed, by a full council at Carthage, Cæsario et Attico. Coss. anno 397. So Marianus Scotus mentions it, anno 417. *Concilium Carthaginense, ubi Hippo-nensis concilii statuta firmantur et inferuntur*, "the Council of Carthage, in which the canons of that of Hippo were confirmed and cited." And an abridgment (now spoken of) was made of its decrees, that they might be the better remembered and observed, as the fathers tell us in a synodal epistle; *breve vero statutorum huius epistolæ subdi fecimus, ut compendio (quæ decreta sunt) recensentes, sollicitius observari curemus*, "We have subjoined to this epistle an abridgment, that we may provide for the more strict observance of the decrees by the study of them in a more compendious form." In Crab. tom. i. p. 433. Jusiel. Notæ in Cod. Afr. pp. 48, 49. And of fifty ascribed to this (so-called third) council of Carthage, thirty-nine are the same with those of Hippo; and in both this canon is the twenty-third.

It was confirmed afterwards (the canons thereof being recited) not only by the votes, but the subscriptions of the fathers in the general council at Milevis, anno 402. Arcud. et Honor. 5. Coss.

cient reason, to prescribe such forms to persons so lamentably insufficient. But, as they did make choice of what prayers they thought good before ; so they leave them at liberty, to use what they made choice of; providing only, they should first confer with their more able brethren about them, that so what was therein erroneous might be amended. And accordingly Augustine, in the same place, tells us, *multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, si doctioribus fuerint recitate*, “ the prayers of many are amended daily, if they be recited to the more learned.”

There had been no occasion for any part of this canon, if such liturgies as we speak of had been in use ; or if they had thought fit to have imposed any. A few words would have served the turn, instead of those they multiply ; (such as: let no prayers be used, in celebrating the sacrament, but what the church prescribes.) But the wisdom of Africa, and the great Augustine, thought that course more advisable, which is utterly inconsistent with such restraint, and which left the most insufficient of their ministers at greater liberty ; for such evidently is the course they take in this canon ; the severals^a of which, if they can be reconciled with any kind or degree of confinement to prescribed forms, then may we reconcile light and darkness.

That no ministers were limited to any prescribed forms, in the administration of the Lord's supper, is manifest also, by the seventieth canon in the collection called the African council ; which being the same in effect with that which passeth for the twelfth canon of the [second] council of Milevis, runs thus—

Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrantur ; nec aliæ omnino contra fidem proferantur ; sed quæcunque cum prudentioribus fuerint collatæ dicantur,^b “ This also seemed good, that the prayers which shall be allowed in a council, whether prefaces, or commendations, or imposition of hands, may be used by all ; neither may any other, against the faith, be used ; but all whatsoever, which shall be communicated with the more discreet, may be used.” Where it is observable, that,

1. As much liberty in praying is left to ministers by this canon, as by that but now insisted on, (though some, upon a conceit it is otherwise, have showed more favour to this, than that :) those that were so indiscreet, as they could not discern an heretical prayer from another, and

together with the constitutions of the last mentioned council of Carthage. Vid. Crab. tom. pp. 481, 509, et Justel. Cod. ccxviii. &c.

It was finally ratified by two hundred and seventeen bishops in a council at Carthage, anno 419, and the approbations and confirmations of it forementioned are part of the African code, in which the title of Can. xxxiv. is, *Quod nihil de Hipponensi concilio sit emendandum*, “ That no act of the council of Hippo be amended.” In Justel. p. 114. Vid. p. 217, &c.

^a Particulars.

^b Collect. in Cod. Can. ciii. p. 281. Vid. Thornd. p. 244.

so gave occasion of jealousy, lest the prayers they made choice of might have something in them against the faith, were not, by the decree of that council, to use such prayers, till they were approved by some prudent brethren: by this canon, they were not to use them, unless they were allowed, either by such prudent persons, or else by a synod. So that, here they have more liberty, in the choice of their approvers, and no less upon any other account at all. I have showed already, [that] as much liberty is granted by the former canon, as those that are most for freedom in prayer do desire; no restraint in either, but upon persons so insufficient, as should not be suffered to officiate at all, but in extreme necessities.^a In both, the prudent are allowed to use what prayers or mode of praying they thought fit. For they who are esteemed competent judges of others' prayers, are thereby presumed fit to judge of their own.

2. No prayers at all are forbidden, but such as were against the faith; *nec aliæ omnino, contra fidem, proferantur*, "nor let prayers which are inconsistent with the faith be offered at all;" by which we may judge what prayers both the synod and the prudent would allow. They were not so scrupulous about words, if wholesome, though not accurate; they could better bear with some incommodious expressions or incongruities of speech, if the prayer was affectionate, and had such oratory as the great God is pleased to listen to,^b though the niceness and

^a Which seems to have been the condition of those churches, by the complaint of Aurelius, in a council at Carthage, Cum una cum episcopis suis consedisset, adstantibus diaconis, Aurelius episcopus dixit: ecclesiarum Dei, per Africam constitutarum, necessitates mecum optime novit charitas vestra, sanctissimi fratres—tanta indigentia clericorum est, multæque ecclesiæ ita desertæ sunt, ut ne unum quidem diaconum (margin. lectorem) vel inlitteratum habere reperiantur. Nam de cæteris superioribus gradibus, et officiis tacendum arbitror: Quia (ut dixi) si ministerium diaconi facile non invenitur, multo magis superiorum honorum inveniri non posse certissimum est, et quotidianos planctus diversarum pæne emortuarum plebium jam non sustinemus; quibus nisi fuerit aliquando subventum, gravis nobis, et inexcusabilis innumerabilium animarum pereuntium causa apud Deum mansura est, "When he had taken his seat, together with his fellow-bishops, the deacons standing by, bishop Aurelius said, 'You, beloved and most holy brethren, are very well aware with me of the necessities of the churches of God established throughout Africa. So great is the want of clergy, and many churches are so desolate, that they are not found to possess even one illiterate deacon. For I think it best to be silent concerning the higher grades and offices, because if, as I have said, diaconal ministrations be not readily found, much more certain is it, that those of the higher ranks cannot be met with; and already we sink under the daily complaints of flocks almost extinct, which unless we succour soon, a heavy unanswerable impeachment on the part of innumerable perishing souls will lie against us in the presence of God.'" In Crab. Concil. tom. i. pp. 502, 503, in Cod. Justelli, p. 165. Aurel. in Conc. Carth. [v.] anno 401. Tantum autem inopiæ clericorum ordinandorum in Africa patiuntur ecclesiæ, ut quædam loca omnino deserta sunt. "The churches suffer in Africa such destitution of ordained clergy that some places are almost abandoned." In Capitulo Conc. Hipponensis, Crab. tom. i. p. 434.

^b Οὐ γάρ γλώττης ζητεῖ κάλλος ὁ Θεός οὐδὲ ῥημάτων συνθήκην, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ὄραν, "For God seeks not elegance of language, nor the tacking together of sentences, but beauty of soul." Chrysost. in Ps. viii. pp. 527, 524.

Χρὶς τὴν προσεσχὴν μὴ ἐν συλλαβαῖς ἡμᾶς ἐκπληροῦν, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσει μάλλινον ψυχῆς, καὶ πράξεις ταῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρεκτεινομέναις, "It is meet that we supplement prayer not with syllables, but rather with purpose of soul, and with virtuous deeds extending throughout our whole life." [Basil. Sermon. ix. De Oratione, initio.]

Illi non tam accuratis adorantium precibus, quam innocentia et sanctitate letantur: gratiorque

curiosity of a vainly critical ear would not be pleased with it. *Noverint* (says Augustine) *etiam non esse vocem ad aures Dei, nisi animi affectum: ita enim non irridebunt, si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesiæ forte animadverterint, vel cum barbarismis et solæcismis Deum invocare,*^a “Let them understand, that God attends not so much to the voice, as the inward affection; and so they will not jeer, if perhaps they observe some bishops and ministers of the church do call upon God with some (were these prescribed?) barbarisms and solecisms.”

3. Any prayers that were approved, either by a synod, or other discreet persons, might be used, as in other church administrations, (and in which of them was not^b imposition of hands used?) so particu-

existimantur, qui de labris eorum puram castamque mentem, quam qui meditatam carmen intulerit. “The gods are not so well pleased with accuracy in prayer on the part of their worshippers as with innocence and purity; and he is deemed more acceptable who offers from his lips a spotless and chaste mind like their own, than he who presents a carefully studied ode.” Plin. in Panegy. ad Trajan.

Προσευχὴ οὐ ῥήμασι ψιλοῖς, ἀλλὰ πράγμασι μάλλον χρηστοῖς κατεθέσεται, “Prayer is measured not by its smooth sentences, but by good deeds.” Isidor. lib. i. Ep. cccclxxvi. [C.]

^a De Catechizand. Rudibus, cap. ix. tom. iv. pars poster. p. 330.

^b By imposition of hands, here is meant, prayers used when hands were imposed; manus autem impositio non sicut baptismus, repeti non potest. Quid est enim aliud nisi oratio super hominem? “Imposition of hands is not like baptism, which cannot be repeated. For what else is it save prayer over a man?” August. De Baptis. contra Donat. lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 496.

Hands were imposed almost in all prayers, and all church administrations; the prayers in the first instance were those for the catechumens and penitents; imposition of hands was used at both.

On catechumens. Vincentius a Thibari in Ciprian Connec. Primo per manus impositionem in exorcismo, secundo per baptismi regenerationem, possunt ad Christi pollicitationem pervenire, “In the first place, they may obtain the promise of Christ by imposition of hands in exorcism; and in the second place, by the regeneration in baptism.” Vid. August. De Baptis. lib. vi. cap. xlv. Augustin, Nam et catechumenos, secundum quendam modum suum, per signum Christi, et orationum manus impositionis puto sanctificari. “I deem catechumens to be sanctified after a certain manner by Christ’s mark, and the imposition of hands at prayer.” De Peccat. Merit. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. tom. i. pars i. p. 875. In exorcismis impositio manuum, “In exorcisms imposition of hands is used.” Leo, Ep. lxxviii. cap. i. Vid. Conc. Carth. iv. Can. lxxxv.

On penitents, in admission to penance. Albaspin. Observ. pp. 230, 233, 397, Vid. Cent. v. p. 665. In exercise of it while under penitence, μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοία τὴν εὐχὴν γινεσθαι, καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, “After the departure of the catechumens comes the prayer for the penitents, and these advance to receive imposition of hands.” Conc. Laodic. [Can. xix.] Con. Carth. iv. Can. lxxx.

In absolution, or reconciling penitents. Cypr. Epist. [lxxiii.] Euseb. lib. vii. cap. ii. Leo, Non nisi per penitentiae medium, et per impositionem episcopalis manus communionis recipiant unitatem, Epist. lxxvii. cap. vi. Reconcilientur per manus impositionem, “Only by penance and imposition of the bishop’s hands do they receive reconciliation.” Conc. Carth. iv. Can. lxxvi.

In confirmation. Tertull. [De Baptis. cap. vii.] Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina, dehinc manus imponitur. Cypr. Qui in ecclesia baptizantur præpositis ecclesiæ offeruntur, ut per nostram orationem et manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur. [Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian.] Jerome. Ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurret. Adv. Luciferian. [Cap. iv. In Ed. Par. 1706. tom. iv. col. 295.] “On leaving the font we are anointed with the consecrated unction; after which comes imposition of hands.—Those who are baptized in the church are brought to the rulers of the church, that by our prayers and the imposition of our hands, they may obtain the Holy Ghost.—To those who are baptized at a distance from the mother-church, and in the smaller towns by presbyters and deacons, the bishop pays a visit to lay his hands on them with invocation of the Holy Ghost.”

In admission of reduced heretics. Leo, Quod si ab hæreticis baptizatum quempiam fuisse constiterit, erga hunc nullatenus sacramentum regenerationis iteretur; sed hoc tantum, quod ibi deficit

larly in the Lord's supper, (as the title of the canon, *De Precibus ad Altare Dicendis*, shows) in what mode, or by what person soever they were made. And hence it follows, that either those African churches had no common form of service at all; or else (which serves my purpose as well) they had none, but such as, with the good leave of those fathers, might never have been used by any, either at the Lord's supper, or other parts of worship; since any other prayers, which either a synod, or other prudent ministers should approve, have the placet of this council.

The inference is just, and cannot be evaded, unless any will say, by the *preces quæ probatæ fuerint*, "prayers which shall be allowed of;" is meant a liturgy established in those churches. But that this would be an unreasonable shift, the canon itself (a little further examined) will discover. For

1. An established liturgy (if there had been any such) was used and approved already. But the prayers, here mentioned, were not yet approved, nor were they to be used, till approved. So the brief of the canon tells us, *ut preces et orationes compositor, nisi probatæ fuerint in concilio, non dicantur*," "that written prayers and supplications, except allowed of in council, shall not be used." It is provided that the service to be used, be first approved in the usual synod, says a learned advocate for such liturgies, upon this canon. Then

2. What is meant by (*quæcumque*, what prayers soever shall be

conferatur, ut per episcopalem manus impositionem virtutem Sancti Spiritus consequatur, "But if he be assured that any one has been baptized by heretics, in such a man's case the sacrament of regeneration shall by no means be repeated, but this only which was wanting in that baptism shall be added, viz. that by imposition of the bishop's hands, he may obtain the virtue of the Holy Ghost." Ep. xxxv. cap. ii. Ep. lxxvii. cap. vii. Μόνη χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρὸν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῇ

"Prayer offered with imposition of hands is alone to be used." Dionys. in Euseb. lib. vii. cap. [ii.] In visitation of the sick. Si forte ab ægrotantibus ob hoc peteretur, ut pro iis in præsentem Deum rogaret, eisque manus imponeret, sine mora pergebat, "If it be requested by any sick persons to beseech God in their presence for them, and to lay on them his hands, let him do so without delay." Possidon. Vita Augustini. He tells afterward of one healed by his laying on hands, who had a vision for it.

In celebrating matrimony. Lestrange applies that of Clem. Alexand. Pædagog. lib. iii. [cap. xi. p. 248. B. Ed. Lutet.] Τίνα πρεσβύτερος ἐπιθεῖσει χεῖρα; τίνα εὐλογήσει; οὐ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν κεκοσμημένην, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἄλλοτρίας τριχάς, "Upon whom will the presbyter lay hands? Whom will he bless? Not the adorned wife, but the hairs of a strange woman."

In ordination, which needs no proof. Sed vid. Conc. Carth. iv. Can. ii. iii. iv.

In exorcising the possessed. Conc. Carth. iv. [Can. xc.] Omni die exorcistæ energumenis manus imponent, "Let the exorcists lay hands daily on the energumens." Vid. Can. vii.*

In baptizing. Clem. Const. lib. vii. cap. xlv. Vid. Vicec. De Bapt. pp. 614, 620. Hence baptism is called, impositio manus, p. 8, in abrenunciando sub antistitis manu, "Imposition of hands—in renunciation under the hands of the bishop." Tertullian De Corona Mil. cap. iii. post confessionem fidei. Dionys. Areop. Eccles. Hierar. cap. ii. [p. 78. D. Ed. Lutet. 1615.] in Vicec. p. 325.

Hence Melitius is, by the Nicene council, forbidden the exercise of his function, in these terms: Μηδὲ μίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχει, μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι μήτε χειροθετεῖν. Ψαλὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ταυτῆς κεκτῆ-
θαι, "He has no authority either to ordain, or to impose hands, but only to retain possession of the mere name of his office." Synodica Epist. Conc. Nic. in Theodoret, lib. i. cap. ix. [p. 21. A.]

* In Crab. Concil. tom. i. p. 482.

debated with the more prudent, may be said) in the last clause of the decree?

1. If we understand by it the supposed liturgy, it is added vainly, and no tolerable account can be given why. And besides, some prudent brethren were to be conferred with about these prayers, who were to approve them before they might be said. (This is clearly and unquestionably the design of *quæcunque cum prudentioribus fuerint collatæ, dicantur*, “all whatsoever which shall be communicated with the more discreet, may be used.”) So that if hereby the African liturgy be understood, it was such a one, as was not yet allowed to be used, and possibly never might be. It was at the arbitrement of such judges, as those, who were concerned to use them, would choose, whether it should ever take place in the church, or no. It might be disused or abolished, either in part, or wholly; as they thought fit. Such was the liturgy of these churches, no other established, nor otherwise prescribed, if the canon here speak of it.

2. If we understand hereby other prayers, than such as the imaginary liturgy contained; then so much liberty is hereby granted, for the use of those other prayers, that the pretended liturgy might never be used: for these fathers authorise any other (with a *quæcunque*) which prudent brethren might think fit for public use; and so leave none under the restraint of any prescribed forms, either in other parts of worship, or (*in precibus altare dicendis*, “in prayers to be said at the altar,”) in the eucharistical service.^a

In the 12th canon of that council, which passeth for the 2nd of Milevis, for *cum prudentioribus collatæ*, we have a *prudentioribus tractatæ*,^b

* I am the more satisfied with this evidence of the African councils, because Bellarmine hath nothing to oppose here, but what renders it more unquestionable. Chemnitius had alleged, Cod. Afric. can. 70, Conc. Milevit. [ii.] cap. xii. to prove, apud veteres ordinem celebrandi fuisse arbitrium, “that the order of celebrating the eucharist of old was arbitrary.” Hinc colligitur, says Bellarmine, non fuisse antiquo tempore præscriptum certum canonem orationum, qui omnes obligaret, sed permissum fuisse, ut quisque componeret preces, modo eæ analogæ essent fidei, “Hence we gather, that in ancient times, there was no fixed canon of prayer prescribed which bound all, but that it was allowed to every one to compose prayers provided they were according to the analogy of faith.” De Miss. lib. ii. cap. xviii.

Chemnitius thus speaks, Non enim conceptis verbis præscripta fuit una quædam certa forma—sed liberum fuit uti quacunque forma, modo analogæ esset fidei, “One fixed form was not prescribed with words laid down, but men were at liberty to use any form provided it was agreeable to the faith.” Examen pars ii. p. 358.

Bellarmino answers, Canones conciliorum citatorum non loquuntur de canone missæ; sed de collectis, quæ semper fuerant multiplices et variæ, “The canons of the councils cited, do not speak of the canon of the mass, but of collects, which were always manifold and various.” Id. ibid. p. 817. Where he denies not, but that those African decrees show, that all other prayers, even in the eucharist, were then arbitrary; only the canon of the mass, says he, they speak not of. And no wonder, since the canon, which he is so tender of, was not in being till near two hundred years after these decrees were made. And there is not a syllable in them, for the excepting of any other, more than that. Vid. Albaspin. ante.

^b Scholium ad hunc locum in Cod. Pal. Τρακταίστέα ἀκριβεστάτα, ἑσταστά δοκιμαστά, “things which must be scrutinised, examined, tested.” Glossæ Basilii a Carolo Lubbeo Cl. Viro editæ,

“communicated with the more discreet;” a phrase of the same import, signifying the prayers handled by the more prudent, *i. e.* debated, discoursed of, and so examined by them, in order to approbation,^a if they were found good, or to amendment, if otherwise. And this sense of *tractatæ* agrees best, both with the other constitutions of those African churches, and their practice also declared to us by Augustine. But if any notwithstanding will thereby understand the prayers composed by the more prudent, *tractatus* being a sermon in Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Optatus,^b [be it so;] and I will thence infer, [that] the more prudent had no more liberty in praying than in preaching. If I should yield this, it would be no great disadvantage. For, as they were not tied to use sermons composed by others, being much below those worthies, *orationes alieno formare ingenio*, “who owe their public discourses to another’s invention;” so they had and took liberty to preach, either *ex tempore*, or upon premeditation; and the former way commonly.

Jerome tells us [that] many homilies of Origen,^c which he translated, were preached, delivered in the church by the author *ex tempore*. *Oratiunculas* has 26 in *Jesum Naue ex tempore in ecclesia peroravit Adamantius senex*,^d “These 26 shorter orations on Joshua, Origen delivered extemporaneously in the church in his old age.” And Ruffinus speaks the same of Origen’s homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Romans.

All that we have of Cyril’s, bishop of Jerusalem, are extemporary discourses, as Vossius observes, from the inscription of them,^e *nonne cogitant catecheses σχεδιαθείσας sive extemporales, ut inscriptio indicat?* “Do they not regard the catechetical discourses as unpremeditated, or extemporary, as the inscription shows they were?”

And such probably were those, whose occasion and subject was the same as the Psalm sung before sermon; as, to omit others, that of Nazianzen.^f

Chrysostom, while presbyter at Antioch, was advised by Flavianus the bishop, to use his extemporary faculty in preaching, *προτρέπεται αὐτὸν αὐτοσχεδίως ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ λαῷ*, “he advised him to preach to the

τρακταίσαι σκοπῆσαι, ἐξετάσαι, τρακτεῖν γὰρ οἱ Λατῖνοι τὸν σκοπὸν, τὸ βούλευμα καὶ τὸ ἐξέτασμα λέγουσι, “to scrutinise; to examine. For by *τρακτεῖν*, the Latins express the ideas of scrutiny, deliberation, and investigation.” Justell. Obs. in Cod. p. 8.

^a Ὅπως τὸ πρᾶγμα σκοπηθῇ, καὶ ἡ κυρωθῇ ἢ διορθωθῇ, “That the matter may be examined, and either authorised or corrected.” Cod. Afr. can. 50.

^b In Thornd. p. 176.

^c Quæ ab Origine, in auditorio ecclesiæ ex tempore, non tam explanationis, quam ædificationis intentione perorata sunt: sicut in homiliis, sive in oratiunculis in Genesin, et in Exodum, &c. “Such things as were spoken extempore by Origen in the church assembly, more for edification than by way of explanation, as in his homilies or brief orations on Genesis and Exodus,” &c. Ruff. Perorat. in Ep. ad Rom. p. 634.

In the editions of Johannes Grodicius, the title is, *Catecheses Extemporanæ ad Illuminatos 18. et Mystagogicæ 5.* “Eighteen Extemporaneous Catechetical Discourses to the Baptized: together with five Mystagogical Orations. Vid. Riv. Crit. tom. iv. p. 258.

^d Prolus. in Hom. Orig. in Jes. Nau. This prologue is ascribed to Ruffinus. Ed

^e De Symb. p. 38

^f In Ps. cxiv.

people extempore," as one of the writers of his life relates it. And he complied with Flavianus herein, πάντες θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν—αὐτοσχδίως ὁμιλοῦντα αὐτοῖς, "they all saw him preaching to them *ex tempore*."^a

And such were many of his sermons at Constantinople, when he was bishop there; particularly those upon the epistles^b to the Ephesians, and Philippians; as Sir Henry Savill, (who deserves so well of him, and of the world for him) conceives; as also those upon both the epistles to Timothy, and that to Philemon; and more than these he intimates to have been αὐτοσχεδιαθέντες, "extempore."

Atticus, presbyter at Constantinople in Chrysostom's time, and afterwards bishop there, though far short of his predecessor's accomplishments, yet, by industry and practice, as Socrates tells us, he attained the faculty of delivering himself *ex tempore* to his auditory; σὺν τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ παρῆρσίᾳ κησάμενος ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου, καὶ πανηγυρικώτεραν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποίειτο,^c "by dint of pains-taking, he acquired confidence in extempore delivery, and made his instructions more popular."

Jerome had no cure, and so left us no sermons. But of divers of the pieces which survive him, he was as easily and speedily delivered, as the forementioned of their popular discourses. Of one piece of his, he tells us, *Extemporalis*^d est dictatio, "it was dictated *ex tempore*," and faster than it could be well taken in short-hand. And his interpretation (as he calls it) of the three books of Solomon, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, was^e *tridui opus*, "a work of three days;" in which time, one would think the quickest pen could scarce write out the text.

Augustine also, not only in his conflicts with adversaries, but also in his sermons to the people, used *extemporalī dictione*, "extemporary delivery," as Erasmus^f observes, in whose judgment, he nowhere ap-

^a Georg. Alexand. Vita Chrysost. p. 179, cap. 17.

^b Homiliae in Epistolas ad Ephesios, Philip. utramque ad Timotheum et Philemonem, διὰ τὸ αὐτοσχεδίον τῆς λέξεως, Constantinopolitanis accensendae. Notae in Chrysost. Hom. viii. p. 227. Commentarii certe mediocres sunt et ut plurimum, quales illi in epistolam ad Ephesios, concisi, et αὐτοσχεδιαθέντες (ut puto.) Id. ibid. p. 409. "The Homilies on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and those to both Timothy and Philemon, are to be classed, on account of the want of premeditation in their style, amongst the Constantinopolitan ones.—The Commentaries are certainly of a middle rank, and like those on the Epistle to the Ephesians as condensed as possible, and as I think extemporaneous."

^c Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. ii. p. 733.

^d Extemporalis est dictatio, et tanta ad lumen lucernulae facilitate profusa, ut notariorum manus lingua praecurreret, et signa ac furta verborum, volubilitas sermonum obrueret, "It was dictated extempore, and poured forth by candle-light with such ease, that the tongue outstripped the hands of the notaries, and the torrent of sentences marred the signs and snatches of words." Ep. xlvii. [Tom. iv. col. 734. Ed. Paris. 1706.]

^e Tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Solomonis voluminum, "[I] have dedicated to thy name a three days' work, to wit, an interpretation of the three books of Solomon." Id. Praef. in Prov.

^f Plurimique per notarios ex ore loquentis excepta sunt, cujusmodi fere sunt enarrationes Scripturarum ad populum, quas ipse tractatus appellat, aut conflictationes cum haereticis, quae olim publicatas apud plebem fieri consueverant. Nec alibi mihi videtur admirabilior. Quibus mediocriter fingit ingenium, si lucubrandi cura adhibeatur, excidunt interdum aliquid non contemnendum.

pears more admirable than in this; not that these discourses are more excellent than his more elaborate works (as if he had been, what the historian says of Tiberius, *ex tempore quam a cura præstantior*, “better extempore than after premeditation,”) but because he could do better on a sudden, than others (though well accomplished) with time and study. One remarkable instance we have in Possidonius,^a who tells us in Augustin’s words, of Firmus, a Manichee, converted by such a discourse, as he never designed before he had begun the sermon. And that seems another, which is intituled, *Concio super gestis cum Emerito Donatista*, being occasioned by an acclamation of the people at the assembly.^b

And those, who having much more work as pastors, did preach ordinarily every day, and some days twice; yea sometimes twice in a forenoon, and thrice in one day; (as bishops in those and former times did;) it cannot be thought, but many of their sermons were born as soon as conceived. Such were their tractates: nor was it then thought canting, to ascribe such discourses to the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Nazianzen being to discourse of the Holy Ghost, prays for his assistance, that he might thereby be enabled for the expressions, *Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος, παρέστω μοι τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ διδόντω λόγον, ὅσον καὶ βούλομαι εἰ δὲ μὴ δὲ τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ὅσος γὰρ τῷ καίρῳ σύμμετρος*. “That I may open the mysteries of the Spirit, let me have the presence of the Spirit, and let such utterance as I desire be given; or if not so much, yet what may be agreeable to the season;”^c and says also, [that] they both studied and spoke, inspired by it. The Spirit, as he adds, blows where it listeth, and inspires whom, and where, and how much he will, *οὕτως ἡμεῖς καὶ νοεῖν*

Cæterum in extemporalī dictione, tantam adesse mentis perspicaciam, tantam memoriæ præsentiam, tam paratam orationis copiam, non sine perpetua quadam jucunditate, quis non movetur? Quis hoc hodie præstare queat, vel ex istis qui studium omne collocarunt in paranda dictionis facultate? “They were for the most part taken by the notaries from the lips of the speaker; of which sort are those expositions of Scripture to the people, which he himself denominated tractatus, or polemical discussions with heretics, which were formerly wont to be carried on in the presence of the people. And to my mind, he does not appear more excellent in any other parts of his works. Men whose mind is characterised by mediocrity, now and then, put forth somewhat not to be despised, if the care requisite for elaboration be afforded them. But who is unaffected, when in extempore speaking there is found so great transparency of meaning, such wondrous readiness of memory, so available a supply of language, not without a kind of uniform sweetness? Who is able to surpass him in our day, even among those who have devoted their whole attention to acquiring the gift of public speaking?” Erasm. Epist. ad Arch. Tolet. præfixa operibus Augustini.

^a Cum propositæ quæstionis latebras pertractarem, in alium sermonis discursum porrexi, atque ita non conclusa vel explicata quæstione, disputationem magis terminavi adversum Manichæorum errorem, unde nihil dicere decreveram, disputans, quam de iis quæ asserere proposueram, “As I discussed the obscurer points of the question before me, I launched out into a digression foreign to my discourse, and so without settling or unravelling that question, concluded my disputation with an invective against the error of the Manichees, (of which matter I had not intended to say anything,) rather than with those subjects on which I had proposed to myself to speak.” Vit. August. cap. xv.

^b Tom vii. pars i. p. 770.

^c Orat. xlv. [p. 709. A tom. i. Ed. Paris. 1639.]

καὶ λέγειν ἐμπνεύμεθα παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος; “accordingly we are inspired, both to meditate and speak by the Spirit.”^a

Thus they did preach, and thus they might pray. Nazianzen having given an account how his father prayed, in celebrating the eucharist, adds, καὶ ταῦτα παρῆν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,^b “These things were brought to his mind by the Holy Ghost.”

Answerably Ambrose to Forentianus.^c *Docet autem Spiritus Christi (sicut et Christus) orare discipulos suos; quis autem post Christum doceret, nisi Spiritus ejus, quem ipse misit ut doceret et dirigeret orationes nostras? Oramus enim Spiritu, oramus et mente. Ut bene possit mens orare, præcedit Spiritus, et deducit eam in viam rectam, ne obrepant carnalia, ne minora ac etiam majora viribus. Novit enim bonus medicus quæ esca cui apta sit infirmitati, et cui tempori ad perfectum valetudinis; interdum opportunitas escæ sanitatem reddit, quod si importune aliquis accipiet, aut non convenienter, implicatur periculo. Ergo quia nos nescimus quid oremus, et quomodo oporteat, postulat pro nobis Spiritus Sanctus,* “The Spirit of Christ (as Christ also) teaches his disciples how to pray. Besides, who should teach after Christ save his Spirit, whom he himself sent, that he might teach and direct us in prayer? For we pray with the Spirit, and we pray with the understanding also. That the understanding may be enabled to pray aright, the Spirit prevents it and leads it into the right way, lest carnal things, and things below, or even above our strength creep in. For a good physician knows what diet is suited to every distemper, and to every season, in order to the establishment of the health. But if any one adopt a diet unseasonably or unsuitably, he is placed in danger. Therefore since we are ignorant for what and how we ought to pray, the Holy Ghost makes intercession for us.”

Their affections excited by the Spirit could help them to expressions without a book, and did form their words in prayer, as Augustine tells us, *Quælibet alia (quam oramus Dominica) verba dicamus, quæ affectus orantis, vel præcedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat,*^d “We say in addition other words than those with which we pray in the Lord’s prayer, such as the emotion of the suppliant suggests by anticipating that it may make clearer the petitions, or by following in order to intensify them.” And if their affections were not always so active, their judgment and invention, (which with Divine assistance) served them so well on a sudden with expressions in preaching, might much more easily help them to words in praying.

Let us show this more particularly, in the several prayers made in

^a p. 709.

^c Epist. xxiii. lib. iv

^b Orat. xix. p. 205.

^d Epist. cxxi. Ad Probam, cap. xii.

the celebration of the eucharist. It appears by the eighteenth canon of the council of Laodicea, that in the latter end of the fourth century three sorts of prayers were used in that administration; after the dismissal of catechumens and penitents, οὕτως, τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν πιστῶν γίνεσθαι τρεῖς; “the prayers of the faithful are three:” the first of these silently, μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην, διὰ σιωπῆς; the other two pronounced, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως. Of which two, one must be the prayer for all sorts in general, and the church in particular, called συνάπτη καθολικῇ, the general prayer; for that such a prayer was then made, there is evidence enough in authors both of Greek and Latin churches of that age; the other must be the blessing of the elements, called the prayer of consecration; for this was never omitted, so Optatus, *legitimum quod in sacramentorum mysterio præteriri non potest*,^a “the prescribed part which may not be omitted in the mystery of the sacraments.”

Now for the first of these three, viz., that διὰ σιωπῆς, I find no mention of it elsewhere. Probably^b it consisted only of some secret ejaculations, used by the faithful, while the offerings or the elements were preparing, to raise their souls to a posture fit for that most solemn and sacred ordinance. However, being a mental prayer, there was no place, and can be no pretence for prescribing words and expressions for it. Chrysostom^c directs to something of this nature.^d

As to the second, the general prayer, that this was not made in a set and invariable form, appears by the epistle of Epiphanius to John, bishop of Jerusalem.^e There was some clashing betwixt these two bishops; he of Cyprus being a great zealot against Origen; (as another John, of Constantinople, found by troublesome experience;) and he of Jerusalem being an admirer of Origen, and under suspicion to be tainted with his erroneous opinions. John had heard, that Epiphanius should intimate, in the eucharistical prayers, that he by name was warped from the faith; he complains of it; and that epistle is Epiphanius's answer and apology, in reference to this and other particulars he was charged with. As to this, he admires,^f that any should report, *quod in oratione quando offerimus sacrificia Deo, soleamus pro te dicere, Domine presta Johanni ut recte credat*, “that in prayer, when we offer to God the sacrifices, we are in the habit of praying for you thus, Lord, prevent John that he may believe aright.” This is the occasion. And hereby it evidently appears, they used occasional petitions in this prayer; for such a petition is that complained of; and the occasion, a suspicion that

^a Lib. ii. Advers. Parmenianum, [p. 45, Ed. Paris, 1679.] ^b Cyril in Junius Not. ad Clem. Ep. p. 31.

^c “Ὅταν ἀκούσῃς, δεηθώμεν πάντες κοινῇ, “When thou hearest the words, Let us all pray together.” Chrys. in Eph. Hom. iii. p. 778.

^d Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. p. 399.

^e In Oper. Hieronym. Ep. lx. p. 466. [In Op. Epiphani. p. 213. tom. ii. Ed. Col. 1682.]

^f Wonders.

John was inclined to Origen's errors. If such liberty had never been used, to pray in this place as occasion required, who would have been so impudent, as to raise such a report ; or so foolish as to affirm what none would believe, as being against the constant and invariable custom of those that celebrated ? Who can think, that the bishop of Jerusalem would have brought such a charge against Epiphanius, as would have appeared false to the world at first sight, and might have been convicted of impudent slander, by the known unalterable usage of Christians ? And why does not he, who designed to burden his adversary as much as might be, charge him with transgressing the orders of the church, to vent his particular spleen at a Christian bishop ? Is it not evident upon the whole, that there were no such orders, confining them to any invariable form, in that administration ; but that they might, and did, vary in their expressions, as there was occasion ?

This will yet further appear, by Epiphanius's answer. *Noli nos in tantum putare rusticos, ut hoc tam aperte dicere potuerimus, &c.* "Be not ready to think us such rustics as that we could say this so bluntly." He takes no notice, that what was objected was inconsistent with the custom and practice of that church, and so groundlessly suggested. He appeals not to the known form, to which they were precisely confined, refers him not to their service-book for his satisfaction ; which yet, if there had been any such thing, a duller person than Epiphanius would have discovered to have been the best way, to stop the mouth of his accuser. He denies not, but they ordered their prayers according to such occasions ; but only tells him, they were not so rustical as to do it so bluntly.

We have in the English service-book, a prayer for the whole state of Christ's church, pretended to be answerable to this prayer we are upon ; and indeed the only prayer in the book, that can pretend to any footsteps of antiquity, so high as the fourth age. Now suppose the bishop of L[ondon] should be accused, in that prayer to prefer such a petition for the primate of Ireland, *Domine præsta I., ut recte credat* ; what course would the bishop take, to clear himself of this accusation ? Would not the dullest of his chaplains appeal to the prayer itself, being invariably used, as the best way to demonstrate the charge was false ; which yet the bishop of Cyprus, supposed to be just in the same circumstances, did not offer at ?

But let us proceed with his answer ; *Quando autem complemus orationem secundum ritum mysteriorum, et pro omnibus, et pro te quoque dicimus, Custodi illum qui prædicat veritatem. Vel certe ita, Tu præsta Domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis ; sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit, et habuerit oratio consequentiam* : "But when we finish the second prayer in the mysteries, we say in thy behalf as in behalf of all, Keep him who preaches the truth ; or at least, thus, Do thou, O Lord,

prevent and keep him that he may preach the word of truth, according to the bearing of the occasion of our discourse, and as the prayer possesses coherence." He says, they prayed for all pastors, (all that preached,) which shows it to be the general prayer, wherein they were wont to pray, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως." "For priests and rulers; for bishop and king;" and for him also; but in what expressions they did it, he is doubtful. It is but one article of this prayer he gives an account of. It is the same thing (preaching the truth) and the same persons, (those that preached) he is telling us they prayed for. And they prayed but for the same persons and things once in the same prayer; and yet he cannot tell determinately what words they used, as appears evidently, by his disjunction *vel*.

Now Epiphanius celebrated the eucharist himself thrice a week, as he thought by apostolical order; so he tells us,^b Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχθεῖσαι εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, τετράδι, καὶ προσαββάτω, καὶ κυριακῇ,^c "Meetings for the celebration of the mysteries have been ordained from the times of the apostles on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the Lord's-day."

And if he had celebrated it in a set form, could he have been to seek for the words he used so often? Since if either his memory, or the prayer-book would have helped him to the precise words, if they had then confined themselves to any, and had had their prayers either by heart or in a book; he would never have writ so doubtfully of them when his business was to satisfy a captious adversary.

Would there be any need, for one who has the prayer for all states by heart, or has the service-book before him, to express by a distinction, what is there desired for bishops, pastors, and curates? No more would Epiphanius, if the same mode of praying had been then in use.

To this prayer we may refer what we find of Jerome, who complains that in his time, the oblations^d were publicly mentioned by the deacon, and the names of the offerers recited, yea, and the quantity of what they offered, and also of what they promised to offer,^e *Publice diaconus in ecclesiis recitet offerentium nomina, Tantum offert illa; Tantum ille pollicitus est*, "the deacon proclaims in public the names of the offerers—Such a person offers so much; Such a person has promised so much." Which he sharply censures, *placent sibi ad plausum populi, torquente eos conscientia*, "they delight in the applause of the people, whilst their conscience torments them." The like complaint he makes elsewhere,^f *Nunc*

^a Clem. Const. lib. ii. cap. li. vid. Lestr. p. 190. ^b Expos. Fidei, [No. xxii.] p. 110. ^c Vid. Albasp.

^d As M[r.] Th[orndike] observes, it is called an oblation (viz. the elements, or the offerings out of which they were chosen) according to the style of the most ancient church writers; not as consecrated, but as presented and offered (whether by the people, as the custom was to him that ministered, or by him that ministered to God) to be consecrated. Serv. p. 379.

^e In Ezek. lib. vi. cap. xviii. [Tom. iii. col. 822, Ed. Paris. 1706.]

^f In Jer. cap. xi. [Tom. iii. col. 584. Ed. Paris. 1706.]

publice recitantur offerentium nomina, et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem, “The names of the offerers are proclaimed in public, and redemption is published for the purpose of magnifying sinful men.” Now who can believe, that a practice, worthy of so sharp a rebuke, was publicly prescribed; or, if it had been prescribed for common use, would have been so severely censured? And therefore, what can be thought, but that those who officiated were left to their liberty, to use what expressions they thought fit? If there had been a rule or prescription, limiting them to anything better, he would have taken notice of it; and of this usage, as a transgression of the established order.

Pertinent to which is this passage of Augustine;^a *Vir tribunitius Hesperius qui apud nos est, habet in territorio Fussulensi fundum Zabedi appellatum, ubi cum (afflictione animalium et servorum suorum) domum suam spirituum malignorum vim noxiam perpeti comperisset, rogavit nostros (me absente) presbyteros, ut aliquis eorum illo pergeret, cujus orationibus cederent. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi sacrificium corporis Christi, orans, quantum potuit, ut cessaret illa vexatio; Deo protinus miserante cessavit.*^b “A man of tribunitial dignity, Hesperius by name, who dwelt amongst us, has a farm called Zabedi, in the territory of Fussala, whither, on finding that his house suffered much from the malignant power of evil spirits to the damage of his cattle and slaves, he, in my absence, requested of our presbyters, that one of them at whose prayers they might be banished should go. One of them went, and offered the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying, as well as he was able, that the infliction might cease. Forthwith through Divine mercy it did cease.”

These passages of Chrysostom refer to the same prayer, viz., Ἐπὶ τῶν Θεῶν μυστηρίων—προσφέροντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχὰς,^c “Offering prayers on their behalf in the Divine mysteries.” And elsewhere, Ἐσσηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν πάντων εὐχὴν ἀναφέρον, “The priest of God stands offering the prayer for all mankind,” and after, Ἐκείνος μὲν τρέμων ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναφέρει,^d “He with trembling offers prayers on thy behalf.”

Those who had liberty, when they were offering supplications and praises, in the celebration of the eucharist, to pray as occasion was offered, and to put up such petitions as they thought fit, upon particular emergencies, were not confined to set forms in that administration.

Cyprian's occasional praises and prayers, *in sacrificiis*, “in the time of sacrifice,” upon Lucius's return from banishment [are observable]; *Hic quoque in sacrificiis atque orationibus nostris, non cessantes, Deo Patri, et Christo filio ejus Domino nostro, gratias agere, et orare pariter et*

^a August. De Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. viii.

^c Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. xli. p. 524.

^b Blond. p. 286. Vid. in Aug. tom. ii. p. 686.

^d Chrys. in Rebr. Hom. xv. p. 515.

petere, ut qui perfectus est atque proficiens, custodiat et perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam, qui et ad hoc vos fortasse revocavit, ne gloria esset occulta, si foris essent confessionis vestræ consummata martyria,^a “Even in our sacrifices and prayers we cease not to render thanks to God the Father, and to Christ our Lord, his Son, and in like manner to supplicate and seek, that He who is perfect and able may preserve and perfect in you the glorious crown of your confession. Who, perhaps, for this purpose has brought you back, lest the glory should be concealed, if the perfected testimony of your confession were given abroad.

Add to this, what may be observed in Ambrose.^b He, whilst he was celebrating, about [the year] 387,^c (*missam facere capî*) and employed, as I suppose, in this prayer^d (*dum offero*) understanding what the Arians were doing, and what had befallen Castulus, orders the prayer suitably to that occasion; *Orare in ipsa oblatione Deum capî, ut subveniret*, “I began to beseech of God that he would succour us.” The whole passage runs thus, *Sequente die, (erat autem Dominica,) post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicis, illic nunciatum est mihi comperto, quod ad Portianam basilicam de palatio decanos misissent (Ariani) ut vela suspenderent, populi partem eo pergere. Ego tamen mansi in munere; missam facere capî. Dum offero, raptum a populo cognovi Castulum quendam, quem presbyterum dicebant Ariani, orare in ipsa oblatione Deum capî, ut subveniret*, “On the day following (it was the Lord’s day) after reading and sermon, the catechumens having been dismissed, I was teaching the creed to some of the candidates in the baptisteries of the church. Whilst there, it was told me, that the Arians had sent the deans of the palace to the Portian church to lift the veils, and that a portion of the people were gone thither. I nevertheless continued in the discharge of my office. I began to consecrate the sacrament. Whilst I was offering, I learnt that one Castulus, whom the Arians called a presbyter, had been seized by the people; whereupon in the midst of the very act of oblation, I began to beseech God that he would succour us.”

He celebrating this ordinance, and while he was praying before the distribution, *dum offero*, having notice what the Arians were doing at another church, applies himself in this prayer to that particular occasion; *Orare in ipsa oblatione Deum capî, ut subveniret*; which one that had been fettered with prescribed forms could not have liberty to do.

Such occasional petitions, with thanksgivings of like nature, were

^a Cyp. Epist. lib. iii. Ep. i. p. 53.

^b Epist. [xxxiii.] Ad Marcellinam Sororem.

^c Spond. p. 2.

^d “The style of this prayer, in divers liturgies, runs in the terms we offer,” Thornd. p. 380.

used by Cyprian, *in sacrificiis*, “in these administrations.”^a Nor can this be understood of some general expression constantly used, comprising Lucius with others; for the occasion was particular, and such as was not incident every day. And besides, as it had been a vanity, to tell him of that which he knew before, being well acquainted with the supposed common form; so it had been something worse, to speak of that as a particular respect to him, when it no more respected him, than others.

Proceed we to the third prayer, viz., that for blessing or sanctifying the elements, (called the prayer for consecration) which consisted much of thanksgiving; and from thence this sacrament, as is thought, came to be called the eucharist. It is of this, that Justin Martyr^b gives an account, in the words alleged by others; *ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει*; “the president, in like manner, as before, prays and gives thanks, according to his ability.” This praying, according to his ability, or as he was able, plainly excludes all praying by forms prescribed, or composed for him by others, if he either had ability (which none question in the pastors of those times^c) to compose, or was able to conceive a prayer himself.

Many several ways are taken to evade this; no way of one, it seems, satisfying another amongst themselves; by which we may guess, what satisfaction they are like to give to others.

One^d tells us, it is a compliment of civility, as when we say, *Ago gratias, non quas debeo, sed quas possum*; or, *quantas possum maximas*, “I give thanks not such as I might, but such as I can, or the best I can.” But, not well pleased with this (it seems) himself, (at which we need not wonder) he tells us (which will no more please others) of some, (learned too) who understand it of giving God thanks, with as loud a voice as he is able: *γέλως ταῦτα καὶ λήρος*, “ridiculous this and trifling.”

Another^e brings an instance, where *ὅση δύναμις*, is thought to be applied to a form; this is in Gregory Nazianzen.^f *Φέρε ὅση δύναμις τὸ ἐπινίκιον ἄδωμεν, ἐκείνην ὠδὴν, ἣν πότε ἦσαν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τῇ ἐρυθροῖ καταληφθείσιν*, “Come let us, as we are able, sing a song of triumph, the song which Israel once sung, upon the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.” But here, by *ἐκείνην ὠδὴν*, the song which Israel sung, we need no more understand the very same words of that song, than in Rev. xv. 3, we are to understand the same by the song of Moses. Which song of Moses, those who had got the victory over

^a Ep. iv. lib. ii. Ad Mosem et Maximum, p. 41.

^b [Apol. ii. p. 98. E. Ed. Colon. 1686.]

^c Οἱ τότε μαθηταὶ τῶν ἰῶν διδασκάλων κρείττους ἦσαν, “The scholars of that day were better than the teachers of our own.” Chrysost. in Eph. Hom. vi. p. 792.

^d Anonym. p. 18. Use of daily public prayers.

^e Lestr. Liturg. cap. vii. p. 218.

^f [Invectiv. cont. Julian. i. p. 54, tom. i. Ed. Paris. 1630.]

the beast, are said as expressly to sing, (*ᾄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μούσεως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ*), "they sing the song of Moses the servant of God:") and yet, that which they sing, consists quite of other words, as appears, ver. 3, 4. And therefore well might Dr. Hammond give us leave, (as he doth) to conceive, by the song of Moses, another song after that pattern. And so we may warrantably, by the song, which Israel sung, in Nazianzen.

The learned remonstrant says, in answer to this, that in Justin Martyr's time, they prayed according to their ability, and yet had a public liturgy, as we have, though ours pray according to their ability: (meaning, I suppose, before and after sermon.) And so he grants (if I understand him) that they used no public liturgy, in celebrating or consecrating the eucharist; (for of the prayer for sanctifying the elements the holy martyr speaks it;) and thereby yields all that we now allege it for, and in effect all that we desire: since it will be easy to satisfy the world, that, if they used no public liturgy, no prescribed forms of prayer, in this part of worship, they used none, in any.^a And *ὁμοίως*, in this very passage, rendered by themselves "in like manner as before;" gives us notice, that as they prayed here, so in like manner they prayed in the other parts of worship, which he had given account of immediately before, in baptism, in the Lord's supper, in all *ὅση δύναμις*, according to their ability, without any public, any prescribed liturgy.

Another, of great learning, apprehending, it seems, that, to grant they prayed according to their ability, is to yield all; makes much difference betwixt *κατὰ δύναμιν* and *ὅση δύναμις*. And to show it, explains the Greek by Hebrew, and Justin Martyr by Maimonides. I suppose it will satisfy others as well, to have an account of this phrase, by the Greek glossaries, or Justin Martyr himself. How much difference there is between them, Phavorinus shows, when he explains *ὅση δύναμις* by *κατὰ δύναμιν*. His words are, on the phrase *ὅσον σθένος, Συλλαβοῦ ὅση δύναμις· ἐκκλίνω τόδε, ὅση μοι ἰσχὺς· ἐλλειπτικῶς δὲ ταῦτα λέγεται, τὰ ἐντελῆ, Συλλαβοῦ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ὅση σοι ἐστίν*. "Lay hold *ὅση δύναμις*. I reject this *ὅση μοι ἰσχὺς*. The phrase is elliptical: the full form would be, Lay hold according to the amount of ability which thou hast." So that, according to him, *ὅση δύναμις* is a defective phrase, which, when it is represented entire, must be expressed by *κατὰ δύναμιν*. Let me add that, in *κατὰ δύναμιν*, likewise *ὅση* is to be understood, when not expressed, and all our abilities (as to parts, though not to degrees,) [are] there included; for when any of our abilities for a work we undertake, is not exercised, and so contributes not to it, we do it not *κατὰ δύναμιν*.

^a Anonym. p. 16.

Answerably, Chrysostom uses *κατὰ δύναμιν* and *ὅσον εἶχε δύναμεως*, as phrases equivalent.^a And elsewhere in these words, *Μάθωμεν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν κεκρυμμένην σοφίαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ Πνεύματος, διερευνώμενοι κατὰ δύναμιν ἡμετέραν, οὐχ ὅση ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἔφικτον*,^b “Let us learn, brethren, the wisdom hidden in the words of the Spirit, exploring it according to our ability not as much of it as there is, but as much as is attainable by us.” What he had expressed by *κατὰ δύναμιν*, he explains by *ὅσον ἡμῖν ἔφικτον*. And so they differ, no more than the Latin phrases, *pro viribus*, and *pro facultate*; by which Camerarius and Donnæus render *κατὰ δύναμιν*, and *quantum possum* or *quantum in me est*, by which others render *ὅση δύναμις*.

But Maimonides may make the difference evident: let us see how. He tells us of one proceeding in discourses, tending to the humiliation of the people, according to his ability, until he humble their hearts, and they return perfectly.

It is supposed, that if Justin Martyr had been to express this, he would have used the phrase *κατὰ δύναμιν*, not *ὅση δύναμις*. Well, but Justin Martyr, in this very Apology,^c hath a passage just parallel to this; where he speaks of the discourses the Christians used, tending to the conversion of the heathen; and they proceeded therein *ὅση δύναμις*, not *κατὰ δύναμιν*. His words are, *καὶ διὰ λόγον οὖν καὶ σχήματος τοῦ φαινομένου ὅση δύναμις προτρεψάμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνείθυνοι οἶδαμεν λοιπὸν ὄντες, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπιστεῖτε*, “Therefore, both by the word and the figure of him that appeared, they exhorting you, as they are able, know they are unaccountable for the future, although you believe not.” So Justin Martyr’s *ὅση δύναμις*, is no other than our author’s *κατὰ δύναμιν*; and the *προέστως*, “bishop,” in him prayed, just as he in Maimonides preached; using his own abilities, invention, expressions in praying, as the other did in preaching. And thus much our author must yield, if he will stand to Justin Martyr’s, or his own discourse.

And others in reason will be content, that the eminent martyr shall show us his own meaning. The Christians, in those discourses he mentions, whereby they endeavoured to bring the heathen to the faith of Christ, used their judgment, their invention, and certainly their own expressions. They employed all their abilities in this work; and this was *ὅση δύναμις προτρέψασθαι*; by which we may understand, if we will admit him to explain himself, what he means by *εὐχὰς ὅση δύναμις ἀναπέμπειν*, and how well they represent his meaning, who will have him to intend hereby, neither less nor more than earnestness in praying.

Hereby I suppose it clear enough, notwithstanding all endeavours to

^a Gen. Hom. xxvii. ver. 20, page 206.

^b Tom. vi. p. 759. edit. Savil.

^c Apol. ii. p. 157.

obscure it, that the principal prayer, in the most solemn part of public worship, in those times, was no prescribed form. Nor was it any such form two hundred years after, as appears by that of Basil; who tells us plainly (in the latter end of the fourth age) that no words of such a prayer were left in writing by any holy men. *Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἐμὴν καταλείπειν;*^a thus rendered by Erasmus, *Invocationis verba, cum conficitur panis eucharistiæ, et poculum benedictionis, quis sanctorum in scripto nobis reliquit?* “Which of the holy men have left us in writing the words of the prayer, at the consecration of the eucharistical bread, and the cup of blessing?”^b By this it is evident, they were so far from having any prescribed forms in consecrating the eucharist, as^c they had not so much as the words of any such form in writing, to his time, who lived, according to Petavius, till 379.

It will be easily granted by the zealots for prescribed administrations, that there never was any liturgy, wherein there was not a form for consecration (since they think any part of a liturgy may be more tolerably omitted than this; and those that officiate had better be left at liberty anywhere than here;) and they will show us such a form, in all liturgies extant, modern or ancient, (or pretended to be ancient,) therefore they cannot reasonably deny, while there were no such forms in writing, there were no such liturgies; and so none in Basil’s time.

By this also we may discern what sentence ought to be passed upon those liturgies, which go under the names of Peter, Mark, James, Clemens, and Basil himself too. In them the mysteries are clearly described; which, he says, the ancients thought themselves highly concerned to keep secret. And there we have (as a most necessary part of them) the form of consecration in writing; which, he says, no holy man ever left in writing.

In that, ascribed to him, the forgery is especially impudent. He having declared his high approbation of the ancients’ practice, in not committing any such thing to writing; and upon such reasons as obliged himself, as much as any, not to run counter to them herein; he, with them, thought the *σεμνὸν τῶν μυστηρίων*, the “reverence due to these mysteries” hereby secured; and another course the way to render them despicable, *εὐκαταφρονητὰ*; as is evident by his discourse, in the place alleged; *καλῶς ἐκεῖνοι δεδιδαγμένοι τῶν μυστηρίων τὰ σεμνὰ σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι ἐν τῷ κεκρυμμένῳ καὶ ἀφθέγκτῳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐφύλασσον*, “These having been well taught to preserve by silence the reverence due to

^a [De Spir. Sanc. cap. xxvii.]

^b Bishop Jewel’s Apology, p. 60. “Basil besought God, that he might celebrate with prayers of his own making.”

^c that.

the mysteries, maintained in secrecy and dumbness, veneration for the sacraments."

Their prayers at the eucharist were long ordinarily: so in Justin Martyr's time, εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιώσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται,^a "He offers at great length the eucharistic prayer for those things which he deems desirable." Not like those of the monks in Egypt. Paul said three hundred a day, using ψηφίδας, "pebbles," for beads.^b So in Chrysostom, Ἔστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται—ἵνα ἡ χάρις ἐπιεσοῦσα τῇ θυσίᾳ,^c "The priest of God stands to bring down not fire, but the Holy Ghost, and offers at great length supplications for grace to descend on the sacrifice." And elsewhere he says, it required a greater confidence than Moses and Helias had, to pray in this ministration, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἱκετηρίαν ἀρκεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, κ.τ.λ.^d And why such boldness was needful, if they had the prayer in a book before them, I apprehend not. However, those that were usually large^e in this prayer, were sometimes brief, when there was occasion; and performed it ὀλίγοις ῥήμασι, "in a few sentences;" which is a clear evidence they were not tied to a set form, but were left to use their discretion; and ordered their prayer over the elements, so as to be briefer or more enlarged therein, according as they were disposed, and as occasion required.

Marcion imitated the Christians herein, Ποτήρια οὖν κεκραμμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν, καὶ ἐπιπλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως,^f &c. "He aped the benediction of the cups containing mingled wine, and the lengthened invocatory prayer."

This prayer, of old, consisted much of thanksgiving. Chrysostom gives an account of some particulars, for which they gave thanks. And having mentioned as many, or more, than are to be found in any eucharistical form, either in the mass-book, or our service-book, adds, *cum his et cæteris hujusmodi gratiarum actionibus accedimus*,^g "With these and other acts of thanksgiving of the same kind we draw near," implying, they were not confined to those specified, but enlarged themselves in such like particulars according to discretion. But I insist not on this, the former evidence is sufficient.

^a Apol. ii. p. 162. [Ed. Col. 1686, p. 97, D.]

^b Soz. p. 397. Moysis l. p. 396.

^c De Sacerd. Orat. iii. p. 16.

^d [Orat. vi. p. 46.]

^e copious.

^f Irenæus, lib. i. cap. ix. In Epipha. lib. i. tom. iii. Hæc. xxxiv.

^g Homil. xxiv. in 1 ad Corinth. Ὑπὲρ τούτων, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστοῦντες οὕτω προσίμεν, "With these and other acts of thanksgiving of the same kind we draw near." p. 396. Εὐχαριστοῦντες ὅτι τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ὅτι μακραν ὄντες ἐγγὺς ἐποίησεν, ὅτι ἑλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντας καὶ ἀθεοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασε καὶ συγκληρονόμους, "We give thanks that he has delivered the human race from errors; that when we were afar off, he brought us nigh; that when we were without hope and without God in the world, he made us brethren and fellow-heirs with himself."

Gregory, bishop of Nazianzen, father of Gregory, called the Divine, having been much weakened by a fever, but very desirous to partake of the Lord's supper; by the help of his maid, he gets to church,^a and there τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας εἰς εὐχὴν σχηματίζας συντελεῖ προθύμως, ἣ προτελεῖ τοῦ λαοῦ τὰ μυστηρία, ῥήμασι μὲν ὀλίγοις καὶ ὅσοις ἔσθενεν, διανοία δὲ ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ λίαν τελεωτάτῃ—καὶ ταῦτα πάρην αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, αὐτῷ μὲν γνωσκόμενα, τοῖς παροῦσιν δὲ οὐχ ὁρώμενα. Εἶτα ἐπεὶ πῶν τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ῥήματα οὕτως ὡς σύνθηες καὶ τὸν λαὸν κατευλόγησας;^b “lifting up his feeble hands in prayer, he cheerfully celebrates the mysteries, with and for the people, with very few words, such as his weakness would admit; but (as seems to me) with a most vigorous soul;” and afterwards, καὶ ταῦτα πάρην αὐτῷ, &c. “And this he had from the Holy Ghost, perceived by him, but not discerned by those that were present;” where, if ταῦτα refer to ῥήμασι, which seems most congruous, he tells us those few words, wherewith he celebrated, were suggested to him by the Holy Ghost; and so neither by a book, nor by his memory. But I need not insist on that. By the former expression it is evident, that he was briefer, and used fewer words in his prayers, at this time, before the administration, than he was wont to do, when in health. Now they that, in celebrating this ordinance, and blessing the elements, do pray sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, as their strength will serve them, are far from confinement to a certain number of words, which is the thralldom of prescribed forms.

For further evidence, that these, and other parts of the eucharistical administration, were not under the restraint of prescribed orders, in the beginning of the fifth age; let that be observed, which we meet with in the epistle of Innocent the First, to Decentius, written anno 416, to satisfy him (who was bishop of Eugubium) concerning many severals,^c which were then, it seems, not determined, but under consultation and inquiry; so, cap. viii. *Sane quia de hoc, sicuti de cæteris consulere voluit dilectio tua*, “Since touching this, as also other matters you desire advice.”

Particularly, it was inquired, what place in the eucharistical office

^a Narrat Nazianzenus, patrem suum sacerdotem ardentissima et diuturna febris exhaustum, ab ancilla aliquando synaxis tempore deductum manu in cæctum ecclesiasticum, in quo pro more cænam, sed paucissimis et quibus tum per morbum potuit, verbis consecratam, aliis et distribuerit, et ex ea participavit ipse quoque. Reversum vero ad lectum, ciboque parumper ac somno refectum melius statim habuisse, &c. “Nazianzen relates, that his father being wearied out with a burning and daily fever, was led by the hand of a maid-servant, at the time of communion, into the church-assembly, in which as usual he distributed to the rest, and himself partook of the supper, consecrated, however, with words few in number, and such as he could command considering his sickness. When he returned to bed, and had partaken of a little food, and been refreshed by sleep, he immediately began to mend.” Cent. Magdeb. iv. p. 421.

^b Naz. Orat. in Laudem Patris Gregor. p. 305. Afterwards he adds, “uttering the words of thanksgiving, as was usual, and blessing the people.”

^c particulars.

should be assigned to the *osculum pacis*, “the kiss of peace;” whether *ante*, or *post confecta mysteria*, before or after the consecration of the elements. Which Innocent satisfies, not by wondering that he took no notice of the prescribed order, though (since he was a bishop in his precinct, and calls Decentius’ clergy *clericos nostros*,^a “our clergy;”) he might justly have wondered at it, if there had been any such prescript; but by reason,^b *Pacis osculum dandum est post confecta mysteria, ut constat populum ad omnia, quæ in mysteriis aguntur, atque in ecclesia celebrantur, præbuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrantur*, “The kiss of peace should be given *after* the consecration of the mysteries, that it may be manifest that the people have given their assent to all the acts in the mysteries, and to all the rites celebrated in the church, which are shown to be ended by the farewell emblem of peace.”

It was also matter of consultation and inquiry, whether the names of the offerers should be recited before or after prayer, made over the oblation.^c Whereby it appears [that] there was not then, so much as any common authorised direction for the order and method of their eucharistical administration; much less any prescribed forms or modes; for if they had not so much as a directory, how far were they from such a liturgy as is now contended for! If Decentius had known any such established order, his inquiry had been needless, and so had Innocent’s determination been. He might have referred him to the prescribed order, as our prelates would have done in the like case; and said to him, as he does to two other bishops,^d concerning the canons of the church, *Ecclesiasticorum canonum norma nulli esse debet incognita sacerdoti, quia nesciri hæc a pontifice satis est indecorum; maxime quia a laicis religiosiis viris et sciatur, et custodienda esse ducatur*, “The standard of the church canons ought to be unfamiliar to no bishop; since it is disgraceful that it should be unknown to a clergyman, mainly because it is both known and deemed worthy of observance by religious laymen:” yea, and judged him unworthy to be a prelate in his province, who would make a question of that, which the wisdom and authority of the church had already determined. But there is neither mention of, nor reference to any such order, nor any resentment of his calling it in question. He tells him indeed, it was superfluous; not because it was already determined, but because his own prudence might discern, what was most convenient to be done in the case; *quod superfluum sit, et ipse per tuam prudentiam recognoscis*, “Seeing it is needless, and you yourself discern it, of your own prudence.”

In the conclusion, he hopes, that in these, and other such like particulars, which, if determined, amount to no more than the directive part, or rubric of a liturgy, Decentius may instruct, and give some order to

^a cap. viii.^b cap. i.^c cap. ii.^d Ep. v. in Crab. 4to.

others, which they may imitate, not strictly conform to; *Erit autem Domini potentia, id procurare, ut et tuam ecclesiam, et clericos nostros, qui sub tuo pontificio divinis famulantur officiis, bene instituas, et aliis formam tribuas, quam debeant imitari,*^a “You will be able, however, to compass this, viz. to instruct your church and our clergy, who, under your episcopal superintendence, minister in the divine offices, and to deliver them a form which they shall be bound to copy.”

Where it is observable [that] 1. At this time, there was no settled form or order in that church. 2. The order he hopes for, if it comprise all the particulars in the epistle, comes to no more than a direction or rubric. And [that] 3. This [was] designed for imitation, not for strict conformity.

And what liberty there was in those times, and how far they were from uniformity, appears by the beginning of that epistle. *Si instituta ecclesiastica, ut sunt a beatis apostolis tradita, integra vellent servare Domini sacerdotes, nulla adversitas, nulla varietas, in ipsis ordinibus et consecrationibus haberetur. Sed dum unusquisque, non quod traditum est, sed quod sibi visum fuerit, hoc æstinat esse tenendum; inde diversa in diversis locis vel ecclesiis aut teneri aut celebrari videntur,*^b “If the priests of the Lord would preserve intact the ecclesiastical institutes as they were handed down by the blessed apostles, there would be no diversity, no variety, in ordering worship and consecrating the mysteries. But while every one judges that is to be kept, not which is delivered, but which seems good to him; there are seen various tenets, and modes of celebrating, in the several places or churches.” He speaks as if there were as many ways of celebrating, anno 416, (when this epistle was writ,) as there were places or churches; and this variety, *in ordinibus et consecrationibus*, which are his words immediately before, and means (if I understand him) “both in ordering their worship, and consecrating the mysteries.”

It seems, this pleased not Innocent: the character given him by Erasmus makes that no wonder; *Sævus potius, quam eruditus, et ad damnamdum potius, quam docendum instructior,*^c “Harsh rather than learned, and more apt at finding fault, than at teaching.” Those of least worth, when they get power, are usually most narrow-spirited and imperious.

As for the *traditum est*, which he opposes;^d if he mean by it any apostolical tradition, he alleges it with the same fidelity, as he mentions ancient tradition for the Roman supremacy to the African fathers;^e and as his next successors, Zosimus, Boniface, Caestine, alleged a canon of Nice to a council at Carthage, for the same purpose.

Objection. You take no notice of *traditum est*, which was something that ought to have been observed, and would have left no such liberty.

^a [cap. viii.]

^b In Crab. tom. i. p. 452.

^c Not. in Epist. xvi. in ii. tom. August.

^d places in contrast.

^e Epist. xci.

Answer. Whatever be meant by his *traditum est*, it was no authoritative general order, enjoining all to use the same words in prayer; for if there had been any such thing, it would not have been universally disregarded.

If there had been anything delivered, against such freedom in celebrating, by ancient or modern authors, worthy of observance; it would have been taken notice of, by some of those who used this liberty, as well as by Innocent; who had many contemporaries not inferior to himself: else that age was very unhappy; since nothing of eminency appeared in him, (nor in the Roman bishops generally of those times) but his great place, if that impartial critic^a mistake him not, who says, *et dictionem, et ingenium, et eruditionem tali dignam præsele desiderare cogimur*, “we are compelled to deny him the address, and genius, and learning, meet for such a bishop.”

Yet he, ambitious to have all dance after the Roman pipe, though as yet it gave herein no certain sound, (and indeed their stickling about this and the supremacy, was to little purpose for one age or two) makes that matter of complaint, which was far from being so with his betters, both then and in better times.^b But however he resented it; he hath left us evidence, that in his days, as elsewhere, so in Italy, every one held his own way, even in *consecrationibus*,^c and consecrated as he thought fit. And in fine, there is reason to think, this bishop was not so much offended, because they did not use the same words in cele-

^a Erasmus.

^b Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque, quod voluerit, sentiat, et quod senserit, faciat.—Ostendi quid nos, quantum in nobis est, sentiamus: nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuatur, quod putat unusquisque præpositus, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus, “In which respect our modesty and moderation judges no man, so that every one may think as he pleases, and act as he thinks. I have shown what opinion we according to our ability have formed, giving rules to none, so that every bishop may establish what he deems right, as having to render an account of his acts to the Lord.” Cypr. ad Magn. Ep. vii. lib. iv. Hæc tibi breviter—rescripsimus, nemini præscribentes aut prejudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putaverit faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam facultatem, “We have written briefly by way of reply, these things, laying down rules for, and judging no man, so that every one of the bishops may do as he thinks right, having the free exercise of his own judgment.” Ep. ad Jubaian p. 227.

Augustine, without expressing any offence, says the varieties were more than could be well known. August. Retract. lib. ii. cap. xx.

Libri duo, quorum est titulus, Ad inquisitiones Januarii, multa de sacramentis continent disputata, sive quæ universaliter, sive quæ particulariter, *i. e.* non peræque in omnibus locis servat ecclesia, nec tamen commemorari omnia potuerant, “Two books whose title is, ‘Answers to the Inquiries of Januarius,’ contain much disputation concerning the sacred rites which the church observes, either universally or in particular regions, *i. e.* not in all places alike, and yet it was impossible to notice them all.”

^c Si instituta ecclesiastica, ut sunt a beatis apostolis tradita integra vellent servare Domini sacerdotes, nulla adversitas, nulla varietas, in ipsis ordinibus et consecrationibus haberetur, “If the priests of the Lord would preserve intact the ecclesiastical institutes as they were handed down by the blessed apostles, there would obtain no diversity, no variety in ordering worship, and consecrating the mysteries.” [Innocent. ad Decent.] Vid. Præf. ad Conc. p. 233.

brating and consecrating, as because they did not use the same rites and order ; for in these, that epistle of his is most concerned.

And further, I can see no probability, that at Rome itself, there was any settled (much less imposed) form of consecration, before^a that mentioned by Gregory.^b For if any of the former bishops had left behind them any such prayer, and commanded it to be used by that church for this purpose ; it is not credible, that it would have been recited for the novel composition of such an obscure person, of whom we can know nothing by knowing his name. Gregory tells us, that prayer (or canon, as he also calls it) was made by Scholasticus, who, as it is most probable,^c lived about his own time. Some writers of the popes' lives, and others, ascribe indeed several parcels of that canon to bishops before Gregory's days ; one to Alexander, another to Siricius, another to Leo, (nor find I more) but whether they knew better, at such a distance, or ought to have more credit than Gregory, is easy to determine. And if those parcels be examined, it will appear [that] they are nothing to the purpose, or else later than the sixth age. This form of Scholasticus, Gregory having^d altered it as he thought fit, and added the Lord's prayer to it, (which, though it were used nowhere publicly, but in the eucharistical office, in any place ; yea not in that it seems, at Rome, till he introduced it) made use of it in that church ; where, by custom, it came to be settled, but not by rule, in his time at least. For, that he neither imposed it, nor had a mind to impose it, is apparent, by what he writes

^a *Ordo Romanus continet haud dubie ordinem a B. Gregorio institutum: nam ut author est Johannes diaconus, codicem Gelasianum, quem de missarum solennibus composuerat Gregorius, multa subtraheus, pauca convertens, nonnulla adjiciens, in unius libri volumen redegit, qui ordo postea per universum fere occidentem obtinuit, "The Ordo Romanus contains doubtless an order laid down by Gregory. For, as John the deacon says, Gregory, by cutting out many things, changing a few and adding some, compressed the manuscript which Gelasius had written concerning the solemnisation of the church-services into a volume, consisting of one book, which Ordo afterwards obtained throughout almost all the west."* Cassand. Liturg. Præf. ad Ord. Rom. p. 92.

In neither of those orders, which Cassander gives us for the ancient Roman order, the shorter or longer, are there any prescribed forms of prayer ; but only a bare relation of the order wherein they proceeded.

^b Lib. vii. Epist. [lxiii.]

^c Bellarmine denies not but it is probable, that Scholasticus then lived, De Miss. lib. ii. cap. xix. p. 819. Gregorii igitur ætate, circa an. 590, vixit consarcinator ille canonis, "In the time of Gregory, therefore, about A.D. 590, lived the author of the canon." Chemnit. Exam. pars ii. p. 358. Si vero Gregorius per Scholasticus intelligat certum aliquem hominem, qui ætate ipsius vixerit, ut adversarii contendunt, "If, however, as our opponents contend, Gregory means by Scholasticus any particular person who lived in his own time, it is agreed to be a probable supposition." Bellarm. De Miss. lib. ii. cap. xix. p. 819.

The benediction, it seems to be in Augustin. Epist. lix. [Ed. Antw. Ep. cxlix.]

Vid. Thornd. Serv. pp. 384, 385.

^d *Orationem autem Dominicam idecirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem, oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconueniens visum est: ut precem, quam Scholasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus; et ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus, "We say the Lord's prayer directly after this prayer, because it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the sacrifice with that prayer only. And it appeared very unsuitable to me to offer over the oblation the prayer which Scholasticus had composed, and not to offer the form which our Redeemer composed over his body and blood."* Greg. lib. vii. Epist. lxiii.

to our Austin;^a who had mentioned the various^b modes of celebrating the eucharist in several churches, particularly the Roman and the French; with a design to know his sense thereof, and which he would have him follow.

That part ascribed to Alexander, by Platina and Durandus, hath nothing of prayer in it; being only a rehearsal of the words and actions, used in the institution of this sacrament; and so is impertinent.

That [part] fathered upon Siricius, *Communicantes*, &c. is not found in the Roman order; which Bellarmine says, contains the ancient canon entirely,^c and so is a patch added some hundreds of years after Siricius; when Rome was so degenerated, as to prefer Mary before Christ.

That [part] attributed to Leo, *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ*, &c. is a patch added long after, as M. Moulin^d observes. These words, Of our servitude, for, Of us thy servants, show manifestly, that this prayer was added unto the mass in a barbarous age, wherein they did say, *Placuit nostræ mediocritati subtiliter intimare vestram fraternitatem*, "It has pleased our Mediocrity correctly to certify your Fraternity;" of which phrases are stuffed the epistles of the bishops and clergymen of the seventh age, and others following.

Gregory, in his answer to Austin, (who was his creature, and whom he might have led into any conformity with a beek,) is so far from enjoining him to conform to what was used at Rome, that he does not so much as advise it; nay, he persuades him to a course inconsistent with any restraint; and will have him use his liberty, in making choice of what he saw best, in any of the differing churches, and if he found anything which might be more pleasing to God, *quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere*, than what was used at Rome, to prefer that; (which was suitable to his maxim, *In una fide, nihil efficit sanctæ ecclesiæ diversa consuetudo*: "where there is one faith, there is no hurt to the church by diversity^e of usages;") intimating, that he was not so fully satisfied with the Roman mode; but that he had room to think, the way of another

^a Austin of Canterbury.

^b Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se nutritum meminit; sed mihi placet, ut sive in sancta Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia, aliquid invenisti, quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas—Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige, &c. "Thou knowest, brother, the manner of the Roman church, in which you remember you were nursed. But my mind is, that if you discover aught, whether in the Roman or Gallican, or any other church whatever which best pleases God, you should carefully make choice thereof. For things are not to be esteemed for the sake of places, but places on account of good customs. Make choice therefore of whatsoever things are godly, religious, and right, in any single church whatsoever." Beda Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. xxvii.

In diversis ecclesiis diversas protulit consuetudines; nec Romanus ipse ubique voluit imponendus, "He patronised different customs in different churches; and did not himself think that the Roman order ought to be universally imposed." Spelm. Concil. p. 110.

^c De Miss. lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 828.

^d Of the Mass, p. 295.

^e Ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι, "The difference about the fast, commends the unity of the faith." Irenæus to Victor, in Euseb. lib. v. [cap. xxiv.]

church might be more pleasing to God ; which was in reason sufficient to restrain him from imposing it on Austin, or others. And the free course he would have Austin take, was not only his advice, but his practice : for when it was objected to him, that he followed, even in this administration, the customs of some other churches, particularly of the Greek ; his answer signifies, that he would not be so circumscribed by the customs of Rome, but when he saw anything good, in any other of the inferior churches, he was ready to imitate it.^a

And, as Gregory did not impose the Roman canon, or form of consecration on Austin, nor would have him prescribe it to others : so Austin, though rigid and imperious enough, did not offer to impose it on the Britons. He requires of them, but conformity in three things only, as Beda relates that transaction, whereof this was none.^b But, if he had insisted on this, he had found no more compliance herein, than in the other : for the Britons and Scots were not only^c enemies to the Roman use in the eucharist in Gildas' time ; but were adverse to, and unacquainted with any uniformity, as in celebrating the Lord's supper, so in other parts of worship ; and had no prescribed liturgies for such uniformity long after. Which is manifest, by what bishop Usher, the most learned of our bishops, affirms of the Irish, (who with the Scots,) as he tells us,^d differed little or nothing from what was maintained by

^a Epist. xli. ad Leandrum, lib. [i.] Conc. Tolet. iv. Can. v. [In Hardouin, Can. vi.] Walafr. Strab. De Reb. Eccles. cap. xxvi.

Non de Constantinopolitana ecclesia, quod dicunt ; quis eam dubitat sedi apostolicæ esse subiectam ? Tamen si quid boni, vel ipsa, vel altera ecclesia habet, ego et minores me, quos ab illicitis prohibeo, in bono imitari paratus sum. Stultus est enim, qui eo se primum existimat, ut bona quæ videret discere contemnat, "Not from the church of Constantinople, do I borrow, as they allege. Who doubts that that church is subject to the Roman See ? Nevertheless, if that church or any other possesses anything good, I am ready to imitate in what is good those my inferiors whom I restrain from what is unlawful. For he is a fool who thinks himself superior in such a degree that he is above learning what he sees to be good." Lib. vii. Ep. lxxiii.

^b Dicebat autem eis, Quia in multis quidem nostræ consuetudini, imo universalis ecclesiæ contraria geritis ; et tamen, si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis ; ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, secundum morem sanctæ Romanæ [et apostolicæ] ecclesiæ compleatis : ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini prædicetis, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, æquanimiter cuncta tolerabimus, "He said to them, In many respects, indeed, ye act contrary to our manner, yea to that of the universal church. And yet if in these three things ye hearken to me, viz. to keep Easter at the proper time, to administer the office of baptism, in which we are regenerated to God, after the manner of the holy Roman and apostolic church, and to preach the word of God, together with us to the English nation, we will meekly bear all other things which ye do, though contrary to our customs." Bed. Hist. lib. [ii.] [cap. ii.]

Another account runs thus : E Britonum et Scotorum episcopis, in synodo in Wigorniensis provincia, postulavit, ut deinceps non Asiano sed Romano more, prædicarent, baptizarent, et pascha celebrarent, "In a synod of the Scottish and British bishops, held in the province of Worcester, he demanded that thenceforth they should preach, baptize, and keep Easter, not after the Asiatic manner, but after that of Rome." In Spelm. Concil. pp. 107, 108. [Wilkins, tom. i. p. 25.] Where, by conformity in baptism, probably he means (as in that about Easter) the time of baptizing, for which the Roman bishops were great zealots. Vid. Leo Epist.

^c Britanni moribus Romanis inimici, non solum in missa, sed etiam in tonsura, "The Britons are enemies to the Roman customs, not only in respect to the mass, but also in respect to the tonsure." Gildas in Ush. Relig. of Irish, p. 34.

^d Epist. Dedic.

their neighbours the Britons.^a “It is sure (says he) that in the succeeding ages, no one general form of divine service was retained; but divers rites and manners of celebration, in divers parts of this kingdom; until the Roman use was brought in at last, by Gillibertus, and Malachias, and Christianus, who were the pope’s legates here, about five hundred years ago.”^b So that the Irish for above eleven hundred years (and the Britons and Scots, if not so long, yet long after Austin) retained such liberty herein, as the church anciently enjoyed in all^c quarters of the world. And when Gillibert, one of those Roman legates, rails at those various^d modes of administering worship as schismatical, and such wherewith all Ireland had been deluded: he does no more, than those (whom a better prospect of things, in later and clearer times, might have made wiser) who are ready still to brand that as schism, which agrees not with their own novel conceits or orders, how correspondent soever it may be to the general usages of the ancient churches. And whether of old, the churches had any such custom, as to confine the administration of the Lord’s supper to prescribed forms of prayer, let those who are disinterested, judge by the premises.

To proceed; the words in their delivery of the elements were not of old prescribed, nor used in any unvariable form. We need not go so high, for proof of this, as the sixth age. Later and worse times afford evidence enough to satisfy us. Only, in our way, the observation of the truly noble Du Plessis, as to the former ages, is true beyond contradiction, *Inter dandum vero verba hujus mysterii significativa, ἐνεργέστατα καὶ ἐναργέστατα quæque præferebant, ita tamen, ut certis et statis sese non alligabant*,^e “At the distribution they preferred the weightiest and clearest words significant of this mystery, in such manner, however, as not to tie themselves down to fixed and stated expressions.” And the variety used herein, both by Greek and Latin churches, is worth our notice, as he tells us, *Contra adversariorum superstitionem, qui sacramentorum, tum distributionem tum consecrationem, certis verbis adligare voluerunt*, “In opposition to the superstition of the papists,” (which it were to be wished they had kept to themselves,) “who would have both the consecration and distribution of the sacraments, confined to a set of words.”^f

^a Ut sup. p. 98.

^b Relig. of Irish, cap. iv. p. 31.

^c For the East, Vid. Socrat. Hist. lib. [v.] cap. [xxii.] Παρὰ πάσαις θρησκειαῖς τῶν ἐν χῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν συμφωνούσας ἀλλήλαις δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, “In all observances connected with the prayers, we shall not be able to find two sections of the church agreeing with each other.”

For the West. Innocentius Epist. ad Decentium. *Diversa in diversis locis celebrari videntur*, “Divers rights appear to be performed in divers places.”

For the South. Augustin. Lib. De Baptism. contra Donat. [lib. vi. cap. xxv.]

^d Ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est, ubi que catholico, et Romano cedant officio, “That those conflicting and schismatical modes of service, with which almost all Ireland is deluded, may everywhere give place to the catholic and Roman manner of officiating.” Usher, ibid.

^e De Miss. p. 145.

^f p. 155.

Yet how superstitious soever they were, in using their canon as a charm, so as a word, a syllable might not be changed; more liberty was left and used, as to the words in the distribution of the eucharist; even after Charles the Great had suffered himself to be abused, as the pope's executioner, in forcing some uniformity according to the Romish orders, on some of his subjects.

Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons (famous, as for his opposition to images, so for his endeavours to reform the corrupt service of those times) could not well like that common Roman form, The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. since he was only for Scripture expressions in the public offices; *Cum præter Scripturas admittere in sacris officiis nihil vellet*. Whether he was wisely or piously disliked for this, they who have a due reverence for the Scripture, are more fit to be judges, than either Baronius, or his epitomator,^a who says, *ob nimiam suam scrupulositatem haud quam putavit consecutus gloriam*,^b "On account of his extreme scrupulosity, he gained but little repute."

The words, which Adrian the Second used in giving the communion to Lotharius, were far from any prescribed form. *Post missarum solennia, sanctam ei communionem porrigens, in illum hæc verba allocutus est.*^c *Si innoxium te recognoscis a prohibito et interdicto tibi a Nicolao adulterii scelere; et hoc fixa mente statutum habes, ut nunquam diebus vitæ tuæ Waldradæ pellicis tuæ dudum a te repudiatae miscearis nefario concubitu; fiducialiter accede, et sacramentum salutis æternæ tibi ad remissionem peccatorum per futurum percipe: sin autem tua conscientia te accusat, teque lethali vulnere sauciatum proclamat, aut iterum redire mente disponis in mæchiæ volutabrum, nequaquam sumere præsumas, ne forte ad iudicium et condemnationem tibi adveniat, quod fidelibus ad remedium præparavit Divina providentia*,^d "After the solemnisation of the sacred services, as he handed him the holy communion, he addressed him in these words, 'If thou art conscious of being innocent of the crime of adultery forbidden and interdicted by Nicolaus, and hast resolved with stedfast purpose never all the days of thy life to have sinful intercourse with Waldrada, thy concubine, now at length divorced from thee, draw near in faith, and take for the future the sacrament of thy eternal salvation for the remission of sins. But if thy conscience accuses thee, and proclaims thee to be wounded with a mortal wound, or if thou art minded in thine heart to return to the mire of thy adultery, by no means presume to take it, lest that which Divine providence has prepared for the faithful as a cure, become to thee judgment and damnation.'"

The words, with which the same Adrian delivered the sacrament to

^a epitomizer.

^b Spond. ad an. 831. n. 2.

^c Spond. ad an. 868 n. 4.

^d In Regin et Aimon, lib. v. cap. xxi.

the rest of the French, are neither the same with these now described, nor with those in the missal (the words in that administration being but the tale^a of these) and the form changed too (as well as the matter) being expressed hypothetically. *Si domino et regi tuo Lothario in objecto adulterii crimine favorem non præstitisti, neque consensum tribuisti, et Waldradæ aliisve ab hac sede apostolica excommunicatis non communicasti; corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi prosit tibi in vitam æternam,*^b “If thou hast given no favour, and hast yielded no consent to Lotharius thy lord and king in the crime of adultery laid to his charge, and hast not communicated with Waldrada, or others who have been excommunicated by this apostolic see, may the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ benefit thee unto life eternal.”

Long after this, Leuthericus, archbishop of Sienna, in the delivery of the sacrament, used these words; *Accipe, si dignus es*, “Receive it, if thou art worthy.” Robert king of France checked him for it, not because thereby he transgressed any established order; but because the king, (not well enough acquainted with the apostle’s discourse, 1 Cor. xi.) supposed there were none worthy to receive; *Cum tamen sit nullus qui habeatur dignus*, “Since there is no one who can be deemed worthy;” whereas Leuthericus’ mode of distribution implied, [that] none that were not worthy should receive. As for Spondæus’ inference, that this bishop was no friend to transubstantiation, because he delivered not the eucharist in the words of the missal, *Corpus Domini Jesu Christi sit tibi salus animæ et corporis*, “May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to thee salvation of soul and body,” upon a supposition, it seems, that the monster they are in love with, is thereby countenanced; whether it is just or no, I leave those to consider, whom it concerns.^c

To add no more, surely the words wherewith Gregory the Seventh took the sacrament himself, and would have delivered it to the emperor, cannot be found in any mass-book. They are thus represented by Spondæus^d out of Lambertus, *Cumque sacratissimam eucharistiam sumpturus manu eam teneret, vocato rege ac universa adstantium multitudine, contestatum esse, eam se sumere in judicium criminum, quæ schismatici adversus ipsum promulgassent; ut si innocens esset, absolveretur ab omni suspitione, si vero reus, subsitanea periret morte*, “When about to take the sacred eucharist, as he held it in his hand, he called the king and the whole multitude of by-standers to witness, that he took it as an ordeal in reference to the charges which the schismatics had propagated to his prejudice; so that if he were innocent, he might be freed from all suspicion; but if guilty, might suddenly die.”

Or those of Paschal Second, who, *cum in celebratione missæ traderet*

^a counterpart.

^b Id. ibid.

^c Spond. ad an. 1004. n. ii.

^d Ad an. 1077. n. ii.

Henrico imperatori V. corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Domine imperator, inquit, hoc corpus Domini natum ex Maria virgine, passum in cruce pro nobis, sicut sancta et apostolica tradit ecclesia, datus tibi; in confirmationem pacis, inter me et te, idque factum an. 1111, idibus Aprilis, teste Sigeberto,^a “When in the celebration of the mass he handed to the emperor Henry V. the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, he said, My lord the emperor, we give thee this body of our Lord which was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered for us on the cross, as the holy and apostolic church teaches, in confirmation of the peace between thee and me, made this 13th day of April, in the year 1111, as witness Sigebert.”

For baptism there is not any the least reason to imagine they were more confined to set forms, in administering it, than the eucharist. And therefore, where there is so little need to endeavour for a copious proof, we may be briefer.

The liberty the ancients took, to use several forms in baptism, with great variety, to the invariable use of which, those that are for freedom in praying, are willingly confined; signifies [that] they used as much liberty in those prayers.

I can find no more uniformity, in their celebrating this sacrament, than the other. But enough may be easily found, to show, that they were not, they would not be, tied up to words and syllables. Even where varying forms might seem dangerous, they used variety of words, and thought an agreement in sense sufficient. And this is observable, as to the terms wherein Christ delivered the form of baptizing, Matt. xxviii. where surely, if anywhere, they would have been patient of confinement to all punctilios. This was accounted a form prescribed by Divine authority, “*Lex namque tingendi imposita est, et forma præscripta est. Ite, docete nationes, tingentes eas in nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*,” “The law of baptism is laid down, and the form is prescribed, ‘Go teach the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost,’” says Tertullian.^b It was not thought that any had so much authority to prescribe, as Christ; nor that any prescriptions were so punctually to be observed. And yet, even in this, they made account, [that] some liberty was left, and might be used; and used it was accordingly, as is manifest in their practice.

The first word, “baptizing,” some used in the first person, *ego baptizo te*, “I baptize thee;” some in the second person, βαπτισθήτω, “be thou baptized;” some in the third person, βαπτίζεται ὁ δέσιν, “this person, or this servant of Christ is baptized.”^c Also they thought it as fit, to use in the Latin churches, *tingo*, (a native of the Latins) as *baptizo*, (an

^a Cent. xii. cap. vi. p. 886.

^b De Baptism. cap. xiii.

^c Vid. Theod. Lect. [p. 187.]

adopted word.) So Cyprian,^a *Ite ergo, et docete gentes omnes, tingentes eas in nomine Patris*, &c.^b "Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them (*tingentes*) in the name of the Father," &c. Yet sometimes [he uses] *baptizo*.^c So Tertullian,^d in the place forequoted,^e *Novissime mandavit, ut tingerent in Patrem*, &c. "Lastly he commanded that they should baptize (*tingerent*) into the Father," &c. So Jerome and Augustin^f render the words of Christ by *tingentes*.^g So they use *mergo*, or *mergito*, for *baptizo*. Thus Jerome,^h *Velut in lavacro, ter caput mergitare*, "e.g. the trine immersion in baptism;" which the Greeks express by τὸ δὲ τρις βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.ⁱ And Tertullian,^k *dehinc ter mergitatur*, "hence we are immersed thrice," τρις μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ ἱεράρχης βαπτίζει,^l "the priest baptizes him thrice." They did not think, it seems, that Christ himself (whatever others take upon them) would tie them so precisely to his own words, but that they might have leave to change them for others, which changed not the sense.

The like liberty was taken, in changing the next phrase, εἰς ὄνομα, "into the name," into ἐν ὀνόματος, "in the name," as it is in Justin Martyr.^m

^a Epist. iii. lib. iv.

^b Epist. iii. lib. ii.

^c Epist. ad Jubaian. p. 227.

^d Et post resurrectionem spondens, missurum se discipulis promissionem Patris, et novissime mandans, ut tingerent in Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, non in unum. Nam nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tingimur, "He pledged himself, after his resurrection, to send on his disciples the promise of the Father, and lastly commanded them to baptize (ut tingerent) into the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Not into one. Neither once only. But thrice are we baptized (tingimur) into the separate Persons on the mention of each separate name." Tertull. adv. Prax. cap. xxvi.

Neque quicquam refert inter eos, quos Johannes in Jordane, et Petrus in Tiberi tinxit, "Nor is there any difference whom John baptized (tinxit) in the Jordan, and Peter in the Tiber." De Baptiz. cap. [iv.] et cap. xix. Diem baptismi solenniorem pascha præstat, cum et passio Domini, in quo tingimur, adimpleta est.

^e De Bapt. cap. xiii. and Ad Praxeum, cap. xxvi.

^f In hoc ergo fonte, antequam vos toto corpore tingerimus, interrogavimus, credis in Deum, &c. "Hence before we baptized (tingerimus) you in your whole body, in this font, we asked, Believest thou in God?" August. Hom. [iii.] De Myst. Baptism. ad Neophyt. in Vice. p. 608. ^g Voss.

^h Multa, quæ per traditionem, in ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi scriptæ legis usurpaverant, velut, in lavacro ter mergitare, "Many practices which are observed in the church by tradition have obtained the authority of a written command, e.g. the trine immersion of baptism." Hieronym. adv. Luciferian. [Ed. Paris. 1706, tom. iv. col. 294.]

ⁱ Basil. de Spirit. Sancto, cap. xxvii.

^k Dehinc ter mergitatur, amplius aliquid respondentem, quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit, "Hence we are immersed thrice, making somewhat more lengthened responses than the Lord has prescribed in the Gospel." Tertull. De Cor. Mil. cap. iii.

Mysterium Trinitatis in sacramento baptismatis demonstratur, dum tertia vice vetus homo mergitur, "The mystery of the Trinity is set forth in the sacrament of baptism, seeing the old man is plunged thrice." August. De Temp. Serm. cci. [Ed. Antw. Serm. xl. Append.] Quando in salutari lavacro tertio Christiani merguntur, "Christians are immersed in the laver of salvation thrice." Hom. [xc.] De Temp. [Ed. Antw. Serm. xxiv. Append.] Mira Dei pietas! peccator mergitur undis, "Marvellous compassion of God! A sinner is washed in the waves." Paulin. Epigr. xii. ad Severum.

As great a change, as if any amongst us now, administering baptism, instead of I baptize thee, should say, I dip, or, I wash thee, in the name, &c.

^l Τρία βαπτίσματα μίας μνήσας, "Three immersions for one initiation." Can. Apost. l.

Dionys. Eccles. Hier. [cap. ii. p. 78, D.] in Voss.

^m Apol. ii. p. 159, 160.

And the Latins, for *in nomen*, “into the name,” (as it is in Tertullian^a) use *in nomine*, “in the name,” as in Cyprian, *supra*; a difference which some count more than syllabical. Yet Tertullian varies more, when he leaves it (the name) quite out; which he does more than once: *Novissime mandavit, ut tingerent in Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum*,^b “Lastly, he commanded them to baptize into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.” *Ite ad docendas et tingendas nationes in Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum*,^c “Go teach and baptize the nations into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.” They thought it no variation of the rule, where the sense and design of it was observed, to change something of the expression.^d And would they presume to exact a more punctual conformity to rules of their own making, than what they thought Christ required to his? Or would they pay more to any human constitution, than they made account was due to the Divine? Their practice obliged them to leave others as much, or more liberty than here they took; and neither to fetter others, nor be fettered by them, with words and syllables, when the great Lawgiver had left them so free.

But proceed we to what may seem yet more considerable. Some thought themselves not obliged to baptize expressly in the name of the sacred Trinity, *μὴ ποιέισθαι τῆς τριάδος ἐπίκλησιν*, so as to name every Person as they are mentioned, Matt. xxviii. 19, but in the name of Christ, or of the Lord Jesus, or of the Lord.

And this, supposed to be the practice of the best times, hath great advocates; Basil^e defends it thus, *ἡ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορία, τοῦ παντός ἐστιν ὁμολογία*, “the naming of Christ is an acknowledgment of the whole Trinity:” *δηλοὶ γὰρ τὸν τε χρίσαντα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν χρισθέντα Ὑιὸν καὶ τὸ χρίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα*,^f “For it equally sets forth God who anoints, and the Son who is anointed, and also the unction, which is the Spirit,” which are almost the words of Irenæus before him,^g *In Christienim nomine subauditur, qui unxit, et ipse qui unctus est, et ipsa unctio in qua unctus est. Et unxit quidem Pater, unctus est vero Filius, in Spiritu qui est unctio*, “For in the name of Christ is understood, he that anoints, and he that is anointed, and the unction with which he is anointed. And the Father indeed anoints, but the Son was anointed, with the Spirit, who is the unction.”

Add to these, Theophylact, who affirms, *Τὸν βαπτιζόμενον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς Τριάδα βαπτίζεται, οὐκ ἀπομεριζόμενον τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Ὑιοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*,^h “That he who is baptized into the

^a De Baptis. cap. xiii.^b Adv. Praxeam, cap. xxvi.^c De Præscrip. cap. viii.^d Viece. de Bapt. p. 395. Zuïngl. de Bapt. tom. ii. p. 201. Piscat. in Matt. xxviii.^e Lib. de Spiritu Sancto, [cap. xii.]^f p. 257.^g Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. xx. p. 209.^h In Act. ii.

name of Jesus Christ, is baptized into the Trinity; the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, being not parted." To the same purpose Ambrose also following Basil in the defence of it, says, *Qui unum dixit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem, à quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum, qui unctus est, Filium, et Spiritum, quo unctus est, designasti, si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas,*^a &c. "He who names one Person indicates the Trinity. If thou namest Christ, thou hast named God the Father, by whom the Son is anointed, and the Son himself, who is anointed, and the Spirit, with which he is anointed, provided thou includest these mentally." If the Person was named so as the rest were understood, they thought the prescribed form sufficiently observed, though it was not verbatim repeated, but liberty taken, to change either the words, or their order. So these excellent persons judged, in reference to the form of baptizing, which our great Lord delivered to us. And can we think they would take upon them to prescribe more imperiously, or would more punctually observe it, if others had imposed a form, especially in prayers, where varying is more tolerable, and the prescribers of no authority, in comparison of him who authorised the form before us?

Some used this variation in Cyprian's time, *Quomodo ergo quidam dicunt—modo in nomine Jesu Christi, ubicunque et quomodocunque gentilem baptizatum remissionem peccatorum consequi posse,*^b "According to which some say that a heathen, by whomsoever or howsoever he be baptized, provided it be in the name of Christ, may obtain remission of sins." He allows it not indeed, but it seems some of those that were not of his opinion, for rebaptizing of the baptized by heretics, differed from him in this. A little before also he says,^c *Non est autem quod aliquis ad circumveniendam Christianam veritatem Christi nomen opponat, ut dicat, in nomine Jesu Christi, ubicunque et quomodocunque baptizati, gratiam baptismi sunt consecuti,* &c. "It is not as one who to corrupt Christian truth puts forward the name of Christ, represents the matter when he says, Those who in any place whatsoever, or by whomsoever, are baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, obtain the grace of baptism."

Others, though they expressed the three Persons in administering baptism, yet did they not tie themselves precisely herein to the words^e of Christ, but enlarged upon them, adding something thereto, as the

^a De Spiritu Sancto. lib. i. cap. iii.

^b Ep. lxxiii. ad Jubaianum, page 223.

^c page 224.

^d Fortasse Stephanus Romæ episcopus, "Perhaps Stephanus bishop of Rome."

^e Those that will have the three Persons to have been always named, deny not, but that their names were used with some variation; vid. Vicec. de Baptis. Rit. lib. iv. cap. v. Non negaverim tamen probabile videri, Christi, aut Jesu, aut Jesu Christi, nomen aliquandiu oppositum fuisse, addito item Domini nostri sed non omisso Patris et Spiritus Sancti nomine, hac forma, Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, et Filii ejus Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et Spiritus Sancti, "I would not deny however that the name of Christ, or Jesus, or Jesus Christ, in some cases was used with the addition also of the words, our Lord, but not to the omission of the names of the Father, and of

former detracted. This is evident in Justin Martyr, who thus represents the words they used in baptizing,^a Ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται, "In the name of the Father of all things, and of our Lord God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, this washing with water is performed;" and afterwards, with some variety in the latter clauses, thus,^b Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὁ φωτιζόμενος λούεται, "And in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified by Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, who by the prophets foretold all things concerning Jesus, he that is to be illuminated is baptized." In which words are contained the *regula fidei*,^c "the sum of the confession of faith," as he expressed it. And if they used the words of that rule in baptizing, they tied not themselves to one form of words in that administration. For a confession of faith, in a common unvariable form, they had not in that age, nor long after. All the uniformity to be found herein, is a harmony in sense,^d while there is in words a great diversity. The variety of expressions, used by the ancients (Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens, Tertullian, Novatian,

the Holy Ghost, after this manner, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost."

Cyprian, though for the other, rejects not this, expounding Act. ii. Jesu Christi mentionem facit Petrus, non quasi Pater omitteretur, sed ut Patri quoque Filii adjungeretur, &c. "Peter makes mention of Jesus Christ, not that the Father was omitted, but that the Son also might be seen to be joined with the Father." Epist. ad Jubaian.

^a Apol. ii. p. 159. [Ed. Paris. 1636, p. 94, A.]

^b page 160.

^c Ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῇ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε, "He who retains within himself, and without swerving, the rule of truth, which he received by means of his baptism." Iren. lib. i. cap. i. p. 34. So Basil, Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως, πιστεύειν εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Ὑιὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων ἔχομεν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος παραδόσεως, "Out of what writings do we receive the very confession of faith; namely, that we believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost? For if we derive it from the tradition concerning baptism," &c. De Spiritu Sancto. cap. xxvii. p. 274. Facilius inveniuntur hæretici, qui omnino non baptizent, quam qui symboli verbis non baptizent, "Heretics who do not baptize at all may be more readily met with, than heretics who do not in baptism use the words of a creed." August. contr. Don. lib. vi. cap. xxv.

^d Ἐχων τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ἁγίαις σφραγίσαι, "Having a summary of the faith in baptism, and in the three holy seals." Athanas. contr. Sabell. Orat. tom. i. p. 513. [Ed. Colon. 1686, p. 658, B.]

^e Cur enim veteres, non appellatione professionis variare potuerint, quando professionis et regulæ ipsius sententiis, earumque ordine et verbis, tantopere discrepant? "Why could not the ancients, seeing they so widely differed as to the articles of the creed itself, and of the rule of faith and their order, and the words in which they were expressed, vary as to calling it the creed?" Voss. De. iii. Symb. diss. i. sec. xx. p. 17.

Horum locorum collatio docere nos potest, cum veteres regulam fidei aut baptismi immutabilem dicunt, non ad certam et receptam ubique verborum formulam eos respicere, sed ad vim atque sententiam interrogationum, "A comparison of these passages may teach us that when the ancients called the rule of faith and of baptism immutable, they do not refer to a fixed and universally received form of words, but to the force and meaning of the interrogatories." Grot. in Matt. xxviii. 19. Quæ ipsa Cypriani verba ostendere mihi videntur, symbolum sive regulam fidei, ipsius ætate, nondum adstrictam fuisse illis verbis, quibus postea scripta invenitur; cum tamen eandem fuisse regulam sententiam, minime sit dubitandum, "These very words of Cyprian seem to me to show

&c., which you may see in Grotius on Matt. xxviii. 19,) in giving an account of its several articles, makes this manifest, [that] they were not so strict and severe in anything, as in the rule of faith. In other matters though ecclesiastical, they allowed more variableness and greater latitude. *Hac lege fidei manente, cætera jam discipline et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis*, "Provided that the rule of faith be unchanged, other matters both of discipline and life admit of reformation," says Tertullian;^a and yet in this, they were satisfied with such an uniformity as consisted only in sense, not in words. To one form of words in this nicest point, and where varying was most hazardous, they neither limited others,^b nor would be confined by others, no nor by themselves. We have seen this before in Justin Martyr. Tertullian (and Irenæus, with others in Grotius) is also a very pregnant instance of it.^c He gives several accounts of the rule of faith, which neither

that the creed, or rule of faith, was not as yet, in his time, tied down to those words in which we afterwards find it written. At the same time it is not to be doubted that the sense of the rule was the same." Id. *ibid*.

In Tertullian, lib. De Præscript. cap. xiii. contra Prax. cap. ii. et lib. De Veland. Virg. cap. i.

Vide two different forms in Irenæo, lib. iii. cap. iv. page 172, and lib. i. cap. ii. pp. 34, 35, edit. Gallusq.

• De Virgin. Veland.

^b And when the creeds had more stated forms, in the fourth century, in the same country the creeds of several cities were not uniform, *v. g.* in Italy, that of Rome much differed from that at Aquileia, vide Rufin. and Voss. de Symb. page 29, &c. And that of Ravenna from both. Ush. de Symb. page 7. Petr. Chrysol. Serm. lvii. &c. De Maximo Taurinensi.

^c The creed (*regula fidei*, ὁμολογία πίστεως) was at first no more than the words wherewith baptism was to be delivered, Matt. xxviii. 19. Parker, De Descens. Voss. de Symb. p. 23. It was enlarged by degrees, and till it grew too large, probably was used in the delivery of baptism, as we have it in Justin Martyr, no other than a commentary, instead of the text; afterward the use of it was, to be rehearsed by the *competentes*, "candidates for baptism," before they were baptized, and so but once, or twice, or in some places thrice a year.

[It was] not put into set form till the fourth age, or near it: and those forms varied in several places in the same country, *vid. supra*.

It had no place in the church service, till near the sixth age; for as the Lord's prayer was used no where but in the eucharistical office, while the orders for the catechumens were observed; so the creed was not used but in baptism, or in order to it, till late.

The first who brought it into the church service, was (not as Vossius says, Timotheus, but) Petrus Gnapheus, a person stigmatized for more heinous crimes than one: part of his character see in Evagr. lib. iii. cap. xvii. He, amongst other innovations, introduced this, Περὶ τὸν Κναφέα ἐπινοήσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ γίνεσθαι, "It is said that Peter Gnapheus first thought of celebrating the mysteries in the evening," and which was more, καὶ ἐν πασῇ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι, "and of the repetition of the creed in each time of prayer." Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. ii. p. 189. This was about the latter end of the fifth age at Antioch, obiit an. 486. Afterwards Timotheus, a flagitious person and a heretic, *vid. Spond. an. 511. n. iii.* brought it into the same use at Constantinople, being made bishop there by Anastatius, according to Baronius, 511 till 517. Τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καθ' ἑκάστην σίναξιν λέγεσθαι πωρεσκεύασεν, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ δῆθεν Μακεδονίου, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ δεχομένου τὸ σύμβολον, ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ πάθους, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσων, "He caused the creed to be said at every assembly on account of the accusation of Macedonius that he did not hold the faith, whereas previously it was said only once a year, and that at the sacred preparation for the Divine passion, at the time the bishops are engaged in catechising." Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. ii. p. 188.

The western churches had it from the east (this [was] not the first time the church borrowed of heretics, *v. g.*, the unguent from the Valentinians, Iren. lib. [iii.] cap. [ii.] stated facts from the Montanists) Illud symbolum, quod nos ad imitationem Græcorum intra missas adsumimus, "That creed which in imitation of the Greeks we have received into the church services." Walafrid.

agree with what is given by others, in mode of expression, neither with one another; there being no coincidence in any one phrase observable through the whole." And is it probable that they who left themselves and others so much liberty about formulas of creeds, would deprive others of it, or be bereaved of it themselves, in forms of prayer, (in baptism, or elsewhere) where there is much more reason for more liberty? How incredible is it, that their prayers were limited to a set of words, when the *regula fidei*, which more required it, had no such confinement! Surely if they had judged any such limits requisite in any thing of this nature, they would have given them to that rule of faith. No prayers, supplications, lauds, litanies, &c. could, in their judgment, require such strict, and precise, and unalterable bounds, as that which they counted and styled *immobilem et irreformabilem*, "immoveable and not admitting of amendment."

The apostles' creed may be objected, but is sufficiently removed by the premises. Those who can believe what pleaseth them, may receive the story of Ruffinus concerning it; but his faithfulness and credit is not so much with others, as to advance it above a fable. And it seems incredible, that there should be a form among Christians, of the apostles' composing, and yet the ancients, for above three hundred years, take no notice of it, yea take the boldness to vary from it; and, which is more, to prefer those of their own conception before it, on the solemnest occasions.

Or, if there were such a form of the apostles', and the ancients would not confine themselves to it, as it is apparent they did not; much less would they be confined to forms of prayer, composed by ordinary persons.

In the Constitutions ascribed to the apostles, the creed to be used in

Strabo De Reb. Eccles. can. xxii. First it was used in Spain, Conc. Toled. iii. can. ii. an. 589, Per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ et Galliciæ, secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum, concilii Constantinopolitani symbolum fidei recitetur, "Throughout all the churches of Spain and Galicia the creed of the Constantinopolitan council is recited according to the manner of the eastern churches."

In France and Germany not until long after, Walafr. Strab. De Reb. Eccles. cap. xxii. Sed apud Gallos et Germanos, post dejectionem Fælicis hæretici sub gloriosissimo Carolo, Francorum rege, idem symbolum latius et crebrius in missarum cæpit officiis iterari, "But among the Gauls and Germans after the discomfiture of the heretic Felix, in the time of the most illustrious Charles, king of the Franks, the same creed began to be repeated in the church services over a greater extent of country, and with more frequency." And the Constantinopolitan creed rather than the Nicene, for a very weighty reason, (quod aptius videretur modulis musicis, "because it was more easily set to music,") of which Baronius seems ashamed. Ad an. 809. n. iii. Felix condemned, an. 794. Baronius.

It was not used at Rome till an. 1014, when Beruo Augiensis (lib. De Miss.) relates, [that] he being at Rome, Cum Romani presbyteri ab eo interrogarentur, Cur post evangelium (ut in aliis ecclesiis fiebat) symbolum non canerent? "When the Roman presbyters were asked by him, Wherefore they did not (as was done in other churches) chant the creed after the reading of the Gospel?" they gave him a reason, such a one as it is; and adds, Imperatorem (Henric. I.) Benedicto Papæ persuasisse ut ad publicam missam symbolum decantarent, "The Emperor (Henry I.) prevailed on Pope Benedict to order the chanting of the creed during public service." In Spond. ad an. 1014, n. iii.

• De Virg. Veland.

baptism, is exceeding different from that called the apostles', not only in words, phrases, order, but in the omission of divers articles, and the addition of others.^a

Moreover, Basil^b tells us, [that] the confession of faith is conformable to the delivery of baptism, and the doxology conformable to the confession of faith; that they are all three much alike. That they baptized as they had received, and believed accordingly as they baptized, and gave glory just as they believed; that there was a necessary and inviolable coherence betwixt these, and that an innovation in any of these, would destroy the whole, ἡ ἐν τοῖτοις καινοτομία, τοῦ παντός ἐστι καταλύσις. But he does not think the change of phrase and words therein is such an innovation, if it remain the same in sense, ταυτὸν πρὸς διάνοιαν, for he himself used the doxology very variously, and would not be bound up to one form, in the expressing of but four or five words. And by what liberty he took in this, he shows what might be taken in the rest. Two days before the writing of this book, in prayer with the people, ἀμφοτέρως δοξολογίαν, "he used the doxology two ways" (both differing from that which is usual) as he tells us,^c Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ νῦν μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Ὑιοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ὑιοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, "Glory to God and the Father, (adding) sometimes, with the Son, together with the Holy Ghost; sometimes, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost;" but this is but a taste of his variety. He that will observe how it is used in this book, and in the end of his homilies, may find it diversified near forty several ways, and run almost into so many changes, as so few words are capable of. One may think they are put to hard shifts for proof of the prescribed forms in question, who are glad to make the ancient use of the doxology one of their arguments. We see it would not serve their turn, if it could be proved, that they were as much limited to forms of prayer in baptism, as they thought themselves confined to the words of Christ, in delivering the form of baptizing. Those that thought a ταυτὸν πρὸς διάνοιαν, "a conformity in sense" sufficient, where Christ gives the direction, might with much reason judge this enough, or too much, when men only prescribe; and in cases too, where a greater latitude is safer. Their practice, in the severals^d premised, show,

^a Vid. lib. vii. cap. xlii.

^b Ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ πιστεύειν ὀφείλοντες, ὁμοίαν τῇ βαπτίσματι τὴν ὁμολογίαν κοτατιθέμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκολουθίας, ὁμοίαν τῇ πίστει, τὴν δόξαν ἀποδιδοῦναι—νῦν γὰρ ἡμᾶς διδασκώσαν, μὴ βαπτίζειν ὡς παρελάβομεν ἢ μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς ἐβαπτίσθημεν, ἢ μὴ δοξάζειν ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν· δεικνύτω γὰρ τίς ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἄρρηκτος ἡ πρὸς ἄλληλα τούτων ἀκολουθία. ὡς οὐχὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖτοις καινοτομία, κ.τ.λ. "Since we ought so to believe as we are baptized, we lay down a confession of faith correspondent to baptism. Let them allow us to offer the doxology in correspondence with the faith, by reason of the same inseparable connexion. Let them teach us not to baptize as we are taught, or not to believe as we are baptized, or not to offer the doxology as we have believed. For let any one show, that there is not a necessary and unbroken connexion of these things one with another." De Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. p. 274. [Ed. Par. 1722, tom. iii. p. 57.]

^c cap. i.

^d particulars.

[that] they knew no such prescriptions, nor would have honoured them with any more observance, or so much.

To proceed, there was a mode of renunciation generally used in baptism, and a general agreement to use the same in sense; and yet, as to words and syllables, a strange variety; when as^a here, if anywhere, a common rule enjoining uniformity in words might have been expected, and in such a case, if in any, would have been observed. I have taken notice of more than twenty^b variations of this so short a sentence; and

^a whereas.

^b Origenes, Quid denunciaverit diabolo, non se usurum pompis ejus, et voluptatibus paritum, "Why has he renounced the devil, the use of his pomps, and obedience to his pleasures?" In Ep. ad Rom. Universis aliis diis et dominis, "In fine all other gods and lords together." Homil. viii. in Exod.

Constantius, (de se,) Renuncians Satanæ pompis et operibus ejus et universis idolis manu factis, credere me in Deum professus sum, "Renouncing Satan, his pomps and works, and all idols made with hands, I profess that I believe in God." In Edict. ad Sylvest.

Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. i. Mystag. pp. 228, 229. [Ed. Oxon. 1703, p. 279.] Ἰὼν ὁ μῶς ἀκούεις τεταμένη τῇ χειρὶ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα εἰπεῖν, Ἀποτάσσομαι σοὶ Σατανᾷ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου, "As soon as thou hearest, thou art to say with outstretched hand as to one present, I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all his pomp, and all his service."

Ephrem. Syrus, lib. De Pœnit. cap. v. Abrenuncio tibi Satan, et cunctis operibus tuis, "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works."

Basil. De Spir. Sanc. cap. xxvii. [Ed. Par. 1722, tom. iii. p. 55, B.] says there was no prescription for it. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ὅσα περὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας ἐστὶ γραφῆς, "Out of what writing is derived the renunciation of Satan and his angels at baptism?"

No writings mentioned the use of any words whatsoever, any prayer at all on those occasions, none enjoined any set form of prayer: but any words were so far from being enjoined, that there were none so much as set down or mentioned in any writing.

Cyril. Alexandrin. lib. vii. contra Julian. Ibi deposuerimus tenebras a mente nostra, et dæmoniorum turbis valedixerimus, omnemque ipsorum pompam, et cultum prudentissime respuerimus, confitemur fidem in Patrem, "There we dispel the darkness from our minds, and bid farewell to the crowds of evil spirits, and most wisely renounce their pomp and worship: we profess faith in the Father," &c.

Salvian. Massiliens. De Gub. Dei, lib. vi. p. 198. Abrenuncio, inquis, diabolo, pompis, spectaculis et operibus ejus, "I renounce, sayest thou, the devil, his pomps, his shows, and his works." Quæ est enim in baptismo salutari Christianorum prima confessio, nisi ut renunciare se diabolo, ac pompis ejus, atque spectaculis, et operibus, protestentur? "For what is the first confession of Christians in their quickening baptism, but a public testimony that they renounce the devil, and his pomp, and his shows, and his works?" p. 197.

Dionysius Areop. Eccles. Hierarchy. [Ed. Lutet. 1615, cap. ii. p. 77, D.] Ἐμφυσῆσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τρίς διακελεύεται τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ προσέτι τὰ τῆς ἀποταγῆς ὁμολογήσαι καὶ τρίς αὐτῷ ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρούμενος, "He is bid to use sufflations against Satan thrice, and withal to avow his renunciation; and three times to testify against him his renunciation."

Clemens Constit. lib. vii. cap. xli. Ἀπαγγελλέτω οὖν ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀποτάσσεσθαι ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ἐφευρέσεσιν αὐτοῦ, "Then let the person to be baptized say publicly in his renunciation, I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps, and his service, and his angels, and his inventions."

Justinian. De Episcop. Audient. [Cod. lib. i. tit. iv. cap. xxxiv. sect. i.] Ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄρτι μνημονεύουσιν, καὶ τῶν προσκυνητῶν ἀξιοφαινομένων μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ προκηρύττουσιν ἀποτάττεσθαι τῇ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου διαιμνίας λατρείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ πομπῇ, "Like to those newly initiated, and judged worthy of the adorable mysteries, they proclaim that they renounce the worship and all the pomps of their adversary the devil."

Tertullian, De Coron. Milit. cap. iii. Sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus, "A little while before we testify in the church, under the hand of the bishop, that we renounce the devil, and his pomps, and his angels."

Optatus Milevit. contr. Parmenianum, lib. v. p. 59. [Ed. Paris. 1679, p. 106.] Contra, nos peccatores (ut vultis) interrogemus alterum gentilem, an renunciet diabolo, et credat Deo, &c.

find no two of the many ancients who used it, to represent the usage of it to us, agreeing therein as to words and syllables; nor yet have I met with two instances, where the difference is not more than syllabical: it may be others may meet with more; yet if more than two, amongst so many intending to express the same thing, had used exactly the

et dicat, Renuncio et credo, "On the other hand, we, who as ye will have it are offenders, interrogate another who is a heathen, whether he renounces the devil, and believes in God, &c. and he says, I do renounce and believe."

Cyprian, Epist. v. lib. i. *Seculo renuntiavimus cum baptizati sumus*, "We renounced the world when we were baptized." *Stare illic potuit Dei servus, et loqui, et renunciare Christo, qui jam diabolo renunciaret et seculo*, "Could the servant of God stand up there and renounce Christ, who has already renounced the devil and the world?" *Serm. De Laps. p. 151. Cujus (mundi) pompis et deliciis jam tunc renuntiavimus, cum meliori transgressu ad Dominum venimus*, "We renounced the pomps and delights of the world by a happier change when we came to Christ." *De Habit. Virgin. p. 107. Se carnis concupiscentiis et vitiis renunciassse profitetur*, "She professes that she has renounced the lusts and vices of the flesh." *Id. ibid.*

Augustin, *De Symbol. ad Catechum. lib. iii. cap. i. Quisquis huic ædificio conjungi desiderat, renunciet diabolo, pompis, et angelis ejus*, "Let whoever desires to form a part of this building, renounce the devil, and his pomps, and his angels." *Emissa enim certissima cautione, qua vos abrenuntiare omnibus pompis diaboli, et omnibus operibus ejus, et omni fornicationi diabolicæ spondidistis*, "That carefulness being laid aside, wherewith ye pledged yourselves to renounce all the pomps of the devil, and all his works, and every kind of diabolical fornication." *Homil. iii. Ad Neophytos. Pro ipsis enim respondent, quod abrenuntiant diabolo, pompis, et operibus ejus, et ideo pactum, quod cum Christo in baptismi sacramento, conscribunt, custodire contendunt, nec unquam aliquid de diaboli pompis, vel mundi istius luxuriosis oblectationibus concupiscant*, "Let them answer for themselves, that they renounce the devil, and his pomps, and his works, and so let them strive to keep that covenant with Christ, which they write in the sacrament of baptism, and let them never lust after any of the pomps of the devil, or the luxurious delights of his world." *Serm. De Temp. [cxvi.]*

Ambrose, *Hexaem. lib. i. cap. iv. Dicens, Abrenuncio tibi, diabole, et angelis tuis, et operibus tuis, et imperiis tuis*, "Saying, I renounce thee, Satan, and thy angels, and thy works, and thy dominion." *Quando te interrogavit sacerdos; Abrenuncias diabolo, et operibus suis? quid respondisti? Abrenuncio. Abrenuncias seculo et voluptatibus ejus? quid respondisti? Abrenuncio.* "When the priest asks thee, Dost thou renounce the devil, and his works? what dost thou reply? I renounce them. Dost thou renounce the world, and its temptations? what dost thou reply? I renounce them." *De Sacrament. lib. i. cap. ii. Repete quid interrogatus sis, recognosce, quid responderis. Renunciasti diabolo et operibus ejus, mundo et luxuriæ ejus*, "Remember what thou wert asked, what thou repliedst; thou hast renounced the devil and his works, the world and its delights." *Lib. de iis qui Myster. Initiant. cap. ii.*

Chrysostom, *Homil. xxi. Ad Pop. Antioch. p. 609. edit. Savil. Ἀποτάσσομαι σοι, Σατανᾷ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου*, "I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy service." *Ἀποτάσσομαι σοι, Σατανᾷ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σου*, "I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy service, and thy angels." *In Coloss. Hom. v. p. 122.*

Μετὰ τοῦ Σατανᾷ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταύτῃ (πομπῇ) τότε ἀπετάττεσθε, "Together with Satan and his angels, ye renounced this his pomp also." *In Joh. Hom. i. p. 558.*

Hieronym, in *Matth. v. tom. vi. p. 6. [Ed. Paris. 1706, tom. iv. col. 17.] Quidam coactus disserunt in baptisate singulos pactum inire cum diabolo et dicere, Renuncio tibi, Diabole, et pompæ tuæ et vitiis tuis, et mundo tuo, qui in maligno positus est*, "Some give a more forced explanation, that in baptism individuals enter into an agreement with Satan, and say, I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy vices, and thy world, which lieth in wickedness." *Confessus es bonam confessionem in baptismo, renunciando seculo et pompis ejus*, "Thou confessedst a good confession in baptism by renouncing the world and its pomps." *In 1 Tim. vi. tom. viii. p. 270. Secundo post baptismum gradu, inisti pactum cum adversario tuo, dicens ei, Renuncio tibi, Diabole, et seculo tuo, et pompæ tuæ, et operibus (al. opibus) tuis*, "In the second place after baptism, thou enteredst into agreement with thine enemy, saying to him, I renounce thee, Satan, and thy world, and thy pomp, and thy works." *Epist. viii. Ad Demetriad. p. 63. [Ed. 1706, tom. iv. col. 789.] Abrenunciationem illam qua præputiis denudamur, ante oculos collocemus—sic namque dicimus, abrenunciare nos mundo et pompis ejus*, "Let us place before our eyes that renunciation by which we became circumcised—for thus we speak, that we renounce the world and its pomps." *Epist. ad Therasiam. De Vera Circumcis. tom. ix. [Ed. 1706, tom. v. col. 155.]*

same words, (and where other things besides a rule might have rendered their expressions uniform) it would have been no proof that the words had been prescribed; it would rather be strange, if in such circumstances, they should not casually fall into such an agreement without the conduct of any prescription. But since they are so far from observing the punctilios of a prescribed uniformity, and vary herein so much, as^a one may wonder how so few words could be contrived into such variety; it proves sufficiently, that they were not under any orders, obliging them to use precisely the same words.

And thus we find not only those of the Greek and Latin churches differing, or such as lived at a greater distance, and in the parts of the empire remotest one from another, but those of the same country and the same church, where, if anywhere, uniformity is to be looked for: we may observe it in Tertullian, Cyprian, Optatus, and Augustin.

Nor do several persons only differ herein amongst themselves, but we may see in divers instances, one and the same person express this usage variously; when as,^b he that is not circumscribed by others, nor will be imposed on by the imperious, is constant to himself, many times, and varies not in the use of as many, or more words, than this form consisted of; and so it is represented by Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustin, Ambrose, Origen.

Now, if in so short a sentence as this, and that universally used in some terms or other, with a general harmony as to the sense, and wherein also there is nothing of prayer, and so none of that reason which there is for freedom in praying, they were not limited, nor did tie themselves to a set of words: who can believe they were, or would have suffered themselves to be, confined to an unvariable form of words, in praying at baptism?

And that there were none limited to any forms of prayer, is made evident, more directly by that of Basil,^c where, mentioning the several prayers used in baptizing, he declares there were none of them to be found in writing, *Εὐλογοῦμεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, καὶ προσέτι αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, ἀπὸ ποίων ἐγγράφων; Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς σιωπωμένης, καὶ μυστικῆς παραδόσεως;*^d “We bless the water in baptism, and the oil used in unction, and the party also baptized; but out of what writings? Is it not out of the silent and secret tradition?” They had no prayers for these severals,^e in or before his times, written; none found, none set down in writing; and how there could be prescribed forms of prayer, and yet no prayers in writing, is not intelligible. There were no writings enjoining them that prayers should be used for these purposes; much less, therefore, what prayers should be made use of, or in what form of words. For where the existence of a thing is not supposed, there is no giving rules for the mode

^a that.^b whereas.^c Lib. De Spir. Sanc. cap. xxvii.^d p. 271.^e details.

of it, amongst those who are regulated by reason. They had then no rules nor prescriptions in Scripture, or councils, or fathers, or any church liturgies, for the use of such prayers (much less for the words of them :) ἀπὸ πύων ἐγγράφων reaches all. There was nothing for them in his time, but σιωπώμενη καὶ μυστικὴ παράδοσις, "silent and secret tradition," in opposition to (ἐγγράφους) "what is written;"^a which is utterly exclusive of, and inconsistent with any such rules or prescriptions, and so quite clears the church for all such prescribed forms in baptism, in all ages till that day. And clear of them it was long after.

For the impostor,^b who forged those Constitutions, under the name of Clemens, many hundred years after the apostles, and one age at least after Basil, though he set down prayers for the baptismal office, yet he ties none to those forms (no not when he pretends they were of the apostles' composing) nor to any other; but leaves all at liberty to pray as they saw good, only he would have them pray to the same effect. He requires not, that they should use those prayers (of his) but such prayers with a τοιαύτη τις, "his words are,"^c Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων

^a Duobus modis dici posse observationem aliquam esse scriptam: id enim scriptum cum ab aliquo vel scripta lege fuisse præsriptum (qui proprius est et usitatus horum verborum sensus) vel tantum in scripto libro commemoratum, "An observance may be called a written one, in two ways; for that may be said to be written when a thing is *prescribed* by some person, or by a written law, (which is the more proper and frequent use of these words) or when it is only spoken of in a written book." Dall. De Pseudep. p. 334. He takes Basil in the former sense, *ibid*.

Objection. But by writings Basil may understand the Scriptures only. *Answer.* His words plainly deny it of all writings, and not of the Scripture only, vide Dall. p. 334. He alleges many expressions of Basil in the same place, concluding, Ex quibus vel cæcus videt, qua ista accepta erant, traditionem, Basilium non quibusdam, sed quibusvis; non canonicis, sed omnibus omnino libris opponere, "From these expressions even a blind person may see in what sense those words were taken, viz., that Basil opposes tradition not to certain books, but to any books whatever; not to the canonical books, but to all books of every kind." *Ibid*.

Objection. Cook (p. 123.) and others deny the latter part of this book to be Basil's. *Answer.* The generality of protestant writers do not question it, *e.g.* Chamier, Casaubon, Dalles.

Mr. Cook thinks it was writ by one living after Meletius, who survived Basil, and so after Basil's time. The later he lived, the less ancient will prescribed forms appear to be by his testimony, which in this cannot be suspected; for who will think him so impudent [as] to affirm what every one knew to be false?

^b Bishop Usher inclines to think, the interpolations of the six ancient epistles ascribed to Ignatius, with the six latter, and also Clemens' Constitutions, did, ex eadem officina prodire, "issue from the same workshop," and yet the former were not extant before the sixth age; and therefore the Constitutions are no elder. Dalles, De Supposit. Ign. lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 237. Vid. pp. 232, 233.

^c Lib. vii. cap. xiv. After the prayers in baptism, in reference to the oil and water, and chrism, cap. xliii. xlv. lib. vii. having said, cap. xliii. Ἐπικαλεῖται οὕτως, "He makes invocation after this manner," he adds, cap. xlv. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκούουθα λεγέτω, hæc atque alia his consentanea dicat, "Let him say these things, and other things of like import," Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἕκαστον τούτων, ἐπίκλησις γένηται τοιαύτη, &c. "for if he does not adhere to every one of these expressions, let the invocation be of some such kind."

For the catechumens, Κλινούτων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογεῖτω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιάνδε, "Whilst bending down their heads, let the appointed bishop bless them with some such benediction as this," some such, hujusmodi benedictione, lib. viii. cap. xvi. med.

For the penitents, Ἐπευχέσθω αὖν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοιάδε, "Let the bishop offer prayer over them in some such terms as these," in some such manner, in hunc modum, cap. viii. fin. In the blessing of water and oil, λεγέτω δὲ οὕτως, "Let him speak after this manner," cap. xxix. lib. viii. περὶ εὐχαριστίας οὕτω λέγοντες, "speaking concerning the eucharist after this manner," lib. vii.

ἐπὶ κλήσις γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱερέως τοιαύτη τις, εἰς ὕδωρ μόνον καταβαίνει ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ ὑποτίθεται μόνον τὸν ῥύπον τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ψυχῆς, “For if some such prayer be not made by the godly minister at each of these, he that is to be baptized, goes into the water only as the Jews, and parts with only the impurity of the body, not the impurity of the soul.”

By which we may discern, what was the freedom, as to prayer at baptism (and consequently elsewhere) in those times when he writ (probably about the latter end of the fifth, or the beginning of the sixth age,) when forms through necessity were growing more common. Prayers to the same effect would then serve the turn, as they now serve the reformed churches. He that appeared to the world about that time, in the vizard of apostolical authority,^a would not by virtue thereof presume to tie any, in administering baptism, strictly to one form, any one form of words; no, not to those words which he would have them believe were formed by the apostles themselves. The apostles as he personates them, gave liberty to waive their own supposed forms, and think it well enough, if prayers to the same purpose be used instead thereof. In all probability, if this actor had laid his scene in places and times where more restraint had been tolerable, he would have represented it otherwise.

But there needs no other evidence, for this liberty in baptismal prayers, to any who are willing to see, than that in Augustin,^b where he examines the allegations of the several bishops in the council under Cyprian, to Sedatus of Tuburbis, who pleads thus for the rebaptizing of those baptized by heretics; *in quantum aqua, sacerdotis prece, in ecclesia sanctificata, abluit delicta, in tantum, hæretico sermone, velut cancro injecta, cumulat peccata*: “as the water, by the prayer of the priest in the church, is sanctified to the washing away of sin; so by an heretical prayer, as by a cancer, it is infected, to the increasing of sin.”

Augustin answers, *Si non sanctificatur aqua, cum aliqua erroris verba*

cap. xxvi. pro primitiis collatis, οὕτως εὐχαριστεῖ, “he offers thanksgivings after this manner,” lib. viii. cap. xxxix. Pro mortuis εὐχαρισεῖτω λέγων τοιαύδε, “let him offer thanksgivings, speaking after this manner,” lib. viii. cap. xli. Post sumptionem eucharistiæ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε, “After the reception of the eucharist, give thanks after this manner.” lib. vii. cap. xxvii. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε, “As for the oil, give thanks after this manner.” lib. vii. cap. xxviii. Pro eucharistia quidem in hunc modum, lib. vii. cap. xxvi.

And by these instances, when he calls for prayer or praise, with λεγέτω, “Let him say,” or εἰπάτω, “Let him speak,” or ἐπευχέσθω λεγων, “Let him offer prayer,” or the like; we have warrant to understand τοιαύδε, “in some such way,” or οὕτω, “after this manner,” or τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα, “in terms of like import with these,” and that such liberty is allowed.

^a Lib. viii. cap. xv. Where he presumes to say, Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μυστικῆς λατρείας διατασσόμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις, “These things concerning the mystical worship we the apostles ordain for you the bishops, and the presbyters, and the deacons.”

^b De Bapt. contra Donat. lib. vi. cap. xxv.

per imperitiam precator effundit, multi non solum mali, sed etiam boni fratres in ecclesia non sanctificant aquam, “If the water be not sanctified when he that prays, through unskilfulness, utters some erroneous words; then, not only many evil, but good brethren in the church do not sanctify the water.” *Multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, si doctioribus fuerint recitatae, et multa in iis reperiuntur contra catholicam fidem,* “For the prayers of many are daily amended, if they be recited to the more learned, and many things are found in them contrary to the catholic faith;” (they were *viciosae preces, et in quibus aliquid perversum*, as he speaks afterwards.) Now such prayers cannot be supposed to have been any common forms, commanded, or used, much less prescribed by the church. The course taken to redress this, was not a total prohibition of the prayers they had chosen; nor the tying of such ministers to the use of any common form; nor the commending of any such to their use: but (what divers synods (of which [I have spoken] before) had decreed) the prayers, which such indiscreet persons made choice of, being recited to the more learned, were by them amended, and the errors being left out, they are left to use them still, (for the amending of them cannot be otherwise interpreted, than in order to future use :) and this course, as it is inconsistent with the imposition of any set forms, so it argues forcibly, [that] the churches then had not in the administration of baptism, so much as any common form in free use; otherwise, instead of daily trouble to others and themselves, about correcting their very faulty prayers; why are not persons so intolerably indiscreet (who could not discern when a prayer was heretical) so much as advised to make use of the common form? And finally, under what restraint can any fancy the more discreet and learned to have been in baptizing, when the weakest and most imprudent had so much liberty therein? Nothing needs be more manifest, than that neither the prudent nor indiscreet were then confined to prescribed forms in the ministration of baptism.

And thus we have made it sufficiently evident, that in the ancient church, the order for administering the sacraments (the prayers especially used in their consecration) were not prescribed; nor the administrators thereof under such restraint, as later and worse times thought fit for them. I might endeavour to give the like satisfaction concerning other parts of worship, which were administered by prayers; and might do it now with more ease than this already done. But it is not needful, since those who show the greatest passion for the forms in question, affirm, that in the sacraments they were and are most necessary, and were first there used; and so must acknowledge, that when they were not in use there, they were nowhere used, nor anywhere counted needful: and besides, this discourse grows long, (and so may be tedious) beyond what I expected or designed. I will therefore only add some few testimonies, which give evidence against such forms in

general, and will reach the particulars, as therein involved; easing myself and others thereby of a tedious and superfluous labour.

Begin we with Justin Martyr, one of the first writers left us of unquestioned credit, after the apostles' times: who hath these words,^a "Ἀθεοὶ μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔσμεν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι, ἀνενδεῆ αἱμάτων καὶ σπόνδων καὶ θυμιαμάτων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν ὅση δύναμις αἰνοῦντες." "We are not atheists, since we worship the Maker of all things, affirming, as we are taught, that he hath no need of blood, drink-offerings, or incense; in all our oblations, with prayer and thanksgiving, according to our ability praising him." In his time, they prayed and gave thanks according to their ability. Now certainly, the abilities of the pastors, at least of those times, reached further without stretching, than the reading or reciting of some prayers, composed for them by others. They were persons ordinarily of greatest abilities amongst the Christians. When ordinary Christians were superior to the pastors of after times,^b they wanted not the knowledge of Divine things, nor the sense of their spiritual condition, or their people's, nor a faculty to express tolerably what they knew and felt. They were not besotted by intemperance, nor had lost the use of their faculties for want of exercise, nor were their gifts shrivelled up by a curse, because they did not employ them: they had ability to frame their own prayers, as well as to make their own sermons; and if they confined themselves to prayers made by others, they did not give thanks and pray, as the holy martyr says they did, ὅση δύναμις, "according to their ability," or as they were able. The phrase hath been sufficiently vindicated before; but because it here occurs again, let this be added for further satisfaction. It is said, that it denotes not the exercise of abilities for prayer, but earnestness in praying, neither less nor more: but this is only said, without any proof, without any instance where it is so taken, either in Justin Martyr, or any other. The best way to discern the import of it, will be to observe, how this and other [phrases] of the same signification are used commonly in this or other authors. Now five hundred instances might be produced, wherein this expression, and others of the same import, do clearly denote the exercise of abilities for the work, to which they are applied. I will but give a taste hereof in a like case, preaching or writing, pastoral works, as prayer is. Justin Martyr says, they did^c exhort the brethren, ὅση δύναμις, and tells Trypho he would make a collection of all the places of Scripture which concerned the millennium,^d ὡς δύναμις μου.

^a Apol. ii. p. 139. [Ed. Colon. p. 60, C.]

^b Chrysost. in Eph. Hom. vi. pp. 792, 793.

^c Ὅση δύναμις προτρεψάμενοι ὑμᾶς, &c. "Exhorting you according to their ability." Apol. ii. p. 157.

^d Τῶν γεγεννημένων ὑμῖν λόγων ἀπάντων, ὡς δύναμις μου σύνταξιν ποιήσομαι, "I will, according to my ability, make a collation of all the declarations which have been made to us." Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 88. edit. Rob. Steph. Lutet. an. 1551. [Ed. Colon. 1686, p. 306, E.]

Origen says, the Christians instructed^a many ὅση δύναμις, and what Celsus alleged he would examine κατὰ δύναμιν. So in^b Eusebius, when he tells us, the bishops made panegyric orations ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυνάμεως.^c Likewise in Basil, when he speaks of praising Gordius κατὰ δύναμιν, forgetting his own^d weakness, and says, he will explain^e the words of the apostle ὡς δυνατόν, and that the impiety (he is mentioning) was elsewhere refuted κατὰ δύναμιν, and that he had preached the day before καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατόν. Also in Chrysostom,^f when he says it was necessary he should κατὰ δύναμιν, "discourse of prayer;" and frequently^g elsewhere.

^a ὠπῶ Θεὸν ἀληθῶς σέβοντες, καὶ πολλοὺς ὅση δύναμις παιδεύοντες, "Worshipping God thus in truth, and instructing many according to our ability." Contra Cels. lib. viii. p. 428. Φέρε πάλιν κατὰ δύναμιν, αὐτὴν ἐξετάσωμεν οὕτως ἔχουσαν. Id. ibid. p. 395. Vid. pp. 409, 410, 411, edit. Cantabr. an. 1658.

^b Ἐκίνει δὲ καὶ λόγους ἅπας τῶν παρόντων ἀρχόντων πανηγυρικοὺς, ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυνάμεως, θεαίρων τὴν πανήγυριν, "Every one of the bishops present, made a panegyric oration, as each one had ability to inspire the assembly." Hist. lib. [x.] cap. iii. vid. Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. xxix. infra.

^c Constantine exhorted his subjects "Ὅση πέρ' ἂν ἡ δύναμις, "to lead a pious life," προύτρεπε τε ὅση πέρ' ἂν ἡ δύναμις τὸν ἑσπερὶν μεταδώκειν βίον, "He exhorted them to the utmost of his ability to lead a pious life." De Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. xxix.

^d Ἐκλαθομένους τῆς ἀσθενείας, δεῦρο δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ κατὰ δύναμιν φωνῇ ὅτιν ἄνθος τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρός ἔργων περιβομβήσωμεν, "Forgetting our weakness, come, we ourselves with such utterance as we can command, will buzz around such a flower of manly deeds as falls to the lot of any." Homil. in Gord. p. 204. edit. Basil. an. 1551.

^e Ὡς δυνατόν μικρὸν ὑπερὸν διηγησόμεθα, "We will expound as we are able a little farther on," Hom. de Eucharist. p. 142. Ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κατὰ δύναμιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῆς ἀσθενείας διειλεγχθείσης "This impiety being refuted according to our ability in another place and in other terms." Lib. De Spir. Sancto, cap. xvii. p. 264. We preached καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατόν, "to the extent of our ability." Hexaem. Hom. iii. initio.

^f Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν λέγειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, "It is necessary to speak of the matter according to our ability," Tom. vi. Hom. ii. de Orat. [p. 758.] edit. Savil. et in Philip. Hom. vi. [p. 37.] [Hom. iv.] in 2 Tim. p. 346. et Tom. i. in Gen. Hom. xvii. initio, fin. Hom. xxv. p. 183. Hom. xxxii. p. 254. Hom. lviii. p. 452. Hom. lix. p. 459. εἰς δύναμιν ἡμετεράν, Hom. xxxviii. p. 306.

^g Add that in Cyprian, Propter hoc etiam libellum hunc de bono patientiæ quantum valuit nostra mediocritas, permittente et inspirante Domino, conscripsimus, "On this account we have written, as our slender abilities stood us in stead, this little book concerning the advantages of patience, by the Lord's permission and Divine assistance." Epist. ad Jubaian. and often, Pro nostra mediocritate, "according to our slender abilities."

Augustin, De quibus in aliis opusculis, quantum Domino adjuvante potuimus, satis nos discessisse meminimus, "Whereof we remember to have spoken sufficiently in other works, as with the Lord's help, we were able," De Peccat. Orig. lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. Et hoc pro viribus ago, "And this, according to my powers, I do," Contra Cresc. lib. i. cap. ix. Si autem ministri adsint, pro viribus, quas eis Dominus subministrat, omnibus subvenitur; alii baptizantur, alii reconciliantur, nulli Dominici corporis communione fraudantur, omnes consolantur, ædificantur, exhortantur, ut Deum rogent qui potens est omnia quæ timentur avertere, &c., "But if ministers are at hand all are succoured according to the abilities which the Lord affords them; some are baptized, others are received back into fellowship, none are defrauded of the communion of the Lord's body, all are comforted, edified, exhorted to beg God to ward off threatened calamities." Epist. clxxx. Honorato, p. 928. edit. Lugduni, an. 1561. [Ed. Antw. Ep. 228.] Retract. lib. ii. cap. i. In secundo libro tractantur cæteræ questiones, et pro nostra quantulacunque facultate solvantur, p. 58.

Athanasius, about to give an account of man's degeneracy, Πῶς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ εὐλόγον κατὰ δύναμιν σηµάναι, "But how he does so, it is but reasonable, according to our ability, to show." Cont. Onules. p. 3.

And reciting too some passages of Scripture, ὑφείλομεν οἷν ἐμεῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσασθαι, De Natura Human. Suscept. tom. i. p. 465. init.

Maximus in Athanas. tom. ii. says he had confuted heretics, Συντόμως κατὰ δύναμιν ἀντείποντες, "in few words, according to his ability," p. 255.

It is evident, that in these passages, the phrases signify [that] they used their own abilities, judgment, invention, expressions ; in preaching, expounding, disputing, &c. And it would not be imagined, but that they denote the same when applied to prayer, in Justin Martyr and others, had not custom settled another mode of praying than was used in those times, when abilities to pray were counted a qualification as requisite for a pastor, as ability to preach ; and more thought necessary to accomplish a minister for public prayer (so great a part of his work) than a child is capable of.

Who ever imagined, that by writing *ὁση δύναμις*, or *pro viribus*, they meant no more than the transcribing another man's discourse ; or by expounding or preaching *κατὰ δύναμιν*, &c. no more was to be understood than their reading or reciting another man's sermon, &c. with what earnestness soever ? This would be no better, than to offer plain violence to their words, and unpardonable injury to the authors. And why it is not as intolerable, when they speak of praying *ὁση δύναμις*, to say they meant no more than their reading or rehearsing another man's prayers with all earnestness ; let those who are not *ἀπὸ προλήψεως κατεχόμενοι*, "possessed by prejudice," judge.

Nay, it cannot be denied, but these phrases do sometimes denote, when applied to prayer or thanksgiving, the exercise of personal abilities for prayer ; as when Chrysostom tells us^a that Noah gave thanks *τὴν κατὰ δύναμιν εὐχαριστίαν ποιησάμενος*, "according to his ability," (sure it was in no form composed for him by another) and then exhorts to imitate him ; and in the application shows how, viz., by taking account every day and hour, not only of mercies common to others, but particular and personal ; yea and those which we observe not, *ὕπὲρ ὧν ἀγνοῦντες εὐεργετούμεθα*, "for the benefits we receive ignorantly," (all this could not be done in a stated form) saying, *καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων εὐχαριστοῦμεν*,^b "even for these we give thanks:" he adds, God made us rational, *διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο λογικοὶ*, therefore he gave us faculties, souls and tongues, *διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ψυχὴν ἡμῖν ἐνέπνευσε καὶ γλώσσας ἐχαρίσατο*, that we might be sensible of his favours, and *κατὰ δύναμιν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναφέρωμεν*,^c "offer thanksgiving according to our ability." And in the next homily, (Hom. xxvii.) We should endeavour *τὴν κατὰ δύναμιν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναφέρειν*, "to offer thanksgiving according to our ability," having always his benefits in our minds (*ἵνα ὑπὸ τῆς μνημῆς συνωθούμενοι*, "that our memory may be helpful to us therein") though they be more than we can recount, *τοσαῦται τὸ πλῆθος*, &c. For who can (*τί γὰρ ἂν τις λογίσαιτο*,) reckon up those which we have, those

^a In Gen. Hom. xxvi. [p. 202.]

^b p. 202.

^c p. 203.

which are promised, and τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γινόμενα. "those which we meet with every day." (so every day there is new matter of thanksgiving:) then enumerating abundance of particulars,^a and adding still οὐκ ἂν τότε διηριθμῆμεν ἐξαριθμείσθαι, "they can never be numbered;" πῶς γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνη γλῶττα δινήσεται; "how can any tongue of man express them?" πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔννοιαν ὑπερβαίνουσας, "they transcend all human apprehension:" yet will have us notwithstanding, remember, conceive, reckon them up, and express them as we are able, and would have us employ mind, memory, tongue, all faculties, therein, as much as we can: for he adds again after all, we must τὴν κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐχαριστίαν ποιῆσαι, "make such thanksgivings as are according to the abilities of him who offers them." And κατὰ δύναμιν (which I proved before to be the same with ὅση δύναμις) signifies that which is inconsistent with any confinement to a set form, by ourselves or others.

Basil also, giving directions how to pray,^b premises, that there are two sorts or parts of prayer, thanksgiving or praise of God with self-abasement, and petition: then he adviseth to begin with the former, and therein to make choice of Scripture expression (ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν ἐκλεγόμενος, which it seems was Basil's formulary;) after he has given something by way of example, he adds, ὅταν δὲ δοξολογήσης ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν ὡς δύνασαι. "when thou hast praised him (with expressions selected) out of the Scriptures, as thou art able" (or according to thy ability, the same phrase with ὅση δύναμις, and κατὰ δύναμιν.) then begin with self-abasement: in which, after thou hast been large (ὅταν οὖν ἀποτείνῃς λόγον ταπεινοφροσύνης,^c "when thou hast extended to some length thy profession of self-abasement.") then proceed to petition. There he would have him beware of praying for the severals^d he mentions, but [counsels him] to seek that which is prescribed or enjoined; not in any liturgy (for if there had been such, these directions had been needless, and if they should and might use no other, ridiculous, yet some men's fancies are so strong, as to stretch these even to private devotions;) but in the Scripture, and the words of Christ (*seek first the kingdom of God, &c.*) ἀλλ' αἰτεῖ καθὼς προσετάχης τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν μόνον, "but ask, as thou art commanded, for the kingdom of God only," and will have him careful in any wise, that his whole mind be^e intent upon God, and him alone and no where else (ὅλον τὸν νοῦν τεταμένον ἔχοντα πρὸς

^a p. 204, 205.

^b Ascet. cap. i. p. 554.

^c p. 555.

^d particulars.

^e Ut collectis et congregatis intra se sensibus, oret Deum, non evagetur mente, et cogitationibus evelet, ut ipsis Dei conspectibus, atque ineffabili illi lumini se intelligat assistantem, ibique orationes, et obsecrationes, postulationesque, et gratiarum actiones suas profundat, nullius extrinsecus phantasie sollicitatus imagine, "With collected and concentrated faculties let him beseech God, let him not wander in mind and fly off in his thoughts; that he may keep in mind that he is standing in the very sight of God, and in the ineffable light, and there let him pour forth his prayers, his deprecations, his intercessions, and his thanksgivings, disturbed by the image of no fancy from without." Origen. vid. Dall. De Objecto Cult. p. 396.

αὐτόν μόνον, καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μηδαμοῦ) which will be very hard for him, who, praying in public or private, hath his book to mind.

By this we may also judge, what it is to pray ὡς δύνανται, "according to ability," or which is all one, ὡς δύναται, "as one is able." And to add no more, it cannot be supposed, that there was any prescribed form of prayer, for the case which Augustin mentions, viz, "a house possessed by the devil; for the relief of which, he tells us, one of the presbyters of Hippo prayed *quantum potuit*, "as he was able," a phrase equivalent to ὡς δύνανται, and therefore it may be presumed, he prayed there according to his ability. And why ὡς δύνανται, in Justin Martyr, should not signify the same, as in these forementioned instances, and be rendered "according to their abilities," so as their prayers should be understood to be the product of them; I can discern no reason at all, but because they who deny it, are loth it should be so.

Let us proceed; That of Tertullian,^b *sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus*, "we pray without a prompter, as praying out of our own breast," hath been pleaded by others, and not without reason. Bishop Hall in answering it, when he was concerned to be most reserved and cautious, so as to yield nothing but what the words would extort, grants the mode of praying was not then under any superior injunction, and so not prescribed. Bishop Bilson concluded from this passage (before it came into debate by the differing parties) that extemporary praying was used in Tertullian's time, rendering it "without any prompter,"^c as coming from the free motion of our own hearts, and ascribing it to the extraordinary gift of prayer then continued: (how reasonably may be considered elsewhere;) and this shows, it is not for want of evidence in the expression, that this sense of it is since rejected by his followers, but from something else. I doubt not, but if it would have been serviceable another way, there would be no question but this was Septimius's^d meaning, [that] the Christians did pray without any such prompter as the heathen, because their hearts were their prompters: or, as Bishop Bilson, because they pray as their hearts move them. Prayers suggested to the heathen by their monitors, were suggested to the Christians by their own hearts; they had not their petitions out of a writing, but out of their own breasts.

The Gentiles' monitor, as Rigaltius on the place observes, did *præire*

^a "A man of tribunitial dignity, Hesperius by name, who dwells amongst us, has a farm called Zbedi, in the territory of Fussala, whither, on finding that his house suffered much from the malignant power of evil spirits, to the damage of his cattle and slaves, he in my absence requested of our presbyters, that one of them, at whose prayers they might be banished, should go," &c. August. De Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. viii. p. 686, edit. Lugduni.

^b Apol. cap. xxx. Christian Subject. part iv. p. [111.]

^c *Sine monitore*, "not being urged by any superior injunction."

^d *i. e.* Tertullian's: his full name, as prefixed to the MSS. of his works, being Quintus Septimius Tertullianus Florens. See Bishop Kaye's Tertullian, p. 5.—Ed.

preces de scripto, "dictate the prayers out of a book." Amongst the Greeks, their prayers were read out of a book, as appears by Apuleius, describing a great solemnity amongst them, where their monitor, whom they called *grammatea*,^a from a high pulpit, *de libro fausta vota præfatus*, "prayed out of a book."

Amongst the Persians, Pausanias, representing the rites of their Pyretheia, as they were used in Hierocæsarea and Hypæpæ, brings in the ἀνὴρ μάγος,^b "a man who was a mage," (who was a priest, a sacred person amongst them,) thus praying :^c He coming into a place in the temple, and having laid wood on the altar, first puts on his sacred habit, and then prays to some god ; and this prayer he says ἐκ βιβλίου, "out of a book."

For the Romans, Livy tells us, Numa gave them in writing all that belonged to their worship ; *eique* (viz. to Marcus the chief priest) *omnia sacra exscripta exsignataque attribuit*.^d Upon special occasions, the Decemviri transcribed their prayers out of the Sibyls' books, (their extraordinary ritual).^e *Pacem deorum peti precationibus, quæ editæ ex fatalibus libris essent*, "they sought to make peace with the gods, with prayers taken out of the Sybilline books." When they were distressed by Hannibal, sending Fabius Pictor^f to Delphi, Apollo Pythius prescribed them a liturgy in writing ; which he returning, recited out of that writing ; in which was contained, what gods they should supplicate, and in what mode : and the senate enjoined an accurate observance of it.^g When Scipio Æmilianus was censor,^h the scribe (their prompter)

^a Tunc ex his unus, quem cuncti grammatea dicebant, pro foribus assistens, cœtu Pastophorum (quod sacrosancti collegii nomen est) velut in concionem vocato, indidem de sublimi suggestu, de libro, fausta vota, præfatus, "Then one of them whom they all called the scribe, stood before the doors in the assembly of the Pastophori* (which is the name of the sacred college) who were summoned as it were to a conclave, and there, from a high pulpit, prayed out of a book." Apuleius Metamorph. lib. xi. p. 204.

^b Θεολόγος, "a theologist," in Hesychius. Μάγον τὸν θεοσεβῆ καὶ θεολόγον καὶ ἱερέα λέγουσι, "They call a devotee, and a theologist, and a priest, a Mage." Phavorinus.

^c Ἐσέλθων δὲ ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος, καὶ ξύλα ἐπιφορήσας αἶα ἐπὶ τὸν βῶμον, πρῶτα μὲν πύραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ· δευτέρα δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν ὅπου δὲ θεῶν ἐπάδει βάρβαρα, καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ ἄλληνσιν· ἐπάδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου. Pausan. lib. i. Eliacor. [Prior. cap. xxvii.]

Ammianus Marcellinus, Hist. lib. xxiii. cap. viii.

^d Liv. Dec. i. lib. i. p. 16.

^e Liv. Dec. v. lib. i. p. 15.

^f The reader will form some idea of the state in which this treatise of Mr. Clarkson's (and a similar remark will apply to the others) first saw the light, when he is informed, that in the original edition we find instead of "Fabius Pictor," the words, "Fabius's picture."—ED.

^g Q. Fabius Pictor, legatus a Delphis Romam rediit, responsumque ex scripto recitavit; divi quoque in eo erant, quibus, quoque modo supplicaretur, "Quintus Fabius Pictor, the ambassador, returned from Delphi to Rome, and communicated the response out of a book. In this book the gods were mentioned whom they should supplicate, and the manner in which they were to pray." Liv. Dec. iii. lib. iii. p. 61.

^h Qui censor, cum lustrum audiret, inque solito fieri sacrificio, scriba ex publicis tabulis solenne ei precationis carmen præiret, quo dii immortales, ut populi Romani res meliores amplioresque

* These were an order of priests whose office it was to raise the richly embroidered shawl, (παστὸς) which concealed the statues of the idols, with the performance of an appropriate chant, so as to discover the god standing in the *adytum*, and generally to show the temple with its sacred utensils; of which, like modern sacristans, they had the custody. See Dr. Smith's Diet. Gk. and Rom. Ant. sub voc.—ED.

at a lustration, reads the usual prayer, *ex publicis tabulis*; Scipio, misliking an expression therein, alters it, and orders the alteration to be made in the public writing, out of which it was to be read; and so reforms their common prayer-book.

Thus were the devotions of the heathen regulated; but the Christians, says Tertullian, (describing them in opposition to the Gentiles) had no such monitor, did need no such prompter; their prayers are not *de scripto*, but *de pectore*. In answer to this, thus much is granted, that the Christians in those times prayed without book; and so it is acknowledged, that those who read their public prayers out of a book, are therein nothing like the ancient Christians, but more resemble the pagans in that mode of praying, for which Tertullian here derides them. This cannot be denied, it seems; yet, which is the only shift left them, *de pectore*, they will have to be no more than saying their prayers by heart.

But this is not to pray *de pectore*, but *de memoria*, not as their heart moves and prompts them, but as their memory serves them.

And this supposes, that in those times they had written liturgies, and were wont to get their prayers by heart; for which they should produce some expression, or intimation, or show of proof, from some credible author of that age, before they take it for granted. I have yet seen no proof of it, and I am confident never shall.

Certainly it was a hard task (and required so good a memory, as all cannot be supposed to have had, who were employed therein) to get all the prayers they then used by heart; since the Christians then continued, and principally in prayer, sometimes nine hours (and this twice every week) in their stations; sometimes twelve hours, as at

facere, rogabantur: Satis inquit bonæ ac magnæ sunt; itaque precor ut eas perpetuo incolumes servant. Ac protinus in publicis tabulis, ad hunc modum carmen emendari jussit, "Who when he was censor, as he gave audience at the *lustrum*, and the scribe during the customary sacrifice dictated to him out of the public books, the solemn supplicatory chant, in which the immortal gods are besought to increase and prosper the interests of the Roman people, said, 'They are prosperous and extensive enough; therefore I pray that they may ever be *safe*;' and immediately ordered the chant to be corrected in the public books accordingly." Valer. Max. lib. iv. cap. i. p. 191.

"Jamhorum conventuum proprius ac præcipuus finis erat oratio, atque deprecatio, unde factum, ut stationes dicerentur, quod עֲמֻדָּה statio Hebræis sit oratio, "The proper and chief end of these assemblies was prayer and deprecation, whence it came to pass that they were called *stations*, because the word עֲמֻדָּה, which means in Hebrew *station*, is used for *prayer*." Dall. De Jejunii, lib. iv. cap. v. ex J. Capell.

They began at sun-rising, Statim ab exortu solis, "immediately after sunrise." Rigalt. Obs. ad Tertull. De Orat. p. 43.

Their stations were continued till three in the afternoon, Τετράδι καὶ ἐν προσαββάτῳ ἕως ὥρας ἐννάτης, "On Wednesday and Friday till the ninth hour, (3 p.m.);" Epiph. Expos. Fid. p. 110. Others [*i. e.* the Montanists] longer, Arguunt nos, quod stationes plerumque in vesperam producimus, "They censure us because we prolong our stations for the most part till towards evening." Tertull. De Jejun. cap. [i.]

Their fasts till six in the afternoon, Τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀναμῆνεις εἰς μετὰ ληψιν, "Thou waitest for evening to break thy fast." Basil. De Jejun. Hom. i. p. 133.

their fasts, besides what were usual at their vigils, festivals, and Lord's-day assemblies, at their baptizings, ordinations, reconciling penitents, and other occasions ; all requiring variety of prayers.

And who can believe their pastors were then limited to written forms in praying, when the ordinary sort of Christians were not tied to any forms at all in singing ? There seems more reason for a restraint in hymns, than in supplications ; and those who are earnest for liberty in the latter, are well enough content to be confined to Scripture forms in the former. It is evident by Tertullian, that in his time, Christians had the liberty in their church assemblies, to choose either such hymns as they collected out of the Scripture, or such as were of their own conception.^a So he tells us, describing their love-feasts ; at which we are told, the eucharist was celebrated, *Post aquam manualetn, et lumina, ut quisque de Scripturis sacris vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere,*^b "After washing hands and the introduction of lights, encouragement is given to every one to sing publicly to God as he is able, either out of the Scriptures, or from his own mind." And these, if we believe Grotius, [were] extemporary^c hymns, and such [were] used by others, both before and after those times.

It is excepted, that Tertullian, in the place we have insisted on, speaks of private devotions : but if they will have it of private only, any that considers the words, will see it evidently mistaken. *Illuc suspicientes Christiani, manibus expansis, quia innocuis ; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus,* "The Christians thitherward lift up their hands, because their hands are innocent, and pray with the head bare, because we do not blush." He shows Christians were unlike the pagans, in their mode of praying, for such reasons, as would not admit them to be alike anywhere, either in private or public ; since they thought themselves concerned to signify, they were more innocent, and less conscious of what was shameful, than the heathen, as well in public as in private.

This manner of praying was continued in the following age, as is evident in Origen, who declares it both of the Greek and Latin churches, which divided betwixt them the whole Christian world.^d They prayed

Diebus atque noctibus jugiter et instanter oramus, propitiantes Deum, "Days and nights we pray continuously and successively that we may propitiate God." Cypr. *Insistamus per totam diem precibus, et oremus,* "Let us continue in prayers throughout the whole day, and make supplication." Idem.

^a Thornd. Serv. p. 293.

^b Apol. cap. xxxix.

^c Non solebant pro re nata extempore hymnos quos זמירות vocant, effundere Hebræi ? "Were not the Hebrews wont to pour forth hymns made extempore for the occasion, which they called זמירות ?" Nec dubito quin et hoc canendi genus vel præcipue commendat Paulus, Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16. Mansit diu is mos in ecclesia vetere, Tertullianus meminit, et Plinius, &c., "Nor do I doubt that Paul commends this species of singing in Eph. v. 19, and Col. iii. 16. This custom continued for a long period in the ancient church. Tertullian mentions it, and Pliny."

^d Cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 402.

in his time, not only in their own language, but also according to their ability, Οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Ἑλληνικοῖς χρόνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς, καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον εὔχεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ὑμνεῖ αὐτὸν ὥς δύναται, “The Grecians in Greek, the Romans in Latin; and so every one in his own dialect, prays to God, and praises him as he is able.” *Precantur Deum, et celebrant pro viribus,* “They pray to God, and worship according to their ability.” The most learned and judicious that have appeared in this question for prescribed liturgies, do yield, that if ὅση δύναμις in Justin Martyr, were duly rendered “according to his ability,” and be of the same import with κατὰ δύναμιν, then the prayers there mentioned were such as we say, viz., the issue of the administrator’s abilities, not formed for him, nor imposed on him by others. Now ὥς δύναται, in Origen, is exactly correspondent to, and of the very same signification with κατὰ δύναμιν: nor can it be better rendered than by “according to his ability,” or, which is all one, “as he is able;” and therefore, that those prayers mentioned in Origen were such, may be taken for granted; and those also which we find in the same book,^b where the expression is of the same sense, but comes nearer to the form and sound of the other, which they yield is for us, Τὸν ἕνα Θεόν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα Ὑιὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγον καὶ εἰκόνα, ταῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἱκεσίαις καὶ ἀξιώσεσι σέβομεν προσάγοντες τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὰς εὐχὰς διὰ τοῦ μονογένοῦς αὐτοῦ, “That one God, and his only Son both in word and image, we worship with prayers, according to our ability, and honours; offering prayers unto the God of the universe, by his only begotten.” It is acknowledged, by the most zealous friends of these liturgies, that in the apostolical times, there was a δύναμις, χάρισμα εὐχῆς, “an ability or gift of prayer,” enabling those who had it, to conceive their prayers themselves; and the exercise of this gift or ability, in the New Testament, is, προσεύχεσθαι ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, “to pray in the Holy Ghost,” Jude ver. 20, and ἐν Πνεύματι, “in the Spirit,” Eph. vi. 18.^c But this, so expressed, they will have to have been an extraordinary and miraculous gift, as those of healing, prophesying, tongues, &c. Now the former (that there was a gift of prayer) we acknowledge with them; but the latter (that it was extraordinary and miraculous) should not be granted without proof, being also inconsistent with other principles equally acknowledged, and with those Scriptures too now alleged. Not to take notice, that the gift of prayer is not reckoned amongst those that were miraculous, where we have a particular account of them, Mark ult. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10, 1 Cor. xiv.,^d it is granted by them, that, as all extraordinary gifts were not conferred

^b B[ishop] H[all.] H[erbert] T[herndike.]

^c p. 386.

^d D[r.] H[ammond] in Jude 20.

^d D[r.] H[ammond], p. 586

upon any one person, except the apostles ; so no one gift was conferred upon all ; this is plain in the apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 10, 11 ; particularly this gift of prayer is asserted to have been bestowed upon some one of the multitude, *ἦρχετο χάρισμα εὐχῆς εἰς ἓνα τινὰ τῶν τότε*, "The gift of prayer entered into some one among the men of that age." So Chrysostom^a [testifies] (whom alone, amongst the ancients, they have to allege for it, as an extraordinary grace :) But all the believing Hebrews (all that are sanctified, to whom Jude writ, ver. 1,) are required to exercise this gift : (*προσεύχεσθαι ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, "to pray in the Holy Ghost,") and all the converted Gentiles at Ephesus to whom Paul writ, are exhorted by him, to exercise it, Eph. vi. 18, (and all other Christians in them, if those epistles be of general concernment.) Now it could not be their duty to exercise it, if they had it not ; and if they all had it, it was an ordinary gift, and continued to the church in all ages. And so Origen, in reference to this gift or ability, might well say, every one prayed *ὡς δύναται*, and *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*, "according to his ability." However, he that was able to conceive a prayer himself, yet made use of prayers formed by others, did not pray as he was able.

Proceed we to the times following.^b Basil in the beginning of his tract, De Spiritu Sancto, tells Amphilochius, that he lately praying with the people, and concluding his prayers with a doxology,^c used variety of expressions therein ; (sometimes *to the Father with the Son*, together *with the Holy Ghost* ; sometimes *by the Son, in the Holy Ghost*) and

^a [Hom. xiv.] In Rom. viii.

^b Athanasius was exercised with more conflicts than others : Theodoret calls him elegantly, *Ὁ πέντασθλος τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνίστης*, "The five-crowned* champion for the truth." After many before, he meets with a new encounter in Julian's time ; of which that historian gives this account, *οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες γὰρ οἱ δαίμονες τῆς Ἀθανασίου γλώττης καὶ προσευχῆς τὸν ἰσχύον*, lib. iii. cap. viii. "The devils were not able to endure the power of Athanasius's preaching and praying ;" so that they could less bear his prayer and preaching, than that of others ; and therefore they raised him more troubles than others met with.

Now, if his preaching had been but the reading of the same homilies which others read, who could give a reason, from thence, why Satan should not endure it in him, as well as in others ? So, if his praying had but been the reading of the same prayers that others did read, no account can be given why the devils should be more troubled at his praying, than of the rest. The ordinary deacons or readers at Alexandria, and elsewhere, could read a prayer as well as he. Certainly his power in preaching was something else than his reading another man's sermons ; and was his power in praying no more than his reading another man's prayers ? One would think it could denote no less than that he had a more powerful (way or) faculty in preaching and praying.

And if it be said that this lay only in his more devout or earnest reading, &c. I answer—If the disinterested can be satisfied that his powerful faculty in preaching, was but his fervency in reading other men's sermons, I shall not contend, but that his powerful faculty in praying, might be no more than his devout reading of other men's prayers.

Athanasius himself shows us that prayers were not then had from prayer-books and prescribed forms, when he tells us, *Mens orationis fons est*, "the mind is the fountain of prayer."

^c Hook. Eccles. Pol. lib. v. § 42.

* The epithet alludes to the five different exercises in the Grecian games ; viz., leaping, throwing the discus or quoit, racing, wrestling, and boxing.—ED.

that offence was taken at one mode of his expressing it, Προσευχομένη μοι πρώην ἐπὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέρως τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀναπληροῦντι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ νῦν μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐπέσκηφان τίνες τῶν παρόντων ξενιζούσαις ἡμῶς φωναῖς κεκρῆσθαι λέγοντες,^a “Lately in my prayers with the people I concluded with the doxology to God and the Father in two ways, saying, at one time, With the Son, together with the Holy Ghost; and at another, By the Son, in the Holy Ghost; upon which some of those present said, that we used unusual expressions.” Hence it appears, Basil was not, would not be, limited to the same words, in any the least part of public prayers; not in one clause, so short a clause; not in the conclusion of a prayer, where those who vary in other parts, many times agree; not in a doxology, where those that are for more liberty elsewhere, can be content with less. He varies in this once and again, in several prayers, and none of his variations fall in with the usual mode, (*to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost;*) nor did the fear of offence restrain him from using this liberty.

Now, if in such circumstances he would not be confined, in the part of a prayer, to the invariable use of so short a clause, as the half of the doxology now used; would he be confined^b himself, or confine others to the invariable use of whole prayers? No, it is hereby evident, [that] his times knew no such bonds; he used such expressions, as to his auditory seemed strange and unusual, which the words of a common-prayer book could not have been.

Augustin, giving directions how the catechumens are to be instructed, adviseth the catechists (*Deo gratias* [being] particularly [mentioned,]) to accommodate themselves to their several capacities; and when they are to deal with those of some learning and eloquence,^c to let them understand, that God minds not so much the expressions, as the inward affection; *ita enim non irridebunt, si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesie forte animadverterint, vel cum barbarismis et solæcismis Deum invocare;*^d “so

^a cap. i. p. 248.

^b Basil, in praying publicly, used ξενιζούσαις φωναῖς, “strange or unusual expressions,” which could not be the words of a common-prayer book, of ordinary, though free use, much less of one prescribed and enjoined to be constantly and unvariably used. If there had been any such, you will not think, but Basil would have been confined to them; but he is far from it, he would not be limited to the same words.

^c Qui loquendi arte cæteris hominibus excellere videntur, “Who are thought to surpass other men in the art of speaking,” but not to be reckoned inter illos doctissimos, quorum mens magnarum rerum est exercitata questionibus, “amongst those who are truly learned, whose mind is occupied with questions relating to weighty matters.” [Id. *ibid.* p. 329.]

Discant non contemnere, quos cognoverint morum vitia, quam verborum, amplius devitare, “Let them learn not to despise those whom they find avoiding defects of morals more than those of speech.” Id. *ibid.* p. 329. His enim maxime utile est nosse, ita esse præponendas verbis sententias, ut præponitur animus corpori, “For it is especially useful to these to know that thoughts are to be preferred to words, in like manner as the soul to the body.” Id. p. 330.

^d De Catechis. Rudib. cap. ix. p. 320. tom. iv. pars poster.

they will not jeer, if perhaps they take notice, that some bishops and ministers of the church, do invoke God with barbarisms and solecisms." Prayers, wherein there were barbarisms and solecisms, none will imagine to have been prescribed by the church; yet such were the prayers both of bishops and ministers, in Austin's time.

Socrates, who lived in the middle of the fifth century,^a and whose history reaches anno 439, gives us an account of the variety then used in prayers, altogether inconsistent with any common prescribed liturgy,^b *Καθόλου, μέντοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ παρὰ πάσαις θρησκείαις τῶν εὐχῶν οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἀλλήλοις συμφωνούσας δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, "Generally, in any place whatsoever, and amongst all (the sorts of) worshippers, there cannot two be found agreeing to use the same prayers." Now where there was diversity of prayers everywhere, how could there be the use of one common liturgy? Where there was no *συμφωνία*, no agreement or concurrence, in using the same prayers in any place; how could there be one prescribed model? When there could not be found two, anywhere, using the same prayers, where were they to be found, that used the same service-book?

For the west, we may understand by Innocent's epistle to Decentius, formerly alleged, how far they were in the same age, from being confined to one form of church-service; when he tells us, every one celebrated, as pleased him.

And long after this, something of the ancient liberty is discernible, in the several countries, which was retained in some of them, even after the imposing spirit was roused and active. And by the remaining ruins, we may guess what it was, when it stood entire. At the time when the fourth council of Toledo was held, anno 633, the Spanish churches were not subject (though forwarder for such subjection than others) to imposed orders, for one form of worship; no not in the sacraments. Even these in the said churches, were celebrated in various modes, and in some of them unduly;^c as is expressed in the preface to that synod, *In sacramentis divinis, quæ diverso atque illicito modo in Hispaniarum*

^a Antonius of Valentia, a Dominican, (in the council of Trent,) said that it was plain, by all history, that anciently every church had her particular ritual of the mass, brought in by use, and upon occasion, rather than by deliberation and decree; and that the small church did follow the metropolitan, and the greater, which were near. The Roman rite hath been, to gratify the pope, received in many provinces, though the rites of many churches are still most different from it, &c. And that of Rome also hath had great alterations, and the true Roman rite, not that which is now observed by the priests in that city, &c. Hist. of the Council of Trent, lib. vi. pp. 548, 549.

Prayers in the end of ancient councils [were] not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite some bishops.

In Trent, not giving way to the extemporary spirit of any, they repeated it out of a paper. Ibid. p. 813.

Vid. Augustini Retractat. lib. ii. cap. xx. of varieties in sacraments, Nec tamen commemorari omnia poterunt, "nor is it possible to mention them all."

^b Lib. v. cap. [xxii.] p. 698.

^c Crab. tom. ii. p. 196. [Binius, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 345.]

ecclesiis celebrantur, "In the divine sacraments which are administered in various and improper modes in the churches of Spain."

In France^a they had books for public service, in the eighth century; yet were they used at the discretion of those that officiated, who added or left out, what they thought fit; till Charlemagne, in the beginning of the ninth age, would have them reformed after the Roman guise.^b

And in Germany, long after Boniface had been stickling to reduce it to the Roman uniformity, the whole country was so far from submitting to any one prescribed order of service, that in one^c diocese there were various modes of administering, particularly in that of Cologne. And Bruno,^d bishop there in the middle of the tenth age, was endeavouring to reform this, as church-matters, in those days, were wont to be reformed; *Diversitatem sacra peragendi in sua provincia corrigens, ac ut eadem ubique esset ratio constituens*, "He reformed the diversity in the administration of the sacred rites, and decreed that the method of procedure should be everywhere one and the same."

And in Ireland, (with which the Britons and Scots symbolised) we showed before, out of the great Usher, that till the twelfth century, no one general form of service was retained; but divers rites and manners of celebration were observed, till the Roman use was brought in, by the popes' legates.

So that all along it is manifest, [that] the uniformity aimed at, in the common prescribed liturgies, was only the issue and darling of late dark and degenerate times; an innovation upon the church's usages, in better times, and an invading of her ancient liberty; for which the bishops of Rome were the greatest zealots, designing therein the subjection of all other churches to that of Rome; and gaining thereby, both an acknowledgment of the papal authority, from those who submitted to this yoke,

^a Percipiens de omnibus civitatibus Franciæ magistros scholæ, antiphonarios eis ad corrigendum tradere, et ab iis discere cantare: correcti sunt ergo antiphonarii Francorum, quos unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vitiaverat, vel addens vel minuens, et omnes Franciæ cantores didicerunt formam Romanam, "Perceiving that the professors of all the cities of France gave to them the service-books to correct, and learnt the art of chanting from them; the service-books of the Franks, which every one had corrupted at his pleasure, either by additions or omissions, were accordingly corrected, and all the singing-men of France learnt the Roman fashion." Chron. Engolismense in Morn. De Miss. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 221.

^b fashion.

^c Quoniam in plerisque partibus intra eandem civitatem atque diocesim, permixti sunt populi diversarum linguarum, habentes sub una fide varios ritus et mores: districtè præcipimus, ut pontifices hujusmodi civitatum sive diocesum provideant viros idoneos, qui secundum diversitatem rituum et linguarum, divina illis officia celebrent, et ecclesiastica sacramenta ministrent, "Seeing that in most regions within the same city and diocese people of divers tongues are mingled together, possessing in subordination to the one faith various rites and customs, we strictly charge the bishops of cities or dioceses of this sort to provide proper men who shall celebrate for them according to this diversity of rites and tongues the divine offices, and shall administer the sacraments of the church." Decret. Greg. (3. q.) tit. xxxi. De Offic. Jud. Ord. cap. xiv.

^d Rotger. Vit. Brunonis, apud Surinm. obiit an. 965, Oct. 11.

and an advantage of diffusing the poison of her superstitions, through the body of the western empire, where uniformity in liturgy and rituals, became a chief part of the uniform apostasy of the latter times.

Thus we have gone through the disadvantages of proving a negative:^a let us now see, how they acquit themselves, upon whom the proof lies; affirming, that the liturgies they contend for, have been ever, from the beginning. And here, if anywhere, it would be an easy matter, to give the world abundant satisfaction, that what they assert is true, if indeed it were so: he that takes notice, what clear and full evidence may be easily had, from the writers of some one country, in a part of the last age, for prescribed liturgies; or what convincing and unanswerable proof may be brought for them, from the few writers, which were in part of the eighth or ninth centuries, when they had got place in the world; may justly expect, that, from that multitude of writings, in those many ages, which this question concerns, such ample and evident testimony for imposed forms, would be found by those who have laboured for it, as would leave no place for the least doubt but there were such in use all along, if they had been really, as is pretended, the usage of the churches, from the apostles' times. And if no such thing be produced, by those whose interest led them to ransack all antiquity for it; even this, if there were no more, will be a convincing argument, that the ancient church had no such custom. Let us then view, what the learned advocates for these liturgies have collected out of the ancients, and published for the satisfaction of the world, in this point; and impartially examine, whether it amount to such proof, as may be reasonably looked for in those circumstances, or whether it come not short of any just and competent proof at all.

Clemens Alexandrinus is one of the ancientest authors produced for this purpose; and he in these words.^b *Τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνήν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην*, thus rendered, "The congregation addicted to their prayers, having as it were one mind, and one voice common to all." Now (says my author) a congregation cannot have one voice in their prayers, without a set form for them to join in. But this is very strange and mysterious. I had thought, as others do, that the congregation had one voice, in respect of the minister speaking in their stead, one for all, and therefore accounted the *κοινὴ φωνή*, "the common mouth," the mouth of the people in praying,

^a Parker of Cr. lib. ii. p. 125.

Cum per rerum naturam factum negantis probatio nulla sit, "Since in the nature of things there is no proof of a negative fact." Decret. p. 2. Caus. vi. Quest. v. cap. ii.

Doth your discretion serve you to put us to prove the negative? you cannot prove they had, and that is cause sufficient for us to avouch they had not. Bils. Apol. cap. iv. p. 351.

^b Strom. lib. vii. [cap. vi. p. 818. Ed. Oxon.]

as when he preaches in the name of Christ, he is *χείλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, “the lips of Christ,” in Clemens’ style,^a or *στόμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, “the mouth of Christ,” as Basil calls Nazianzen.^b Now who can imagine, why he should not be their mouth, in uttering a conceived prayer, as well as in reading a prayer out of a book? ^c He had told us immediately before (and it is generally, by those of his persuasion acknowledged) that while the gift of prayer lasted, viz., in the apostolical age, there was no form settled; and therefore, if the people cannot have one voice in their prayers, without a set form; an apostle, or other primitive minister, praying with a congregation (since he used no set form) was not their mouth; nor did any church pray with one voice, all that age.

As insufficient for this purpose, is that of Tertullian.^d *Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis*, “We pray for the emperors, for their servants, for their governments, for the condition of the world, for peace, for a postponement of the end.” And that of Cyprian,^e *Pro arcendis hostibus, et imbris impetrandis, et vel auferendis vel temperandis adversis, rogamus semper et preces fundimus: et pro pace ac salute vestra*, &c. “For the expulsion of foes, for the obtaining of rain, for the removal or tempering of calamities, we ever make request and pour forth prayers, as well as for your peace and safety.” And that of Basil,^f (which though in the age following, we join with these, because of the same import.) A friend of his, gone to travel, had written to him, that he would be mindful of him in his prayers; to whom his answer is this: *ἐπιλάθῃσθαι δὲ σοῦ*, &c. “To forget thee in my prayers is impossible, for thou rememberest, *ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα*, &c. that in the church we make prayers for all our brethren that travel, for all that are enrolled soldiers, for all that confess freely the Name, for all that bring forth spiritual fruits.”^g

Here is, in these severals,^h some account for what, and for whom they prayed; but not a syllable to signify, that they did it in set or prescribed forms. If those that pray without such forms, were to give an account of the scope and import of their usual prayers, and to express for what persons and things they ordinarily do pray; they would do it in such terms, as might be as just a ground for our author’s inference, as any alleged. Indeed, these allegations are so far from proving an imposed liturgy, with set forms of prayer, that they do not prove so much as a directory: for, in that which was composed for these nations, we have more than the persons for whom, and the things for which we

^a Strom. [lib. vii.]^b Ep. cxli.^c L'Estr. Alliane. of Div. Off. cap. i. p. 19.^d Apol. cap. xxxix.^e Epist. ad Demetr.^f Epist. cxli.^g Anonym. Use of Daily Public Prayers, pp. 6, 8.^h particulars.

should pray ; yet no more is specified in, or can be collected from any, or all the places now mentioned. I dare offer many more, of this nature, to any judicious eye, without fear that he will see any such thing therein, as the producer of these three would fain have seen. Let him that is minded, look."

The same author thinks he hath discovered a church common prayer-book in Origen ; but without any ground at all, save his desire to discover one so ancient : his words are, " Origen, in his fourth book against Celsus, quotes three or four several passages of Scripture, out of their *εὐχαὶ*, or prayers ; by prayers meaning that which the Grecians now call their *euchologium*, or prayer-book." But if he had consulted a little more with Origen, he might have discerned, that by *εὐχαὶ* he means the Psalter, or Psalms of David, and no other church-service book, besides the Scripture. For, in that book against Celsus, quoting any passage out of the Psalms, he says, so it is found *ἐν εὐχῇ*, " in the prayer." So lib. vi. p. 285, [edit. Cantabr. 1658,] where alleging Psalm cxxx. 1, 2, 3, he says, *λέλεκται ἐν εὐχῇ*, " it is said in the prayer," *Κύριε, οὐκ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου*, &c. " Lord, my heart is not lifted up," &c. So alleging Ps. l. 10, *διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστημόνως εὐχομένου*, " therefore it is said of him, praying understandingly," viz. the Psalmist, *καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ Θεός*, " create in me, O God, a clean heart." ^b So lib. iv. p. 178, *οὔτινες ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς εὐρομεν δεῖν τι λέγειν φρονοῦντας*, " who find in the prayers what the prudent ought to say," *ὅτι τοῦ ἐλέους Κυρίου πλήρης ἡ γῆ*, that " the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord ;" which, being found in two Psalms, xxxiii. 5, and cxix. 64, may be the reason he quotes it in the plural, *ἐν εὐχαῖς*. And this may be the place my author intends ; for he had not the confidence to transcribe it, nor direct particularly to it ; having, it is like, no hopes that any, whose fancy was not deeply tinctured with his conceits of such liturgies, looking upon the place, would mistake the Psalms of David for a Greek prayer-book.

Origen is again produced by him : who, says he, gives this description of true Christians, *Οἱ διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεραπεύοντες Θεόν, καὶ βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ταῖς προσταχθείσαις τε εὐχαῖς συνεχέστερον καὶ δεόντως, νύκτος καὶ ἡμέρας χρώμενοι*,^c that is, as he renders it, " They that serve the God of all, through Christ, and live according to his gospel ; who also frequently and duly, both night and day, use those prayers that are (prescribed, as he will have it, or, which is all the word imports) commanded." There needs not many words, to

^a Cyril. Catech. 5. [n. 3.] Tertull. Apol. cap. xxx. Chrysost. Hom. [vi.] in 1 Tim. p. 271. and in 2 Cor. p. 557. and Hilary, in Cant. iv. p. 414. Auctor De Vocat. Gent. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 798. Cælestin. Epist. in Prosper. p. 294, pro Prosper. et Hilario, cap. xi.

^b Lib. vii. p. 351.

^c Lib. vi. against Cels. [p. 302.]

show the impertinency and unserviceableness of this passage, for the purpose for which it is alleged. When it appears,^a first, that those were not private prayers, which were to be put up night and day, at any hour of either; secondly, that there are no prayers commanded, but in set forms, or that, if it had been *προσταχθείσας ὁμιλίαις*, any one would have understood thereby, prescribed and set forms of sermons; and thirdly, that there are no commands for frequent praying, but human inventions or prescriptions: then this allegation may be thought pertinent, and further considered. But the producer of it would not judge it worthy so much, professing his distrust of its sufficiency to prove what he desires; "Yet, I profess," saith he, "I do not allege this passage, as an infallible proof, because I know the word *προσταχθείσας* may be also otherwise interpreted." If he had said, the word, when applied to prayers, in Origen, or any near his time, could never be but otherwise interpreted, he had spoken with more ingenuity,^b and no less truth.

Another place in Origen is more commonly insisted on, viz. in Homil. xi. upon Jeremy; and for imposed forms, they argue from the mode of an expression there, which, what it was in Origen, no man can tell; since in those Latin commentaries, we never have his words, and can never know (as his translators have used him) when we have his sense, or whether we read him or them.^c However, these are the words alleged, *Ubi frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da Omnipotens, da nobis partem cum prophetis, da cum apostolis Christi tui, tribue ut inveniamur ad vestigia unigeniti tui*; "When we often say in prayer, Grant, Almighty, grant us a lot with thy prophets, with the apostles of thy Christ, give us that we may be found at the steps of thy only Son." Here it is presumed, that these are Origen's words, and not his translators'; and that the form of his expression (on which alone the reasoning is grounded) is exactly and faithfully transferred to us, by those who declare they used no such exactness or faithfulness in reading him. It is presumed also, that this was his meaning, that they frequently used, not only those petitions, but those very words, which there is no need we should grant: yet, if all these were yielded, no more can hence be concluded, than what is common with those who pray extempore, viz., that they often in prayer, preferred one or two petitions, in the same words. Or,

^a The same Origen [says] in Gen. Hom. x. Sine intermissione orandum, apostolus præcipit: vos qui ad orationes non convenitis, quomodo impletis sine intermissione, quod semper omittitis? " 'Pray without ceasing,' the apostle commands; how do ye who meet not at the prayers fulfil without ceasing that duty which ye always omit?"

^b ingenuousness.

^c Satis constat, Origenis, quæ Latine tantum extant, a Rufino et aliis interpretibus ita fuisse interpolata, ut ex iis vix possit certo intelligi, quid vere sit Origenicum, "It is clear enough that the works of Origen, which are extant in Latin only, have been so interpolated by Rufinus, and other translators, that it is scarcely possible to gather from them what is truly Origen's." Dall. De lib. Suppos. Dionys., &c. lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. p. 110.

if I should grant, that this was a form of prayer, when there is nothing to persuade it, more than that the apostles' was a set form,^a (οὐ παύομαι πάντοτε, "I never cease," there being no less than frequenter here) yet what shadow of a proof is there, that it was a prescribed form?

Another very learned man thinks there is sufficient evidence for the forms in question, from one or two words (*Dominica solennia*, "Lord's-day solemnities,") in Tertullian.^b But what Tertullian means by those *solennia*, "solemnities," himself particularly declares in the same place; *Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, aut allocutiones proferuntur, ita inde visionibus materiæ subministrantur*, "Already whilst the Scriptures are reading, or psalms singing, or petitions offering, or addresses delivering, materials are thus furnished from these exercises for visions;" the reading of the Scriptures, the singing of psalms, the prayers, and the sermons, are the *Dominica solennia* mentioned. Now, if he who alleges this can persuade the world, that at every assembly the same chapters were still read, the same psalms always sung, and the same sermons still preached; he may persuade us, that the same prayers in the same form and words, were always made; because forsooth, these (as the other, and no more, no otherwise than the other) are *solennia*, in Tertullian's style. Yet, if we were so credulous, as to be persuaded into such a paradox, his work would not be done; for prayers might be, (and are frequently) the same, and yet not prescribed. In^c Tertullian's time, neither the order of reading, nor singing, nor preaching, was prescribed; and yet they were in his style and account, *solennia*; and that prayers must be concluded to have been in prescribed forms, merely because he reckons them, as the other, *inter Dominica solennia*, "amongst the Lord's-day solemnities," will seem wonderful to an ordinary reason.

By this we may judge, how reasonably the same word in Cyprian is made use of, for the same purpose, *Ubi vero solennibus adimpletis dare calicem diaconus præsentibus capit*,^d "When the things wont to be done, before the distribution, being performed, the deacon began to give the

^a Eph. i. 16—18, &c. 2 Thess. i. 11, 12.

^b De Anima, cap. ix.

^c Ut quisque de Scripturis, vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere, "Appeal is made to every one as he is able either from the Scriptures or out of his own mind, to sing publicly to God." Tertull. [Apol. cap. xxxix.]

Now, as concerning the ancient and general course of God's praises, and reading the Scripture, it appears by Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, that the order of reading the Scripture in the church was arbitrary in their time, as accommodated to the condition of the times and occasions of their assemblies, by the guides of several churches. The one of them saith, that the Scriptures are read μέχρις ἐρχομεν, "as long as is meet:" the other words are these, Apol. cap. xxxix. Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere; "We assemble to repeat the Scriptures of God, what the condition of the present times enforceth, either to forewarn or to recognise." The order, which is accommodated to the condition of the times, cannot be certain and appointed afore. H. Thornd. Serv. at Publ. Assem. pp. 397, 398.

^d Serm. De Lapsis.

cup to those who were present." Prayers were some of those things which were wont to be performed before, and so may be included in *solennibus*. But that *solennia* should here denote prescribed forms of prayer, or such forms as were generally frequented, or indeed, any forms whatsoever, there is not the least show of reason (which we made evident by Cyprian's master, even now.) Nor could it have fallen into any imagination, but of one only fully possessed with a conceit that none but such forms were then in use. The learned person producing those words, tells us a little before,^a [that] the eucharist was celebrated with solemn prayers, in the apostles' times; and yet acknowledges,^b these were not set forms, but such as were suggested by the Spirit, and made by virtue of the extraordinary gift; which, with Chrysostom, he calls *χάρισμα εὐχῆς*: so that solemn prayers were not set forms then; and who can divine, why they must needs be so in Cyprian?

But in answer to these testimonies, this may suffice. I will add no more, "Ἴνα μὴ ὑποπλέον τὰ ἀραχνίδια διακόπτοντες καταποιώμεν," "Lest by rending cobwebs we overdo the matter," to use Chrysostom's words.^c Hitherto we meet with no evidence, for so much as any arbitrary forms of prayer, in the first and best ages of the church; much less for prescribed forms. And yet this is the very best evidence that I can meet with (produced by any that have laboured in this argument) for the first three hundred years; and indeed all, that hath any show of proof, if so be all that hath been examined, may seem to have so much. I should show too much contempt of the reverend author's judgment, if I should offer with more words, to satisfy him, that the pretended Ignatius's *μία προσευχή*,^d "one prayer," or Justin Martyr's *κοινὴ εὐχή*,^e "common prayer," or the ancient preface, or Tertullian's mode of renunciation,^f *Sursum corda*, "Lift up your hearts," or the use of a doxology (of these two last, see what is said before) have not so much as the face of a proof for the liturgies in question. And I might be suspected of some design to render their advocates contemptible, if I should insinuate, that any of them rely upon that, in this cause, which yields not the shadow of a support. I am much mistaken, if those that are judicious and disinterested, can count anything proved hereby, more than this, that those who make use of such allegations, are at a great loss for want of proofs. But I must not overlook what I met with, when

^a p. 240.

^b I acknowledge, that under the apostles, the prayers of the church were not prescribed, but conceived, by those that were employed in that office. Thornd. Right of Church, 328.

He makes it an argument for prescribed forms, that deacons were employed; yet says, they were not in prayers at the eucharist, p. 329, but appropriates these to presbyters, 328. And that which deacons did in the other was *προσφώνησις*, "bidding of prayer," not praying, which Clem. Constit. distinguishes. Videl. *προσφώνησις*, "the deacon's part," *ἐπίκλησις*, "the bishop's." Lib. viii. cap. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xv.

^c In 1 Cor. xv. p. 514.

^d Epist. ad Magn. [sect. vii.]

^e Apol. ii. [p. 97. Ed. 1686.]

^f De Corona Milit.

I had thus far proceeded. I was not a little amazed, to see some Protestants willing to allege that impudent forgery, called the liturgy of St. James, as evidence for prescribed liturgies; a piece stuffed with many superstitions and novelties,^a such as were never dreamt of in the apostles' times, nor long after; and not without some strictures of blasphemy and idolatry (offering incense to God, for remission of sins, and invoking the Virgin Mary.) So that Bellarmine himself (though the interest of a desperate cause, needing such supports, might have tempted him (as well as others) to it; many corruptions, which he is engaged to defend, being therein countenanced) durst not say it was his, on whom it is fathered. *De Jacobi liturgia sic sentio, eam aut non esse ejus, aut multa à posterioribus eidem addita*, "Concerning the liturgy of James, it is my opinion, either that it is not his, or that many things have been added by later hands than his." He instances^b in divers particulars,^c not known in the first times, and then adds, *Multa sunt alia, quæ redolent novitatem*, "There are many other things therein, that savour of novelty."

All that Baronius hath to^d say for it, is, [that] some passages in the

^a οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὁρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα, "For it does not preserve the pure character of apostolical orthodoxy." Euseb. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xxxii. The dialogues betwixt Peter and Apion were condemned as counterfeit, upon this account. The following are a few instances from the Liturgy. Πρόσδεξαι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ ἄφεςιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν δόξα σοὶ Μαρία—"Receive this incense as a perfume of a sweet savour for the remission of sins. Glory to thee, Mary!" Μνημονεύωμεν δεσποίνης θεοτόκου, &c. "Let us make mention of the queen, the mother of God!" Postea, Mariæ et omnium sanctorum, ut precibus et intercessionibus eorum misericordiam consequamur, ut oblatio sit in requiem animarum, quæ ante nos dormierunt, Afterwards, "(Let us make mention) of Mary and all the saints, that by their prayers and intercessions we may obtain mercy, and that the oblation may procure rest for the souls which have fallen asleep before us,"—μακαρίαις ψυχαῖς ἀναπαύων, "giving rest to the souls of the blessed."

^b gives instances.

^c Nam in ea jubet fieri mentionem apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, et alibi meminit anchoritarum, et Christianorum damnatorum ad metalla; cum tamen constat anchoretes cœpisse à Paulo primo eremita, et Christianos cœpisse damnari ad metalla post tempora apostolorum. Ibidem jubet recitari, Gloria Patri et Filio, &c. quem hymnum compositum fuisse in concilio Nicæno, communis opinio est. Jubet et dici, Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus et Immortalis, Miserere Nobis, qui diu post tempora sancti Jacobi inventus est. Multa sunt alia, quæ redolent novitatem, "Herein he orders that mention be made of the apostles, martyrs, and confessors; and in another place, of anchorets and Christians condemned to the mines: whereas it is clear, that the anchorets took their rise from Paul, the first hermit, and that the Christians were first condemned to the mines subsequent to the times of the apostles. In the same book he orders that the Gloria Patri, et Filio, &c. be said, which hymn, it is the common opinion, was composed in the council of Nice. He also orders that the Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus et Immortalis, Miserere Nobis, be used, which was made long after the times of St. James. There are many other things in it which savour of a modern date." Vid. Rivet. Crit. Sacr. pp. 110, 271.

^d The cardinal brings five instances: most he misrepresents; none serve his turn.

1. Sursum corda, "Lift up your hearts," so in Cyril, ἀνο τὰς καρδίας, "Lift up your hearts," but in the liturgy not so, but ἀνο σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, "Let us lift up our mind and our hearts," and the answer in Cyril is, ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, "We lift them up unto the Lord;" but in the liturgy quite otherwise, viz. ἄγιον καὶ δίκαιον, "It is meet and right."

2. Orate pro vivis et defunctis, "Pray for the living and the dead," which words neither priest nor deacon useth, either in Cyril, or the liturgy.

3. Osculemini invicem in osculo sancto, "Kiss one another with a holy kiss;" in the liturgy, ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, "Let us embrace one another with a holy kiss," but in Cyril,

catechisms called Cyril's,^a [are] agreeable to somewhat in the said missal, as he will have it; (*Quam verè ejus esse plane cognosceret, qui eam conferat cum iis, quæ Cyrillus ejusdem ecclesiæ Hierosolymorum episcopus in suis mystagogicis orationibus habet, quæ quidem ipse non aliunde quam ex Jacobi liturgia cognoscitur accepisse,*^b "How truly it is his, he who compares it with those things which Cyril, bishop of the same church of Jerusalem, has in his mystagogic orations, will plainly discern, which things Cyril himself acknowledges he took from the liturgy of James,"^c) which is a very serviceable argument, and may happily^c prove as well, that Cyril was the author of the liturgy ascribed to James, or that James was the writer of the catechisms attributed to Cyril. How it is known, that Cyril could not have these passages anywhere else, but from James's liturgy, I apprehend not; we must take the cardinal's word, nor is it capable of better proof: but, that those particulars might be transferred out of the catechisms into that liturgy, we may well understand another way.

It was some disparagement to the church of Rome, not to have a liturgy which might pretend to be apostolical, as well as the church of Jerusalem and Alexandria. A missal is formed, wherein the prayer for consecration, is *verbatim* the same with that called "The Canon of the Roman Mass:" this missal, for the reputation of that canon, must pass for St. Peter's. But Gregory, bishop of Rome, who six hundred years after Christ, knew no apostolical liturgies, and says, [that] in the apostles' times, there were no forms used in the eucharist, no not for consecration, but only the^d Lord's prayer, tells us also unhappily, that one Scholasticus made the canonical prayer used in the Roman church, for consecration of the eucharist; so that, if we will believe Gregory, (who knew the original of the Roman liturgies, as well as most parents know their children^e) their St. Peter must be beholding, for the said prayer, to Scholasticus (even as James was to a catechism for the forementioned

βοῦξ ὁ διάκονος, ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα, "The deacon calls out, Receive ye one another, and let us embrace one another."

4. Sancta sanctis, "Holy things for holy men." Resp. Unus est Spiritus, &c. The response is, "There is one Spirit." So in the liturgy, but with the addition of εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς ᾧ δόξα εἰς αἰῶνα, "To the glory of God the Father, to whom be glory for ever," which is not in Cyril.

5. Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus, "Taste and see that the Lord is good," is in other liturgies (as some of the former are) and so may as well prove James to be the author of them, as of this.

^a Ad an. 63, n. 17.

^b Ibid.

^c haply.

^d Orationem autem Dominicam ideo mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum erat, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem, oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconueniens visum est, ut precem quam Scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus; et ipsam traditionem, quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus, "We say the Lord's prayer directly after this prayer, because it was the custom of the apostles to consecrate the sacrifice with that prayer only. And it appeared very unsuitable to me, to offer over the oblation the prayer which Scholasticus had composed, and not to offer the form which our Redeemer composed, over his body and blood." Greg. [Magn.] lib. vii. Ep. lxiii. [p. 230.]

^e Omnis ecclesiastici officii institutio veteris fuit Gregorii, "The whole ordering of the ancient ecclesiastical service was Gregory's work." Platina. Vit. Greg.

passages) unless we can imagine, that Gregory,^a by Scholasticus, understood the apostle Peter. But even this should not seem strange; since to Bellarmine, in his zeal for the canon of the mass, it is probable; and yet^b probable too, that Gregory, by Scholasticus, understood some person who lived in his own time. How hard is it for the greatest persons to manage the defence of apostolical liturgies, without rendering themselves ridiculous!^c

But these, whom I deal with, seem not to own this missal of James directly, speaking of it only as the opinion of some Greeks who tell of such a liturgy. What Greeks these are, I know not; not finding any Greeks owning it, till seven hundred years after Christ: yea, the Greeks under the patriarch of Constantinople, and those in the diocese of the orient also, did utterly disclaim that liturgy one thousand two hundred years after Christ, as^d Balsamon, the patriarch of Antioch, declares.

Those that own it, or others, as apostolical, or did so heretofore, never did, never will, give any account thereof to the world, to clear them from imposture.^e

To waive the arguments usually insisted on, (that we may not *actum agere*, “do what has been done,”) these liturgies were not known (nor used) before the seventh or eighth century.^f For if they had been known in the foregoing ages,

^a Admittere possumus totum canonem, exceptis verbis Domini, a Scholastico compositum, quia nimirum et Sanctus Petrus, et cæteri sancti pontifices Scholastici dici possunt, “We may admit that the whole canon, with the exception of the words of our Lord, was composed by Scholasticus, since St. Peter, and other holy bishops, may very well go by the name of Scholastics.” Bellarm. De Miss. lib. ii. cap. xix. p. 819.

^b Si Gregorius, per Scholasticum, intelligat certum aliquem hominem, qui ætate ipsius vixerit, ut adversarii contendunt, utraque probabilis est, “If, however, as our opponents contend, Gregory means by Scholasticus any particular person who lived in his own time, it is agreed to be a probable supposition.” Id. ibid.

^c Flammens cupidus nobilitatis avitæ cogit homines interdum delirare, “A burning desire after ancient nobility sometimes drives men mad.” Baronius.

^d Attamen 85 canon sanctorum et omni laude celebrium apostolorum, et 59 canon Laodiceæ synodi, enumerantes Veteris Testamenti et Novi, ipsosque apostolicos libros, qui in usu nobis esse debent, nullam sacrificii S. Marci, vel S. Jacobi mentionem faciunt, neque etiam catholica sanctissimi et œcumenici throni Constantinopolis ecclesia, ullo modo eas liturgias agnoscit. Pronunciamus igitur, non esse has recipiendas, “The 85th canon of the holy and famous apostles, and the 59th canon of the council of Laodicea, when enumerating the books of the Old and New Testaments, and the writings of the apostles, which we ought to use, make no mention of the missal of St. Mark or St. James; nor does the catholic church of the most holy and œcumenical throne of Constantinople acknowledge in any manner those liturgies. We pronounce, therefore, that they are not to be received.” Balsam. in Respons. ad Quæst. Marci. Petr. Alex. writ[ten,] as Baronius observes, an. 1204.

^e The last particular, of ὑπόκρισις ψευδολόγων, “the hypocrisy of liars,” I made to be counterfeit writings, under the names of the first and best antiquity; St. Peter’s liturgy, the liturgy of St. James, Matthew, Mark, &c. Through which we need not doubt, but the doctrine of demons was promoted, when we see some not ashamed still to maintain it, by those counterfeit authorities. Mede, Apost. of Lat. Times, p. 139.

^f The dialogues betwixt Peter and Apion were rejected for less than this, ὧν οὐδ’ ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, “Of which no mention is made by the ancients.” Euseb. Hist. lib. iii. cap. xxxviii. Yea, the epistle of James was in danger, not because it was never mentioned (it would never have been received by any under such silence) but because it was not so frequently men-

1. Certainly there would have been some mention of them, by some fathers, councils, or other writers; by those surely, who give an account of all apostolical writings, both questioned and unquestionable; or those who lived upon the place where these counterfeits, assuming those great names, are said to have been entertained, particularly for that of James, by Eusebius, Cyril, or Jerome, who resided in Palestine.

2. Undoubtedly they would have been generally admitted, as other apostolical writings were. None would have seen reason to have composed other liturgies, nor would any other have been preferred before them.

3. Finally, none would have presumed, or would have been suffered without control, to have enlarged, curtailed, inverted them, and made all kind of alterations therein, as some have done,^a so as they are quite transformed from what they were once; insomuch as their favourers can show us no one part of them, which may with any assurance be ascribed to the first authors, whoever they were. This is acknowledged, and said to be done in several ages, by the guides of those churches, where they had entertainment: who by thus using them, evidently declared, either that they did not believe them to be apostolical, nor would have had them so accounted; or else, that themselves

tioned, οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν, τῶν πάλαι αὐτῇ ἐννημόνευσαν, "Not many of the ancients mention it." although it was received and approved, ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησίαις, "in most churches." Euseb. lib. ii. cap. xxii. Græc. κγ'.

The second epistle of Clement was not approved as genuine, οὐ μὲν ἐθ' ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρῃ καὶ ταυτὴν γνῶριμον ἐπιστάμεθα· ὅτι μὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αὐτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν, "We are aware that this is not in equal repute with the first, because the ancients, as far as we know, did not use it," Euseb. [lib. iii. cap. xxxviii.]

So Augustin rejects the writings under the name of Andrew and John, because they were not admitted by the church. Contra Advers. Leg. lib. i. cap. lxx. Contra Faust. lib. xx. cap. lxxix.

^a Nam ut Latini ipsi et Græci pontifices, multa deinceps in suis liturgiis, quas jam inde ab apostolis acceperant, pro re nata, vel immutarunt, vel addiderunt: ita etiam ab Alexandrinis et Ægyptiis, par est credere, pro temporum opportunitate factitatum, "For as the Latin bishops themselves, and the Greek successively, either added or changed as they had occasion many things in their liturgies which they had received even from the apostles, and onwards, so also it is reasonable to believe, that the same was frequently done by the Alexandrian and Egyptian bishops, as the times served." Victorius Scialach. Preface to his version of Three Arabic Liturgies.

Illud accidit (quod etiam apud Latinos factum esse constat) ut in sacratissima missa (viz. Jacobi) aliis superadditis precibus, aliis autem breviori summa contractis, ritibusque nonnihil auctis aut immutatis, vel tamen substantia integra permanente paulo diversior ab illa pristina habeatur, "It happened (as is clear took place even amongst the Latins) that by the addition of some prayers, by the abridgment of others into a short compendium, by the amplification or change in some degree of rites in this most sacred missal (viz. of James's,) whilst, however, the substance remained unimpaired, it assumed a somewhat different shape from its primitive one." Baronius in Spond. ad an. 63, n. 5.

Extat etiam liturgia eidem S. Jacobo attributa, quæ tamen à posterioribus ita locupletata est, ut non sit facile dijudicium, quæ pars ejus liturgiæ S. Jacobum habeat authorem, "There is also extant a liturgy ascribed to the same St. James; which, however, has been so interpolated by later hands, that it is not easy to decide what part of it has St. James for its author." Beilarm. De Script. Eccles. p. 33.

And [H]erbert T[horndike] compares the pretended primitive liturgies to Thesens' ship, which had been so changed, as no man could tell what part of it remained. Serv. of Ch. at Relig. Assemb. p. 250.

were impious wretches, in making so bold with that which should have been preserved inviolable as the Scripture ; and wretched impostors too, who would thrust their own patches, and others no better than their own, upon Christians, under apostolical names : and so, one of these ways, all the credit is lost, upon which they are recommended to the world as apostolical.

But, if they were not known (as is manifest by the premises they were not) for so many ages ; then, neither were they extant, and so, owe not their original to the apostles, or any near their times. For it is impossible, that, if they had been extant, and composed by the apostles, for the constant and daily use of the churches, they should not be known to the generality of Christians, supposed to have so used them : or, if any will say, [that] the churches used them not, he must condemn them as highly impious, living in wilful disobedience to the apostles' orders, and open contempt of their authority, from generation to generation : and further, if they were not known to be apostolical, before the seventh or eighth ages, there is no way left to know it after. Innate arguments there are none, in those pieces, to evidence it, but many which show the contrary ; no features or lineaments truly apostolical, but much of the scurf and luxuriousness of corrupt and decrepit ages. So that there is nothing but testimony to rely on, and he that will admit writings to be apostolical, upon the testimony of times wherein delusion and degeneracy prevailed, without the least attestation of the first churches, and so many intermediate ages, is well disposed to be deluded, or delude others.

To conclude, if those^a who allege them, did know any prayers, in that [liturgy] of James, or the rest, which they really believed to be apostolical, they would use those themselves, they would employ their authority and interest to have them used by others ; they would not be so arrogant, as to think their own models, or so weak, as to judge the forms of others better ; or so perverse, as to make choice of the worse ; they would not show such contempt of the apostles, as to prefer others before them ; or such disobedience, as never to observe what they prescribed. All the writings of the apostles (they being universal officers divinely inspired) oblige all ; so that I see not what room there is for excuse, unless they will say, that though the apostles composed these liturgies, yet they did not enjoin the use of them, but left it arbitrary, imposing on none. Yet even thus, though there be less disobedience, there is no less contempt. For those that will have prayers of others' composing used, when there is also choice of them ; do they not offer an affront to the

^a Bilson, Apol. par. 4, p. 409. When the papist reasoneth after this manner, Sure[ly] the apostles had some precise form of service, though we know it not ; the reply to them is : Since you know it not, why make you it your anchor-hold, seeing what the apostles did observe, none would have dared but have observed it, after their example !

apostles, with the aggravations forementioned, if they neglect theirs, and use and impose those of others?

And if the apostles did not enjoin the use of their supposed liturgies, nor would impose them on any, why are they not imitated herein? Why, having less authority, (to say nothing of wisdom) do our liturgists take more upon them, than the apostles would do, in imposing on those, whom they thought best to leave free; and imperiously prescribing their own weak inventions, or others, weaker and worse than their own, when the apostles, divinely inspired, did not so much as advise the use of their supposed forms?

But if they do not know, nor really believe, (as the premises persuade me they do not) that those forms and prayers, or any of them, are the apostles'; is it ingenuous to offer that for proof, which they do not themselves believe?

Let us then leave them to those who can believe them, which I shall wonder if any can, but those who have a faith at command, (when it will serve a turn) wide enough to swallow Jacobus de Voragine^a without mincing.

If I have stayed the longer here, they will, I hope, bear with me, who tender the honour of the apostles, and of the Divine and infallible Spirit, to whose inspirations we owe all their writings; and would not have them lie under the unsufferable reproach, of having such deformed brats fathered on them; which indeed were the issue of darkness and degeneracy, and the ages wherein those prevailed; but borrowed those great and sacred names, to hide their shame, and gain them reputation, in a world much under the power of delusion, where alone it was to be hoped for.

Thus we have cleared the first three hundred years after Christ, from all suspicion of worshipping God publicly, in the way under debate; having examined all that is alleged, either for prescribed or arbitrary forms; and finding nothing of weight therein, to sway a disinterested person to believe there was any such thing, or to procure the assent of any, but those who are disposed to yield it without proof. And since that is not found to have been the way of the three first ages of Christianity, it is not very considerable,^b nor scarce worth the inquiry, in what times else this may be found,—a way of worshipping God in public assemblies, for which there is nothing in the apostles' writings or practice, or in the practice of the first churches, and those after them for three hundred years; and so, neither rule, nor reason, nor example, in the best and most imitable ages; where also, their way of worship-

^a Jacobus de Voragine was the author of the "Legenda Aurea, or Golden Legend," a book full of the most astounding narratives concerning the saints. He was the mediæval Alban Butler.—Ed.

^b worthy consideration.

ping is deserted, who served God most regularly and acceptably. If it find anything to excuse it, it will have nothing to commend it to any, unless we will admit those of such palates to be our tasters, who like a puddle better than either the spring or the streams while they run anything clear.

In the two next ages, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ πράγματα προῆλθε, “things grew worse and worse,”^a as he tells us, who resolutely set himself against the stream of the then prevailing corruptions, but found it too violent for him, and warned others by what befel him, that to strive against it, was the way to be sunk. Those who have no great affection for these liturgies, will not envy them the honour of having their rise in such degeneracy, as the best writers of those days saw so much cause to lament. The chief, if not the only ornament of those times, were those great persons, who had such reason to complain thereof. And many there were excellently accomplished, in the fourth age, and some till about the middle of the fifth. It may seem something for the credit of these liturgies, if they can be found in the church, while there was anything of such eminency in it; let us therefore view what is produced, as a discovery thereof.

The eighteenth canon of the council of Laodicea is alleged for prescribed liturgies,^b Περὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννῆταις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐσπέραις ὀφείλειν γένεσθαι, “That the same ministration of prayers ought to be used both at the ninth hour and at evening, viz. three in the afternoon.”

Hence it is argued, the same prayers are to be used, both at nones and vespers; therefore forms of prayer are imposed. But this is a very lame inference; for, neither is the consequence good, neither is the antecedent true.

The inconsequence is apparent, since the same prayers may be used often, and yet the words thereof not be prescribed or imposed. We have instances enough, to clear this, in our pulpits; where many, before their sermons, and after, use the same prayers morning and evening, whereas none prescribe the words, or impose those forms on them, but themselves. And so we might dismiss this canon, as making nothing for prescribed forms. If this synod would have had the same prayers used, yet here is not a syllable for prescribing the words thereof, or enjoining what forms should be used.

But, indeed, here is nothing to signify that it was the intent of the synod, to have the same prayers used, at the times specified; neither the whole phrase, (τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν, “the same ministration

^a Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. [vi.] p. 277.

^b Titulus in Crab. De Orationibus Quotidianis.

tion of prayers,") nor any word in it imports such a thing; and they make the fathers absurd, who fix such a sense on their decree. *Λειτουργία* will not serve the turn; for it does not here (as in later times) signify a book or model of prescribed and stinted forms of prayer, and other administrations. Indeed, as some papists, where they meet with this word, conclude they have found their mass; so others, when they find it, may fancy they have discovered a service-book: but both ridiculously, to those who understand the ancient use of the word.

For, no instance hath yet been produced, nor can be, wherein it is used in this sense, by any of the ancients, before this council, or long after: and therefore none will believe it is so taken here, but such whose desire to have it so, will serve for reason enough to believe it.

But *λειτουργία*,^a according to the notation and ancient known use of the word, denotes sometimes a public function or office, most commonly the exercise and administration of it,^b and then it is not the forms of action, but the action itself, the public use, employment, exercise, or ministration of that, to which it is applied, civil or religious. Applied to worship, it is not the forms of worship, but the ministration of it; so, *λειτουργία τῶν ὑμνῶν*, in Theodoret, is not a model of prescribed hymns, but the singing of hymns; so *λειτουργία τῶν ἀναγινωσκομένων γραφῶν*, in Justinian,^c is the holy exercise of reading the Scripture, not a rubric prescribing what lessons should be read; of which the ancient church knew nothing: and, (which comprises all) he will have him capitally punished, *κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖσθαι*, whosoever *τὰς Θείας λειτουργίας ταράξει*,^d "shall disturb the Divine ministrations;" the disturbance surely is of

^a *Λειτουργία κυρίως ἡ δημοσία ὑπηρεσία*, "*λειτουργία* properly signifies any public service." Suidas Lex.

Καὶ οὐ φεύγοντες γε τὰς κοινωτέρας τοῦ βίου λειτουργίας Χριστιανοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα περιίστανται· ἀλλὰ τηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς θεοσιτέρας καὶ ἀναγκασιτέρας λειτουργίας ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἀνθρώπων, "Not because they shun the commoner offices of life do the Christians decline the same, but as reserving themselves for the more divine and necessary service of God's church, in order to men's salvation." Origen cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 428.

Theodoret, Hist. lib. ii. cap. xxiv.

^b "Ἐχειν μὲν αὐτοὺς τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν," "That they should have the honour and exercise of their function." Epist. Synod. Nic. in Theodoret, lib. i. cap. ix. Vid. Conc. Antioch. [Can. iv.] in Cod. Can. xevii.

^c Καὶ ἱερὰ γέγοιτε λειτουργία, ὅποιαν εἰωθὸς ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς ἁγιοτάταις ἐκκλησιαῖς γίνεσθαι, τῶν τε Θείων ἀναγινωσκομένων γραφῶν, "A holy service of reading the Divine Scriptures is held, such as is customary in the churches of God," Just. [Nov. 7.]

Ψάλλειν τὰ τε νυκτερινὰ καὶ τὰ ὀρθρινὰ καὶ τὰ ἑσπρινὰ, "To sing the nocturnal and morning and evening hymns," is in the Code, ταῖς λειτουργίαις γίνεσθαι, "to engage in the exercises." Id. ibid. [Lib. i. tit. iii. Lex. xli. § 10. De Episc. et Cler.]

Prayers and liturgy are sometimes contradistinct, as when [it is said] *Privatæ domus εἰχλὼν χάριν*, sed non *ιεράς λειτουργίας*, "Private houses are for the purpose of prayers, but not for the holy service (*λειτουργίας*)." [Authent. Coll. v. tit. xiii.] Novel. 58. *λειτουργία* and *κοινωνία*, [are] distinct, Cod. lib. i. tit. iii. De Episc. et Cler. [Lex. xlv.] p. [19.] Vid. De Episcoporum aleatorum aut spectatorium, &c. "Of bishops who are gamblers or play-goers." Τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀφωρίζεσθαι λειτουργίας, "that they be excluded from the sacred ministration," (*λειτουργίας*.) [Lib. i. tit. iv. Lex. xxxiii.]

^d Auth. Coll. ix. tit. vi. [Nov. cxix.] cap. xxxi. [p. 174.]

λειτουργία τῶν κηρυττόντων, "the ministration of preachers," in Theophylact, and others," is preaching; which exercise will not be denied to the exercises of Divine ministrations, not of any written models. So have been performed without any prescribed forms, for many hundred years.

So, applied to prayer, λειτουργία τῶν εὐχῶν, here is not a model of prescribed prayers, but the exercise of praying; and therefore, unless we will prefer a sense of the word then utterly unknown to Christians, before the proper and^b usual acceptation of it, τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν, is not the same prescribed forms of prayer, or the same of any sort; but the same exercise of prayers, when long, was better performed, and such may be without such forms.

If *ἱεουργία* had been put by the synod in the place of *λειτουργία*, (a word apt to be mistaken, since it was applied to a later invention) nothing would have been understood hereby, but a holy exercise, or as it is in Hesychius, *ἔργον ἱερατικὸν*, "a sacred employment;" and by the whole, no other than the same holy exercise of prayer, instead of what is now made of it, the same prayers; and yet these two words were of the same import anciently. The apostle expresses his acting as a *λειτουργός*, by *ἱεουργεῖν*, Rom. xv. 16, and Chrysostom^c useth them as synonyms, and explains *λειτουργεῖν* by *ἱεουργεῖν*.

Again, for the phrase, let it be observed, that the expression is not *τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν αὐτῶν εὐχῶν*, "the ministration of the same prayers:" this indeed might have signified the use of the same prayers. But *τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν*, "the same ministration of prayers," is no more here the praying of the same prayers, at three and six afternoon, than *τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ κηρύγματος*, "the same ministration of preaching," would have been the preaching of the same sermon twice in one afternoon. And as there might have been *ἡ αὐτὴ λειτουργία τῶν ὕμνων*, "the same exercise of singing" at nones and vespers, without singing the same psalms at both hours; and the same service or exer-

^a Τί ἐστι λειτουργούντων; τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κηρυττόντων, "What is the meaning of *λειτουργόντων*, (as they ministered, Acts xiii. 2)? It is 'as they preached.'" Theophylact. in Act. xiii. v. 2. So (Eumenius, *ibid.* So Chrysostom, in Act. Hom. xxvii. p. 766. *Λειτουργοὶ εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ διαλέξεσι*, "Ministers (*λειτουργοὶ*) in prayers and preaching." Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. xlv. *Ὅκ ἀπλῶς λατρείαν λέγον, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν καὶ ἱεουργίαν* αὕτη γὰρ μοι ἱεροσύνη, τὸ κηρύττειν καὶ καταγγέλλειν, "Not saying simply *λατρία*, (worship,) as in the beginning, but *λειτουργίαν*, (ministry and priesthood.) For this is my priesthood, to wit, preaching and proclamation." Chrysost. in Rom. Hom. xix. p. 221, ver. 16.

^b So part of the presbyter's ministration, *λειτουργία*, Conc. Ancyr. is *προσφέρειν* and *ὁμιλεῖν*, "to offer and preach," Can. i. And the deacon's employment, or *λειτουργία*, is *ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν*, "to bear the bread and the cup, or to preach," Can. ii. And there is the *λειτουργία* of the deaconess, Conc. Chalced. Can. xv. *ὁδεξιμένη τε χειροθεσίαν, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ παραμείνασα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ*, "Receiving imposition of hands, and remaining a certain time in her ministration (*λειτουργία*.)"

^c Hom. xix. in Rom. f. 221, and Balsamon in Conc. Ancyr. [Can. i.]

cise of reading the Scripture, though the same chapters had not been read, or any by the prescript of a rubric; and the same ministry or exercise of preaching, though the same sermons had not been preached twice over within three hours, or without using any set forms of homilies: as well might there be τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν, the same exercise of praying at the third and sixth hours, without using the same prayers, or any set forms at all.

Besides, no rational account can be given, why the same prayers might be used at six, which were used at three [in the] afternoon. No decree, parallel to this (if so taken) can be produced; nor anything, in the practice of the church, before or after, agreeable to it. Where can it be showed, that the same prayers, without variation, were always used, at several hours of the same day, the same invariably at the sixth hour, as at the ninth, &c.? Even after unalterable forms were introduced, their several hours had their different offices; each of them, in the Latin church, did *statui temporis respondere*, “correspond to the character of the season,” and were suited to the time for which they were appointed, as Durandus tells us: and in the Greek church, they did τὰ εἰωθότα τῷ καιρῷ λειτουργεῖν, as Leo [tells us], “accommodate the service to the season.”^b

Beda speaks of a hymn sung *potius in vespertinis, quam in aliis officiis*, “rather at vespers than in any other office.”^c And Basil, long before him mentions one, which he calls ἐπιλυχνίαν εὐχαριστίαν, “the candle-light thanksgiving,” which was used at candle-light,^d τοῦ ἡσπερινοῦ φωτὸς φάνεντος.^e And such a one we have set down, by the most learned of primates,^f called ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ, “the candle-light hymn;” so proper for the evening, as^g it could not be congruously used at any other hour of the day. What reason is there to doubt, but their προσευχαὶ λυχνικαί, “candle-light prayers,” as Epiphanius^h calls them, or those ἐν ταῖς λυχναφίαις εὐχαί, “prayers at candle-light,”ⁱ were also accommodated to the

^a Sane officium sextæ statui temporis respondet, sicut et officia aliarum horarum; in prima namque hora est inchoatio, in tertia perfectio, in sexta consummatio, &c. Quod indicant verba hymnorum, quæ in ipsis horis, et etiam in nona permittuntur, “The office of the sixth hour, (*i. e.* noon,) corresponds to the character of the season, as also the offices of the other hours. For in the first hour, (*i. e.* six, a.m.) we have beginning: in the third, (*i. e.* nine, a.m.) maturity: in the sixth, (*i. e.* noon,) the end. Which the words of the hymns that are gone through in these hours, and also in the ninth hour (*i. e.* three, p.m.) indicate.” Durand. Rational. lib. v. cap. vii. p. 160.

^b [Vit. Chrys. Int. Op. tom. viii. p. 258.]

^c In Durand. lib. v. cap. ix. p. 162.

^d In the Cathemerinon of Prudentius, containing hymns for all parts of the day, the fifth (in the editions of Aldus, and all others but those of Giselinus and Fabricius) is intitled *Ad accensionem lucernæ*, “At the lighting of the lamp,” and was afterwards made use of as a church hymn, different, both from those four that go before it, (*ad galli cantum*, “at cock-crowing,” *ad matutinum*, “at dawn,” *ante cibum*, “before meat,” *post cibum*, “after meat,”) and those two that follow it. Vid. Rivet. Crit. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. xxvi. p. 331.

^e De Spirit. Sanct. cap. xxix. p. 276.

^f Usher, De Symb. p. 35.

^g that.

^h [Epiphan. Exp. Fid. n. xxiii. tom. i. p. 1106.]

ⁱ In Soerat. Hist. lib. v. cap. xxxi.

time from whence they are denominated, and at which they were used, as well as their hymns? To conclude, there is no need to make the canon thus confound the offices, which were always distinct, and without all reason, to run counter to all the Christian world; nor to force a sense upon the phrase, which it is impatient of; nor to put a construction upon *λειτουργία*, which those times were utterly strangers to. The design and import of it is but this; that those in that province, should assemble for worship twice [in the] afternoon; and as they had prayers at one of the hours, so should they have the same holy employment or exercise at the other; or as it is more briefly expressed in the Latin editions of that council, *Quod semper supplicationes orationum, et ad horam nonam, et ad^a vesperam oportet celebrari*,^b "That devotional supplications ought to be used at the ninth hour, (i.e. three p.m.) and at vespers (i.e. six p.m.)" *Quod id ipsum ministerium orationum, et in nonis et vesperis fieri debeat*,^c "That the same ministration of prayers ought to be used at nones and vespers." *Quod id ipsum officium precum et nona et vespera semper debeat exhiberi*,^d "That the same office of prayers ought to be used at both nones and vespers."

This canon of the Laodicean synod (which I have been the longer in examining, because I see some apt to mistake it, who have not so much bias as others to mislead them) is all considerable,^e that I find alleged for prescribed liturgies,^f in the fourth age. For I would not disparage all, with the unadvisedness of those who produce the twenty-third canon of the third Council of Carthage (and also the twelfth of Milevis) to support that which we have seen they utterly overthrow.

Only I must not forget that some make an offer at the liturgies which go under the names of Basil and Chrysostom; as though these would help their cause. But they do this but faintly, as knowing them to be by Protestants, generally branded for counterfeits; and that for many reasons, such as their opposites^g count very cogent, in like case: such being the order and matter of them, such rites there used, such persons there mentioned, many words, many things, therein, that they cannot but ridiculously be ascribed to those great persons, or to any, in or near their times. Our English prelates formerly had no more favour for them; take a taste thereof in Bishop White's censure^h of them: "The liturgies," saith he, "fathered upon St. Basil and St. Chrysostom,

^a In Clem. Constit. lib. viii. ἐπὶ κλησὶς ὀρθρινή, et ἑσπερινή, et ἐπὶ λύχνος, "the morning, and evening, and candle-light invocations," are distinct and different. Cap. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxvii. xxxviii.

^b Caranz.

^c Cod. Justel. p. 73.

^d In Crab. tom. i. p. 377.

^e deserving consideration.

^f Liturgy, in Martinus and others, [stands] 1. for any public office of ministry, and especially of distribution. 2. For the public service of God, in reading, teaching, praying. 3. For stated orders and forms of that public service. Bellarmine adds a fourth [sense], for the sacrificing offices only.

^g opponents.

^h opinion.

have a known mother (to wit, the late Roman church ;) but there is (besides many other just exceptions) so great dissimilitude between the supposed fathers and the children, that they rather argue the dishonest dealings of their mother, than serve as lawful witnesses of that which the adversary intendeth to prove by them."^a Indeed the Romanists are the great sticklers for the legitimation of these missals, seeing them full of those sores, which they count the beauty of their church. They are made use of, to countenance the worship of images and altars, the intercession and invocation of saints, the sacrifice of the mass, the real presence, the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, &c. And yet none of them have the confidence to affirm, that as we have them now, they were the issue of those on whom they are fathered. Only some, very loth quite to lose the advantages they would make of them, are willing to suppose that though they have suffered very great changes, by additions, interpolations, inversions, substractions, &c., yet something may yet remain therein of Basil's and Chrysostom's. But they give no reason why they suppose this, when it is necessary they should do it in this case, if [in] any ; since there are the same grounds for the entire rejection of these liturgies, which they count (and many more than they count) sufficient for the total rejecting of some others. If such groundless surmises may be admitted, no brat, though evidently spurious, but will procure a legitimation, in part at least, if any can expect thereby to serve a turn ; a way is hereby opened for an equal defence of the most impudent and pernicious forgeries that the church hath been pestered with. Some will be apt to suppose the like of the liturgies fathered upon Peter, James, Mark, and all the apostles, in their pretended Constitutions. Something therein may be theirs, and they may as reasonably suppose it ; for the Gospels which went under the names of Peter,^b James, Thaddeus, Thomas, Andrew, though they were changed and corrupted, yet what was found therein consentient^c to primitive and catholic doctrine, might be the apostles', and the substance of them of their composing. It is true, those gospels were not received by the first churches, but that makes no difference : since neither were those liturgies received by them, no nor known, or mentioned, as we showed before, (and so not extant) till many hundred years after the apostles' times ; and upon this account, their pretence to apostolicalness is more ridiculous than that of the other. And they who received those spurious liturgies so late, might, upon the same terms, have

^a Against Fisher, p. 377.

^b Those mentioned in *Synopsi Scripturæ*, in Athanas, tom. ii. p. 134. *Περίοδοι Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Θωμᾶ, Ἐυαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶ, διδασχὴ ἀποστόλων, Κλημέτια*, &c., "The journeys of Peter, John, Thomas, the Gospel according to Thomas, the teaching of the apostles, of Clement," &c. [In edit. Paris. 1627, tom. ii. p. 55.]

^c agreeable.

admitted the forged gospels, viz., changing and patching them, as they listed. But enough of this before.

As for the liturgies before us ; those who will suppose something of them to be Basil's or Chrysostom's, do not, cannot show us what that is ; nor do they, nor can they, give us any rule by which we may know it ; and so it is not, it cannot be known, that any prayer in them is theirs, to whom the whole is intituled :^a and therefore it cannot be hereby proved that ever either of them composed any prayers, for the public use of others ; much less that they prescribed any to be used, in the same form and words. And so, if this shift were honest, and safe, and reasonable ; yet is it wholly unserviceable for the proof of prescribed liturgies. To be brief, it is manifest in the genuine writings of both those fathers, that they judged it necessary to conceal and keep secret the sacramental rites and prayers (which is all that is considerable^b in those liturgies) from all but the communicants. Now they did not take the course to conceal, but divulge them, if they writ and published those liturgies, though but for the common use of the province or diocese where each of them presided ; and therefore, since we cannot conceive that they would run counter to their declared principles, it cannot be believed that they were the authors and divulgers of those, or any other such liturgies, or of any such prayers in them ; and consequently it is injurious to them to father these missals (if they were not otherwise so leprous, and every way unlike them) upon these worthies.

And so I leave them, stuffed so full with the corruptions of later times, that none but those who are fond of such corruptions, and would fain have them, right or wrong, of ancient generous extract, can believe them to be the issue of those fathers ; only let me interpose my conjecture, how it came to pass that Basil, Chrysostom, and Ambrose too, were accounted the authors of liturgies, though neither themselves nor any that lived with them, or near the time in which they flourished, mention any such thing. It is recorded of each of these persons, signally and peculiarly, that they introduced a new mode and order of singing, into the respective churches, where they presided, never there used before. Basil's new psalmody, brought in by him to Cæsarea, was made more remarkable, by the offence taken thereat by the clergy of Neocæsarea, as an innovation in the worship of God. He defends it, and gives an account what it was,^c *καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρωτηθῶσι τοῦ ἀκηρύκτου τούτου καὶ ἀσπόνδου πολέμου, ψαλμοὺς λέγουσι, καὶ τρόπον μελωδίας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν κεκρατηχίας συνηθείας παραλλαγμένους*, " If the cause be asked of this implacable and perpetual quarrel, they say, It is the psalms, and

^a ascribed.

^b worthy consideration.

^c Epist. lxiii.

the mode of singing, altering the custom which hath been retained amongst us." And afterwards, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν φάσι ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου, "There was none of this (say they) in the time of Gregory the Great." Now Basil denies not, but he had begun another way of singing than they had been accustomed to; but that it might appear how little reason there was to quarrel with him for it, he declares what it was, Τελευταῖον ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καθίστανται, καὶ νῦν μὲν διχᾶ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, &c. "Finally, rising from prayer, they betake themselves to singing, and sometimes the company being distributed into two parts, they answer one another in singing." The first who brought up this mode of singing^a was Flavianus and Diodorus, at Antioch, using it in their conventicles, when the Arians had possessed themselves of the public churches, as Theodoret relates it. From thence it passed to other places, and was first at Casarea practised by Basil.

Ambrose, who borrowed many other things of Basil, liked his psalmody so well, as^b he introduced it into the West, first using it in his church at Milan,^c and this when Augustin was there, who assures us, from his own knowledge, that it was not long since the practice there began; *Nimirum annus erat, aut non multo amplius, cum Justina Valentiniani regis pueri mater hominem tuum Ambrosium persequeretur hæresis suæ causa*, "It was but a year, or little more (before Austin was leaving those parts) when Justina, the mother of the young emperor Valentinian, persecuted the servant of God Ambrose, for her heresy's sake," (she being an Arian.) *Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia mori parata cum episcopo suo; tunc hymni et psalmi, ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus mæroris tedio contabesceret, institutum est*, "The godly multitude did watch in the church, ready to die with their bishop; then, lest the people should languish through the tediousness of their grief, was the singing of psalms and hymns, after the mode of the orient, instituted." And from Milan, where Ambrose^d

^a Οἱ τοὶ πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χρόνους, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾄδειν τὴν Δαυιδικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελωδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρχάμενον, πάντοτε διεδράμεν καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα, "They were the first who divided the choruses of the singers into two bands, and taught them to sing the psalmody of David by course. And this custom, which first began at Antioch, spread everywhere and reached the ends of the world." Theodoret Hist. lib. ii. cap. xxiv. p. 78. And by this it appears that the account which Socrates gives of the original hereof, (lib. vi. cap. viii.) is a fable, and either not known, or not believed by Theodoret, who yet was best acquainted with the customs of Antioch. ^b that.

^c Non longe cæperat Mediolanensis ecclesia genus hæc consolationis et exhortationis celebrare, magno studio fratrum concinentium vocibus et cordibus, "The church of Milan had not long commenced this mode of consolation and exhortation." Et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cætera orbis imitantibus, "And from that time it has been retained to the present day; and many, and indeed well nigh all the flocks, even throughout the other parts of the world, already imitate it." August. Confess. lib. ix. cap. vii. p. 221.

^d Antiphonæ hymni et vigiliæ in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari primum cæperunt, ejus celebritatis devotio, usque ad hodiernum diem, non solum in eadem ecclesia, verum per omnes pene

began it, did it pass into other churches of the west. Paulinus testifies as much in the life of Ambrose.

And Chrysostom was the first that brought in this order of singing amongst the orthodox, in the church at Constantinople, though the Arians had a little the start of him in practising it in the streets; for these, in the nights of the weekly festivals, as Socrates calls Saturday and the Lord's-day,^a and ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἑορταῖς, "on the principal [annual] feasts," (which Sozomen adds) κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἔψαλλον, "sung by course,"^b ᾧδας ἀντιφώνας,^c "antiphonal hymns." Chrysostom, lest any of his flock should be hereby enticed from him, puts his people upon singing in the same manner, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον τῆς ψαλμωδίας τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν προτρέπει, and upon such an occasion the orthodox, first taking up this mode of singing, continued it till now, says he; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης τὸν εὐρημένον τρόπον ὑμνεῖν ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν οὕτω διέμειναν.^d Now as these three fathers were the first introducers of that way of singing, in their several churches; so it is further observable that singing was anciently called λειτουργία, "a liturgy." So Chrysostom himself calls singing of psalms, οὐδὲ ῥαθυμοῦντες πότε προησόμεθα τὴν καλὴν λειτουργίαν,^e "We sing the beautiful liturgy, and never give way to sloth." And Theodoret calls that very mode of singing which they in their respective places first used, λειτουργίαν, "a liturgy." Leontius' desire that the Meletians would sing by course in public, is thus expressed, Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταύτῃν γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν λειτουργίαν ἡξίον, "He desired that the same *ministration* (λειτουργίαν) should be used in their churches."^f

So in Justinian's Code, ψαλλεῖν τά τε νυκτερινὰ καὶ τὰ ὀρθρινὰ, "to sing the nocturnal and morning hymns," is said to be πρᾶγμα τοῦ κληρικοῦ πρὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν, "the business of the clergy in reference to the *liturgy*." And thus ψαλλεῖν is there ταῖς λειτουργίαις προσκαρτερεῖν.^g

Now they being found authors of that which is called *liturgia*, this might seem a sufficient ground, to account them the formers of liturgies; and λειτουργία, in after ages being used for a model of set forms of prayer and other administrations, those that found them accounted the authors of liturgies, might easily mistake them to be the authors of such a thing as the word then signified.

Nor will this seem improbable, if it be observed, that a liturgy was

occidentis provincias manet, "Antiphonies first began to be used in the church of Milan, whose celebrated mode of devotion remains to this day, not only in that church, but throughout almost all the provinces of the west." Paulin. Vit. Ambros.

Besides, some hymns were composed by Ambrose; of which, there is ancient and sufficient testimony, though none such for the prayers ascribed to him.

^a lib. vi. cap. viii.

^b Soz. [lib. viii. cap. viii.]

^c See. ibid.

^d Soz. ibid.

^e Hom. in Psalm. xli.

^f Theod. Hist. lib. ii. cap. xxiv. p. 78.

^g [Lib. i. tit. iii.] Lex. [xli.] § x. De Episc. et Cler.

actually fathered upon James (called ἀδελφόςθεος, “the brother of God,”) merely because Hegesippus in Eusebius styles him λειτουργός. *Uuile* (says Cassander) *quidam putant opinionem natam, quod Jacobus primus missæ ritum instituerit, quem Hegesippus apud Eusebium primum ab apostolis constitutum fuisse episcopum, et liturgum dicit.*^a “Hence, some think, came the opinion that James was the first author of a missal; Hegesippus in Eusebius affirming that he was by the apostles first made bishop and liturgus.” And this might encourage those whose inclinations led them to father their own conceptions upon great and eminent persons, to compose such forms, as are the contents of those liturgies, and expose^b them under their names.

Add hereto, that amongst the Latins in those ages, when the framing and counterfeiting of liturgies was in fashion, almost every part of them went under the name of Cantus, “singing,” not the prayers excepted.^c So in the [thirteenth] canon of the fourth council of Toledo, all the several offices and prayers by name, pass under the notion of singing. The law of Charles the Great, imposing the Gregorian office upon the churches in his dominions, is in these terms, *Ut secundum ordinem et morem ecclesiæ Romanæ fiat cantatus*,^d “That the singing shall be after the order and custom of the Roman church.” So when Durandus would tell us what liturgies they had in the primitive church, all is comprised under Cantare: *In primitiva tamen ecclesia diversi diversa quisque pro suo velle cantabant*,^e “But in the primitive church different persons sang, every one according to his own mind, different things.” And Beletius after him, *In primitiva ecclesia diversi diversa cantabant, quisque pro suo libitu*.^f

Now those who were the introduceers of a particular way of singing in their churches, might thus come to be accounted the authors of liturgies for them, when these were expressed and understood by *cantus*, and *cantare* became equivalent with λειτουργεῖν in its modern signification. And it will be hard for them who ascribe a liturgy to Jerome, to give

^a Cassander, Liturgic. cap. vi. p. 16. Hegesippus apud Eusebium, de Jacobo inquit, eum ab apostolis primum constitutum fuisse episcopum et liturgum, i. e. sacrarum et divinarum rerum administratorem. Unde quidam putant opinionem natam, quod Jacobus primus missæ ritum instituerit, “Hegesippus in Eusebius says of James that he was made by the apostles the first bishop and liturgus, i. e. an administrator of sacred and divine things. Whence some think the opinion took its rise that James was the first author of a missal.” ^b circulate.

^c So all the several offices and prayers by name, pass under the notion of singing. Componuntur missæ, sive preces, vel orationes, sive commendationes, sive manus impositiones, ex quibus si nulla decantentur* in ecclesia, vacant officia omnia ecclesiastica, “Rituals are composed, whether prayers or supplications, whether commendations or impositions of hands, whereof if none be sung in the church, all ecclesiastical offices are wanting.” Conc. Tolet. iv. cap. xiii.

^d Capit. lib. vi. cap. ccxxv.

^e Rational. lib. v. cap. ii. p. 139.

^f Expl. Diver. Offic. cap. xix.

* One MS. reads “dicatur.”—Ep.

any better account to the world than this, why they do so. It was believed, that by his means, the same mode and order of singing was first used at Rome ; that the Alleluiah,^a after the eastern mode, was by his advice there sung ; and the doxology, *secundum usum Antiochie*,^b “according to the custom of the church of Antioch,” where, as I showed before, singing by course was first invented ; and that pope Damasus writ to him for his direction, how the Grecians’ mode of singing might be practised at Rome. Hence Durandus says, *cantum ordinavit*, “he set in order the singing,” and [means] nothing else, but an order for reading the Scripture.^c So, upon these grounds, an *ecclesiasticum officium*, “church ritual,” is ascribed to him, and he is made the author of a liturgy, made up in time of a lectionary, an antiphonary, and a sacramentary, as Pamelius represents it.

These forementioned were the most eminent persons, both in east and west, in those times, when the church flourished with persons of greatest eminency, for learning and oratory. Now, when liturgies were all in all, (the happiness of the ancient church, and the excellency of its pastors in preaching and praying, being turned by the lamentable degeneracy of the following ages, into^d chanting and reading) it behoved those, who were zealous for their honour, they having no worth of their own,^e to borrow or steal some for them, from great names ; and to have them thought of noble descent, that the meanness of their true and lawful parents might not discredit them. In these circumstances, a smaller matter than I have insisted on, would serve to prove their title and pretence to an extract so honourable. This might well

^a Ut Alleluiah hic diceretur, de Hierosolymorum ecclesia, ex beati Hieronymi traditione, tempore beatæ memoriæ Damasi papæ traditur, tractum, “That the Alleluiah is said here, is handed down as a custom derived from the church of Jerusalem, in pursuance of the instructions of the blessed Jerome, in the time of pope Damasus, of blessed memory.” Gregor. M. lib. vii. Epist. lxiii.

^b Secundum Antiochiæ usum, in fine omnium psalmorum, Gloria Patri Romæ cantare, eo instante, coëptum est ; et eo emendante Roma legendos canendosque in ecclesia LXX interpretum psalmos suscepit, “At his instance they began to sing at Rome the Gloria Patri at the end of the whole of the psalms ; and Rome, receiving from him a corrected copy, instituted the reading and singing of the Septuagint psalms after that manner.” Marian. Vita Hieronymi.

Pati item charitatem tuam, ut, sicut à creatore tuo Alexandro ecclésiæ nostro didicisti in gremio Græcorum psallere : ita ad nos tua fraternitas dirigere delectetur, “I also ask your charity to grant, that as thou hast studied psalmody in the bosom of the Greek church, so, brother, you will be pleased to give directions to us.” Epist. Damasi, in Operibus Hieronymi, tom. ix. p. 219.

^c i. e. the Canonical Psalms.

^d Et postremo, omnes ordines, majores et minores, tandem transformati sunt in lectores et cantatores : quid enim aliud quotidie agunt ? “At length all the orders, superior and inferior, were transformed into readers and singers. For what else is their daily duty ?” Chemnit. Exam. pars ii. p. 415.

^e Restineto inde valde studiorum omnium ac religionis apud eos ardore, in paucis ejusmodi preculis, earumque fere sola recitatione, nimis segniter, vulgo amant acquiescere et immori, “Hence enthusiasm for every kind of study and for religion being repressed among them, they commonly love from their excessive slothfulness to take their ease, and to die with scarce anything but the recitation of a few short prayers as their occupation.” Boornb. Sum. Controv. lib. xi. p. 886.

encourage some to entitle^a their liturgies to those worthies, and call them their fathers, and might persuade others, who were willing enough to have it so (for the credit of their churches that used them) to believe it was so indeed. But this, as I said, is but my conjecture; but whether it were so or otherwise, let others judge, as they see reason. It suffices me, that these liturgies are spurious, and so generally accounted, in a manner, by all but those who are engaged in a cause that needs such a defence; and to uphold their trade, must deal in false wares, and so see cause to plead for them, against very much of that reason, a little of which they themselves count a sufficient evidence of forgery, in cases where such an interest is not concerned.

The next authority I meet with, is the fifteenth canon of the Venetic synod, in which six bishops, towards the conclusion of the fifth age, made this decree, *Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra provinciam nostram, sacrorum ordo et psallendi una sit consuetudo*, "We have also thought it right, that, as to the order of sacred administrations and singing, there be one custom throughout our province." What is intended here by *ordo sacrorum*, may be best understood by the council of Agde, being a synod of the same country, held not long after this of Vannes, that in the beginning of the sixth age, an. 506, this in the latter end of the fifth. There^b *Ordo ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter custodiendus*, "The order of the church to be observed equally by all," is the disposing of the responsals, prayers, hymns, and psalms, each in the place thought most fit (according to Augustin's definition of *ordo*, *Est parium dispari-umque rerum, sua cuique loca tribuens, dispositio*,^c "It is an arrangement of things like and unlike by assigning to each its proper place,") and so, applied to sacred administrations, *ordo*, established by a synod, if it reached all particulars, will amount to no more than a rubric or directory. One and the same order might be observed by all the churches in a province, in all offices, yea, and in prayers too;^d though the same

^a ascribe.

^b Et quia convenit, ordinem ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter custodiri, studendum est ut (sicut et ubique fit) post antiphonas, collectiones, ab episcopis vel presbyteris, dicantur. Et hymni matutini vel vespertini diebus omnibus decantentur, et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos, capitula de psalmis dicantur, et plebs collecta oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimittatur, "And since it is suitable that the order of the church be observed equally by all, it is decreed (as is everywhere the practice) that after the antiphonies collects be said by the bishops or presbyters, and let the morning or evening hymns be sung every day; and at the conclusion of matins or vespers, after the hymns, let lesser sections from the psalms be read; and in the evening let the congregation be dismissed with prayer and benediction by the bishop." Concil. Agath. Can. [xxx.]

^c Civ. Dei, lib. xix. cap. xiii.

^d August. Ep. ad Januar. cxviii. cap. vi. Apostolus de hoc sacramento loquens, statim subtexuit: Cætera cum venero ordinabo; unde intelligi datur (quia multum erat ut in epistola totum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat ecclesia) ab ipso ordinatum esse, quod nulla morum diversitate variatur, "The apostle speaking of this sacrament, immediately subjoins, The rest will I set in order when I come; whence we are given to understand (since it was too much to introduce into the epistle the whole order of procedure which the universal

expressions were not used, nor those that officiated, at all tied up to words and syllables. For example; if, in the common office (at which all might be present) they began with psalms, and then read some part of the law, or prophets, and next some part of an epistle, or of the gospels, and afterwards proceeded to the sermon; the same order was observed,^a though the same psalms were not always sung, nor the same lesson twice in a year, and the same sermon never twice preached. So for the prayers, if according to the order specified,^b first prayers were made for the catechumens, then for the penitents, after that for the faithful. And, if in that office peculiar to the faithful, the prayers be ordered, as Augustin thought the apostles' method was,^c so as first prayer be made for all sorts; then the^d elements be consecrated; after that the people

church throughout the world observes) that it has been ordained by himself, that it should be varied by no diversity of customs." Vid. Three Positions about Public Prayers.

^a The phrase *ordo psallendi*, is used by the second council of Tours, and means, not, *qui psalmi*, but *quot*; requires not the same, but so many psalms to be used, Conc. Thuron. ii. Can. xix. in Crab. xiv. in Caranza, [xviii. in Hardouin.] This was a council held in the same country with the former, an. 570.

What the stated order of worship was, we have an account in Cyril. Catech. Mystag. v. p. 259. *Vidistis diaconum νίψασθαι δίδοντα τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ τοῖς κυκλοῦσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ πρεσβυτέροις*, "Ye have seen the deacon give water to the bishop, and to the presbyters encircling the altar of God."

Εἶτα βοᾷ diaconus, Ἀλλήλους ἀπολαμβάνετε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα, "Then the deacon calls out, Receive one another, and let us embrace one another."

Postea clamat sacerdos, Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας, "Afterwards the bishop cries, Lift up your hearts." p. 240.

Vos deinde respondetis, Ἐχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, "Then ye answer, We lift them up unto the Lord."

Dicit deinde sacerdos, Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, "Then the bishop says, Let us give thanks unto the Lord."

Vos dicitis, Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, "Ye say, It is meet and right so to do."

Κατὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανῶ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἄστρον καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως λογικῆς τε καὶ ἄλογον, ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου, ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, δυνάμεων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, θρόνων, τῶν χερουβὶμ τῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καλυπτόντων, λέγοντες τὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ Μεγαλύνετε τὸν Κύριον σὺν ἡμοῖς μνημονεύομεν ἡν καὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, quæ in Spiritu Sancto canebat Esaias, circumstantia thronum Dei—atque dicentia, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth—sic per ejusmodi hymnos nos ipsos sanctificantes, Deum benignissimum oramus, τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστείλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκειμένα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ, "After this we make mention of heaven and earth, and sea, and the sun, moon and stars, and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible, angels, archangels, hosts and dominions, principalities and powers, thrones and cherubim veiling their faces, saying with David, 'Magnify the Lord with me.' We also make mention of the cherubim which Esaias saw in the Spirit, standing around the throne of God,—and saying, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabaoth;—thus with hymns of this kind sanctifying ourselves, do we beseech God most gracious, to send his Holy Spirit upon the elements, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ."

^b Conc. Laodic. Can. xviii.

^c Epist. lix.

^d Deinde, postquam confectum est illud spirituale sacrificium, et ille cultus incruentus super ipsa propitiatoris hostia, *παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, ὑπὲρ βασιλείων, ὑπὲρ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμαχῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἁθρονεύειαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονομένων, καὶ ἀπαξιπλῶν, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων*, "Then after that spiritual sacrifice is finished, and that unbloody worship over the propitiatory host itself, we intreat God for the common peace of the church, for the well-being of the world, for kings, for soldiers, and allies, for the sick, for the afflicted, in a word for all who need help." Then follows what Rivetus says is interpolated, *Δεόμεθα σοῦ πάντες ἡμεῖς καὶ ταυτὴν προσφέρομεν σοὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἵνα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, primum patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum,*

blessed; and the elements being distributed, all be concluded with thanksgiving: the same order of prayer is observed, though the same prayers be no more used, than the same psalms or lessons always, or the same sermon more than once. And the same is to be understood of Can. 27 Conc. Epaon. anno 517.

But, if I minded not the discovery of the truth, more than upholding of my opinion, or disproving of yours, I would grant, that by *ordo* is understood a liturgy with prescribed prayers; and it would be a great disadvantage to your cause, to grant it; for here is a plain signification, [that] they had no such liturgy before, and the original hereof from six bishops, in one province of France, where [were] fifteen or seventeen, and this not till the latter end of the fifth age, when all [was] *σφόδρα κακῶς*, “greatly amiss.”

And this is all which I can find alleged in behalf of these liturgies for five hundred years after Christ, that is considerable,“ unless the hymns Benedicite and Te Deum may be counted worthy of consideration: and so, perhaps, they may be accounted, if not otherwise, yet in respect of the persons that so make use of them.

But the inference is not good, from forms of hymns to forms of prayer; much less from arbitrary forms of hymns, to prescribed forms of prayer, or liturgies. Hymns are more elaborate, require more art and ornament than prayers: and therefore, those who are not for set forms of prayer, if they admit hymns of human and ordinary composition, see reason to have them in forms, and not without premeditation. And their opposites^b will not deny them here [to be] more needful.

Nor will the inference hold, from prescribed hymns to prescribed liturgies, from a small part (for which there is a different reason) to the whole; *e. g.*, if Nicephorus' report were true,^c that Theodosius junior, with his sister Pulcheria, enjoined the *τριτάκιον*, (a hymn of six or eight words,) to be sung throughout the world (which yet he makes question-

martyrum; ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξεται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν, deinde pro defunctis, &c. “We all beseech thee, and offer to thee this sacrifice, that we may be mindful also of those who have fallen asleep; first, of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our supplication; then for the dead,” &c. Cyril. *Ibid.* p. 241.

Εἶτα λέγομεν τὴν εὐχὴν, “Next we say the prayer,” (the Lord's prayer,) which he expounds, pp. 242, 243. Expleta oratione dicit ἡμῖν. “The prayer being finished, he says Amen.”

Sacerdos postea dicit, ἁγία ἁγίους· vos respondetis, εἰς ἁγίος, εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, deinde audistis psallentem, ac ad communionem adhortantem, Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρῆστος ὁ Κύριος· accedens ad communionem, ostendit quomodo, &c. κύριον, καὶ τρόπον προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων ἡμῖν, “The bishop afterwards says, Holy things for holy men. Ye answer, There is one Holy, one Lord Jesus Christ. Then ye hear him sing and exhort, Taste and see that the Lord is good. Advancing to give the communion he shows, &c. bowing and saying with a kind of worship and reverence, Amen.”

Postremo exaltata oratione εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ Θεῷ, qui te tantis mysteriis Divinum reddidit, “Lastly, with uplifted voice, he gives thanks to God, who has rendered thee worthy of the Divine mysteries.”

^a worth considering.

^b opponents.

^c Lib. xiv. cap. xlvii.

able, by adding such a legend of its miraculous original,) could it be inferred from thence, that they enjoined [upon] the whole world the same liturgy? Besides, hymns there were prescribed and so used, (viz. the psalms of David, and others of Divine inspiration) in the apostles' times, when all our liturgists in a manner acknowledge [that] there were no prescribed liturgies.

As for those two hymns alleged, there is no evidence that they were imposed, or so much as used, in any time, which will serve to prove the antiquity of those liturgies, which is pretended, or any which is for their reputation. That which begins with *Te Deum*, is found by the great Usher,^a in some ancient manuscripts ascribed to Nicetius, (who, if it be he of Triers, lived not till after anno 565.) He concurs herein with Menardus, that it is not mentioned in any author ancienter than the rules which Benet writ for the monks of his order, which was about the middle of the sixth age, as may be collected from Baronius; and those rules had their first public approbation, anno 595. How long after this, that hymn came to be used in the church, and when it was thought fit to be imposed, is not worth the inquiring.

The other, called the Song of the Three Children, I have nowhere discovered, before the fourth council of Toledo. It is mentioned,^b as used before, but then first imposed, anno 633. Such like hymns were so far from being generally prescribed in the former ages, that the use of them is forbidden in public, by synods, both in the Greek and Latin church. Thus the Council of Laodicea^c decrees, "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανονιστὰ βιβλία· ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης," "that private (or uncanonical) psalms ought not to be used in the church, neither books that are not canonical, but only the canonical (books) of the Old and New Testament." Where *ἰδιωτικούς* seems by the clause following, to be opposed to *κανονικούς*, as writings *ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως* are, by the apostle,^d opposed to those of Divine inspiration. So that the fathers of Laodicea, as they prohibit any books but those that were canonical, so do they forbid any psalms or hymns, save such as were of Divine inspiration, to be used in the churches; and the canons of this synod were received by the church, amongst her universal rules. Add hereto,^e a canon of the Council of Braga, *Extra psalmos Veteris Testamenti nihil poetice compositum in ecclesia psallatur*, "Besides the psalms of the Old Testament, let no poetical composition be sung in the church."

Thus I have given an account of the testimonies produced for the antiquity of the liturgies in question, and of all that I have met with, after

^a Epist. ante Diatribam de Symbolo, p. 2.

^c Conc. Laod. Can. ult. [In Hardouin, the last but one.]

^e Conc. Bracar. i. an. 565, [cap. xii.]

^b Can. xiii.

^d 2 Peter i. 20, 21.

endeavours to meet with all, having waived none wherein there might be conceived to be any strength, or wherein I could perceive any show of it. What opinion others may have hereof, I will not conjecture. For my own part, after a careful observance^a of whatever might seem to have any force or evidence, for that purpose, I may profess, that (as this was it, which first swayed my judgment to that part of the question wherein it now rests; so still) I am very well satisfied, even by these testimonies, that there was no such thing, as that for which they are alleged. To me there needs no more arguments, nor (if I much mistake not) will more be very needful to any other, whose minds are not prepossessed with something too hard for their reason.^b For if there had been such liturgies used constantly in all churches through the world, for five hundred or six hundred years next after Christ, it is not imaginable, but [that] there would have been such remarkable traces, yea, such clear evidence in some, yea, in many of the ancients (especially the writers being so numerous, their writings left us so full and voluminous, and the occasions of mentioning them so very frequent,) that there might have been had as full and clear proof thereof, and with as much ease, as of any one thing, whose antiquity hath been questioned. Now, when many have curiously searched antiquity for this, and being pricked on by opposition, have pursued the search with great industry, under a quick sense too how much they are concerned herein, and being withal, persons of as great ability for the discovery, as any we can expect will attempt it, divers of them seeming as well acquainted with what is obvious in antiquity (which is all that is needful in this case) as with their own lodgings, and some of them no strangers to her in her retirements and less traced recesses; after they have (as they tell us, and we might have believed it, if they had not said so) made the fairest proof thereof they can, yet produce nothing which any that are impartial can account, or which I am apt to think they themselves can believe to be sufficient proof, (if their belief were beholding to nothing but their reason :) may it not be hence reasonably concluded, that what, in these circumstances, is not now discovered, was not then extant? Such liturgies used everywhere, for so many hundred years, are a matter of that nature, which would have been obvious at a superficial view, and of easy proof to such as have no intimate acquaintance with antiquity. If then, we can have no intelligence thereof from those who may think themselves wronged, if they be not counted her secretaries; if no discovery thereof be made by

^a consideration.

^b Οὐ τὰ πράγματα ὥπως πέφικε σκοπεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην παντὶ σθένει κυρῶσαι προαιρεῖται· ὃ βούλεται τοῦτο καὶ οἶεται, καίτοι πραγμάτων πολλὰς ἀντιφθεγγομένων, "He does not regard the nature of the facts, but resolves beforehand to confirm with all his might his own opinion: what he wishes to be, that he thinks to be, although facts often give an opposite verdict," Isldor. lib. v. Ep. di. [B.]

that diligence which has ransacked all the corners, penetrated the inwards, and dived to the bottom of antiquity for it: what ground is there to expect any discovery thereof hereafter? What reason is there left us to believe any other[wise], but that such search hath been for a thing that was not, and that the supposed liturgies of those ages had no being, but in the imagination of later times?

And now, I may from the premises conclude, that for five hundred years after Christ (if not more) the ordinary way of worshipping God in public assemblies, was not by prescribed liturgies.

Instead of a more particular discovery of their introduction, this may suffice, and is enough for my purpose, that they were not the common usage, while the state of the church was anything tolerable, nor till it was sunk deep into degeneracy, and was much worse than when Chrysostom complained *Σφόδρα κακῶς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαίκεται*,^a “The church is in an exceeding bad case,” and compares it to one laid out for dead, *Ὡσπερ σῶμα νεκρὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁρῶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐρριμμένον τῶν &c.*,^b “I see the church for the most part laid out like a dead body.” And again to a house quite burnt down, having taken fire at the pillars, which should have supported it;^c where he says, it was many a day since the church through the world was overturned, and laid flat on the ground, all being equally involved in evil, but those that were its rulers more guilty than others; *Πολλὰ ἡμέραι ἐξ οὗ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ ἐκκλησία κατέστραπται καὶ εἰς ἔδαφος κείται, πάντων ἐξίσης τῷ κακῷ κατεχομένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπευθύνων*.^d And elsewhere [he] represents it to us, by a woman^e robbed of her jewels and treasure, having nothing left, but *θήκαι καὶ κιβώτια*, “cabinets and caskets,” some poor empty significations of what precious things once she had. In which description he is followed by Isidore of Pelusium.^f

^a Hom. xxix. in Act. [pp. 776, 777.]

^b In 2 Cor. Hom. [xxvii.] p. 692.

^c In Ephes. Hom. x. p. 816.

^d p. 817.

^e Ἄλλ' ὅκειν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν γυναικὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐημερίας ἐκπεσοῦσιν, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα κατεχοῦσιν πολλὰ μόνον τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐπραγίας ἐκείνης, καὶ τὰς μὲν θήκας τῶν χρυσίων ἐπιδεικνυμένη καὶ τὰ κιβώτια, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀφηρημένη· ταύτῃ προσέοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν, “But the church of our day resembles a woman who has lost her former fortune, and only retains in many places the symbols of that ancient splendour, and shows the caskets and cabinets of her jewels, but hath been robbed of her wealth; such a woman is the church like now.” Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. xxxvi. p. 487.

^f Ὅτι μὲν ἀκμαζούσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ μήπω νενοσηκίας, τὰ θεῖα περὶ αὐτὴν ἐχόρευε χάρισμα, τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δημαγωγούντος, καὶ τῶν προσεστώτων ἑκάστον κινούντος, καὶ οὐρανὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιοῦντος, πᾶσι ὄφλον ἐστίν· ὅτι δὲ νοσησάσης καὶ στασιασάσης, ἀπέπτῃ πάντα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀπεπήδησιν· οὐ γὰρ χάρισμα μόνον (οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὕτω δεινὸν εἰ τοῦτο μόνον ἦν) ἀλλὰ καὶ βίος καὶ ἀρετὴ, “It is manifest to all that when the church was in her bloom, and had not as yet fallen sick, the Divine graces danced around her, the Holy Spirit inspiring and stirring up each of the bishops, and making the church a heaven; but that, now that the church has become diseased and paralysed, all these have taken wing and sped away: not her graces alone (for were this all it were not so fearful) but even her life and virtue,” &c. Isidore, lib. iii. Ep. 408. And this, as Isidore adds, *Περὶ τὴν τῶν οὐ δεόντως τὰ πράγματα μεταχειριζομένων κακίαν*, “Owing to the vices of those who improperly undertake to manage her affairs,” &c. Lib. v. Ep. xxi. Ταῦτα δὲ

Particularly the degeneracy of the church was lamentable, as on many other accounts, so (to waive those that are less pertinent to the business in hand) in respect of worship, and the persons who ordered and administered it.

The worship of God was first fearfully corrupted; the native plainness and simplicity of it, (τὸ ἀπλαστον καὶ ἀπερίεργον ἥθος) most amiable to God, and all that are like him, ἀπόδεκτον Θεῷ καὶ πᾶσί τοῖς ἐκείνῳ οἰκειουμένοις,^a was vitiated and defaced with the paint and patches of bold and wanton fancies.

The law of God, the only rule and standard of Divine worship, was overlooked in the regulating of it; and that offered to God at a venture whether it pleased him or no, which was pleasing to men; without consulting his word, by which alone is known what is^b acceptable to him.

There were more compliances with the heathens, than with the scripture; and so the church [was] too far from being, as Origen says, what God, in sending Christ and the Gospel, designed them to be, ἐκκλησίας ἀντιπολιτευομένας ἐκκλησίαις δεισιδαιμόνων, “congregations opposite to the assemblies of the superstitious.”^c

The Christian worship was made more ceremonious than that of the Jews, and clogged *oneribus servilibus*, “with more badges of thralldom;” whereby the state of Christians was rendered far more intolerable than theirs under the law; *their* impositions being from the pleasure of God, but these from the will of presumptuous men, enthralling that religion which God in mercy would have had free. So Augustin,^d

συμβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἡμαρτήσθαι τοῖς τὸ διδασκαλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἐγκεχειρισμένοις, “This comes of sins numerous and of all kinds committed by those who have undertaken the office of teaching.” Vid. lib. ii. Ep. v. [p. 129.]

^a Origen contr. Cels. lib. viii. p. 418.

^b Οὐδεὶς γὰρ βλέπων τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἄλλῃ τρόπῳ σέβει τὸ Θεῖον παρὰ τὸν ἐποδεικνύοντα, “For no one who looks attentively with the eyes of his mind, worships the Divinity in any other than the prescribed manner,” &c. Id. ibid. lib. vii. p. 367.

Τῷ γὰρ τιμωμένῳ τιμὴ ἰδίᾳστι, ἣν [αὐτὸς] θελεῖ, οὐχ ἣν ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, “That honour is most agreeable to Him who receives our honours, which *He* wills, not that which *we* think proper.” Chrysos. in Matt. Hom. [1.] tom. ii. p. 323.

^c Contra Cels. lib. iii. p. 123.

^d Sed hoc nimis doleo, quia multa quæ in divinis libris saluberrime præ[cepta] sunt, minus curantur; et tam multis præsumptionibus sic plena sunt omnia, ut gravius corripiatur, qui per octavas suas terras nudo pede tetigerit, quam qui mentem vinolentia sepelierit. Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri possit, quo modo contra fidem sint; ipsam tamen religionem quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis, MISERICORDIA DEI ESSE LIBERAM VOLUIT, SERVILIBUS ONERIBUS PREMUNT, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum, qui etiamsi tempus libertatis non agnoverint, legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumptionibus subijciuntur, “But over this I chiefly grieve, that many most wholesome duties which are prescribed in the Divine books are least regarded; and all institutions are so stuffed with so many fancies, that he is more severely censured who during his octaves bares his feet,* than he who over-

* Augustine here alludes to the ancient custom of abstaining from the bath for a week after baptism.—ED.

complaining thereof, expresseth it ; for one institution of God's, there were ten of man's, and their presumptuous devices more rigorously pressed, than the Divine precepts ; so that if the whole had been denominated from what was predominant therein, it was in danger to lose the name of Divine worship.

Nay, some of the most horrid^a abuses were invading it ; invocation of saints, adoring of pictures, and giving Divine honours to the creatures. After such company those forms found entertainment. So was the worship of God adulterated, and the corruptions still increasing and growing worse, before these became the highway of worshipping. And by it, the rest became general and incurable errors and abuses, [which] before [were] but private and voluntary ; being hereby authorised and enforced.

This was after all the great lights of the church were extinct. Such liturgies were not τῶν πατέρων τὸ κειμήλιον, "the legacy of the fathers," but νεώτερον ἐφεύρημα, as Basil [speaks] in another case,^b "a later invention;" after those, whom we honour under the notion of fathers, were dead and gone, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατρᾶσιν ὅμοιοι,^c "few are there like the fathers." Their successors^d (who may glory therein) were nothing like them, but too commonly under the character of Boniface, *lignei sacer-*

whelms his mind in drunkenness. For though it cannot be discovered wherein these customs are contrary to the faith, yet they overload religion itself, WHICH THE MERCY OF GOD WOULD HAVE TO BE FREE, possessing very few and very simple sacramental observances, WITH SERVILE BURDENS ; so that the condition of the Jews is more tolerable, who, even if they do not recognise the dispensation of liberty, yet are subject to *legal* impositions, not to human fancies." August. Epist. exix. Ad Januar. cap. xix.

Multa denique de cultu divino usurpata sunt, quæ honoribus deferentur humanis: sive humilitate nimia, sive adulatione pestifera; ita tamen, ut quibus ea deferentur, homines haberentur qui dicuntur colendi et venerandi; si autem iis multum additur, et adorandi, "Many things, in fine, pertaining to Divine worship, are in use, which are abused to the honouring of men; either from an excessive humility, or from a noisome habit of flattery; so that those men to whose honour it is prostituted, are looked upon as men who may be said to be worthy of worship and religious veneration; nay, if the practice proceed much farther, of adoration." Id. De Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. iv.

^a Vid. Theodoret. de Curand. Græc. Affect. lib. ix.

Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν Κναφέα ἐπινοήσαι, ἐν ἐκάστη ἐυχῇ τὴν Θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι, "It is said that it was Peter Gnapheus, who enjoined that Mary should be called in each prayer, the Mother of God." Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. ii. p. 189. Πρῶτον ἐπενόησε ἐν ἐκάστη ἐυχῇ τὴν Θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι, "He first enjoined that Mary should be styled in each prayer the Mother of God." Cedren. Comp. Histor. p. 299. Nolite consecrari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt, "Abstain from following the crowds of the simple who, even as it regards true religion itself, are superstitious." Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores, "I have known many to be worshippers of tombs and pictures." Augustin, lib. i. De Moribus Eccles. Cathol. cap. xxxiv.

^b De Jejun. Hom. i. p. 130. [ed. Paris. 1722, p. 3, A. tom. ii.]

^c Clem. Alex. Strom. i.

^d Isidore ascribes the lamentable condition of the church to the degeneracy of pastors, Τότε μὲν οἱ φιλάρετοι εἰς τὴν ἱεροσύνην προήγοντο, νυνὶ δὲ οἱ φιλάργυροι τότε οἱ φεύγοντες τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς, νυνὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπιπιδόντες τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τρυφῆς· τότε οἱ ἀκτημοσύνη ἐκουσίῳ ἐναβρυνόμενοι, νυνὶ δὲ οἱ πλεονεξία ἐκουσίῳ χρηματιζόμενοι· τότε οἱ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες τὸ Θεῖον δικαστήριον, νυνὶ δὲ οἱ μὴδὲ ἔνοιαν τοῦτον ἔχοντες· τότε οἱ τύπτεσθαι, νῦν δὲ οἱ τιπτεῖν ἑτοιμοί, "In former times lovers of virtue were promoted to the episcopate; now, lovers of gold; then, men who shunned the office on account of the magnitude of the charge;

dotes, "wooden priests," and though so much of another temper than those that went before them, yet served the better for this turn, being imperious, or slothful, or insufficient.

Prelacy was declining into tyranny long before; and bishops in many places grew insolent and intolerable, forgetting that they were ordained, οὐ ποίμνης ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστατεῖν ψυχαῖς,^a "not to exercise dominion over the flock, but to take charge of souls." The stirrings of this domineering humour were complained of in part of the fourth, and [in the] beginning of the fifth age; and shooting up daily and speedily, we may guess to what height it might come by an hundred years' growth. Nazianzen complains in his time, of prelates who when they had overrun all things else with violence, in fine tyrannized over piety itself, οἱ ὅταν πάντα διεξέλθωσι βιαζόμενοι, τελευταῖον τυραννοῦσι καὶ τὴν ἐνσέβειαν,^b and wishes that there were no prelacy in the church, not only under the notion of local pre-eminence, προεδρία καὶ τόπου προτίμησις, but of tyrannical prerogative, τυραννικὴ προνομία.^c

Their tyranny was one thing, if Erasmus mistake not, which drove Jerome out of the world into a cell. To be sure Chrysostom, so rigorously persecuted for endeavouring to reform the then prevailing corruptions, professed that he feared none so much as bishops, οὐδένα γὰρ λοιπὸν δέδοικα ὡς [τοὺς] ἐπισκόπους.^d And Arcadius puts one of them in mind, viz., Theophilus of Alexandria, that the audaciousness and tyranny of the bishops before him had ruined the nation, and dispersed

but now, men who jump at the office for its great luxuriousness; then, those who boasted of voluntary poverty; now, however those who enrich themselves by wilful covetousness; in former days, those who set before their eyes the Divine judgment-seat; but now, those who have not so much as a thought of the same; then, those who were ready to be stricken; but now, those who are ready to strike." Isid. lib. v. Ep. xxi. Id. lib. iii. Ep. cexxiii. [p. 346, A.]

Horrid Corruption of the Clergy, lib. v. Epis. 131.

Ἡ χειροτονία οὐκ εἰς ἐξουσίαν φέρει, οὐκ εἰς ὕψος ἐπαίρει, οὐ δυναστείαν παρέχει, "Ordination does not bring to power, does not raise on high, does not offer sway." Τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδελφοῖς δουλεύειν ἤξιώσε, "He thought it to be the serving of our own brethren." Chrysos. Hom. xxxvii. tom. vi. p. 442.

Ἡ κρείττων πάσης ἐλπίδος τε καὶ εὐχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπανόρθωσις ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγεννημένη, κινδυνεύει ἀμαυροῦσθαι ὑπο τῆς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθέντων ἀνπερβλήτου κακίας, "The more desirable reformation of matters for which is all our hope and prayer, viz., one made under Christ, is in danger of being hindered by the matchless wickedness of those put in office by him." Isid. lib. v. Ep. 272. [p. 346, A.]

He adds, Ὡν οὐκ ὁ τρόπος τὸν βαθμὸν, ὁ βαθμὸς δὲ τὸν τρόπον πιστεύεται, παραπολὺ τῆς τάξεως ἐναλλατομένης, "Whose conversation does not accredit their degree, but their degree their conversation, with a great perversion of order." Either so indulgent, ὡς ἂν μητέ ἀνακόπτοιτο κακία, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκοιτο, ἢ τῇ τραχύτητι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ ἐαυτῶν συγκαλύπτοντες, "that vice is not only unbuked, but even taught, or else smothered up by the harshness of their rule, and their own faults."

^a Naz. Orat. i. p. 3.

^b Orat. xxi. in Laud. Athanas.

^c Μηδὲ προεδρία, μηδὲ τίς τόπου προτίμησις καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρετῆς μόνης γινωσκόμεθα, "Let there be neither prelacy nor any local pre-eminence and tyrannical prerogative, that we may be known by our virtue alone." Orat. xxviii.

^d Epist. xiii. p. 95. Vid. Epist. ii. p. 64.

the people through the world, οὐ λέλθας πάντως ὅτι τῶν πρὶν ἀρχιερέων παντολμία καὶ τυραννία τὸ ἔθνος ὤλεσε καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διέσπειρεν.^a

So in Isidore Pelusiota^b episcopacy, as divers exercised it, is τυραννικὴ αὐτονομία, a "tyrannical licentiousness," because they turned it into domination, or rather to speak freely, into tyranny; ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἀρχὴν, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ μετὰ παρῥησίας εἰπεῖν, εἰς τυραννίδα αὐτὸ μετερῥύθμισάν τινες.^c

The chiefest of them made bold to leap over the just bounds of their place and office, παρὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν, to secular domination, as Socrates tells us.^d And as there is his testimony for those of Rome and Alexandria, so have we the fear of the fathers at Ephesus for others, ἵνα μὴ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσήματι, ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύφος παρεισδύηται, "lest under the pretence of a sacred function, the pride (haughtiness) of secular power should creep in."^e Also the observation of the Council of Chalcedon, ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς τινὲς παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς θεσμούς προσδράμοντες δυναστείας,^f "that some, against the ecclesiastical rules, did affect domination."

The bishops^g of Rome affected it with a witness, asserting and con-

^a In Georg. Alex. Vit. Chrysos. cap. xxxix. p. 212.

^b After instances of great degeneracy, he adds, Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; μεταπεπτωκέναι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀξίωμα ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ ἱερωσύνης εἰς τυραννίδα· ἀπὸ ταπεινοφροσύνης εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν· ἀπὸ νηστείας εἰς τρυφήν· ἀπὸ οἰκονομίας εἰς δεσποτείαν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς οἰκονόμοι ἀξιούσι διοικεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς δεσπότης σφετερίζεσθαι, "And what need is there of many words? The office left us seems to have degenerated from a bishopric, into a tyranny; from humility, into superciliousness; from fasting, into luxuriousness; from stewardship, into lordship. For they do not seem to administer like stewards, but to appropriate like lords." Isid. lib. v. Ep. xxi.

He says he accuses not all; there were some κατὰ ἀποστολικὸν χαρακτῆρα, "after the apostolic stamp," but very few, (Epist. lxxxix.) and those guilty, because such was the multitude of the ἀκολάστων, "licentious," that they were afraid, and durst not speak against them.

Though things seemed desperate, yet there might be some hopes of better, if the ὑφηγηταί, "under-rulers," the chief of the church, πανσήμενοι τῆς τυραννίδος, πατρικὴν κηδημονίαν ἐπιδείξωνται, "ceasing their tyranny, would manifest fatherly solicitude." Lib. v. Epis. cxxvi. Bishops' tyranny hindered reformation, which was otherwise feasible, though to some it seemed impossible.

Those who observed the apostles' rule were ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ, "very scarce." Lib. v. Epis. lxxxix. Δεικνύς τὸ μέσον τῆς ἀρχαίας λειτουργίας καὶ τῆς νυνὶ τυραννίδος, "Exhibiting the mean between the ancient ministry and the present tyranny." Lib. iii. Epist. ccxxiii. vid. Having shewed in many particulars ὅτι εἰς τυραννίδα τὸ τῆς πραότητος μετακεχώρηκεν ἀξίωμα, "that the office of the ministry has degenerated into a tyranny." Ibid.

^c Epist. (ad Theodos.) cxv. lib. ii.

^d Hist. lib. vii. cap. vii. et cap. xi. Some except against Socrates, as a Novatian. But who can except against Isidore, who represents it worse, and complains of it as general? Vid. lib. v. Epist. xxi. and lib. iii. Epist. ccxxiii. The bishops affected the grandeur of princes, lib. v. Epist. lxxxix. Epist. cclxxxvi. Τίνες δὲ τῶν νυνὶ νεωτερίζοντων, καὶ τὴν ποιμενικὴν φιλοστοργίαν εἰς τυραννικὴν αὐτονομίαν μετέβαλον· οὐκ ὑπέβησαν ἀρχὴν ἐμπεισιτεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοκρατορικὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκληρώσθαι νομίσαντες, "But some of the modernizers of the present day, change pastoral affection into tyrannical self-will, fancying they are entrusted not with responsible rule, but are possessed of autocratic authority." Lib. v. Epist. cclv. [Lib. v. Epist. ccxxiv.] [Lib. iv. Epist. ccxxix.] ^e Can. in Cod. clxxviii. ^f Can. xii.

^g Ad spirituales (monarchiam) creptum est aspirari palam et aperte, à nonnullis paparum, circa an. 400, "Some of the popes began to aspire to a spiritual monarchy, openly and without disguise, about the year 400." Casaub. Exercit. xvi. num. ccix. p. 541. Vid. Exerc. xv. p. 302.

Circa an. Dom. 420, primo Zosimus, deinde Bonifacius, duo præcoces Hildebranduli, reges agere incipiunt, et κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων dominium exercere adversus electos in spiritualibus, "About A.D. 420 Zosimus first, and then Boniface, two precocious forerunners of Hildebrand,

tending for a supremacy over all other churches; and were so impotently zealous for it, as^a they attempted to get it acknowledged by a gross forgery used by Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine, to a council in Africa;^b by Leo also in his letters to Theodosius the emperor; and by his legate to the Council of Chalcedon.^c

Nor did the bishops of Rome domineer alone in the west; other prelates acted, in lower capacities, answerably, as appears by Prosper, complaining of the bishops in his time, as if they made account that for this alone they had their power, that they might exercise a tyrannical dominion over those who were under them. *Ad hoc potentes tantum [effecti,] ut nobis in subjectos tyrannicam dominationem vindicemus.*^d Such and worse was the tyranny and imperiousness of bishops, before they conspired to make orders, that none should use a word in public prayers, at the most solemn administrations, but what, and as they thrust it into their mouths.

Nor was this before those who ordered and administered the public worship, were grown negligent and slothful, easing themselves of the chief duties of pastors, viz., those which were laborious and required any intense exercise of their faculties. Particularly it was after diligent and frequent preaching (which was the happiness even of the fourth, and part of the fifth age, and their security too, (some stop being hereby put to that degeneracy into which all was sliding down) and the excellency also of those bishops, who were the lights and ornaments of those times,) was growing out of fashion. When that of Maximus was too true, *Qui reipsa doceant aut doceantur admodum pauci*, "They who really teach, or are taught, are in a manner few." When those who had the charge of souls, declined the work, but were eager after the power, profits and dignity of the place; and so retaining the name of pastors, were really no such thing: which Prosper thus bewails,^e "But we,

began to play the king, and to domineer over the clergy, and to exercise rule in spiritual things, to the prejudice of the elect," &c. Id. *ibid*.

Ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ πράγματα προήλθε, καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι, "Matters grow worse and worse, and we are the cause of these things," *ἡμεῖς δὲ βουλόμεθα πολλῆς ἀπολαύσαι τρυφῆς καὶ ἀναπαύσεως καὶ ἀδείας*, "yet we determine to enjoy luxury and ease and pleasure," *τρυφήν ζητοῦμεν καὶ οἰκίας λαμπρὰς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἀφθονίαν*, "We seek luxury and splendid palaces, and every other delight." Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. vi. p. 277, 278, et in Eph. Hom. vi. p. 792. That of Chrysostom was forgot, *οὐ γὰρ ἀρχόντων τύφος ἐστὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα, οὐδὲ ἀρχομένων δουλοπρέπεια· ἀλλὰ ἀρχὴ πνευματικὴ, τοῦτ' ἡμῖς πλεονεκτοῦσα, τῷ τὸ πλεον τῶν πόνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν, ἀναδέχεσθαι, φροντίδος, οὐ τῷ τιμᾷ πλείους ἐπιζητεῖν*, "We have not here the haughtiness of rulers, nor the servility of subjects, but a spiritual rule, especially in respect to this assumption of the heaviest labours, by reason of care for you, not in respect to a craving after the greatest honours." Hom. xviii. p. 647, in 2 Cor. Vid. Hom. ii. in Tit. i. 5, p. 386.

^a that.

^b [Conc. Carth. vi.]

^c Act. xvi. tom. ii. Conc.

^d De Vit. Contempl. lib. i. cap. xxi.

^e Sed nos presentibus delectati, dum in hac vita commoda nostra et honores inquirimus, non ut meliores, sed ut ditiores; nec ut sanctiores, sed ut honoratiores simus, [ceteris] festinamus. Nec gregem Domini, qui nobis pascendus tuendusque commissus est; sed nostras voluptates,

(modestly including himself, that they who were guilty might take less exception) delighted with things present, while we hunt after the advantages and honours of this life, make all haste to be prelates, not that we may be better, but richer; not that we may be more holy, but more honoured. Neither do we regard the Lord's flock, which is committed to us, to be fed and preserved; but we carnally (mind) our pleasures, domination, riches, and other allurements. We will be called pastors, but we strive not to be such. We decline the labour of our office, affecting (only) the profit and dignity," &c. This way of worship was well suited to the humours of such pastors; and they were more thoroughly and generally of this temper, than in Prosper's time, before it could have free entertainment.

The lamentable insufficiency of those who took up this ministration, we may judge of, by the noted defectiveness of those times, part whereof were in this respect, incomparably better. The unworthiness of those who were preferred, is noted by Ambrose,^a Nazienzen,^b and almost every one, who was not obnoxious. Not only the pride, but the ignorance of the western bishops, and some of the chief of them, is censured by Basil,^c Ποία βοήθεια ἀπὸ τῆς δυσικῆς ὀφρύνος; οἱ τόγε ἀληθῆς, οὔτε ἴσασιν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται;^d "What relief can be expected from the superciliousness of the west, where they neither know the truth, nor will learn?" The condition of the east was not much better, for a little after

dominationem, divitias, et cætera blandimenta carnaliter cogitamus. Pastores dici volumus, nec tamen esse contendimus. Officii nostri vitam laborem; appetimus dignitatem.

And in a subsequent passage, Gregem Domini pascendum, pastores facti, suscepimus: et nos ipsos pascimus, quando non gregum utilitati prospicimus, sed quid foveat et augeat nostras voluptates attendimus. Lac et lanas ovium Christi, oblationibus quotidianis, ac decimis fidelium gaudentes, accipimus: et eorum pascendorum gregum ac reficiendorum à quibus perverso ordine volumus pasci, deponimus, "When made pastors we undertake to feed the Lord's flocks, and we feed ourselves, seeing we look not to what is good for our flocks, but regard what may soothe and increase our own pleasures. The milk and fleeces of Christ's sheep we receive, enjoying ourselves with the oblations and tithes of the faithful; and we lay aside all care for feeding and refreshing our flocks, by whom with a perversion of order we want to be fed." De Vit. Contempl. lib. i. cap. xxi.

* Ambros. De Sacerd. Dignit. cap. v. Qui mentis torpore habetati sacerdotalem diffamant dignitatem, "Who stupified by the drowsiness of their mind, bring the sacerdotal dignity into contempt."

^b Nazianz. Orat. Funeb. Athanas. Οἱ μὴδὲν τῇ ἱερωσίᾳ προσεέγκοντες μὴδὲ τοῦ καλοῦ προταλαίπωρήσαντες, ὁμοῦ τε μαθηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπαδείκνυνται, &c. "Who bringing nothing with them suitable to the priesthood, and having previously laboured in no honourable toil, turn out to be at once learners and teachers of piety." Vide et Orat. in Laud. Basilii, where he says, the holy order was in danger to be rendered most ridiculous—and the bishop's chair, not for the most worthy, but [the] most potent.

^c Damasus is included in that censure of Basil. Siricius passes for a dull and sluggish person; a simpleton in Jerome, simplicitati illuderet episcopi, "he amused himself with the simplicity of the bishop," (Epist. xvi.) and sluggish even in Baronius, causam fidei segnius tractans, "dealing with the cause of the faith somewhat sluggishly." In Spond. ad an. 397, n. 6. And Innocentius, if we may believe Erasmus (passing that judgment on him for a piece wherein he might be presumed to have shown his best) had nothing in him worthy of his place. Yet we can scarce find two of the bishops of Rome in three hundred years, better accomplished than these. What were the lesser lights commonly, when the greater were so dim!

^a Epist. p. 285.

we hear from Sozomen and others, that Asia and the parts about it were sick of their unworthy bishops, *νενοσηκότων*, and languished under the want of such as were really pastors.

In the diocese of the orient, Chrysostom^a complains that the unworthy were preferred, and those fitly qualified cast out; *οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἀναξίους ἐγκρίνουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐκβάλλουσι*, “a double misery and equally grievous;” *καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσης οἶμαι εἶναι δεινόν*.^b [To the same effect Isidore speaks,] *λόγος τοίνυν περιφοιτᾷ κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν εὖ βιούντων λοιπὸν εἰς ἱερωσύνην προχειρισθήσεται*, “therefore the saying is borne over land and sea, that none of the virtuous are preferred to the priesthood;” not because there are none such, *ἀλλὰ καὶ μισοῦνται καὶ ἐπιβουλεύονται, καὶ ἐξοστρακίζονται, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν ἐλέγχοντες τὸν βίον*,^c “but they are even hated and intrigued against, and outvoted as reproving the multitude’s manner of life.” If they endeavour to reduce but a mean person, they are hissed at, as those who are guilty of greater evils themselves. *Διόπερ πρῶτῃ μὲν ἦν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ φοβερός, νῦν δὲ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ*,^d “Therefore formerly the priest was a terror to the people, but now the people to the priest.” Ancient discipline [was] neglected, the virtuous [were] oppressed, the wicked indulged; *φοβερόν ἐστι, καὶ λίαν φοβερόν τὸ εἰς ἱερωσύνην νυνὶ τελέσαι*, “it is a fearful thing, and more than fearful now-a-days, to initiate any one into the priesthood,” because he must either be evil, or hated and endangered if good, by those who observed pernicious custom as a divine law, and expelled those that lived well. How [was] episcopacy degenerately abused.^e The rulers [were] generally [the] worst.^f

In Egypt, it was the custom of Theophilus of Alexandria (without

^a What better could be expected, when the dignity was put to sale, and he carried it too commonly, not who had the richest soul, but [the] fullest purse? So in the west, Ambrose complains, *Ut vides in ecclesia pessimos, quos non merita, sed pecuniæ ad episcopatus ordinem pervexerunt*, “Thus you may see many of the worst character in the church, whom not their merits, but money has promoted to the episcopal order.” Ambr. De Dign. Sac. cap. v. In the east, *ὧνται αἱ ἀρχαί, “the dignities are venal.”* Chrysost. in Ephes. Hom. vi. pp. 793, 9. Vid. Isid. lib. v. Ep. cclxxvi. [p. 642. E.] cccclxx. [p. 698. A.]

^b De Sacerdot. Orat. iii. p. 24, 25, tom. vi.

^c Isidor. lib. v. Epist. cclxxvi. [Lib. iii. Epist. cclxlv. p. 354. B.]

^d Ibid. [lib. v. Epist. cclxxviii.]

^e Lib. v. Epist. ccccxvi. lib. iii. Epist. cclix. [p. 361. A.]

^f Lib. v. Epist. cccclxxxi.

^g Lib. ii. Epist. i.

Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ μὲν κατέδου, ἡ δὲ σαλεύεται, ἑτέρα χαλέποις περιαντλείται κύμασιν, ἄλλη τὰ ἀνήκεστα πίπουν, ἡ μὲν λύκον ἀντὶ ποιμένον [λαβοῦσα], ἡ δὲ πειρατὴν ἀντὶ κυβερνήτου, ἡ δὲ δῆμιον ἀντὶ ἱατροῦ, “Of the churches one sinks, another is shaken, another is encompassed with grievous waves, another has suffered past all cure, one has a wolf instead of a shepherd, another a pirate instead of a pilot, an executioner instead of a physician.” Chrysos. Epist. ii.

whom no bishop was to be ordained in those parts) to consecrate not knowing ^a men, εἰ μὴ τὶ ἂν ἀστοχήσοι, “unless he missed of his aim;” choosing rather to have the ordering of them, as of fools, than to be liable to the control of any that were prudent: a thing which would scarce have passed as credible upon the word of George of Alexandria, had not Palladius said as much before him.^b

And, as he in Egypt would have none, so they in Africa could scarce get any that were fit to be pastors: for so Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, in a council there assembled, anno 401, complains, that so great was their want of ministers, as ^c many churches were found to have not so much as one ^d illiterate deacon; and leaves them to consider, at what a loss they must needs be, for persons qualified to be superior officers, when they could not find such as were fit to be deacons.

And Augustin tells us, there were many good pastors, who could not discern, *per ignorantie simplicitatem*, “through their ignorance and simpleness,” when there was heresy in a prayer; but made use of such as were heretical, accounting them to be good.^e

Yea, many bishops [there] were, (and many more consequently of lower rank,) who knew no letters,^f and could not so much as write their

^a intelligent.

^b Ἐθον αὐτῷ ἦν μὴ χειροτονεῖν τοὺς ἐχέφρονας εἰ μὴ τὶ ἂν ἀστοχήσοι, βουλόμενος αὐτῶν ἄρχειν ὡς ἀνοήτων, ἄμεινον ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν κρατεῖν ἢ φρονίμων ἀκούειν, “It was his custom not to ordain prudent men unless he missed his aim; since he was desirous of ruling them as fools, esteeming it better to rule such than to hearken to the wise.” Georg. Alex. Int. Chrys. Op. tom. viii. p. 185.

Eusebius of Pelusium did as bad or worse, ordaining not only ἀπαιδευσίας θρέμματα, “untaught nurslings;” Isid. Ep. lxxx. lib. iii. [p. 287. A.] himself being ἀλογίας θρέμμα, “a senseless nursling;” Epist. iii. but ἀμείλικτα θηρία καὶ δαίμονας ἀλάστορας, καὶ τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἐχθρούς, “ruthless beasts and raging demons, and foes of our common nature,” lib. v. Ep. lii. liii. liv. Λύκεις διὰ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς, κυσὶ δὲ διὰ τὰς λαγνείας, ἀλώπεξι δὲ διὰ τὴν κακουργίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν σπουδαίοις ἐξστρακίζει, τοὺς δὲ φαίλους συζηροτεῖ—ἐδωκε τὸ ποίμνιον, “wolves by reason of their rapine, dogs for lustfulness, foxes for craft, and moreover, rejects the worthy, and claps his hands on the vile—to such he gave the flock.” Ep. cxlvii.

^c that.

^d Communi periculo providendum, maxime, quia tanta indigentia clericorum est, multæque ecclesiæ ita desertæ sunt, ut ne unum quidem diaconum, vel inlitteratum (Græc. ἀγράμματον, habere reperiantur. Nam de cæteris superioribus gradibus tacendum arbitror, quia, ut dixi, si ministerium diaconi facile non invenitur, multo magis superiorum honorum inveniri non posse certissimum est, et quotidie nos planetus diversarum pene emortuarum plebium jam non sustinemus: quibus nisi fuerit aliquando subventum, gravis nobis, et inexcusabilis innumerabilium animarum pereuntium causa apud Deum mansura est, “We must provide against the common danger: chiefly because there is so great a want of clergy, and many churches are so desolate, that they are not found to possess even one illiterate deacon. For I think it best to be silent concerning the higher grades and offices; because, if as I have said, diaconal ministrations be not readily found, much more certain is it, that those of the higher ranks cannot be met with; and already we sink under the daily complaints of flocks almost extinct, which unless we succour soon, a heavy unanswerable impeachment on the part of innumerable perishing souls will lie against us in the presence of God.” In Justell. p. 164. In Crab. Concil. tom. i. pp. 502, 503.

^e De Bapt. contra Donat. lib. vi. cap. xxv.

^f Helius, episcopus Hadrianopolitanus, definiens subscripsi per Romanum episcopum Myronum, eo quod nesciam literas. Caius, episcopus Phœnicensis definiens subscripsi per coepiscopum meum Dionysium, propter quod literas ignorem, “I, Helius, bishop of Hadrianopolis, have subscribed my judgment by the hand of the Roman bishop Myro, because I am ignorant of letters.—I, Caius, bishop of Phenice, have subscribed my judgment by the hand of Dionysius, my fellow-

own names, but were glad to get others to subscribe for them, even in councils, where, we may think, such insufficiency would have been ashamed to show itself, if it had not been too common.

Not to be tedious, Leo the emperor, about anno 460, is commended, as having well provided that the church should have able bishops, because he would have none ordained, but those who had learnt their psalter ; οὐδένα ἐχειροτονεῖ τὸ ψαλτήριον μὴ γινώσκοντα.^a Such was the state of the church, as to the sufficiency of her prime guides before the sixth age, and much worse afterwards, when they steered this course in their worship ; all sorts of learning, together with holiness, declining apace ; and barbarism, ignorance, and viciousness, more and more prevailing. Under such planets were those liturgies born, and by their influence nourished !

To conclude, they were not entertained, till nothing was admitted into the church, *de novo*, but corruptions, or the issues thereof ; no change made in the ancient usages, but for the worse ; no motions from the primitive posture, but downwards into degeneracy ! Till such orders took place, as respected not what was most agreeable to the rule and primitive practice, or what was best to uphold the life and power of religion in its solemn exercises, or what might secure it from that dead, heartless formality, into which Christianity was sinking, and which is at this day the sediment of popery : but what might show the power, and continue occasion for exercise of authority to the imperious and tyrannical ; or what might comport with the ease of the lazy and slothful ; or what might favour the weakness and insufficiency, and not detect the lameness and nakedness of those who had the place^b and name, but not

bishop, because I am ignorant of letters." Concil. Ephes. ii. in Act. i. Conc. Chalced. in Crab. tom. i. p. 830. So amongst others, Conc. Ephes. i. Patricius, presbyter de vico Paradoxilo, manu utens Maximi compresbyteri, ob hoc, quod literas ignorarem. Zenon chorepiscopus. Manum accommodavi pro eo ego Flavius Palladius, ob hoc quod præsens dixerit literas se ignorare, " Patricius, presbyter of the village Paradoxilus, availing myself of the hand of my fellow-presbyter Maximus) because I am ignorant of letters.—Zeno, chorepiscopus. I, Flavius Palladius, have set to my hand for him, because he being here present says that he is ignorant of letters." In Act. i. Conc. Chalced. in Crab. p. 816. Theodorus Gadarensis per alterius manum, *i. e.* Ætherii diaconi, " Theodore of Gadara, by the hand of another, *i. e.* of Ætherius the deacon." In the Greek copy, Ætherius the deacon subscribed, ἐπιτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀδυνατόν ὄντος ἢ μὴ γράφωντος, " commissioned by himself, seeing he is unable to write," which is likely [to be] the cause, though not expressed, why those that were present, subscribed by others ; of which see instances. Conc. Eph. ii. in Crab. p. 831. Conc. Constantinop. sub Flaviano, contra Eutych. in Crab. p. 781. et Conc. Eph. i. in Conc. Chalc. Act. i. Crab. pp. 819, 820.

Pantinus Zenensis literas nescit, " Pantinus of Zena is ignorant of letters." Collat. Carth. d. i. n. 133.

^a Theod. Lect. Collect. lib. i.

^b Sentio, negligente me, crescit sentina vitiorum, et tempestate fortiter obviante, jam jamque putridæ naufragium tabulæ sonant, " I feel that by my negligence the sink of vices chokes up ; and through the strong opposition of tempest, every now and then, the rotten planks sound warning of shipwreck." Gregor. M.

Ἀγρὸς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ τὰς ἐκκλησίας καταλαβὼν καὶ ζοφώδης, καὶ νύκτα ἀσέληνον πάντα εἰργάσατο, καὶ καθ' ἐκίστην κορυφῶνται τὴν ἡμέριν. πικρὰ τίνα ὀδύων ναυάγαι, καὶ αὔξεται ἡ πανωλεθρία τῆς

the real accomplishments of pastors and teachers. In a word, not till the state of the church was rather to be pitied than imitated; and what was discernible therein, different from preceding times, were wrecks and ruins, rather than patterns.

οἰκουμένης, "Wild and dark is the storm which has overtaken the church, and she toils through the moonless night, and some bitter waifs of her pangs turn up every day, and the total destruction of the world hurries on." Chrys. Ep. i. p. 51.

Τὸν φιλόανθρωπον Θεὸν παρακαλοῦντες δοῦναι λύσιν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ναυαγίῳ, "Beseeching God, the friend of man, to give deliverance from the common shipwreck of the world." Id. Epist. xxix. p. 115.

Θρηνοῦμεν τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χειμῶνα, καὶ τὸ τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλαβόν νανάγιον, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν εὐχαῖς βοηθεῖν, ὥστε τὴν πανωλεθρίαν ταύτην λυθῆναί ποτε, "We bewail the storm common to the churches, and the shipwreck which overtakes the world; and we entreat you all to help with your prayers, that this total destruction may sometime be stayed." Id. Epist. clxxviii. p. 186.