

## ARTICLE XXVIII

*De Cœna Domini.*

Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutæ benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque ideo rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus, est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, tantum cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo Corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

*Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death. Inasmuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

too much to say that they completely transform it and alter its character. In order to make this clear, it will be necessary to remind the reader briefly of the course of thought on the subject of the Eucharist in the Church of England during the sixteenth century.

In all the formularies put forth in the reign of Henry VIII. the doctrine of the real presence is strongly asserted,<sup>1</sup> as also in the abortive series of Articles agreed

<sup>1</sup> (1) The Ten Articles of 1536. "As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received of all them which receive the said sacrament."—*Formularies of Faith*, p. 11.

(2) "The Institution of a Christian man" (the "Bishops' Book") of 1537 repeats this almost word for word.—*Op. cit.* p. 100.

(3) The "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man" (the King's Book) of 1543, not content with this, substitutes a passage which clearly teaches the doctrine of transubstantiation. "In the other sacraments the outward kind of the thing which is used in them remaineth still in their own nature and substance unchanged. But in this most high Sacrament of the Altar, the creatures which be taken to the use thereof as bread and wine, do not remain still in their own substance, but by the virtue of Christ's word in the consecration be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that although there appear the form of bread and wine, after the consecration, as did before, and to the outward senses nothing seemeth to be changed, yet must we, forsaking and renouncing the persuasion of our senses in this behalf, give our assent only to faith and to the plain word of Christ, which affirmeth that substance there offered, exhibited, and received, to be the very precious body and blood of our Lord. . . . By these words it is plain and evident to all them which with meek, humble, and sincere heart will believe Christ's words, and be obedient unto faith, that in the sacrament, the things that be therein be the very body and blood of Christ in very substance."—*Op. cit.* p. 262.

IN no Article are the changes introduced at the revision of 1563 of greater importance than in this. It is not

upon by the Anglican and Lutheran divines in 1538.<sup>1</sup> But about the year 1545 Ridley came across the book of "Bertram," or rather Ratramn of Corbie (840), *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*.<sup>2</sup> By this he was greatly impressed. "This Bertram," he said, "was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that brought me from the common error of the Romish Church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter."<sup>3</sup> Nor did the influence of Ratramn's book end here; for Ridley, having been convinced by it himself, never rested till he had won over Cranmer also, and under his influence Cranmer was led definitely to abandon the medieval theory of transubstantiation.<sup>4</sup> Even so, however, he wavered and hesitated as to what his *positive* belief was, and for a considerable time appears to have inclined to something like the Lutheran tenet of consubstantiation;<sup>5</sup> though finally, after the death of Bucer

<sup>1</sup> Art. VII. *De Eucharistia*: "De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis." This is decidedly stronger than the Article in the Confession of Augsburg, which in the original edition of 1530 runs as follows: "De cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes." This was altered in the edition of 1540 to "De cœna Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in cœna Domini."—See *Sylloge Confessionum*, pp. 126 and 172.

<sup>2</sup> Ratramn's book was written in answer to questions addressed to him by Charles the Bald, in consequence of the work of Paschasius Radbert, in which a theory of transubstantiation had been plainly put forward. As against this, Ratramn strongly asserts that there is no change in the elements. See below, p. 650.

<sup>3</sup> See Moule's *Bishop Ridley on the Lord's Supper*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> In 1548 he issued an English translation of a Lutheran Catechism, and great was the dissatisfaction and disappointment among the more

early in 1551, he seems to have fallen completely under the influence of the Polish refugee John a Lasco, who sympathised entirely with the Swiss or Zwinglian school on the subject of the Eucharist. The result is seen in some of the changes introduced into the Book of Common Prayer in 1552, and in the publication of the Twenty-ninth Article, *De cœna Domini*, in 1553. It will be remembered that in the Prayer Book of 1552, among other changes, the words of administration were altered,

ardent spirits at the position which he took up. "The Archbishop of Canterbury, moved, no doubt, by the advice of Peter Martyr and other Lutherans, has ordered a Catechism of some Lutheran opinions to be translated and published in our language. This little book has occasioned no little discord; so that fightings have frequently taken place among the common people, on account of their diversity of opinion, even during the sermons."—Burcher to Bullinger, Oct. 29, 1548 (*Original Letters*, p. 642). "This Thomas," wrote John ab Ulmis to the same correspondent (Aug. 18, 1548), "has fallen into so heavy a slumber that we entertain but a very cold hope that he will be aroused even by your most learned letter. For he has lately published a Catechism, in which he has not only approved that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the Papists in the Holy Supper of our Saviour, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him sufficiently well grounded, perspicuous, and lucid" (*ib.* p. 380). Towards the end of the year a change was noticed, for in November the same correspondent writes: "Even that Thomas himself about whom I wrote to you when I was in London, by the goodness of God and the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, Master John a Lasco, is in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy" (p. 383). In 1549 he was apparently again inclined to higher views than were acceptable to the extreme men. Bucer had "very great influence with him"; he was with him "like another Scipio, and an inseparable companion" (pp. 64, 67). But by the end of the year he had taken a decided step. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," wrote Hooper to Bullinger on December 27, "entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some Articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them, and in these his sentiments respecting the Eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland" (p. 71). In the following year no room for doubt was left, as Cranmer's own *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament* was published.

"Take and eat (drink) this in remembrance," etc., being substituted for "the body (blood) of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given (shed) for thee," etc., and that there appeared at the end of the Communion Office the "black rubric" or declaration concerning kneeling, which asserted that "thereby no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood. For the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were Idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians); and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here,—it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."<sup>1</sup> In the Article as published in the following year, 1553, the first, second, and fourth paragraphs were the same as those in our present one (save that the words "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament" were added in 1563). But the third paragraph was widely different from that which the Article now contains. It stood thus:

"Forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in diverse places, but must needs be in some one certain place: therefore the body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and diverse places. And because (as Holy Scripture doth teach) Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

<sup>1</sup> On the history of this rubric, which was added at the last moment, see Dixon, iii. 475 seq.

Exactly in accord with this teaching is the language of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which, it will be remembered, dates from the same period. In this a violent and rather coarse attack is made on both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, or "impanation," as it is called; and the "real presence" is positively denied.<sup>1</sup> On a review of these and other facts, there can be little doubt that in 1552 and 1553 the formularies of the Church in this country were (to say the least) intended to be acceptable to those who sympathised with the Zwinglian School of Reformers in regard to the Eucharist, and who held that the Presence was merely figurative. But happily the accession of Elizabeth, after the Marian reaction, brought with it a return to wiser counsels, and a great and marked change in the language of our formularies. In the Prayer Book (1559) the words of administration used in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. were restored, in addition to the formula of the second book, so that there might be once more a definite recognition of the Presence at the moment of administration to each individual; and the "black rubric" was altogether omitted.<sup>2</sup> In the Article, when it was republished a few years later (1563), the third paragraph, denying the "real and

<sup>1</sup> *Reformatio Legum Eccles.*, De Hæres. c. 19; cf. *De Sacramentis*, c. 4: "Cum autem ad hæc omnia nec transubstantiatione opus sit, nec illa quam fingere solebant reali presentia corporis Christi, sed potius hæc curiosa hominum inventa primum contra naturam humanam sint a Filio Dei nostra causa sumptam, deinde cum Scripturis divinis pugnent, et præterea cum universa sacramentorum ratione configant, ista tanquam frivola quædam somnia merito desecanda curavimus, et oblivione obruenda, præsertim cum magnum ex illis et perniciosum agmen superstitionum in ecclesia Dei importatum fuerit." This may well be contrasted with the much more sober condemnation of transubstantiation in the Articles.

<sup>2</sup> The rubric was restored in 1662 with the very important substitution of "corporal" for "real and essential."

bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood," was also deleted,<sup>1</sup> and in its place was inserted our present *third* paragraph, asserting in careful and accurate language that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." The author of this paragraph was Edmund Guest, Bishop of Rochester, who says in a letter to Cecil that is still preserved, that it was of "mine own penning," and that it was not intended to "exclude the Presence of Christ's Body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof."<sup>2</sup>

Naturally these changes were not agreeable to the Puritan party in the Church,<sup>3</sup> for they amounted to a complete change. Whereas in the latter years of Edward VI.'s reign the formularies had seemed to exclude the doctrine of the real Presence and to incline to Zwinglianism, they were now (at the lowest estimate) patient of a Catholic interpretation, and contained nothing under cover of which the Zwinglianizing party could honestly

<sup>1</sup> What makes the omission more noteworthy is that the following clause was presented to the Synod and rejected by it: "Christus in cœlum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit, humanæ enim naturæ veritatem (juxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno et definito loco esse, et non in multa, vel omnia simul loca diffundi oportet, quum igitur Christus in cœlum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem seculi sit permansurus, atque inde non aliunde (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit, ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, carnis ejus et sanguinis, realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri." See Lamb's *Historical Account of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The letter quoted in full in G. F. Hodge's *Bishop Guest, Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.* p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See the letter of Humphrey and Sampson to Bullinger, quoted on p. 41, and the notice in Strype of the controversies concerning the Real Presence, and of Parker's supposed "Lutheranism," *Annals*, vol. i. p. 334; cf. Zurich Letters, p. 177.

shelter themselves. Moreover, they have since been supplemented by the clear teaching of the Church Catechism (1604). It follows from all this that the opinions of the Edwardian Reformers, such as Cranmer and Ridley, on the subject of the Holy Communion, have nothing more than an historical interest for us. Destructively they performed a task for which we owe them a great debt, in courageously attacking the medieval teaching on transubstantiation. But the positive character impressed upon the Articles in regard to Eucharistic doctrine is not theirs; nor have their writings any claim to be regarded even as an *expositio contemporanea* of formularies, which, in their present form, belong to a later date, and to a time when much greater respect was shown to the ancient teaching of the Church.

We are now in a position to consider the substance of the Article as it has stood unchanged since 1563. It contains four paragraphs dealing with the following subjects:—

1. The description of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
2. The doctrine of Transubstantiation.
3. The nature of the Presence, and the "mean whereby it is received."
4. Certain practices in connection with the Eucharist.

I. *The Description of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

(a) **It is a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another.** So much was admitted by the Anabaptists, who regarded it as an outward sign of our profession and fellowship, but nothing more. The Article admits that it is this, but it is **not only** this. Far more important is to remember that it is **rather**

(b) **A sacrament of our redemption by Christ's**

**death.** It was instituted "for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby," and by it we "proclaim the Lord's death till He come" (1 Cor. xi. 26).

(c) **To such as rightly (rite), worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking (communicatio) of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.** This clause is entirely founded on S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. x. 16, the words of which it follows very closely: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion (*κοινωνία*, Vulg. *communicatio*) of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion with the Body of Christ?" This passage forms an inspired commentary upon the account of the institution, when (to follow S. Paul's own narrative of it) our Lord "took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, This is My body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of Me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in My blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me." The value of the words of the Apostle cannot be over-estimated as interpreting the meaning of our Lord's words: "This is My body." They seem conclusive against transubstantiation on the one hand, and against a merely figurative presence on the other. The bread, he says, which we break,<sup>1</sup> is it not a *κοινωνία* with the body of Christ? *i.e.* that which coming between unites us with and makes us partakers of the body; for so we

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that S. Paul's words are "the bread which we break," and "the cup of blessing which we bless," not simply "which we eat and drink." Thus he seems to lay the stress on the breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup, *i.e.* on the consecration with which the Church has always connected the fact of the Presence.

may paraphrase the word. Thus the heavenly part of the Sacrament is conveyed to us through the earthly symbol consecrated by Christ's word of power; and the "inward part or thing signified" is, in the emphatic words of the Catechism (rightly emphatic, because the Presence had been explained away by some), "the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Thus the Eucharist is, as Article XXV. maintains, an "effectual sign." It not only typifies, but also conveys; for all who "duly receive these holy mysteries" are fed "with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood" of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

So far the Article has spoken only of the fact of the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood, teaching us that it is conveyed to us through "the bread which we break," and "the cup of blessing which we bless." But questions had been raised, and much controversy had taken place with regard to the manner and nature of the Presence; and these could not be altogether passed by without notice. To them, therefore, the next two paragraphs are devoted.

## II. *Transubstantiation.*

In considering this it will be well to treat separately—

- (a) The history of the doctrine, and
- (b) The grounds on which it is condemned.

(a) *The history of the doctrine.*—During the first eight centuries there are singularly few traces of controversy on the subject of the Eucharist, and as a consequence the teaching of the Fathers concerning the Presence is informal and unsystematic. It is, however, quite clear from the language used by them, as well as

from the expressions employed in the Liturgies of the Church, (1) that they believed in the Real Presence, and yet (2) that they were not committed to any formal theory of the manner of it such as that which was afterwards elaborated, and (3) that they held the permanence and reality of the elements even after consecration. The ninth century made a change, as the doctrine then became a matter of controversy. The first, so far as we know, to write a formal treatise on the subject was Paschasius Radbert of Corbie, in 831. In his work, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, a carnal theory, involving practically the destruction and annihilation of the elements, was boldly taught. Again and again he asserts that after consecration there is "nihil aliud quam corpus et sanguis Domini."<sup>1</sup> The work of Paschasius was answered among others by Ratramn, whose treatise, denying the carnal presence, and maintaining a spiritual view, had such an influence on Ridley, and through him on Cranmer.<sup>2</sup> Others, however, as Hincmar (c. 850) and Haimo of Halberstadt (c. 850), wrote in favour of the teaching of Paschasius; Haimo, indeed, expressly teaching that "the invisible priest changes His visible creatures into the substance of His flesh and blood," and that "though the taste and figure of bread and wine remain, yet the nature of the substances is altogether changed into the body and blood of Christ."<sup>3</sup> After this, however, the controversy died down, till the days of Lanfranc and Berengar, Archdeacon of Angers,

<sup>1</sup> See cc. ii. viii. xi. xii. xvi. xx., and cf. Gore's *Dissertations*, p. 236 seq. The work of Paschasius is given in Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. cxx.

<sup>2</sup> On the teaching of Ratramn, see Gore, *op. cit.* p. 240 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Migne, *Patrol.* vol. cxviii. p. 817. It is generally stated that John Scotus Erigena joined in this controversy and wrote a work on the Eucharist. But this does not appear to have been the case, for the work ascribed to him by later writers has been shown by Canon (now Bishop) Gore to be really the work of Ratramn. *Dissertations*, p. 240.

in the eleventh century. Berengar, who had attacked the popular doctrine with great vigour, was forced to recant at the Council of Rome under Nicholas II. (1059), and the form of recantation to which he was compelled to assent will show more clearly than anything else what was now the belief of the dominant party in the Church.

"Ego Berengarius indignus Sancti Mauritii Andegavensis ecclesiæ Diaconus cognoscens veram, Catholicam, et apostolicam fidem, anathematizo omnem hæresim, præcipue eam, de qua hactenus infamatus sum: quæ astruere conatur panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum, et non verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, nec posse sensualiter, nisi in solo sacramento, manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, aut fidelium dentibus atteri. Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ sedi; et ore et corde profiteor de sacramento Dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere, quam dominus et venerabilis Papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta Synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit, mihi que firmavit: scilicet panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri: jurans per sanctam et homoousion Trinitatem, per hæc sacrosancta Christi evangelia. Eos vero, qui contra hæc fidem venerint, cum dogmatibus et sectatoribus suis æterno anathemate dignos esse pronuntio. Quod si ego ipse aliquando contra hæc aliquid sentire aut prædicare præsumpsero, subjaceam canonum severitati. Lecto et perlecto sponte subscripsi."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, vol. xix. p. 900.

This asserts definitely that after consecration the bread and wine are the true Body and Blood of Christ in such a way that they are "sensibly," not only sacramentally, but really handled by the priest, broken, and ground by the teeth of the faithful. Practically this amounts to saying that the Body and Blood have *taken the place of* the elements; and it is very difficult to think that the expressions used can have been intended to be taken in any but a material sense of a sort of physical carnal presence.<sup>1</sup> But an obvious difficulty occurs here. If this is so, how is it that the appearances of bread and wine are there still? It was said that these were allowed to remain in order to test our faith, and to prevent the horror which would result were the Body and Blood to be openly manifested.<sup>2</sup> And further, advantage was taken by the schoolmen of the distinction drawn by the philosophy of the day between "substance" and "accidents." It was taught that the "accidents" remain, and that therefore taste, appearance, smell, etc. are unchanged, but that the "substance" of bread and wine had been annihilated and replaced by the "substance" of the Body and Blood, *i.e.* that the bread and wine had been *transubstantiated* into the Body and the Blood. The actual word by which this theory is commonly known, "transubstantiatio," appears to have been first used during the eleventh century,<sup>3</sup> and was definitely adopted by Innocent III. at the Fourth Lateran Council in

<sup>1</sup> See the summary of the conclusions of Witmund, *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate*, in Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> So Paschasius, x. xi.

<sup>3</sup> It has been generally stated that the first known occurrence of the word is in the work of Stephen, bishop of Autun, *De Sacramento Altaris* (c. 1100). It appears, however, before this in the Exposition of the Canon of the Mass, by Peter Damien (who died in 1072), first published by Cardinal Mai, *Script. vet. nova Collectio*, vol. vi. p. 211 *seq.*; see c. vii.

1215, when a decree was promulgated, laying down that the Body and Blood are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being *transubstantiated* into the Body, and the wine into the Blood, by Divine power.<sup>1</sup>

From this time onward the word was commonly employed in the Western Church.<sup>2</sup> But it is no more free from ambiguity than is the word "substance" itself. This, taken in its philosophical sense, is nothing that is tangible, or that the senses are cognizant of; these can only come in contact with the "accidents" or qualities. The "substance" is the underlying *something* which constitutes the thing, which makes it what it is, in which the "accidents" cohere. But, taken in its ordinary popular sense, "substance" suggests to plain, untrained, and unphilosophical minds something material and tangible, something which they can see, and with which the senses can come in contact. Hence it will be seen that even after it had been laid down that the elements were "transubstantiated" into the Body and Blood, there was still room for wide difference of opinion as to the nature of the change involved. By instructed theologians it was understood of a change

<sup>1</sup> "In qua [eclesia] idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divina."—Labbe and Cossart, vol. vii. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The Eastern Church accepts the corresponding term *μετουσίωσις*. It is doubtful, however, whether any instance of its use occurs earlier than the sixteenth century. The older words used for the change effected by consecration were *μεταστοιχείωσις*, *μεταβολή*, *μετάθεσις*, and *μεταλλαγή*; and Archbishop Platon of Moscow lays down that the word *μετουσίωσις* is to be taken in the sense in which the Fathers used these other terms, and is not to be understood of a physical and carnal transubstantiation, but of one that is sacramental and mystical. See Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. p. 172; but see the *Confession of Dosilheus* (Kimmel, p. 457 *seq.*), and cf. Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, p. 282.

that was spiritual and entirely free from any gross or carnal sense. But to those to whose minds the ordinary associations of the word "substance" clung, it could only suggest a material physical presence. The great schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from Peter Lombard onwards, had done something to free the doctrine from the terribly materialistic ideas in which it had originated,<sup>1</sup> but after their days a period of decadence set in; the clergy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were for the most part not well-instructed theologians; and there can be no doubt that the doctrine commonly accepted at the beginning of the sixteenth century was a grossly carnal and material one. There is abundant and painful evidence of this, not only in the language of those who (often coarsely and in ill-considered language) assailed the popular theory, but also in the language of its defenders. Thus one of the forms of recantation submitted to Sir John Cheke under the direction of Cardinal Pole reasserts in plain terms the view contained in the recantation of Berengarius, cited above.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., the language of Peter Lombard, *Libri Sentent.* IV. *dist.* xi. xii. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See Strype's *Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 123: "'I, Sir John Cheke, Knight,' etc. . . . The tenor of which was, that he pretended with heart and mouth to profess that he acknowledged the true Catholic and Apostolical faith, and did execerate all heresy, and namely that wherewith he lately had been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remained only a sacrament, and were not the very Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither could be handled or broken by the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only in manner of a sacrament. That he consented now to the holy and apostolical Church of Rome, and professed with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's Mass, which Pope Nicholas with his Synod at Rome, anno 1058, did hold, and commanded to be held by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are

In spite, however, of the popular superstitions encouraged by the use of the term, it was authoritatively reasserted at the Council of Trent. The whole question of the Eucharist was there considered at the thirteenth session in October 1551, more than a year before the promulgation of the *English Articles of 1553*. At this session it was laid down—(1) that "in the august sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the form of those sensible things";<sup>1</sup> and (2) that "because Christ our Redeemer declared that which He offered under the form of bread to be verily His own Body, therefore it has ever been a firm belief in the Church of God, and this holy Synod doth now declare it anew, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, a conversion takes place of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the Body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His Blood: which conversion is, by the holy Catholic Church, conveniently and properly called Transubstantiation."<sup>2</sup> Further, the

the very true and self-same Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy Evangelists that whosoever should hold or say to the contrary, he should hold them perpetually accursed; and that if he himself should hereafter presume to teach against the same, he should be content to abide the severity and rigour of the Canons," etc.

<sup>1</sup> "Principio docet sancta Synodus et aperte ac simpliciter profitetur in almo sanctæ Eucharistiæ sacramento, post panis et vini consecrationem, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum verum Deum atque hominem, vere, realiter, ac substantialiter sub specie illarum rerum sensibillum contineri."—*Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii. cap. 1.*

<sup>2</sup> "Quoniam autem Christus redemptor noster, corpus suum id quod sub specie panis offerebat, vere esse dixit; ideo persuasum semper in ecclesia Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo sancta hæc Synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam Corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini



first two Canons passed at this session were the following:—

“If any one shall deny that in the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist are verily, really, and substantially contained the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and consequently whole Christ; but shall say that He is only therein as in a sign, or in figure or virtue: let him be anathema.

“If any one shall say that in the sacred and holy sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine remains conjointly with the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood, the form only of the bread and wine remaining, which conversion indeed the Catholic Church most aptly calls Transubstantiation: let him be anathema.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus the scholastic theory was formally sanctioned by the Roman Church, and is regarded as an Article of faith in that communion to this day.

(b) *The grounds on which the doctrine is condemned.*

The Article gives *four* grounds for rejecting the

in substantiam Sanguinis Ejus; quæ conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiatio est appellata.”—*Ib.* cap. 4.

<sup>1</sup> “Si quis negaverit in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento contineri vere realiter et substantialiter Corpus et Sanguinem, una cum anima et Divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ac proinde totum Christum: sed dixerit tantummodo esse in eo, ut in signo, vel figura, aut virtute, anathema sit.

“Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini, una cum Corpore et Sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi; negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in Corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in Sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissime Transubstantiationem appellat: anathema sit.”—*Ib.* Canons 1 and 2.

doctrine. It says that **Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord—**

(1) **Cannot be proved by Holy Writ.** It is hard to see how a philosophical theory such as Transubstantiation confessedly is, can ever be “proved by Holy Writ.” Romanists point to the words of institution, *Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου*. But though they can certainly be claimed in favour of the real Presence, yet to bring into them a theory of “accidents” remaining while the “substance” is changed, is to read into the text that which is certainly not contained in it, and what we deny can reasonably be inferred from it.<sup>1</sup>

(2) **It is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.** According to the theory now under consideration, what remains after consecration is no longer “bread,” and has no claim to be so called. But Scripture freely speaks of that which is received as “bread,” e.g. “As often as ye eat *this bread* and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord’s death till He come. . . . Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of *the bread* and drink of the cup” (1 Cor. xi. 26, 28).

(3) **It overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament.** It is of the essence of a sacrament that there should be in it two parts—the “outward visible sign” and the “inward spiritual grace.” But if “bread,” the outward visible sign in the Eucharist, no longer remains after consecration, one of the two essential parts has been destroyed, and the “nature of a sacrament” is “overthrown.”

<sup>1</sup> Both Scotus and Bellarmine have allowed that there is no passage of Scripture so plain as to compel belief in Transubstantiation, apart from the decree of the Lateran Council. See Bellarmine, *De Eucharistia*, III. xxiii., where Scotus is referred to [*In IV. dist.* xi. q. 3]. Cf. Forbes, *Considerationes Modestæ*, vol. ii. p. 446.

(4) It hath given occasion to many superstitions. These words are only too painfully true, and in support of them reference may be made to the medieval stories of alleged miracles, such as those freely instanced by Paschasius Radbert,<sup>1</sup> in which the Host has disappeared, and the Infant Christ Himself been seen, or where drops of blood have been seen to flow from the consecrated wafer. Of these none is more to the point than the so-called miracle of Bolsena, which led to the institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi in 1264. According to one account, the miracle, in which the corporal was suddenly covered with red spots in the shape of a Host, actually happened to remove the priest's doubts concerning Transubstantiation.

These four arguments brought forward in the Article appear to be perfectly satisfactory, as directed against the coarse and carnal form of the doctrine which was present to the minds of those who compiled the Article. But it must be admitted that they scarcely touch the subtle and more refined and spiritual form in which it is held by thoughtful and well-instructed Romanists. With regard to the *first two* arguments, they may fairly point to the fact that the consecrated Host is actually termed "panis" in the Missal, and therefore may claim that they recognise it as in some sense "bread," and give it the same term as does S. Paul.<sup>2</sup> As to the *third*, they reply that "what we see, feel, or taste in the Blessed Sacrament is real, for the accidents are real entities, and the accidents are all that the senses ever do perceive. . . . It is, moreover, because the accidents remain that the Eucharist is a sacrament. They constitute the outward part—they are the sensible sign of

<sup>1</sup> A considerable number of such "miracles" are related in his work, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bellarmine, *De Eucharistia*, I. c. xi.

that refreshment of the soul which follows from a worthy reception of the Blessed Sacrament."<sup>1</sup> The *fourth* argument is obviously inconclusive as an argument. If everything that "hath given occasion to many superstitions" is to be rejected, then Christianity itself must go, for there is scarcely a doctrine which has not been perverted and abused. But even with regard to the more refined and spiritual form in which the doctrine is capable of being presented, we cannot but feel compelled to resist it when it is pressed as an Article of faith, and our assent to it is required as a condition of communion. At best it is but a theory of the schools, a philosophical opinion which is "destitute and incapable of proof,"<sup>2</sup> as well as "involved in tremendous metaphysical difficulties."<sup>3</sup> As such we decline to be bound by it. But as an "opinion," hard as it is to free it altogether from materialistic conceptions,<sup>4</sup> it has been conceded by Anglican divines, representing very different schools of thought, that it need be no bar to communion, provided no assent to it were demanded from us.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Thirlwall, *Charge*, 1866, Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gore, *op. cit.* p. 271, where it is pointed out that the accepted teaching of the Roman Church holds that the real Presence is withdrawn as soon as the process of digestion commences; and the following is quoted from Perrone, *Prælectiones Theologicae*: "Etenim cum species eo devenerint ut corpus sive materia dissolvi seu corrumpi deberet, cessante reali corporis Christi præsentia, Deus omnipotentia sua iterum producit materialem panis aut vini substantiam in eo statu quo naturaliter inveniretur, si conversio nulla præcessisset, ut fides locum habent."—*De Eucharistia*, § 151.

<sup>5</sup> So Hooker, bk. V. lxvii. 6: "'This is My body,' and 'This is My blood,' being words of promise, sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform His promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation the sacrament itself be first possessed with Christ or no?—a thing which no way can either further or hinder us however it stand, because our participation of Christ in this sacra-

III. *The Nature of the Presence and the "Mean whereby it is received."*

On the nature of the Presence the teaching of the Article is this. The Body and Blood are in no way carnally and corporeally present, *i.e.* after the manner of a body, physically, and according to the laws which govern a local and material presence, for **the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner**; that is, it is present in a manner above sense and nature, by the power and working of God's Holy Spirit, and for the highest spiritual ends. It has been noticed by a thoughtful writer that in this clause "the body of Christ is not said in a general way to be 'received,' but to be 'given, taken, and eaten'; as if there were a solicitude, in correcting the abuses of the sacrament, explicitly to maintain the union between the heavenly and spiritual blessing

ment dependeth on the co-operation of His omnipotent power which maketh it His body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the elements such as they imagine, we need not greatly to care nor inquire." Cf. the MS. note in which Hooker defends these words, quoted by Mr. Keble (*Hooker's Works*, vol. ii. p. 353). Bp. Andrewes: "*De Hoc est, fide firma tenenius, quod sit: De, Hoc modo est* (nempe, Transubstantiatio in corpus pane), de modo quo fiat ut sit, per, sive *In, sive Con, sive Sub, sive Trans* nullum inibi verbum est. Et quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamus procul: inter *Scita Scholae* fortasse, inter *Fides Articulos* non ponimus."—*Resp. ad Bellarm.* p. 13 (A. C. Lib.). So Archbp. Bramhall places Transubstantiation "among the opinions of the schools, not among the Articles of our faith."—*Answer to Militiere*, p. 1. Burnet also says: "We think that neither consubstantiation nor transubstantiation, however ill-grounded we think them to be, ought to dissolve the union and communion of Churches."—*On Art. XXVIII.* And Bp. Harold Browne, in speaking of the teaching of Roman divines, admits that "by the more learned and liberal, statements have been made perpetually in acknowledgment of a spiritual rather than a carnal presence; and such as no enlightened Protestant would cavil at or refuse."—*Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 701.

and the outward and visible sign. . . . To use these precise expressions, therefore, respecting the Body of Christ is, by clearest implication, to combine that 'heavenly and spiritual' blessing with the given and taken symbol."<sup>1</sup> The words of the whole paragraph imply that the Presence is what is now commonly called "objective," *i.e.* that it is *there*, in virtue of consecration, as something external to ourselves, in no way dependent on our feeling or perception of it. It is "given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." But **the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.** It is "given, taken, and eaten" (*datur, accipitur, et manducatur*). It is "received and eaten" (*accipitur et manducatur*). Three words are employed in the first sentence; only two in the second; and this designedly, for the Presence is not due to faith. Faith *receives*. It cannot *create* or *bestow*. The Presence must be there first, or it cannot be received. As Thorndike said, "the eating and drinking of it in the sacrament presupposes the being of it in the sacrament . . . unless a man can spiritually eat the Flesh and Blood of Christ in and by the sacrament, which is not *in* the sacrament *when* he eats and drinks it, but *by his* eating and drinking of it comes to be there."<sup>2</sup> If, however, it is clearly implied that the Presence is there first, before it is "received," it seems to be no less clearly taught in the last part of the clause that faith is a necessary condition to the reception of it, for "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." So much is practically confessed by Bishop Guest, the author of the clause, in a remarkable letter addressed to Cecil in 1571. Guest was very anxious

<sup>1</sup> A. Knox, *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws of the Church*, c. ii. § 12.

that Article XXIX. "Impii non manducant," which had been withdrawn before publication in 1563, should not now be restored, or receive any sanction "because it is quite contrary to the Scripture and the Fathers"; and in order to make the Twenty-eighth Article harmonise with the view that the wicked do partake of the body, though not fruitfully, he suggested that the word "only" should be removed, and that the word "profitably" should be inserted, and that the words should run, "the mean whereby the body of Christ is profitably received and eaten in the Supper is faith."<sup>1</sup> The Article was, however, left untouched, and the Twenty-ninth was, against his wish, inserted; and, if the words of the Articles are to be taken in their plain literal and grammatical sense, the whole paragraph would seem to indicate, (1) that the Presence is there independent of us, and thus that it is offered to all; but (2) that the faithful, and the faithful only, are able to receive it.

The subject will require some further consideration under the next Article, but so much it seemed necessary to say here, for the right understanding of the words before us.

All the positive statements of the Article with regard to the Presence in the Eucharist have now been discussed (for the fourth paragraph which still remains is concerned only with certain practices in connection with the sacrament), and if the exposition that has been given is a fair one, the result of it will be this: that while the doctrine of the real Presence is distinctly taught, and the theory of Transubstantiation is condemned, there is an entire absence of any counter theory of the manner of the Presence. And in this lies the real strength of the position taken up by the Church of England. She

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, "Domestic," Elizabeth, vol. lxxviii. No. 37. Cf. p. 45.

devoutly accepts her Lord's words. She does not attempt to explain them away or to resolve them into a mere figure. But, on the other hand, she is content to hold them as a mystery. Her Lord has not explained them. He has nowhere revealed "how" His Body and Blood are present; and therefore she declines to speculate on the *manner*, and rejects as no part of the Church's faith all theories on the subject presented to her, whether that of Transubstantiation, or the Lutheran tenet of Consubstantiation, or that associated with the name of Calvin, the theory of a "virtual" presence only in the heart of the faithful recipient.<sup>1</sup>

To the present writer it appears that on this mysterious subject we may well be content to make our own the words of Bishop Andrewes in the sixteenth century, and of Bishop Moberly in the nineteenth—

"Præsentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram: de modo præsentia nihil temere definimus, addo, nec anxie inquirimus."<sup>2</sup>

"The Body and Blood of Christ are present, not corporeally (for that we know from our Lord's words

<sup>1</sup> This, it must be remembered, is a distinct "theory" quite as much as Transubstantiation. It is probably largely owing to the belief that it was the view of R. Hooker that it has obtained such wide acceptance in this country. It cannot, however, be fairly said that it represents the *whole* of Hooker's teaching on the subject. See book V. c. lxxvii. § 1, where very strong language is used on "the power of the ministry of God," which "by blessing visible elements maketh them invisible grace" (a phrase which is scarcely reconcilable with a merely "receptionist" theory), and "hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls." The arguments in c. lxxvii. by which Hooker seeks to justify his conclusion that "the real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament," cannot be deemed convincing, and the reader will find an able criticism of them in Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. ii. Intro. p. 202 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Responsio ad Bellarm.* p. 13.

in John vi. 63), but spiritually, in and with the elements. We know no more . . . Consubstantiation, like Transubstantiation, is a *theory* of the *manner* of the Presence, whereas the Church only knows the Presence as a fact, respecting the manner and mode and extent of which she is not informed.”<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. *Certain Practices in connection with the Eucharist.*

**The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.** Of the practices here spoken of, at least three are directly enjoined by the Council of Trent, and it is possible that to the promulgation of the decrees of the thirteenth session of that Council (October 1551) the paragraph before us is due. The decrees in question lay down, (1) that “there is no room left for doubt that all the faithful of Christ, according to the custom ever received in the Catholic Church, exhibit in veneration the worship of *latría*, which is due to the true God, to this most holy sacrament”; (2) that “very piously and religiously was this custom introduced into the Church, that this most sublime and venerable sacrament should be, with special veneration and solemnity, celebrated every year on a certain day, and that a festival; and that it should be borne reverently and with honour in processions through the streets and public places”;<sup>2</sup> and (3) that

<sup>1</sup> *Bampton Lectures*, p. 172 (ed. 1).

<sup>2</sup> “Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quia omnes Christi fideles pro more in Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto *latría* cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant. . . . Declarat præterea sancta Synodus pie et religiose admodum in Dei ecclesiam inductum fuisse hunc morem, ut singulis annis peculiari quodam et festo die præcelsum hoc et venerabile sacramentum singulari veneratione ac solemnitate celebraretur, utque in processionibus rever-

“the custom of reserving the Holy Eucharist in the ‘sacrarium’ is so ancient that even the age of the Council of Nicæa recognised it. Moreover, as to the carrying of the sacred Eucharist itself to the sick, and carefully reserving it to this purpose in churches, besides that it is conformable with the highest practice, equity, and reason, it is also found enjoined in numerous Councils, and observed according to the most ancient custom of the Catholic Church. Wherefore this holy Synod ordains that this salutary and necessary custom be by all means retained.”<sup>1</sup> These chapters are followed as usual by canons condemning with an anathema those who deny the lawfulness of these practices.

The statement made in the Article is worded with the utmost care, and with studied moderation. It cannot be said that any one of the practices is condemned or prohibited by it. It only amounts to this: that none of them can claim to be part of the original Divine institution. **The sacrament . . . was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.** That is all that is said; and in a formulary, such as the Articles, that was sufficient. The four practices in question, belonging mainly to the ritual use of the Church, came more directly into consideration in connection with the arrangements for public worship in the Book of Common Prayer.

enter et honorifice illud per vias et loca publica circumferretur.”—*Conc. Trid.* Sessio xiii. cap. 5.

<sup>1</sup> “Consuetudo asservandi in Sacratio sanctam Eucharistiam adeo antiqua est ut eam sæculum etiam Nicæni Concilii agnovit. Porro deferri ipsam sacram Eucharistiam ad infirmos, et hunc usum diligenter in ecclesiis conservari, præterquam quod cum summa æquitate et ratione conjunctum est; tum multis in Conciliis præceptum invenitur et vetustissimo Catholice Ecclesie more est observatum. Quare sancta hæc Synodus retinendum omnino salutarem hunc et necessarium morem statuit.”—*Ib.* cap. vi.

1. Reservation for the sick, undoubtedly a primitive practice,<sup>1</sup> was permitted, under certain restrictions, in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.<sup>2</sup> In the Second Book (1552), in view of the danger of superstitious reservation,<sup>3</sup> the provision for it was omitted altogether. At the last revision in 1662 an express direction was inserted in one of the rubrics at the end of the Order for Holy Communion, that "if any remain of [the bread and wine] which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the church, but the priest and such other of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the blessing, reverently eat and drink the same." It is tolerably clear that the intention of this rubric was to guard against the irreverent custom, which was only too common, of a priest taking away what remained of the consecrated elements for his own use; but at the same time it is difficult to believe that the rubric could have been so worded had those who introduced it contemplated reservation as still permissible under the directions of the Book of Common Prayer.

<sup>1</sup> See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. c. lxxvii.: τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται.

<sup>2</sup> The sick were communicated with the reserved sacrament if there was a celebration of the Holy Communion on the same day; but if the day was "not appointed for the open Communion in the church," provision was made for a special consecration. See the rubrics before "the Communion of the Sick" in the book of 1549.

<sup>3</sup> The danger of such superstitious reservation is very clearly indicated by the last rubric at the close of the Order of the Holy Communion in the Prayer Book of 1549: "Although it be read in ancient writers that the people many years passed received at the priest's hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness: lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole Realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the sacrament of Christ's body, in their mouths, at the priest's hand."

2. The festival of Corpus Christi was removed from the Calendar in 1549, and the "carrying about" of the Eucharist in procession through the streets and public places is forbidden by the rubric that has just been quoted.

3. *The Elevation of the Host* for purposes of adoration is said to have been introduced about the year 1100,<sup>1</sup> and (like the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi) was a direct consequence of the growth of a belief in Transubstantiation. It was distinctly prohibited in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., though the prohibition is not repeated in the Second Book.<sup>2</sup>

4. *Adoration* of Christ present in the sacrament is not and cannot be prohibited. But it is one thing to worship Christ there present, and quite another to find in the sacrament a distinct localised object of worship; and the "Declaration concerning Kneeling," restored (with the important modification previously mentioned) in 1662, expressly says that by the posture of kneeling "no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 546 seq. (ed. 1). And on the earlier elevation connected with the proclamation τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, which was certainly not for purposes of adoration, see the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 605.

<sup>2</sup> "These words before rehearsed [*i.e.* the words of consecration] are to be said, turning still to the altar, without any elevation, or showing the sacrament to the people."—Rubric after Consecration in the Prayer Book of 1549.

<sup>3</sup> Reference may be made in general on this subject to Mozley's *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 210 seq.

## ARTICLE XXIX

*De manducatione Corporis Christi,  
et impios illud non manducare.*

Impii, et fide viva destituti, licet carnaliter et visibiliter (ut Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tantæ rei sacramentum, seu symbolum, ad iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt.

*Of the Wicked which do not eat the  
Body of Christ in the use of the  
Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as S. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

THE first appearance of this Article (to which there is nothing corresponding in the series of 1553) is in Parker's MS., which was signed by the bishops on January 29, 1563.<sup>1</sup> It is also found in two English MSS. of almost the same date, now in the Record Office, in one of which there is a marginal note: "This is the original, but not passed."<sup>2</sup> In a *Latin* MS. in the same office it is altogether wanting,<sup>3</sup> as it is in the published edition issued a few months later by Wolfe, the royal printer, under the direct authority of the Queen. It must, therefore, have been omitted either in the passage of the Articles through the Lower House of Convocation, or else at an even later stage by the direct interposition

<sup>1</sup> See p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, "Domestic," Elizabeth, vol. xxvii. Nos. 40 and 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* No. 41A.

of the Queen herself, the reason for its omission evidently being a desire to avoid needlessly offending some of those who sympathised with medieval belief and feeling, whom it was desired, if possible, to retain within the limits of the Church. Since it lacked all authority it is naturally wanting in the printed copies up to 1571, when we meet with it again. On May 11th of that year the Articles were considered by the Upper House of Convocation, and a copy was subscribed by Parker and ten other bishops. In this the Twenty-ninth Article is contained.<sup>1</sup> A few days later we find Bishop Guest, by an appeal to Cecil, making a determined effort to prevent the ratification of it on the ground that it "will cause much business."<sup>2</sup> His efforts were, however, unavailing, as it is contained in the copy which was ratified by the Sovereign,<sup>3</sup> and from this time forward it finds its place in all printed copies, both Latin and English. It will be remembered that by this date (1571) the Anglo-Roman schism was complete, and therefore there was not the same reason as there had been eight years earlier for withholding the Article.

The language of the Article has been traced to no earlier formulary; but it is throughout suggested by a

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this is given in Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, No. iv.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 662, and G. F. Hodge's *Bishop Guest, Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.* p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Guest's letter in May 1571 had, however, apparently led to the interview between Cecil and Parker on June 4, referred to in Strype's *Parker*, pp. 331, 332, when Cecil questioned the reference to S. Augustine. The interview was followed by a letter from Parker on the same day, in which he told the Treasurer that he was "advisedly" still in the same opinion concerning the authority of S. Augustine, "and for further truth of the words, besides S. Austen, both he in other places and Prosper in his 'Sentences wrote of Austen' (Senten. 338 and 339), doth plainly affirm our opinion in the Article to be most true, howsoever some men vary from it." (Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 381.)

passage in the works of Augustine on S. John's Gospel. In the printed editions the text stands as follows: "Qui non manet in Christo et in quo non manet Christus procul dubio nec manducat [spiritualiter] carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem [licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi]: sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit."<sup>1</sup> It is thought, however, that the text has been interpolated, and that the words placed in brackets are due, not to Augustine, but to Bede, in whose Commentary they are also found.

Coming now to the consideration of the substance of the Article, it may be noticed that the phrase employed in the title is not repeated in the Article itself. In the former, it is said of **the wicked that they do not eat the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.** In the latter, the phrase used is that **in no wise are they partakers of Christ.** It has been thought that the heading is in itself inexact, and must be interpreted by the phrase in the Article itself, as many have held that though the wicked do actually receive the Body and Blood, and therefore in some sense "eat" it, yet since they receive it not to their soul's health, but to their condemnation, they are "in no wise partakers of Christ."<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that the medieval Church did thus teach that what the wicked receive in the Eucharist is the Body and Blood, Christ being present in the sacrament in their case to judge, as in the case of the faithful He is present to bless.<sup>3</sup> But it may be doubted whether so

<sup>1</sup> *In Joann. Tract.* xxvi. § 18.

<sup>2</sup> See Pusey, *Real Presence*, p. 251 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> It is sufficient to refer to S. Thomas, *Summa*, iii. 80. 3: "Cum corpus Christi in sacramento semper permanet donec species sacramentales corrumpantur, etiam injustos homines Christi corpus manducare consequitur." For the Tridentine teaching, see Sess. xiii. cap. viii.

much would have been allowed in the early Church,<sup>1</sup> or whether it can be proved from Scripture. Two passages of the New Testament directly bear upon the question, (1) S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. xi. 27-29, and (2) S. John vi. 51-59. In the former passage the Apostle says: "Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the

<sup>1</sup> On the teaching of Augustine, see the interesting correspondence between Pusey and Keble, quoted in vol. iii. of Pusey's *Life*, Appendix to c. xviii.; but see also Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 232, where it is admitted that Augustine's language, while "probably somewhat inconsistent," "may fairly be interpreted on a receptionist theory like Hooker's." Even so late and so materialistic a writer as Paschasius Radbert is not really clear as to what the wicked receive. *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. vi., and cf. the following from Mozley, *Lectures*, etc. p. 203: "The language of the Fathers is not indeed free from some real and much more apparent disagreement on this subject. On a subject where language has so many nice distinctions to keep, it will not always keep them; nor avoid indiscriminateness, saying one thing when it means something else close and contiguous to it, but still quite different from it. Thus the rule or custom by which the bread itself was called the Body, as being the figure of the Body; and by which the whole sacrament, not distinguishing its material part from its spiritual, was called the Body, as containing the Body, necessarily led to occasional confusion of language; writers saying that the Body was always, and in any case, eaten together with the reception of the sacrament, without any condition, when they really meant that the bread, which was the sacrament of the Body, was eaten. Where, however, this distinction was in the writer's mind, a large mass of language shows that the true Body of Christ in the sacrament could not be eaten except by the medium of faith. S. Augustine, who is quoted in our Article on this point, has frequent similar statements. S. Hilary says, 'The bread which cometh down from heaven is not received except by him who is a member of Christ' [*De Trinitate*, Lib. viii.]. S. Jerome says, 'Those who are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, neither eat His Body nor drink His Blood' [*in Esai.* lxi. 17]; though he also speaks of the polluted and unworthy approaching the altar and drinking His Blood. But the connection which this latter assertion has with the visible altar and the open reception of the sacrament gives the body and blood here rather the open and sacramental sense just mentioned, than the true sense. 'He who obeys not Christ,' says Prosper, 'neither eats His flesh nor drinks His blood' [*Sent.* 139]. 'He receives who approveth himself,' says Ambrose. 'The wicked cannot eat the word made flesh,' says Origen [*in Matt.* xv. 1.]. See also Gore, *The Body of Christ* (1901), p. 144 *seq.*, on the Teaching of the Fathers.



blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, if he discern not the body." These words beyond question teach us that the Body and Blood are so present that the unworthy communicant is guilty of their profanation. How could he fail to "discern" the Body, unless it was there? But it is by no means clear that S. Paul means to say that the unworthy communicant *receives* the Body. It is *there*, and he is so brought into contact with it as to be "guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord." But if it be true, as Article XXVIII. has asserted, that "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith," then, although it is offered to him, he is incapable of receiving it, and thus **the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth . . . the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their own condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.** This view of the meaning of S. Paul's words derives support from our Lord's own statements in S. John vi. 51-59. There throughout He speaks of "life" as the gift imparted by "eating His Flesh" and "drinking His Blood." No doubt the discourse has a wider reference than only to the Holy Communion. Our Lord is speaking primarily of the Incarnation, and faith therein as the means of life. But from this He proceeds to speak of the way in which men can be united with Him and thus made sharers of His life, especially by "eating His Flesh" and "drinking His Blood." And when it is remembered that exactly a year after this discourse was spoken He took bread and

gave it to His disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my Body," and gave them to drink of the cup, saying, "This is my Blood," it seems impossible to doubt that the Holy Communion is intended to be in ordinary cases the means of that eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood of which He is speaking; and if this is so, since the wicked are certainly not made to "have life" through participation in the sacrament, it would not appear to be safe to assert that they do "eat the Body of Christ in the sacrament."

It cannot be maintained that it follows as a *necessary* inference from the doctrine of the real Presence; for if the connection of the Presence with the elements be of such a nature that of necessity *all* those who receive the outward elements *must* thereby also receive the "inward part," ulterior consequences will follow: such as the reception of the Body of Christ by birds or mice, which might through some deplorable accident eat a portion of the consecrated bread.<sup>1</sup> To this it may be added that "nowhere in Scripture do we hear of an eating and drinking of the true Body and Blood of our Lord which is not profitable. The Body and Blood are of that nature, that they are in the reason of the case, by the simple fact of being eaten and drunk, beneficial; and no such thing is contemplated as a *real* eating of them, which is not a *beneficial* eating of them also. "Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood," saith the Lord, "hath eternal life. . . . He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me, and I in him. . . . He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me." The spiritual food of our Lord's Body and Blood cannot, as has been said, be eaten except spiritually; it cannot be

<sup>1</sup> For the extraordinary shifts to which the medievalists were driven in order to explain *what* really happens under such circumstances, see Witmund, *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate*, ii. § 7 seq.

eaten carnally by the mere natural mouth and teeth; such an idea is a discord and a contradiction in reason. But if it cannot be eaten except spiritually, how does the carnal man supply the spiritual medium and instrumentality of eating? The carnal man has only the natural mouth and teeth to apply; all this he has; but this is totally irrelevant to spiritual food."<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, then, even if, as many have thought, the view that the wicked do actually receive the Body and Blood without being thereby made "partakers of Christ,"<sup>2</sup> be capable of reconciliation with the terms of this Article, yet it appears to be more in accordance with Holy Scripture and the mind of the primitive Church, as well as with the most obvious and natural meaning of Articles XXVIII. and XXIX.,<sup>3</sup> to hold that the wicked, though brought (so to speak) in contact with the Body and Blood, are through want of faith unable to receive that spiritual food which is offered to them. Thus they are "in no wise partakers of Christ," because, lacking "the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper," they "eat not the Body of Christ."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mozley, *op. cit.* p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase which is used in the Article is taken from Heb. iii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> It ought to be stated that Bishop Guest, in spite of his criticisms of this Article, felt himself able to sign it; for his signature is contained with those of other bishops in the MS. of May 11, 1571.

<sup>4</sup> It should be added that it was freely admitted by both Cranmer and Ridley that *in some sense* the wicked may be said to "eat the Body." And their language is *verbally* identical with that of the Council of Trent, where it was said that "some receive it sacramentally only, viz. sinners, others sacramentally and spiritually" (Sess. xiii. cap. viii.). So Cranmer: "I say that the same visible and palpable flesh that was for us crucified . . . is eaten of Christian people at His holy Supper . . . the diversity is not in the body, but in the eating thereof; no man eating it carnally, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally, that is, figuratively."—*On the Lord's Supper* (Parker Society), p. 224. So Ridley: "Evil men do eat the very true

and natural body of Christ sacramentally and no further, as S. Augustine saith; but good men do eat the very true body both sacramentally and spiritually by grace."—*Works* (Parker Society), p. 246. In these two extracts "sacramentally" is equivalent to "figuratively," or rather eating the body sacramentally is equivalent to "eating the sacrament of the body" (cf. the remarks on the language of the Fathers in the extract from Mozley on p. 671, note 1). This may throw some light on the wording of the "Prayer of Humble Access" in the Book of Common Prayer: "Grant us . . . so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood, *that our sinful bodies,*" etc.

## ARTICLE XXX

*De utraque specie.*

Calix Domini Laicis non est denegandus: utraque enim pars dominici sacramenti ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

*Of both kinds.*

The cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people. For both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

THIS Article is one of the four which were added by Archbishop Parker in 1563. It was accepted by the Convocation, and has kept its place ever since without any change. In considering it, it will be well to treat separately—

1. The history of the practice condemned in it.
2. The arguments by which it has been justified.

I. *The History of the Denial of the Cup to the Laity.*

The evidence for the administration of **both the parts of the Lord's sacrament . . . to all Christian men alike**, whether clergy or laity, during the first eleven centuries, is so full and complete that it is not now even pretended by Roman divines that during this period the administration of the Eucharist in one kind was ever permitted in the Catholic Church, save only in exceptional cases, as (perhaps) to the sick.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This admission was not always so readily made, for Bishop Watson in 1558 says that "the holy Church hath used, even from the time of Christ Himself and His Apostles, to minister this sacrament under the form of Bread only both to laymen and women, and also to priests, save

There is not one word in the New Testament to indicate that the Cup was to be withheld from the laity. On the contrary, S. Paul's language directly implies that he contemplated that all alike would receive both parts of the sacrament, for he says, "Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of the bread, *and drink of the cup*" (1 Cor. xi. 28). The words of Justin Martyr are conclusive for the practice in the second century.<sup>1</sup> S. Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>2</sup> and many other Fathers supply evidence for the fourth and later centuries. But it is needless to cite testimonies when it is admitted by Cardinal Bona that "the faithful always and in all places, from the first beginnings of the Church till the twelfth century, were used to communicate under the species of bread and wine, and the use of the chalice began little by little to drop away in the beginning of that century, and many bishops forbade it to the people to avoid the risk of irreverence and spilling."<sup>3</sup>

There is, however, evidence which is very worthy of note, that during this period there was a tendency in some quarters to abstain from receiving the chalice, and that this was *severely condemned by the authorities of the Church*. Thus Leo I. (440) writes of certain Manichees, and says, "They receive Christ's Body with unworthy mouth, and entirely refuse to drink the Blood of our

when they do consecrate and minister to themselves with their own hands."—Serm. viii. p. xlvi (Lond. 1558); quoted in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 621 (ed. 1). As Scudamore remarks: "A falsehood more gross and palpable could not be committed to writing."

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.* I. lxx.: "The deacons give to each of those present to receive of the consecrated (*εὐχαριστηθέντος*) bread and wine and water, and they carry them to those not present."

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. Myst.* v. 22: "Then after having partaken of the Body of Christ, approach also to the Cup of His Blood; not stretching forth thine hand, but bending and saying in the way of worship and reverence, Amen; be thou hallowed by partaking also of the Blood of Christ."

<sup>3</sup> *Rerum Liturg.* bk. II. c. xviii. § 1.

Redemption; therefore we give notice to you, holy brethren, that men of this sort, whose sacrilegious deceit has been detected, are to be expelled by priestly authority from the fellowship of the saints."<sup>1</sup>

About fifty years later Gelasius I. (490) repeats the condemnation of the practice. "We have ascertained that certain persons, having received a portion of the sacred Body alone, abstain from partaking of the chalice of the sacred Blood. Let such persons, without any doubt (since they are stated to feel themselves bound by some superstitious reason), *either receive the sacrament in its entirety*, or be repelled from the entire sacrament, because the division of one and the same mystery cannot take place without great sacrilege."<sup>2</sup>

From these early testimonies we may pass on to the close of the eleventh century, when the custom was beginning to creep into the Catholic Church, probably from motives of reverence, and anxiety to avoid accidents or scandals. At this time the matter attracted some attention, and the custom of communicating in one kind alone was definitely condemned by the Council of Clermont under Urban II. (1095), as well as by Pascal II. at the beginning of the next century (1118). The twenty-eighth Canon of the Council is clear, and states positively that "no one shall communicate at the altar unless he receive the *Body and the Blood* separately and alike, unless by way of necessity and for caution";<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hom.* xli.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Juris Canon. Decret.* III. ii. 12. The after-history of the decree is curious and instructing. Aquinas boldly says that "Gelasius speaks only in reference to priests, who, as they consecrate the whole sacrament, so ought they also to communicate in it whole."—*Summa*, III. q. lxxx. art. xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Conc. Clarom.* Can. xxviii.: "Ne aliquis communicet de altari nisi corpus separatim et sanguinem similiter, nisi per necessitatem et cautelam."—Labbe and Cossart, vol. vi. p. 1719.

while the words of Pope Pascal are these: "Therefore, according to the same Cyprian, in receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord, let the Lord's tradition be observed; nor let any departure be made, through a human and novel institution, from what Christ the Master ordained and did. For we know that the bread was given separately and the wine given separately by the Lord Himself; which custom we therefore teach and command to be always observed in the holy Church, save in the case of infants and of very infirm people, who cannot swallow bread."<sup>1</sup>

But that which was denounced by Pascal II. early in the eleventh century as a "human and novel institution," and a "departure" from Christ's ordinance, in the course of the next two centuries gradually spread throughout the West; and when the abuses of the Church began to attract general attention, and the cry for reformation of them made itself heard, there was none which was more severely denounced than this. It was one of the abuses for the reform of which much was hoped from the Council of Constance (1415). But instead of abolishing the practice of Communion in one kind, the Council not only ventured to assert that "though Christ instituted and gave this sacrament to His disciples under both kinds, yet the Church has the power of ordering that to the laity it be given under one kind only," but actually proceeded to exercise this "power" by positively forbidding Communion in both kinds to the lay people.<sup>2</sup> The troubles and bloodshed which were due to this decree are matters of history, on which it is

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.* 535.

<sup>2</sup> "Quod nullus presbyter sub poena excommunicationis communicet populum sub utraque specie panis et vini."—*Conc. Const.* Sessio xiii. Labbe and Cossart, vol. viii. p. 581.

unnecessary to enter here.<sup>1</sup> The restoration of the Cup to the laity was insisted on in the Confession of Augsburg (1530) in the first of the Articles concerning abuses;<sup>2</sup> and though in this country nothing could be done in this direction so long as Henry VIII. was alive, yet after his death one of the earliest Acts was to provide an English form for communicating the people in both kinds (1548), and to put an end to the abuse of "half-communion," which had grown up. As far as the history of the practice is concerned, it is only needful to add that at the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent (October 1551) the doctrine of "concomitance" (on which the theological defence of the practice of communicating in one kind is based) was distinctly asserted, and that at the twenty-first session held in July 1562, shortly before the promulgation of our own Article, the practice was more definitely considered by the Council.

<sup>1</sup> See Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii. p. 37 seq.

<sup>2</sup> "*De utraque specie.* Laicis datur utraque species sacramenti in cœna Domini, quia hic mos habet mandatum Domini, Matt. xxvi. *Bibile ex hoc omnes*, ubi manifeste præcepit Christus de poculo, ut omnes bibant, et ne quis possit cavillari, quod hoc ad sacerdotes tantum pertineat, Paulus ad Corinth. exemplum recitat, in quo apparet totam ecclesiam utraque specie usam esse. Et diu mansit hic mos in ecclesia, nec constat quando aut quo auctore mutatus sit, tametsi Cardinalis Cusanus recitet, quando sit approbatus. Cyprianus aliquot locis testatur populo sanguinem datum esse. Idem testatur Hieronymus, qui ait, sacerdotes eucharistiæ ministrant, et sanguinem Christi populis dividant. Imo Gelasius papa mandat ne dividatur sacramentum, Dist. II. de consecratione, cap. Comperimus. Tantum consuetudo non ita vetus aliud habet. Constat autem, quod consuetudo, contra mandata Dei introducta, non sit probanda, ut testantur canones, Dist. VIII. cap. Veritate, cum sequentibus. Hæc vero consuetudo non solum contra Scripturam, sed etiam contra veteres canones et exemplum ecclesiæ recepta est. Quare si qui maluerunt utraque specie sacramenti uti, non fuerunt cogendi ut aliter facerent cum offensione conscientiæ.

"Et quia divisio sacramenti non convenit cum institutione Christi, solet apud nos omitti processio, quæ hactenus fieri solita est."—*Conf. August.* Pars II. art. i. *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 185.

It was determined to uphold the existing custom; but it was an awkward one to defend, and the decrees of the Council concerning it are more remarkable for the boldness of their assertions than for any arguments offered in support of them. At the outset it is laid down dogmatically "that laymen and clergy when not consecrating, are not obliged by any Divine precept to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds; and that it cannot be by any means doubted, without injury to faith, that Communion in either kind is sufficient for them unto salvation; for although Christ the Lord, in the last Supper, instituted and delivered to the Apostles this venerable sacrament in both kinds, of bread and wine, yet that institution and delivery do not therefore reach so far as that all the faithful of the Church be bound by the Lord's institution to receive both kinds."<sup>1</sup> It is added that no inference can rightly be drawn from S. John vi. 53 seq. that our Lord enjoined Communion in both kinds. It is next declared that in the dispensation of the sacraments, so long as their substance remains untouched, the Church has power to ordain or change whatever things might be deemed expedient, according to the variety of circumstances, times, and places; and that, therefore, "holy mother Church, knowing this her authority in the administration of the sacraments, although the use of both kinds has, from the beginning of the Christian religion, not been unfrequent, yet in

<sup>1</sup> "Sancta ipsa Synodus . . . declarat ac docet, nullo divino præcepto laicos, et clericos, non conficientes, obligari ad Eucharistiæ sacramentum sub utraque specie sumendum; neque ullo pacto, salva fide, dubitari posse quin illis alterius speciei Communicatio ad salutem sufficiat. Nam etsi Christus Dominus in ultima cœna venerabile hoc sacramentum in panis et vini speciebus instituit, et apostolis tradidit, non tamen illa institutio et traditio eo tendunt, ut omnes Christi fideles statuto Domini ad utramque speciem accipiendam astringantur."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxi. cap. i.

process of time that custom having already been widely changed—has, induced by weighty and just reasons, approved of this custom of communicating under one kind, and decreed that it should be held as a law, which it is not lawful to reprobate or change at pleasure, without the authority of the Church itself.<sup>1</sup> To this is added a reassertion of the doctrine of “Concomitance,”<sup>2</sup> as well as the following three canons on the subject:—

i. “If any one shall say that by the precept of God, or by necessity of salvation, all and each of the faithful of Christ ought to receive both kinds of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist: let him be anathema.”

ii. “If any one shall say that the holy Catholic Church was not induced by just causes and reasons to communicate, under the species of bread only, laymen and clergy when not consecrating; or has erred therein: let him be anathema.”

iii. “If any one shall deny that Christ, whole and entire, the fountain and author of all graces, is received under the one species of bread, because, as some falsely assert, He is not received according to the institution of Christ Himself under both kinds: let him be anathema.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Præterea declarat, hanc potestatem perpetuo in ecclesia fuisse, ut in sacramentorum dispensatione, salva illorum substantia, ea statueret vel mutaret, quæ suscipientium utilitati, seu ipsorum sacramentorum venerationi pro rerum, temporum et locorum varietate, magis expedire judicaret. . . . quare agnoscens Sancta Mater Ecclesia hanc suam in administratione sacramentorum auctoritatem, licet ab initio Christianæ Religionis non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset; tamen progressu temporis latissime jam mutata illa consuetudine, gravibus et justis causis adducta, hanc consuetudinem sub altera specie communicandi approbavit, et pro lege habendam decrevit: quam reprobare, aut sine ipsius ecclesiæ auctoritate pro libito mutare non licet.”—Cap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. iii.

<sup>3</sup> “Si quis dixerit, ex Dei præcepto, vel necessitate salutis, omnes et singulos Christi fideles utramque speciem sanctissimi Eucharistiæ sacramenti sumere debere: anathema sit.

“Si quis dixerit, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam non justis causis et

But, finally, at the close of the canons a section is added, holding out a promise that on “the earliest opportunity that shall present itself,” the Council will further consider whether some relaxation of her rules might be permitted, and the use of the chalice conceded in some nations or kingdoms under certain conditions.<sup>1</sup>

It only remains to add that though exceptions have been made by special privilege, yet, as far as the great body of the faithful are concerned, this “opportunity” appears never to have come, and that the Roman Church remains to the present day bound by the Tridentine decrees upon the subject.

## II. *The Arguments by which the Practice has been justified.*

These are of two kinds, (a) theological, and (b) practical.

(a) The theological ones are two in number, (1) the doctrine of concomitance, and (2) the Church’s power to decree rites or ceremonies. The former of these, the doctrine of concomitance, is the belief which was definitely laid down at the thirteenth session of the Council of

rationibus adductam fuisse ut laicos, atque etiam Clericos non conficientes, sub panis tantummodo specie communicaret, aut in eo errasse: anathema sit.

“Si quis negaverit, totum et integrum Christum omnium gratiarum fontem et auctorem, sub una panis specie sumi, quia, ut quidam falso asserunt, non secundum ipsius Christi constitutionem sub utraque specie sumatur: anathema sit.”

<sup>1</sup> “Duos vero articulos, alias propositos, nondum tamen excussos, videlicet, an rationes, quibus sancta Catholica Ecclesia adducta fuit, ut communicaret laicos, atque etiam non celebrantes sacerdotes, sub una tantum panis specie, ita sint retinendæ, ut nulla ratione calicis usus cuiquam sit permittendus: et, an, si honestis et Christianæ charitati consentaneis rationibus concedendus alicui vel nationi vel regno calicis usus videatur, sub aliquibus conditionibus concedendus sit: et quænam sint illæ: eadem sancta Synodus in aliud tempus, oblata sibi quamprimum occasione, examinandos, atque definiendos reservat.”

Trent, that "as much is contained under either kind as under both, for Christ whole and entire is under the species of bread, and likewise whole Christ is under the species of wine, and under its parts."<sup>1</sup> It must be said, however, that this doctrine, that "whole Christ," both body and blood, is received under either kind, is theologically most uncertain. There is no trace of any belief in it in the early Church. It only makes its appearance in connection with the growth of the doctrine of Transubstantiation,<sup>2</sup> and comes into prominence when a theological justification for the practice of Communion in one kind is wanted. There is but a single passage of Scripture which can with any show of reason be quoted in its favour: "Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. xi. 27). But it is rash in the extreme to infer the doctrine from this text, when the words of the institution are remembered, as well as S. Paul's comment upon them: "Jesus took bread . . . and said, Take, eat; this is My *body*. And He took a cup . . . and gave it to them saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is My *blood*" (S. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27). "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the *blood* of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the *body* of Christ?" (1 Cor. x. 16).

<sup>1</sup> "Verissimum est tantumdem sub alterutra specie atque sub utraque contineri; totus enim et integer Christus sub panis specie, et sub quavis ipsius speciei parte; totus item sub vini specie, et sub ejus partibus existit."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xiii. cap. iii. Cf. canon 3: "Si quis negaverit in venerabili sacramento Eucharistiæ sub una quaque specie, et sub singulis cujuscumque speciei partibus, separatione facta, totum Christum contineri: anathema sit."

<sup>2</sup> Hildebert of Tours (1124) is "perhaps the first to affirm that the entire Christ is in either *species* taken by itself." Gore, *Dissert.* p. 266, where is quoted *De Cæna Domini*: "In acceptione sanguinis totum Christum, verum Deum et hominem, et in acceptione corporis similiter totum." Migne, vol. clxxi. p. 535.

Where the gifts are so carefully distinguished by our Lord and His Apostle, it seems the height of presumption to assert that "whole Christ" is so contained under either species that "they who receive one kind alone are not defrauded of any grace necessary to salvation."<sup>1</sup>

Next, with regard to the Church's power to decree rites or ceremonies, we cannot admit that it extends to the alteration of a Divine command. Our Lord's words are express: "Drink ye *all* of it" (S. Matt. xxvi. 27). The limitations to the Church's legislative power have been already stated under Article XX. It was there shown that she may not "ordain anything contrary to God's word written"; and, with every desire to be charitable, it must be said that to order the celebrant alone to partake of the Eucharistic chalice *is* to ordain something that is directly contrary to Scripture.

(b) If the theological arguments thus fall to the ground, no weight whatever can be assigned to the practical ones. These are drawn mainly from convenience, the fear of accidents, and the desire, from motives of reverence, to do all that can be done to minimise the possibility of their occurring. As a matter of fact, we deny that the dangers are really serious. With due care

<sup>1</sup> "Insuper declarat, quamvis Redemptor noster ut antea dictum est in suprema illa cæna hoc sacramentum in duabus speciebus instituerit, et Apostolis tradiderit, tamen fatendum esse, etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum, verumque sacramentum sumi; ac propterea, quod ad fructum attinet, nulla gratia, necessaria ad salutem, eos defraudari, qui unam speciem solam accipiunt."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxi. cap. iii. In connection with this the admission of Vasquez (quoted in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 631) should be noted. "The opinion of those who say that greater fruit of grace is acquired from both species of this sacrament than from one only, has always appeared to me the more probable. . . . We grant that, according to this our opinion, the laity, to whom one species is denied, are defrauded of some grace indeed, yet not of any necessary to salvation; and that the Council did not mean to deny this."—*Com. in Thom. Aq. P. III. q. lxxx. dist. ccxv. c. ii. iii.*

they can in almost every case be guarded against. But even if they were far more important than they are, we could not admit that they would justify the Church in departing from a plain direction of her Lord; for, if Holy Scripture is to have any weight with us, it is most certain that **both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.**

## ARTICLE XXXI

*De unica Christi oblatione in  
Cruce perfecta.*

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus. Neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, Sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem penæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ imposturæ.

*Of the one oblation of Christ  
finished upon the cross.*

The offering of Christ once made, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the Priests<sup>1</sup> did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

THE alterations which have been made in this Article since it was first put forth in 1553 are insignificant and immaterial. In 1553 the English of the title was "of the *perfect* oblation of Christ *made* upon the Cross"; and in the last clause of the Article the "sacrifices of Masses" were said to be "*forged* fables," while "culpa" was translated "sin" instead of "guilt," and there was nothing in the Latin corresponding to the word "blasphema," which was only introduced in 1563.

The wording of the Article as a whole does not seem to be actually based on any earlier document; but some expressions in it may be traced to a draft Article prepared by Cranmer for the Conference of Anglicans and Lutherans in 1538, but not actually accepted by the

<sup>1</sup> In the majority of modern editions of the Articles this is incorrectly printed as "priest."



divines who then met together. This is headed "De missa privata," and in it occurs the following passage:—

"Dannanda est igitur impia illa opinio sentientium usum Sacramenti cultum esse a sacerdotibus applicandum *pro aliis, vivis et defunctis*, et mereri illis vitam æternam et *remissionem culpæ et pœnæ* idque ex opere operato."<sup>1</sup>

The expressions here placed in italics reappear, it will be noticed, almost word for word in our own Article. Besides this, as will be shown presently, the general thought, if not the actual words, of the Article may be abundantly illustrated by language that had been previously used.

The object of the Article is by a restatement of the doctrine of the perfection of Christ's atonement to condemn current theories of the Eucharistic sacrifice which seriously conflicted with it, and which led to grave practical abuses. The subjects treated of in it are thus two in number:

1. The sufficiency of the sacrifice of the Cross.
2. The condemnation of the "sacrifices of Masses."

### I. *The Sufficiency of the Sacrifice of the Cross.*

**The offering of Christ once made, is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone.** It is clear from the position of this Article in the series, as well as from the connection of the two clauses, the second of which is introduced by **wherefore**, that the doctrine of the Atonement is only here introduced in order to assert

<sup>1</sup> See Jenkyns' *Cranmer's Remains*, iv. p. 292; and cf. the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xlii. p. 39.

emphatically the ground on which the "sacrifices of Masses" are condemned. This first sentence, therefore, need not detain us long. Its language, which is very similar to that used in the opening of the Prayer of Consecration in the Order of the Holy Communion,<sup>1</sup> is in entire harmony with the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which special attention may be drawn to the following passages:—

vii. 26, 27: "For such a high priest became us, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, like those high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for His own sins, and then for the sins of the people: for this He did once for all (*ἐφάπαξ*), when He offered up Himself."

ix. 11–14: "But Christ having come a high priest of the good things to come, through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation; nor yet through the blood of goats and calves, but through His own blood, entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption. For if the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling them that have been defiled, sanctify unto the cleanness of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish unto God, cleanse your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?"

ix. 24–28: "Christ entered not into a holy place made with hands, like in pattern to the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear before the face of God for us: nor yet that He should offer Himself often; as the

<sup>1</sup> "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

high priest entereth into the holy place year by year with blood not his own; else must He often have suffered since the foundation of the world: but now once (*ἀπαξ*) at the end of the ages hath He been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And inasmuch as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this cometh judgment; so Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for Him, unto salvation."

x. 10-14: "By which will we have been sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all (*ἐφάπαξ*). And every priest indeed standeth day by day ministering, and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, the which can never take away sins: but He, when He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever,<sup>1</sup> sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till His enemies be made the footstool of His feet. For by one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

These passages are absolutely conclusive as to the perfection of the sacrifice once offered on Calvary. The language of the Article is entirely covered by them, and exception to this first clause in it could hardly be taken by any well-instructed theologian. But if so much is admitted, an important consequence follows, for the words are entirely destructive of any notion that in the Eucharist there can be any sacrifice suppletory or additional to the sacrifice made "once for all" on the Cross. They prove, therefore, that (to borrow the words of a most careful theologian) "the Eucharistic sacrifice, even in its highest aspect, must be put in one line (if we may so say), not with what Christ did once for all on the

<sup>1</sup> On the punctuation of these words, see Bp. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 314.

Cross, but with what He is continually doing in heaven; that as present naturally in heaven and sacramentally in the Holy Eucharist, the Lamb of God exhibits Himself to the Father and pleads the Atonement as once finished in act, but ever living in operation; that in neither case does He repeat it or add to it."<sup>1</sup>

But since the Article is not concerned with the statement of the true doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which has been called "commemorative, impetrative, applicative,"<sup>2</sup> the subject need not be further considered here. We may therefore pass at once to the second part of the Article.

## II. *The Condemnation of "the Sacrifices of Masses."*

**The sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said (vulgo dicebatur) that the Priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits (blasphemia figmenta sunt, et perniciosæ importunæ).**

Public attention has been recently directed to this statement, and an altogether unreasonable amount of importance has been attached to it in connection with controversies on the validity of Anglican Orders. A desperate attempt has been made in some quarters to represent it as a denial of the Eucharistic sacrifice, whereas the terms in which it is drawn ought to have made it clear to every reader that this could never have been its object. Had it been the intention of its compilers broadly to deny this doctrine, nothing would have been easier than for them to use words which would have conveyed their meaning without any ambiguity.

<sup>1</sup> Bright's *Ancient Collects*, p. 144, note.

<sup>2</sup> Archbp. Bramhall, *Works* (Anglo-Catholic Library), vol. i. p. 54.

As a matter of fact, however, it is not even "the sacrifice of the Mass" which is condemned, but *the sacrifices of Masses* (missarum sacrificia), and in connection with them a current theory ("in which it was *commonly* said," quibus vulgo dicebatur) rather than a formal statement of doctrine.

What those who are responsible for the Article had before them was the whole system of private Masses, and the "opinion" which gave such disastrous encouragement to them (besides being the fruitful parent of other superstitions), that "Christ satisfied by His Passion for original sin, and instituted the Mass, in which might be made an oblation for daily sins, both mortal and venial."<sup>1</sup> Whether this dreadful perversion of the truth was ever authoritatively taught or seriously maintained by theologians of repute is not the question, though it has been attributed to more than one.<sup>2</sup> The words just cited from the Confession of Augsburg are fair evidence that the error was sufficiently widely spread to demand notice;<sup>3</sup> and it alone will account for the emphasis

<sup>1</sup> "Accessit opinio quæ auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus."—*Conf. August.* Pars II. art. iii. De missa. *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. a Spanish theologian, Vasquez (1551–1604), attributes it to Catharinus, one of the Tridentine divines; and, as is pointed out on p. 149, the error is contained in a series of sermons attributed to Albertus Magnus. It has been replied that Catharinus has been misrepresented (see the *Tablet* for 1895, referred to in the *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xlii. p. 41); and it now appears that the sermons *De S. Eucharistie Sacramento* are not the work of Albertus Magnus (see the references as above, and Vacant, *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe*, p. 40). The *authorship*, however, of the sermons matters little. There they are; and nothing could be plainer than their language on the subject, as quoted on p. 149. It conveys proof positive that the error was taught; and that is sufficient.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gardiner's language, which can only have been called out by existing false teaching: "For when men add unto the Mass an opinion

which is laid twice over<sup>1</sup> in the Articles on the fact that the death of Christ is the perfect satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, *both original and actual*. The Tridentine decrees upholding private Masses, and laying down that the sacrifice of the Mass is "truly propitiatory (vere propitiatorium) both for the living and the dead,"<sup>2</sup> were certainly not present to the minds of

of satisfaction or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for."—Dixon, vol. iii. p. 264; and cf. Latimer's *Sermons*, pp. 72, 73 (Parker Soc.); and the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast.*, *De Hæres.* c. 10: "Quapropter alia conquirunt sacrificia, quibus purgari possint, et ad hanc rem missas exhibent in quibus sacrificium Deo Patri credunt oblatum esse."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Article II.

<sup>2</sup> *Conc. Trident.* Sess. xxii. cap. ii.: On these decrees see Mozley, *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 216: "The popular belief of later times exaggerated the Eucharistic sacrifice till it became, to all intents and purposes, a real one, and 'the priest offered up Christ on the altar for quick and dead, to have remission of pain and guilt'; that is to say, offered Him up as a Victim in a sense which could not be distinguished from that in which He was offered up by Himself on the Cross. It is true that the decree of the Council of Trent just saves itself by cautious, not to say dissembling language, from the extreme and monstrous conclusion that the sacrifice of the Mass is the same with that upon the Cross. It distinguishes between a bloody and an unbloody oblation; and it states that the fruits or consequences of the bloody oblation or the sacrifice on the Cross are 'received through the unbloody one' (oblationis cruentæ fructus per hanc incruentam percipiuntur); but at the same time it asserts that the sacrifice of the Mass is a really *propitiatory sacrifice—vere propitiatorium*. Now undoubtedly there are two senses in which an act may be said to be propitiatory. The act of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross had an original propitiatory power; that is to say, it was the cause of any other act, or any act of man, or any rite being propitiatory, that is, appeasing God's anger, and reconciling Him to the agent. We may allow that in common language a man may do something which will reconcile God to Him, and restore him to God's favour; but then all the power that any action of man can have for this end is a derived power, derived from Christ's sacrifice, from which any other sacrifice, the Eucharistic one included, borrows its virtue, and without which it would be wholly null and void. There is, then, an original propitiation and a borrowed propitiation, a first propitiation and a secondary one. Why then did the Fathers of Trent, when they had

those who formulated the Article, for they were not in existence, as the subject was only considered at Trent in the autumn of 1562, nearly ten years later. And it has been recently pointed out that these decrees are "the beginning, not the end, of a discussion which has been going on ever since," for "it is remarkable how little attempt there is in the Middle Ages to formulate the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and how little theological interest is spent upon it."<sup>1</sup> It was the popular teaching alone which the Reformers had before them; and no one who knows anything of the history of the Reformation can doubt that the gravest abuses were connected with the whole system of private Masses, and that its "practical outcome . . . was to intensify the belief that Christ's once perfected oblation had to be reiterated and supplemented."<sup>2</sup> The system had fallen, swept away by the Acts for the suppression of Chantries passed in 1545 and 1547. It only remained to guard against any revival of the erroneous teaching on which it largely rested, and this was effectually done by the promulgation of the Article which has now been considered.

all human language at their command, deliberately choose to call the sacrifice of the Mass *vere propitiatorium*? They may have said that it was *vere propitiatorium* in the secondary sense; but no one can fail to see the misleading effect of such language, and that nothing could have been easier to the divines of Trent, had they chosen, than to draw a far more clear distinction than they did between the sacrifice of the Mass and the sacrifice on the Cross. It is evident that, as ecclesiastical statesmen, they were afraid of interfering with the broad popular established view of the Mass, while, as theologians, they just contrived to secure themselves from the responsibility of a monstrous dogmatic statement."

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Brightman in *Church Historical Society Lectures*, Series i. pp. 193, 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xlii. p. 45. The whole discussion of this Article in the Review (pp. 38-49) is well worth consulting. See also B. J. Kidd's *Later Mediæval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*.

## ARTICLE XXXII

*De conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis, nullo mandato divino præceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cœteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

*Of the Marriage of Priests.*

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage. Therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

IN its present form this Article only dates from 1563, when it was entirely rewritten by Parker. The corresponding Article in the series of 1553, as originally drafted, ran as follows:—

*“Cœlibatus ex verbo Dei præcipitur nemini.*

“Episcopis, Presbyteris, et Diaconis non est mandatum ut cœlibatum voveant, neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere, *si donum non habeant, tametsi voverint, quandoquidem hoc voti genus verbo Dei repugnat.*”

It is found in this form in the MS. signed by the six royal chaplains; but before publication the last clause (placed above in italics), with its deliberate encouragement to priests to break the vows which they had taken, was omitted, so that the Article in English was simply this:

*“The State of Single Life is commanded to no Man by the Word of God.*

“Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded to

vow the state of single life without marriage, neither by God's law are they compelled to abstain from matrimony."

The language of the Article has not been traced to any earlier source, though there is a very lengthy Article on the same subject headed like our own, "De conjugio Sacerdotum," in the Confession of Augsburg;<sup>1</sup> and the prohibition of matrimony to the clergy is condemned as a suggestion of the devil in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.<sup>2</sup>

There are two main statements in the Article, each of which requires separate treatment.

1. There is no prohibition of the marriage of the clergy in Scripture.

2. It is lawful for the clergy to marry if they think it advisable.

*I. There is no Prohibition of the Marriage of the Clergy in Scripture.*

**Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage.**

This subject admits of the briefest treatment, for the statement made in the Article will scarcely be denied by the most ardent advocate of the rule of clerical celibacy; nor has the Roman Church ever committed herself to the assertion that it is more than an ecclesiastical law. There is certainly no single passage of Holy Scripture which can be cited as containing any command to the clergy either to "**vow the estate of single life,**" or to "**abstain from marriage.**" On the contrary, the injunctions of S. Paul distinctly contemplate the ordination of married men, and contain no hint that they are

<sup>1</sup> *Confessio Augustana*, Pars II. art. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ref. Legum Ecclesiast.*, De Hæres. c. 20.

expected to abstain from the use of marriage: "The bishop must be without reproach, *the husband of one wife*, temperate, sober-minded," etc. (1 Tim. iii. 2). "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest . . . appoint elders in every city, as I gave thee charge: if any man is blameless, the husband of one wife, having children that believe," etc. (Titus i. 5, 6). "Let the deacons be husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well" (1 Tim. iii. 12). So elsewhere he claims for himself "the right"—although he was content to forego the exercise of it—"to lead about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5). These texts are conclusive. There is plainly nothing unscriptural in the existence of a married clergy; and we may pass on to the consideration of the next subject.

*II. It is lawful for the Clergy to marry if they think it advisable.*

**It is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.**

For the existence in early days of a married clergy there is abundant evidence. But in considering it, two distinct questions present themselves which require separate treatment. (a) Was the use of marriage permitted to those clergy who had married before their ordination? and (b) was marriage *after* ordination permissible? The two questions must be examined separately; for it is not fair to quote, as is sometimes done, passages which imply the existence of a married clergy, as if they necessarily involved the fact that marriage was permitted to those who had previously entered into holy orders

(a) There is no room whatever for doubting that during the first three centuries the use of marriage was freely allowed, and many allusions to the existence of a married clergy might be cited. *E.g.* Clement of Alexandria says that S. Paul certainly admits the husband of one wife, "whether he be presbyter, or deacon, or layman, using marriage blamelessly";<sup>1</sup> and the sixth of the "Apostolical Canons" forbid bishops, presbyters, and deacons to separate from their wives upon the pretext of piety, on pain of excommunication and deposition.<sup>2</sup> In the fourth century, for the first time, we find objection to this raised in the West, especially in Spain, which has throughout taken the lead in advocating strictness. Thus, at the Council of Elvira, at which Hosius was present (A.D. 306), the clergy were positively forbidden to live in wedlock with their wives.<sup>3</sup> A canon enforcing the same prohibition was pressed (not improbably by Hosius himself) on the Council of Nicæa (325) for its acceptance as a rule of the universal Church. It was, however, rejected at the earnest entreaty of the Bishop Paphnutius, himself an unmarried man, and the stricter rule has never received the sanction of the whole Church.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this, we trace a growing feeling in various quarters against the ministrations of a married clergy. The Council of Gangra (350) endeavoured to check it by condemning those who held aloof from the ministrations of such.<sup>5</sup> But in the West the feeling made rapid progress, and before the close of the fourth century

<sup>1</sup> Ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν τῆς μίας γυναίκος ἄνδρα πᾶν ἀποδέχεται κἄν πρεσβύτερος ἢ κἄν διάκονος κἄν λαϊκὸς ἀνεπιλήπτως γάμῳ χρώμενος.—*Stromateis*, III. xii. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Apost. Can.* vi. : 'Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείεσθω.

<sup>3</sup> *Conc. Ilib.* Can. xxxiii.; cf. Dale, *Synod of Elvira*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Socrates, *H. E.* I. c. xi.; Sozomen, *H. E.* I. c. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Canon iv. See Hefele, *Councils*, vol. ii. p. 329 (Eng. tr.).

began to obtain official sanction from the Church. A Council held at Carthage, under Genethlius, in 387 or 390, commands the bishops, priests, and deacons to separate from their wives;<sup>1</sup> and later Councils in Spain<sup>2</sup> and France<sup>3</sup> insist upon the same rule. In the East, with partial exceptions, the stricter rule was never enforced. Socrates tells us that in the fifth century the custom of the Church in Greece, Macedonia, and Thessaly was peculiar, as those clergy who continued the use of marriage after ordination were degraded; whereas elsewhere in the East there was no rule against this, and "there have been among them many bishops who have had children by their lawful wives during their Episcopate."<sup>4</sup> In process of time this liberty was no longer conceded to *bishops*, but for priests and deacons it has remained intact to the present day. The Council in Trullo (692) speaks strongly on the subject, and notes the divergence between the East and West in this matter. "As we know that the Roman Church has ruled that candidates for the diaconate or the presbyterate are to make profession that they will no longer live with their wives, we, observing the ancient canon of apostolical perfection and order, declare that the marriages of all in holy orders are to be henceforth accounted valid, and we refuse to forbid cohabitation, and will not deprive them of conjugal intercourse at proper times. Therefore, if a man is found fit to be ordained subdeacon, deacon, or priest, he is not to be refused on the ground of living with his wife. Nor at the time of ordination is any one to be required to profess that he will abstain from inter-

<sup>1</sup> Canon ii. Hefele, *op. cit.* p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> I. Toledo (Canon i.) in 400, Hefele, p. 419; and IX. Toledo (Canon x.) in 655, Hefele, iv. p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> II. Arles (Canon xli.) in 452, and I. Mâcon (Canon xi.), Hefele, p. 404.

<sup>4</sup> Socrates, *H. E.* V. c. xxii.

course with his lawful wife; lest we thus do dishonour to marriage, which was instituted by God and blessed by His presence. . . . If, then, any one, in despite of the apostolic canons, be induced to forbid priests, deacons, and subdeacons to live with their lawful wives and hold intercourse with them, let him be deposed. And likewise, if any priest or deacon dismisses his wife on the pretext of piety, let him be excommunicated; and if he be obstinate, let him be deposed.”<sup>1</sup> The present custom in the East is for bishops to be always selected from the ranks of the monks and unmarried clergy. But to others, both priests and deacons, marriage before ordination is freely conceded.

(b) With regard to the second question raised above, Was marriage *after* ordination regarded as permissible in the early Church? it must be candidly admitted that there is very little evidence for an answer in the affirmative, and that the prohibition of marriage to the clergy appears in very early days. The fierce attack of Hippolytus upon Callistus (c. 220) shows that early in the third century it was not usual to permit those already ordained to marry; for Hippolytus says that Callistus determined that “if any one of the clergy should marry, he might remain in the clergy as not having sinned,” evidently implying that it was the first time that such a thing had been allowed.<sup>2</sup> The apostolical canons permit marriage only to readers and singers.<sup>3</sup> The Council of Ancyra (314) allows deacons to marry, provided that they had given notice of their intention to do so at the time of their ordination.<sup>4</sup> That of Neo-Cæsarea provides that “if a priest marry, he shall be removed from the

<sup>1</sup> Canon xiii. See Hefele, vol. v. p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Ref. Omn. Her.* ix. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Canon xxv. See Hefele, vol. i. p. 468.

<sup>4</sup> Canon x. See Hefele, vol. i. p. 210.

ranks of the clergy”;<sup>1</sup> and the rule of the Roman Synod under Innocent (402) is absolute: “Bishops, priests, and deacons must remain unmarried.”<sup>2</sup>

In spite, however, of these canons, and of the growing feeling against the ministrations of a married clergy, a strict rule of clerical celibacy was found very difficult of enforcement, and in the eleventh century married clergy were still common. Gregory VII. set his face vigorously against them, and under his influence more stringent rules than ever were made. At a Synod held in Rome in 1074 he passed a decree which “in its inexorable provisions went beyond the sternest of his predecessors,” absolutely forbidding the laity to avail themselves of the ministrations of married priests.<sup>3</sup> The rigour of Gregory’s rule was somewhat mitigated in England by the good sense of Lanfranc, as the Council of Winchester (1076), while absolutely forbidding marriage to the capitular clergy, ordered that the married priests who were scattered up and down the country in towns and villages should not be compelled to dismiss their wives, though for the future no married men were to be ordained.<sup>4</sup> A few years later, under Anselm, a stricter law was framed at the Council of Westminster (1102), and an absolute rule of celibacy “became for the first time the universal law of the English Church.”<sup>5</sup>

But it was one thing to frame rules on this subject and quite another to enforce them, and there is much

<sup>1</sup> Canon i. See Hefele, vol. i. p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Canon iii. See Hefele, vol. ii. p. 429.

<sup>3</sup> Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 31: “Uxoratos sacerdotes a divino officio removit, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit, *novo exemplo*, et (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato prejudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam,” etc. Sigeberht (Pertz, vol. vi. p. 362).

<sup>4</sup> Wilkins’ *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 367; cf. Freeman’s *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> Freeman, vol. v. p. 223; and see Wilkins’ *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 332.

painful evidence that "the newly-devised rigour only led to laxity of a worse kind than any which it was intended to stop."<sup>1</sup> Clerical concubinage was only too common, and was often secretly permitted by ecclesiastical authority.<sup>2</sup> And the evil results of the stringent rules were so patent that in the sixteenth century Reformers of various schools of thought were all agreed on the necessity for some relaxation of them; and even before any alteration had been made in the law on the subject, clerical marriages were by no means uncommon.<sup>3</sup> Thus Cranmer himself, whose first wife had died before his ordination in 1523, contracted a second marriage in 1532, very shortly before his elevation to the Archbishopate. It is impossible to defend such an act on his part, since at this time there had been no relaxation made by the ecclesiastical authorities in the law of the national Church; and naturally Cranmer was involved in considerable difficulties by his act. In 1539 Convocation, in answer to questions submitted by Cromwell, asserted that "priests, after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry by the law of God,"<sup>4</sup> and the statement was embodied in the statute of the Six Articles ("the whip with six strings") of the same year. The "Bishops' Book" of 1537 had passed over the subject in silence; but in the "King's Book" of 1543 it was stated that the estate of matrimony "is not commanded as necessary to any particular man, but left at liberty to all men, *saving priests*, and to others, which of their free liberty, by vow advisedly made, have chosen the state of continency, who, according to their free

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *ubi supra*.

<sup>2</sup> See the horrible story told by Gascoigne in the fifteenth century, *Liber Veritatis*, p. 35 (ed. Rogers).

<sup>3</sup> See Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. I. c. xviii.

<sup>4</sup> Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 845; cf. Dixon, ii. p. 133.

choice, must freely and willingly continue in the same."<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards, however, a change was made in the law on this matter. In 1547, soon after the accession of Edward VI., a large majority of the Convocation agreed to the following: "That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made, had or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity, or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect."<sup>2</sup> At the same time the statute of the Six Articles was repealed. Two years later, in 1549, any doubts as to the legality of the marriage of the clergy were set at rest by an Act of Parliament which repealed all the positive laws and canons which stood against it, and declared all to be free to marry, provided that it was according to the rites of the new Prayer Book;<sup>3</sup> and in 1553, and again in 1563, the decision of the Church as to the freedom of the clergy to marry was embodied in the series of Articles. There is no need to pursue the subject further.<sup>4</sup> It is quite clear from what has been said above that there is no law of God which forbids the marriage of the clergy. Any prohibition of their right to marry which may be cited (and it has been shown that such can be quoted from comparatively early days) is merely a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and belongs to those "traditions of the Church" which "may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word" (Art. XXXIV.). The experience of several

<sup>1</sup> *Formularies of Faith*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Cranmer*, Bk. II. c. iv.

<sup>3</sup> 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 21; cf. Dixon, vol. iii. p. 6 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Mention may be made of Elizabeth's "Injunctions" of 1559, which require the clergy to obtain the bishop's permission before marriage.—Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, vol. i. p. 224.



centuries had shown to our Reformers the grave evils that flowed from the rigid rule which had been customary; and they were perfectly justified in holding that the national Church was competent to settle the matter for herself, and that she was well within her rights in altering her rule.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be added that the subject was considered at Trent in the twenty-fourth session (November 1563), when the following canon was passed: "Si quis dixerit Clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel Regulares, castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege Ecclesiastica, vel voto, et oppositum nil aliud esse, quam damnare matrimonium, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiam si eam voverint, habere donum, anathema sit: cum Deus id recte petentibus non denegat, nec patiatur nos supra id, quod possumus, tentari."—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxiv. c. ix. According to this, any one who says that the clergy in holy orders can marry is to be anathema. This makes it very difficult for Rome ever to review her position, or for Roman ecclesiastics to hold any opinion favourable to a relaxation of their existing rule. See the *Church Historical Lectures*, Series i. p. 68.

## ARTICLE XXXIII

*De Excommunicatis vitandis.*

*Of excommunicate persons, how they are to be avoided.*

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per penitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit, arbitrio Judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam Ethnicus et Publicanus.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereto.

EXCEPT for a slight alteration in the form of the title,<sup>1</sup> there has been no change in this Article since it was first published in 1553. There is nothing to suggest this Article in the Confession of Augsburg, and though the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* contains a long section of sixteen chapters—"De Excommunicatione"—there is nothing in it corresponding to the language of the Article before us, and its provisions are only of historical interest, as they never obtained any legal force. The object of the Article is to assert the right of the Church to exercise discipline, and to exclude unworthy members from the body. Such a right is inherent in a visible society such as the Church claims to be. Indeed the very notion of a definite society, with its rules and officers, implies the existence of a

<sup>1</sup> Excommunicati vitandi sunt. Excommunicate persons are to be avoided. 1553 and 1563.

power to decide upon the terms of membership, and to expel disloyal and improper persons. This power we find was exercised by the Jewish Church. It is foreshadowed in the words used when first circumcision is established as the sign of the covenant: "The uncircumcised man-child . . . shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken My covenant" (Gen. xvii. 14). The same threat is repeated in connection with the command to observe the Sabbath in Ex. xxxi. 14, and there is coupled with a command to inflict capital punishment on the transgressor.<sup>1</sup> As might be expected, a more definite reference to something like a formal sentence of excommunication is found after the return from the Captivity, when Ezra made proclamation "that whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and elders, all his substance should be forfeited (כִּרְחִי, ἀναθεματισθήσεται), and himself separated from the congregation of those that had been carried away" (Ezra x. 8). And from this time onwards exclusion from the congregation (ἐκκλησία) took its place among the Jews as a recognised method of enforcing discipline. As such it is frequently referred to in the New Testament. See S. Luke vi. 22 (ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς); S. John ix. 22 (ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται), xii. 42, xvi. 2.<sup>2</sup> And that our Lord intended

<sup>1</sup> See also Ex. xii. 15, 19, xxx. 33, 38; Lev. vii. 20, etc. Its proper meaning, according to Delitzsch, is the "being snatched away by direct Divine judgment" (*New Commentary on Genesis*, vol. ii. p. 36). Temporary exclusion from the congregation was, however, definitely ordered by the law in certain cases, e.g. in the case of Miriam, Num. xii. 14, 15, ἀφορισθήτω ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς, and in the case of the leper, Lev. xiii. 5 seq. (ἀφοριεῖ).

<sup>2</sup> It is generally stated that there were three stages of Jewish excommunication (to which our Lord's words, ἀφορίσωσιν, οὐκ εἰδῶσιν, ἐκβάλλωσιν, in S. Luke vi. 22, are thought to correspond), viz. כִּרְחִי, separation; כִּרְחִי, or ἀνάθεμα, a severer sentence, involving additional penalties and accompanied by a solemn malediction; and כִּרְחִי, an entire cutting off

that such a power should be exercised by the Church which He came to found is shown by the very definite words which He Himself used in speaking of the erring brother, when He gave to His Church the power of binding and loosing.

"If thy brother sin against thee, go show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the Church: and if he refuse to hear the Church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" (S. Matt. xviii. 15-17).

This is the great passage on which the Church has always based her claim to exercise such discipline; and in close accordance with its terms she has always held that the sentence should not be inflicted without warning, and that the effect of private expostulation must first be tried.

Passing from the Gospels to the Epistles, we find various allusions to the existence of the power of excommunication in the Church, and two clear cases of the exercise of the power by the Apostle Paul. The first of these is that of the incestuous man at Corinth. In regard to him S. Paul writes as follows: "Ye are puffed up, and did not rather mourn, that he that had done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him

from the congregation. Schürer, however, shows that this is a mistake, and that כִּרְחִי and כִּרְחִי are really synonymous, so that in reality only two kinds can be distinguished, כִּרְחִי or temporary exclusion, and the כִּרְחִי or permanent ban (ἀνάθεμα). *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. II. vol. ii. p. 60.

that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, . . . to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Your glorying is not good. Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out, therefore, the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened" (1 Cor. v. 2-7).

The whole passage is especially instructive. It not only shows us the infliction of a solemn judicial sentence of exclusion from the body of the faithful (the phrase "to deliver to Satan" is explained below), but it further explains the reasons for it. It was inflicted partly for the sake of the faithful generally, to save the body from the danger of the evil influence spreading further,<sup>1</sup> partly also for the sake of the individual, that the temporal judgments inflicted upon him might bring him to a better mind, and so "the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is generally thought to contain the conclusion of the history. The offender was overwhelmed with sorrow, and brought to a true repentance. Accordingly S. Paul pronounces his punishment "sufficient," and writes to the Corinthians to "forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow," adding these words: "To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also: for what I also have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, for your sakes have I forgiven it in the person of Christ" (2 Cor. ii. 5-11).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Godet, however, denies altogether that vers. 6-8 bear on the subject of the incestuous man. *Comment. in loc.*, and see Ellicott, *in loc.*

<sup>2</sup> It ought to be said that some writers hold that this passage refers to the case of an entirely different person from the man spoken of in 1 Cor. v. See Godet, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*, vol. i. p. 259.

The other case of formal excommunication by S. Paul is that of Hymenæus and Alexander, who had "made shipwreck concerning the faith"; "whom," says the Apostle, "I delivered unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme" (1 Tim. i. 19, 20).<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that in both these cases the same expression is employed—"to deliver to Satan." It has been doubted whether (1) this denotes simple excommunication, regarded as the reversal of that translation from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, which had taken place when the persons referred to had been admitted into the Church, or whether (2) something more is implied, as the authoritative infliction of bodily disease or death. On the whole, remembering the language used elsewhere by S. Paul on the power of darkness which worketh in the children of disobedience,<sup>2</sup> there seems to be no sufficient reason to think that anything more than the penalty of excommunication is intended.<sup>3</sup> But, however this may be, the later Church never ventured to adopt the formula in inflicting her sentences.<sup>4</sup>

Although these are the only two cases of actual excommunication mentioned in the New Testament, there are several apostolic precepts which bear directly upon the subject, and furnish ample warrant for the exercise of the power by the Church in later ages. Of these the most important are the following:—

<sup>1</sup> If the Hymenæus who taught that the resurrection was already passed (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18) be the same person, we should gather that in his case the sentence failed to bring him to repentance.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Col. i. 12, 13; Eph. ii. 1-6, vi. 12; Acts xxvi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible, however, that such powers as those exercised by the Apostles on Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1 *seq.*) and Elymas (xiii. 10) may be referred to.

<sup>4</sup> See Bingham, *Antiquities*, Bk. xvi. c. ii.; and for patristic comments on the phrase, cf. Suicer *Thesaurus*, s.v. *Σατανᾶς*.

Rom. xvi. 17: "Mark them which are causing the divisions and occasions of stumbling, contrary to the doctrine which ye learned; and turn away from them."

2 Thess. iii. 14: "If any man obeyeth not our word by this epistle, note that man, that ye have no company with him, to the end that he may be ashamed."

Titus iii. 10: "A man that is heretical after a first and second admonition refuse; knowing that such a one is perverted, and sinneth, being self-condemned."

2 John 10: "If any one cometh unto you, and bringeth not this teaching, receive him not into your house, and give him no greeting: for he that giveth him greeting partaketh in his evil works."<sup>1</sup>

To these should be added the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians in which S. Paul says of any one, whether angel or man, who should preach another gospel, "let him be accursed" (*ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*), Gal. i. 8, 9; and 1 Cor. xvi. 22: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema. Maranatha"; for though the phrase refers to spiritual condition rather than to ecclesiastical censure, yet it certainly suggested the later ecclesiastical sense in which the word meant "excommunicated."<sup>2</sup>

With, then, the very definite command of her Lord before her, and guided by the practice and injunctions of the Apostle, it is no wonder that the Christian Church from the first felt it right to exclude unworthy members from Communion, and that gradually there grew up a method of formal excommunication, with an elaborate system of penitential discipline to be undergone before the excommunicated person could be restored to the peace of the Church. The well-known stories of S.

<sup>1</sup> It may be added that 3 John 10 possibly implies a power of excommunication, which was wrongly used by Diotrephes.

<sup>2</sup> See Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 77.

John fleeing from the bath when the heretic Cerinthus entered, with the exclamation that he feared lest the bath might fall in when Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was within, and of Polycarp refusing to acknowledge Marcion except as "the first-born of Satan," testify to a determination to hold no communion with heretics.<sup>1</sup> In the third century S. Cyprian speaks expressly of those who were guilty of heinous sins being forbidden Communion, and separated from the body of Christ;<sup>2</sup> and the troubles which arose in connection with those who had lapsed during the Decian persecution brought the whole subject prominently before the Church, and compelled her to consider carefully the terms on which readmission to Church privileges might be granted. Rather later than this we come across indications of the division of penitents into distinct classes, with a separate discipline for each;<sup>3</sup> and though the particular system has varied from time to time, being administered sometimes publicly,<sup>4</sup> sometimes privately,<sup>5</sup> the Church has, through all changes, claimed the right to decide on her

<sup>1</sup> Both stories are told in Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.* III. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *De Oratione Dominica*, c. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Councils of Neo-Cæsarea (A.D. 314) and Ancyra (314) refer to the *βαθμολ* of penance as if they were well known, and allude to the stages by name (see Neo-Cæs. 5, Ancyra. 4, etc.). The four stages, according to the complete system, which was, however, seldom enforced, are these — (1) Mourners, *stenes*, *προσκλιοντες*; (2) hearers, *audientes*, *ἀκροῦμενοι*; (3) kneelers, *substrati*, *ὑποκλιπτοντες*; (4) bystanders, *consistentes*, *συνισταμένοι*. See the article "Penitence" in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1591 *seq.*, with the references there given.

<sup>4</sup> Thus from the time of the Novatian schism until the days of Nectarius, 391, there was at Byzantium a public officer termed the Penitentiary, whose duty it was to determine what offences excluded from Holy Communion, and what crimes were too scandalous for public acknowledgment. See Socrates, *H. E.* V. xix., and Sozomen, VII. xvi.

<sup>5</sup> On the decline of public penance, and the introduction of the "Penitentials," see *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 1596.

terms of Communion, to reject the unworthy, and exclude them from fellowship, and also, on their repentance, to admit them once more and remove the sentence.<sup>1</sup> There is no need here to give the history of the penitential discipline of the Church, and of the various changes through which it passed.<sup>2</sup> It will be sufficient to notice how the claim to exercise it was preserved and reasserted in the Church of England in the sixteenth century. We have already seen how the right use of ecclesiastical discipline was generally mentioned among the notes of the Church in the various descriptions and definitions of it that were drawn up.<sup>3</sup> Very clear is the statement of the Catechism which was issued with the Articles in 1553, and which gives as the last of the marks of the Church "brotherly correction and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church that will not amend their lives. This mark the holy Fathers termed discipline."<sup>4</sup> Equally clear is the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer.

Excommunications are to be publicly read out in church after the Nicene Creed.<sup>5</sup> The Office for the Burial of the Dead is not to be used for those that die excommunicate;<sup>6</sup> and precise rules are laid down direct-

<sup>1</sup> For the medieval forms of pronouncing excommunication and of reconciliation, see Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, Lib. III. c. iv. v.

<sup>2</sup> Reference may be made to the great work of Morinus, *De Disciplina in Administr. Sacram. Penit.*; Bingham's *Antiquities*, Bks. xvi. and xvii.; Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*; as well as to the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, arts. "Excommunication" and "Penitence."

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 495, 496.

<sup>4</sup> See *Liturgies of Edward VI.* (Parker Society) p. 513.

<sup>5</sup> "Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications read." Rubric after the Nicene Creed, dating from 1662.

<sup>6</sup> "Here is to be noted that the Office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves." Rubric before the order for the Burial of the Dead. Although this rubric was only inserted in 1662, it simply embodies the

ing the curate to refuse to admit to Communion any "notorious evil liver," as well as "those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign." These "disciplinary rubrics" have stood before the Order of Holy Communion since 1549, with the exception of the final clause in the latter of them, which was only added at the last revision in 1662: "Provided that every minister so repelling any, as is specified in this or the next preceding paragraph of this rubric, shall be obliged to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within fourteen days after at the furthest. And the Ordinary shall proceed against the offending person according to the canon." The canon here referred to is the 109th of the series of 1604: "Notorious crimes and scandals to be certified into Ecclesiastical Courts by presentment." Nor is this the only canon in the series which bears upon the subject before us. A large number of others speak of excommunication as due to (1) impugners of the laws relating to the Church;<sup>1</sup> (2) schismatics;<sup>2</sup> and (3) offenders generally against religion, morality, and good order in church.<sup>3</sup> The sixty-fifth requires "ministers solemnly to denounce recusants and excommunicates"; and the sixty-eighth prohibits the clergy from refusing to use the Burial Office, "except the party deceased were denounced excommunicated, *majori excommunicatione*, for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testify of his repentance." Thus this canon explicitly recognises the distinction, which has come down from comparatively early days, between two kinds of excommunication. What is called *the lesser excommunication* deprives the offender of the use of sacraments and

ancient rule of the Church. Cf. the Council of Braga (563), Canons xv. xvi. xvii. See Hefele, vol. iv. p. 385.

<sup>1</sup> Canons ii.-viii.

<sup>2</sup> Canons ix.-xii.

<sup>3</sup> Canon cix.

Divine worship. It is inflicted by a formal sentence passed by judges ecclesiastical on such persons as are guilty of obstinacy or disobedience in not appearing upon a citation, or not submitting to penance or other injunction of the Court. By *the greater excommunication*, inflicted for graver offences against morality and faith, the offender is not only deprived of the use of the sacraments and benefits of Divine offices, but is further excluded from the society of the faithful. And it is clearly to this that the Article before us is referring, for it says that the excommunicated person **ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an Heathen and Publican.** Such was and still remains the law of the Church; but the civil pains and penalties involved in excommunication, which rendered it so formidable a weapon, not only before but also after the Reformation, have been almost entirely extinguished. Matrimonial and other partly civil matters have been withdrawn from the Ecclesiastical Courts, and by Act of Parliament a summary process of signification for contempt of Court has been substituted for excommunication as a means of enforcing civil processes. But the Act which thus abolishes civil penalties attaching to excommunication says definitely that "nothing in this Act contained shall prevent any Ecclesiastical Court from pronouncing or declaring persons to be excommunicate in definitive sentences, or in interlocutory decrees having the force and effect of definitive sentences, such sentences and decrees being pronounced as spiritual censures for offences of ecclesiastical cognisance in the same manner as such Court might lawfully have pronounced or declared the same had this Act not been passed."<sup>1</sup> Thus the right of the Church to pronounce through her

<sup>1</sup> 53 George III. c. 127; and on the whole subject, so far as *legal* questions are concerned, see Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 1417 *seq.*

proper courts and officers sentences of spiritual censure remains unimpaired, and though her disciplinary powers over the laity are but seldom exercised, yet circumstances may easily render a revival of them an absolute necessity. There is probably no desire on the part of any one that the *legal* consequences of excommunication should be revived,—it was largely owing to the disastrous confusion between things spiritual and secular that excommunication fell into such discredit,—but the restoration of something corresponding to the godly discipline of the primitive Church is, as we are reminded by the Communion Service every year, a thing that is "much to be wished."