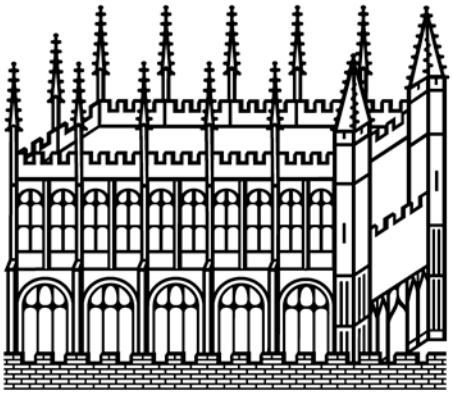


Bodleian Libraries

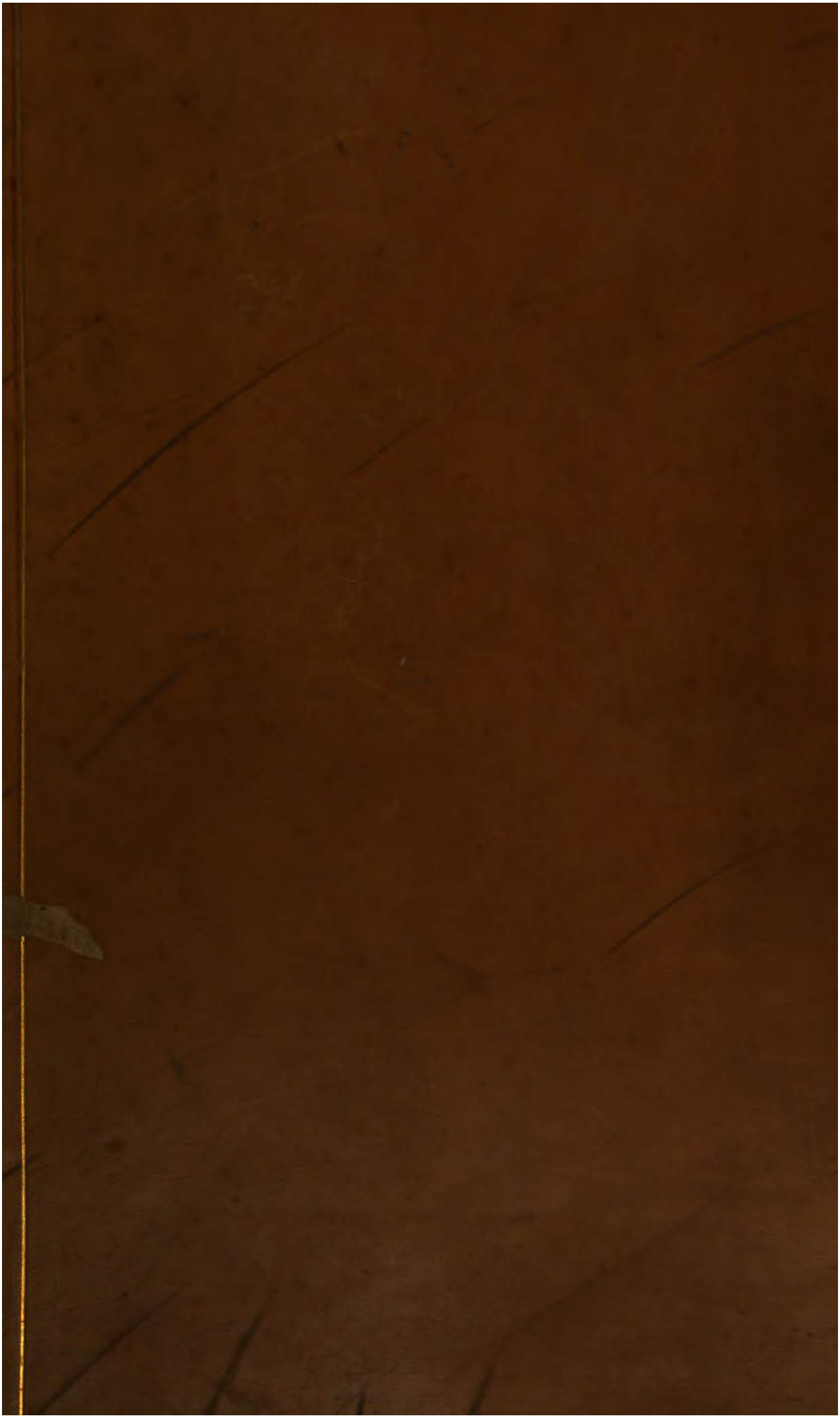
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.



THE

WORKS

OF

THE REV. DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

FORMERLY

MASTER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

CANON OF WINDSOR,

AND

ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX;

NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND ARRANGED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A REVIEW

OF THE

AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY

WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D. D.

LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

VOL. VII.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXXIII.

Clar. Press

1. f. 34.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

AN Introduction, first briefly showing the Design of the Treatise, and next premising some Considerations: viz.

I. *That Scripture is our only Rule* - - - 3
II. *That for the right understanding of Scripture, it is of great moment to know what the most* eminent *Writers before us have taught, and what they have agreed in* - - - - - - 4
1. *More particularly,* Ancients *first* - - 6
2. *And then* Moderns - - - - - 7
III. *That of the two Extremes,* Profaneness *and* Superstition, *the latter is the* safest *for any one to lean to* - - - - - - - - - 10
IV. *That it is injuring and degrading the Sacraments to call them* Positive Duties, *rather than* Religious Rites - - - - - - - - 14
1. *The Eucharist not merely a* Duty, *but a* sacred Rite *wherein God bears a Part* ibid.
2. *That Part of it which is* Duty, *is not a* single *Duty, but more* - - - - - 16

CHAP. I.

Explaining the most noted or most considerable Names of the Holy Communion - - - - 20
1. *Breaking of Bread* - - - - - ibid.

2. *Communion* - - - - - - 22
3. *Lord's Supper* - - - - - - 23
4. *Oblation* - - - - - - - 26
5. *Sacrament* - - - - - - 31
6. *Eucharist* - - - - - - 35
7. *Sacrifice* - - - - - - - 36
8. *Memorial* - - - - - - 38
9. *Passover* - - - - - - - 41
10. *Mass* - - - - - - - 43

CHAP. II.

Considering the Institution of the Holy Communion, as recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul - - - - - - 44

It came in the Place of the Jewish Passover - 48
1. *Resembling it in several Circumstances* - 49
2. *Deriving its Forms and Phrases from it* - 50

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Commemoration of Christ, in the holy Communion - - - - - - 54

1. Remembering *him as God-Man* - - - 59
2. Commemorating *him as such* - - - 62
3. *Celebrating his* Memorial - - - - 67

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Commemoration of the *Death* of Christ - - - - - - - - 71

1. *As an* expiatory *Sacrifice* - - - - 72
2. *Which is* applied *in the Eucharist* - - 78

CHAP. V.

Of the *Consecration* of the Elements - - - 84

1. *In what sense they are* blessed *or consecrated* ibid.

2. *By whom they are blessed* - - - - 88
3. *What the Blessing amounts to* - - - 90

CHAP. VI.

Of Spiritual Feeding according to John vi. - - 101

1. *The Sense of the* Ancients *on that Head* 110—138
2. *The Sentiments of* Moderns - - 138—145

CHAP. VII.

Of *Sacramental, Symbolical* Feeding in the Eucharist - - - - - - - - - - 145

1. *The Sentiments of the Ancients on that Head* 157—181
2. *The Sentiments of Moderns* - - 182—196

CHAP. VIII.

1 Cor. x. 16. explained, and vindicated from misconstruction - - - - - - - - - - 196

Objections answered - - - 216—235

CHAP. IX.

Remission of Sins conferred in the Eucharist - 235

Proved from Scripture - - - - - - 243
From Antiquity - - - - - - - 246
Judgment of the Reformers, and of the Church of England - - - - - - - - 251
Objections removed - - - - 255—266

CHAP. X.

Sanctifying Grace conferred in the Eucharist - 266

Proved from 1 Cor. x. 16. - - - - 268
Proved from John vi. - - - - ibid.
Proved from Analogy - - - - - 269

Proved from 1 Cor. xii. 13. - - - - 269
The Judgment of the Ancients *hereupon* 277—303
The Sentiments of Moderns *on the same* - - 303

CHAP. XI.

The Eucharist considered as a *Federal* Rite - - 311

Argued from the Nature of Communion - - 319
From the Custom of drinking Blood in Covenants ibid.
From the Words of Institution - - - ibid.
From the Analogy between that and Sacrifices, *or* Sacrificial *Feasts* - - - - - - 322
Objections to Dr. Cudworth's Notion considered and confuted - - - - - - 326—341

CHAP. XII.

The Eucharist considered in a *Sacrificial* View - 341

Some Account of Dr. Grabe's Sentiments - - 342
The Eucharist a spiritual *Sacrifice, how* - - 348
The Judgment of the Ancients *on that Head* 350—389
The Judgment of Moderns - - - - 389

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Preparation proper for the Holy Communion - - - - - - - - - 391

1. *Baptism* - - - - - - - - 393
2. *Competent Knowledge* - - - - - ibid.
3. *Sound Faith* - - - - - - - 394
4. *True Repentance* - - - - - - 395
Consisting chiefly in
Restitution - - - - - - - 399
Readiness to forgive - - - - 404
Peaceableness - - - - - - 408
Charity to the Poor - - - - ibid.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Obligation to frequent Communion - - 411

How stated in the several Ages of the Church

First Century - - - - - - 414
Second - - - - - - - 415
Third - - - - - - - 417
Fourth - - - - - - - 418
Fifth - - - - - - - 430
Sixth - - - - - - - 433
Seventh - - - - - - - 435
Eighth - - - - - - ibid.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN page 136, I have followed the common opinion of learned Protestants, (Mr. Bingham, Dr. Wall, &c.) in relation to *Infant Communion*, as prevailing in the fifth century, under a notion of its strict *necessity*, built upon John vi. 53. Though I had some scruple about it; as may appear by my manner of expressing myself, and by the reference to Thorndike in note [k].

Having since looked somewhat deeper into that question, I think it now just to my readers to advertise them, that I apprehend that *common opinion* to be a *mistake*; and that though the practice of giving Communion to *children* at *ten* or at *seven* years of age (or somewhat sooner) was *ancient*, and perhaps *general*, yet the practice of communicating *mere infants*, under a notion of its *necessity*, and as built upon John vi. came not in before the eighth or ninth century, never was *general*; or however lasted not long in the West, where it first began. My reasons for this persuasion are too long to give here: but I thought this short hint might be proper, to prevent misconceptions as to that Article.

A

REVIEW

OF

THE DOCTRINE

OF

THE EUCHARIST,

AS LAID DOWN IN

SCRIPTURE AND ANTIQUITY.

Ut autem *literam* sequi, et *signa* pro *rebus* quæ iis significantur accipere, servilis infirmitatis est; ita *inutiliter* signa interpretari, male vagantis erroris est.

Augustin. de Doctrin. Christian. lib. iii. cap. 9. p. 49.

THE INTRODUCTION.

MY design in this work is to treat of the Sacrament of the *Holy Communion*, according to the light which Scripture and right reason afford, making use of such helps and means for the interpreting Scripture, as God's good providence, in former or later ages, has furnished us with. The subject is of very great weight in itself, and of near concern to every Christian; and "therefore ought to be "studied with a care proportioned to the importance of "it: that so we may govern both ourselves and our "people aright, in a matter of such consequence; avoid-"ing with great caution the extremes on both hands, "both of excessive *superstition* on one hand, and of *pro-"fane neglect* on the other. We are now visibly under "the extreme of *neglect*; and therefore we ought to study "by all means possible to inspire our people with a *just "respect* for this holy institution, and to animate them to "desire earnestly to partake often of it; and in order to "that, to prepare themselves seriously, to set about it "with *reverence* and *devotion*, and with those *holy pur-"poses*, and *solemn vows*, that ought to accompany it[a]."

But before I enter upon the main subject, it may not be improper here to throw in some *previous* considerations, in order to prepare my readers for what they will find in this treatise, that they may the more easily form a true and sound judgment of the subject-matter of it.

I. The first consideration is, that Scripture alone is our complete *rule of faith and manners*, "containing all things "necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read

[a] Bp. Burnet on Article XXXI. p. 484.

" therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be re-
" quired of any man, that it should be believed as an
" article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to
" salvation [b]."

Whatever Scripture contains, either *in express words* rightly understood, or *by consequence* justly deduced, is *Scripture doctrine*, and ought to be religiously believed and obeyed; allowing only for the different degrees of *importance* belonging to different Scripture truths, or Scripture precepts.

II. For the right understanding of Scripture, it is of great moment to know what the most *eminent* writers, or teachers, ancient and modern, have thought before us on the same subject; and more especially to observe what they unanimously *agreed in*. For, as they had the same *Scriptures* before them, and the same *common reason* to direct them, and used as much *care* and *diligence*, and were blessed with as great *integrity* as any of us now can justly pretend to, their judgment is not to be slighted, nor their instructions to be despised. The *responsa prudentum*, the *reports*, *precedents*, and *adjudged cases* are allowed to be of considerable weight for determining points of *law:* and why should they not be of like weight, ordinarily, for the determining points of *theology?* Human law there, and Divine law here, is properly the authentic rule of *action:* but the *common reason* of mankind is properly the rule of *interpretation* in both cases: and that common reason shines out the brightest, and appears in greatest perfection, in the *united* verdict of the wisest and most excellent men. It is much easier for *one*, or for some *few* fallible interpreters to be deceived, than for *many*, other circumstances supposed equal. Nothing less than very *clear Scripture*, or as *clear reason*, ought to weigh any thing against the concurring sentiments of the *Christian world:* and even in such a case, some fair account ought to be given, how it came to pass, that such

[b] Bp. Burnet on Article VI.

clear Scripture or *clear reason* had hitherto escaped the notice, or missed of the acceptance of the wisest and best of men.

A very judicious writer of our own has observed, that "variety of judgments and opinions argueth *obscurity* in "those things whereabout they differ; but that which "all parts receive for truth, that which, every one having "sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs "be matter of *infallible* certainty[c]." This he applies to the *general* doctrine of the Holy Communion, as being "*instrumentally* a cause of the real participation of Christ, "and of life in his body and blood[d]." And it is of this that he says, "that all sides at length, for ought he could "see, were come to a general agreement: all approve "and acknowledge to be most true, as having nothing in "it but that which the words of Christ are on all sides "confessed to enforce; nothing but that which the Church "of God hath always thought necessary; nothing but "that which alone is sufficient for every Christian man "to believe concerning the *use* and *force* of this Sacra-"ment: finally, nothing but that wherewith the writings "of all *antiquity* are consonant, and all Christian *confes-*"*sions* agreeable[e]." Thus wrote that excellent person in the year 1597. The Zuinglians by that time had corrected, or more clearly explained their principles: and Socinus was scarce yet known on this side the water, or had made no figure with respect to this subject, or none worth the mentioning, in opposition to a prescription of 1500 years before him, and to the united voice of all the churches in his time. It is a maxim of prudence, as in all other matters, so also in the interpreting Scripture, to *consult with the wise*, and to take to our assistance the most *eminent lights* we can any where find, either among ancients or moderns. To be a little more particular, I may here observe something distinctly of each.

[c] Hooker, b. v. p. 310. [d] Compare p. 306. [e] Page 306.

1. As to *ancients*, some lived in the very infancy of the Church, had personally known our blessed Lord in the flesh, or conversed with the Apostles, and afterwards governed their respective churches, as venerable bishops, many years, often administering the Holy Communion, and at length dying martyrs. Is it at all likely, that such men as they were should not understand the true Scripture doctrine concerning the *Sacraments*, or that they should affect to delude the people committed to their charge, with *superstitious* conceits, or fond expectations? A man must be of a very odd turn of mind, who can deliberately entertain so unworthy a thought of the *apostolical* Fathers, or can presume to imagine that he sees deeper into the *use* or *force* of those sacred institutions than those holy men did. It is reasonable to conceive, that the New Testament was penned with a very particular view to the capacities of the *first* readers or hearers; not only because it was natural to adapt the style to the then current language and customs, but also because much depended upon making the Gospel plain and intelligible to the first converts, above all that should come after. If the earliest Christians, after the Apostles, could not readily understand the religion then taught, how should it be handed down with advantage to others of later times? But if the Scripture doctrine should be supposed comparatively *obscure* to those that come *after*, yet so long as the *earlier* Christians found it perfectly *clear*, and left behind them useful memoirs whereby we may learn how they understood it, there will be sufficient security against any dangerous mistakes in succeeding ages, by looking back to the sense of the most early interpreters. Great regard therefore ought to be paid to the known sense and judgment of the *apostolical* Fathers[f]. The later Fathers, of the second, third, and fourth centuries, have their weight also, in proportion to their known

[f] Of this see more in Abp. Wake's Apostolical Fathers, Introd. chap. x.

integrity, and abilities, and fame in all the churches; and more especially in proportion to their *early* standing, their nearness to the *fountain head* [g].

2. As to *moderns* of best note, they agree with the ancients in the main things, and may be usefully consulted on the present subject. Some of them have been eminently skilled in *Jewish antiquities*, and others in *ecclesiastical*. Some have excelled in *criticism* and the *learned* languages: others in *clearness* of conception, and *accuracy* of judgment: all are useful in their several ways, and may suggest many things which upon due inquiry will be found to be right, and which no single writer, left to himself, and without consulting them, would ever have thought on. A man that affects to think by himself will often fancy he sees that in Scripture which is not there, and will overlook what there really is: he will run wide in his conjectures, criticize in a wrong place, and fall short in most things, for want of compass, and larger views, or for want of a due consideration of consequences here or there. Truth is of wide extent, and is all over uniform and consistent: and it may require *many eyes* to look out, and search round, that every position advanced may agree with all truths, natural and revealed, and that no heterogeneous mixture be admitted to deform and deface the whole system. How often does it happen, that a man pleases himself with a thought, which strikes him at first view, and which perhaps he looks upon as demonstration: and yet farther inquiries into other men's labours may at length convince him that it is mere delusion, justly exploded by the more knowing and judicious. There are numberless instances of that kind to be met with among men of letters: which should make every writer cautious how he presumes too far upon his own unassisted abilities, and how he opposes his *single* judgment to the *united* verdict of wise, great, and good men. It requires com-

[g] This argument is considered at large in my Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity asserted, vol. v. ch. vii. p. 253—333.

monly much pains and care to trace a notion quite through; to run it up to its first principles, and again to traverse it to its remotest consequences, and to clear it of all just objections, in order to be at length rationally satisfied, that it is sound and good, and *consistent throughout*. Different churches, or parties, have their different interpretations of the same texts, and their different superstructures built upon the same principles. They have respectively their several pleas, pretences, arguments, solutions, for the maintaining a debate either in the *offensive* or *defensive* way. A subject thus comes to be narrowly scanned, and minutely viewed on every side; and so at length a consistent chain of truth may be wrought out, by a careful hand, from what the finest wits or ablest heads among the several contending parties have happily supplied.

But perhaps it may here be asked; Is then every man obliged to look deep into religious controversies? Are not the Scriptures alone sufficient for any plain and sincere Christian to conduct himself by, whether as to faith or manners? I answer: 1. Common Christians must be content to understand Scripture as they may, under the help of such *guides* as Providence has placed over them, and in the conscientious use of such *means* as are proper to their circumstances: which is all that ordinarily can be required of them. 2. Those who undertake to *direct* and *guide* them are more particularly obliged to *search* into religious *controversies*, and to "prove all things" (as far as lies in their power) in order to lead others in the right way. 3. Those guides ought, in their inquiries or instructions, to pay a proper regard and deference to other guides of eminent note, ancient and modern, and not lightly to contradict them, or vary from them; remembering always, that themselves are *fallible*, and that *new* notions (in religion especially) are not comparable, generally speaking, to the *old*, *proved*, and *tried*. 4. If any man interpreting Scripture in a *new sense*, pretends that his doctrine at least is *old*, being *Scripture doctrine;* he

should be told, that his interpretation however is *new*, and very *suspicious*, because *new*, and so not likely to be *Scripture doctrine*. The *novelty* of it is itself a strong presumption against it, and such as nothing can overbalance but very *clear* and *plain* reasons on that side. The judgment of ten thousand interpreters will always be of considerable weight against the judgment of some *few*, who are but *interpreters* at best, and as *fallible* as any other: and it must argue great conceitedness and self-sufficiency, for a man to expect to be heard, or attended to, as a *scripturist*, or a *textuary*, in opposition to the *Christian world*; unless he first fairly considers and confutes what the ablest writers have pleaded for the *received* construction, and next as fairly proves and enforces his own. That there is very great weight and force in the united voice of the Christian world, is a point not to be denied by any: and indeed those that affect to set up *new* notions are themselves aware of it, and tacitly, at least, confess the same thing. For they value such *authorities* as they are any way able to procure, or even to torture so far as to make them speak on their side: and they pride themselves highly in the *number* of their *disciples*, (as often as they chance to succeed,) thinking it a great advantage to their cause, if but the *multitude* only, or the *vulgar herd*, approve and espouse the same thing with them. Socinus, for instance, while he slighted, or pretended to slight, the concurring judgment of all churches, ancient and modern, yet felt a very sensible pleasure in the applauses of some *few* individuals, whom he had been able to deceive: and he looked upon their *approbation* as a *confirming* circumstance that his sentiments were true and right. This kind of natural logic appears to be common to our whole species: and there are few, I believe, so sanguine, (unless disordered,) as to confide entirely in their own judgment, or not to suspect their own best reasonings, however plausible they may at first appear, if they have nobody else to concur with them and support them. Therefore again I conclude as before, that it is of

great moment to know and consider what *others* have thought before us, and what the *common reason* of mankind approves: and the more numerous or the more considerable the persons were or are who stand against us in any article, the less reason, generally, have we to be confident of our own *private* persuasions.

I shall only add, that in subjects which have already passed through many hands, and which have been thoroughly sifted and considered by the ablest and best heads, in a course of 1700 years, there appears to be a great deal more room for *judgment* than for *invention*; since little *new* can now be thought on that is worth notice: and it is much wiser and safer to take the most *valuable* observations of men most eminent in their several ways, than to advance poor things of our own, which perhaps are scarce worth the mentioning in comparison.

III. I must farther premise, in relation to our present subject, that as there may be two extremes, *viz.* of *superstition* on one hand, and of *profaneness* on the other, it appears to be much safer and better to lean towards the former extreme, than to incline to the latter. Where there is room for *doubt*, it is prudent to err rather on that side which ascribes *too much* to the Sacrament, than on that which ascribes *too little*. 1. Because it is erring on the side of the *precepts*: for Scripture gives us *express* cautions [h] against paying too little regard to this holy Sacrament, but never cautions us at all, or however not expressly, against the contrary extreme. 2. Besides, since we attempt not, and desire not to carry the respect due to the Sacrament at all higher than the *ancient churches*, and the primitive *saints* and *martyrs* have carried the same before, it will be erring on the *humble*, *modest*, *pious* side, if we should happen to run into an extreme, after such bright examples. And this again is much *safer* (for who would not wish that his lot may be amongst the *saints?*) than it can be to deviate into the contrary extreme of

[h] 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.

irreverence, and to come so much the nearer to the *faithless* and *unbelieving*, who have their portion in this life.

It may be pleaded perhaps, that a person does no harm, or risks no danger, by erring on the *lessening* side, because God will certainly perform what he has really *promised* of the Sacraments to every *worthy* receiver, whether believed or no. But then the question is, how a man can be thought a *worthy* receiver, who, without sufficient grounds, *disbelieves* the promises, much more if he confidently rejects them, and teaches others also to do so. Schlictingius pleads in this case, that the *effect* of the Sacrament will be the same to every one that receives, though he disbelieves the doctrine of its being a *mean of grace*[1], or the like: as if he thought that the *outward act* of receiving were all, and that the inward qualification of *faith* were of no moment. But that was his great mistake. They who disbelieve and openly deny the *inward graces* of the Sacrament are *unworthy* receivers for that very reason, and ordinarily forfeit all right and title to the promised *graces*.

It may be further pleaded, on the same side, that the notion of the Sacraments, as *means of grace*, (supposing it erroneous,) is apt to lead men to rely upon the *Sacraments* more than upon their own serious *endeavours* for the leading a good life, or to rest in the *Sacraments* as sufficient without keeping God's commandments. But this is a suggestion built upon no certain grounds. For suppose

[1] Articulus de *cœna Domini* et *baptismo* (si *vera* est vestra sententia, qua cœnam Domini et baptismum *media* esse statuitis per quæ Deus *spirituales effectus* in animis hominum operetur) exprimit quidem causam salutis instrumentalem: sed tamen *ignoratus* aut *repudiatus* salutem non adimit, dummodo quispiam *cœna Domini* et *baptismo* utatur; adhibitis enim istis divinitus ordinatis *instrumentis effectum* sequi necesse est. *Schlicting. adv. Balthas. Meisn.* p. 6. Conf. Socin. de Cœna, tom. i. p. 767.

To which Abr. Calovius well answers:

—Negare nos, sacramenta *talia media* esse quæ illico *effectus* sequatur, etiamsi *fides* non accedat: *fides* autem locum habere nequit in iis qui negant et impugnant directe *media salutis* divinitus instituta. *Abr. Calov. contr. Socin.* tom. i. part. 2. p. 251.

we were deceived (as we certainly are not) in our high conceptions of the use and efficacy of this Sacrament; all that follows is, that we may be thereby led to *frequent* the Sacrament so much the *oftener;* to come to it with the greater *reverence*, and to repeat our *solemn vows* for the leading a good life, by the assistance of Divine grace, with the more serious and devout affections. No Divines amongst us, that I know of, ever teach that the use of the *outward* Sacrament is of any avail without inward *faith* and *repentance*, or entire *obedience*. Our Church at least, and, I think, all Protestant churches have abundantly guarded against any one's resting in the bare *outward* work. The danger therefore on this side is very slight in comparison. For what if a man should *erroneously* suppose that upon his *worthy* receiving he obtains *pardon* for past sins, and *grace* to prevent future, will not this be an encouragement to *true repentance*, without which he can be no *worthy* receiver, and to *watchfulness* also for the time to come, without which the Divine *grace* can never have its perfect work? Not that I would plead for any *pious mistake*, (were it really a *mistake*,) but I am answering an *objection;* and showing, that there is no *comparative* force in it. Were the persuasion I am pleading for really an error, reason good that it should be discarded: religion wants not the assistance of *pious frauds*, neither can it be served by them. But as we are now supposing it *doubtful* on which side the *error* lies, and are arguing only upon that *supposition*, it appears to be a very clear case, that religion would suffer abundantly more by an error on the *left hand*, than by an error on the *right;* and that of the two extremes, *profaneness*, rather than *superstition*, is the dangerous extreme.

Add to this, that corrupt nature generally leans to the *diminishing* side, and is more apt to detract from the burden of religion than to increase the weight; and therefore the *stronger guard* ought to be placed there. Men are but too inclinable of themselves to take up with low and groveling sentiments of *Divine* things: and so there

is the less need of bending Scripture that way, when the words are fairly capable of an *higher* meaning, yea, and require it also, as shall be shown in the sequel.

If it should be asked, what temptation any serious Christian can have to *lessen* the *promises* or *privileges* belonging to the Sacraments? I answer, that pure *good nature* and *mistaken humanity* may often tempt men to be as *easy* and *indulgent* as possible, in their *casuistry*, for the relieving of *tender consciences*, and for the quieting the *scruples* of their brethren. The guides of souls are sometimes apt to be over officious that way, and much more than is proper; like as *indulgent parents* often ruin their children by an excessive fondness, considering their *present uneasiness* more than their *future well-being*. When Epicurus set himself to take off the *restraints* of religion, no doubt but he thought he was doing the most *humane* and the *best-natured* office imaginable. It had the *appearance* of it, in some respects, (though *upon the whole* it was altogether the reverse,) and that was his chief temptation to it. It is not improbable that the same kind of *good nature*, ill directed, has tempted many otherwise learned and valuable guides to be too *indulgent casuists*, and to comply too far with the humour of the world. *Strict notions* of the Sacraments require as *strict observance* of the same Sacraments, which demands the more *intense care*, and greater *abstraction* of thought; all which is irksome and painful to flesh and blood: there lies the temptation to *low* and *diminishing* conceptions of the Sacraments, both in clergy and people.

But are there not temptations likewise to an over-scrupulous *severity*? Undoubtedly there are. Sometimes *education, temper, prejudice*; sometimes indiscreet *zeal*, or a spice of *enthusiasm*: but in the general, and for the most part, the making religion bend to the humours and fashions of the world is the *sin* which most *easily besets us*; and therefore there it is that we ought to appoint the double guard. To conclude this article, all *extremes* are wrong, and it may require some care and good discernment to

observe in every instance the *golden mean:* but still there may be greater sin and danger on one side than on the other; and I have thought it of some moment to determine thus briefly, to which of the extremes we may, in our circumstances, most securely and wisely lean.

IV. There is another consideration very proper to be hinted here in the entrance, relating to the prejudice often done to our venerable Sacraments, by representing them under the detracting or diminishing name of *positive duties:* as if they were to be considered as *duties* only, rather than *religious rites* in which *God* bears a *part;* or as if that part which belongs to us, and is really *duty*, were a *single* duty, and not rather a band and cement of all duties, or a kind of sponsion and security for the present and future performance of the whole duty of man. How this matter stands will be seen distinctly in the sequel. But it is proper to hint something of it here beforehand, lest the reader, by attending to a false light, should set out under a mistake of the main question. Let it be previously understood, what it is that we assert and maintain, for the removing of prejudices, and for the preventing any wrong suspicion, either of our exalting a bare *external* duty above faith, hope, and charity, or of our recommending any *single* duty in derogation to the rest.

1. In the first place therefore, let it be carefully noted, that it is not merely a *duty* of ours, but a *sacred rite*, (in which *God* himself bears a *part*,) that we are labouring to exalt, or rather to do justice to. The doctrine of our Church, and of all Christian churches, early and late, is much the same with what our Homilies teach us: namely, that "in the Sacraments God embraces us, and offereth "himself to be embraced by us;" and that they "set "out to the eyes, and other outward senses, the inward "workings of God's free mercy, and seal in our hearts "the promises of God[k]."

[k] Homily on the Common-Prayer and Sacraments.

A learned writer observes and proves, that a *sacrament* relates to that which "flows from God to us:" and he adds, that "it is a thing neither denied nor forgotten by "any, but is evident from what the Scriptures teach con- "cerning Baptism and the Lord's Supper[l]." Indeed the Socinian way is to exclude *God*, as it were, out of the Sacraments, and to allow him no part in them, but to reduce all to a bare *human performance*, or *positive duty*: but we have not so learned Christ. We are so far from thinking the sacramental transaction to be a bare *duty* of ours, that we conceive there is great use and efficacy in a sacrament, even where the *recipient* performs no *duty* at all, nor is capable of any, as in the case of *infants* receiving baptism. It is farther observable, that *Baptism* is frequently mentioned together with *repentance*, in the New Testament, as distinct from it; though *repentance* alone, as it signifies or implies *entire obedience*, fully expresses all that is properly and merely *duty* on our part. A plain sign that *Baptism*, as a *sacrament*, carries more in the idea of it than the consideration of bare *duty*, and that it comes not, in its whole notion, under the head of *duties*, but of *rites*, or *contracts*, or *covenants*, solemn transactions between God and man. *God* bears his part in it, as well as we *ours*: and therefore it is looked upon as *distinct* from bare *duties*, and spoken of accordingly.

I suppose it might be on these and the like considerations, that some *Divines* have conceived, that a *sacrament*, properly, is rather an application of *God* to men, than of *men* to God. Mr. Scandret, distinguishing a *sacrament*, according to its precise formality, from a *sacrifice*, observes, that it is "an outward visible sign of an invisible "grace or favour from God to man[m]." And Dr. Rymer

[l] Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 12. Vossius, to the same purpose, says: Quemadmodum fides est quasi *manus nostra*, qua nos quærimus et accipimus: sic verbum et sacramenta esse quasi *manus Dei* quibus is nobis offert et confert quod a fide nobis petitur et accipitur. *Voss. de Sacram. Vi et Effic.* p. 252. vol. vi. Opp.

[m] Scandret, Sacrifice of the Divine Service, p. 54.

takes notice, that, according to our Church Catechism, "a sacrament is not supposed, in its *most essential* part, "an application made by men to God, but one *made by* "*God to man.*—A gracious condescension of God's, by "which he converses with men, and exhibits to them "spiritual blessings, &c.—God's part is indeed the *whole* "that is strictly and properly *sacramental:* the outward "and visible signs exhibited are in effect the *voice of God*, "repeating his promise of that inward and spiritual fa-"vour[n]." Dr. Towerson long before had observed, that there is a *difficulty* as to "showing that a sacrament re-"lates equally to that which passeth from us to God, "and that it imports our duty and service[o]." He conceived no difficulty at all, as to *God's part* in a sacrament; that was a clear point: but he thought it not so easy to prove, that the strict and proper sense of the word *sacrament* includes *man's part* at all. However, it is very certain that the whole transaction, in the case of *adults*, is between two parties, and that the application is *mutual* between God and man. And this must be acknowledged particularly in the Eucharist, by as many as do allow of a *Consecration-prayer*, and do admit that service to be part of our *religious worship*, as also to be a *federal* rite. But from hence may appear how widely they mistake who consider a sacrament as a bare *human performance*, a discharge of a *positive duty* on man's part, and nothing more, throwing out what belongs to God, and what is most strictly *sacramental.* It is sinking or dropping the noblest and most essential part of the *idea*, and presenting us with a very lame and insufficient account of the *thing*. But a more minute explication of this matter, together with the proofs of what we maintain, will come in hereafter: all I intended here was only to give the reader some previous conception of the state of the main question, that he may understand the more clearly what we are about.

[n] Rymer, General Representation of Revealed Religion, p. 286, 287.

[o] Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 12.

2. Next, I must observe, that that part in a sacrament which is really *ours*, and which, so far as concerns adults, is properly *duty*, is yet such a duty as is supposed to comprehend, one way or other, *all duty*: for receiving *worthily* (as shall be shown in its place) implies present *repentance*, a heart turned to *God* and to *universal* obedience, and a serious resolution so to abide to our life's end. It has been thought somewhat strange, by those who have imbibed wrong notions of the case, that *all Christian privileges* should be supposed to follow a *single duty*, when they really belong to the *whole system* of duties. But when it is considered, that these privileges are never conceived to be annexed to this *single duty*, in any other view, or upon any other supposition, but as it virtually carries in it (or in the idea of *worthy* reception) *all duty*, the main difficulty will vanish; for it may still be true, that those Christian privileges go along with the *whole system* of duties, and with nothing short of it. We never do annex all Christian privileges to this single duty, but as this duty is conceived, for the time being, to *contain* all the rest; for that we take to be implied in receiving *worthily*. Whether we are right in interpreting *worthy* reception in so comprehensive a sense, is not now the question, but may be considered in its place: all I am concerned with here is to ward off a charge of *inconsistency*, with respect to our doctrine on this head.

But to show the weakness of the charge yet more plainly, let the same objection be urged in a very common case of *oaths* to a government, or of *subscription* to articles, to which many *State-privileges* and *Church-privileges* are ordinarily annexed. What, may some say, shall all those privileges be given, merely for the labour of repeating an *oath*, or of writing a *name*? No, certainly: the *outward work* is the least and the lowest part of what the privileges are intended for, if it be any part at all, in a strict sense. The privileges are intended for persons so *swearing*, or so *subscribing*, upon a presumption that such

oath carries in it *all dutiful allegiance* to the sovereign, and that such *subscription* carries in it *all conformity* in faith and doctrine, to the Church established. Of the like nature and use are our sacramental ties and covenants. They are supposed, when *worthily* performed, to carry in them all dutiful allegiance to God, and a firm attachment to Christ; a stipulation of a good conscience, and, in a word, *universal righteousness*, both as to *faith* and *manners*[p]: all which is solemnly entered into for the *present*, and stipulated for the *future*, by every sincere and devout communicant. To be short, *repentance*, rightly understood, and a due attendance on the *Sacraments*, taken together, do in our account make up the *whole system* of Christian practice for the time being: therefore in annexing all Gospel-privileges to *worthy* receiving, we do not annex them to *one duty* only, but to *all*, contained, as it were, or summed up (by the *supposition*) in that one. All the mistake and misconception which some run into on this head, appears to be owing to their abstracting the *outward work* from the *inward worthiness* supposed to go along with it, and then calling that a *single* duty, which at best is but the *shell* of duty in itself, and which, in some circumstances, (as when separate from a *good heart*,) is no duty at all, but a grievous *sin*, a *contempt* offered to the body and blood of Christ, and highly provoking to Almighty God.

Thus far I have taken the liberty of premising a few things in the entrance; not for the *anticipating* what I am hereafter to prove, but for the removing those *pre-*

[p] What Tertullian observes of the sacrament of Baptism is justly applicable to both Sacraments.

Lavacrum illud *obsignatio* est *fidei*, quæ fides a *pœnitentiæ* fide incipitur et commendatur. Non ideo abluimur ut *delinquere desinamus*, sed quia *desiimus*, quoniam jam *corde loti* sumus. Hæc enim prima audientis intinctio est, *metus integer*, deinde quoad Dominum senseris, *fides sana*, *conscientia* semel *pœnitentiam* amplexata. Ceterum, si ab aquis peccare desistimus, necessitate, non sponte innocentiam induimus. *Tertull. de Pœnit.* cap. vi. p. 125. Rigalt.

judices which appeared to lie in the way. And now I proceed, with God's assistance, to what I intend upon the subject of the Eucharist, otherwise styled the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or the Holy Communion.

CHAP. I.

Of the most noted or most considerable Names, *under which the* Holy Communion *hath been* anciently *spoken of.*

BEFORE I come directly to treat of the *thing*, it may be proper to observe something of the *names* it has anciently gone under: which I shall endeavour to range in chronological order, according to the time when each name may be supposed to have come up, or first to have grown into vogue.

A. D. 33. *Breaking of Bread.*

The oldest name given to this holy ceremony, or religious service, seems to have been that of *breaking bread*, taken from what the disciples saw done by our Lord in the solemnity of the *institution*. I choose to set the date according to the time of the first *clear* instance [a] we have of it rather than according to the time when St. Luke related it in his history; because very probably he followed the style of those who then celebrated it. St. Luke, in his history of the Acts, speaking of the disciples, says: "They continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and "fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers [b]." The circumstances of the text plead strongly for interpreting it of the *Holy Communion:* and the Syriac version (which is of great antiquity) renders it "breaking of the

[a] I said, first *clear* instance; because though Luke xxiv. 30, 35, has been understood of the Eucharist by some *ancients*, and more *moderns*, (Romanists especially,) and I see no absurdity in the interpretation, nor any thing highly improbable, or that could give *just* advantage to the Romish cause with respect to *communion in one kind;* yet since it is a *disputed* construction, and such as cannot be ascertained, I call that instance not *clear*, but pass it off as none, because it is *doubtful.*

[b] Acts ii. 42.

"Eucharist[c];" which is some confirmation of the same construction. A little lower, in the same chapter, mention is again made of the disciples, as "continuing daily in the "temple, and breaking bread from house to house[d];" or rather "in a house," set apart for holy uses[e].

St. Luke a third time takes notice of the "breaking of "bread:" where also the Syriac version renders as before, "breaking of the Eucharist." The circumstances confirm it: it was on the "first day of the week," and St. Paul is observed to have "preached unto them." St. Paul also himself seems to allude to this name, when speaking of this Sacrament he says, "The bread which "we break, is it not the Communion &c.[f]?" They who would see more concerning this *name* may consult, besides commentators, the authors referred to at the bottom of the page[g]. I may just observe, by the way, that scruples have been raised against the construction here given; and some have thought that the texts might *possibly* be interpreted either of a *love-feast*, or else of a *common meal*. I think, very hardly, and not without some violence. However, even Whitby and Wolfius, who appear to hesitate upon Acts ii. 42, 46. yet are positive enough with respect to Acts xx. 7. as relating to the Eucharist: and since there is no ground for scruple, excepting only that the Romanists make an ill use of this construction, and that may easily be obviated a better

[c] The same phrase occurs in the Recognitions, lib. vi. n. 15. *Eucharistiam frangens* cum eis.

[d] Acts ii. 46. Our translation in the phrase *from house to house* (κατ' οἶκον) follows Beza, who renders *domatim*, and has been found fault with by Scaliger, Mede, Beveridge, and Cave, referred to in Wolfius Cur. Crit. p. 1048. *Compare Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice*, vol. ii. p. 98.

[e] Erant autem privata illa ὑπερῶα loca a Judæis semper *sacris usibus* destinata; saltem ex quo Daniel propheta ascendisse in *cœnaculum* ad orandum diceretur. *Pearson, Lect. in Act. Apost.* p. 31.

[f] 1 Cor. x. 16.

[g] Casaubon. ad Annal. Eccles. Exerc. xvi. p. 378. alias p. 528. Buxtorf. de Cœna Domini, p. 312, 313. Suicer. Thesaur. in voc. κλάσις, p. 105. Johan. Vorstii Philolog. Sacr. part. ii. p. 200. Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 166.

way[h], I look upon the construction here given as sufficiently supported. And it is some confirmation of it, that Ignatius, of the apostolical times, makes use of the same phrase of *breaking bread*, where he is plainly speaking of this holy Sacrament[i].

A. D. 57. *Communion.* Κοινωνία.

The name of *Communion* has been long famous, and was undoubtedly taken from St. Paul's account of this Sacrament, where he teaches that the effect of this service is the *Communion* of the body and blood of Christ[k]. He does not indeed directly call the Sacrament by that *name*, as others have done since; he was signifying what the *thing* is, or what it does, rather than how it was then *called*[l]. But as his account gave the first occasion for the *name* of *Communion*, I thought it not amiss to date it from thence. I find not that this name became frequent in the *earlier* centuries: the Canons called *apostolical* are of *doubtful* age. The Roman clergy, in a letter to the clergy of Carthage, make use of the name *Communion* in the time of St. Cyprian[m], that is, about the middle of the third century. But in the age next following, it became very common, both in the Greek and Latin Fathers. The Spanish Fathers, in the Council of Elvira, (A. D. 305.) make use of it more than forty times: the Councils of Arles and of Ancyra (in 314 and 315) made use of the same. The Council of Nice, in the year 325, speaks of the same Sacrament under the name of *Communion*[n], in

[h] Vid. Casaubon. ad Annal. Eccl. Exercit. xvi. n. 48. p. 379.

[i] Ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες. *Ignat. ad Ephes.* cap. xx. p. 19.

[k] 1 Cor. x. 16.

[l] Non appellat Paulus Cœnam Domini Communionem tanquam *proprio* ejus *nomine*; sed vim et efficaciam Sacramenti hujus exprimens, ait eam esse *communionem*, sive *participationem* corporis Christi. *Casaubon. Exercit.* xvi. n. 47. p. 361.

[m] Si qui in hanc tentationem inciderunt, cœperint apprehendi infirmitate, et agant pœnitentiam facti sui, et desiderent *communionem*, utique subveniri eis debet &c. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* ii. p. 8. Bened. ed.

[n] Κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχών. *Concil. Nicæn.* can. xiii. p. 330. Harduin.

their thirteenth Canon. Hilary, about the middle of the same century, styles it sometimes the *Communion of the Holy Body*, sometimes the *Sacrament of the Holy Communion*, sometimes the *Communion of the everlasting Sacraments* [o]. A little later in the same century, Basil sometimes has the single word *Communion* [p] to denote the Eucharist: at other times he calls it the *Communion of the good Thing*, or of the *Sovereign Good* [q]. I need not descend to lower *Fathers*, amongst whom the *name* became very frequent: Suicer [r] has collected their testimonies, observing withal the several accounts which they gave of the *name*, all reducible to three. 1. The Sacrament is so called, because of the *communion* we therein hold with Christ and with each other. 2. Because we are therein made *partners* of Christ's *kingdom*. 3. Because it is a religious *banquet*, which we partake of in *common* with our fellow Christians.

A. D. 57. *Lord's Supper.*

I am willing to set down the name of *Lord's Supper* as a Scripture name, occurring in St. Paul's Epistles [s]; which appears to be the most prevailing opinion of learned Protestants. Not that I take it to be a *clear* point at all, or so much as capable of being proved: but I incline rather to those, both ancients and moderns, who interpret that place of the *love-feast*, kept in imitation of our Lord's *Last Supper*, which was *previous* to the original Eucharist. Thus much however is certain, that in the apostolical times the *love-feast* and the *Eucharist*, though distinct,

[o] Hilarius Pictavens. p. 169, 223, 740. edit. Bened.

[p] Κοινωνίαν οἶκοι κατίχοντες, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν. ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἐν λαῷ τελούντων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἔχει κοινωνίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι βούλεται μεταλαμβάνει δι' ἑαυτοῦ. *Basil. Epist.* xciii. p. 187. edit. Bened. alias Epist. 289.

[q] Κοινωνία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. *Epist. Canon. prima ad Amphiloch.* p. 272. *Epist. secunda*, p. 293.

[r] Suicer. Thesaur. in Κοινωνία. Conf. Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. n. 47. p. 361, &c. alias 504, &c.

[s] 1 Cor. xi. 20.

went together, and were nearly allied to each other, and were both of them celebrated at one meeting. Without some such supposition as that, it was next to impossible to account for St. Paul's quick transition, in that chapter, from one to the other. Whether therefore *Lord's Supper* in that chapter signifies the *love-feast* only, or the *Eucharist* only, or *both together*, one thing is clear and unquestionable, that they were both but different parts of the same solemnity, or different acts of the same meeting: and there is no occasion to be scrupulously nice and critical in distinguishing to which of the parts the *name* strictly belongs [t].

Maldonate, the Jesuit, in his Contents upon Matt. xxvi. 26. took upon him to reproach the Protestants in an unhandsome manner, for speaking of the Eucharist under the name of a *Supper*; which he thought irreverent, and not warranted by *Scripture*, *antiquity*, or *sound reason* [u]. The learned Casaubon some time after appeared in behalf of the Protestants [x], and easily defended them, as to the main thing, against the injurious charge. Albertinus, long after, searched with all diligence into ancient precedents and authorities for the *name*, and produced them in great abundance [y], more than sufficient to confute the charge of *novelty*, *rashness*, or *profaneness* on that head. The truth of the matter seems to be, that though there is no clear proof that the name of *Supper* is a Scripture name, yet some Fathers (as high as the fourth century) thought that it was, so understanding 1 Cor. xi. 20. And many interpreters of good note have followed them in it. Indeed it does not appear that the *text* was

[t] Quid rei sit *cœna* hæc, accuratius inquirere non est opus: sive enim Christianorum *Agapæ*, sive ipsa *Eucharistia* significetur, nil interest, dummodo concedatur (quod nulla prorsus ratione negari potest) *Eucharistiæ* celebrationem cum *Agapis* esse conjunctam. *Sam. Basnag. Annal.* tom. ii. p. 296.

[u] Calvinistæ sine Scripturæ auctoritate, sine veterum auctorum exemplo, sine ratione, nullo judicio, *cœnam* vocant. *Maldonat.* p. 556.

[x] Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. n. 32. p. 368. alias 513.

[y] Albertinus de Eucharistia, lib. i. cap. 1.

so construed before the latter end of the fourth century, or that the name of *Lord's Supper* was much in use as a name for the Eucharist. Irenæus once has the name of *God's Supper*, but means quite another thing by it [z]. Tertullian has the same [a] for *Lord's Table*, referring to 1 Cor. x. 22. not to 1 Cor. xi. 20. He has also the phrase of *Lord's Banquet* [b], [or *Lord's Day Banquet*,] and *Banquet of God* [c], meaning the *love-feasts* then in use, which he elsewhere styles the *Supper of Christians* [d]. But St. Basil very plainly interprets *Lord's Supper* in that text, of the Eucharist [e]: which even Fronto Ducæus, in his notes upon the place, confesses; endeavouring at the same time to bring off Maldonate as fairly as the matter would bear, while, in reality, he yields the main thing, with respect to the *Fathers*, at least. However, it must be owned that Basil is the first who directly so interprets the text, and that the *Fathers* were not all of a mind about it, and that the appellation of *Supper* was not very common till after the *fourth* century; and that even in the later centuries the name of *Lord's Supper* was a name for that supper which our Lord made *previous* to the Eucharist. The third Council of Carthage (A. D. 418.) speaks of "one day in "the year in which the *Lord's Supper* was celebrated [f]:" where it is plain that *Lord's Supper* does not mean the Eucharist, but the supper proper to Maundy-Thursday, kept in imitation of our Lord's *Paschal* Supper, previous to the Eucharist. And the like is mentioned in the Trullan

[z] Cœna Dei. Iren. lib. iv. cap. 36. p. 279. ed. Bened.

[a] Non possumus cœnam Dei edere, et cœnam dæmoniorum. *Tertullian. de Spect.* cap. xiii. p. 79.

[b] Convivium Dominicum. *Tertull. ad Uxor.* cap. iv. p. 168.

[c] Convivium Dei. *Tertull. de Virgin. Vel.* cap. viii. p. 172.

[d] Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: id vocatur quod *dilectio* apud Græcos. *Tertull. Apoll.* cap. 39.

[e] *Ὥσπερ οὐδὲν κοινὸν σκεῦος ἐπιτρέποι ὁ λόγος εἰσφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἅγια, ὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ ἅγια εἰς κοινὸν οἶκον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.——μήτε τὸν κοινὸν δεῖπνον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐσθίειν ἢ πίνειν, μήτε τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐν οἰκίᾳ καθυβρίζειν. Basil. Regul. Brev.* p. 310, p. 525. ed. Bened. alias 657. Conf. Theodorit. in 1 Cor. xi. 20.

[f] *Μιᾶς ἑτησίας ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐπιτελεῖται. Concil. Carthag.* Can. xliv. p. 567. Bevereg. edit.

Council, (A. D. 683.) in their 29th Canon [g]. So that *Lord's Supper* was not then become a familiar name, as now, for the *Eucharist*, but rather eminently denoted the *supper* previous to it; either our Lord's *own*, or that which was afterwards observed by Christians as a memorial of it, being a kind of *love-feast*. I shall only add farther, that Hilary the Deacon (A. D. 380. or nearly) in his comment upon 1 Cor. xi. seems to dislike the name of *supper* [h], as applied to the Eucharist, and therefore could not interpret the text as Basil of that time did.

A. D. 96. *Oblation.* Προσφορά.

The name of *oblation* may, I think, be fairly carried up as high as to Clemens of Rome, who upon the lowest computation wrote his famous Epistle as early as the year 96. The more common date is 70, or thereabout: but a learned and considerate writer [i], who very lately has reexamined the chronology of that Epistle, has with great appearance of probability brought it down to A. D. 96: and there I am willing to rest it.

Clemens speaks of the *oblations* and *sacred functions* of the Church, referring, very probably, to the *Eucharistical service* [k]: neither can he without some violence be interpreted to mean any thing else. In another place, he still more plainly refers to the same, where he says; "It "would be no small sin in us, should we cast off those

[g] Μιᾶς ἑτησίου ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐπιτελεῖται. *Concil. Trull.* Can. xxix. p. 188.

[h] Ostendit [Christus] illis mysterium Eucharistiæ *inter cœnandum* celebratum, *non cœnam* esse: medicina enim spiritalis est, quæ cum reverentia degustata, purificat sibi devotum. *Pseud. Ambros.* in loc.

[i] Lardner, Credibility of Gosp. Hist. part ii. vol. i. p. 50—62.

[k] Πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν——τὰς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι——οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτοί εἰσι καὶ μακάριοι. *Clem. Rom. Ep.* c. xl. p. 164. edit. Cant.

Vitringa, upon these words, allows that they refer to the *Eucharist*. Preces haud dubie intelliguntur cum *sacris Eucharistiæ*, quibus Clemens statas horas, ad exemplum sacrorum templi, definiri vult. *Vitring. de Vet. Synag.* p. 1115. conf. Basnag. Annal. vol. i. p. 371.

"from the episcopal function, who holily and without "blame *offer the gifts*[l]." Here he expressly speaks of gifts *offered*, (that is, of *oblation*,) and by *sacerdotal* hands. The *gifts* were brought to the altar, or communion table, by the *people*, and were recommended to God's acceptance by the officiating bishop, or presbyter. So there was first a kind of *lay oblation*, and next a *sacerdotal* oblation of the same *gifts* to God. Those *gifts* consisted partly of *alms* to the poor, and partly of *oblations*, properly so called, to the *Church*; and out of these last was usually taken the *matter* of the Eucharist, the *bread* and *wine*[m]. The *oblation*, as I before hinted, was twofold; hence the whole service of the Eucharist came to be called the *oblation*: and to communicate, or to administer, in Church language, was to *offer*. There was a *third* kind of *oblation*[n] which came up afterwards, in the third century: or, to speak more accurately, the *commemoration*, which was always a part of the Eucharistical service, came by degrees to be called an *oblation*, (but not within the two first centuries, so far as I can find,) and then commenced a kind of *third oblation*; not a *new thing*, but an old service under a *new name*.

Justin Martyr, though he does not directly call the Eucharist by the name of *oblation*, yet he does obliquely, where he says, that the *oblation* of *fine flour*, under the law, was a type of the *bread* of the *Eucharist*[o]; and where he speaks of the Eucharistical elements as being

[l] Ἁμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενίγκοντας τὰ δῶρα, τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν. c. xliv. p. 178. Compare Johnson's Unbl. Sacrifice, part i. p. 75, 78, &c.

[m] See Bingham, Eccles. Antiq. b. xv. ch. 2. sect. 1, 2. Deylingius, Observ. Miscellan, p. 301. Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. 27, 30. L'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part i. ch. iv. p. 30, &c.

[n] Of the *third oblation*, or *threefold* oblation, see l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part i. c. 8. Sam. Basnag. Annal. tom. i. p. 371. Pfaffius, Dissert. de Oblat. Vet. Eucharist. p. 283, 293.

[o] Ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως προσφορὰ——τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας. *Just. Dial.* p. 119. Jebb. 220. Thirlby.

offered to *God* [p]. Elsewhere he speaks plainly of the *lay offering*, brought by the people to the administrator [q]: and I presume, he is to be understood of an offering to be presented *to God*, by the hands of the Minister, brought to the Minister in order to be recommended by him to the *Divine* acceptance.

Irenæus, of the same century, makes frequent mention of the *oblation* of the Eucharist, understanding by it the *whole* service as performed by clergy and people, according to their respective parts or provinces [r]. He supposes the oblation made *to God*, made by the *Church*, in and by the proper officers: and though the *oblation* strictly speaking, according to its primary signification, means only one part of the service, or two, (*viz.* the people's bringing their *offerings* to the altar, and the administrator's presenting *the same* to God,) yet from this part or parts of the service, the whole solemnity took the name of the *oblation* at that time, and such name became very common and familiar afterwards. For since the very *matter* of the Eucharist was taken out of the *oblations* received from the people, and solemnly *offered* up afterwards to God by the Ministers, it was very natural to give the name of *oblation* to the whole solemnity.

Tertullian speaking of the Devil, as imitating the mys-

[p] Προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας. *Just. Dial.* p. 120. Jebb. alias 220.

[q] Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ &c.

——Ἄρτος προσφέρεται, καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ. καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 96, 98.

[r] Novi Testamenti novam docuit *oblationem*, quam *Ecclesia* ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo *offert Deo*, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. 17. p. 249. edit. Bened.

Ecclesiæ *oblatio*, quam Dominus docuit *offerri* in universo mundo, purum sacrificium repertum est &c.—Non genus oblationum reprobatum est: oblationes enim et illic, *oblationes* autem et hic, p. 250. Hanc *oblationem* Ecclesia solam puram *offert fabricatori*, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione, ex creatura ejus, p. 251.

teries of the Church, takes notice, among other things, of his instructing his votaries to *baptize* and to celebrate the *oblation of bread*[s]: as much as to say, that they also had their Eucharist in their way; *oblation* being here the name for the whole service. In another place, he uses the single word *offer*, for the whole action of administering and receiving the Communion[t]. Elsewhere he makes mention of *oblations* for the *dead;* and at the *anniversaries* of the *martyrs*[u]: and by *oblations* he could intend nothing but the *Eucharistical solemnities* celebrated on those days[x].

We have seen proofs sufficient of the name of *oblation* for the two first centuries. But it is observable, that all this time we meet only with oblation of *gifts*, or *first fruits*, or of *bread*, *wine*, or the like: no oblation of *Christ's body*, or *blood*, or of *Christ* absolutely, as we shall find afterwards. Hence it is, that some very learned men have thought that, according to the ancients, the *oblation* was considered always as previous to *consecration*, and that the elements were *offered* in order to be *consecrated*[y]: which indeed is true according to that sense of *oblation* which obtained for two centuries and a half: but a *new sense*, or *new application* of the word, or name, came in

[s] Tinguit et ipse quosdam——celebrat et *panis oblationem*. *Tertull. de Præscript.* c. xl. p. 216.

[t] Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et *offers*, et *tinguis*, et sacerdos es tibi solus. *Tertull. de Exhort. Cast.* c. vii. p. 522. Conf. de Veland. Virg. c. ix. p. 178.

[u] *Oblationes* pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. *Tertull. de Coron.* c. iii. p. 102. Conf. de Exhort. Cast. c. xi. p. 523.

[x] See Bingham, book xxiii. ch. 3. sect. 12, 13. Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 95.

[y] "It is manifest, that it is called an *oblation*, or *sacrifice*, in all liturgies, according to the style of the most ancient Church-writers, *not as consecrated*, but as *presented*, and *offered* (whether by the people, as the custom was, to him that ministered, or by him that ministered, to God) *to be consecrated.*" *Thorndike, Relig. Assembl.* p. 379.

Consecrationi autem *oblationem* præpositam olim fuisse, adeo perspicuum ex *veterum* dictis, *liturgiisque* antiquissimis, maxime Græcis, esse arbitramur, ut nihil clarius esse possit. *Pfaff. Fragm. Iren.* in præfat.

soon after, and so it will here be necessary to distinguish *times*.

I shall now pass on to Cyprian, to show how this matter stood, upon the *change* of language introduced in his time. We shall find him plainly speaking of the *offering* Christ's *body* and *blood*[z]. This must be understood of an oblation subsequent to consecration, not in order to it: for Christ's body and blood, whether real or symbolical, are *holy*, and could want no sanctification or consecration. He further seems to speak of *offering* Christ himself[a], in this Sacrament, unto God, but under the symbols of *consecrated* bread and wine. That may be his meaning: and the meaning is good, when rightly apprehended; for there was nothing new in it but the *language*, or the manner of expression. What the elder Fathers would have called, and did call, the *commemorating* of Christ, or the *commemorating* his *passion*, his *body* broken, or *blood* shed; that Cyprian calls the *offering* of Christ, or of his *passion*, &c. because, in a large sense, even *commemorating* is *offering*, as it is presenting the thing or the person so commemorated, in the way of prayer and thanksgiving, before God. I do not invent this account for the clearing a difficulty, but I take it from Cyprian himself, whose own words show that the Eucharistical *commemoration* was all the while in his mind[b], and that that was all he meant by the *oblation* which he there speaks of,

[z] Obtulit [Dominus] hoc idem quod Melchisedech obtulerat, id est panem et vinum, suum scilicet *corpus* et *sanguinem*. *Cyprian.* Ep. lxiii. p. 105. edit. Bened. Unde apparet *sanguinem* Christi non *offerri*, si desit vinum calici &c. p. 107.

[a] Nam si Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et sacrificium Patri *seipsum primus obtulit*, et *hoc fieri* in sui commemorationem præcepit, utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui *id quod Christus fecit*, imitatur, et sic incipiat *offerre* secundum *quod ipsum Christum* videat *obtulisse*. *Ibid.* p. 109. Quia passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus (passio est enim Domini, sacrificium quod offerimus) nihil aliud quam *quod ille fecit*, facere debemus, p. 109.

[b] Calix qui in *commemorationem* (alias *commemoratione*) ejus offertur, p. 104. Quotiescunque ergo calicem in *commemorationem* Domini et passionis ejus offerimus, id quod constat Dominum fecisse, faciamus, p. 109.

using a new name for an old thing. I shall show in due time, that the later Fathers who followed Cyprian's language in this particular, and who admitted this *third* oblation (as some have called it) as well as he, yet when they came to explain, interpreted it to mean no more than a solemn *commemoration*, such as I have mentioned.

I must farther observe, that though Cyprian sometimes advances this new kind of language, yet elsewhere he follows the more ancient way of speaking, and understands *oblation* as other Fathers before him had done. Thus, when he speaks of the sacrifice *offered* in the Eucharist by the *poor*[c], he means it of the *lay oblation* which was previous to consecration; as also when he speaks of the clergy's *presenting* the *oblations* of the people[d], he is to be understood of the *first* and *second* oblations, both of them previous to consecration. And when he observes, that an *oblation* cannot be *sanctified* where the Spirit is not given[e], he uses the word *oblation* for what was antecedent; and it amounts to the same as if he had said, that such an oblation could not be *consecrated*, could not be made the *body* and *blood* of Christ. But enough hath been said of the *name* of *oblation* in this place: the *thing* will be more distinctly considered hereafter.

A. D. 104. *Sacrament.*

The name of *Sacrament*, as applied to the Eucharist, though no Scripture name, yet certainly is of great antiquity. The younger Pliny, in his Letter to the Emperor Trajan, will afford us a good argument of it, in what he reports of the *Christians*, and from the *Christians*, as meeting on a certain day (the Lord's Day) and binding themselves by a *sacrament* to commit no wickedness, but

[c] Partem de sacrificio quod pauper *obtulerit*, sumis. *Cypr. de Op. et Eleem.* p. 242.

[d] Qui communicando cum lapsis, et offerendo *oblationes* eorum &c. Ep. xxviii. p. 38.

[e] Nec *oblatio* illic sanctificari possit, ubi Spiritus Sanctus non est. Ep. lxiv. p. 112.

to lead good lives[f]. As Pliny there reported what the Christians had told him, it is reasonable to judge, that they had made use of the word *sacrament* to him, which they understood in the Christian sense, however Pliny or Trajan might take it: and so this testimony will amount to a probable proof of the use of the name of *sacrament* among the Christians of that time. That the name, as there used, is to be understood of the *Eucharist*, is a very clear case, from all the circumstances of the account. I know not how a late learned and judicious writer came to understand it of the sacrament of *Baptism*[g]. The generality of the best learned men[h] interpret it of the *Eucharist*, and with very good reason: for the account refers to what the *whole* assembly were wont to do, at the same time; they could not at all come to receive *Baptism*, though they might to receive the *Eucharist*. Then the mention of the Sacrament, as taken in the Antelucan meetings, tallies exactly with Tertullian's account of the *Eucharist*, as we shall see presently: besides that the hint given of the *love-feast*, as following soon after, confirms the same thing[i].

I go on then to Tertullian, who makes express mention of the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, as received in his time, but with some difference, as to the circumstances, from the *original Eucharist* of our Lord's own celebrating[k].

[f] Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti, stato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem: seque *sacramento* non in scelus aliquod *obstringere*, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium. *Plin.* Epist. xcvii. lib. x. p. 819. ed. Amstel. Conf. Tertullian. Apol. c. ii. p. 24, 25. Lugd.

[g] Dr. Wall, Inf. Bapt. part ii. chap. ix. p. 396. third edit.

[h] Vid. Bevereg. Vindic. Can. p. 199. Tentzel. Exercit. Select. part. ii. p. 127. Vitringa, de Vet. Synagog. p. 1116. Renaudotius Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p. 5, 6. Bingham xv. 7, 8.

[i] See Bingham, book xv. c. 7. sect. 8.

[k] *Eucharistiæ Sacramentum*, et in tempore *victus*, et *omnibus* mandatum

For that (he observes) was after supper, this before daylight, fasting: in that, the company helped one another, or every man took his part from the table[l]; in this, the Bishop or Presbyter in person gave the bread and cup to each communicant. But what I have principally to take notice of here is the use of the phrase, *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, conformable to the like phrases, which the same author makes use of to denote *Baptism*, calling it the *Sacrament of water*[m], and *Sacrament of sanctification*[n]. In the same century, Cyprian calls the *Eucharist* the *Sacrament of the cup*[o]; and elsewhere, the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's passion and of our redemption*[p].

If it should now be asked, in what precise meaning the name of *sacrament* was thus anciently applied to the *Eucharist;* as the word *sacrament* is of great latitude, and capable of various significations, (some stricter and some larger,) I know of no certain way of determining the precise meaning of the *name*, as here applied, but by considering what was meant by the *thing*. Gerard Vossius[q] has perhaps given as clear and accurate an account of the word *sacrament*, as one shall any where meet with: but after all, I am of opinion, that it is not the *name* which can here add any light to the *thing*, but the *thing* itself must be first rightly understood, in order to settle the true and full import of the *name*. When it is applied to *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, it must be explained by their *common* nature, being a *general* name for such a certain number of ideas as go to make up their general nature or notion. A collection of those several ideas is put together in the *definition* given in our *Church Catechism*. The

a Domino; etiam Antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam *præsidentium* sumimus. *Tertull. de Coron.* c. iii. p. 102.

[l] Luke xxii. 17. See Archbishop Potter on Ch. G. p. 259. edit. 3d.

[m] Sacramentum aquæ. *Tertull. de Bapt.* c. i. p. 224. c. xii. p. 229.

[n] Sacramentum sanctificationis. *Ibid.* c. iv. p. 225.

[o] Sacramentum calicis. *Cyprian. de Lapsis*, p. 189.

[p] Sacramentum Dominicæ passionis, et redemptionis nostræ. *Cyprian.* Ep. 63.

[q] Vossius de Sacram. Vi et Efficacia. Opp. tom. vi. p. 247, &c.

like had been endeavoured before, in our Twenty-fifth Article: and that is again digested into a more technical form, by Bishop Burnet in his Exposition[r]. His definition may be looked upon as a good summary account of what *our Church*, and the *Protestant churches* abroad, and the *primitive churches* likewise, believed concerning *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* in common: the particulars of their faith, so far, is therein collected into one large complex idea, and for conveniency is comprised in the single word *sacrament*. And yet it must be observed, that this word *sacrament*, as applied to those two religious rites, admits of a threefold acceptation in Church writers: sometimes denoting barely the *outward sign* of each, sometimes the *thing signified*, and sometimes *both together*, the whole action, service, or solemnity[s].

The Socinians, observing that the *received* sense of the word *sacrament* is against their whole scheme, have often expressed their dislike of it. Smalcius particularly complains of it, as an *unscriptural* name, and besides *barbarous Latin*, and leading to *superstition* and *idolatry*; and therefore he moves to have it totally laid aside[t]. He was offended, it seems, at the *name*, because it served to keep up the sense of something *mysterious*, or *mystical*, of a *sign* and somewhat *signified*, viz. *grace* &c. to which he had an aversion. Volkelius, more complaisant with respect to the *name*, turns all his resentment upon the *thing*, flatly denying that the Eucharist is a *sacrament*[u]: his

[r] Burnet on Article XXV. p. 268, 269.

[s] Vid. Lamb. Danæus. Isag. part. iv. lib. 5. p. 441.

[t] Vox *sacramenti*, in hac significatione, *barbara*, vel saltem *sacris literis incognita* est; ab hominibus vero otiosis (qui ceremoniis hujusmodi nescio quid præter sacram Scripturam *superstitiosum*, aut etiam *idololatricum* ex parte, tribuere non sunt veriti) ad tegendum dolum usurpata: præstat igitur aliis nominibus appellari in Christi cœtu hanc ceremoniam. *Smalcius contr. Frantz.* p. 347.

[u] Satis constat nec alteram appellationem, nimirum *sacramentum* corporis Christi, veram esse. Si enim hæc actio ne *sacramentum* quidem est, quo pacto, quæso, *corporis Christi sacramentum* erit? *Volkel. de Ver. Relig.* lib. iv. cap. 22. p. 678.

reason is, because it neither *exhibits* nor *seals* any *spiritual grace*. His master Socinus had intimated as much before[x]. The sum is, that the strict sense of the Sacrament, as implying an *outward sign* of an *inward grace*, can never suit with their schemes, who allow of no *inward grace* at all.

I may here note by the way, that while the Socinians reject the *invisible grace*, the Romanists destroy the *visible sign*, and both run counter to the true notion of a *sacrament*, by their opposite extremes: from whence it is manifest, of what moment it is to preserve the word *sacrament*, and to assert to it its *true* and *full sense*. For though the word, as here applied, is not in Scripture, yet the *notion* is there, and the *general* doctrine is there: and the throwing that *notion*, or that *general doctrine*, under the name of *sacrament*, is nothing more than collecting several *Scripture ideas*, or *Scripture truths*, and binding them up together in a *single* word, for the better preserving them, and for the ease and conveniency of speech. But as to the *proof* of those doctrines or those truths, I cannot enter into it now, but must reserve it for a more proper place, and proceed in the account of ancient *names*.

A. D. 107. *Eucharist.*

Another *name*, as famous as any, is the name *Eucharist*, signifying properly *thanksgiving*, or *blessing*, and fitly denoting this holy service, considered as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. I set the date no higher than Ignatius's Epistles, because there it first certainly occurs: though one can make no doubt of its having obtained in the *apostolical* age, when it is considered how familiarly Ignatius makes use of it[y]. Some have thought that St. Paul himself led the way as to this *name*, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. But that construction of the text appears too *conjectural* to build upon, and is rejected by the generality of inter-

[x] Socinus de Baptism. Aquæ, cap. xiv.

[y] Ignatius, Epist. ad Smyrn. c. 7, 8. ad Philadelph. c. 4.

preters: I think, with good reason, as Estius in particular hath manifested upon the place. I content myself therefore with running up that *name* no higher than Ignatius's time.

After him, Justin Martyr[z], Irenæus[a], Clemens of Alexandria[b], Origen[c], and others, make familiar use of that name, as is well known. One may judge how extensive and prevailing that name, above any other, anciently was, from this consideration, that it passed not only among the Greeks, but among the Orientalists also, (as may be seen in the Syriac version before mentioned,) and likewise among the Latins; who adopted that very Greek word into their own language; as is plain from Tertullian[d] and Cyprian[e], in many places.

A. D. 150. *Sacrifice.* Θυσία.

Justin Martyr is the first I meet with who speaks of the Eucharist under the name of *sacrifice* or *sacrifices*. But he does it so often, and so familiarly[f], that one cannot but conceive, that it had been in common use for some time before: and it is the more likely to have been so, because *oblation* (which is near akin to it) certainly was, as we have seen above.

Irenæus of the same century mentions the *sacrifice* of

[z] Justin. M. Apol. 96. Dialog. p. 220. 386. Thirlby.

[a] Irenæus, p. 251, 294, 341, 360. ed. Bened.

[b] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 178. ed. Oxon.

[c] Origen. contr. Cels. lib. viii. sect. 57. p. 784. ed. Bened.

[d] Tertullian. p. 102, 135, 215, 220, 562, 570. Rigalt.

[e] Cyprian. Tract. p. 132, 147, 230. Ep. p. 34, 37, 38, 39, 117, 118, 125, 190, 191, 223. Ox. edit.

[f] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε—*Just. Dialog.* p. 220. edit. Lond.

—— θυσίας ἃς παρέδωκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς γίνεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου—*Ibid.* p. 386.

—— ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς. *Ibid.* p. 387.

the Eucharist more than once[g], either directly or obliquely. Tertullian, not many years later, does the like[h]. Cyprian also speaks of the *sacrifice* in the Eucharist, understanding it, in one particular passage, of the *lay oblation*[i]. This is not the place to examine critically what the ancients meant by the *sacrifice* or *sacrifices* of the Eucharist: it will deserve a distinct chapter in another part of this work. But, as I before observed of *oblation*, that, anciently, it was understood sometimes of the *lay offering*, the same I observe now of *sacrifice;* and it is plain from Cyprian. Besides that notion of sacrifice, there was another, and a principal one, which was conceived to go along with the *Eucharistical* service, and that was the notion of *spiritual sacrifice*, consisting of many particulars, as shall be shown hereafter: and it was on the account of one, or both, that the Eucharist had the name of *sacrifice* for the two first centuries. But by the middle of the third century, if not sooner, it began to be called a *sacrifice*, on account of the *grand sacrifice* represented and commemorated in it; the *sign*, as such, now adopting the name of the *thing signified*. In short, the *memorial* at length came to be called a *sacrifice*, as well as an *oblation:* and it had a double claim to be so called; partly as it was in itself a *spiritual* service, or *sacrifice*, and partly as it was a representation and commemoration of the high tremendous *sacrifice* of Christ God-

[g] Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum *sacrificium* reputatum est apud Deum &c.—

——Sacrificia in populo, *sacrificia* et in ecclesia.—Iren. lib. iv. c. 18. p. 250. omni autem loco *sacrificium* offeretur ei, et hoc purum. Lib. iv. c. 17. p. 249.

[h] Non putant plerique *sacrificiorum orationibus* interveniendum——Accepto corpore Domini et reservato, utrumque salvum est, et participatio *sacrificii*, et executio officii. *Tertull. de Orat.* c. xiv. p. 135, 136. Aut *sacrificium* offertur, aut Dei sermo administratur. *De cultu Fem.* lib. ii. c. 11.

[i] Locuples, et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corban omnino non respicis, quæ in Dominicum sine *sacrificio* venis, quæ partem de *sacrificio* quod pauper obtulit sumis. *Cyprian. de Op. et Eleemos.* p. 242. Bened. alias 223.

man. This last view of it, being of all the most awful and most endearing, came by degrees to be the most prevailing acceptation of the *Christian sacrifice*, as held forth in the Eucharist. But those who styled the Eucharist a *sacrifice* on that account, took care, as often as need was, to explain it off to a *memorial* of a sacrifice rather than a strict or proper *sacrifice*, in that precise view. Cyprian, I think, is the first who plainly and directly styles the Eucharist a *sacrifice* in the *commemorative* view, and as *representing* the grand sacrifice[k]. Not that there was any thing *new* in the *doctrine*, but there was a *new application* of an old name, which had at the first been brought in upon other accounts. I shall endeavour to set that whole matter clear in a chapter below: for the present these few hints may suffice, and so I pass on.

A. D. 150. *Commemoration, Memorial.* Ἀνάμνησις, Μνήμη.

Justin Martyr, if I mistake not, once names the Eucharist a *commemoration* or *memorial;* where he takes notice, that the Christians offered up spiritual sacrifices, *prayers* and *lauds, in the memorial of their food dry and liquid*[l], that is, in the Eucharist of bread and wine. I know not how otherwise to construe ἀνάμνησις there, but as a *name* of the whole service. It was natural enough, because many of the other *names* which have been used to denominate the *whole* service, (as *breaking bread, oblation, sacrifice,* and *Eucharist,*) manifestly took their original from some noted *part* of the solemnity, and were at first but *partial* conceptions of it. Now since the *commemoration* or *memorial* was always a considerable *part* of the solemnity, (as the learned well know,) it is reason-

[k] Passionis ejus mentionem in *sacrificiis* omnibus facimus: *passio* est enim Domini *sacrificium* quod offerimus. *Cyprian.* Ep. lxiii. p. 109. Bened.

[l] Ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται. *Just. Dial.* 387.

able to suppose, that that also might be made use of in like manner, as a *name* for the whole service.

I am aware that our excellent Mr. Mede gives a very different turn to that passage of Justin, translating it thus: "In that thankful remembrance of their food both dry "and liquid, wherein also is commemorated the passion "which the Son of God suffered by himself." He interprets it of *agnizing* God as the "giver of our food both "dry and liquid[m]." But that construction must needs appear harsh and unnatural. Justin no where else does ever speak of the *remembrance* of our *food*, but constantly understands the Eucharistical *remembrance* or *commemoration* to refer to Christ only, his *incarnation* and *passion*, his *body* and *blood*[n]: nor do I know of any one *Father* who interprets the memorial of the bodily food. Besides, it suits not well with our Lord's own account in his *institution* of the Sacrament, which speaks of the remembrance of *him*, not of the remembrance of our *bodily food*. Add to this, that were the sense of the place such as Mr. Mede imagined, Justin would rather have expressed it by a thankful remembrance of the *Divine goodness* in giving us our food, than by a thankful remembrance of *our food*, which appears flat and insipid in comparison. Seeing then that Mr. Mede's construction of that place in Justin is far from satisfactory, I choose to acquiesce in the sense which I before mentioned, till I see a better; understanding the *memorial of food*, as equivalent to *memorial* of Christ's passion, *made by food*, viz. by *bread* and *wine*. The word *also* refers not there to *memorial*, as if there were two memorials, but to the *lauds;* besides which there was *also* a *memorial* of the *passion*.

Origen has a passage relating to the Eucharistical *memorial*, where he appears to denominate the whole service by that eminent part of it[o]. Eusebius styles the Eucharist,

[m] Mede, Christian Sacrifice, b. ii. ch. 5. p. 460.

[n] Vid. Just. Mart. Dialog. p. 220, 290.

[o] Si referantur hæc ad mysterii magnitudinem, invenies *commemorationem* istam habere ingentis propitiationis effectum.——Si respicias ad illam

the *memorial* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* [p], and also simply a *memorial;* which he observes to have succeeded in the room of *sacrifice* [q]. He calls it also the *memorial of the sacrifice* [r], and *memorial of the grand sacrifice* [s]. I need not descend lower, to fetch in more authorities for the use of this *name:* only, I may just give a hint, that all those Fathers who interpreted the name *sacrifice*, as applied in such a particular view to the Eucharist, by a *memorial of a sacrifice*, may as reasonably be understood to call the Eucharist a *memorial*, as to call it a *sacrifice*. Those Fathers were many; and Chrysostom may be esteemed their chief: who while he follows the ordinary language in denominating the Eucharist a *sacrifice*, (considered in its *representative* view,) yet intimates withal, that its more proper appellation, in that view, is *a memorial of a sacrifice* [t]. I may further take notice, that St. Austin comes very near to what I have been speaking of, where he calls the Eucharist by the name of the *sacrament of commemoration*, or *sacramental memorial* [u]. To conclude this article, let the reader observe and bear in mind, that the names of *oblation* and *sacrifice*, as applied to the Eucharist in one particular point of view, do both of them resolve into the

commemorationem de qua dicit Dominus, *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, invenias quod ista est *commemoratio* sola, quæ propitium facit hominibus Deum. *Origen. in Levit. Hom.* xiii. p. 255. ed. Bened.

[p] Τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τὴν ὑπόμνησιν. *Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangel.* lib. i. cap. 10. p. 27.

[q] Μνήμην ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρων. *Ibid.* p. 38. Conf. Apost. Const. lib. vi. cap. 23.

[r] Τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ ἐκτελεῖν, διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος. *Ibid.* p. 30.

[s] Τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος. *Ibid.* p. 40.

[t] Προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμεθα τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.——τὴν αὐτὴν θυσίαν ἀεὶ ποιοῦμεν, μᾶλλόν τι ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας. *Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr.* cap. x. Hom. 17. p. 856. Compare Theodorit. in Hebr. viii. 4. p. 433. Pseud-Ambros. in Hebr. cap. x. Primasius, in Hebr. cap. x. Hesychius, in Levit. p. 31. Eulogius, apud Phot. cod. 280. p. 1609. Fulgentius, de Fide ad Petr. cap. lx. p. 525. Fragm. 618. Œcumenius, in Hebr. x. p. 846. Theophylact. in Hebr. x. 1. p. 971.

[u] Sacramentum memoriæ. *Augustin. contr. Faust.* lib. xx. cap. 21. p. 348. Compare l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part i. chap. 8. p. 88, 89.

name *memorial:* and so far they are all three to be looked upon as *equivalent* names, bearing the same sense, pointing to the same thing. This observation will be of use, when we come to consider the Eucharist in its *sacrificial view* under a distinct chapter below.

A.D. 249. *Passover.*

The name of *Passover* has been anciently given to the Eucharist, upon a presumption that as *Christ* himself succeeded to the *paschal lamb*, so the *feast* of the *Eucharist* succeeded in the room of the *paschal feast*. Christ is our *Passover*, as the name stands for the *lamb*[x]: the Eucharist is our *Passover*, as that same name stands for the *feast*, *service*, or *solemnity*.

Origen seems to have led the way; and therefore I date the notion from his time: not that he speaks so fully to the point as some that came after, neither had he precisely the same ideas of it; but he taught more confusedly, what others after him improved and cleared. Origen takes notice, that "if a man considers that *Christ our Passover was* "*sacrificed for us*, and that he ought to *keep the feast* by "*feeding upon the flesh of the Logos*, he may celebrate the "*Passover* all his life long, *passing on* to Godwards in "thought, word, and deed, abstracted from temporal "things[y]." I give his *sense*, rather than a *literal* rendering. Here we may observe, that the Christian *Passover feast*, according to him, consists in the *eating of the flesh of the Logos;* which is certainly done in the *Eucharist* by every *faithful* receiver, as Origen every where allows: but then Origen's common doctrine is, that the *flesh of the Logos* may be eaten also out of the Eucharist; for the receiving *spiritual nutriment* any way, is with him *eating*

[x] 1 Cor. v. 7. John i. 29.

[y] Ἔτι δὲ ὁ νοήσας, ὅτι τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστὸς, καὶ χρὴ ἑορτάζειν ἐσθίοντα τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Λόγου· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι οὐ πωτὲ τὸ πάσχα, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται διαβατήρια, διαβαίνων ἀεὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ πράξει ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ βίου πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ σπεύδων. *Origen. contr. Cels.* lib. viii. p. 759. ed. Bened. alias p. 392.

the *flesh* of Christ[z]. So that this passage which I have cited from him does not make the *Eucharist*, in particular, or *solely*, to be the Christian *paschal feast:* but the taking in *spiritual food*, be it in that way or any other, that is the *keeping* our *Passover*, according to his sense of it. Hilary, of the fourth century, seems directly to give the name of *Passover* to the *Christian* Eucharist[a]. Nazianzen, a great admirer of Origen, improves the thought, applying it directly and specially to the *Eucharist*, in these words: "We shall partake of the *Passover*, which even now is "but a *type*, though much more plain than the *old* one: "for I am bold to say, that the *legal* Passover was an ob- "scurer *type* of another *type*[b]."

St. Jerome, who was once Nazianzen's scholar, follows him in the same sentiment, styling the Eucharist *the true sacrament of the Passover*, in opposition to the *old* one[c]. But no one dwells more upon that thought, or more finely illustrates it, than the great St. Chrysostom in divers places. He asks why our Lord celebrated the *Passover?* And his answer is, because the *old* Passover was the figure of the *future one*, and it was proper, after exhibiting the *shadow*, to bring in the *truth* also upon the *table*[d]: a little after he says, it is our *Passover to declare the Lord's death*[e], quot-

[z] Bibere autem dicimur sanguinem Christi, non solum *sacramentorum ritu*, sed et cum *sermones* ejus recipimus, in quibus *vita* consistit. Sicut et ipse dicit, *verba quæ locutus sum, spiritus et vita est. Origen. in num.* Hom. xvi. p. 334. edit. Bened.

[a] Judas proditor indicatur, sine quo *pascha*, accepto calice et fracto pane, conficitur. *Hilar. in Matt.* cap. xxx. p. 740. ed. Bened.

[b] Μεταληψόμεθα δὲ τοῦ πάσχα νῦν μὲν τυπικῶς ἔτι, ἢ εἰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γυμνότερον· τὸ γὰρ νομικὸν πάσχα, τολμῶ καὶ λέγω, τύπου τύπος ἦν ἀμυδρότερος. *Nazianz.* Orat. lii. p. 692.

[c] Postquam *typicum pascha* fuerat impletum, et agni carnes cum apostolis comederat, assumit *panem*, qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum *paschæ* transgreditur *sacramentum:* ut quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedec, summi Dei sacerdos, panem et vinum offerens fecit, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret. *Hieronym. in Matt.* cap. xxvi. p. 128. ed. Bened.

[d] Chrysostom. tom. i. Orat. contr. Jud. 3. p. 610. ed. Bened.

[e] Πάσχα δέ ἐστι, τὸ τὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλειν. *Ibid.* p. 611.

ing 1 Cor. xi. 26. And he adds, that whoever comes with a pure conscience, celebrates the *Passover*, as often as he *receives* the *communion*, be it to-day, or to-morrow, or at any time whatever[f]. And he has more in the same place, to the same purpose. In another work he speaks thus: "When the *sun* of righteousness appeared, the *shadow* "disappeared:—therefore upon the self-same *table* both "the *Passovers* were celebrated, the *typical* and the *real*[g]." A little lower, he calls the Eucharist the *spiritual Passover*[h]. Isidorus Pelusiota, afterwards styles it the *divine* and *true* Passover[i]. And St. Austin observes, that the Jews celebrate their *Passover in a lamb*, and we receive *ours* in the *body* and *blood* of the Lord[k]. These are authorities sufficient for the *name* of *Passover* as applied to the Eucharist: for like as Baptism is in Scripture account the *Christian circumcision*[l], so is the Eucharist, in Church account at least, the *Christian Passover*.

A.D. 385. *Mass. Missa.*

There is one name more, a Latin name, and proper to the *western* churches, which may just deserve mentioning, because of the warm disputes which have been raised about it ever since the Reformation. It is the name *mass*, in Latin *missa*; originally importing nothing more than the *dismission* of a church assembly[m]. By degrees it came to be used for an *assembly*, and for *Church service*:

[f] Πάσχα ἐπιτιλεῖ, κἂν σήμερον, κἂν αὔριον, κἂν ὁποτεροῦν μετάσχῃ τῆς κοινωνίας. *Ibid.* p. 612.

[g] Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τραπέζῃ ἑκάτερον γίνεται πάσχα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ τύπου, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. *Chrysost. de prodit. Jud.* Hom. i. tom. 2. p. 383. Ἐκ' αὐτῆς τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ τὸ τυπικὸν πάσχα ὑπέρχραψι, καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν προσίθηκι. *Ibid.*

[h] Τὸ πνευματικὸν πάσχα. *Ibid.*

[i] Τὸ Θεῖον καὶ ἀληθινὸν πάσχα. *Isidor. Pelus.* lib. iv. Epist. 162. p. 504. ed. Paris.

[k] Aliud est *pascha* quod adhuc Judæi de ove celebrant, aliud autem quod nos in corpore et sanguine Domini accipimus. *Augustin. contr. Lit. Petiliani*, lib. ii. cap. 37.

[l] Coloss. ii. 11.

[m] Hence *Missa Catechumenorum*, and *Missa Fidelium*. See Cangius's Glossarium in *Missa*; and Casaubon. Exercit. xvi. n. 59. p. 418. alias 582.

so easily do words shift their sense, and adopt new ideas. From signifying Church service in general, it came at length to denote the *Communion service* in particular, and so that most emphatically came to be called *the Mass*. St. Ambrose is reasonably supposed to be the earliest writer now extant, who mentions *mass* in that emphatical sense[n]. Higher authorities have been pretended: but they are either from the spurious Decretal Epistles, or from *liturgical* offices of *modern* date in comparison[o].

So much for the *ancient names* of the Sacrament: not that I took upon me to number up all, but those only which appeared to me most considerable. More may be seen in Hospinian, Casaubon, Suicer, or Turretin, collected into one view, with their proper authorities. It is time for me now to proceed directly to the consideration of the *Sacrament* itself; in the mean while hoping that my readers will excuse it, if I have hitherto detained them too long in the *preliminaries*, intended to open and clear the way to the main subject.

CHAP. II.

Of the Institution of the Holy Communion.

IT will be proper to begin with the *institution* of this Sacrament by Christ our Lord, as recorded by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul. It is an argument of the great weight and importance of it, that we have it *four* times recorded in the New Testament, only with some slight variations, while what one or more omit, another supplies. The most complete as well as shortest view of the whole may be taken by throwing all into one, in some such manner as here follows.

Matth. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

"The night in which the *Lord Jesus* was betrayed, as

[n] Missam facere cœpi. *Ambros. Epist.* 20. *ad Marcellin.* p. 853. ed. Bened.

[o] Compare Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 262, 272, &c. Bingham, b. xiii. chap. 1.

" they were eating, or did eat, Jesus took bread, and giv-
" ing thanks, blessed it, and brake it, and gave it unto his
" disciples, and said; *Take, eat, this is my body, which is*
" *given and broken for you; do this in remembrance of me.*
" After supper likewise, having taken the cup, and given
" thanks, he gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of this,*
" *for this cup is my blood of the new covenant, the new co-*
" *venant in my blood, which is shed for you, for many, for*
" *the remission of sins: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it,*
" *in remembrance of me,* (and they all drank of it.) *Verily*
" *I say unto you, I will drink no more of this fruit of the*
" *vine, until that day, when I shall drink it new with you*
" *in the kingdom of my Father, in the kingdom of God.*
" And when they had sung an hymn, they went out to
" the mount of Olives."

The circumstance of *time* is the first thing here observable: it was "in the night in which he was betrayed[p]" that our Lord instituted this holy Sacrament. Our Lord designed it (besides other uses) for a standing *memorial* of his *passion:* and to show the more plainly that he did so, or to render it the more affecting, he delayed the *institution* to the last period of his life.

A more material circumstance is, that he began the institution *as they were eating*, or after they had been eating: here the question is, what had they been *eating?* It is commonly supposed the *paschal lamb*. For St. Matthew in the same chapter relates, that on the first day of *unleavened* bread, the disciples came and asked, "Where
" wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Passover?"
And the Lord made answer, that he would "keep the
" Passover with his disciples," and the disciples actually prepared the Passover[q]. St. Mark reports the same[r]. St. Luke confirms it, and adds this further circumstance, that our Lord, upon his sitting down to supper, said, "With
" desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you, be-

[p] 1 Cor. xi. 23.
[q] Matt. xxvi. 17, 18, 19.
[r] Mark xiv. 12—16.

" fore I suffer[s]." Nevertheless, it seems from St. John's account, that the day of the legal *Passover* was not yet come, that it was " before the feast of the Passover" that our Lord had his *supper*[t]; that part of Friday, passion-day, was but the *preparation*[u] of the paschal feast. These seeming differences have occasioned very long and intricate disputes between Greeks and Latins, and among learned men both ancient and modern, which remain even to this day. I shall not presume to take the place of a moderator in so nice a debate, but shall be content to report as much as may serve to give the reader some notion of it, sufficient for my present purpose. There are three several schemes or opinions in this matter. 1. The most *ancient* and most *prevailing* is, that our Lord kept the *legal* Passover, and on the *same day* with the Jews: and those who are in this sentiment, have their probable *solutions* with respect to St. John's accounts, while they claim the three other Evangelists as entirely theirs. 2. The second opinion is, that our Lord *anticipated* (for weighty reasons) the *time* of the Jewish Passover, and so kept his before theirs: or rather, he kept his Passover at the true *legal* time, when the Jews (or some at least of the Jews) postponed theirs *illegally*. This opinion has also its *difficulties*, and the maintainers of it have contrived some plausible *solutions*. 3. The third opinion is, that our Lord kept no *Passover* properly so called, but had a *supper*, and afterwards instituted the Eucharist, the *mystical* or *Christian* Passover; called *Passover* in such a sense as *Baptism* is called *Circumcision*, succeeding in its room. This last opinion had some patrons of old time, and more of late, and seems to gain ground. I shall here transcribe what a learned and judicious writer of our own has lately pleaded in behalf of it, though it may be thought somewhat prolix. It is in his notes on Matt. xxvi. 17[x].

" Here occurs a question and a difference between the

[s] Luke xxii. 15. [t] John xiii. 1, 2. [u] John xix. 14. compare xviii. 28.
[x] Dr. Wall's Critical Notes on the New Testament, p. 33.

" words of St. John and the other *three*, concerning the " day of the week on which the Jews kept the Passover " that year 4746. A. D. 33. It is plain by all the four " Gospels, that this day on which Christ did at night eat " the *Passover* (or what some *call* the Passover) was " Thursday. And one would think by reading the *three*, " that that was the night on which the Jews did eat their " *Passover lamb*. But all the texts of St. John are clear, " that they did not eat it till the next night, *Friday night*, " before which night Christ was crucified and dead, hav- " ing given up the ghost about the ninth hour, *viz.* three " of the clock in the afternoon. St. John does speak of a " *supper* which Christ did eat on *Thursday night* with his " Apostles, chap. xiii. 1, 2. but he does not call it a *Pass-* " *over supper*, but on the contrary says it was *before the* " *feast of the Passover*, πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα: by which, " I think, he means *the day before the Passover*, or the *Pass-* " *over eve* as we should say. Now this was the *same* " *night*, and the *same supper* which the *three* do call the " *Passover*, and Christ's *eating the Passover*. I mean, it " was the night on which Christ was (a few hours after " supper) apprehended; as is plain by the last verse of " that 13th chapter. But the next day (*Friday*, on which " Christ was crucified) St. John makes to be the *Passover* " *day*. He says, (chap. xviii. 28.) the Jews would not go " into the judgment-hall on *Friday morning*, lest they " should be defiled, but that they might *eat the Passover*, " *viz.* that evening. And chap. xix. 14. speaking of *Fri-* " *day noon*, he says, it was the *preparation of the Passover*. " Upon the whole, John speaks not of eating the *Passover* " at all: nor indeed do the *three* speak of his eating any " *lamb*. Among all the expressions which they use, *of* " *making ready the Passover; prepare for thee to eat the* " *Passover; with desire have I desired to eat this Passover* " *with you*, &c. there is no mention of any *lamb* carried " to the *temple* to be slain by the Levites, and then " brought to the house and roasted: there is no mention " of any food at the supper beside bread and wine: per-

" haps there might be bitter herbs. So that this seems to " have been a *commemorative supper* used by our Saviour " instead of the proper *paschal supper*, the eating of a " lamb; which should have been the next night, but that " he himself was to be sacrificed before that time would " come. And the difference between St. John and the " *other* is only a difference in *words*, and in the *names* of " things: they call that the *Passover*, which Christ used " *instead* of it.

" If you say, why then does Mark xiv. 12. call *Thurs-* " *day* the *first day* of *unleavened* bread, when they *killed* " *the passover*, and Luke xxii. 7. the day of *unleavened* " bread when the *passover must be killed?* we must note, " that their day (or νυχθήμερον) was from *evening* to *even-* " *ing*. This Thursday evening was the *beginning* of that " natural day of twenty-four hours, towards the *end* of " which the *lamb* was to be killed: so it is proper in the " Jews' way of calling days to call it that day." Thus far Dr. Wall.

Deylingius, a learned Lutheran, has more minutely canvassed the same question, and maintained the same side[y]. I shall not take upon me to say positively which of the three opinions is the best, or clogged with fewest difficulties. If the last of the three be preferred, then the Eucharist is as properly the *Christian Passover*, as baptism is the *Christian Circumcision;* and we have the authority of our Lord himself, or of his disciples, for so calling it, if they gave that *name* to the whole transaction. But whatever *hypothesis* we follow, there will be proof sufficient that the *Eucharist* succeeded in the room of the *Passover*, like as *Baptism* succeeded in the room of *Circumcision*.

It appears to be well agreed among the learned of all parties, that the Christian *Eucharist* succeeded in the place of the Jewish *Passover:* and good use has been often made of the observation, for the explaining the *nature* of

[y] Deylingius, Observat. Sacr. tom. i. p. 233—249. Lipsiæ 1720. Compare his Observationes Miscellaneæ. Lips. 1736. where he again strongly maintains the same opinion, from p. 239 to p. 248.

the Eucharist, as well as the *phrase* of the institution. Buxtorf has laboured with most advantage in this argument in his two tracts, (one against Scaliger[z], and the other against Cappellus[a],) and has so exhausted the subject, especially as to what concerns the *forms* and *phrases*, that he seems to have left but small gleanings for those that come after him. Yet some additional improvements have been since thrown in by learned hands[b]. The *resembling* circumstances common to the Jewish and *Christian Passover* may be divided into two kinds: some relating to the *things* themselves, some to the *phrases* and *forms* made use of here and there. It may not be improper to present the reader with a brief detail of those *resembling* circumstances.

I. Of the first sort are these: 1. The Passover was of *Divine* appointment, and so is the Eucharist. 2. The Passover was a *sacrament*, and so is the Eucharist. 3. The Passover was a *memorial*[c] of a great deliverance from temporal bondage; the Eucharist is a *memorial* of a *greater* deliverance from *spiritual* bondage. 4. The Passover *prefigured* the death of Christ[d] before it was accomplished, the Eucharist *represents* or *figures* out our Lord's death now past. 5. The Passover was a kind of *federal* rite between God and man, so also is the Eucharist. 6. As no one was to eat of the Passover before he had been *circumcised*[e], so no one is to partake of the Eucharist before he has been *baptized*. 7. As the Jews were obliged to come *clean* to the Passover[f], so are Christians obliged to come well *prepared* to the Communion[g]. 8. As slight *defilements* (where there was no *contempt*) did not *debar* a man from the Passover, nor *excuse* his neglect of it[h], so neither

[z] Buxtorf. Dissertat. vi. de Cœnæ Dominicæ primæ Ritibus et Forma.

[a] Vindiciæ Exercitat. de Cœna Domini adv. Lud. Cappel. p. 338, &c.

[b] Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. p. 165, &c. Bucherus, Antiqu. Biblicæ, p. 360, &c.

[c] Exod. xii. 14. xiii. 9. Deut. xvi. 3.

[d] Vid. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 415, &c.

[e] Exod. xii. 43—48.

[f] Num. ix. 6.

[g] 1 Cor. xi. 27, 28, 29.

[h] Num. ix. 10. 2 Chron. xxx. 18.

do smaller offences, where there is an *honest* heart, either forbid or excuse a man's absenting from this sacrament. 9. As a *total* contempt or neglect of the Passover was crime great enough to render the offender liable to be "cut off from Israel[i]," so a total contempt or neglect of the holy Communion is in effect to be *cut off* from Christianity. 10. As the Passover was to *continue* as long as the Jewish law should stand in force, so must the Eucharist *abide* as long as Christianity[k]. I have thrown these articles together in a short compass for the present, only to give the reader a brief *general* view of the *analogy* between those two Sacraments; and not that he should take the truth of every particular for granted, without *farther proof*, if any thing of moment should be hereafter built upon any of them.

II. The other sort of *resembling* circumstances concern the particular *forms* and *phrases* made use of in the *institution:* and it is in these chiefly that the great masters of Jewish antiquities, before referred to, have obliged the Christian world. I shall offer a short summary of these likewise.

1. In the *paschal* supper, the master of the house *took bread* and *blessed* it in a prayer of thanksgiving to God: and the rule was, never to begin the blessing till he had the bread *in hand*, that so the prayer of benediction directed to God, might at the same time be understood to have *relation* to the *bread*, and might draw down a *blessing upon it*[l]. It is obvious to see how applicable all this is to our Lord's conduct in the first article of the *institution.*

2. The *breaking* of the bread, after benediction, was a customary practice in the Jewish feasts[m]: only in the *paschal* feast, it is said, that the bread was first *broken* and

[i] Exod. xii. 15. Num. ix. 13. Confer. Bucher. Antiqu. p. 402.

[k] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

[l] See Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. p. 171, &c. Bucherus, Antiq. Evangel. p. 368, &c. Buxtorf. de Cœna Domini, p. 310.

[m] Buxtorf. 313. Bucherus, 372.

the benediction followed[n]. But whether our Lord varied *then*, in a slight circumstance, or the Jews have varied *since*, may remain a question.

3. The *distributing* the bread to the company, after the *benediction* and *fraction*, was customary among the Jews[o]: and here likewise our Lord was pleased to adopt the like ceremony.

Several learned men have suggested[p], that the words "this is my body" might be illustrated from some old Jewish forms made use of in the Passover feast; as, *This is the bread of affliction*, &c. and, *This is the body of the passover:* but Buxtorf (who best understood these matters) after considering once and again, constantly rejected the former, and demurred to the other instance[q], as not *pertinent*, or not *early* enough to answer the purpose: and Bucherus[r], who has carefully reexamined the same, passes the like *doubtful* judgment; or rather rejects both the instances as *improper*, not being found among the Jewish *rituals*, or being too *late* to come into account. So I pass them by. Justin Martyr, I cannot tell how, was persuaded, that Esdras, at a Passover, had said to the Jews, *This passover* (*i. e.* paschal lamb) *is our Saviour and our refuge*[s], and that the Jews after Christ's time had erased the passage out of the Septuagint. He was certainly mistaken in his report: but the words are worth the observing, as discovering what the Christians in his time thought of the *Passover*, as a *type* of Christ, and how they understood *paschal* phrases, parallel to "this is my body," &c.

[n] Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. xiii. sect. 7. p. 964. and on Matt. xxvi. 26. p. 259. Pfaffius, p. 178.

[o] Buxtorf. 316. Bucherus, 374.

[p] See particularly Pfaffius de Oblat. p. 179. And Deylingius, (Miscellan. Sacr. p. 228, &c.) who refers to such authors as have espoused the *first* of the instances, after Baronius and Scaliger.

[q] Buxtorf. Dissert. vi. de Cœna, p. 301. Dissert. vii. Vindic. p. 347, 348.

[r] Bucherus, Antiq. Evangel. p. 375, 278. Compare Deylingius, (Miscellan. Sacr. p. 228, &c.) who absolutely rejects one, and doubts of the other.

[s] Καὶ ἔστιν Ἔσδρας τῷ λαῷ, τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ καταφυγὴ ἡμῶν. *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 292. edit. Thirlby. Conf. Wolfius, 1 Cor. v. 7.

4. The words, "this do in remembrance of me," making part of the *institution*, are reasonably judged to allude to the ancient *paschal* solemnities, in which were several *memorials*[t]: and the service itself is more than once called a *memorial* in the Old Testament, as before noted.

5. In the ancient *paschal* feast, the master of the house was wont to take cup after cup (to the number of *four*,) into his hands, consecrating them one after another by a short thanksgiving; after which each consecrated cup was called a *cup of blessing*. It is judged by the learned in Jewish antiquities[u], that the *third* or *fourth* cup (Buxtorf is positive for the *fourth*) was what our Lord was pleased to sanctify, by taking it into his hand, and giving thanks over it. It is doubted what the words *after supper* mean; whether *in the close* of the paschal supper, as some think[x], or *after they had eaten bread*, as others construe[y]: but the difference is not of moment, and so I pass on.

6. At the institution of the passover it was said, "The "blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where "you are; and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, "and the plague shall not be upon you[z]," &c. The *blood* was the *token* of the covenant in that behalf, between *God* and his *people*; as circumcision before had been a *token*[a]

[t] Ἀνάμνησις ritus Hebræorum redolet: habebant namque Judæi, in celebratione *agni paschalis*, plures ejusmodi ἀναμνήσεις et recordationes, &c. *Bucherus*, p. 379.

[u] Pfaffius de Oblat. Euch. p. 173. Buxtorf. in Lexic. Talmud. p. 614, 616. Dissert. vi. p. 300. Lightfoot on Matt. xxvi. 27, p. 259. Bucherus, p. 380—384. Zornius Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 14, &c. Hooper on Lent, part ii. cap. 3. p. 173.

[x] Lightfoot, p. 259, 260.

[y] Τὸ μετὰ δειπνῆσαι [1 Cor. xi. 25.] non vertendum est, *post cœnam communem*, qualis nunquam fuit, sed *remote post cœnam paschalem*: vel, quod vero similius est, proxime et immediate *post esum panis consecrati*; cui expositioni respondet recensio historica Luc. xxii. 20. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, *postquam comederant*, scil. *panem consecratum*, quam versionem sequuntur Arabs et Persa. Sic Græcis δεῖπνον quidem ἰδίως *cœnam*, sed παχυλῶς et καταχρηστικῶς sæpe *cibum* et quodvis *epulum* connotat; qua notione Hesiodus dixit δεῖπνον ποιεῖν, *comedere*, cibum sumere, &c. *Bucher.* p. 362.

[z] Exod. xii. 13. [a] Gen. xvii. 11.

also of a like *covenant*, and called *covenant*[b] as well as *token*. In the institution of the *Communion*, our Lord says, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood which "is shed for you, for many, for the remission of sins." The *cup* is here by a figure put for *wine*; and *covenant*, according to ancient Scripture phrase, is put for *token* of a covenant; and wine, *representative* of Christ's blood, answers to the blood of the Passover, *typical* of the same blood of Christ[c]: and the *remission of sins* here, answers to the *passing over* there, and preserving from *plague*. These short hints may suffice at present, just to intimate the *analogy* between the Jewish Passover and the Christian Eucharist in the several particulars of moment here mentioned.

7. At the paschal feast there was an *annunciation*, or *declaration*[d] of the great things which God had done for that people: in like manner, one design of the Eucharist is to make a *declaration* of the mercies of God in Christ, to "show the Lord's death till he come."

8. Lastly, at the close of the paschal supper, they were wont to sing an *hymn*[e] of praise: and the like was observed in the close of the *institution* of the Christian Eucharist; as is recorded in the Gospels.

The many *resembling* circumstances, real and verbal, which I have here briefly enumerated, do abundantly show that this *holy Eucharist* was in a great measure copied

[b] Gen. xvii. 10. *This is my covenant*, &c. and v. 13. my *covenant* shall be in your flesh, &c.

[c] Deus speciali mandato *sacrificia* et *primitias* offerendas ordinavit, maxime *effusionem sanguinis*, ut ab initio homines haberent unde *effusionis* per *Christum tacite* recordari possent. Dan. ix. 24. Heb. ix. et x. Rom. iii. Præter cæteras oblationes Deo factas, commemorabilia sunt sacrificia in festo *expiationum*.——Tum quoque sacrificium *agni paschalis*, et *quotidiani*, seu *jugis sacrificii*, attendi debet. *Hos* igitur ad *ritus* et *oblationes* alludit Christus cum ait, Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμα μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Observant præterea viri docti *vinum rufum*, quale in illis regionibus crescebat, ac in primis in *cœna paschali* bibebatur, egregiam nobis *sanguinis* memoriam relinquere. *Bucher. Antiq. Evan.* p. 389.

[d] See Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 778. Pfaffius, p. 181.

[e] See Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 258, 260. Pfaffius, p. 181.

from the *paschal feast*, and was intended to *supply its place*, only heightening the design, and improving the application. The use of the observation may appear afterwards, when we come to consider more minutely either the *general* intent or the particular *parts* of this Christian service.

CHAP. III.

Of the Commemoration or Remembrance of Christ in the Holy Communion.

SINCE the *end* or *design* of any thing is always considered as *first* in *view*, antecedent in natural order to the performance, so the rules of just method require, that in treating of this Sacrament we should begin with some account of the proximate *end* and *design* of it; namely, the *commemoration* or *remembrance* of Christ, "This do in remembrance of me[f];" and particularly of his *death* and *passion*, "shew the Lord's death *till he come*[g]." I call it the *proximate* or immediate end, because the *ultimate* end of all is the *happiness of man*, or, what is coincident therewith, the *glory of God*. Our blessed Lord seeks not his *own* glory, but the *good* of his creatures, in all that he appoints them to do. He is not capable of receiving *advantage*, or any *real* addition to his own *glory*, by any of our *commemorations* or *services:* but all these things are graciously appointed for our present and future *benefit;* and we may be confident that Christ, the Captain of our salvation, would prescribe nothing in a *particular* manner, which does not as *particularly* contribute to that end. Some Divines, of a refined and elevated way of thinking, will not allow that God can have any *end* but *himself*, in any thing that he does, because he can have no *higher:* but then they do not mean that God proposes to himself any *increase* of happiness or of *essential* glory, to which

[f] Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

[g] 1 Cor. xi. 26. Τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου καταγγέλλετε ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ.

nothing can be *added;* but that, as he is naturally *benevolent*, and as he takes delight in his *own* being and attributes, (the most *worthy* of his love,) so he delights in the *exercise* of his goodness, and chooses it as worthy of *himself*, and, in this sense, acts only for himself. In such a sense as this, our blessed Lord may be said to have acted for *himself*, or for his *own glory*, in what he did for mankind: but it can in no sense be allowed, that he receives any *advantage* by what *we say* or *do;* and therefore the *ultimate* end (so considered) of our commemorations or services is the *benefit* accruing from thence to *ourselves:* what they are we shall see in due time and place. This being premised for clearer conception, or to prevent mistakes, I now proceed.

The commemoration of *our Lord's dying for us* includes two things; the consideration of him as *Lord*, and as *dying;* one expressing his *personal dignity*, the other expressing his *meritorious* sufferings relative to us. The *first* of the two may suffice for the present: the *second* may be reserved for a distinct chapter.

I here take for my ground the words of our Lord; "This do in remembrance of me." The Greek words εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν may bear three several renderings (or four). 1. *In remembrance of me.* 2. *In commemoration of me.* 3. *For a memorial of me*, or, *for my memorial.* They differ not *much* in sense, but yet as they do *differ*, they may deserve a *distinct* consideration. The *second* includes the first; and the *third* includes both the former, not *vice versa:* so they rise, as it were, in sense, and are so many distinct gradations, as shall be shown presently.

I. I begin with the first and lowest, this do "in remem- "brance of me." The Socinians, (some of them at least,) not content with supposing this *remembrance* or *commemoration* to be *one* considerable *end* or part of this Sacrament, make it to be the *only* end or use of it[h]; yea and sometimes go so far as to say, that it constitutes the very *na-*

[h] Et hæc quidem quam explicuimus, *mortis Christi annuntiatio* proprius est, atque *unicus* Cœnæ Dominicæ finis &c. *Volkel. de Cœn. Dom.* p. 687.

ture or *essence* of this holy rite: for they interpret the words, "this is my body," so as to mean, this *action*, this eating and drinking, is the *memorial* of Christ's body broken [i], &c. Which is overdoing, and neglecting to distinguish between the *thing* itself, and the *end* or *design* of it; between what is done, and for what purpose it is done. We eat bread and we drink wine in the Sacrament, the symbols of Christ's body and blood; and we do so for this reason, among others, that Christ may be *remembered*, and the *merits* of his passion celebrated. But this I hint by the way only, and pass on to what I design. *Remembrance* of Christ is undoubtedly a *principal* end of this Sacrament. It is not declared by the *institution* itself, in what view, or under what capacity we are here to remember him; but that must be learned from other places of Scripture, which declare *who* and *what* he is: for certainly we are to *remember* him in such a light as the Old and New Testament have represented him in. This appears to be an allowed principle on all hands: for none think themselves obliged to stop in the bare words of the *institution*, without carrying their inquiries farther into the whole compass of Scripture, when they see proper. The Socinians themselves will not scruple to allow that Christ may or ought to be *remembered* in the Sacrament as *Lord*, in their sense, or as *Master*, or *Saviour*, or *Head*, or *Judge*, though there is not a word of *Lord*, or *Master*, or *Saviour*, or *Head*, or *Judge*, in the bare form of the *institution* as delivered by Christ: but those names or titles are to be fetched from other places of Scripture. Therefore, I say, it is allowed by all parties, that we ought to remember Christ, in the holy Communion, according to *what he is*,

[i] Hæc *actio* frangendi et comedendi panem, est *corpus*, hoc est *commemoratio* Christi corporis pro nobis fracti. *Smalc. cont. Frantz.* p. 315.

Corpus Christi et sanguinem Christi pro *memoriali signo* corporis Christi fracti, et sanguinis fusi sumimus: *commemorationem* autem, istius sacri ritus *finem usumque* esse dicimus. *Schlinting. contr. Meisn.* p. 761. Ritus istius *naturam* in panis fractione et esu, et e poculo potu, perque hæc in mortis Christi *representatione* quadam, sitam esse dicimus. *Ibid.* p. 785, 786.

by the Scripture account of him. This foundation being laid, I go on to the superstructure: and for the more distinct conception of what this *remembrance* implies or contains, I shall take leave to proceed by several steps or degrees.

1. It is not sufficient to remember Christ merely as a very *great* and *good* man, a *wise* instructor, and an *admirable* teacher, while he lived, received up into celestial *bliss* and *glory* when he died: for all this comes vastly short of what *sacred Writ* declares of him; and is indeed no more (if so much) than what the Pagans themselves, the Platonists, particularly of the *second* and *third* centuries, were ready to admit. For, being struck with the fame of his undoubted *miracles*, and with the inimitable force of his admirable *precepts*, *holy* life, and *exemplary* death, they could not but revere and honour his *memory*; neither could they refuse to assign him a place among their chief *sages* or *deities*[k]. And all the plea they had left for not receiving Christianity was, that his *disciples* (as was pretended) had revolted, or degenerated, and had not duly observed the wholesome instructions of their high leader[l]. Those Pagan *philosophers* therefore, as I said, *remembered* Christ, in as *high* a view as this article amounts to: a Christian remembrance must go a great deal *higher*.

[k] See this particularly proved in a very learned and curious dissertation, written by Laurence Mosheim, and lately inserted, with improvements, into his Latin translation of Cudworth, vol. ii. Confer. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 18. Christum, Servatorem nostrum, virum magnum, divinum, et sapientissimum fuisse non inficiabantur, qui egregia et divina plane docuisset, cumque a Judæis injustissimo supplicio necatus fuisset, in cœlum *ad Deos* commeasset. *Moshem. ibid.* p. 23. Hence perhaps it was, that the Emperor Alex. Severus, (of the third century,) along with the images of Apollonius and Orpheus, had others of Abraham and Jesus Christ, receiving them as *deities*. *Lamprid. Vit. Severi.*

[l] Descivisse scilicet a sanctissimi præceptoris sui scitis Christianos Platonici criminabantur——atque castam et sanam ejus disciplinam variis erroribus inquinasse.——1. Quod *divinis* Christum *honoribus* afficerent; nec enim a suis id postulasse Christum. 2. Quod *Deos* negligerent, et eorum cultum extinctum vellent; Christum enim ipsum a Diis haud alienum fuisse. *Moshem. ibid.* p. 24.

2. It is not sufficient to remember Christ merely as an eminent *prophet*, or one of the *chief* prophets, an *ambassador* from *heaven*, and one that received his *Gospel* from above, wrought *miracles*, lived a good *life*, was *deified* after death, and will come again to *judge* mankind: for all this the Mahometans themselves (or some sects amongst them) can freely own, and they pay a suitable regard to his *memory* on that score[m]. It is all vastly below what the Scriptures plainly testify of him, and therefore does not amount to a Christian remembrance of him.

3. Neither yet is it sufficient to remember Christ as our *Head*, *Lord*, and *Master*, to whom we owe such regard as *disciples* do to their *leader* or *founder*: for all this is no more than what the Jews justly ascribed to Moses, who was but the *servant* of Christ[n]. And it is no more than what many *nominal* Christians, ancient and modern, many half-believers have owned, and what all but declared *apostates* or *infidels* must own. And it comes not up to what the Scriptures fully and frequently teach, and therefore does not amount to a *due* remembrance of him.

4. Neither, lastly, is it sufficient to remember Christ as *higher* than the *angels*, or *older* than the system of the world: for that is not more than many *misbelievers*, of former or of later times, have made no scruple to own, and it is still *short* of the Scripture accounts.

For, according to the whole tenor both of Old and New Testament, Jesus Christ is not merely our *Lord*, *Master*, *Judge*, &c. but our *Divine* Lord and Master; *Lord* in such a sense as to be *Jehovah* and *God of Israel*, God before the creation, and by whom *all* creatures were made[o]; who "laid the foundation of the earth," and even the "heavens are the works of his hands[p];" who has a rightful claim to be *worshipped* and adored, by *men*, by *angels*[q], by the "whole creation[r]." And no wonder,

[m] See Reland. de Religione Mohammedica, p. 25, 33, 34, 44, 45, 212, 224. David Millius. Dissert. x. de Mohammedismo, p. 344, 345, 346.

[n] Heb. iii. 2—6. [o] John i. 1, 2, 3. [p] Heb. i. 10.

[q] Heb. i. 6. [r] Rev. v. 13.

since he is described in sacred Writ, as "God with us[s]," as "Lord God[t]," "true God[u]," "great God[x]," "mighty "God[y]," "over all, God blessed for ever[z]." Such is the Scripture account of our blessed *Lord*, and his *personal* dignity; and therefore as such we ought to *remember* him as often as we think of him, and more particularly at the *Communion table*. For since the *value* of what our Lord has done or suffered rises in proportion to the *dignity* of the person so doing or suffering, it is manifest that we cannot *duly* or *suitably* remember him in the Sacrament, if we entertain not those *high* and *honourable* conceptions of him, which such his *personal dignity* demands. If the sending of the *only-begotten Son* into the world, to suffer, bleed, and die for us, was really the highest instance of *Divine* love which could possibly have been given: and if we are obliged, in return, to express our thankfulness in a way *suitable* thereto: and if such a suitable return is altogether impracticable without a *just* sense of the favour granted; and if no *just* sense can be had of it, while we take away the most endearing and enforcing consideration, which most of all enhances the *value* of it: if these *premises* be true, the *conclusion* is plain and necessary, that as often as we *remember* Christ in the Eucharist, we ought to remember him not barely as a *wise* man, or a *good* man, or an eminent *prophet*, or *chief martyr*, or as our particular *Master*, or *Founder*, or *Redeemer*, but as an *almighty* Saviour and Deliverer, as the *only-begotten* of the Father, "very God of very God," of the same *Divine* nature, of *glory equal*, of *majesty coeternal*. He that remembers him in any *lower* sense than this, in *opposition* to this, is not worthy of him; neither can he be esteemed by sober and discerning Christians, as a worthy partaker of the holy Communion.

[s] Matt. i. 23. [t] Luke i. 16, 17. [u] 1 John v. 20.
[x] Tit. ii. 13. [y] Isa. ix. 6. [z] Rom. ix. 5.

The reader who desires to see these several texts explained, and objections answered, may please to compare my Eight Sermons, and particularly the sixth.

To confirm this reasoning drawn from Scripture texts, I shall subjoin some *human*, but very *ancient* authorities. They are what all writers, so far as I can perceive, in some degree value, and think it an *honour* to have, if they can but contrive any colourable pretensions to them[a]: and it is only when disappointment makes them despair, that they affect to contemn what they cannot arrive to. Justin Martyr is a very early writer, born about the year 89, (as appears probable,) and writing within forty or fifty years of the latest Apostle. It is worth the while, to know what so early and so considerable a person thought of a *Christian Sacrament*, which he had so often frequented; especially when he gives us a formal, solemn account of it, in the name of his *Christian brethren*, and in an address to the Emperor. "This food we call the *Eucharist*, of which "none are allowed to be partakers but such only as are "*true believers*, and have been baptized in the *laver of re-*"*generation* for the *remission of sins*, and *live* according "to Christ's *precepts*. For we do not take this as *common* "bread and *common* wine: but as Jesus Christ our Sa-"viour was *made flesh* by the *Logos* of God, and had *real* "flesh and blood for our salvation, so are we taught that "this food, which the very same *Logos* blessed by prayer "and thanksgiving, is turned into the nourishment and "substance of our flesh and blood, and is in some sense "the flesh and blood of the *incarnate* Jesus[b]." I chose to follow Mr. Reeves's translation of this passage, though somewhat *paraphrastical*, because he has very well hit off the sense. What I have to observe upon it, as suitable to my present purpose, is, that particular notice is twice taken of the *incarnation* of the *Logos*, (that is, of *God incarnate*, according to Justin's known doctrine of the *Logos* being *God*,) and the Sacrament is not only supposed to

[a] See my Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, vol. v. p. 320, 321.

[b] Justin Martyr. Apol. i. cap. 86. p. 96. edit. Thirlby. Reeves, vol. i. p. 120, 121.

be a *commemoration*[c], but a kind of *emblem* of it by Justin's account[d], as the intelligent reader will observe. The reason is, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is the Sacrament of the *passion*[e], and God the Son, by becoming incarnate, first became *passible*. All which will be made plainer by another passage of the same Justin, in his Dialogue with the Jew[f], which is as follows: "That prayers "and thanksgivings, made by those who are *worthy*, are "the only *sacrifices* that are perfect and well pleasing to "God, I also affirm: for these are the only ones which "Christians have been taught to perform even in that "*remembrance* [or memorial] of their food both dry and "liquid, wherein also is commemorated the *passion* which "*God of God* suffered in his own person, [or *for them.*"] I have no need to take notice here of more than is to my present purpose. The words *God of God* are what I point to, as a proof that the *Divinity* of Christ was an important article of the Eucharistical *remembrance*. If any should incline to read *Son of God*, (upon conjecture, for it is no more,) instead of *God of God*, in that place, it will still amount to the same, because Justin always understood the phrase of *Son of God* in the highest and strongest sense, as meaning *God of God*[g]. But I see no necessity of admitting any new *conjectural*

[c] Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τι σωματοποιήσασθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν δι' οὕς καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε. *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 290.

[d] How his was understood, see explained in a Charge on the Doctrinal Use of the Sacraments, p. 25.

[e] Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθυς ἃ ἔπαθεν. *Ibid.* p. 220.

[f] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν αἱ εὐχαὶ, καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτὸς φημί. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθυς ὁ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται. *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 387.

A conjectural emendation has been offered, directing us to read δι' αὐτοὺς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Mede*, Opp. p. 362. Thirlby in loc. I see not why ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεῦ may not mean the same with ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ: perhaps ἐκ might have been negligently dropped. The learned editor ingenuously says, *istud* Θεὸς *admodum sane invitus muto, propter sequentia.*

[g] Ὃς καὶ λόγος πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει. p. 94. conf. 406, 408, 411.

change of ὁ Θεὸς into ὁ υἱὸς, since Θεὸς is very frequently our Lord's title in Justin [h], yea, and ὁ Θεὸς more than once [i]. But I proceed.

I shall subjoin a passage of Origen, containing the like elevated sentiments of the remembrance made in the holy Communion. "Thou that art come to Christ, (the true "High Priest, who by his blood has reconciled God to "thee, and thee to the Father,) rest not in the blood of the "flesh, but consider rather *the blood of the Logos*, and "hear him declaring, *This is my blood which shall be shed "for you, for remission of sins:* the initiated in the mys- "teries well understand both the flesh and the blood of "*God the Word* [k]." So I translate the last words, as most agreeable to Origen's usual phraseology: but if any one chooses rather to say, *Logos of God*, it comes to the same thing. The sum is, that the life and soul, as it were, of the Eucharistical *remembrance*, lies in the due consideration of the *Divine* dignity of the Person whose passion we there remember [l]. And indeed every man's own reason must convince him that it must be so, if he ever seriously calls to mind the Scripture accounts of our blessed Lord, which I have above recited. Hitherto I have confined myself to the strict notion of *remembrance*.

II. I am next to advance a step farther to *commemoration*, which is remembrance and somewhat more. For to a bare remembering it superadds the notion of *extolling*,

[h] Just. Mart. p. 204, 210, 233, 250, 261, 263, 265, 273, 291, 303, 328, 408, 409.

[i] Just. Mart. p. 251, 326, 378.

[k] Tu qui ad Christum venisti, (Pontificem verum qui sanguine suo Deum tibi propitium fecit, et reconciliavit te patri) non hæreas in sanguine carnis; sed disce potius *sanguinem Verbi*, et audi ipsum tibi dicentem, quia *hic sanguis meus est*, qui pro vobis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Novit qui mysteriis imbutus est, et carnem et sanguinem *Verbi Dei*. *Origen. in Levit.* Hom. ix. p. 243, 244. ed. Bened. Conf. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 186. τὸν λόγον ἐκχιόμενον &c.

[l] Great use was afterwards made of this consideration in the Nestorian controversy: of which see Cyrill. Alex. Ep. ad Nestor. p. 72. et Anathem. xi. cum Explanat. p. 156. Item Apologet. advers. Oriental. p. 192, 193.

honouring, *celebrating*, and so it is collecting all into one *complex* idea of *commemorating*. This do "in commemo-"ration of me:" which is the *second* rendering of the same words. Some perhaps might wonder why the Socinians, of all men, should reject the notion of *remembering*, and choose that of *commemoration*, (which is really *higher*,) yea, and should strongly insist upon it, and make it a point. They certainly do so, as may appear from their own writings[m]: and what is stranger still, they assign such odd reasons for it, that one would scarce think them in earnest, if we were to look no farther. For what if St. Paul does speak of *declaring*, or *showing* our Lord's *death*, may not ἀνάμνησις still signify *remembrance*? Is it not proper first to *remember*, and then to *declare*; or to *declare* it now, in order to *remember* for the future? Why should one *exclude* the other, when both are consistent, and suit well together? And though a person is supposed, before his coming to the holy Communion, to have the Lord's death in mind, confusely, or in the *general*, may he not still want to have it *more* in mind, and to remember it in *particular*, with all its circumstances, upon a close recollection, assisted by an *external* solemnity performed before his eyes? Besides, if we should not want

[m] Apparet, *graviter errasse* illos qui existimarunt verbum *commemorationem*, quod in Græco est ἀνάμνησιν, mutari debere in *recordationem*: neque enim dicit Paulus mortem Domini *recordamini*, sed mortem Domini *annuntiatis*, quod profecto non *recordationem*, sed *commemorationem* et *prædicationem* omnino significat——non est quod quis ex verbo illo (ἀνάμνησις) colligat cœnam Domini in *eum finem* institutam fuisse, ut nobis suggerat et in *memoriam revocet* mortem ipsius Domini——*Commemoratio* autem ista, et *prædicatio* mortis Christi, id necessario conjunctum habet, ut gratiæ agantur Christo, tum vero *Deo*, *patri ejus*, cujus mandato animam suam posuit. *Socin. de Usu et Fin. Cœnæ Domini*, p. 4, 5.

Quod nonnulli per *commemorationem* in verbis Christi quibus ritum hunc instituit, *recordationem* intelligunt, vel hanc pro illa vocem reponunt, arbitrantes in *eum finem* ritum hunc sacrum esse institutum, ut nobis mortem Domini *in memoriam revocet*, in eo *manifeste errant*: cum qui ritum hunc sacrum obire recte velit, ac mortem Domini hac ratione *annuntiare*, eum Christi mortis probe et semper *memorem* esse oporteat. *Cracov. Catechism.* sect. vi. cap. 4. p. 229. Conf. Slichting. in 1 Cor. xi. 25. et contr. Meisner. p. 805, 814, 816. Wolzogen. in Matth. xxvi. p. 416.

to *call it to mind*, yet we may want *to keep it in mind* for the future: and who sees not how serviceable the sacramental solemnity may be for that very purpose? Add to this, that it is particularly said with respect to the Passover, "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover, &c. that thou "mayest remember the day when thou camest out of "Egypt, all the days of thy life[u]." Which is exactly parallel, so far, to the *remembrance* appointed in the Eucharist. How trifling would it be to urge, that the Israelites were supposed to *remember* the *day* before their coming to the Passover, and therefore could have no need to refresh their *memories* by coming; or to urge, that because they *ought* always to *bear it in mind*, therefore it could not be one *end* or *use* of the Passover, to *remind* them of it, or to keep it in *remembrance* all their days.

One may judge from hence, that Socinus's pretended reasons against the notion of *remembrance* were mere shuffle and pretence, carrying more of *art* and *colouring* in them, than of *truth* or *sincerity*: he had a turn to serve in favour of an *hypothesis*, and that was all. The turn was this: he had a mind to make the ἀνάμνησις (which is one *end*, or *use*, or *part* of the Sacrament) to be the *whole* of the Sacrament, its whole *nature* and *essence*, as I before hinted, and to interpret the words, "this is my body" and "this my blood," to mean, this *bread* and *wine*, or rather this *action*, is an ἀνάμνησις, a *commemoration*, and nothing more. He could not pretend to say, that this *material* thing, or this *external* action, is a *remembrance*, (which denotes an *internal* perception,) and therefore he substitutes *commemoration* in its stead, an *outward* act, an *external* service, and then resolves the *whole* of the Sacrament into that, confounding the *end* or *use* of the thing with the *thing* itself. This was his fetch; and so he hoped to be rid at once of all supposed present *graces* or *benefits* accruing to *worthy* receivers, making the *sign* and *thing signified* to be all one, and indeed to be *sign* only.

[u] Deut. xvi. 2, 3.

However, though Socinus had no good views in interpreting ἀνάμνησις by *commemoration*, and was undoubtedly wrong in excluding *remembrance;* yet setting aside his foreign fancies, it is very right to interpret the word by *commemoration;* but so as to *include* both an inward *remembrance* of benefits, and an outward *celebration* of the same, together with *devout* praises and thanksgivings to Christ our Lord for them, and to all the three Persons of the ever blessed Trinity. It is scarce possible for a considerate devout mind to stop short in a bare *remembrance*, (though remembrance is always supposed, and is by this sacred solemnity reinforced,) but it will of course break out into thankful praises and adorations. We accept therefore of what Socinus and his brethren so much contend for, that the Greek ἀνάμνησις, in this case, does amount to a *commemoration*, and is better rendered by that word than by *remembrance;* because the *word* will bear it, and because the circumstances show that *remembrance* alone, without *commemoration* superadded, is short of the *idea* intended by it.

I may further note, though it is but the natural and obvious consequence of what I have before said, that this commemoration must be understood in as *high* and as *full* a sense, as the *remembrance* spoken of above: we must commemorate our Lord in a manner suitable to his *Divine* nature and dignity, and according to *what he is* by the Scripture accounts. We must commemorate him as *God*, purchasing the Church with his *own blood*[o]. We must commemorate his *passion* as St. Paul has done, and in like words with these; "Who, being in the form of God, "thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made "himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form "of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and "being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, "and became obedient unto death, even the death of the

[o] Acts xx. 28. For the reading of the text, see Mill. in loc. and Pearson on the Creed, p. 129. and Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. p. 213. and Pfaffius de Var. Lect. p. 161.

"cross[p]." In another place, the same Apostle, speaking of the "redemption by the blood" of Christ, and of his making "peace through the blood of the cross," closes one, and ushers in the other, with a large account of the supereminent *dignity* of his *Person*, as "born before the "creation;" adding, that "all things were created by "him, and for him, and by him consist[q]." This is the right way of celebrating or commemorating his *passion*, as it is declaring the infinite *value* of it. To speak of him only as *man*, or as a *creature*, though otherwise in a devout way, is not *honouring*, but *dishonouring* him and his sufferings; is not *commemorating*, but *blaspheming* his name. St. Paul, in another place, going to speak of our Lord's *passion*, introduces it with a previous description of his *personal* dignity: "appointed heir of all things, by "whom also he made the worlds; who being the bright-"ness of his glory, and the express image of his Person, "and upholding all things by the word of his power, "when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on "the right hand of the majesty on high[r]." But as remarkable a passage as any, is that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Apostle, to enhance the *value* of Christ's sufferings, expresses himself thus: "If the blood "of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprink-"ling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: "how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through "the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, "purge your conscience from dead works to serve the "living God[s]?" By *eternal Spirit*, I understand Christ's *Divine nature*, as the most judicious interpreters do[t]: and so from hence it is plain how the *merit* of Christ's sufferings rises in proportion to the dignity of the Person; and

[p] Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8. See my fifth Sermon, vol. ii. Second Defence, vol. iii. p. 209. and Third Defence, vol. iv. p. 70.

[q] Coloss. i. 14—20. Compare my Sermons, vol. ii. p. 34, &c. 90, &c.

[r] Heb. i. 2, 3.

[s] Heb. ix. 13, 14.

[t] See Bull. Opp. p. 19. and Wolfius in loc.

it is the *Divinity* that stamps the *value* upon the suffering *humanity*. And hence also it is that St. John so emphatically observes, that it is the blood of Jesus Christ *his Son* (that Son whom the Apostle every where describes under the most lofty characters, as particularly John i.) which "cleanseth us from all sin[u]." Such is the Scripture way of *commemorating* our Lord and his passion, and such the way of all the ancient churches of God: be this our pattern, as it ought to be, for our *commemorations* in the holy Communion.

III. But I observed, that there was a *third* or a *fourth* rendering of the same words, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν: *for a memorial of me;* or, *for my memorial,* which is more strictly literal. This rendering is not much different from the two former, but contains and includes both: for a *memorial* supposes and takes in both a *remembrance* and a *commemoration.* Whether it superadds any thing to them, and makes the *idea* still *larger* or *fuller,* is the question. If it carries in it any tacit allusion to the *sacrificial* memorials of the Old Testament, it may then be conceived to add to the idea of *commemoration* the idea of *acceptable* and *well pleasing,* viz. to Almighty God. I build not upon ἀνάμνησις being twice used in the Septuagint as the name for a *sacrificial* memorial[x]; for the *usual* sense of the word, in the same Septuagint, is different, having no relation to *sacrifice:* but thus far may be justly pleaded, from the nature and reason of the thing, that the *service* of the Eucharist (the most proper part of *evangelical worship,* and most *solemn* religious act of the Christian Church) must be understood to ascend up "for a memorial before "God," in as strict a sense, at least, as Cornelius's alms and prayers were said so to do[y]; or as the "prayers of "the saints" go up as sweet odours, mystical *incense*[z],

[u] 1 John i. 7.

[x] Levit. xxiv. 7. Numb. x. 21.

[y] Acts x. 4.

[z] Rev. v. 8. viii. 3, 4. Psalm cxli. 2. Compare Malach. i. 11. Vid. Vitringa, in Apocalyps. p. 214, &c. 333, &c. Dodwell, Incensing no Apostolical Tradition, p. 36, 37, 38.

before God. Indeed, the *incense* and sacrificial memorials of the Old Testament were mostly *typical* of evangelical *worship* or *Christian services*, and were *acceptable* to God under that view; and therefore it cannot be doubted but the true rational *incense*, viz. Gospel services, rightly performed, (and among these more especially the *Eucharistical service*,) are the acceptable *memorials* in God's sight. Whether there was any such *allusion* intended in the name ἀνάμνησις, when our Lord recommended the observance of the Eucharist as *his memorial*, cannot be *certainly* determined, since the name *might* carry in it such an allusion, or might be *without it*: but as to the *thing*, that such *worship* rightly performed has the *force* and *value* of any *memorial* elsewhere mentioned in Scripture (*sacrificial* or other) cannot be doubted; and the rest is not worth disputing, or would make too large a digression in this place.

Before I dismiss the word ἀνάμνησις, it may not be improper to note, that it occurs but once more in the New Testament, where St. Paul speaks of the "commemora-"tion of sins[a]," made once a year, under the Old Testament, on the great day of expiation; when the High Priest was to "confess all the iniquities of the children of Israel, "and all their transgressions in all their sins[b]." There was ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν, *commemoration of sins*: but under the Gospel it is happily changed into ἀνάμνησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *commemoration of Christ*. There *sins* were remembered; here *forgiveness* of sins: a remarkable privilege of the Gospel economy above the *legal*. Not but that there was *forgiveness* also under the Old Testament, *legal* and *external* forgiveness *by the law*, and *mystical* forgiveness *under the law*, by virtue of the sacrifice of Christ foreordained, and fore-shadowed: but under the Gospel, forgiveness is clearly and without a figure declared, and for *all sins* repented of; and there is *no remembrance* of them

[a] Ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. Heb. x. 3.

[b] Vid. Levit. xvi. 21.

more[c]; no *commemoration* of them by *legal* sacrifices, but instead thereof a continual *commemoration* of Christ's sacrifice for the "remission of sins," in the Christian Sacraments. There must indeed be *confession* of sins, and *forsaking* them also under the Gospel dispensation: but then it is without the burden of *ritual* expiations and *ceremonial* atonements: for the *many* and *grievous* sacrifices are all converted into one easy (and to every good man delightful) *commemoration* of the all-sufficient sacrifice in the holy Communion. But I return.

Hitherto I have been considering the Eucharistical commemoration as a memorial *before God*, which is the highest view of it: but I must not omit to take notice, that it is a memorial also *before men*, in the same sense as the *paschal* service was. Of the Passover it is said; "This day "shall be unto you for a memorial, and you shall keep it "a feast to the Lord[d]." It is here called a *feast* to the Lord, and a *memorial* to the people: not but that it was a *memorial* also to *the Lord*, in the large sense of memorial before mentioned, (as every *pious* and *grateful* acknowledgment to *God* for mercies received is.) But in the *stricter* sense of *memorial*, it was such only to the people. It is farther said in the same chapter, of the paschal service; "Ye shall observe this thing for an ordi- "nance to thee and to thy sons for ever.—And when "your children shall say unto you, What mean you by "this service? ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the "Lord's Passover, who passed over the houses of the "children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyp- "tians, and delivered our houses[e]." And in the next chapter[f]; "It shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, "and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's "law may be in thy mouth," &c. In such a sense as this, the service of the Eucharist is a *memorial* left to the Church of Christ, to perpetuate the *memory* of that *great*

[c] Jer. xxxi. 34. [d] Exod. xii. 14.
[e] Exod. xii. 24, 26, 27.
[f] Exod. xiii. 9. compare Deut. xvi. 3.

deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan (of which the former deliverance from Egyptian bondage was but a *type*) to all succeeding generations. By this solemn service, besides other uses, God has admirably provided for the bulk of mankind, that they may be constantly and visibly *reminded* of what it so much concerns them both to know and attend to. It is to the illiterate instead of books, and answers the purpose better than a thousand monitors without it might do. Jesus Christ is hereby "set forth crucified[g]," as it were, *before their eyes*, in order to make the stronger impression.

I may further observe, that as all the *Passovers*, after the *first*, were a kind of representations and commemorations of that *original*[h], so all our *Eucharistical* Passovers are a sort of commemorations of the *original* Eucharist. Which I the rather take notice of, because I find an ancient *Father*, (if we may depend upon a Fragment,) Hippolytus, who was a disciple of Irenæus, representing the thing in that view: for commenting on Prov. ix. 2. "Wisdom hath furnished her table," he writes thus: "Namely, the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity; "and also his precious and undefiled *body* and *blood*, which "are daily administered at the mystical and sacred *table*, "sacrificed for a *memorial* of that *ever memorable* and *ori-* "*ginal* table of the mystical Divine Supper[i]." Upon which words I may remark, by the way, that here is mention made of the *body* and *blood* as *sacrificed* in the Eucharist twenty or thirty years before Cyprian, if the Fragment be certainly Hippolytus's, and then it is the *earliest* in its kind, though not higher than the *third* century. As to his making all succeeding Eucharists *memorials* of the *first*, the notion interferes not with their being

[g] Gal. iii. 1.

[h] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 44.

[i] Καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν· τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος κατεπαγγελλομένην. Καὶ τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιτελοῦνται, θυόμενα εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῆς ἀειμνήστου καὶ πρώτης ἐκείνης τοῦ μυστικοῦ θείου δείπνου. *Hippolyt.* vol. i. p. 282. ed. Fabric.

memorials also of our *Lord* and his *passion*, as before explained, but all the several views will hang well together.

Thus far I have been considering the Christian Eucharist as a *remembrance*, and a *commemoration*, and a *memorial* of Christ our Lord. I could not avoid intermixing something here and there of our Lord's *death* and *passion*, which have so close an affinity with the subject of this chapter: nevertheless that article may require a more *distinct* consideration, and therefore it may be proper to have a *separate* chapter for it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Commemoration of the Death of our Lord made in the Holy Communion.

IT is not sufficient to commemorate the *death* of Christ, without considering what his death *means*, what were the *moving* reasons for it, and what its *ends* and *uses*. The subtilties of Socinus and his followers have made this inquiry necessary: for it is to very little purpose "to show "the Lord's death till he come," by the service of the Eucharist, if we acknowledge not *that Lord* which the Scriptures set forth, nor *that death* which the New Testament teaches. As to *Lord*, who and what he is, I have said what I conceived sufficient, in the preceding chapter: and now I am to say something of that *death* which he suffered, as a willing *sacrifice* to Divine *Justice* for the *sins* of mankind. It is impossible that a man should come ***worthily*** to the holy Communion, while he perverts the prime *ends* and *uses* of the *sacrifice* there commemorated, and sets up a *righteousness* of his *own*, independent of it, frustrating the *grace* of God in Christ, and making him to have "died in vain[i]."

[i] Quidam vero, quomodo aliquando Judæi, et Christianos se dici volunt, et adhuc ignorantes *Dei* justitiam, *suam* volunt constituere, etiam temporibus nostris, temporibus apertæ gratiæ, &c.——Quod ait Apostolus de *lege*,

The *death* of Christ, by the Scripture account, was properly a vicarious *punishment* of sin, a true and proper *expiatory sacrifice* for the *sins* of mankind: and therefore it ought to be *remembered* as such, in the *memorial* we make of it at the Lord's table. I shall cite some texts, just to give the reader a competent notion of the Scripture doctrine in this article; though indeed the thing is so plain, and so frequently inculcated, from one end of the Scriptures to the other, that no man (one would think) who is not previously disposed to deceive himself, or has imbibed strong prejudices, could either reject it or misconceive it.

1. That the sufferings of Christ had the nature of *punishments*, rather than of mere *calamities*, is proved from what is said by the Prophet Isaiah, as follows: "He "hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.—He was "wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our "iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon "him, and with his stripes we are healed.—The Lord "hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.—For the trans-"gression of my people was he stricken.—When thou "shalt make his soul an offering for sin, &c. He was "numbered with the transgressors, and bare the sin of "many[k]." What can all these words mean, if they amount not to *punishment* for the sins of mankind? Evasions have been invented, and they have been often refuted.

To the same purpose we read in the New Testament, that "he was delivered for our offences[l]," that he "died "for all," was "made sin for us," when he "knew no "sin[m];" "was made a curse for us[n]," "died for our

hoc nos istis dicimus de *natura*; si per *naturam* justitia, ergo Christus *gratis* mortuus est. *Augustin. Serm.* xiii. *in Johan.* vi. Opp. tom. v. p. 645, 646. edit. Bened.

[k] Isa. liii. 4—12. conf. Outram. de Sacrific. p. 319, &c.—328. 1 Pet. ii. 24. and Outram, p. 329, &c.

[l] Rom. iv. 25. [m] 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, 21. John xi. 51, 52.

[n] Gal. iii. 13.

" sins [o]," " gave himself for our sins [p]," " tasted death for " every man [q]," and the like. To interpret these and other such texts of dying for our *advantage*, without relation to *sin* and the *penalty* due to it, is altogether forced and unnatural, contrary to the custom of language, and to the obvious import of very plain words.

2. That our blessed Lord was in his death a proper *expiatory* sacrifice, (if ever there was any,) is as plain from the New Testament as words can make it. He gave " his " life a ransom for many [r]," was " the Lamb of God" which was to " take away the sins of the world [s]," " died " for the ungodly [t]," " gave himself a ransom for all [u]," once " suffered for sins, the just for the unjust [x]," " gave " himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a " sweet smelling savour [y]." " Christ our Passover was " sacrificed for us [z]," " offered up himself [a]," " to bear " the sins of many [b]," has " put away sin by the sacrifice " of himself [c]." We have been " redeemed with the pre- " cious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and " without spot [d]." These are not mere *allusions* to the sacrifices of the Old Testament, but they are interpretative of them, declaring their *typical* nature, as prefiguring the *grand sacrifice*, and centering in it: which, besides other considerations, appears very evidently from the whole design and tenour of the Epistle to the Hebrews; signifying, that the legal sacrifices were *allusions* to, and *prefigurations* of the *grand* sacrifice.

3. That from this sacrifice, and by virtue of it, we receive the benefit of *atonement*, *redemption*, *propitiation*, *justification*, *reconciliation*, *remission*, &c. is no less evident from abundance of places in the New Testament.

[o] 1 Cor. xv. 3.
[p] Gal. i. 4.
[q] Heb. ii. 9.
[r] Matt. xx. 28.
[s] John i. 29.
[t] Rom. v. 6.
[u] 1 Tim. ii. 6, 8.
[x] 1 Pet. iii. 18. compare ii. 21. iv. 1.
[y] Ephes. v. 2.
[z] 1 Cor. v. 7.
[a] Heb. vii. 27. x. 12. ix. 14.
[b] Heb. ix. 28.
[c] Heb. ix. 26. compare x. 12.
[d] 1 Pet. i. 19.

"Through our Lord Jesus Christ we have received the "atonement," and "we are reconciled to God by his "death [e]." "Him God hath set forth to be a propitia- "tion through faith in his blood [f]." "He is the propitia- "tion for our sins,—for the sins of the whole world [g]." "We are justified by his blood [h]," "redeemed to God "by his blood [i]," "cleansed from all sin by his blood [k]," "washed from our sins in his blood [l]:" and the *robes* of the *saints* are *washed* and *made white* only in the *blood* of the Lamb [m]. By himself he "purged our sins [n]," *viz.* when he shed his blood upon the cross: and our *redemption* is through his *blood* [o]. He hath *reconciled* us to *God* by the *cross* [p], "in the body of his flesh through death [q]." "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, "not imputing their trespasses unto them [r]." His *blood* was "shed for many, for the remission of sins [s]," "and "without shedding of blood is no remission [t]." It is this "blood of sprinkling" that "speaketh better things than "the blood of Abel [v]:" and it is by the "blood of Jesus" that men must *enter* into "the holiest [u]," as many as enter. I have thrown these texts together without note or comment; for they need none, they interpret themselves. Let but the reader observe, with what variety of expression this great truth is inculcated, that our salvation chiefly stands in the *meritorious* sufferings of our Saviour Christ. The consideration whereof made St. Paul say, "I determined not to know any thing among you, save "Jesus Christ, and him crucified [x]:" namely, because this was a most *essential* article, the very sum and substance of the Gospel. "In these and in a great many "more passages that lie spread in all the parts of the

[e] Rom. v. 10, 11. [f] Rom. iii. 25. [g] 1 John ii. 2. iv. 10.
[h] Rom. v. 9. [i] Rev. v. 9. [k] 1 John i. 7.
[l] Rev. i. 5. [m] Rev. vii. 14. [n] Heb. i. 3.
[o] Ephes. i. 7. compare 1 Cor. vi. 20. Coloss. i. 14.
[p] Eph. ii. 16. [q] Coloss. i. 22. [r] 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.
[s] Matt. xxvi. 28. [t] Heb. ix. 22. [v] Heb. xii. 24.
[u] Heb. x. 19. [x] 1 Cor. ii. 2.

" New Testament, it is as plain as words can make any " thing, that the *death* of Christ is proposed to us as our " *sacrifice* and *reconciliation*, our *atonement* and *redemption*. " So it is not possible for any man, that considers all this, " to imagine, that Christ's death was only a *confirmation* " of his Gospel, a *pattern* of a holy and patient suffering " of death, and a necessary *preparation* to his resurrec- " tion.—By this all the *high commendations* of his death " amount only to this, that he by *dying* has given a vast " credit and authority to his Gospel, which was the pow- " erfullest mean possible to redeem us from sin, and to re- " concile us to God. But this is so contrary to the " *whole design* of the New Testament, and to the *true* " importance of that great *variety of phrases*, in which " this matter is set out, that at this rate of expounding " Scripture we can never know what we may build upon; " especially when the *great importance* of this thing, and " of our having right notions concerning it, is well con- " sidered[y]."

The least that we can infer from the texts above mentioned is, that there is some very particular *virtue*, *merit*, *efficacy*, in the *death* of Christ, that God's *acceptance* of sinners, though *penitent*, (not *perfect*,) depended entirely upon it. Common sacrifices could never " make the " comers thereunto perfect[z]:" but it was absolutely *necessary* that the *heavenly things* should be *purified* with some *better sacrifice*[a]. Which is so true, that our Lord is represented as *entering* into the holy of holies (that is heaven) " by his own blood[b]," where " he ever liveth " to make intercession for" those that " come unto God " by him[c]." The *efficacy* even of his intercession above

[y] Bishop Burnet on Article II. p. 70, 71.

[z] Hebr. x. 1.

[a] Hebr. ix. 23.

[b] Hebr. ix. 12. Note, it is not only said that Christ entered into heaven by his *own* blood, but he is there also considered as the *Lamb slain:* Rev. v. 6. Which farther shows wherein principally the *virtue* of his *intercession* consists.

[c] Hebr. vii. 25. conf. Rom. viii. 33, 34. Hebr. ii. 17. ix. 24. 1 John ii. 2.

(great and powerful as he is) yet depends chiefly upon that circumstance, his having entered thither by "his own "blood;" that is to say, upon the *merit* of his death and passion, and the *atonement* thereby made. His *intercession* belongs to his *priestly* office, and that supposes the *offering* before made: for there was a *necessity* that he should "have somewhat to offer[d]," and nothing less than *himself*[e]. Seeing therefore that, in order to our *redemption*, Christ suffered as a *piacular* victim, (which must be understood to be *in our stead*,) and that there was some *necessity* he should do so, and that his prevailing *intercession* at God's right hand now, and to the end of the world, stands upon that ground, and must do so; what can we think less, but that some very momentous reasons of *justice* or of *government* (both which resolve at length into one) required that so it should be. We are not indeed competent judges of all the reasons or measures of an all-wise God, with respect to his dealings with his creatures; neither are we able to argue, as it were, *beforehand*, with sufficient certainty, about the *terms* of acceptance, which his *wisdom*, or his *holiness*, or his *justice*, might demand. But we ought to take careful heed to what he has *said*, and what he has *done*, and to draw the proper conclusions from both. One thing is plain, from the terms of the *first covenant*, made in Paradise, that Divine wisdom could have admitted man *perfectly innocent* to perfect happiness, without the intervention of any *sacrifice*, or any *Mediator*: and it is no less plain, from the terms of the *new covenant*, that there was some *necessity* (fixed in the very reason and nature of things) that a *valuable* consideration, atonement, or *sacrifice*, should be offered, to make *fallen man* capable of eternal glory[f].

[d] Hebr. viii. 3. v. 1.

[e] Hebr. ix. 14, 25, 26, 28. Compare i. 3.

[f] Si non fuisset peccatum, non necesse fuerat filium Dei agnum fieri, nec opus fuerat eum in carne positum jugulari, sed mansisset hoc quod in principio erat, *Deus verbum*: verum quoniam intravit peccatum in hunc mundum, peccati autem necessitas *propitiationem* requirit, et propitiatio non fit

The truth of the thing *done* proves its *necessity*, (besides what I have alleged from *express* Scripture concerning such *necessity*,) for it is not imaginable that so great a thing would have been done upon earth, and afterwards, as it were, constantly *commemorated* in heaven[g], if there had not been very strong and pressing *reasons* for it, and such as made it as *necessary*, (in the *Divine* counsels,) as it was necessary for a God of infinite perfection to be *wise* and *holy*, *just* and *good*. When I said, *constantly commemorated in heaven*, I had an eye to Christ's *continual intercession*[h], which is a kind of *commemoration* of the sacrifice which he once offered upon the cross, and is always *pleading* the *merit* of. Which shows still of what exceeding great moment that *sacrifice* was, for the reconciling the *acceptance* of *sinful* men, with the *ends* of *Divine government*, the manifestation of *Divine glory*, and the unalterable perfection of the *Divine attributes*. And if that *sacrifice* is represented and pleaded in *heaven* by Christ himself, for remission of sins, that shows that there is an *intrinsic* virtue, value, merit in it, for the purposes intended: and it shows farther, how rational and how proper our *Eucharistical* service is, as *commemorating* the same *sacrifice* here below, which our Lord himself *commemorates* above. God may reasonably require of us this *humble* acknowledgment, this self-abasement, that after we have done our best, we are *offenders* still, though *penitent* offenders, and have not done all that we ought to have done; and that therefore we can claim no-

nisi per *hostiam*, necessarium fuit provideri hostiam pro peccato. *Origen. in Num.* Hom. xxiv. p. 362.

[g] Est ergo duplex, ut *legalium* quarundam victimarum, ita *Christi* oblatio, prior *mactationis*, altera *ostentionis* legalium victimarum; *prior* peracta in *templo*, altera in ipso *penetrali*: Christi *prior* in *terris*, posterior in *cœlo*. Prior tamen illa non sacrificii præparatio, sed sacrificium: posterior non tam sacrificium, quam *sacrificii facti commemoratio*. *Grot. de Satisfact.* in fine.

[h] Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, (which are the figures of the true,) but into *heaven* itself, now to *appear* in the *presence of God for us*. *Hebr.* ix. 24.

thing in virtue of our *own righteousness* considered by itself, separate from the additional virtue of that *all-sufficient* sacrifice, which alone can render even our *best* services accepted [i].

If it should be objected, that we have a *covenant claim* by the Gospel, and that that covenant was entirely owing to *Divine mercy*, and that so we resolve not our right and title into any strict merits of our own, but into the *pure mercy* of God, and that this suffices without any respect to a *sacrifice:* I say, if this should be pleaded, I answer, that no such *covenant claim* appears, separate from all respect to a *sacrifice*. The covenant is, that persons so and so *qualified* shall be acceptable *in* and *through* Christ, and by *virtue* of that very *sacrifice* which he entered *with* into the holy of holies, and by which he now *intercedes* and *appears* for us. Besides, it is not right to think, nor is it modest or pious to say, that in the economy of every man's salvation, the *groundwork only* is God's, by settling the covenant, and the *finishing* part ours, by performing the conditions; but the true order or method is for our Lord to be both the *Author* and *Finisher* of the whole. The *covenant*, or rather, the *covenant charter*, was given soon after the fall to mankind in general, and has been carried on through successive generations by new stipulating acts in every age: so likewise was the *atonement* made (or *considered* as made) *once for all*, but is *applied* to particulars, or individuals, *continually*, by means of Christ's constant abiding *intercession*. Therefore it is not barely our performing the *conditions*, that *finishes* our salvation, but it is our Lord's *applying* his merits to our *performances* that finishes all. Perhaps this whole matter may be more clearly represented by a distinct enumeration of the several concurring means to the same end. 1. The Divine *philanthropy* has the first hand in our salvation, is the *primary* or *principal* cause. 2.

[i] See our XIth Article, with Bishop Burnet's Notes upon it, and Mr. Welchman's.

Our performing the duties required, *faith* and *repentance*, by the aid of Divine grace, is the *conditional* cause. 3. The *sacrifice* of Christ's death, recommending and rendering *acceptable* our imperfect performances, is the *meritorious* cause. 4. The Divine *ordinances*, and more particularly the two Sacraments, (so far as distinct from *conditional*,) are the *instrumental*[k] causes, in and by which God *applies* to men fitly disposed the *virtue* of that sacrifice. Let these things be *supposed* only, at present, for clearer conception: *proofs* of every thing will appear in due time and place. By this account may be competently understood the end and use of *commemorating* the sacrifice of our Lord's passion in the *holy Communion*. It corresponds with the commemoration made *above:* it is suing for pardon, in virtue of the *same* plea that Christ himself sues in, on our behalf: it is acknowledging our indispensable *need* of it, and our *dependence* upon it; and confessing all our other righteousness to be as *nothing* without it. In a word, it is at once a service of *thanksgiving* (to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) for the *sacrifice* of our redemption, and a service also of *self-humiliation* before God, angels, and men.

If it should be objected here, that *showing forth* our Lord's death, cannot well be understood of *showing* to God, who wants not to have any thing *shown* to him, all things being naked before him; it is obvious to reply, that he permits and commands us, in innumerable instances, to *present* ourselves and our *addresses* before him: and though the very word καταγγέλλειν, which St. Paul makes use of in this case[l], is not elsewhere used for *showing to God*, yet ἀναγγέλλειν, a word of like import, is[m]; so that there is no just objection to be drawn merely

[k] I understand *instrument* here in no other sense, but as deeds of conveyance, or *forms* of investiture, such as a *ring*, a *crosier*, *letters patent*, *broad seal*, and the like, are called *instruments:* which shall be explained hereafter.

[l] 1 Cor. xi. 26. Τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε.

[m] Ἀναγγέλλω σήμερον Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου. κ. τ. λ. *Deut.* xxvi. 3. Conf. Psal. xxxviii. 18.

from the phraseology. As to the reason of the thing, since *addresses to God* have always gone along with the *representation* made in the Communion, and are part of the *commemoration*, it must be understood that we *represent*, what we do represent, *to God*, as well as to men.

Having thus dispatched what I intended concerning the *remembrance*, *commemoration*, or *memorial* of our Lord, and of his passion, made in this Sacrament, I might now proceed to a new chapter. But there is an incidental point or two to be discussed, which seem to fall in our way, and which therefore I shall here briefly consider, before I go farther.

1. It has been suggested by some[n], that the notion of *remembrance*, or *commemoration*, in this service, is an argument against *present* receiving of *benefits* in, or by it: Christ and his benefits are to be *remembered* or *commemorated* here; therefore neither *he* nor his *benefits* are supposed to be *actually* received at the time. This is not the place proper for examining the question about *present* or *actual* benefits: but it may be proper, while we are stating the notion of *remembrance*, to obviate an objection drawn from it, in order to clear our way so far. I see no force at all in the argument, unless it could be proved that the word *remembrance* must always be referred to something *past*, or *absent:* which is a supposition not warranted by the customary use of language. "Remember thy Crea-" tor:" does it follow, that the Creator is not present? "Remember the Sabbath day" (when present, I suppose) "to keep it holy." Let *remembrance* signify *calling to mind*[o]; may we not call to mind *present* benefits, which

[n] Jam constat homines ibi non *participare*, vel *sortiri*, vel *accipere* sanguinem Christi: participatio enim, vel sortitio, *rei præsentis* est; at benedictio, quæ hoc loco idem est quod *commemoratio*, rei *præteritæ* esse solet. *Smalc. contr. Frantz.* p. 331.

Notandum *recordationem* rebus vere et realiter *præsentibus* nullo modo tribui posse: non enim dici possumus eorum recordari quibus tunc cum maxime præsentibus fruimur, cum *recordatio* mere ad *præterita* pertineat. *Przipcovius ad* 1 *Cor.* xi. 20. p. 91.

[o] Archbishop Tillotson, explaining the Scripture notion of *remembrance*,

are *invisible*, and which easily slip out of our thoughts, or perhaps rarely occur, being thrust out by *sensible* things? Or let it signify *keeping in mind;* if so, there is no impropriety in saying, that we keep in mind what is *present* and *not seen*, by the help of what *is seen*. Let it signify *commemorating:* may not a man commemorate a *benefaction*, suppose, which is in some sense *past*, but is *present* also in its *abiding* fruits and influences, which are the strongest motives for commemorating the same? Indeed it would be hard to vindicate the wisdom of *commemorating* what is *past*, or *absent*, were there not some *present* benefits resulting from it. I presume, if a *benefaction* were wholly lost or sunk, the usual *commemoration* of it would soon sink with it: the *present* benefits are what keep it up. We do not say that Christ's *death*, or Christ's *crucifixion*, is now *present;* we know it is *past:* but the *benefits* remain; and while we remember one as *past*, we *call to mind*, or *keep in mind*, the other also, as *present*, but *invisible*, and therefore easily overlooked. I see no impropriety in this manner of speaking: nor if a person should be exhorted to *remember* that he has a *soul* to be *saved*, that such an admonition would imply, that his soul is *absent* from his body.

2. Another incidental question, like the former, is, whether, from the notion of *remembrance* in this sacrament, a conclusive argument may be formed against the *corporal presence*, and particularly against *transubstantiation?* Notwithstanding that we have many clear demonstrations against that strange doctrine, yet I should be far from rejecting any *additional* argument, provided it were solid and just: but I perceive not of what use the word *re-*

says; "*Remembrance* is the *actual* thought of what we do *habitually* know. "—To *remember* a person, or thing, is to call them to mind upon all pro- "per and fitting occasions, to think *actually* of them, so as to do that which "the *remembrance* of them does require, or prompt us to." *Serm.* liv. p. 638. fol. edit.

I see not why *present* benefits may not thus be *remembered*, and deserve to be so, rather than *past*, or *absent*, or *distant* benefits.

membrance can be in this case, or how any certain argument can be drawn from it. The words are "remembrance of me:" therefore, if any *absence* can be proved from thence, it must be the absence of what ME there stands for, that is, of the *whole person* of Christ; and so it appears as conclusive against a *spiritual* presence, as against a *corporal* one, and proves *too much* to prove any thing. Surely we may *remember* Christ, in strict propriety of expression, and yet believe him to be *present* at the same time; especially considering that he is "always "present with his Church, even to the end of the world [p]," and that "where two or three are gathered together in "his name, there" is he "in the midst of them [q];" and he has often told us of his *dwelling* in good men. So then, since it is not said, remembrance of *my body*, but remembrance *of me*, and since it is certain, that one part at least of what ought to be *remembered* is *present*, (not absent,) therefore no argument can be justly drawn merely from the word *remembrance*, as necessarily inferring the *absence* of the thing remembered.

But if it had been said, *remembrance* of my *body*, or *blood*, yet neither so would the argument be conclusive, if we attend strictly to the Romish persuasion. For they do not assert any *visible* presence of Christ's *body*, or *blood*, but they say, that his natural body and blood are *invisibly*, or in a *spiritual manner*, present, under the *accidents*, or *visible* appearances of bread and wine. Now what is *invisible* is so far imperceptible, unless by the *eye of faith*, and wants as much to be *called to mind* as any *absent* thing whatsoever. Therefore *remembrance*, or calling to mind, might be very proper in this case: for what is out of *sight* may easily slip out of *mind*.

If any particular *restrained* sense of *remembrance* should be thought on, to help out the argument; there will still remain a great difficulty, namely, to prove that ἀνάμνησις, in the words of the institution, must necessarily be con-

[p] Matt. xxviii. 20. [q] Matt. xviii. 20.

fined to such a *restrained* sense: which being utterly uncapable of any certain proof, the argument built thereupon must of consequence fall to the ground. Seeing, therefore, that there are two very considerable flaws in the argument, as proving *too much* one way, and *too little* the other way, it appears not prudent to rest an otherwise clear clause upon so precarious a bottom, or to give the Romanists a very needless handle for triumph in this article, when we have a multitude of other arguments, strong and irresistible, against the *corporal* or local presence in the holy Communion.

As to the *continuance* of the Eucharistical service till our *Lord comes*, there is a plain reason for it, because the *Christian* dispensation is bound up in it, and must expire with it. And there is no necessity of supposing, as some do[r], any allusion to the *absence* of his *body*. The text does not say, *till his body appears*, but *till he come:* that is, till he comes to put an *end* to this sacramental service, (and to all other services proper to a state of probation,) and to assign us our reward. The reference is to the *ultimate end*, where this and all other *probationary* duties, as such, must *cease*, and to which they now *look*, expecting to be so *crowned* and completed: so that if there be an *antithesis* intended in the words, it is between *present service* and *future glory*, not between *present* and *absent* body.

However, though the argument will not bear in the view before mentioned, yet it is right and just to argue, that the *sign*, or *memorial* of any thing, is not the *very thing* signified or commemorated, but is *distinct* from it. Bread and wine, the *symbols* of Christ's natural body and blood, are not literally that very *natural* body and blood; neither is the *sacrament* of Christ's passion literally the *passion* itself: thus far we may argue justly against *tran-*

[r] Quia *futuri* adventus Domini mentio sit, palam est, quasi *absentis* desiderium, et ut ita dicam, defectum suppleri, hac representatione, et ob oculos positione *præteriti* ejus beneficii, donec *ipse adveniens* desiderium hoc nostrum impleat. *Przipcovius ad* 1 *Cor.* xi. 24.

substantiation, but supposing at the same time the *strict* sense of the word *sacrament* to be the true one. The argument is as good against the Socinians also, only by being transversed: for the *things* signified and commemorated are not the *signs*, or *memorials*, but something else. And therefore, to make out the true notion of sacramental *signs*, there must be *inward* and *invisible graces* as well as *outward visible signs*: of which more in the sequel.

Having done with the first and principal *end* of the Sacrament, namely, the *commemoration* of Christ as described in Scripture, and of his *death* according to the true *sacrificial* notion of it; I now proceed to show *how* this commemoration is performed, or by what kind of *service* it is solemnized, and what is farther intimated or effected in and by that service.

CHAP. V.

Of the Consecration of the Elements of Bread and Wine in the Holy Communion.

THE first thing we have to take notice of in the Sacramental service is the *consecration* of the elements: "Jesus took bread and blessed it[s]." "The cup of blessing which we bless[t]," &c. Here the points to be inquired into are, 1. Whether the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist are *really blessed, consecrated, sanctified*, and in what sense. 2. Supposing they are *blessed*, &c. by whom or how they are so. 3. What the *blessing* or *consecration* amounts to.

1. The first inquiry is, whether the elements may be justly said to be *blessed*, or *consecrated*: for this is a point which I find disputed by some; not many, nor very considerable. Smalcius, a warm man, and who seldom knew any bounds, seems to have been of opinion, that no proper, no sacerdotal *benediction* at all belonged to the bread

[s] Matt. xxvi. 26. [t] 1 Cor. x. 16.

and cup *before receiving*, nor indeed *after*; but that the communicants, upon receiving the elements, gave *praise* to God, and that was all the *benediction* which St. Paul speaks of[u]. So he denies that any *benediction* at all passed to the elements. And he asserts besides, that whatever *benediction* there was, it was not so much from the administrator, or officiating minister, as from the *communicants* themselves: for which he has a weak pretence from St. Paul's words, *we bless*, that is, says he, *we communicants* do it. Thus far Smalcius. But the cooler and wiser Socinians go not these lengths. Crellius expressly allows, that a *benediction* is conferred upon the *cup*, as it is *sanctified* by thanksgiving, and made a kind of *libation* unto God[x]. He goes farther, and distinguishes sacramental consecration from that of *common meals*, as amounting to a *sanctification* of the elements for high and sacred purposes[y]. The Racovian Catechism allows also of a *sanctification* of the elements, made by prayer and thanksgiving[z]. Wolzogenius, afterwards, seems to waver and fluctuate between *inclination* and *reason*, and scarce knows where to fix; sometimes admitting a *consecration* of the elements, and soon after resolving all

[u] Notandum insuper est, verba Pauli, *calix benedictionis*, non significare *calicem benedictum* (ut Frantzius, una cum Pontificiis, aliquid divinum sibi et suis hac re arrogantibus, interpretatur) sed calicem, *quo sumpto benedicimus*: mox enim additur, quem *benedicimus*, nempe *omnes* qui ad mensam Domini accedimus. *Valent. Smal. contr. Frantz.* p. 331.

[x] Benedictio autem ista refertur primum ad Deum et Christum, et in gratiarum actione (unde etiam hic ritus antiquitus *Eucharistiæ* nomen obtinuit) consistit: sed simul etiam *transit ad calicem*, quatenus divini nominis benedictione et gratiarum actione *sanctificatur* calix iste, et sic Domino quodammodo libatur. *Crellius in* 1 *Cor.* x. 16. Opp. tom. ii. p. 306.

[y] Non tantum eam gratiarum actionem, quæ etiam in *vulgari* ciborum et potus usu adhibetur, intelligi arbitramur, qua scilicet gratiæ aguntur pro poculo isto; sed maxime eam qua gratiæ aguntur *pro Christi fuso pro nobis sanguine*. Hac enim gratiarum actione imprimis poculum istud, quo ad Christi sanguinis fusionem repræsentandam utimur, *sanctificatur* et *consecratur*. *Crellius, ibid.* p. 306.

[z] Qui calici huic *benedicunt*, id est, *cum* gratiarum actione, et nominis Domini celebratione *sanctificant*, &c. *Racov. Catech.* sect. vi. c. 4. p. 237. edit. 1659.

into bare *giving of thanks* to God[a]. I suppose all his hesitancy was owing to his not understanding the notion of *relative holiness*, (which he might have admitted, as Crellius did, consistently with his other principles,) or to some apprehension he was under, lest the admitting of a real *sanctification* should infer some secret operation of the *Holy Ghost*. However, to make *Scripture* bend to any *preconceived* opinions is not treating *sacred* Writ with the reverence which belongs to it. St. Paul is express, that the *cup*, meaning the wine, is *blessed*, or sanctified, in the Eucharist: and if the *wine* be really *sanctified* in that solemn service, no man of tolerable capacity can make any question as to the *bread*, whether that be not *sanctified* also.

It is of small moment to plead that εὐχαριστεῖν and εὐλογεῖν are often used promiscuously, and that the former properly signifies *giving thanks*, and that bread and wine (for thus do some trifle) cannot be *thanked*: for since the words are often used promiscuously, and since εὐλογεῖν is taken *transitively* in this very case by the Apostle[b], it is next to self-evident that εὐχαριστεῖν, so far as concerns this matter, cannot be taken in a sense *exclusive* of that *transitive* signification of εὐλογεῖν: for to do that is flatly to contradict the Apostle. No doubt but either of the words may (as circumstances happen) signify no more than *thanking* or *praising* God; but here it is manifest, that, in this rite, both God is *praised* and the elements *blessed*: yea both are done at the same time, and in the self-same act; and the Apostle's authority, without any thing more, abundantly proves it. If the reader desires any thing farther, in so plain a case, he may please to consult three very able judges of Biblical language, or of Greek phrases; Buxtorf I mean, and Vorstius, and Casaubon, who have

[a] Vox *benedicendi*——significat usitatam illam gratiarum actionem, seu *consecrationem* panis, &c.——Calicem *benedicere* est, Deum pro potu, qui est in calice, extollere, eique gratias agere. *Wolzog. in Matt.* xxvi. 26. p. 408.

[b] 1 Cor. x. 16. Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν.

clearly and fully settled the true meaning of εὐχαριστεῖν and εὐλογεῖν, both in the *general*, and with respect to this *particular* case: I shall refer[c] to the two first of them, and shall cite a few words from the third[d]. But to cut off all pretence drawn from the strict sense of εὐχαριστεῖν, as importing barely *thanksgiving unto God*, it may be observed, that that word also is often used *transitively*[e], as well as εὐλογεῖν, and then it imports or includes *benediction*: so far from truth is it, that it must necessarily *exclude* it. I may farther add, that the *benedictions* used[f] in the *paschal* solemnity may be an useful comment upon the *benediction* in the Eucharist. There the *laying hand* upon the bread, and the *taking up* the cup, were significant intimations of a *blessing* transferred to the bread and wine, in virtue of the thanksgiving service at the same time performed. And by the way, from hence may be understood what St. Chrysostom observes upon 1 Cor. x. 16. "The cup of blessing, which we bless, &c." on which he thus comments: "He called it the *cup of blessing*, "because while we *hold it in our hands*, we send up our "hymns of praise to God, struck with admiration and "astonishment at the ineffable gift, &c.[g]" That circum-

[c] Buxtorf. de Cœna Domini, p. 311. Conf. Bucher. Antiq. Evangel. p. 369. Johan. Vorstius de Hebraism. N. T. part. i. p. 166, &c.

[d] Evangelistæ et Apostolus Paulus—duobus verbis *promiscue* utuntur, ad declarandam Domini actionem, εὐλογεῖν, et εὐχαριστεῖν.—utraque vox a parte una, totam Domini actionem designat: nam Christus in *eodem actu*, et Deum Patrem *laudavit*, et *gratias* ei egit, et hoc amplius panem *sanctificavit*; hoc est, *consecravit* in usum Sacramenti, &c. *Casaub. Exercit.* xvi. p. 517. Conf. p. 533. et Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. i. c. 4. p. 8, &c.

[e] Εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου—εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 96. conf. 98. ποτήρια εὐχαριστεῖν —— τοῦ (ποτηρίου) εὐχαριστημένου. *Iren.* lib. i. c. 13. p. 60. ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. p. 375.

Note, that for the expressing this *transitive* sense of the Greek word, some have contrived, not improperly, the English word *eucharistize*, importing *thanksgiving* towards God, but so as at the same time to express the *benediction* imparted to the elements in the same act.

[f] See above, chap. ii. p. 50.

[g] Ποτήριον δὲ εὐλογίας ἐκάλεσεν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀνυμνοῦμεν, θαυμάζοντες, ἐκπληττόμενοι τῆς ἀφάτου δωρεᾶς. κ. τ. λ.

Note, though Chrysostom here makes mention of hymns only, in account-

stance of holding the thing *in hand* while the *prayers* or *praises* were offering, was supposed to signify the derivation of a *benediction*, or *consecration* upon it. It is not material to dispute, whether the consecration formerly was performed by *thanksgiving*, or by *prayer*, or by *both* together: the *forms* might differ in different churches, or at different times. But the point which we are now considering is, whether a *benediction* is really *conveyed* to the elements in this service, and whether they are really *sanctified*, or *made holy*. That they are so, is plain from the testimony of St. Paul before recited.

2. As to Smalcius's pretence, before mentioned, concerning the *benediction* of the *communicants*, after their receiving the elements, it is a groundless fiction, and a violent perverting of the plain meaning of the text. In the paschal service, the *benediction* was performed by the *master* of the *feast*, (not by the *whole* company,) and before *distribution:* so was it likewise in the *institution* of this sacrament by *our Lord*. And all antiquity is consonant, that a *sacerdotal* blessing was *previous* to the delivering the sacred symbols [h], made *sacred* by that benediction. And this is confirmed from hence, (as before hinted,) that an *unworthy* communicant is guilty of *profane irreverence;* viz. towards what is supposed *holy*, before he receives it. As to St. Paul's expression, *we bless*, it means no more than if he had said, we Christians bless, meaning, by the *proper officers*. To strain a common idiom of speech to the utmost rigour is not right: it

ing for the name of *eulogy*, or *blessing*, yet he did not mean that hymns only were used at that time in *consecrating*, for he elsewhere plainly speaks of prayer besides, *prayer* for the descent of the Holy Ghost.

Ὅτ' ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων συνιχῶς ἐφάπτηται διστόου, ποῦ τάξομεν αὐτὸν, εἰπέ μοι; *De Sacerdot.* lib. vi. c. 4. p. 424. ed. Bened. Compare Theophyl. on John vi. who speaks as fully to the same purpose.

[h] Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προιστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ὕδατος. *Just. Mart.* p. 96. See Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 262, &c.

might as well be pleaded, that St. Paul must be present in person at every consecration; for ordinarily, when a man says *we*, he includes *himself* in the number. It must be owned, that it depends upon the *disposition* of every communicant, to render the *previous* consecration either *salutary* or *noxious* to himself: and if any man has a mind to call a *worthy* reception of the elements, *a consecration* of them to himself, a secondary consecration, he may[i]; for it would not be worth while to hold a dispute about words. But strictly speaking, it is not within the power or choice of a communicant, either to *consecrate* or to *desecrate* the symbols, to make the sacrament a *common* meal, or otherwise: it is a *religious* and *sacred* meal even to the most unworthy; and that is the reason why such are liable to the judgment of God for abusing it: for if it were really a *common meal* to them, it would do them no more *hurt*, than any other ordinary entertainment. *Holy* things are fit for *holy* persons, and will turn to their nutriment and increase: but to the *unholy* and *profane*, if they presume to come near, the sanctified instruments do as certainly turn to their detriment and condemnation. There are proofs of this, in great abundance, quite through the Old Testament, and I need not point out to the reader what he may every where find.

One thing more I may note here in passing, for the preventing cavils or mistakes. When we speak of *human* benedictions, and their *efficacy*, we mean not that they have any real virtue or efficacy in *themselves*, or under any consideration but as founded in *Divine* promise or contract, and as coming *from* God *by* man. If the prayer of faith *saved* the *sick*[k], it was not properly the *human* prayer that did it, but *God* did it *by* or upon such prayer,

[i] Igitur non sacrificia *sanctificant* hominem, non enim indiget sacrificio Deus: sed *conscientia* ejus qui offert, *sanctificat sacrificium*, pura existens, &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. 18. p. 250.

N. B. Here, *sanctifying* means rendering *salutary*: not that that *alone* does it, but it is a condition *sine qua non*.

[k] James v. 15.

pursuant to his promise. In like manner, whatever *consecration*, or *benediction*, or *sanctification* is imparted in the Sacrament to *things* or *persons*, it is all God's doing; and the ground of all stands in the *Divine* warrant authorizing men to administer the holy Communion, in the *Divine* word intimating the effect of it, and in the *Divine* promise and covenant, tacit or express[l], to send his blessing along with it.

3. The third and most material article of inquiry is, what the *consecration* of the elements really *amounts to*, or what the *effect* of it is? To which we answer, thus much at least is certain, that the bread and wine being "sanctified by the word of God and prayer[m]," (according to the Apostle's *general* rule, applicable in an eminent manner to this *particular* case,) do thereby contract a *relative holiness*, or *sanctification*, in some degree or other. What the *degree* is, is no where precisely determined; but the measures of it may be competently taken from the *ends* and *uses* of the service, from the near *relation* it bears to our *Lord's person*, (a Person of infinite dignity,) and from the *judgments* denounced against *irreverent* offenders, and perhaps from some other considerations to be mentioned as we go along.

For the clearer conception of this matter, we may take a brief survey of what *relative holiness* meant under the Old Testament, and of the *various degrees* of it. I shall say nothing of the relative holiness of *persons*, but of what belonged to *inanimate things*, which is most to our present purpose. The *court* of the temple was *holy*[n], the

[l] I say, *tacit* or express: because our Lord's declaring, and St. Paul's declaring *what is done* in the Eucharist, do amount to a tacit *promise* of what shall be done always. Wherefore the Socinians do but trifle with us, when they call for an *express* promise. Are not the words, "this is my body," &c. and "is it not the communion," &c. tantamount to a *Divine promise* of every thing we contend for? But this is not the place to explain that whole matter: thus much is evident, that *what the word of prayer did once make* the sacramental *bread* and wine to be, that it will always make it.

[m] 1 Tim. iv. 5.

[n] 1 Kings viii. 64.

temple itself *more holy*, and the *sanctuary*, or *holy of holies*, was still more so[o]: but the *ark* of God, laid up in the sanctuary, appears to have been yet *holier* than all. The *holiness* of the *ark* was so great, and so tremendous, that many were struck dead at once, only for presuming to look into it with eyes impure[p]: and Uzzah but for touching it (though with a pious intent to preserve it from falling) was instantly smitten of God, and died upon the spot[q]. Whatever God is once pleased to *sanctify* by his more peculiar *presence*, or to claim a more special *property* in, or to *separate* to *sacred* uses, that is *relatively holy*, as having a nearer *relation* to God; and it must of course be treated with a *reverence* and *awe* suitable. Be the thing what it will, be it otherwise ever so mean and contemptible in itself, yet as soon as God gives it a *sacred* relation, and, as it were, seals it with his own signet, it must then be looked upon with an eye of reverence, and treated with an awful respect, for fear of trespassing against the *Divine majesty*, in making that *common* which God has *sanctified*.

This notion of *relative holiness* is a very easy and intelligible notion: or if it wanted any further illustration, might be illustrated from familiar examples in a lower kind, of *relative sacredness* accruing to inanimate things by the relation they bear to *earthly majesty*. The *thrones*, or *scepters*, or *crowns*, or *presence-rooms* of princes are, in this lower sense, *relatively* sacred: and an offence may be committed against the majesty of the sovereign, by an *irreverence* offered to what so peculiarly belong to him. If any one should ask, what is *conveyed* to the respective things to make them *holy*, or *sacred*? we might ask, in our turn, what was *conveyed* to the ground which Moses once stood upon, to make it *holy ground*[r]? or what was

[o] The Rabbins reckon up *ten degrees* of such relative holiness. Vid. Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 546.

[p] 1 Sam. vi. 19.

[q] 2 Sam. vi. 7. 1 Chron. xiii. 9, 10.

[r] Exod. iii. 5.

conveyed to the *gold* which the temple was said to *sanctify*[s], or what to the *gift* when the altar *sanctified* it[t]? But to answer more directly, as to things common becoming *holy* or *sacred*, I say, a holy or sacred *relation* is conveyed to them by their *appropriation* or use; and that suffices. The things are *in themselves* just what they before were[u]: but now they are considered by *reasonable* creatures as coming under *new* and *sacred* relations, which have their *moral* effect; insomuch that now the honour of the *Divine* majesty in one case, or of *royal* in the other case, becomes deeply interested in them.

Let us next apply these general principles to the particular instance of *relative holiness* supposed to be conveyed to the symbols of bread and wine by their *consecration*. They are now no more *common* bread and wine, (at least not during this their *sacred* application,) but the communicants are to consider the *relation* which they bear, and the *uses* which they serve to. I do not here say *what*, because I have no mind to anticipate what more properly belongs to another head, or to a distinct chapter hereafter: but in the *general* I observe, that they contract a *relative holiness*[w] by their consecration, and that is the *effect*. Hence it is, that some kinds of *irreverence* towards these *sacred* symbols amount to being "guilty "of the body and blood of the Lord[x]," the Lord of glory; and hence also it was that many of the Corinthians, in the apostolical age, were punished as severely

[s] Matt. xxiii. 17.

[t] Matt. xxiii. 19.

[u] "When certain things are said to be *holy* or *sacred*, no moral quality "of holiness inheres in the *things*, only an *obligation* is laid upon *men*, to "treat them in such a particular manner: and when that obligation ceases, "they are supposed to fall again into promiscuous and ordinary use." *Puffendorf, Law of Nature*, ch. i. concerning *moral entities*.

[w] The ancients therefore frequently gave the title of *holy*, *holy of the Lord*, or even *holy of holies*, and the like, to the sacred elements. Testimonies are collected by Suicer, tom. i. p. 56, 62. Albertin. p. 345, 346, 376. Grabe, Spicil. tom. i. p. 343.

[x] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

for offering *contempt* to this holy solemnity, as others formerly were for their irreverence towards the *ark* of God: that is to say, they were smitten of God with *diseases* and *death*[y].

Enough hath been said for the explaining the *general* nature or notion of *relative holiness:* or if the reader desires more, he may consult Mr. Mede, who professedly considers the subject more at large[z]. Such a *relative holiness* does undoubtedly belong to the elements once *consecrated.* The ancient *Fathers* are still more particular in expounding the sacerdotal *consecration,* and the Divine *sanctification* consequent thereupon. Their several sentiments have been carefully collected, and useful remarks added, by the learned Pfaffius[a]. It may be proper here to give some brief account of their way of explaining this matter, and to consider what judgment it may be reasonable to make of it. Mr. Aubertine has judiciously reduced their sentiments of *consecration* to *three* heads, as follows[b]: 1. The power of *Christ* and the *Holy Spirit,* as the *principal,* or properly *efficient* cause. 2. *Prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions,* as the *conditional* cause, or *instrumental.* 3. The *words* of our Lord, "This is my "body, this is my blood," as *declarative* of what then was, *promissory* of what should be always. I shall throw in a few remarks upon the several heads in their order.

1. As to the power of *Christ* and the *Holy Spirit,* (in conjunction with God the Father,) I suppose, the ancients might infer their joint operations in the *Sacraments,* partly from the *general* doctrine of Scripture relating to their joint concurrence in promoting man's salvation[c],

[y] 1 Cor. xi. 30.

[z] Mede's Works, p. 399, &c. and 823. Dissertationum Triga. Lond. A. D. 1653.

[a] Pfaffius, Dissert. de Consecratione veterum Eucharistica, p. 355. Compare l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part i. ch. 8. p. 65, &c.

[b] Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. i. c. 7. p. 34.

[c] Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. John xiv. 16, 26. Rom. v. 5, 6. 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Cor.

and partly from their being jointly *honoured* or *worshipped* in sacramental services[d]; and partly also from what is particularly taught in Scripture with respect to our *Lord's* concern in the Eucharist, or the *Holy Spirit's*. It is observable that the doctrine of the Fathers, with regard to *consecration*, was much the same in relation to the *waters* of Baptism, as in relation to the *elements* in the Eucharist. They supposed a kind of *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, to *sanctify* the waters in one, and the *symbols* in the other, to the *uses* intended: and they seem to have gone upon this *general* Scripture principle, (besides particular texts relating to each sacrament,) that the Holy Ghost is the immediate fountain of all *sanctification*. I believe they were right in the main thing, only not always accurate in *expression*. Had they said, that the *Holy Ghost* came upon the *recipients*, in the *due use* of the sacraments, they had spoken with greater exactness; and perhaps it was all that they really meant. They could not be aware of the disputes which might arise in after times, nor think themselves obliged to a philosophical strictness of expression. It was all one with them to say, in a confuse general way, either that the Holy Ghost sanctified the "receivers in the use of the outward sym-"bols," or that he "sanctified the symbols to their use:" for either expression seemed to amount to the same thing; though in strictness there is a considerable difference between them. What Mr. Hooker very judiciously says, of the *real presence* of Christ in the Sacrament, appears to be equally applicable to the *presence* of the *Holy Spirit* in the same: "It is not to be sought for in the *Sacra-*"*ment*, but in the *worthy receiver* of the Sacrament.—As

2 Cor. i. 21, 22. xiii. 14. Ephes. i. 17, 21, 22. 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14. Tit. iii. 4, 5, 6. 1 Pet. i. 2.

[d] *Baptism* in the name of all three. Matt. xxviii. 19. *As to the Eucharist*, Justin Martyr is an early witness, that the custom was to make mention of all the *three Persons* in that service.

Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ κράματος· καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει. *Apol.* i. p. 96.

"for the Sacraments, they really *exhibit*; but for ought "we can gather out of that which is written of them, "they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, "*that grace* which with them, or by them, it pleaseth "God to bestow[e]." Not that I conceive there is any absurdity in supposing a peculiar presence of the Holy Ghost to *inanimate* things, any more than in God's appearing in a burning bush[f]: but there is no proof of the fact, either from direct Scripture, or from that in conjunction with the reason of the thing. The *relative holiness* of the elements, or symbols, as explained above, is very intelligible, without this other supposition: and as to the rest, it is all more rationally accounted for (as we shall see hereafter) by the presence of the Holy Spirit with the *worthy receivers*, in the *use* of the symbols, than by I know not what presence or union with the symbols themselves[g].

2. The second article, mentioned by Albertinus, relates to *prayers*, *thanksgivings*, and *benedictions*, considered as *instrumental* in consecration. It has been a question, whether the earlier Fathers (those of the three first centuries) allowed of any proper *prayer*, as distinct from *thanksgiving*, in the Eucharistical consecration. I think they did, though the point is scarce worth disputing, since they plainly allowed of a *sanctification* of the elements, consequent upon what was done by the officiating minister. But we may examine a few authorities, and as briefly as possible.

Justin Martyr, more than once, calls the *consecrated* elements by the name of *eucharistized* food[h], which looks as if he thought that the *thanksgiving* was the *consecra-*

[e] Hooker, Eccl. Polity, b. v. p. 307, 308. Archbishop Cranmer had said the same thing before, in his preface to his book against Gardiner: I shall have another occasion, lower down, for citing his words. Conf. Sam. Ward, Determinat. Theolog. p. 62.

[f] Exod. iii. 2. Acts vii. 30.

[g] Vid. Vossius de Sacrament. Vi et Efficacia, A. D. 1648. tom. vi. p. 252. de Bapt. Diss. v. p. 274. Harmon. Evangel. 233. A. D. 1656.

[h] Εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου—— εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. *Apol.* i. p. 96.

tion: but yet he commonly makes mention both of *prayers* and *thanksgiving* [i], where he speaks of the Eucharistical service; from whence it appears probable, or *certain* rather, that *consecration*, at that time, was performed by *both*.

Irenæus [k] speaks of the *bread* as receiving the *invocation of God*, and thereby becoming more than *common* bread. Some would interpret it of *prayer* for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* [l]; but, as I apprehend, without sufficient authority. Irenæus might mean no more than *calling* upon *God*, in any kind of *prayer* or *thanksgiving*, or in such as Justin Martyr before him had referred to. Irenæus, in the same chapter, twice speaks of *thanksgiving* [m], as used before or at the consecration: but nothing can be certainly inferred from thence, as to his *excluding prayer*, and resolving the consecration into bare *thanksgiving*.

Origen has expressed this whole matter with as much judgment and exactness, as one shall any where meet with among the ancient Fathers. He had been considering our Lord's words, "Not that which goeth into the "mouth defileth a man [n];" upon which he immediately thought with himself, that by parity of reason, it might as justly be said, that what *goes into the mouth* cannot *sanctify* a man. And yet here he was aware, that according to the vulgar way of conceiving or speaking, the sacramental elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist were supposed to *sanctify* the receiver, having themselves been *sanctified* before in their consecration. This was true in some sense, and according to a popular way of

[i] Λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας. *Apol.* i. p. 19. Τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν. *Ibid.* p. 96. Εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας. p. 98. Εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι. *Dial.* p. 387.

[k] Ὁ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία. *Iren.* lib. ix. c. 18. p. 251.

[l] Pfaffius in Præfat. ad Fragm. Anecdota et in Lib. p. 96.

[m] Offerens ei cum gratiarum actione—Panem in quo gratiæ actæ sint. *Iren.* p. 251.

[n] Matt. xv. 11.

speaking; and therefore could not be denied by Origen, without wary and proper distinctions. He allows, in the first place, that the elements were really *sanctified;* namely, by *the word of God and prayer* [o]: but he denies that what is so sanctified, *sanctifies* any person by its *own proper virtue* [p], or considered according to its *matter*, which goes in at the mouth, and is cast off in the draught; admitting, however, that the *prayer* and *word* (that is, God by them) do *enlighten* the *mind* and sanctify the heart (for that is his meaning) of the *worthy* receiver. So he resolves the virtue of the Sacrament into the sacerdotal *consecration*, previous to the *worthy* reception: and he reckons *prayer* (strictly so called) as part of the consecration. The sum is, that the *sanctification*, properly speaking, goes to the *person* fitly disposed, and is the *gift of God*, not the work of the *outward* elements, though *sanctified* in a certain sense, as having been *consecrated* to holy uses. Thus by carefully distinguishing upon the case, he removed the difficulty arising from a common and *popular* way of expressing it. Nevertheless, after this [q], in his latest and most correct work, he did not scruple to make use of the same popular kind of expression, observing that the eucharistical bread, by prayer and thanksgiving, was made a sort of holy, or sanctified *body*, *sanctifying* the worthy receivers [r]. Where we may note, that he again takes in both *prayer* and *thanksgiving*,

[o] Ἁγιασθέντος λόγῳ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξει ἄρτου——τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως. *Orig. in Matt.* p. 254.

[p] Οὐ τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἁγιάζει τὸν χρώμενον, p. 253. Κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν, εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγινομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἴτιον διαβλέψεως, ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελεῖν. καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. p. 254.

[q] The Homilies on St. Matthew are supposed to have been written in the year of our Lord 244, and his book against Celsus, A. D. 249. Origen died in 253.

[r] Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργῷ εὐχαριστοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν. σῶμα γινομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἅγιόν τι, καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μετ' ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους. *Origen. contr. Cels.* lib. viii. p. 766. edit. Bened.

to make the consecration. And we may observe another thing, by the way, worth the noting, that by *body* there, he does not understand our Lord's *natural* body, but the *sanctified bread*, which he elsewhere calls the *symbolical* and *typical* body[s]; that is to say, representative body, as distinguished from the *real* body, or *true food* of the soul, which none but the *holy* partake of, and all that do so are *happy*. Origen's doctrine therefore, with respect to this article, lies in these particulars; 1. That the bread and wine, before consecration, are *common food*. 2. That after consecration by prayer and thanksgiving, they become *holy*, *typical*, *symbolical* food, representative of *true food*. 3. That *unworthy* receivers eat of the *symbolical* food only, without the *true*. 4. That *worthy* receivers, upon eating the *symbolical* food, are *enlightened* and *sanctified* from above, and consequently do partake of the *true* spiritual food, in the same act. I shall proceed no lower with the *Fathers*, under this article, having said as much as I conceive sufficient for illustrating Mr. Aubertine's second particular.

3. The third will still want some explication: where we are to consider what effect the words of our Lord, "This is my body," are conceived *now* to have in the Eucharistical *consecration*. It is not meant (as the Romanists are pleased to interpret) that the pronouncing those words makes the consecration: but the words *then* spoken by our blessed Lord are conceived to operate now as virtually carrying in them a *rule*, or a *promise*, for all succeeding ages of the Church, that what was *then* done when our Lord himself *administered*, or *consecrated*, will be *always* done in the celebration of the Eucharist, pursuant to that original. If the elements were then *sanctified* or consecrated into representative symbols of Christ's body and blood, and if the worthy receivers were

[s] Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος, πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ αὐτῦ λέγοιτο τῦ λόγου, ὃς γέγονε σὰρξ, καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρῶσις, ἣν τινα ὁ φαγὼν πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὴν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμενὸν φαύλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν. *Origen. in Matt.* p. 254.

then understood to partake of the *true spiritual* food, upon receiving the *symbolical;* and if all this was then *implied* in the words, "This is my body," &c. so it is now. What the Sacrament then was, in meaning, virtue, and effect, the same it is also at this day. Such was the way of reasoning which some of the *Fathers* made use of; and it appears to have been perfectly right and just. It was with this view, or under this light, that they took upon them to say, that our Lord's words *then* spoken, were to have their effect in every *consecration* after; namely, as being directly *declaratory* of what then was, and virtually *promissory* of what should be in like case for all times to come. The same Lord is our High Priest in heaven, recommending and enforcing our *prayers* there, and still constantly ratifying what he once said, "This is "my body," &c. For, like as the words once spoken, "Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth," have their effect at this day, and in all ages of the world; so the words of our Lord, "This is my body," though spoken but *once* by him, stand in full force and virtue, and will ever do so, in all ages of the Christian Church. This is the sum of St. Chrysostom's reasoning upon this head; which it may suffice barely to refer to[t]: Mr. Pfaffius has collected from him what was most material, illustrating all with proper remarks[u]. The use I would farther make of the notion is, to endeavour from hence to explain some short and obscure hints of the elder *Fathers*. For example, Justin Martyr speaks of the elements being *eucharistized* or *blessed* by the prayer of the *word* that came from him[x] [God.] Why might not he mean the very same thing that Chrysostom does, namely, that Christ, our High Priest above, now ratifies what he

[t] Chrysost. Homil. i. de Proditione Judæ, tom. ii. p. 384. ed. Bened.

[u] Pfaffius de Consecratione Vet. Eucharistica, p. 389, &c. Compare Bingham, b. xiv. ch. 3. sect. 11. Albertin. lib. i. c. 7. p. 33. and Covel's Account of the Greek Church, p. 47, 48, 63, &c.

[x] Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν. *Just. Mart.* p. 96. Conf. Albertin. p. 31.

once said on earth, when he *blessed* the elements with his consecration prayers, in the *institution* of the Eucharist? It is he that *now* sanctifies the *symbols*, as he *then* did, and, as it were, presides over our Eucharistical services, making the bread to become *holy*, which before was *common*, and giving the *true food* to as many as are qualified to receive it, along with the *symbolical*; that is, giving *himself* to dwell in us, as we also in him. There is another the like obscure hint in Irenæus, which may probably be best interpreted after the same way. He supposes the elements to become *Christ's body* by receiving *the word*[y]. He throws two considerations into one, and does not distinguish so accurately as Origen afterwards did, between the *symbolical* food and the *true food*. In strictness, the elements first become *sanctified* (in such a sense as inanimate things may) by *consecration* pursuant to our Lord's institution, and which our Lord still ratifies; and thus they are made the *representative* body of Christ: but they are at the same time, to *worthy receivers*, made the means of their spiritual union with Christ himself; which Irenæus points at in what he says of the *bread's* receiving the *Logos*, but should rather have said it of the *communicants* themselves, as receiving the *spiritual* presence of Christ, in the worthy *use* of the *sacred* symbols. But this matter must come over again, and be distinctly considered at large. All I had to do here was, to fix the true notion of *consecration* in as clear and distinct a manner as I could. The sum is, that the *consecration* of the elements makes them *holy symbols*, relatively holy, on account of their *relation* to what they represent, or point to, by *Divine* institution: and it is *God* that gives them this *holiness* by the ministry of the word. The *sanctification* of the communicants (which is *God's* work also) is of *distinct* consideration from the former, though they are

y Ὁπόταν οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχηται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γένηται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, &c. *Iren.* lib. v. c. 2. p. 294.

—— προσλαμβάνειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, εὐχαριστία γίνεται. *Ibid.*

often confounded: and to this part belongs what has been improperly called making the symbols become our *Lord's body;* and which really means making them his body *to us;* or more plainly still, making us partakers of our Lord's *broken body* and *blood shed* at the same time that we receive the *holy* symbols; which we are to explain in the sequel. I shall only remark farther here, what naturally follows from all going before, that the consecration, or sanctification of the *elements* in this service, is *absolute* and *universal* for the time being; and therefore all that communicate *unworthily* are chargeable with *profaning* things *holy:* but the sanctification of *persons* is *hypothetical*, and *particular*, depending upon the *dispositions* which the communicants bring with them to the Lord's table.

Having done with the *consecration* of the elements, I should now proceed to the *distribution* and *manducation*. But as there is a *sacramental* feeding and a *spiritual* feeding; and as the *spiritual* is the *nobler* of the two, and of *chief* concern, and what the other principally or solely *looks to*, I conceive it will be proper to treat of this first: and because the sixth chapter of St. John contains the doctrine of *spiritual* feeding, as delivered by our Lord himself, a twelvemonth, or more, before he instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, I shall make that the subject of the next chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of Spiritual Eating and Drinking, as taught in John vi.

THE discourse which our Lord had at Capernaum, about the *eating* his *flesh* and *drinking* his *blood*, is very remarkable, and deserves our closest attention. His strong way of expressing himself, and his emphatical repeating the same thing, in the same or in different phrases, are alone sufficient to persuade us, that some very *important* mystery, some very *significant* lesson of

instruction is contained in what he said in that chapter, from verse the 27th to verse the 63d inclusive.

For the right understanding of that discourse, we must take our marks from some of the *critical* parts of it, and from other explanatory places of Scripture. From verse the 63d, as well as from the nature of the thing, we may learn, that the discourse is mostly *mystical*, and ought to be *spiritually*, not literally understood[z]. "It is the spirit that "quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that "I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." I am aware that this text has been variously interpreted[a], and that it is not very easy to *ascertain* the construction, so as not to leave room even for reasonable doubt. I choose that interpretation which appears most natural, and which has good countenance from *antiquity*, and many judicious interpreters[b]: but the *reason* of the *thing* is sufficient to satisfy us, that a great part of this discourse of our Lord's cannot be *literally* interpreted, but must admit of some *figurative* or *mystical* construction.

A surer mark for interpreting our Lord's meaning in this chapter is the *universality* of the expressions which he made use of, both in the *affirmative* and *negative* way. "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever[c]." "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath "eternal life[d],—dwelleth in me, and I in him[e]." So far in the affirmative or positive way: the propositions are *universal affirmatives*, as the schools speak. The like may be observed in the *negative* way: "Except ye eat the "flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no "life in you[f]." The sum is: *all* that feed upon what is here mentioned have life; and *all* that do not feed thereupon have no life. Hence arises an argument against in-

[z] Origen. in Levit. Hom. vii. p. 225. Eusebius de Eccl. Theol. l. iii. c. 12. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xvi. p. 251. Mystag. iv. 321. Chrysostom. in loc. Athanasius ad Serap. Ep. iv. p. 710. ed. Bened. Augustinus in Psalm xcviii.

[a] Vid. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 243, &c.

[b] Vid. Albertin. p. 244. [c] John vi. 51. [d] John vi. 54.

[e] John vi. 56. [f] John vi. 53.

terpreting the words of *sacramental feeding* in the Eucharist. For it is not true that all who receive the Communion have life, unless we put in the restriction of *worthy*, and *so far*. Much less can it be true, that all who never have, or never shall receive, have not life: unless we make several more restrictions, confining the proposition to persons living *since* the time of the institution, and persons *capable*, and not destitute of *opportunity*; making exceptions for good men *of old*, and for *infants*, and for many who have been or may be *invincibly* ignorant, or might never have it in their power to receive the Communion, or to know any thing of it. Now an interpretation which must be clogged with a multitude of restrictions to make it bear, if at all, is such as one would not choose (other circumstances being equal) in preference to what is clogged with *fewer*, or with *none*[g].

Should we interpret the words, of *faith in Christ*, there must be *restrictions* in that case also; *viz.* to those who have *heard* of Christ, and who do not only believe in him, but *live* according to his laws. And exceptions must be made for many good men of old, who either knew nothing of Christ, or very obscurely; as likewise for *infants* and *idiots*; and perhaps also for many who are in utter darkness without any fault of theirs: so that this construction comes not fully up to the *universality* of the expressions made use of by our Lord.

But if neither of these can answer in that respect, is there any other construction that will? or what is it? Yes, there is one which will completely answer in point of *universality*, and it is this: all that shall finally *share* in the death, passion, and atonement of Christ, are *safe*; and all that have not a part therein are *lost*[h]. All that are

[g] Conf. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 234, 235.

[h] *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, carnem filii hominis, et sanguinem *biberitis*, *non habebitis vitam in vobis*. Facinus, vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo, præcipiens *passioni* Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis *caro* ejus *crucifixa* et *vulnerata* sit. *Augustin. de Doctrin. Christian.* lib. iii. cap. 16. p. 52. tom. iii. Bened.

saved owe their salvation to the *salutary* passion of Christ: and their *partaking* thereof (which is *feeding* upon his *flesh* and *blood*) is their *life*. On the other hand, as many as are excluded from *sharing* therein, and therefore feed not upon the atonement, have no life in them. Those who are blessed with capacity and opportunities, must have *faith*, must have *sacraments*, must be in *covenant*, must receive and obey the Gospel, in order to have the *expiation* of the death of Christ *applied* to them: but our Lord's *general* doctrine in this chapter seems to *abstract* from all particularities, and to resolve into this; that whether with *faith* or without, whether in the *sacraments* or out of the *sacraments*, whether *before* Christ or *since*, whether in *covenant* or out of *covenant*, whether *here* or *hereafter*, no man ever was, is, or will be *accepted*, but in and through the *grand propitiation* made by the *blood* of Christ. This I take to be the main doctrine taught by our Lord in that chapter, which he delivers so earnestly, and inculcates so strongly, for the glory of the Divine *justice*, *holiness*, *goodness*, *philanthropy*; and for humbling the *pride* of sinners, apt to conceive highly of their *own worth*; as also for the convincing all men, to whom the Gospel should be propounded, of the absolute necessity of *closing* in with it, and *living* up to it. That *general* doctrine of *salvation by Christ alone*, by *Christ crucified*, is the great and important doctrine, the burden of both Testaments; signified in all the sacrifices and services of the old law, and fully declared in every page almost of the New Testament. What doctrine more likely to have been intended in John the vith, if the words will bear it; or if, over and above, the *universality* of the expressions appears to require it? *Eating* and *drinking*, by a very easy, common figure, mean *receiving*[i]: and what is the thing to be *received?* Christ himself in his whole person: "I am the bread of life[k].—"He that eateth me, even he shall live by me[l]." But

[i] So *eating* and *drinking* damnation (1 Cor. xi. 29.) is *receiving* damnation.

[k] John vi. 35, 48, 51. [l] John vi. 57.

more particularly he is to be considered as giving his *body* to be broken, and as shedding his *blood* for making an atonement; and so the *fruits of his death* are what we are to *receive* as our spiritual food: his "flesh is meat indeed," and his "blood is drink indeed [m]." His *passion* is our *redemption*, and by his *death* we *live*. This meat is administered to us by the *hand* of *God*; while by the *hand* of *faith*, ordinarily, we take it, and in the use of the *sacraments* [n]. But God may *extraordinarily* administer the same meat, that is, may *apply* the same *benefits* of Christ's death, and *virtue* of his atonement, to subjects *capable*, without any act of theirs; as to *infants*, *idiots*, &c. who are merely *passive* in receiving it, but at the same time offer no *obstacle* to it.

The xxviiith Article of our Church says, that "the "means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten "in the supper is faith." That Sacrament is supposed to be given to none but *adults*; and to them, not only *faith* in general, but a *true* and *right* faith, and the same *working by love*, is indispensably requisite, as an *ordinary* mean [o]. All which is consonant to what I have here asserted, and makes no alteration as to the exposition of John vi. which speaks not principally of what is required in adult Christians, or of what is requisite to a *worthy* reception of the *holy Communion*, but of what is *absolutely* necessary at all times, and to all persons, and in all circumstances, to a *happy resurrection*; namely, an interest in, or a participation of the *atonement* made by Christ upon the cross. He that is taken in, as a *sharer* in it, is *saved*: he that is *excluded* from it, is *lost*.

[m] John vi. 55.

[n] *Sacramenta* sunt media offerentia et exhibentia *ex parte Dei*: fides medium recipiens et apprehendens ex *parte nostra*: quemadmodum igitur *manus donans*, et *manus recipiens* non sunt opposita sed relata, et subordinata, ita quoque *Sacramenta* et *fides* non sunt sibi invicem opponenda. *Gerhard. Loc. Comm.* par. iv. p. 309.

[o] Ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μεταστχεῖν ἔξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ διδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν——καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 96.

Some learned writers having observed that our Lord in that chapter attributes much to a man's *believing* in him, or *coming to him*, as the means to *everlasting life*, have conceived that *faith*, or *doctrine*, is what he precisely meant by the *bread* of *life*, and that *believing* in Christ is the same with the *eating* and *drinking* there spoken of. But the *thing* to be received is very distinct from the *hand* receiving; therefore *faith* is not the *meat*, but the *mean*. Belief in Christ is the *condition* required, the *duty* commanded: but the *bread of life* is the *reward* consequent. Believing is not *eating* or *drinking* the fruits of Christ's passion, but is *preparatory* to it, as the *means* to the end[o]. In short, faith, ordinarily, is the *qualification*, or one qualification; but the body and blood is the *gift* itself, and the *real inheritance*. The *doctrine* of Christ, lodged in the *soul*, is what gives the soul its proper temperature and fitness to receive the heavenly food: but the heavenly food is *Christ himself*, as once *crucified*, who has since been *glorified*. See this argument very clearly and excellently made out at large by a late learned writer[p]. It may be true, that *eating* and *drinking* wisdom is the same with *receiving* wisdom: and it is no less true, that *eating* and *drinking* flesh and blood, is *receiving* flesh and blood; for eating means receiving. But where does *flesh* or *blood* stand for *wisdom* or for *doctrine?* What rules of *symbolical* language are there that require it, or can ever admit of it? There lies the stress of the whole thing. *Flesh*, in symbolical language, may signify *riches*, *goods*, *possessions*[q]: and *blood* may signify *life:* but Scripture never

[o] *Credere* in Christum, et *edere* Christum, vel carnem ejus, inter se tanquam *prius* et *posterius* differunt; sicuti ad Christum *venire*, et Christum *bibere*. Præcedit enim *accessus* et *apprehensio*, quam sequitur *potio*, et *manducatio:* ergo *fide* Christum prius recipimus, ut *habitet* ipse in nobis, fiamusque ipsius vivæ carnis et sanguinis *participes*, adeoque unum cum ipso—— Itaque, notione definitioneque aliud est *spiritualis manducatio* quam *credere* in Christum. *Lamb. Danæus Apolog. pro Helvet. Eccles.* p. 23.

[p] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 393, &c.

[q] See Lancaster's Symbolical Dictionary, prefixed to his Abridgment of Daubuz, p. 45.

uses either as a *symbol* of *doctrine*. To conclude then, eating wisdom is receiving *wisdom*; but eating Christ's flesh and blood is receiving *life* and *happiness* through his blood, and, in one word, receiving *him*; and that not merely as the object of our *faith*, but as the fountain of our *salvation*, and our *sovereign good*, by means of his death and passion.

To confirm what has been said, let us take in a noted text of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which appears decisive in this case. "We have an altar, whereof they have no "right to eat which serve the tabernacle[r]." Whether the Apostle here speaks of spiritual eating *in the Sacrament*, or *out of the Sacrament*, is not now the question: but that he speaks of *spiritual eating*, cannot reasonably be doubted. And what can the *eating* there mean, but the *partaking* of Christ *crucified*, participating of the benefits of his *passion*? That is the proper Christian eating, such as none but Christians have a clear and covenanted right to. The Apostle speaks not in that chapter of eating *doctrine*, but of eating *sacrifice*. The references there made to the *Jewish sacrifices* plainly show, that the Apostle there thought not of eating the *doctrine* of the cross, but of eating, that is, partaking of, the *sacrifice* or *atonement* of the cross[s]. Therefore let this be taken in, as an additional explication of the *eating* mentioned in John vi. so far at least as to show that it must refer to some *sacrifice*, and not to mere *doctrines*.

I am aware that many interpreters of good note among the ancients[t], as well as many learned moderns, have understood *altar* in that text directly of the *Lord's table*, and the *eating*, of *oral* manducation: which construction

r Hebr. xiii. 10. Compare Rev. vi. 9. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 542.

s Mihi perspicuum videtur esse, *aram* hic poni pro *victima* in ara Deo oblata. Sensus verborum hic est, ut puto: Jesu Christi qui vera est pro peccatis hominum victima, nemo fieri particeps potest, qui in ceremoniis et externis ritibus Judaicis, religionis arcem censet esse positam. *Moshem. ad Cudworth*, p. 3.

t Theodoret, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Primasius, Sedulius, Haymo, Remigius, Anselm. Plerique tam veteres quam recentiores significari volunt mensam Dominicam. *Estius in loc.*

would make the text less suitable to my present purpose. But other interpreters[u], of good note also, have understood the *altar* there mentioned of the altar in heaven, or of the altar of the *cross*, (both which resolve at length into one,) and some have defended that construction with great appearance of reason. Estius, in particular, after Aquinas and others, has very ingenuously and rationally maintained it, referring also to John vi. 51. as parallel or similar to it, and understanding both of *spiritual* eating, abstracted from *sacramental*[x]. In this construction I acquiesce, as most natural and most agreeable to the whole context: neither am I sensible of any just objection that can be made to it. The Apostle did not mean, that they who served the tabernacle *had no right to believe in Christ*; that indeed would be harsh: but he meant that they who served the tabernacle, *not believing* in Christ, or however still *adhering* too tenaciously to the *legal* oblations, had no right or title to *partake* of the *sacrifice* or *atonement* made by Christ. The thought is somewhat similar to what the same Apostle has elsewhere signified; namely, that they who affected to be *justified* by the *law*, forfeited all benefit arising from the *grace* of the Gospel, and *Christ* could *profit* them nothing[y].

But for the clearer perception of *spiritual* feeding, and for the preventing *confusion* of ideas, it will be proper to distinguish between what it is *primarily*, and what *secondarily*; or between the *thing* itself, and the *effects*, *fruits*, or *consequences of it*. 1. Spiritual feeding, in this case, directly and primarily means no more than the eating and drinking our Lord's body *broken*, and blood *shed*; that is, partaking of the *atonement* made by his *death* and

[u] Chrysostom. in Hebr. Hom. xi. p. 807. Cyrill. Alex. de Adorat. lib. ix. 310. Compare Lightfoot, Opp. tom. ii. part. 2. p. 1259—1264. Outram. de Sacrif. p. 332, &c. Wolfius, Cur. Crit. in loc.

[x] Huc etiam pertinet, quod corpus Christi, in cruce oblatum, panis vocatur, fide manducandus. Ut Joann. vi. *Panis*, inquit, *quem ego dabo, caro mea est, quam ego dabo pro mundi vita*: scilicet, in cruce. *Estius in loc.* Compare Bp. Moreton on the Sacrament, b. vi. chap. 3. p. 416.

[y] Gal. v. 2, 3, 4.

sufferings: this is the prime thing, the ground and basis of all the rest. We must first be *reconciled* to God by the *death* of his *Son*, before we can have a just claim or title to any thing besides[z]: therefore the foundation of all our spiritual privileges is, our *having* a *part* in that *reconcilement;* which, in strictness, is *eating* and *drinking* his flesh and blood in St. John's phrase, and *eating* of the *altar* in St. Paul's. 2. The result, fruit, or effect of our thus eating his *crucified* body, is a right to be fellow-heirs with his body *glorified:* for if we are made partakers of his *death*, we shall be also of his *resurrection*[a]. On this is founded our *mystical union* with Christ's *glorified* body, which neither supposes nor infers any *local* presence: for all the *members* of Christ, however *distant* in place, are thus mystically *united* with Christ, and with each other. And it is well known, that *right* or *property*, in any possession, is altogether independent of *local* presence, and may as easily be conceived without it as with it[b]. 3. Upon such *mystical union* with the *body* of Christ *glorified*, and making still part of his whole *Person*, follows a gracious vital *presence* of his *Divine* nature abiding in us, and *dwelling* with us[c]. Upon the same follows the like gracious vital *presence*, and *indwelling* of the other two *Divine*

[z] Coloss. i. 20, 21, 22. Ephes. ii. 13, 16.

[a] Rom. v. 9, 10, 11. Phil. iii. 10, 11. Rom. vi. 5—8.

[b] Pro tanta conjunctione asserenda inter nos et Christum, non opus *præsentia corporali* aut *substantiali* corporis Christi, quam statuere multi conantur in Eucharistia. Nam ea nil plus vel commodi vel utilitatis habebimus quam si Christum quoad *corpus* suo loco sinamus in cœlis. Videmus enim *Christianos* posse esse *invicem membra*, et quidem *conjunctissima*, tametsi aliquis eorum degat in Britannia, alius in Gallia, et alius in Hispania. Quod si de *membris* ipsis conceditur, cur de *capite* idem fateri erit absurdum, ut hac *spirituali* conjunctione simul possit in *cœlis* esse, ac *spiritualiter* nobiscum *conjungi?* Quod idem in *matrimonio* usu venire intelligimus, ubi sancta Scriptura prædicat, virum et uxorem *unam carnem* esse: quod non minus verum fateri coguntur adversarii cum una conjuges habitant, quam si *locorum intervallo* nonnunquam disjungantur. *Pet. Martyr. in* 1 *Cor.* xii. 12, 13. fol. 178. Conf. Albertin. de Eucharist. p. 230, 231.

[c] John vi. 56. John xv. 4. Matt. xxviii. 20. xviii. 20.

Persons[d]: and hereupon follow all the *spiritual graces*, wherewith the true members of Christ are enriched.

This orderly ranging of ideas may contribute very much towards the clearing our present subject of the many perplexities with which it has been embarrassed; and may further serve to show us, where the ancients or moderns have happened to exceed, either in sentiment or expression, and how far they have done so, and how they were led into it. The *ancients*, in their account of *spiritual feeding*, have often passed over the direct and immediate feeding upon Christ considered as *crucified*, and have *gone* on to what is properly the result or consequence of it, namely, to the *mystical union* with the body *glorified*, and what hangs thereupon. There was no fault in so doing, more than what lies in too quick a *transition*, or too confused a blending of ideas.

I am aware that much dispute has been raised by contending parties about the sense of the *ancients* with respect to John vi. It may be a tedious inquiry to go through: for there is no doing it to the satisfaction of considering men, without taking every Father, one by one, and reexamining his sentiments, as they lie scattered in several places of his writings, and that with some care and accuracy. It may be of some use to go over that matter again, after many others, if the reader can but bear with a little *prolixity*, which will be here unavoidable. There have been two *extremes* in the accounts given of the *Fathers*, and both of them owing, as I conceive, to a neglect of proper *distinctions*. They who judge that the Fathers in general, or almost universally, do interpret John vi. of the *Eucharist*, appear not to distinguish between *interpreting* and *applying*: it was right to *apply* the *general* doctrine of John vi. to the particular case of the Eucharist, considered as *worthily* received; because the *spiritual feeding* there mentioned is the *thing signified* in

[d] John xiv. 16, 17, 23. 1 Cor. iii. 16. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

the Eucharist, yea and *performed* likewise. After we have sufficiently proved, from other Scriptures, that in and by the Eucharist, ordinarily, such *spiritual food* is conveyed, it is then right to *apply* all that our Lord, by St. John, says in the *general*, to that *particular* case: and this indeed the *Fathers* commonly did. But such *application* does not amount to *interpreting* that chapter of the Eucharist. For example; the words, "except ye eat the "flesh of Christ, &c. you have no life in you," do not mean directly, that *you have no life without the Eucharist*, but that you have no life without *participating of our Lord's passion:* nevertheless, since the Eucharist is one way of *participating of the passion*, and a very considerable one, it was very pertinent and proper to urge the doctrine of that chapter, both for the clearer understanding the *beneficial* nature of the Eucharist, and for the exciting Christians to a frequent and devout reception of it. Such was the use which some early Fathers made of John vi. (as our Church also does at this day, and that very justly,) though I will not say that some of the later Fathers did not extend it farther: as we shall see in due place.

As to those who, in another extreme, charge the Fathers in general as interpreting John the vith of *digesting doctrines* only, they are more widely mistaken than the former, for want of considering the *tropological* way of commenting then in use: which was not properly *interpreting*, nor so intended[c], but was the more frequently made use of in this subject, when there was a *mixed* audience; because it was a rule not to divulge their *mysteries* before incompetent hearers, before the *uninitiated*, that is, the *unbaptized*. But let us now take the *Fathers* in their order, and consider their real sentiments, so far as we can see into them, with respect to John vi.

Ignatius never formally cites John vi. but he has been thought to favour the *sacramental* interpretation, because

[c] See my Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity asserted, vol. v. p. 312, 364, &c. and preface to Scripture Vindicated, vol. vi. p. 14.

he believed the Eucharist to be a pledge or *means of an happy resurrection:* for it is suggested that he could learn that doctrine only from John the vith[f]. But this appears to be pushing a point too far, and reasoning inconsequently. Ignatius might very easily have maintained his point, from the very words of the *institution*, to as many as knew any thing of *symbolical* language: for what can any one infer less from the being symbolically *fed* with Christ's *body crucified*, but that it gives a title to an inheritance with the body *glorified?* Or, if the same Ignatius interpreted 1 Cor. x. 16. (as he seems to have done) of a *mystical* union with the *blood* of Christ[g], then he had *Scripture ground* sufficient, without John vi. for making the Eucharist a *pledge* or *means* of an happy resurrection. John the vith may be of excellent use to us for explaining the *beneficial* nature of the Eucharist, *spiritual manducation* being presupposed as the *thing signified* in that Sacrament: but it will not be prudent to lessen the real *force* of other considerable texts, only for the sake of resting all upon John vi. which at length cannot be proved to belong directly or primarily to the *Eucharist*.

It seems that Ignatius had John vi. in his eye, or some phrases of it, in a very noted passage, where he had no thought of the *Eucharist*, but of eating the *bread of life*, after a more excellent way, in a state of glory. The passage is this: "I am alive at this writing, but my desire is "to die. My love is crucified, and I have no secular *fire* "left: but there is in me living *water*, speaking to me with-"in, and saying, *Come to the Father*. I delight not in "corruptible food, nor in the entertainments of this world. "The *bread of God* is what I covet; *heavenly bread*, *bread* "*of life*, namely, the *flesh* of Christ Jesus the Son of God, "who in these last times became the Son of David and

[f] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 387, 388.

[g] Ἐν ποτήριον, εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. *Ignat. ad Philad.* sect. iv. p. 27. Compare Chrysostom on 1 Cor. x. 16. who interprets *communion* there mentioned by ἕνωσις. αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου ἑνώμεθα.

" of Abraham: and I am athirst for the *drink of God*, " namely, his *blood*, which is a feast of love that faileth " not, and life everlasting. I have no desire to live any " longer among men; neither shall I, if you will but con- " sent[h]."

Here we may take notice of *heavenly bread, bread of God, bread of life*, our Lord's own phrases in John vi. And Ignatius understands them of spiritual food, of feeding upon the *flesh* of Christ, the *Son of God* incarnate. *Drink of God*, he interprets in like manner, of the *blood* of Christ; which is the noblest *feast*, and *life eternal*. Learned men have disputed, whether he intended what he said of *sacramental* food, or of *celestial*; whether of enjoying Christ in the *Eucharist*, or in *heaven*. To me it appears a clear point, that he thought not of *communicating*, but of *dying*: and the *Eucharist* was not the thing which he so earnestly begged to have, (for who would refuse it?) but *martyrdom*, which the Christians might endeavour to protract, out of an over-officious care for a life so precarious. However, if the reader is desirous of seeing what has been pleaded on the side of the *Eucharist*, he may consult the authors referred to at the bottom [i], and may compare what others have pleaded on the contrary side[k]. I see no impropriety in Ignatius's feeding on the *flesh* and *blood* of Christ in a state of glory [l], since the figure is easily under-

[h] Ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν, ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόϋλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον· δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· οὐχ ἥδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς, οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου· ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γινομένου ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ πόμα θεοῦ θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος, καὶ αἰώνιος ζωή. Οὐκ ἔτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε. *Ignat. ad Roman.* cap. 7, 8.

[i] Smith. Not. in Ignat. p. 101, 102. Grabe, Spicileg. tom. ii. p. 229. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 387. alias 392.

[k] Casaubon, Exercit. xvi. num. 39. Albertinus, de Eucharist. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 286. Halloixius, Vit. Ignat. p. 410. Ittigius, Hist. Eccles. sæc. ii. p. 169, 170.

[l] A learned writer objects that the " eating of Christ's flesh in another " world, is a way of expression somewhat unaccountable." *Johnson's Unbloody Sacr.* part i. p. 389. alias 394.

stood, and is made use of by others[m] besides Ignatius. Our enjoyment in a world to come is entirely founded in the *merits* of Christ's *passion:* and our Lord's *intercession* for us (as I have above hinted) stands on the same bottom. Our spiritual food, both above and below, is the enjoyment of the same Christ, the *Lamb slain.* The *future feast* upon the *fruits* of his atonement is but the continuation and completion of the *present.* Only here it is under *symbols,* there it will be without them: here it is remote and imperfect, there it will be proximate and perfect.

It has been strongly averred, that Irenæus understood John vi. of the *Eucharist;* though he never directly quotes it, nor ever plainly refers to it: but it is argued, that *by the Eucharistical symbols* (according to Irenæus) *we have the principle of a blessed immortality conveyed to our bodies, for which there is no appearance of proof in* Scripture, but in John vi: therefore here is as clear proof of his so interpreting that chapter, as if he had *cited it at length*[n]. How inconclusive this kind of reasoning is, and how injurious besides to our main cause, is visible enough, and has been intimated before, in answer to the like pretence concerning Ignatius. It appears the worse with respect to Irenæus, because he manifestly did found his doctrine on 1 Cor. x. 16. and expressly quoted it for that very purpose[o]. He judged, as every sensible man must, that if the *Eucharist,* according to St. Paul, amounts to a *communion,* or *communication* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* to every faithful receiver, that then such receiver, for the time being, is therein considered as *symbolically* fed with the *crucified* body, and of consequence entitled to be fellow-heir with

[m] Athanasius de Incarn. et contr. Arrian. p. 883. Damascen. tom. i. p. 172. Augustin. tom. v. p. 384.

[n] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 387. alias 392.

[o] Vani autem omnimodo, qui——carnis salutem negant, et regenerationem ejus spernunt, dicentes, *non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis.* Si autem non salvetur hæc, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque *calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus est, neque panis quem frangimus, communicatio corporis ejus est. Iren.* lib. v. cap. 2. p. 293. ed. Bened.

the body *glorified*[p]. He draws the same conclusion[q], though more obscurely, from the words of the institution, "This is my body," &c. And the conclusion is certain, and irresistible when the words are rightly understood. Therefore let it not be thought that we have *no appearance of proof*, where we have strong proof; neither let us endeavour to loosen an important doctrine from its firm pillars, whereon it may stand secure, only to rest it upon weak supports, which can bear no weight.

Had Irenæus been aware that John vi. was to be interpreted directly of the *Eucharist*, strange that he should not quote that rather than the other, or however along with the other, when he had so fair an occasion for it. Stranger still, that when he so frequently and so fully speaks his mind concerning the *Eucharist*, and with the greatest reverence imaginable, that he should never think of John the vith all the time; that he should never make any use at all of it for advancing the honour of the *Sacrament*, had he supposed that it strictly belonged to it, and was to be interpreted of it. The silence of a man so knowing in the Scriptures, and so devoutly disposed towards this holy Sacrament, is a strong presumptive argument (were there nothing else) of his understanding John vi. very differently from what some have imagined.

There is one place in Irenæus, which seems to carry some remote and obscure allusion to John vi. The *Logos*, the *Divine nature* of our Lord, according to him, is the *perfect bread of the Father*, and *bread of immortality*; and he talks of *eating* and *drinking* the same *Logos*, or *Word*[r]. If he had John vi. then in his eye, (which is not improbable,) he interpreted it, we see, not of *sacramental* manducation, but of *spiritual*; not of the *signs*, but of the things

[p] See the argument explained in a Charge, upon the Doctrinal Use of the Sacrament, p. 11—14.

[q] Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 294.

[r] Ὁ ἄρτος ὁ τέλειος τοῦ πατρὸς——ὡς ὑπὸ μασθοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ τραφέντες ——ἐθισθέντες τρώγειν καὶ πίνειν τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἄρτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρός. *Iren.* lib. iv. cap. 38. p. 284.

signified, apart from the *signs*. Only it is observable, that while he speaks of our feeding upon the *Logos*, he explains it as done through the medium of the *flesh*: it is the *human* nature, by which we are brought to feast upon the *Divine*. St. Chrysostom gives the like construction of *bread of life*, in John the vith, interpreting it, so far, of our Lord's *Divine* nature[s]. But I proceed.

Our next ancient writer is Clemens of Alexandria, who flourished about A. D. 192. In the first book of his Pædagogue, chapter the vith, he quotes several verses[t] of our Lord's discourse in St. John, commenting upon them after a dark, allegorical way; so that it is not easy to learn how he understood the main doctrine of that chapter. I shall take notice of some of the clearest passages. After speaking of the *Church* under the figure or similitude of an *infant*, brought forth by Christ with *bodily pain*, and *swaddled* in his *blood*, he proceeds thus: "The *Word* is all "things to the infant, a *father*, a *mother*, a *preceptor*, a "*foster*: *Eat*, says he, *my flesh*, and *drink my blood*. "These are the proper aliments which our Lord adminis- "ters: he reaches out *flesh*, and he pours out *blood*; and "nothing is wanting for the growth of the infants. O "wonderful mystery! he bids us lay aside the old carnal "corruption, together with the *antiquated* food, and to "partake of the *new food* of Christ, receiving *him*, if pos- "sible, so as to lay him up within ourselves, and to in- "close *our Saviour* in our *breasts*[u]." There is another passage, near akin to this, a few pages higher, which runs thus:

"Our Lord, in the Gospel according to St. John, has "otherwise introduced it under *symbols*, saying, *Eat my*

[s] Καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῆς θειότητος αὐτοῦ διαλίγεται, λίγων, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο εἴρηται. περὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου πρὸς τῷ τέλει λίγει· καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστίν. Ἀλλὰ τίνος περὶ τῆς θειότητος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη διὰ τὸν Θεὸν λόγον ἄρτος ἐστίν. *Chrysost. in Joh. Hom.* xliv. p. 264. tom. viii. ed. Bened.

[t] John vi. 32, 33, 51, 53, 54, 55.

[u] Ὁ λόγος τὰ πάντα τῷ νηπίῳ. κ. τ. λ. *Clem. Pædag.* lib. i. cap. vi. p. 123. ed. Oxon.

"*flesh, and drink my blood;* allegorically signifying the "clear liquor of *faith*, and of the *promise*, by both which "the *Church*, like man, compacted of many members, is "watered and nourished, and is made up or compounded "of both; of *faith* as the *body*, and of *hope* as the *soul*, "like as our Lord of *flesh* and *blood*[x]." These hints appear to be very obscure ones, capable of being turned or wrested several ways. Some therefore have appealed to these and the like passages, to prove that Clemens understood John vi. of *doctrines*, or *spiritual actions*[y]. Others have endeavoured so to explain them, as to make them suit rather with the *Eucharist*[z]. Perhaps both may guess wide. In the first passage, Clemens says nothing of receiving either *doctrines* or *Eucharist*, but of receiving *Christ himself:* in the second, he does indeed speak of receiving *faith* and the *promise;* but then he owns it to be an *allegorical* or *anagogical* view of the text; from whence one may infer that he intended it not for the *primary* sense, or for strict interpretation. The doctrine which Clemens most *clearly* expresses, and uniformly abides by, is, that *Christ himself* is our food and nutriment[a]: and, particularly, by *shedding* his blood for us[b].

At the end of Clemens, among the *excerpta Theodoti*, there is a pretty remarkable passage; which, though it belongs to a Valentinian author, may be worth the taking notice of[c]. Commenting on John vi. he interprets the

[x] Ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ. κ. τ. λ. *Clem. ibid.* p. 121.

[y] Dr. Whitby, Dr. Claget, Basnage Annal. tom. i. p. 320.

[z] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 255, &c.

[a] Ὁ κύριος, ἡ τροφὴ τῶν νηπίων. *Clem. ibid.* p. 124. ἡ τροφὴ, τουτέστι κύριος Ἰησοῦς. *Ibid.* ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἡ τροφὴ τοῖς νηπίοις. p. 125. ἄρτον αὐτὸν οὐρανῶν ὁμολογεῖ ὁ λόγος. *Ibid.* πολλαχῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ λόγος, καὶ βρῶμα, καὶ σὰρξ, καὶ τροφὴ, καὶ ἄρτος, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ γάλα. p. 126.

[b] Τροφεὺς ἡμῶν λόγος, τὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐξέχεεν αἷμα, σώζων τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. *Clem. ibid.* p. 124. Τὸ αὐτὸ ἄρα καὶ αἷμα, καὶ γάλα τοῦ κυρίου πάθους καὶ διδασκαλίας σύμβολον. p. 127.

[c] Ὁ ζῶν ἄρτος, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς δοθεὶς, ὁ υἱός ἐστι, τοῖς ἰσθίειν βουλομένοις. ὁ δὲ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, φησὶν, ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστίν. ἤτοι ᾧ τρέφεται ἡ σὰρξ διὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ἢ ὅτι καὶ μᾶλλον, ἡ σὰρξ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἄρτος οὐράνιος, συναγωγὴ εὐλογημένη. *Excerpt. Theod. apud Clem.* p. 971.

living bread, of the person of Christ: but as to our Lord's saying, ver. 49. "The bread which I will give is my "flesh," he proposes a twofold construction. 1. He understands it of the *bread* in the *Eucharist*. 2. Correcting his first thought, he interprets *bread* to mean the *Church*; having, as I conceive, 1 Cor. x. 17. in his eye; "we being "many are one bread, and one body." Of what weight or authority a Valentinian gloss ought to be in this case, I pretend not to say: but this is the first *clear* precedent we shall meet with in *antiquity*, for interpreting any part of John the vith directly of the *Eucharist*. And it is observable, that it was offered only in the *conjectural* way, and another interpretation presently subjoined as *preferable* to it.

Tertullian quotes two verses out of John vi. And he interprets the *bread* there mentioned, not of the *sacramental* bread, but of *Christ himself*; not of the *signs*, but of the things *signified*. Presently after, he quotes part of the words of the institution, "This is my body," referring to the Eucharist: and there he does not say that our Lord's body is *that bread*, (as he had said before, that Christ, or the *Logos*, is our bread,) but that the Lord's body is *understood*, or *considered*, in bread: as much as to say, the Eucharistical bread is *by construction* that natural body of Christ which is the true bread. And for this he refers not to John vi. but to the words of the *institution*. Tertullian here joined together the *spiritual food* mentioned in John vi. in the *abstract* way, and the same as conveyed in the *Eucharist*; but he did not interpret John vi. of the Eucharist[d].

It has been suggested by some[e], that Tertullian understood John vi. merely of *faith*, or *doctrine*, or *spiritual*

[d] *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, spiritualiter potius intelligamus: Christus enim *panis* noster est, quia *vita* Christus, et *vita* panis: *Ego sum*, inquit, *panis vitæ*. *Joh.* vi. 35. Et paulo supra, v. 33. *Panis est sermo Dei vivi, qui descendit de cœlis.* Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur: *Hoc est corpus meum. Tertull. de Orat.* cap. vi. p. 131.

[e] Dr. Claget, Dr. Whitby, &c. Compare Basnag. Annal. tom. i. p. 320.

actions: and it is strenuously denied by others [f]. The passage upon which the dispute turns is part of his reply to Marcion; who took a handle from the words, "the flesh "profiteth nothing," to argue against the resurrection of the body.

"Though he says, *the flesh profiteth nothing*, yet the "sense is to be governed by the subject-matter. For be- "cause they thought it an *hard* and intolerable *saying*, as "if he had intended *really* to give them his *flesh* to *eat*; "therefore in order to resolve the affair of salvation into "*the spirit*, he premised that *it is the spirit that quickeneth*, "and then subjoined, that *the flesh profiteth nothing*; "namely, towards quickening. He shows also what he "would have them understand by *spirit*: the *words that I* "*speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life*, con- "formable to what he had said before; *he that heareth my* "*words, and believeth in him that sent me, hath everlast-* "*ing life*, &c.—Therefore as he makes *the word* the *quick-* "*ener*, because *the word* is spirit and *life*, he calls the "same his *flesh*, inasmuch as *the word was made flesh*; "which consequently is to be hungered after for the sake "of life, and to be *devoured* by the ear, and to be *chewed* "by the understanding, and *digested* by faith: for a little "before also he had pronounced the heavenly bread to be "his flesh, &c. [g]"

[f] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 358, &c.

[g] Etsi *carnem* ait *nihil prodesse*, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset; ut in *spiritum* disponeret statum salutis, præmisit, *spiritus est qui vivificat:* atque ita subjunxit *caro nihil prodest;* ad vivificandum scilicet. Exequitur etiam quid velit intelligi *spiritum: Verba quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus sunt, vita sunt.* Sicut et supra, *Qui audit sermones meos, et credit in eum qui me misit, habet vitam æternam, et in judicium non veniet, sed transiet de morte in vitam.* Itaque *sermonem* constituens vivificatorem, quia *spiritus et vita* sermo, eundem etiam *carnem* suam dixit, quia et *sermo caro erat factus:* proinde in causam vitæ *appetendus*, et *devorandus* auditu, et *ruminandus* intellectu, et fide *digerendus;* nam et paulo ante, carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronuntiarat, &c. *Tertull. de Resurr. Carn.* cap. xxxvii. p. 347.

All that one can justly gather from this confused passage is, that Tertullian interpreted the *bread* of *life* in John vi. of *the Word;* which he sometimes makes to be *vocal,* and sometimes *substantial,* blending the ideas in a very perplexed manner: so that he is no *clear* authority for construing John vi. of *doctrines* &c. All that is certain is, that he supposes the *Word made flesh,* the *Word incarnate,* to be the *heavenly bread* spoken of in that chapter.

There is another place in Tertullian[g], where by *flesh* and *bread* in John vi. he very plainly understands, not the *sacramental,* but *natural* body of Christ, not *doctrine,* but literally *flesh;* as indeed our Lord evidently meant it. For as to verses 53, 54, &c. the figure is not in the word *flesh,* but in the words *eating* and *drinking,* as learned men have very justly observed[h]. But then this is to be so understood, that the *eating* and *drinking* the natural body and blood amount to *receiving the fruits* of the blood shed, and body slain; otherwise there is a *figure* in the words *body* and *blood,* as put for the *fruits* of them, if *eating* amounts simply to *receiving.* But I pass on.

Much dispute has been[i] about Origen's construction or constructions (for he has more than one) of John vi. The passages produced in the debate are so many, and the pleadings here and there so diffuse, that it would be

[g] *Panis quem ego dedero pro salute mundi, caro mea est.* Quod si *una caro,* et *una anima,* illa tristis usque ad mortem, et illa *panis* pro mundi salute; salvus est numerus duarum substantiarum, in suo genere distantium, excludens carneæ animæ unicam speciem. *De Carn. Christi,* cap. xiii. p. 319.

[h] Figura autem non est in *carne,* vera enim Christi caro ad vitam est manducanda: superest igitur ut sit in *manducandi* vocabulo, quod a *corporis* organis, ad facultates *animæ* figurate transferatur. *Albertinus,* p. 525. *Caro* et *sanguis* nihil aliud designant quam quod verba præ se ferunt, ac proinde nec ænigma, nec parabola sunt——At id nullo modo evincit vocabulum *manducandi* non esse *metaphoricum,* aut manducationem illam de *manducatione spirituali* non esse intelligendum. *Ibid.* 526.

[i] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 360—373.

tedious to attend every particular. I shall endeavour to select a few critical places, from whence one may competently judge of his sentiments upon the whole thing.

Origen's general observation relating to that chapter is, that it must not be *literally*, but *figuratively* understood[k]. He commonly understands the *living bread* of the Divine *Logos*, as the true nutriment of the soul[l], the *Logos*, but considered as incarnate[m]. At other times, he allegorizes the *flesh* of Christ in a very harsh manner, making it a name for high mysterious *doctrines*[n]. All that he should have said, and probably all that he really meant, was, that the mind is prepared and fitted for enjoying the *fruits* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, the benefits of his *passion*, by those Divine truths, those heavenly contemplations. He should have distinguished the *qualifications* for receiving, from the *thing* to be received. *Believing* in Christ is not *enjoying* him, but it is in order to it: and the *doctrine* of the atonement is not the *atonement* itself, whereon we are to *feed*. But I return to our author.

In another place he observes, that the *blood* of Christ may be drank, not only in the use of the *Sacraments*, but by *receiving* his *words*; and he interprets the *drinking* his *blood* to mean, the embracing his *doctrines*[o]. Here again

[k] Si secundum *literam* sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, *nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum*, occidit hæc litera. *Origen. in Levit. Hom.* vii. p. 225. ed. Bened.

[l] *Ego sum panis vivus*, &c. Qui hæc dicebat *verbum* erat, quo animæ pascuntur.——Intuearis quomodo justus semper et sine intermissione *manducet de pane vivo*, et repleat *animam suam*, ac satiet eam *cibo cœlesti*, qui est *verbum* Dei et sapientia ejus. *Origen. in Levit. Hom.* xvi. p. 266. ed. Bened.

[m] Αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς βρῶσις, σὰρξ Χριστοῦ, ἥτις λόγος οὖσα, γέγονε σάρξ· κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. *Origen.* περὶ εὐχ. p. 244.

[n] Ubi enim *mysticus* sermo, ubi dogmaticus et *Trinitatis fide* repletus profertur et solidus, ubi *futuri sæculi*, amoto velamine literæ, legis spiritualis sacramenta panduntur, ubi *spes animæ*, &c.——Hæc omnia *carnes* sunt *verbi* Dei, quibus qui potest perfecto intellectu *vesci*, et corde purificato, ille vere festivitatis paschæ immolat sacrificium, et diem festum agit cum Deo et angelis ejus. *Origen. Homil. in Num.* xxiii. p. 359, 360.

[o] *Bibere* autem dicimur *sanguinem* Christi, non solum *sacramentorum* ritu, sed et cum *sermones* ejus recipimus, in quibus vita consistit, sicut et

he mistakes the *means* for the *end*, the *qualification* for the *enjoyment*, the *duty* for the *blessing*, or *reward*, just as he did before. However, he is right in judging, that the *Sacraments* are not the *only means*, or instruments, in and by which God *confers* his *graces*, or *applies* the *atonement*, though they are the most considerable.

It should be noted, that Origen, in the passage last cited, was commenting upon Numb. xxiii. 24. "Drink "the blood of the slain:" and he had a mind to *allegorize* it, as his way was, into something *evangelical*. So he thought first of the *blood of Christ;* and could he have rested there, he need not have looked beyond the benefits of the grand sacrifice: but it happened, that *slain* was in the *plural*, and so to make his *allegory* hit, he was necessitated to take in *more* than *one;* therefore he pitched upon the *Apostles* to join with Christ, as *slain* for Christ. The next thing was to interpret *blood* in such a sense as might equally fit both Christ and his Apostles, and so he interpreted it to mean *doctrines:* and now the "blood of "the slain" turns out, at length, *doctrines of the slain*, and the allegory becomes complete [p]. I thought it proper thus briefly to hint how Origen fell into that odd construction, because he may be looked upon, in a manner, as the father of it: whatever weight the admired Origen may justly have as to other cases, he can have but little in this, where he manifestly trifled.

I shall cite but one passage more from him; a very remarkable one, and worth the noting. After having spoken of the outward *sign* of the Eucharist, he goes on thus: "So much for the *typical* and *symbolical* body. "But I might also have many things to say of the *Logos*

ipse dicit: *Verba quæ locutus sum, spiritus et vita est.* Est ergo ipse vulneratus, cujus nos *sanguinem bibimus*, id est, *doctrinæ* ejus *verba* suscipimus. *Origen. in Num. Hom.* xvi. p. 334. Conf. Hom. vii. in Levit. p. 225.

[p] Sed et illi nihilominus *vulnerati* sunt, qui nobis verbum ejus prædicarunt. Ipsorum enim, id est, *Apostolorum* ejus *verba* cum legimus, et vitam ex eis consequimur, *vulneratorum sanguinem bibimus. Orig. ibid.*

" himself, who became *flesh* and *true food*, and of which " whosoever eats, he shall live for ever, no wicked man " being capable of eating it. For were it possible for an " ill man, as such, to feed upon him who was made flesh, " the *Logos*, and the *living bread*, it would not have been " written that *whosoever eateth of this bread shall live for* " *ever* [q]." Here we may observe, that Origen interprets the *true food*, and *living bread*, not of *doctrines*, nor of the *sacramental* bread, (the *typical*, *symbolical* body,) but of *Christ himself*, of the *Word made flesh*: and as to the *eating* that true food, he understands it of a *vital* union with the *Logos*, a spiritual participation of Christ. This is a just construction of John vi. and falls in with that which I have recommended in this chapter. A learned writer, who had taken uncommon pains to show that the *Fathers* interpreted John vi. of the *Eucharist*, was aware that this passage of Origen was far from favouring his hypothesis, and therefore frankly declared that he " could " not pretend to understand it [r];" observing however, that it could not at all favour another opinion, espoused by Dr. Whitby and others; meaning the *doctrinal* interpretation. The truth is, that it favours neither, but directly overthrows both: and had that very ingenious and learned author been aware of any *middle* opinion, which would stand clear of the difficulties of both *extremes*, it is more than probable that he would have closed in with it.

Cyprian, who was but a few years later than Origen, comes next to be considered. The most observable passage, so far as concerns our present purpose, occurs in his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer: I have thrown it to the bottom of the page [s], for the learned reader to judge of,

[q] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος· πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο τοῦ λόγου, ὃς γέγονε σὰρξ, καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρῶσις, ἣν τινα ὁ φαγὼν πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμένου φαύλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν. εἰ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἔτι φαῦλον μὲν ὄντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γινόμενον σάρκα, λόγον ὄντα, καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ φαγὼν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. *Orig. in Matt.* p. 254. ed. Huet.

[r] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 373.

[s] *Panis vitæ Christus est:* et panis hic omnium non est, sed *noster* est

and may here save myself the trouble of translating it. But I shall offer a few remarks upon it. 1. Cyprian, in this passage, does not interpret *bread of life* of the Eucharistical bread, but of *Christ himself*[t], thrice over. 2. He seems to give the name of *Lord's body* in the Eucharist to the *sacramental bread*, as representative and exhibitive of the natural body. 3. But then a communicant must receive *worthily*, must receive *jure communicationis*, under a *just right* to communion, otherwise it is nothing. 4. Therefore it concerns every one to preserve to himself that right by suitable behaviour, and not to incur any just forfeiture by misbehaviour. 5. For, if he incurs just censure, and is justly debarred from communion, he is shut out from Christ. Such is the form and process of Cyprian's reasoning: and it must be owned that John vi. is very pertinently alleged by him, in order to convince every serious Christian of the necessity of his continuing in a state *fit* for the *reception* of the *holy Communion*, and not such as shall disqualify him for it. For since our Lord there lays so great a stress upon *eating* his *flesh* and *drinking* his *blood*; and since communicating *worthily* is *one way* of doing it; and since, if we are rendered morally unfit for that, we must of course be morally unfit for *all*

——*Christus* eorum qui corpus ejus contingunt, *panis* est. Hunc autem *panem* dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne qui in Christo sumus, et Eucharistiam quotidie ad *cibum salutis* accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a *cœlesti pane* prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur, ipso prædicante et monente: *Ego sum panis vitæ, qui de cœlo descendi: si quis ederit de meo pane, vivet in æternum. Panis autem quem ego dedero, caro mea est pro sæculi vita.* Quando ergo dicit in æternum vivere si quis ederit de *ejus pane*, ut manifestum est eos vivere qui *corpus ejus* attingunt et Eucharistiam *jure communicationis* accipiunt, ita contra tenendum est et orandum, ne dum quis abstentus separatur a *Christi corpore*, procul remaneat a salute, comminante ipso et dicente: *nisi ederitis carnem filii hominis et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis.* Et ideo *panem nostrum*, id est, *Christum*, dari nobis quotidie petimus, ut qui in Christo manemus et vivimus, a sanctificatione ejus et *corpore* non recedamus. *Cypr. de Orat. Domin.* p. 209, 210. ed. Bened. alias 146, 147.

[t] Compare Albertinus, p. 377, 378.

other ways, and so totally debarred from *feeding* upon *Christ* at all, from life and happiness: these things considered, it is very obvious to perceive, that John vi. though not particularly pointing to the *Eucharist*, is yet reductively applicable to it, in the way of argumentation, and is of very great force for the exciting Christians to a reverential regard for it, and to a solicitous care that they may never, by any fault of theirs, be debarred from it. In short, though John vi. doth not directly speak of the Eucharist, yet Christians, in the due use of that sacrament, do that which is there mentioned, do really *eat* his *flesh* and drink his *blood*, in the *spiritual* sense there intended: therefore Cyprian had good reason to quote part of that chapter, and to *apply* the same as *pertinent* to the *Eucharist*, in the way of just inference from it, upon known Christian principles.

Cyprian elsewhere quotes John vi. 53. ["except ye eat "the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye "have no life in you,"] in order to enforce the necessity of *Baptism* [u]. Either he thought that the *spiritual feeding*, mentioned in St. John, was common both to *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, and might be indifferently obtained in either sacrament: or else the turn of his thought was this, that as there is *no life* without the Eucharist, and as Baptism must *go before* the Eucharist, Baptism must of course be necessary in order to come at the kingdom of God. If this last was Cyprian's thought, then indeed he interpreted John vi. directly of the Eucharist: but I incline to understand him according to the other view first mentioned; and the rather because we shall find the same confirmed by the African Fulgentius, in his turn.

Novatian of the same age appears to understand John vi. of *spiritual* manducation at large, feeding upon a *right*

[u] Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus et renatus fuerit pervenire non posse. In Evangelio cata Johannem. *Nisi quis renatus fuerit*, &c. Item illic: *Nisi ederitis carnem filii hominis et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Cyprian. Testimon.* lib. iii. c. 25. p. 314.

faith (which of course must take in faith in the merits of Christ's passion) and *conscience undefiled*, and an *innocency of soul*. He refers to John vi. 27. and immediately after adds, that *righteousness* and *continence*, and the other *virtues* are the *worship* which God requires: he had before intimated, that they were the *true*, the *holy*, and the *clean* food [x]. But, I presume, all this was to be so understood, as not to exclude the salutary virtue of *Christ's atonement:* only the subject he was then upon, led him not to speak plainly of it. In another work, he understands *Christ himself* to be the *bread of life*, and makes it an argument of his *Divinity* [y], referring to John vi. 51. So that if we take the author's *whole* sense on this head, *Christ*, or the *fruits* of his *death*, together with our own *faith* and *virtues*, are our *bread* of *life*, our spiritual food, as taught in John vi.

We may now come down to the fourth century, where we shall meet with Eusebius, a writer of considerable note. His common way is, to interpret the *bread of life*, or *heavenly bread* of Christ himself, of the heavenly *Logos* become incarnate [z]. He understands John vi. of *spiritual* eating, and intimates that Judas received the *bread from heaven*, the *nutriment* of the *soul:* not meaning what he said, of Judas's receiving the *sacramental* bread in the *Eucharist;* but, I conceive, his meaning was, that Judas had been blessed with *heavenly instructions* and *Divine graces*, though he made an ill use of them. He had *tasted* of

[x] Cibus, inquam, *verus*, et *sanctus*, et *mundus* est *fides recta, immaculata conscientia*, et *innocens anima*. Quisquis sic pascitur, Christo convescitur: talis epulator conviva est Dei; istæ sunt epulæ quæ *angelos* pascunt; istæ sunt mensæ quæ *martyres* faciunt.——Hinc illa Christi——*operamini autem non escam quæ perit, sed escam permanentem in vitam æternam, quam filius hominis vobis dabit; hunc enim Pater signavit Deus.* Justitia, inquam, et continentia, et reliquis Deus virtutibus colitur. *Novat. de Cib. Judaic.* c. v. p. 140. edit. Welchm.

[y] Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo refert, *Ego sum panis vitæ æternæ*, &c.——cum neque *panis vitæ* homo esse possit, ipse mortalis, &c. *Novat. de Trin.* c. xiv. p. 46. conf. c. xvi. p. 54.

[z] Eusebius in Psalm. p. 81, 267, 471. In Isa. p. 586.

the *heavenly gift*, of the blessed influences of the *Divine Logos*, but fell away notwithstanding [a].

Eusebius, in another place, interprets flesh and blood in John vi. of our Lord's *mystical body and blood*, as opposed to *natural* [b]. And when he comes afterwards to explain this *mystical* body and blood, he interprets the same of *words* and *doctrines* [c], grounding his exposition on John vi. 63. "The words that I speak," &c. A learned author [d] endeavours to make Eusebius contradict himself in the same chapter: but he is *consistent* so far, which will evidently appear to any one that reads him with attention. However, I think his interpretation of John vi. to be forced and wide. It was very odd to make *doctrines* the *mystical body and blood*, and to say, that the *doctrines*, or *words* then spoken, were what our Lord intended afterwards to "give for the life of the world:" such construction appears altogether harsh and unnatural. Besides, since Eusebius interpreted *bread of life* of our Lord's *Divine* nature, he ought certainly to have understood that *bread* which our Lord was to *give*, to be the *human nature*, the *natural* body and blood. But my business here is not so much to *dispute*, as to *report*: and it is plain enough, that Eusebius followed Origen in this matter, and that both of them favoured the same *mystical* or *allegorical* construction; whether constantly and uniformly, I need not say.

Athanasius was contemporary with Eusebius, as a young man with one grown into years. He occasionally gives us his thoughts upon John vi. 61, 62, 63. in these

[a] Συνίστιος δὲ ἂν τῷ διδασκάλῳ, οὐ τὸν κοινὸν ἄρτον αὐτῷ μόνον συνίσθιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς θρεπτικοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν ἠξιοῦτο· περὶ οὗ ἔλεγεν ὁ σωτήρ· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς, καὶ ζωὴν διδοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. *Euseb. in Psalm.* p. 171.

[b] Οὐ περὶ ἧς ἀνείληφε σαρκὸς διελέγετο, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μυστικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος. *Euseb. Eccles. Theol. contr. Marcell.* p. 179.

[c] Ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα, ὧν ὁ μετέχων αἰεὶ, ὡσανεὶ ἄρτῳ οὐρανίῳ τρεφόμενος, τῆς οὐρανίου μεθέξει ζωῆς. *Euseb. ibid.* p. 180.

[d] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 373, 374.

words: "Here he has made mention of both as meeting "in himself, both *flesh* and *spirit;* and he has distinguish- "ed the *spirit* from the *flesh*, that they believing not only "the *visible* part of him, but the *invisible* also, might "learn that his discourse was not *carnal*, but *spiritual*. "For, how many men must the body have sufficed for "food, if it were to have fed all the world? But for that "very reason he intimated beforehand the Son of man's "ascension into heaven, to draw them off from corporeal "imaginations, and to teach them that the flesh which he "had been speaking of, was to be *heavenly meat* from "above, and *spiritual food*, which he would give them: "*For*, says he, the words which I have spoken, they are "*spirit* and *life*. As much as to say, That which out- "wardly *appears*, and is to be given for the salvation of "the world, is this *flesh* which I bear about me: but this, "with the *blood* thereof, shall be by me *spiritually* given "for food, *spiritually* dispensed to every one, for a pre- "servative unto all, to secure to them a resurrection to "life eternal[e]." Thus far he. The observations which I have hereupon to offer are as follow. 1. Our author very justly construes the *flesh* which Christ was to give, of his *natural* body; and supposes no *figure* in the word *flesh*. 2. He as rightly supposes some *figure* to lie in the words, *given for meat*, which he would have to be *spiritually* understood. 3. The *spiritual*, or hidden meaning, according to our author, is, that the *flesh* is joined with *spirit*, the *humanity* with the *Divinity*, and therefore in the giving his *flesh* to *eat*, he at the same time imparts his *Divinity* with the happy influences of it. 4. The *flesh*, or human nature, being all that was seen, we ought to raise our minds up to the *Divinity* united to it, and veiled under it; and so may we *spiritually* feast upon it, and be sealed to a happy resurrection by it.

Such is Athanasius's comment upon John vi. worthy of himself, and (like most other things of his) neat, clear,

[e] Athanas. Epist. iv. ad Serapion, p. 710. ed. Bened.

and judicious. Here is not one word of the *Eucharist:* neither do I see any certain grounds to persuade us, that he had it in his mind; though I am sensible that the generality of the learned do conceive that he had[f]. The thought appears juster and finer[g], without that supposition, than with it, so that there is no necessity at all for it. He could hardly understand *flesh* of Christ's *natural* flesh, and still imagine it to be given in the Eucharist, unless he had added, *virtually*, constructionally, or in *effect*, which he does not: his construction of *spiritual* is, that our Lord's Divine *spirit* goes along with that *natural* flesh, to make it salutary food to us. Besides, to interpret our Lord's giving his flesh "for the life of the world," of his giving it symbolically in the *Eucharist* (rather than *really* on the *cross*) is too low and too jejune a sense to be fathered upon a person of his great discernment. Add to this, that he speaks expressly of *spiritual* manducation, not of *oral*, or *corporal*, and therefore cannot be understood to interpret John vi. of *sacramental* eating and drinking[h]. My persuasion therefore is, that the passage relates not at all to the *Eucharist*, but to our Lord's becoming *man*, in order to bring us up to *God;* or, in short, to his taking our *humanity*, and making an *atonement* for us, in order to *feast* us with his *Divinity*, and so to *raise* us up to himself. In another place, Athanasius distinguishes the *bread* which *is Christ*, from the *bread* which *Christ gives*, (referring to John vi.) and he resolves the

[f] The reader may compare, if he pleases, Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, (part i. p. 167, 374.) which interprets Athanasius of the *Eucharist*. However, it is very certain, that this passage is no way favourable to those who would construe John vi. of *precepts* or *doctrines*.

[g] He seems to express the same thought, where, without any view to the *Eucharist*, he says: *As our Lord by putting on a body was made man, so are we men made* divine *by the* Logos, *being* assumed *through his flesh, and so of consequence heirs to eternal life.* Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ σῶμα, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος· οὕτως ἡμεῖς καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ τοῦ λόγου τε θεοποιούμεθα, προσληφθέντες διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ λοιπὸν ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομοῦμεν. *Athanas. Orat.* iii. p. 584. Conf. Sermo Major. in Nov. Collect. p. 6, 7. de Incarnat. contra Arian. p. 874, 876.

[h] Vid. Chamier, de Eucharist. lib. xi. c. 5. p. 613.

latter into the *flesh* of our Lord, but as operating in virtue of the *Holy Spirit*. He observes, that we receive that *heavenly bread* here, as the *firstfruits* of what we are to receive hereafter, inasmuch as we receive the *flesh of Christ*, which is a *quickening spirit*[i]. He had before supposed that Christ had insinuated the union of the *Logos* with his *humanity*, and now here he supposes, that a *conjunction* of the *Spirit* is insinuated likewise; since the *Logos* and the *Spirit* are inseparable. But nothing is here said directly of the *Eucharist*; so that it cannot be hence certainly inferred that Athanasius interpreted John vi. of the *Eucharist*, or that he so much as *applied* it that way: his thoughts, in both these passages, seem to have been intent upon quite another thing. A learned man, to make this last passage look the more favourable to his *scheme*, renders part of it thus: "We have the firstfruits of the "future repast in this present life, in the communion of "the body of our Lord[k]:" where the whole force of the plea lies in the phrase *communion of the Lord's body*, and the idea which it is apt to convey to an English reader. Let but the place be rendered literally, *partaking of the flesh of the Lord*[l], and the idea vanishes. It is certain, that *flesh* there means *natural* flesh, not *sacramental*, or *symbolical*; because it is the *firstfruits* of the *future repast*, (which will be *real*, not *sacramental*,) and means, according to our author, partaking of the *Holy Spirit*. Therefore one would wonder how any attentive reader

[i] Ὅτι πάλιν ὁ κύριος λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς. ἀλλαχοῦ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καλεῖ ἄρτον οὐράνιον, λέγων· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· ἐδίδαξε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι αἰτεῖν τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον, τουτέστι τὸν μέλλοντα, οὗ ἀπαρχὴν ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ νῦν ζωῇ, τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ κυρίου μεταλαμβάνοντες, καθὼς αὐτὸς εἶπε· ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς. πνεῦμα γὰρ ζωοποιοῦν ἡ σάρξ ἐστι τοῦ κυρίου. *Athan. de Incarn.* p. 883.

[k] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 375.

[l] It is a thought which Athanasius dwells much upon, that Christ took our flesh upon him, to make himself *one* with us; and that we are *partakers* of him, by being partakers of the *same flesh*. *Orat.* iii. p. 571, 572, 573, 582, 583, 588. Sermo Major. p. 7. de Incarn. contr. Arian. p. 875.

should conceive, that Athanasius here speaks *directly* and *positively*, or at all, of *oral* manducation. That he speaks of *spiritual* manducation is self-evident: and he might mean it of spiritual manducation *at large;* for he says nothing of the *Eucharist* in particular, to confine it to that *single* form, or instance of it.

Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Lectures to the *uninitiated*, interprets John vi. 64. of *good doctrine*[m]. But in what he says to the *initiated*, he *applies* John vi. 54. to the Eucharist[n]. To reconcile both places, or both constructions, we may fairly presume, that he supposed our Saviour, in verse the 64th, to intimate, that what he had said was, in the general, true and sublime doctrine, but withal *spiritual;* and in verse the 54th, to intimate, that his *flesh* and *blood* were to be *spiritually* fed upon by the *faithful.* Thus both parts are consistent: for this doctrine of *spiritual* manducation was spiritual doctrine. And Cyril here *applies* that very doctrine to the case of the *Eucharist*, because he had ground sufficient, from other Scriptures, to conclude, that such *spiritual* manducation was a privilege of that sacrament, though not of that only. So he did not directly *interpret* John the vith of the *Eucharist*, but he so *applied* it, and that very properly.

Hilary, of that time, undertaking to prove that we are *one with Christ* by a *closer* union than bare *will* and *consent* amount to, draws an argument from the sacrament of the *Eucharist* (as he does likewise in the same place from the sacrament of *Baptism*) to prove a *real* and *permanent*, but spiritual union between Christ and his *true* members. The thread of his argument is this: In and by the eucharistical food, we spiritually receive the *Word*

[m] Περὶ δὲ τῆς καλῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος λέγει· τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστι, καὶ ζωή ἐστιν· ἀντὶ τοῦ πνευματικά ἐστι.——Τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστιν· ἵνα μὴ λαλιὰν χιλίων τοῦτο εἶναι νομίσῃς, ἀλλὰ τὴν καλὴν διδασκαλίαν. *Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech.* xvi. sect. 13, 14. p. 250, 251.

[n] Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xxii. Mystagog. iv. c. 4. p. 520, 521.

incarnate, and are *mystically* united with the *natural* flesh and blood of Christ, our bodies with his body: and we are thereby truly and substantially (therefore not in consent only) united with Christ[o]. To confirm the *reality* of such union, he appeals to John vi. 55, 56. "My flesh "is meat indeed—he that eateth my flesh—dwelleth in "me, and I in him." It is observable, that he distinguishes the *eucharistical food* from the *food* mentioned in John vi. for *in* or *by* the *former*, we receive the *latter*, according to him. Therefore he does not interpret John vi. of the *Eucharist;* but, taking it for an acknowledged principle, that by the *due* use of *one*, we come at the *other*, he pertinently *accommodates* or *applies* the doctrine of John vi. to the Eucharist. In a word, Hilary does not teach that the Eucharist is that *flesh* and *blood* of Christ mentioned in John vi. but that the *flesh* and *blood* there mentioned is received in or by the Eucharist, is *spiritually* or *mystically* received; *sub mysterio*, as he expresses it[p].

Basil says, "It is good and profitable to communicate "daily of the sacred body and blood of Christ, since he "himself plainly says; *He that eateth my flesh, and drink-"eth my blood, hath eternal life*[q]." He argues justly, because the consideration drawn from John vi. is and ought to be of great force: not that John vi. speaks of the *out-*

[o] Si enim vere verbum caro factum est, et vere nos verbum carnem *cibo Dominico* sumimus; quomodo non *naturaliter* manere in nobis existimandus est &c.—vere, sub *mysterio*, carnem corporis sui sumimus. *Hilar. de Trin.* lib. viii. sect. 13. p. 954. Conf. Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. xlvi. p. 272, 273. Bened. Cyrill. Alex. de Trin. Dial. i. p. 407. and compare my late Charge, p. 20, 21.

[p] Ipse enim ait, *caro mea vere est esca* &c.—Ipsius Domini professione, et fide nostra, vere caro est, et vere sanguis est: et hæc accepta atque hausta id efficiunt, ut et nos in Christo, et Christus in nobis sit. *Ibid.* sect. 14. p. 956. If any one wants to see the whole argument cleared and vindicated, against such as hold the *corporal presence*, he may consult Albertine, p. 411, &c. or Bishop Moreton, p. 358—374. or Chamier, p. 648, &c.

[q] Τὸ κοινωνεῖν δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καλὸν καὶ ὠφελίμως· αὐτοῦ σαφῶς λέγοντος. ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *Basil. Epist.* 289.

ward Sacrament, but of *spiritual* manducation at large, and of *inward grace*; which, as we learn from other Scriptures, does ordinarily (where there is no impediment) go along with the Sacrament. Basil therefore does not *interpret* John vi. of the *Sacrament*, but he *applies* the general doctrine there taught to one particular instance whereunto it ordinarily belongs: elsewhere he interprets it of *spiritual* (not *oral*) manducation of the flesh of Christ[r].

Gregory Nyssen is sometimes cited[s], as one that interprets John vi. of the *Eucharist*; but upon slender presumptions, without any proof. Macarius also is made another voucher[t], and with little or no colour for it. Ambrose is a third[u]: and yet neither does he speak home to the point, as every careful reader may soon see. I pass them over for the sake of brevity.

Jerome interprets the *heavenly bread*, of *Christ himself*, and calls it *angels' food*; intimating thereby that it is eaten in *heaven*, but plainly teaching that it was eaten by the *Patriarchs* of old, and is now eaten, not only in the *Eucharist*, but in the sacrament also of *Baptism*[x]. From all which it is evident, that he interpreted John vi. of *spiritual*

[r] Basil. in Psalm. xxxiii. 8.

[s] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 385. It is argued, that Greg. Nyssen must have understood John vi. of the Eucharist, because he made it a *pledge* of the *resurrection*; which is no argument at all, as was observed under Ignatius and Irenæus.

[t] Johnson, p. 385. Vid. Macar. Orat. iv. p. 22.

N. B. Macarius may as reasonably be thought to interpret John iv. 14. of the Eucharist, as John vi. in that place. It is absurd to imagine that he so interpreted either; unless he supposed Moses (whom he there mentions) to have received the *Eucharist*.

[u] Johnson, ibid. Ambrose there plainly distinguishes the *sacramental* bread from the bread mentioned in John vi.

[x] Panis qui de cœlo descendit corpus est Domini, et vinum quod discipulis dedit, sanguis illius est Novi Testamenti &c.—Nec Moyses dedit nobis *panem verum*, sed Dominus Jesus: ipse conviva et convivium, ipse comedens et quod comeditur.—Hunc panem et Jacob Patriarcha comedere cupiebat, dicens, *Si fuerit Dominus mecum, et dederit mihi panem ad vescendum* &c.—Quotquot enim in Christo baptizamur, Christum induimus, et *panem comedimus angelorum*, et audimus Dominum precantem, *meus cibus est, ut faciam* &c. *Hieronym. Hedibiæ.* tom. iv. p. 171, 172. ed. Bened.

feeding at large. It is a mistake to imagine[y], that he meant *sacramental bread* and *wine*, where he speaks of the *wheat* of which the *heavenly bread* is made, and of the *wine* which is Christ's *blood*[z]. All he intended was, that the *wheat* and the *wine*, mentioned in the prophecy of Isaiah, mystically pointed to the *real* flesh and blood of Christ; who is himself that *wheat* which makes the heavenly bread, according to his own allusion, where he resembles himself to *wheat* falling, and bearing much fruit[a].

Chrysostom interprets John vi. 51. of Christ's *natural* body, not of the *sacramental*[b]. Elsewhere, distinguishing between the bread which *is Christ*, and the bread which *Christ gives*, he interprets the former of our Lord's *Divine nature*[c]: of the latter he offers a twofold construction, so as to comprehend both our Lord's own natural *body*, and any salutary *doctrines*, inasmuch as *both* of them strengthen the soul[d]. He takes notice that our Lord there speaks of *spiritual food*[e], and that by the Eucharistical food we partake of the spiritual, and become really *one* with Christ[f]. The thought is the same with what we have seen in Hilary before cited: and it proves very evidently, that Chrysostom did not understand the food spoken of in John vi. of the *sacramental food*, since he makes them as

[y] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 376.

[z] Triticum quoque de quo *panis cœlestis* efficitur, illud est de quo loquitur Dominus, *caro mea vere est cibus:* rursumque de vino, et *sanguis meus vere est potus. Hieron. in Isa.* c. lxii. p. 462.

[a] John xii. 24. Compare Jerome in Ose. c. vii. p. 1285.

[b] Ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέχυεν αἷμα, ὑπὲρ τούτων τὴν σφαγὴν κατεδέξατο, ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος, φησὶν, ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστὶν, ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς. *Chrysost. de Anathemate*, tom. i. p. 692. ed. Bened. Conf. Hom. xlv. in Johann. p. 271.

[c] Chrysostom in Johan. Hom. xliv. p. 264. cited above, p. 116. Conf. Hom. xlv. p. 270.

[d] Ἄρτον δὲ ἤτοι τὰ δόγματα λέγει ἐνταῦθα τὰ σωτήρια, καὶ τὴν πίστιν τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. ἀμφότερα γὰρ νικροῖ τὴν ψυχήν. *Chrysost. in Joh. Hom.* 45. p. 270.

[e] Μίμνηται τροφῆς πνευματικῆς. *Ibid.* p. 271.

[f] Μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἀγάπην γινώμεθα ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναπιρασθῶμεν τὴν σάρκα· διὰ τῆς τροφῆς γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται, ἣν ἐχαρίσατο—*Ibid.* p. 272.

distinct as *means* and *end*, or as the *instrumental* cause and *principal*, while he supposes that by the due use of *one* we come at the *other*. I shall not now give myself the trouble of particularly examining every plea that has been offered, or every passage that has been alleged [g], to make Chrysostom appear favourable to another hypothesis. If the reader does but bear in mind the proper *distinction* between *interpreting* of the Eucharist, and *applying* a text or texts to the Eucharist, he will need no further solution. I shall only observe farther, that no one of the later *Fathers* has better expressed the true and full meaning of our Lord in John the vith, than Cyril of Alexandria has done, where he teaches, that "no soul can "ever attain to freedom from sin, or escape the tyranny "of Satan, or arrive to the city above, *but by participating* "*of Christ, and of his philanthropy* [h];" presently after quoting John vi. 53. (together with John viii. 34.) in proof of what he had said.

Hitherto we have seen nothing in the *Fathers* that can be justly thought *clear* and *determinate* in favour of *oral* manducation, as directly and primarily intended in John vi. Many, or most of them have *applied* that general doctrine of *spiritual feeding* to the particular case of the Eucharist, because we are *spiritually* fed therein: but they have not *interpreted* that chapter directly of the *Eucharist*, because it has not one word of the outward *signs*, or *symbols* of the spiritual food, but abstracts from all, and rests in the *general* doctrine of the use and necessity of *spiritual nutriment*, the blood of Christ, in some shape or other, to everlasting salvation. Thus stood the case, both in the Greek and Latin churches, for the first four centuries, or somewhat more. But about the beginning of the *fifth* century arose some confusion. The frequent *applying* of John vi. to the Eucharist came at length to make many,

[g] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 384.

[h] Εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ μετοχῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας &c. *Cyrill. Alexander. Glaph. in Exod.* ii. *de Host. Agni*, p. 267.

among the Latins especially, *interpret* it directly of the *Eucharist:* and now some thought John vi. 53. as decisive a text for the necessity of the Eucharist, as John iii. 5. was for the necessity of *Baptism.* Hereupon ensued a common practice of giving the Communion to mere *infants.* Pope Innocent I. is believed to have been the first or principal man that brought up such doctrine of the *necessity* of communicating infants[i]: he was made Bishop of Rome A. D. 402. It appears very probable, that from the time of his Synodical Epistle, A. D. 417. the doctrine generally ran, in the Latin churches at least, that "unless "you receive the Eucharist, you have no life in you." St. Austin is supposed to have construed the text in that way, especially from the time of Pope Innocent[k]. But in some places of his works he interprets that chapter, or some parts of it, with clearer and better judgment. Particularly in his Doctrina Christiana, lib. iii. cap. 16. quoted above[l]: and also in another work of his, where he plainly distinguishes the *Sacrament* of *Christ's body* from the *spiritual food* mentioned in John vi[m]. There are two noted passages of his, where he seems to interpret the *living bread* of eating *doctrine,* of *believing* only[n]: but he only

[i] See Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, part ii. ch. 9. p. 441. &c. 3d edit. Defence, p. 36, 384. Bingham, b. xv. c. 4. sect. 7. Compare Mr. Pierce's Essay on Infant Communion, who carries it much higher than others, upon suggestions which bear a plausible appearance, and are worth examining by some person of learning and leisure. But in the mean while, I acquiesce in Dr. Wall's account, as one that was well considered, and which, in my opinion, cannot be far from the truth.

[k] See Wall, ibid. p. 441, 442, 443. Vossius, Histor. Pelag. lib. ii. part. 3. p. 167. But Thorndike disputes it, [Epilog. p. 176, &c. De Jur. Finiend. p. 285.] with some show of reason.

[l] See above, p. 103.

[m] Panis quotidianus aut pro *iis omnibus* dictus est quæ hujus vitæ necessitatem sustentant, aut pro *Sacramento corporis Christi* quod quotidie accipimus, aut pro *spirituali cibo* de quo idem Dominus dicit, *Ego sum panis,* &c. *Augustin. de Sermon. Domini in Monte,* lib. ii. c. 7. Conf. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxi. c. 25.

[n] Ut quid paras dentes, et ventrem? *Crede,* et *manducasti.* Credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum. *Augustin. in Johan.* tract. 25, 26. Augustinus hunc cibum *tripliciter* interpretatur: videlicet de *propria*

seems to do so, when he really does not. For he intends no more than this, that *faith* is the *mean* whereby we receive that *living bread;* it is the *qualification* requisite for the reception of it[o]. A man must have had *faith* to be *healed*, as we often read in the Gospels; and *healing* certainly followed upon the *faith* of the person: and it might be right to say, *Believe*, and thou art *healed:* but yet *faith* and the *cure* following were not the same thing, but very distinct, both in nature and notion[p].

It may be proper to go on to Fulgentius of the next age, A. D. 507. a great admirer and follower of St. Austin, to see how this matter stood among the Africans in his time. He had a question put to him, upon a scruple raised from John vi. 53. concerning the case of such as having been *baptized*, happened to be prevented by death from receiving the *holy Communion:* and he determined that they were *safe*, because *Baptism* exhibits the *body* and *blood* of Christ to faithful recipients, as well as the *Eucharist*[q]. He strengthens his determination of the case by the authority of St. Austin, in a long citation from him: and at length concludes, that receiving *Baptism* is receiving the *body* and *blood* of Christ, because it is receiving the *thing signified* in the other sacrament[r]. He cer-

Domini carne,—interdum etiam de *Sacramento carnis* hujus; nonnunquam de *societate fidelium*. *Albertin.* p. 691, 699.

[o] Non perspexit——ab Augustino ipso, his verbis, fidem ut *causam*, manducationem vero ipsam spiritualem ut *effectum* inter se conferri et collocari. Alioqui, si *credere*, et *manducare* una et eadem res esset ex Augustini mente, quid hac oratione fuerit ineptius? *Crede* et *manducasti*, id est, *manduca* et *manducasti*. *Lamb. Danæi Apolog. pro Helvet. Eccl.* p. 1477. Opusc. ed. Genev. Conf. Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 280.

[p] Compare Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 377.

[q] In ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit. Quid enim agitur sacramento sancti Baptismatis, nisi ut credentes *membra* Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiant, et ad compagem corporis ejus ecclesiastica unitate pertineant?—Tunc incipit unusquisque *particeps esse* illius unius *panis*, quando cœperit memorem esse, illius unius corporis, &c.

[r] Unumquemque fidelium *corporis sanguinisque* Dominici *participem* fieri, quando in Baptismate membrum esse illius corporis Christi efficitur nec alienari ab illo *panis calicisve consortio*, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedat, et calicem bibat, de hoc sæculo in unitate corporis Christi constitu-

tainly judged very right: and it is an instance to show how plain good sense *overruled*, though it did not abolish, a wrong interpretation of John vi. and removed, in some measure, the uneasy scruples arising naturally from the then prevailing construction. The proper inference from Fulgentius's wise and wary resolution of the case is, that John vi. ought not to be rigorously understood of any *particular* way of *spiritual feeding*, but simply of *spiritual feeding*, be it in what way soever: be it by *Baptism*, or by the *Eucharist*, or by any other *sacraments*, (as under the old law,) or by any kind of means which *divine* wisdom shall choose, or has in Scripture signified.

From this summary view of the *ancients* it may be observed, that they *varied* sometimes in their constructions of John vi. or of some parts of it: but what prevailed most, and was the *general* sentiment wherein they united, was, that Christ himself is properly and primarily our *bread of life*, considered as the *Word made flesh*, as *God incarnate*, and *dying* for us; and that whatever else might, in a secondary sense, be called *heavenly bread*, (whether *sacraments*, or *doctrines*, or any *holy service*,) it was considered but as an *antepast* to the other, or as the *same thing* in the main, under a different form of expression.

I shall here throw in a few words concerning the sentiments of *moderns*, before I close this chapter. Albertinus[s] will furnish the reader with a competent list of Schoolmen, and others of the Roman communion, who have rejected the *sacramental* interpretation of John vi. A more summary account of the same may be seen in Archbishop Wake[t], in the collection of pamphlets written against Popery in a late reign. I know not whether the autho-

tus abscedat. *Sacramenti* quippe *illius* participatione et beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum *significat* invenitur. *Fulgent. ibid.* p. 227, 228. Conf. Cyrill. Alexandr. Glaphyr. in Exod. lib. ii. p. 270. in Johann. ix. 6. p. 602.

[s] Albertinus de Eucharistia, lib. i. c. 30. p. 209.

[t] Discourse of the Eucharist, printed in 1687, p. 20. He numbers up thirty in all, thus: two popes, four cardinals, two archbishops, five bishops, the rest doctors and professors.

rities of that kind may be looked upon as so many *concessions* from that quarter, (though the Romanists, generally, contend earnestly for the *sacramental* construction,) because there may be reasons why the more considering Romanists should think it *prudent* to give another construction, inasmuch as John vi. if interpreted directly of the Eucharist, would furnish a strong argument for *infant communion*, which they have long laid aside; and it would be diametrically opposite to a noted principle of theirs, of denying the *cup* to the *laity*. I cannot say how far these two considerations may have inclined the shrewder men amongst them to reject what I call the *sacramental* construction of John vi.

But the *Reformers*, in general, for very weighty reasons, have rejected the same: the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* abroad, and our *own* most early and most considerable *Divines*, have concurred in discarding it. It would be tedious to enter into a particular recital of authorities; and so I shall content myself with pointing out two or three of the most eminent, who may justly be allowed to speak for the rest. Archbishop Cranmer stands at the head of them: he had considered that matter as closely perhaps as any man before or after him, and determined in the main as judiciously. He writes thus:

" Whoe ever said or taught before this tyme, that the " *Sacrament* was the cause why Christ said, *Yf wee eate* " *not the fleshe of the Sonne of man, wee have not lyfe in* " *us?* The *spiritual* eating of his flesh, and drincking of " his bloud by faith, by digesting his *death* in our myndes, " as our only *pryce*, *raunsom*, and *redemption* from eternal " dampnation, is the cause wherfore Christe sayd, that *if* " *wee eate not his fleshe, and drincke not his bloud, we have* " *not lyfe in us:* and *if wee eate his fleshe and drincke his* " *bloud, wee have everlasting lyfe.* And if Christ had " never ordeyned the *Sacrament*, yet should wee have " eaten his fleshe and dronken his bloud, and have had " therby everlasting lyfe, as al the faithful dyd before the " *Sacrament* was ordeyned, and doe daily, when thei re-

" ceave not the Sacrament. — That in the vi. of John " Christ spake nether of *corporall* nor *sacramental* eating " of his fleshe, the *tyme* manifestly sheweth. For Christ " spake of the same *present* tyme that was *then*, saying: " *The bread which I will give is my fleshe*, &c. At whyche " tyme the *sacramental* bread was not yet Christes fleshe: " for the *Sacrament* was not yet ordeyned; and yet at " that tyme, all that beleved in Christ did *eat his flesh* " and *drincke his bloud*, or elles thei coulde not have " dwelled in Christ, nor Christ in them [u].

" This symilityde caused oure Saviour to say, *My* " *fleshe is very meate, and my bloud is very drynke.* For " there is no kynde of meate that is comfortable to the " soule, but only *the death of Christes blessed body;* nor " no kynde of drynke that can quenche her thirst, but " only the *bloude sheddyng* of our Saviour Christ which " was shed for her offences [x].

" I mervail here not a litle of Mr. Smith's either dulnes " or maliciousnes, that cannot or will not see, that Christ " in this chapter of St. John spake not of *sacramental* " bread, but of *heavenly bread;* nor of his *flesh* only, but " also of his *bloud*, and of his *Godhead*, calling them *hea-* " *venly bread* that giveth everlasting life. So that he " spake of himselfe wholly, saing, *I am the bread of* " *life*, &c. And nether spake he of *common* bread, nor " yet of *sacramental* bread, for nether of them was given " upon the crosse *for the lyfe of the world.* And there " can be nothing more *manifest*, than that in this sixth " chapter of St. John, Christ spake not of the *Sacrament* " of his flesh, but of his *very flesh.* And that as wel for " that the *Sacrament* was *not then instituted*, as also be- " cause Christ said not in the *future* tense, the bread " which I will give *shall be* my flesh, but in the *present* " tense, the bread which I will give *is my flesh:* which " *sacramental* bread was neither *then* his flesh, nor was

[u] Archbishop Cranmer on the Sacrament, p. 22.
[x] Cranmer, p. 41. Conf. Calvin. in Joh. vi. 54.

" *then* instituted for a sacrament, nor was after *given for* " *the life of the world.*—When he said, *the bread which I* " *wil give is my flesh*, &c. he meant nether of the *materiall* " bread, nether of the *accidents* of bread, but of his *own* " *flesh:* which although of itself it *availeth nothinge*, yet " being in *unity of Person* joyned unto his *Divinity*, it is " the same heavenly bread that he gave to *death* upon " the crosse *for the life of the world*[y]."

Thus far that excellent person has shown, by convincing reasons drawn from the chapter itself, that John vi. ought not to be *interpreted* of the Eucharist. Nevertheless, he very well knew, and did not forget to observe, that it may properly be *applied* or accommodated to the Eucharist, and is of great weight and force for that very purpose.

" As the bread is outwardlie eaten indeede in the Lordes " Supper, so is the very body of Christ inwardly by faith " eaten indede of all them that come thereto in such sorte " as thei ought to doe; which eating nourysheth them unto " everlasting lyfe. And this eating hath a *warrant signed* " *by Christ himselfe in the* vi. of John, where Christ saith, " He that eateth my flesh, and drincketh my bloud, hath " lyfe everlasting[y]. You be the first that ever *excluded* " the wordes of Christe *from his Supper*. And St. Au- " gustine mente, as well *at the Supper*, as at all other " tymes, that the eating of Christes flesh is not to be " understanded carnally with our teeth, &c[a]."

The sum then of Archbishop Cranmer's doctrine on this head is; 1. That John vi. is not to be interpreted of *oral* manducation in the Sacrament, nor of spiritual manducation as *confined* to the Eucharist, but of spiritual manducation *at large*, in that or any other sacrament, or out of the Sacraments. 2. That *spiritual* manducation, in that chapter, means the feeding upon Christ's *death* and *pas-*

[y] Cranmer, p. 450. Compare Bishop Jewell, Defence of Apology, p. 306, &c. Answer to Harding, p. 78, 239, 240. Fryth, Answer to More, p. 21, 27.

[z] Cranmer, p. 11. [a] Ibid. p. 35.

sion, as the *price* of our redemption and salvation. 3. That in so feeding we have a spiritual or mystical *union* with his *human nature*, and by that with his *Godhead*, to which his humanity is joined in an *unity of Person*. 4. That such *spiritual* manducation is a privilege belonging to the Eucharist, and therefore John vi. is not *foreign* to the Eucharist, but has such relation to it as the inward thing *signified* bears to the *outward signs*.

To Archbishop Cranmer I may subjoin Peter Martyr, who about ten years after engaged in the same cause, in a large Latin treatise printed A. D. 1562. No man has more clearly shown, in few words, how far John vi. belongs not to the Eucharist, and how far it does. He considers the general principles there taught as being *preparatory* to the *institution* of the Eucharist, which was to come after. Our Lord in that chapter gave intimation of *spiritual food*, with the use and necessity of it: afterwards, in the institution, he added *external symbols*, for the notifying one particular act or instance of *spiritual* manducation, to make it the more solemn and the more affecting. Therefore John vi. though not directly spoken of the Eucharist, yet is by no means *foreign*, but rather looks forward towards it, bears a tacit *allusion* to it, and serves to reflect light upon it: for which reason the ancient *Fathers* are to be commended for connecting the account of *inward grace* with the *outward symbols*, the *thing signified* with the *signs* afterwards added, and so *applying* the discourse of that chapter to the case of the Eucharist [b].

[b] De sexto capite Johannis, an ad Eucharistiam pertineat, nos ita respondemus. Sermonem ibi de *Sacramento cœnæ* non institui; ibi enim cœna cum *symbolis* non ordinatur. Nam nec *panis*, nec *calicis*, nec *gratiarum actionis*, nec *fractionis*, nec *distributionis*, nec *testamenti*, nec *memoriæ*, nec *annuntiationis* mortis Christi mentio ulla eo loco instituitur. Huc spectabant illi, qui dixerunt illud caput *ad Eucharistiam non pertinere*, &c.

Quoniam *res ipsa* (id est, corporis et sanguinis Christi *spiritualis* manducatio et potus) ibi luculenter traditur, ad quam postea Evangelistæ, ad finem historiæ suæ, declarant Christum adjunxisse *symbola externa* panis et vini, idcirco nos caput illud a Sacramento Eucharistiæ *non putamus esse alienum*.—

From what has been observed of these two eminent *Reformers*, we may judge how John vi. was understood at that time: not of *doctrines*, nor of *sacramental* feeding, but of *spiritual* feeding at large, feeding upon the *death* and *passion* of Christ our Lord. This, I think, has been the prevailing construction of our own *Divines* all along: and though it has been much obscured of late (for half a century, perhaps, or more) by one or other *hypothesis*, yet has it never been lost[c], neither, I suppose, ever will be. A late very judicious Prelate of our Church, in a sermon on John vi. 53. has well expressed the sense of our Church in this matter, in the words here following. "The *body* and *blood* of Christ are to be understood in "such a sense as a *soul* can be supposed to feed upon a "*body*, or to receive strength and nourishment by *feeding* "upon it. But now the *body* of Christ can be no other- "wise as *food* for the strengthening and refreshing our "souls, than only as the *spiritual benefits* of that body "and blood, that is to say, the *virtue and effects of Christ's* "*sacrifice* upon the cross, are communicated to it; nor is "the soul capable of receiving those benefits otherwise "than by *faith*. So that the *body* and *blood* of Christ, in "the sense of our Church, are only the *benefits of Christ's* "*passion;* that is to say, the *pardon of sin*, and the *grace* "of the *Holy Spirit*, and a *nearer union with Christ:* and "our *eating* and *drinking* of that body and blood, is our

Imo *Patres* illos libenter recipimus, qui illa verba ad hoc negotium *transtulerunt*. Quid enim aliud sibi volunt *panis* et *vinum*, quæ postea addita sunt in cœna, nisi ut magis excitemur ad *manducationem illam* corporis et sanguinis Domini, quæ multis verbis diligentissime tractata fuerat in *sexto Johannis*. Satis ergo apparet quemadmodum nos ista conjungimus. *Petr. Mart.* p. 114, 115. Conf. Chamier, de Eucharist. lib. xi. c. 3, &c.

[c] Dean Fogg, in his excellent Compendium of Divinity, published A. D. 1712, has fully and distinctly expressed the sense of John vi. in two lines:

Christus ibi loquitur, non de manducatione *sacramentali*, sed *spirituali*, et de pane *significato*, non *significante*. *Fogg. Theolog. Specul. Schema*, p. 309.

Dr. Wall says; The words of our Saviour to the Jews, John vi. 53. do no way appear to belong to the *sacramental* eating, which was not then instituted. *Wall, Inf. Bapt.* part ii. c. 9. p. 448. third edit.

" being *partakers* of those *benefits;* and the *mouth* where-
" by we thus eat and drink, that is, the *means* whereby
" we are made partakers of those benefits, is our true and
" lively faith [d]." This account is formed upon our Catechism, and upon the old principles of our first *Reformers*, and the next succeeding *Divines*, before any refined speculations came in to obscure or perplex a plain notion, and a very important truth. All I have to observe farther upon it, by way of explanation, is as follows: 1. When the learned author says, that " the soul is not capable of
" receiving those benefits otherwise than by faith," I understand it of *adult Christians*, and of what they are *ordinarily* capable of: God may *extraordinarily* apply the benefits of Christ's passion wherever there is no *moral* obstacle, as he pleases. And it should be noted, that, properly speaking, we do not *apply* those benefits to ourselves, we only *receive*, or (by the help of God's grace) *qualify* ourselves for receiving: it is *God* that *applies* [e], as it is also God that *justifies;* and he does it ordinarily in and by the *sacraments* to persons *fitly* prepared. 2. When it is said, that the *body* and *blood* of Christ, in the sense of our Church, *are only the benefits of Christ's passion*, I so understand it, as not to exclude all reference to our Lord's *glorified body* now in heaven, with which we maintain a *mystical* union, and which is itself one of the *benefits* consequent upon our partaking of Christ's passion; as seems to be intimated by the author himself, where he reckons a *nearer union with Christ* among the *benefits*. 3. The judicious author rightly makes *faith* to be the *mouth* only, by which we receive, not the *meat* or *drink* which we do receive; the *means* only of spiritual nutri-

[d] Archbishop Sharp, vol. vii. serm. xv. p. 366.

[e] *Fides* magis proprie dicitur *accipere* et *apprehendere*, quam vel *polliceri*, vel *præstare*. Sed verbum Dei et promissio cui fides innititur, non vero *fides* hominum, *præsentia* reddit quæ promittit; quemadmodum inter *reformatos* et *pontificios* aliquot consensum est in Collatione Sangermani habita 1561. Male enim a multis Romanensibus nobis objicitur, quasi crederemus hanc Christi præsentiam et communicationem in sacramento, per nudam *fidem* tantum effici. *Cosin. Histor. Transubst.* c. ii. sect. 8. p. 17, 18.

ment, not the *nutriment* itself: for the nutriment itself is *pardon* and *grace* coming down from above, flowing from the *spiritual* and *gracious* presence of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whose *temple* we are, while we are *living* members of Christ.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Sacramental or Symbolical Feeding in the EUCHARIST.

AFTER considering *spiritual manducation* by itself, independent of any particular modes, forms, or circumstances, it will next be proper to take a view of it, as set forth in a *sensible* way, with the additional garniture of *signs* and *symbols*. Under the Old Testament, besides the ordinary *sacrifices*, the *manna* and the *waters* of the rock were *signs* and *symbols* of spiritual manducation, according to St. Paul's doctrine, where he teaches, that the ancient Israelites "did all eat the same spiritual meat, "and did all drink the same spiritual drink[f]" which Christians do; the same with ours as to the spiritual signification of it: so I understand the place, with many judicious interpreters, both *ancients* [g] and *moderns* [h]. As the heavenly meat and drink of the true Israelites was *Christ*, according to the Apostle, and Christ also is *ours*, the Apostle must be understood to teach, that they fed upon the same heavenly food that we do; only by different *symbols*, and in a *fainter* light. The symbols are there called *spiritual* meat and drink, that is, *mystical*; for they *signified* the true food, which none but the *true* Israelites were fed with, while *all* received the *signs*. In the New Testament, the *bread* and *wine* of the Eucharist are the appointed *symbols* of the spiritual blessings, but

[f] 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

[g] Austin, Bede, Bertram, and others.

[h] Besides commentators, see Archbishop Cranmer on the Sacrament, p. 86. &c. Bishop Jewell, Treatise on the Sacrament; Mede, Discourse xliii. p. 325. &c. Bishop Moreton on the Sacrament, book v. c. 2. sect. 3. p. 314.

under clearer and brighter manifestations. For proof hereof we must look back to the original *institution* of the Sacrament, and particularly to the words, "This is my "body," &c. and "This is my blood," &c. To undertake the exposition of them is entering into the most perplexed and intricate part of the whole subject; made so by an odd series of incidents, in a long tract of time, and remaining as a standing monument of *human infirmities:* in consideration whereof, *moderns*, of all parties, may perhaps see reason not to bear themselves high above the *ancients*, in point of wisdom or sagacity. The plain obvious notion, which nobody almost could miss of for six or seven centuries, came at length to be obscured in *dark* ages, and by degrees to be almost totally lost. It was no very easy matter to recover it afterwards, or to clear off the mists at once. Contentions arose, even among the elucidators: and what was worst of all, after that in every scheme proposed, at the *Reformation*, some difficulties remained, which could not of a sudden be perfectly adjusted, there appeared at length some enterprising persons, who, either for shortening disputes, or for other causes, laboured to depreciate the *Sacraments* themselves, as if they were scarce worth the contending for: which was pushing matters to the most dangerous and pernicious extreme that could be invented. But I pass on.

For the clearer apprehending what that *plain* and *easy* notion was, which I just now spake of, I choose to begin with a famous passage of St. Bernard, often quoted in this subject, and very useful to give the readers a good general idea of the *symbolical* nature of the Sacraments. He compares them with *instruments* of *investiture*, (into *lands*, *honours*, *dignities*,) which are *significant* and *emblematical* of what they belong to, and are at the same time *means* of conveyance[i]. A *book*, a *ring*, a *crosier*, and the

[i] Variæ sunt investituræ secundum ea quibus investimur: verbi gratia, investitur *canonicus* per *librum*, *abbas* per *baculum* et *annulum* simul: sicut, inquam, in ejusmodi rebus est, sic et divisiones gratiarum diversis sunt traditæ sacramentis. *Bernard. de Cœn. Domini*, serm. i. p. 145.

like, have often been made use of as *instruments* for such purpose. They are not without their *significancy* in the way of instructive *emblem:* but what is most considerable, they are instruments to *convey* those rights, privileges, honours, offices, possessions, which in silent language they point to. Those small *gifts* or *pledges* are as nothing in themselves, but they are highly valuable with respect to *what* they are pledges of, and what they legally and effectively *convey:* so it is with the *signs* and *symbols* of both *Sacraments,* and particularly with the *elements* of bread and wine in the Eucharist. They are, after consecration, called by the *names* of what they are *pledges* of, and are ordained to *convey;* because they are, though not *literally,* yet in *just construction* and *certain effect,* (standing on *Divine* promise and *Divine* acceptance,) the very things which they are called, *viz.* the *body* and *blood* of Christ to all *worthy* receivers. In *themselves* they are *bread* and *wine* from first to last: but while they are made use of in the holy service, they are *considered, construed, understood,* (pursuant to Divine law, promise, covenant,) as standing for what they *represent* and *exhibit.* Thus frequently, in human affairs, things or persons are *considered* very differently from what they really are in themselves, by a kind of *construction of law:* and they are supposed to be, to all intents and purposes, and in full *legal effect,* what they are presumed to serve for, and to supply the place of.

A *deed* of *conveyance,* or any like *instrument* under hand and seal, is not a *real* estate, but it *conveys* one; and it is in *effect* the estate itself, as the estate goes along with it; and as the *right, title,* and *property* (which are *real* acquirements) are, as it were, bound up in it, and subsist by it[k]. If any person should seriously object, in

[k] Our very judicious Hooker has explained this matter much the same way, in these words, as spoken by our Lord.

"This hallowed food, through the concurrence of Divine power, is in "*verity* and *truth,* unto faithful receivers, *instrumentally* a cause of that "mystical participation, whereby as I *make myself wholly theirs,* so I *give*

such a case, that he sees nothing but *wax* and *parchments*, and that he does not apprehend how they can be of any extraordinary *value* to him, or how he is made *richer* by them; he might be pitied, I presume, for his unthinking ignorance or simplicity: but if, in a contrary extreme, he should be credulous enough to imagine, that the *parchments* themselves are really and *literally* the estate, are so many *houses* or *tenements*, or *acres* of *glebe*, inclosed in his cabinet, he could not well be presumed to be far short of distraction. I leave it to the intelligent reader, to make the application proper to the present subject. I have supposed, all the while, that the cases are so far parallel: but whether they really are so must now be the point of inquiry; for I am sensible that the thing is too important to be taken for granted.

Come we then directly to consider the words, "This is "my body," and "This is my blood." What can they, or what do they mean?

1. They cannot mean, that this *bread* and this *wine* are really and literally that body in the same *broken* state as it hung upon the cross, and that blood which was spilled upon the ground 1700 years ago. Neither yet can they mean that this bread and wine literally and properly are our Lord's *glorified body*, which is as far distant from us, as *heaven* is distant: all *sense*, all *reason*, all *Scripture*, all *antiquity*, and sound *theology*, reclaim against so wild a thought.

2. Well then, since the words cannot be understood *literally*, or with utmost *rigour*, they must be brought under some *figure* or other, some softening explication, to make them both *sense* and *truth*.

3. But there may be danger of undercommenting, as well as of interpreting too high: and men may recede so far from the *letter* as altogether to dilute the meaning, or break its force. As nothing but *necessity* can warrant us

"*them in hand* an actual *possession* of all such saving grace as my sacrificed "body can yield, and as their souls do presently need: *this is to them my* "*body*." *Hooker*, vol. ii. p. 337. Conf. Cosin. Histor. Transubst. p. 57, 58.

in going from the *letter* at all, we ought not to go farther than such necessity requires. There appears to be something very solemn and awful in our Lord's pointed words, "This is my body," and "This is my blood." Had he intended no more than a bare *commemoration*, or *representation*, it might have been sufficient to have said, *Eat this bread broken*, and *drink this wine poured out*, in remembrance of me and my passion, without declaring in that strong manner that the bread and wine *are* his body and blood, at the same time commanding his Disciples to *take* them as such. We ought to look out for some as high and significant a meaning as the nature of the thing can admit of, in order to answer such *emphatical* words and gestures.

4. Some, receding from the *letter*, have supposed the words to mean, this bread and this wine are my body and blood *in power and effect*, or in *virtue and energy:* which is not much amiss, excepting that it seems to carry in it some obscure conception either of an *inherent* or *infused* virtue resting upon the bare *elements*, and operating as a *mean*, which is not the truth of the case; excepting also, that it leaves us but a very dark and confused idea of what the Lord's *body* or *blood* means, in that way of speaking, whether *natural* or *sacramental*, or both in one.

5. It appears more reasonable and more proper to say, that the bread and wine are the body and blood (*viz.* the *natural* body and blood) in *just construction*, put upon them by the lawgiver himself, who has so appointed, and who is able to make it good. The symbols are not the body in *power* and *effect*, if those words mean *efficiency:* but, suitable dispositions supposed in the recipient, the *delivery* of these symbols is, in *construction* of Gospel law, and in *Divine* intention, and therefore in certain *effect* or *consequence*, a delivery of the *things* signified. If God hath been pleased so to order that these outward elements, in the due use of the Eucharist, shall be *imputed to* us, and *accepted* by him, as pledges of the *natural* body of our Lord, and that this *constructional* intermingling his body

and blood with ours, shall be the same thing *in effect* with our *adhering* inseparably to him, as *members* or *parcels* of him; then those outward symbols are, though not *literally*, yet *interpretatively*, and to all *saving* purposes, that very body and blood which they so represent *with effect:* they are appointed instead of them [1].

This notion of the Sacrament, as it is both intelligible and reasonable, so is it likewise entirely consonant to Scripture language; considered first in the *general;* next, with respect to the Jewish *sacrifices* and *sacraments;* then with regard also to Christian *Baptism;* and lastly, with respect to what is elsewhere taught of the *Eucharist.* Further, it appears to have been the *ancient* notion of all the Christian churches for six centuries or more; and was scarce so much as *obscured,* till very corrupt and ignorant ages came up, and was never totally lost, though almost swallowed up for a time by the prevailing growth of *transubstantiation.* These particulars I shall now endeavour to prove distinctly, in the same order as I have named them.

1. I undertake to show that the interpretation here given is favoured by the *general* style or phraseology of Scripture; which abounds with examples of such *figurative* and *constructional* expressions, where one thing is *mentioned* and another *understood,* according to the way which I have before intimated. I do not here refer to such instances as are often produced in this subject; as *metaphorical* locutions, when our Lord is styled a *door,* a *vine,* a *star,* a *sun,* a *rock,* a *lamb,* a *lion,* or the like; which amount only to so many *similitudes* couched, every one respectively, under a single word. Neither do I point to other well known instances, of *seven kine* being *seven years,* and *four great beasts* being *four kings,* and the *field* being the *world, reapers* being *angels,* and the like: which appertain only to *visional* or *parabolical* representations, and

[1] Τὸ ποτήριον ἐν τάξει αἵματος ἡγεῖσθαι, is the phrase of Victor Antiochenus, who wrote about A. D. 401. *Vid. Albertin.* p. 832.

come not up to the point in hand. The examples which we are to seek for, as similar and parallel to the expressions made use of by our Lord in the *institution*, must be those wherein some *real thing* is in *just construction* and *certain effect* allowed to be *another thing*.

Moses *was a God* to Pharaoh[m], not literally, but *in effect*. The walking *tabernacle*, or moving *ark*, being a *symbol* of the Divine presence, was *considered* as God walking[n] among his people. *Faith* was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness[o], or sinless perfection; not that it strictly or literally was so, but it was so *accepted* in God's account. John the Baptist was Elias[p], not literally, but in just construction. Man and wife are *one flesh*[q], not in the utmost strictness of speech, but *interpretatively*, or in effect; they are *considered* as one. He that is joined to an *harlot* is *one body*[r], not literally, but in *construction* of Divine law: and he that is joined unto the Lord is *one spirit*[s], is *considered* as so, and with real effect. The *Church* is our *Lord's body*[t], interpretatively so. Levi paid tithes in Abraham, not literally, but constructionally, or as one *may say*[u]. Abraham received his son Isaac from the dead, not really, but in just construction, and *in a figure*[x]. The Apostle tells his new converts; "Ye "are our epistle," and the "epistle of Christ[y];" that is to say, *instead* of an epistle, or *equivalent* thereto; the same thing in effect or use. These examples may suffice to show, in the *general*, that Scripture is no stranger to the *symbolical* or *constructional* language, expressing *one thing* by *another thing*, considered as equivalent thereto, and amounting to the same as to real effects or purposes.

2. This will appear still plainer from the *sacrificial* lan-

[m] Exod. vii. 1. [n] Levit. xxvi. 11, 12. Deut. xxiii. 14.
[o] Gen. xv. 6. Rom. iv. 3, 9, 22. Gal. iii. 6.
[p] Matt. xvii. 12. Mark ix. 13. [q] 1 Cor. vi. 16.
[r] 1 Cor. vi. 16. [s] 1 Cor. vi. 17.
[t] Ephes. i. 23. See Spinkes against Transubstant. p. 29, 30.
[u] Hebr. vii. 9. [x] Hebr. xi. 19. [y] 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.

guage and usage in the Old Testament. *Blood*, in sacrificial language, was the *life* of an animal: and the shedding the blood for sacrifice, together with the sprinkling it, were understood to be giving *life* for *life*[z]. The *fumes* of some sacrifices were *considered* as *sweet odours*[a], grateful to God when sent up with a pure mind. The *altar* was considered as God's *table*[b]: and what was *offered* upon it, and consumed by *fire*, was construed and accepted as God's *meat*, *bread*, *food*, *portion*, or *mess*[c]. Not that it was *literally* so, but it was all one to the supplicants; with whom God dealt as kindly, as if it had really been so: it was the same thing in legal *account*, was *symbolically* the same, and therefore so *named*. The *laying hands* upon the *head* of the victim was, in *construction* of Divine law, *transferring* the legal offences upon the victim[d]: more particularly, the people's performing that ceremony towards the *scape-goat* was considered as *laying* their *iniquities* upon him, which accordingly the goat was supposed to *bear away* with him[e]; all which was true in *legal* account. The priests, in eating the *sin-offering* of the people, were considered as eating up their guilt, incorporating it with themselves, and discharging the people of it[f]: and the *effect* answered. But when the people feasted on the *peace-offerings*, it was symbolically eating *peace*, and maintaining amity with God: to which St. Paul alludes in a noted passage[g], to be explained hereafter. From hence it may be observed, by the way, that *symbolical* phrases and *symbolical* services were what the Jews had been much and long used to, before our Lord's time: which may be one reason why the Apostles showed no

[z] Gen. ix. 4. Levit. xvii. 10, 11.

[a] Gen. viii. 21. Exod. xxix. 18. et passim.

[b] Ezek. xli. 22. xliv. 16. Mal. i. 7, 12.

[c] Levit. iii. 11. xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22, 25. Numb. xxviii. 2, 24. Ezek. xliv. 7.

[d] Levit. i. 4. viii. 14, 15.

[e] Levit. xvi. 21, 22.

[f] Levit. x. 17. Hos. iv. 8.

[g] 1 Cor. x. 18. Compare Levit. vii. 18. and Ainsworth in loc.

surprise at what was said to them in the *institution* of the Eucharist, nor called for any explanation.

From the Jewish *sacrifices*, we may pass on to their *sacraments*, which, taking the word in a large sense, were *many*, but in the stricter sense were but *two*, namely, *Circumcision* and the *Passover*. With respect to those also, the like *figurative* and *symbolical* language prevailed. We find St. Paul declaring of the *manna* and of the *waters* of old, that they were *spiritual* food; and accordingly he does not scruple, while speaking of the *rock* from whence the waters flowed, to say that "that rock was Christ[h]." It typified Christ: yea and more than so, the *waters* which it yielded, typified the blood and water which should afterwards flow from our Lord's *side*, and were to the *faithful* of that time *spiritual* pledges of the *benefits* of Christ's passion, like as the sacramental *wine* is now[i]. This consideration fully accounts for the strong expression which the Apostle in that case made use of, "that rock "was Christ:" it was so in effect to every *true* Israelite of that time.

Circumcision of the *flesh* was a *symbolical* rite, betokening the true *circumcision* of the *heart*; which was the *condition* of the *covenant* between God and his people, on their part[k], and God's *acceptance* of the same on his part[l], to all saving purposes: therefore circumcision had the name of *covenant*, and the *sign* was called what it *literally* was not, but what it really and truly *signified*, and to the faithful *exhibited*[m].

The like may be observed of the *Passover*, which was feasting upon a *lamb*, but was called the *Lord's Passover*, as looking backwards, plainly, to the angel's *passing over* the Hebrews, so as to preserve them from the *plague*[n] then inflicted on the Egyptians, and mystically looking for-

[h] 1 Cor. x. 4. [i] See above, p. 145.
[k] Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Levit. xxvi. 41. Jerem. iv. 4. Rom. ii. 28, 29.
[l] Gen. xvii. 7. [m] Gen. xvii. 10, 13, 14.
[n] Exod. xii. 11, 12, 13.

wards to God's *passing over* the sins of mankind, for the sake of Christ the true *paschal lamb* [o]. Such is the customary language of Scripture in those cases, denominating the *signs* by the things *signified*, and at the same time *exhibited* in a qualified sense.

3. I proceed to the consideration of *Baptism*, a sacrament of the New Testament; a *symbolical* rite, full of figure and mystery; *representing* divers graces, blessings, privileges, and *exhibiting* the same in the very act: for which reason the Scripture language concerning it is very strong and emphatical, like to what our Lord made use of with respect to the Eucharist. St. Paul does not barely intimate that we *ought to be* buried with Christ in Baptism, or that we *signify* his burial, but he says plainly, *we are buried;* and likewise that we *have been planted* together in the likeness of his death, and that our old man *is crucified*, and that we *are freed from sin*, and *dead with Christ* [p]. The reason is, because the things there mentioned are not merely *represented*, but *effectuated* always on God's part, if there be no failure or obstacle on ours. The *spiritual* graces of Baptism go along with the ceremony, in the *due* use of it, and are supposed by the Apostle to be conveyed at that instant. 1. Actual remission of sins [q]. 2. Present sanctification of the Spirit [r]. 3. Actual communion with Christ's body, with Christ our head [s]. 4. A certain title, for the time being, to *resurrection* and *salvation* [t].

[o] 1 Cor. v. 7.

[p] Rom. vi. 4, 6, 7, 8. De ipso baptismo Apostolus, *consepulti*, inquit, *sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem.* Non ait sepulturam *significavimus*, sed prorsus ait, *consepulti sumus:* sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi *ejusdem rei* vocabulo nuncupavit. *Augustin. Ep.* 98. *ad Bonifac.* p. 268. edit. Bened.

[q] Acts xxii. 16. ii. 38. Coloss. ii. 13. 1 Cor. vi. 11.

[r] John iii. 5. Acts ii. 38. 1 Cor. xii. 13. vi. 11. Ephes. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5. Hebr. x. 22.

[s] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[t] Rom. vi. 8, 9. Tit. iii. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Coloss. ii. 11, 12, 13. Add 1 Cor. xv. 29. For so I understand *baptizing for the dead;* in order to have our

5. A putting on Christ[u]. I take the more notice here of the last article of *putting on Christ*, as being of near affinity with *feeding upon Christ* in the other sacrament. Both of them express a near conjunction and close intimacy: but the latter is the *stronger* figure, and the more *affecting* emblem. Christ is, in a qualified sense, our *clothing*, and our *food;* our baptismal *garment*, and our eucharistical *banquet:* but what enters *within us*, and is *diffused* all over us, and becomes *incorporate* with us, being considered as a *symbol* of Christ, expresses the most intimate union and coalition imaginable. Probably this *symbol* was made choice of for the *Eucharist*, as it is the top perfection of Christian worship or service. Baptism is for *babes* in Christ, this for *grown men:* Baptism *initiates*, while the Eucharist *perfects:* Baptism *begins* the spiritual life, the Eucharist carries on and *finishes* it. And therefore it is that the Eucharist has so frequently been called τὸ τέλειον[x], the *perfecting* service, and the *Sacrament of sacraments*[y]; or emphatically *the Sacrament*, which obtains at this day. I may add that, though Baptism represents the *burial* and the *resurrection* of our Lord, and entitles us to a partnership in both, yet there is something still more awful and venerable in representing (not merely his *acts* or *offices*, but) his very *Person*, in part, which is done in the Eucharist, by the symbols of bread and wine, representing his *body* and *blood*.

From what hath been said under this last article con-

dead bodies *raised*. Vid. Chrysostom. in 1 Cor. x. Hom. xxiii. p. 389. et in 1 Cor. xv. 29. Hom. xl. p. 513. ed. Sav. Isidor. Pelus. Epist. lib. i. Ep. 221. Theodorit. in 1 Cor. xv. 29.

[u] Gal. iii. 27. Conf. Wolfius in loc. Deylingius, Obs. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 330.

[x] Vid. Casaub. Exercit. xvi. n. 48. p. 411. alias 572. Suicer. Thesaur. tom. ii. p. 1259.

Conjunctioni nostræ cum Christo, cujus instrumenta sunt *verbum* Dei et sacramenta, veluti *colophonem* imponit participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi in cœna Dominica: nullus enim restat alius modus, quo in terris versantes *arctius* cum Christo, capite nostro, conjungamur. *Casaub. ibid.*

[y] Τελετῶν τελετή. *Pseudo-Dionys.* cap. iii. p. 282.

cerning *Baptism*, we may observe, that it is not *literally* going into the grave with Christ, neither is it *literally* rising from the dead with him; but it is so *interpretatively* and in certain *effect*, proper dispositions supposed on our part: and it is not barely a *representation* of a thing, but a real *exhibition*. So likewise in the Eucharist: the elements are not literally what they are called, but they are *interpretatively* and *in effect* the same thing with what they stand for. Such appears to be the true account of the *symbolical* phrases of the institution.

4. To this agrees what we meet with farther in St. Paul's account of this Sacrament. It is the *Communion* of the body and blood of Christ[z]. Which expresses *communication* on the part of the donor, and *participation* on the side of the receiver. There is communication from God, and a participation by us, of Christ's *crucified* body directly, and of the body *glorified* consequentially. Yet this *grant* and this *reception* of our Lord's body are not to be understood with utmost rigour, but after the manner of *symbolical* grants and conveyances; where the *symbols* are construed to be in *real* and *beneficial* effect, what they supply the place of. But of this text I may have occasion to say more in a distinct chapter, and so may dismiss it for the present.

St. Paul, in the same Epistle, speaks of the *unworthy* receiver, as "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," and as "eating and drinking damnation to himself, not "discerning the Lord's body[a]:" all which is easily and naturally accounted for, upon the principles before mentioned. Our Lord's *body* is interpretatively *delivered*, with all the emoluments thereunto pertaining, to as many as receive *worthily*: the same *body* is interpretatively *offered*[b] to as many as receive, though ever so *unworthily*.

[z] 1 Cor. x. 16. [a] 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.

[b] Credentibus fit *corpus vivificum*, quia illi panis cœlestis et corporis Christi vere sunt *participes*: aliis vero tam non recipientibus quam non credentibus licet *antitypon* sit, tamen illis nequaquam est, nec fit *corpus* Christi. *Cosin. Histor. Eccl.* p. 69.

The *unworthy* receiver, through his own fault, disqualifies himself from *partaking* of what is *offered*, namely, from partaking of the *things signified:* which being our Lord's own *body* and *blood*, he is therefore guilty, not only of profaning *holy things*, (as even the *symbols* themselves, when consecrated, are *holy*,) but also of slighting and contemning our Lord's own *body* and *blood*, which had been *symbolically* offered to him [c]. He incurs the just *judgment* of God, for *not discerning*, that is, *not esteeming*, not *reverencing*, not *receiving* [d] the Lord's body when he might, and when both duty and interest required his most grateful and most devout acceptance. Nay farther, he is guilty of contemning the *blood of the covenant*, and the *author* of our salvation, by so *profane* an use of what so nearly concerns both. This must be so, in the very nature of the thing, if we suppose (as we here do) that the sacramental symbols are *interpretatively*, or in *just construction*, by Divine appointment, the *body* and *blood* of Christ. But this point also must be more minutely considered in its proper place.

5. I proceed, in the last place, to examine the sentiments of the *ancients* on this head: and if they fall in with the

[c] Non idcirco vocat Paulus *reos* quod ipsum corpus Christi *ederint*, neque idcirco illi judicium sibi accersunt quod *sumpserint*, sed quod *sumere* corpus Domini neglexerint. *Lamb. Danæus Apolog. pro Helvet. Eccl.* p. 30. alias 1479.

N. B. This account is right as to *fact*, that the unworthy *do not receive* the *body*, but as to *guilt* in approaching the holy table, it is insufficient; because, by this account, there would be no difference between *absenting*, and *unworthy* receiving; both being equally a *neglect* of the same thing. There must be more in *unworthy* reception: it is not merely neglecting the *inward grace*, but it is *profaning* also the *outward means*.

[d] The wicked receive the *signs* of the Lord's body and blood, not the *body* and *blood;* that is, not the thing signified. So the *Fathers* distinguish commonly on this head. The testimonies of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Austin, and others, may be seen collected and explained in Albertinus, p. 549, 586. Sometimes the Fathers do indeed speak less accurately, of the *unworthy* receiving the *body* and *blood*, meaning the outward *symbols*, giving the name of the *thing* signified to the *signs*, by a metonymy. Compare Moreton, p. 320.

account here given, we can then want nothing to set this matter in the clearest light, or to fix it beyond all reasonable dispute.

A. D. 107. *Ignatius.*

Ignatius, occasionally reflecting on some persons who rejected the use of the Eucharist, delivers his mind as here follows: "They abstain from the *Eucharist* and *prayer*, "because they admit not the Eucharist to be the *flesh of* "*our Lord Jesus Christ* which *suffered* for our sins, and "which the Father of his goodness *raised* from the dead: "they therefore thus gainsaying the *gift of God*, die in "their disputes[e]." It is to be noted, that those misbelievers (probably the old *visionaries*, in Greek *Docetæ*) did not allow that our Lord had any *real* flesh or blood, conceiving that his *birth*, *passion*, and *resurrection* were all imaginary, were mere *show* and *appearance*. Thereupon they rejected the *Eucharist* and the *prayers* thereto belonging, as founded in the doctrine of our Lord's *real humanity*. Now, Ignatius here intimates, that the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist are, in just construction, the *body*, or *flesh* and *blood* of Christ as *dying*, and as *raised* again: therefore he bore about him a *real* body. The Eucharist being *representative*, and also interpretatively *exhibitive* of such *real* flesh and blood, was itself a standing memorial of the *truth* of the Church's doctrine concerning our Lord's *real* humanity. Ignatius could not imagine that the symbols were *literally* flesh and blood; no one was then weak enough to entertain so wild a thought: but if they were *constructionally*, or *interpretatively* so, it was sufficient, being all that his argument required. The Eucharist, so understood, *supposed* a real body of flesh and blood belonging to our blessed Lord, both as *dying* and *rising again:* for, without that supposi-

[e] Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν· οἱ οὖν ἀντιλέγοντες τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, συζητοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσι. *Ignat. ad Smyrn.* cap. 7. Vid. Albertin. p. 286, &c.

tion, the Eucharist was no Eucharist at all, a representation of nothing, or a false representation[f]; and that the misbelievers themselves were very sensible of, and therefore abstained from it. I may further observe, that Ignatius here supposes not, with the *consubstantiators*, a natural body of Christ *locally present*, and a sacramental one besides; but it is all one *symbolical* body in the Eucharist, supplying the place of the natural, in real *effect*, and to all *saving* purposes. The Eucharist, that is, the bread and wine, *is* (constructionally) *the flesh of Jesus*, &c. It is not said, that it is *with* the flesh, or that one is *in*, *with*, or *under* the other: so that Mr. Pfaffius had no occasion to triumph here[g].

That Ignatius admitted of *real* and *beneficial* effects will be plain from another passage.—"Breaking one "bread, which is the *medicine of immortality*, a *preser-* "*vative* that we should not die, but should live for ever "in Jesus Christ[h]." In what sense he understood the thing so to be, will appear more fully when we come to other *Fathers*, somewhat later in the same century. There is one place more of this apostolical writer worth the reciting. "The flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ is but one,

[f] Chrysostom's reasoning, in like case, is here very apposite, in Matt. Hom. liii. p. 783. *εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνος σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα; If Jesus did not really die, what are the eucharistical elements symbols of?* N. B. The argument did not require or suppose a *corporal presence:* a *symbolical* one was sufficient to confute the gainsayers, if Chrysostom had any judgment. Conf. Pseud. Origen. Dialog. contr. Marcion, p. 853.

[g] Pfaffius (p. 263.) appears to triumph over Albertinus, with respect to this passage of Ignatius: but Albertinus had very *justly* explained it, and defended his explication, with great learning and solid judgment, beyond all reasonable dispute; as every impartial reader will find, who will but be at the pains to look into him, p. 286, &c.

[h] *Ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, διὰ παντός. Ignat. ad Ephes.* cap. 20. This was no *slight*, but the standing doctrine of the author, which he expresses without any *figure* elsewhere. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* cap. 7. *συνέρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾷν, ἵνα καὶ ἀναζῶσιν. It behoves them to celebrate the feast of the Eucharist,* (so I understand *ἀγαπᾷν*, with Cotelerius in loc.) *that they may rise* to life.

" and the cup one unto the *unity of his blood*[i]." He alluded, probably, to 1 Cor. x. 16. " communion of the " blood of Christ," and so the meaning is, for the *uniting* us to Christ, first, and then, in and through him, to one another, his *one blood* being the cement which binds head and members all together.

A. D. 140. *Justin Martyr.*

Justin, another early Christian teacher and martyr, comes next: I shall cite as much from him as may suffice to clear the point in hand. "This food we call the Eu- " charist: which no one is allowed to partake of, but he " that believes our doctrines to be true, and who has been " baptized in the laver of regeneration for remission of " sins, and lives up to what Christ has taught. For we " take not these as *common* bread and *common* drink: but " like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being incarnate by *the* " *Word* of God, bore about him both flesh and blood for " our salvation; so are we taught that this food which is " blessed by the prayer of *the Word* that came from him, " [God] and which is *changed* into the nourishment of " our flesh and blood, is *the flesh and blood of the incar-* " *nate Jesus.* For the Apostles in their commentaries, " called the *Gospels*, have left it upon record, that *Jesus* " so commanded them; for he *took bread*, and when he " had given thanks, he said, *Do this in remembrance of* " *me; this is my body:* in like manner also he took the " cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, *This is my* " *blood*[k]." Upon this passage of Justin, may be observed as follows: 1. That he supposed the elements to be *blessed* or sanctified by virtue of the *prayer* of the *Word* or *Logos*, first made use of in the *institution*, and remaining in force to this day, in such a sense as I have explained above,

[i] Μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. *Ignat. ad Philad.* cap. 4.

[k] Justin Martyr. Apol. i. p. 96, 97. edit. Lond. See also above, chap. iii. p. 60. where part of the same passage is cited for another purpose.

in the chapter of *Consecration*. 2. That Justin also supposed the same elements, after consecration, to continue still *bread* and *wine*, only not *common* bread and wine: for while he says, it is not *common* bread, he supposes it to be *bread*. 3. That while he supposes the consecrated elements to be *changed* into our bodily *nutriment*, he could not have a thought of our Lord's *natural* body's admitting such a *change*. 4. That nevertheless he does maintain that such consecrated food is, in some sense or other, *the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus*; and he quotes the words of the *institution* to prove it. 5. He supposes no other flesh and blood *locally* present in the Eucharist, but that very consecrated food which he speaks of; for that is *the flesh and blood*. Therefore he affords no colour for imagining *two bodies*, natural and sacramental, as *locally* present together, in the way of *consubstantiation*. 6. It remains then, that he could mean nothing else but the *representative* or *symbolical* body of Christ, answering to the *natural*, (once upon the cross, and now in heaven,) as *proxies* answer to their *principals*, as authentic *copies* or *exemplifications* to their originals, in use, value, and legal effect. For, that Justin cannot be understood of a bare *figure*, or naked *representation*, appears from hence, that he supposes a *Divine* power, the power of the *Logos* himself (which implies his *spiritual* presence) to be necessary for making the elements become such symbolical *flesh* and *blood:* whereas, if it were only a *figure*, or *representation*, men might easily make it themselves by their *own* power, and would need only the original commission to warrant their doing it. 7. Though Justin (addressing himself to Jews or Pagans) does not speak so plainly of the great Christian *privileges* or *graces* conferred in the Eucharist, as Ignatius, writing to Christians, before him did, yet he has tacitly insinuated the same things; as well by mentioning the previous *qualifications* requisite for it, as also by observing that the [symbolical] *flesh* and *blood* of Christ are *incorporate* with ours: from whence by just inference all the rest follows, as every grace is im-

plied in such our interpretative *union* with Christ *crucified* or *glorified*. Besides that our author supposed, as I before noted, a real spiritual presence of the *Divine* nature of our Lord in or with the elements, to make them *effectually* the body and blood of Christ: and he carries it so high, as to draw a comparison from the *presence* of the *Logos* to our Lord's *humanity*, whereof the Eucharist is a kind of *emblem*, though in a loose general way, faint and imperfect[1]. Thus much however is *common* to both: that there is a *presence* of the *Logos* with something *corporeal;* a presence with something considered as his *body;* and a presence *operating* in conjunction with that body for the *uniting* all his *true* members together under him their *head*. But that such *comparisons* help to *clear* the subject is more than I will say; being sensible that they are far from *exact*, and may want *distinctions* to make them bear, or otherwise may be apt to *mislead:* it is enough, if we can but come at the true and full sense of the authors.

A. D. 176. *Irenæus.*

Irenæus's doctrine of the Eucharist, so far as concerns this present chapter, may be understood from the passages here following, together with some explanatory remarks which I mean to add to them.

" How can they say that the flesh goes to corruption, " and never more partakes of life, when it is fed with the " body of our Lord, and with his blood?—As the terres- " trial bread upon receiving the *invocation* of God is no " longer *common* bread, but the *Eucharist*, consisting of " two things, *terrestrial* and *celestial;* so also our bodies, " upon receiving the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, " having an assurance of a *resurrection* to all eternity [m].

[1] See the Doctrinal Use of the Sacraments considered, in a Charge, p. 25.

[m] Πῶς τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην;——ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος ἔκκλησιν [forte ἐπίκλησιν] τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως

" But if this flesh of ours has no title to *salvation*, then " neither did our Lord redeem us with his own blood, nor " is the cup of the Eucharist *the communion* [communica- " tion] *of his blood*, nor the bread which we break *the* " *communion* [communication] *of his body*. For it is not " *blood*, if it is not of the *veins* and *flesh*, and whatever " else makes up the substance of the human frame, such " as the *Word* was really made[n]." A little after, the author adds this large explanatory passage, worth the noting. " The creature of the *cup* he declared to be his own *blood*, " with which he imbues our blood; and the creature of " *bread* he affirmed to be his own body, out of which our " bodies grow up. When therefore the mingled cup and " the created bread receive *the Word of God*, and the Eu- " charist becomes Christ's body, and by these the sub- " stance of our flesh grows and consists, how can they " say, that the *flesh* is not capable of the *gift of God*, " (namely, *life eternal*,) when it is fed with the body and " blood of Christ, and is member of him? To this purpose " speaks St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, that *we* " *are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones*, " Ephes. v. 30.—The flesh is nourished by the cup which " is his *blood*, and is increased by the bread which is his " *body*. And like as a branch of the vine put into the " ground brings forth fruit in its season, and a grain of " wheat falling into the ground and there dissolved, riseth " again with manifest increase, by the Spirit of God that " containeth all things; and those afterwards by Divine " wisdom serve for the use of man, and receiving the " *Logos* [Word] *of God*, become the Eucharist, which is

καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. *Iren.* lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251.[e] Bened.

[n] Si autem non salvetur hæc [caro] videlicet nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque *calix* Eucharistiæ *communicatio sanguinis ejus est*, neque *panis* quem frangimus, *communicatio corporis ejus est*. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus, et a reliqua quæ secundum hominem est substantia, qua vere factum est Verbum Dei. *Iren.* lib. v. cap. 2. p. 293.

" the body and blood of Christ: so also our bodies being " fed by it, [*viz.* the Eucharist,] and laid in the ground, and " dissolving there, shall yet arise in their season, by means " of the *Divine Logos* vouchsafing them a resurrection to " the glory of God the Father[o]."

From these several passages thus laid together, I take the liberty to observe: 1. That our author had no notion of the elements being *changed*, upon consecration, into the *natural* body of Christ; for he supposes them still to remain as the *earthly* part, and to be converted into *bodily* nutriment; which to affirm of our Lord's body, *crucified* or *glorified*, would be infinitely absurd[p]. 2. Neither does our author at all favour the notion of Christ's *natural* body being literally and locally present *under* or *with* the elements: for the *heavenly thing* supposed to supervene[q] in the consecration, and to be *present*, is not Christ's natural body, but the *Logos*, or *Divine nature* of our Lord, or the *Holy Spirit*. Or if he did suppose the *heavenly thing* to be Christ's *glorified* body, yet even that amounts to no more than saying that our *mystical union* with his body is made or strengthened in the Eucharist; not by any *local* presence of that body, but as our *mystical union* with all the *true* members is therein perfected, at whatever distance they are: so that whether we interpret the *heavenly part* of the *Logos*, or of the *body* of Christ, Irenæus will not be found to favour the *Lutheran* notion of the *presence*. 3. But least of all does he favour the *figurists*, or *memorialists*; for his doctrine runs directly counter to them almost in every line. He asserts over and over, that Christ's *body* and *blood* are eaten and drank in the Eucharist, and our bodies thereby *fed*; and not only so, but *insured* thereby

[o] Irenæus, lib. v. p. 294.

[p] Compare a fragment of Irenæus, p. 343. concerning Blandina; from which it is manifest that the Christians despised the Pagans for imagining that Christ's body and blood were supposed to be *literally* eaten in the Eucharist: they rejected the thought with abhorrence.

[q] In like manner, Nazianzen makes *Baptism* to consist of two things, *water* and the *Spirit*; which answers to Irenæus's *earthly* and *heavenly* parts in the Eucharist. *Gregor. Nazianz. Orat.* xi. p. 641.

for a happy *resurrection:* and the reason he gives is, that our *bodies* are thereby made or continued *members* of Christ's *body, flesh,* and *bones:* and his conclusion is built on this principle, that *members* follow the *head,* or that the *parts* go with the *whole:* which reasoning supposes that the sacred *symbols,* though not *literally,* are yet *interpretatively,* or *constructionally,* the body and blood[r]. 4. To make the symbols answer in such view, he supposes the concurrence of a *Divine* power to secure the effect, a *spiritual* presence of the *Logos.* 5. One thing only, I conceive, our author to be inaccurate in, (though perhaps more in expression, than real meaning,) in superinducing the *Logos* upon the *symbols* themselves, rather than upon the *recipients,* which would have been better. But in a popular way of speaking, and with respect to the main thing, they may amount to the same: and it was not needful to distinguish *critically* about a mode of speech, while there was no suspicion of wrong notions being grafted upon it, as hath since happened. 6. Lastly, I may note, that these larger passages of Irenæus may serve as good comments upon the shorter ones of Ignatius before cited: and so Ignatius may lend antiquity to Irenæus's sentiments, while Irenæus's add light and strength to his.

[r] N. B. The Lutherans know not how to allow, in their way, that our bodies are so *fed* with the *Lord's body,* which they suppose to be *locally* present; or that any *feeding* is a pledge of a *happy* resurrection, since they suppose the feeding *common* both to *good* and *bad.* Hence it is, that they can make no sense of Irenæus's argument. See Pfaffius, p. 72, 73, 84, 85, 104. Deylingius, Observ. Miscellan. p. 75, 76. They might perceive, if they pleased, from this plain mark, that their scheme has a *flaw* in it, and cannot stand. The mistake is owing to the want of considering the nature of *symbolical* language and *symbolical* grants. Our bodies are not *literally,* but *symbolically* fed with our Lord's body; which in *effect* is tantamount: there lies the whole mystery of the matter; and thereupon hangs Irenæus's argument. *Good* men are *considered* in that action as *so fed;* and it will be *imputed* to them, and *accepted* by God, as if it *literally* were so. Deylingius concludes, *however it be,* (that is, though he can make *no* consistent *sense* of his author,) yet Irenæus is clear for *real presence.* Not at all in the Lutheran or the Popish sense; but only so far as *symbolical* and *effectual* amount to *real.*

A. D. 192. *Clemens of Alexandria.*

This Clemens was a person of infinite reading, and of great reputation in the Christian Church. His pieces are all of them *learned*, though not always so *clear* as might be wished. In a very *full* head, ideas are often *crowded*, and have not *room* to be distinctly ranged. Our author appears to have had elevated sentiments of the Christian Eucharist, but such as require close attention to see to the bottom of. He writes thus.

"The blood of the Lord is twofold, the *carnal* by "which we are redeemed from corruption, and the *spi-* "*ritual* by which we are anointed: to drink the blood "of Jesus is to partake of our Lord's immortality. More- "over, the power of the *Word* is the *Spirit*, as *blood* is "of the *flesh*. And correspondently, as *wine* is mingled "with *water*, so is the *Spirit* with the *man*: and as the "mingled cup goes for *drink*, so the *Spirit* leads to *immor-* "*tality*. Again, the mixture of these two, *viz.* of the "*drink* and of the *Logos* together, is called the *Eucharist*, "*viz.* glorious and excellent *grace*, whereof those who "partake in faith are *sanctified*, both body and soul. "The Father's appointment mystically tempers *man*, a "*Divine* mixture, with the *Spirit* and the *Logos*: for, "in very deed, the *Spirit* joins himself with the *soul* as "sustained by him, and the *Logos* with the *flesh*, for "which the *Logos became flesh*[s]." What I have to observe of these lines of Clemens may be comprised in the particulars here following.

[s] Διττὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ σαρκικὸν ᾧ τῆς φθορᾶς λυτρούμεθα· τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, τουτέστιν ᾧ κεχρίσμεθα· ᾧ τοῦτ' ἐστιν πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας. Ἰσχὺς δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὡς αἷμα σαρκός. Ἀναλόγως τοίνυν κίρναται, ὁ μὲν οἶνος τῷ ὕδατι, τῷ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ πνεῦμα. Καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς πίστιν [leg. πόσιν] ἰσχύει, τὸ κρᾶμα· τὸ δὲ εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ὁδήγει, τὸ πνεῦμα· ἡ δὲ ἀμφοῖν αὔξησις κρᾶσις, ποτῦ τι καὶ λόγου, εὐχαριστία πέπληται, χάρις ἐπαινουμένη καὶ καλή· ἧς οἱ κατὰ πίστιν μεταλαμβάνοντες, ἁγιάζονται καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν· τὸ θεῖον κρᾶμα, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦ πατρικοῦ βουλήματος πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ συγκίρναντος μυστικῶς· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα ᾠκείωται τῷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερομένῃ ψυχῇ· ἡ δὲ σὰρξ, τῷ λόγῳ· δι' ἣν ὁ λόγος γέγονε σάρξ. *Clem. Alex. Pædag.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 177, 178. Compare Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 188.

1. The first thing to be taken notice of, is the *twofold* blood of Christ: by which Clemens understands the *natural* blood shed upon the cross, and the *spiritual* blood exhibited in the Eucharist, namely, *spiritual* graces, the unction of the *Holy Spirit*, and union with the *Logos*, together with what is consequent thereupon. As to parallel places of the *Fathers*, who speak of the *anointing*, in the Eucharist, with the *blood* of Christ through the *Spirit*, the reader may consult Mr. Aubertine[t]; or Bishop Fell in his notes upon Cyprian[u]. St. Jerome seems to have used the like distinction with Clemens between the *natural* and *spiritual* body and blood of Christ[x]. If we would take in all the several kinds of our *Lord's body*, or all the notions that have gone under that name, they amount to these four. 1. His *natural* body, considered first as mortal, and next as immortal. 2. His *typical*, or *symbolical* body, *viz.* the outward *sign* in the Eucharist. 3. His *spiritual* body, in or out of the Eucharist, *viz.* the *thing signified*. 4. His *mystical* body, that is, his *Church*. But I proceed.

2. The next observation to be made upon Clemens is, that he manifestly excludes the *natural* body of Christ from being literally or locally *present* in the Sacrament, admitting only the *spiritual*; which he interprets of the *Logos* and of the *Holy Spirit*, one conceived more particularly to sanctify the *body*, and the other the *soul*, and both inhabiting the regenerate man. Which *general* doctrine, abstracting from the case of the Eucharist, is founded in *express Scripture*[y], and may by just and clear conse-

[t] Albertinus de Eucharistia, p. 380.

[u] Cyprian. Ep. lxx. p. 190. Note that the words in that edition are, *Eucharistia est unde baptizati unguntur, oleum in altari sanctificatum.* But in the Benedictine edition, p. 125, the latter part is corrected into *oleo in altari sanctificato.*

[x] Dupliciter vero sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur: vel *spiritualis* illa atque divina, de qua ipse dixit Joh. vi. 54, 56; vel caro, et sanguis, quæ *crucifixa* est, et qui militis effusus est lancea. *Hieronym. in Eph.* c. i. p. 328.

[y] John xiv. 16, 17, 23. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

quence be applied to the *Eucharist*, in virtue of the words of the *institution*, and of John vi. and other texts, besides the plain nature and reason of the thing.

3. Another thing to be observed of Clemens is, that as he plainly rejects any corporal and local presence, so does he as plainly reject the low notions of the *figurists*, or *memorialists:* for, no man ever expressed himself more strongly in favour of *spiritual graces* conveyed in the Eucharist.

4. It may be farther noted, which shows our author's care and accuracy, that he brings not the *Logos* and *Holy Spirit* so much upon the *elements*, as upon the *persons*, viz. the worthy receivers, to sanctify them both in body and soul. He does indeed speak of the mixture of the *wine* and the *Logos;* and if he is to be understood of the *personal*, and not *vocal*, Word, he then supposes the Eucharist to consist of two things, *earthly* and *heavenly*, just as Irenæus before him did: but even upon that supposition, he might really mean no more than that the *communicant* received both together, both at the same instant. They were only so far *mixed*, as being both administered at the *same time*, and to the *same person*, receiving the one with his *mouth*, and the other with his *mind*, strengthened at once both in *body* and in *soul*[z]. Clemens, in another place, cites part of the *institution*, by memory perhaps, as follows: "He blessed the wine, "saying, *Take, drink; this is my blood.* This blood of the "grape mystically signifies the *Word* poured forth for "many, for the remission of sins, that holy torrent of "gladness[a]." Three things are observable from this

[z] Signum signatumque *conjunctim* considerantur, tanquam *unum aggregatum*, idque ob *conjunctam* amborum *exhibitionem* et *participationem* in usu legitimo. Quam conjunctionem vulgo vocant *unionem sacramentalem*, sed non usque adeo convenienter; cum non *signatum* cum *signo*, sed *nobiscum* uniatur, eoque potius, minus saltem ambigue, *conjunctio pacti* debeat nominari. *Vossius, de Sacram. Vi et Effic.* p. 250. Conf. Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 544.

[a] Καὶ εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, λάβετε, πίετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ αἷμα. Αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τὸν λόγον τὸν πεπὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης

passage: one, that the wine of the Eucharist, after consecration, is still the *blood of the grape:* another, that it is called the blood of Christ, or blood of the *Logos*, (as Origen also[b] styles it,) *symbolically* signifying and exhibiting the fruits of the *passion:* lastly, that those fruits are owing to the union of the *Logos* with the suffering humanity. These principles all naturally fall in with the accounts I have before given.

A. D. 200. *Tertullian.*

The sentiments of the *African* Christians, in those early days, may be probably judged of by Tertullian, a very learned and acute writer, who thus expresses them. "*Bread* " is the *Word* of the living God, which came down from " heaven; besides that his *body* also is *understood* in " bread: *This is my body*. Therefore in asking our *daily* " *bread*, we ask for *perpetuity* in Christ, and to be *undi-* " *vided* from his body[c]." Here our author teaches, that the *Divine* nature of our Lord is our *bread*, and likewise that his *human* nature is our *bread* also, given us in or under the symbol of the sacramental bread. So Rigaltius[d] interprets the passage, quoting a similar passage of St. Austin: but the reader may compare Albertinus[e]. We can allow the Romanists here to understand Christ's *real* and *natural* body given in the Sacrament, but *mystically, spiritually,* and *interpretatively* given; as a *right*

ἅγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νάμα. *Clem. Pædag.* lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 186. I have altered the common *pointing*, for the improving the sense.

[b] Origen. in Levit. Hom. ix. p. 243. See above p. 62. and compare Cyrill. Alexandr. contra Nestor. l. v. p. 123.

[c] Panis est *Sermo Dei vivi*, qui descendit de cœlis. Tum quod et corpus ejus in pane censetur: *Hoc est corpus meum.* Itaque petendo *panem quotidianum*, perpetuitatem postulamus in Christo, et individuitatem a corpore ejus. *Tertullian. de Orat.* c. vi. p. 131, 132.

[d] Sic videtur explicari posse: Per panis sacramentum commendat corpus suum: quemadmodum Augustinus l. i. Quæst. Evang. 43. dixit, *Per vini sacramentum commendat sanguinem suum. Rigalt. in loc.*

[e] Albertinus de Eucharist. p. 344. He understands it thus: that bread is a *name* for the sacramental *body*, as well as for *common bread*, and for *spiritual* food, *i. e.* Christ himself.

may be given us to a *distant* possession. Tertullian seems to understand *body*, of the body *glorified*, because he speaks of our being *undivided* from it, and may best be explained of the *mystical union* between Christ and his members, perfected in this Sacrament: which kind of union, as I have more than once hinted, supposes no *local* corporal *presence*, nor infers any.

Tertullian elsewhere speaks of our bodies as being fed with the *body* and *blood* of Christ, that our *souls* may be *feasted with God*, or may *feed upon God*[f]. There I understand *body* and *blood* of Christ, of the *sacramental*, *symbolical* body and blood, that is, of the *bread* and *wine*, which *literally* nourish the *body* of man, and *symbolically* the soul. *Signs* often bear the names of the *things signified*, as Tertullian more than once intimates with reference to this very case[g]. And when he says, that Christ *made the bread his own body*[h], he must be understood of the *symbolical* body, (the *figure*, or *symbol* of the natural body,) representing[i] and exhibiting the thing signified.

But I must observe farther, that when Tertullian builds an argument for the *resurrection* of the body upon this consideration, that our *bodies* are fed with the *symbolical* body of Christ, (as I have explained it,) he cannot be understood to mean less than that the symbolical body is *constructionally* or *interpretatively* the real body; and so our bodies are *literally* fed with one, while *mystically* and *spiritually* fed with the other also. Without this supposition, there is no force at all in his argument for the *resurrection*. Our bodies are *considered* as *fed* with Christ's natural body, therefore they are considered as *pertaining*

[f] Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur: non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quas opera conjungit. *Tertull. de Resur. Carn.* cap. viii. p. 330. Conf. Albertin. p. 340.

[g] Panem *corpus suum* appellans. *Tertull. adv. Jud.* cap. x. p. 196. contr. Mar. lib. iii. cap. 19. p. 408.

[h] Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis *corpus illum suum fecit*, Hoc EST CORPUS MEUM dicendo: id est, figura corporis mei. *Contr. Marc.* l. iv. cap. 40. p. 458.

[i] Panem, quo ipsum corpus suum *repræsentat*. *Contr. Marc.* lib. i.

to, or *mingled* with his body; therefore they are in construction *one flesh* with him; therefore, as his body is *glorified*, so also will *ours* be, head and members together. Such is the tour of the argument, such the chain of ideas that forms it[k]. Which is confirmed by what he adds, *viz.* that *soul* and *body* being partners in the *work*, will share also in the *reward*. What is the *work?* The work of *feeding* upon Christ: both feast together here upon the *same Lord*, therefore both shall enjoy the same Lord hereafter. Which inference implies that even our *bodies* are in some sense (namely, in the *mystical* and *constructional* sense) fed with our Lord's natural body, as *crucified*, or as *glorified*. Enough has been said, to give the reader a competent notion of Tertullian's doctrine on this head. I shall only take notice further, that the acute and learned Pfaffius, following the Lutheran hypothesis, has collected many testimonies seemingly *favouring* that side, but then, very ingenuously, has matched them with *others* which are directly *repugnant* to it; and he has left them facing each other[l], unreconciled, irreconcileable. How easily might all have been set right, had he but considered a very common thing, called *construction of law*, or duly attended to the *symbolical language*, which *Scripture* and *Fathers* abound in. To what purpose is it to cite *Fathers* in any cause, without *reconciling* the evidence? Self-contradictory evidence is *null* or *none*. But I proceed.

A. D. 240. *Origen.*

Bulinger, in his treatise against Casaubon, cites a passage as Origen's, which runs thus: "He that partakes "of the *bread*, partakes also of the *Lord's body:* for we "look not to the objects of sense lying before us, but we "lift up the soul by faith to the body of the *Logos*. For

[k] A collection of other ancient testimonies, so far as concerns that *argument*, may be seen in Johnson, (Unbl. Sacr. part ii. p. 110, &c.) though he does not account for it in the same way.

[l] Vid. Pfaffius de Consecrat. Vet. Euchar. p. 465, 470, 471.

" he said not, *This is the symbol*, but *This is the body*; " to prevent any one's thinking that it was a type [m]." Albertinus throws off this passage as spurious, and as the product of some modern Greek [n]. Huetius comes after, and blames him for arbitrarily *cutting* the knot [o], as he supposes. But there would be no great difficulty in *untying* the knot, were it certain that the words are Origen's. I will suppose that they are; and indeed I see no good reason why they may not. He seems to have intended nothing more but to raise up *vulgar* minds from grovelling apprehensions, to heavenly contemplations. Such exhortations to the populace are frequent in other *Fathers*. Origen admits not of naked *signs*, or mere *figures:* he was no *Sacramentarian*. He thought, very rightly, that the words of the *institution* were too strong and emphatical to submit to so low a meaning. He conceived that, under the *symbolical* body, was to be understood the *natural* body of Christ, the body of the *Logos*. If we take in another passage of Origen's, out of one of his Homilies [p], and join it with this, there will then appear a threefold, elegant gradation in his whole account, as thus: Look not to the *typical* body, but raise your minds higher up to the *natural* flesh of Christ: yea, and stop not there, but ascend still higher, from *human* to *Divine*, conceiving that *flesh* as personally united with the *Divine* Logos, or as the *body* of God. All which is true and sound doctrine, and very proper subject-matter for Christian exhortations: I need not add, that the whole is extremely suitable to what I have been maintaining all along in this chapter.

[m] Καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτου μετέχων, τοῦ σώματος κυρίου μεταλαμβάνει· οὐ γὰρ προσέχομεν τῇ φύσει τῶν αἰσθητῶς προκειμένων, ἀλλ' ἀνάγομεν τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ πίστεως ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου σῶμα. οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, τοῦτό ἐστι σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι σῶμα· διηκριβῶς, ἵνα μὴ νομίζῃ τὶς τύπον εἶναι. *Buling. contr. Casaub.* p. 617.

[n] Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 367.

[o] Huetii Origeniana, p. 182.

[p] Non hæreas in *sanguine carnis*, sed disce potius *sanguinem Verbi*, &c. *Origen. in Levit. Hom.* ix. p. 243.

A. D. 250. *Cyprian.*

It is frequent with Cyprian to speak of the *sacred* elements under the name of our *Lord's body* and *blood.* I need not cite passages to prove what no one who has ever looked into that author can doubt of: in what sense he so styled them, pursuant to the words of the *institution*, is the single question. He says, in a certain place, that our Lord, in the original Eucharist, *offered up bread and wine*, viz. *his own body and blood*[q]. It is plain, that he thought not of *transubstantiation*, since he calls the elements *bread* and *wine*, even after consecration, and supposes besides, that Christ offered the same in substance that Melchizedek had offered long before the incarnation. Neither could Cyprian think of *consubstantiation*, since he admits of no other *body* and *blood* as there present, and literally offered, but the same individual *bread* and *wine:* they were the *body* and *blood.* But how were they such, since they were not so, strictly and literally? I answer, they were *figuratively* such, according to our author: not that the elements were by him supposed to be mere *figures*, or *memorials*, or *representations;* but what they represented, that they represented with *effect*, and so amounted in just *construction* and *beneficial* influence to the same thing. This was the notion he had of them, as will sufficiently appear from several clear passages. He supposes the *natural* blood of Christ by which we are redeemed, to *be in the cup*, in some sense or other, when the *sacred wine* is there[r]: the wine *represents* it, stands for it, and is *interpretatively* the same thing. He could not well mean less than this, by saying, that the blood is *signified* (*ostenditur*) in the wine, and that it is supposed to be in the cup, *videtur esse in calice*, is *looked* upon as

[q] Sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech obtulerat, id est, *panem* et *vinum*, suum scilicet *corpus* et *sanguinem*. *Cypr. Epist.* lxiii. p. 105. ed. Bened. alias p. 149.

[r] Nec potest videri *sanguis* ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, *esse in calice* quando vinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui Scripturarum omnium Sacramento ac testimonio prædicatur. *Ep.* lxiii. p. 104.

being there. Not literally to be sure, but constructionally, and in effect: for the *effects*, according to him, upon every faithful receiver, are *remission of sins*[s], and *spiritual strength* against the adversary[t], and *life eternal*[u]. So far was he from the low and degrading notions of the *figurists* in this article; and yet sufficiently guarded (as I have before hinted) against another extreme.

There are no more considerable authorities to be met with, so far as concerns this article, till we come down to the *fourth* century, and so on; and there they are innumerable: all following the same tenor of doctrine, all, when rightly understood, teaching the same thing, in the main, with what I have here represented from their predecessors; so that I know not whether it might not be tedious to my readers, to proceed any farther in a recital of this kind. But I may single out one, as it were, by way of specimen, leaving the rest to be judged of by that: and that one may be Cyril of Jerusalem, as proper a sample perhaps as any.

A. D. 348. *Cyril of Jerusalem.*

I do not know any one writer, among the ancients, who has given a *fuller*, or *clearer*, or in the main *juster* account of the holy Eucharist, than this the elder Cyril has done; though he has often been strangely misconstrued by contending parties. The true and ancient notions of the Eucharist came now to be digested into somewhat of a more regular and accurate form, and the manner of speaking of it became, as it were, fixed and

[s] Epotato sanguine Domini et poculo salutari, exponatur memoria veteris hominis, et fiat oblivio conversationis pristinæ sæcularis, et mœstum pectus et triste, quod prius *peccatis* angentibus premebatur, *Divinæ indulgentiæ* lætitia resolvatur. *Cypr. Ep.* lxiii. p. 107. alias 153.

[t] Protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi muniamus; et cum ad hoc fiat Eucharistia, ut possit accipientibus esse tutela, quos tutos esse contra adversarium volumus, munimento Dominicæ saturitatis armemus. *Epist.* liv. p. 77. alias Ep. lvii. p. 117.

[u] Manifestum est eos *vivere* qui corpus ejus attingunt, et Eucharistiam jure communicationis accipiunt. *Cyprian. de Orat.* p. 209, 210.

settled upon rules of art. Cyril expresses himself thus, "Receive we [the Eucharist] with all fulness of faith, as "the *body* and *blood* of Christ: for, under the *type* [or "*symbol*] of bread, you have his *body* given you, and "under the *type* [*symbol*] of wine, you receive his blood; "that so partaking of the body and blood of Christ, you "may become *flesh of his flesh*, and *blood of his blood*. "For, by this means, we carry Christ about us, in as "much as his body and blood is *distributed* into our "*members*: thus do we become, according to St. Peter, "partakers of the Divine nature[x]." The doctrine here taught is, that in the Eucharist we receive (not *literally*, but *symbolically*) the *natural* body and blood of Christ; just as the priests of old, in eating the sacrifices, *symbolically*, but *effectually*, ate up the sins of the people, or as the faithful Israelites, in eating *manna* and drinking of the *rock*, effectually fed upon Christ. The *symbolical* body and blood are here supposed by our author to supply the place of the *natural*, and to be in *construction* and *beneficial* effect (not *substantially*) the same thing with it; and so he speaks of our becoming by that means *one flesh* and *one blood* with Christ, meaning it in as high a sense, as all the members of Christ are *one body*, or as man and wife are *one flesh*. We *carry Christ* about us, as we are *mystically* united to him. His body and blood are *considered* as *intermingled* with ours[y], when the *sym-*

[x] Μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας, ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστῦ· ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου, δίδοταί σοι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοταί σοι τὸ αἷμα. ἵνα γένῃ, μεταλαβὼν σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, σύσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ χριστοφόροι γινόμεθα, τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναδιδομένου μέλη. οὕτω, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον, θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως γινόμεθα. *Cyrill. Hierosol. Mystag.* iv. sect. 3. p. 320. edit. Bened.

[y] Chrysostom, in like manner, speaks of Christ's *intermingling* his body with ours, in the Eucharist; but explains it, at length, by the *mystical union* therein contracted, or perfected between Christ the *head*, and us his *members*.

——ἀνεμίξειν ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνέφυρε τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἓν τι ὑπάρξωμεν, καθάπερ σῶμα κεφαλῇ συνημμένον. *Chrysost. in Joh. Hom.* xlvi. p. 272. Conf. in Matt. Hom. lxxxiii. p. 788.

"To shew the fervour of his affection towards us, he has *mingled* himself "with us, and *diffused* his own body into us, that so we may become *one*

bols of them *really* and *strictly* are so: for the *benefit* is completely the same; and God *accepts* of such *symbolical* union, making it, to all *saving* purposes and intents, as effectual, as any the most *real* could be. Cyril never thought of any presence of Christ's *natural* body and blood in the Sacrament, excepting in *mystery* and *figure*, (which he expresses by the word *type*,) and in real *benefits* and *privileges*.

He goes on to observe, that our Lord once told the Jews (John vi. 54.) of *eating his flesh*, &c. And they not understanding that it was spoken *spiritually*, [but taking the thing literally,] were offended at it, as if he had been persuading them to *devour* his *flesh*[z]. Hence it appears farther, that our author was no friend to the gross, literal construction. He proceeds as follows: "Under the "New Testament we have *heavenly bread*, and a *cup of* "*salvation*, sanctifying both body and soul: for as *bread* "answers to *body*, so the *Logos* suits with the *soul*[a]." This thought may be compared with another of Clemens above, somewhat like, and somewhat different. But both agree in two main points, that the Eucharist *sanctifies* the

"*thing*, as a *body* joined with the *head*." Compare Cyril of Alexandria. In Joh. p. 365, 862. De Sanct. Trin. p. 407. Isidor. Pelus. lib. iii. ep. 195. p. 333.

N. B. Chrysostom elsewhere speaks as highly of *Baptism*, and of the *mingling* with our Lord's body, in that Sacrament also; [in Coloss. Hom. vi. p. 201.] all which means nothing but the *mystical union*. Chamier has discussed this whole matter at large, if the reader desires farther satisfaction. De Eucharist. lib. xi. cap. 8, 9. p. 633, &c.

[z] Ἐκεῖνοι μὴ ἀκηκοότες πνευματικῶς τῶν λεγομένων, σκανδαλισθέντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεται. *Cyril. ibid.* p. 321.

Touttée, the Benedictine, here blames our learned Milles for rendering, *quæ spiritualiter dicebantur, non intelligerent*, instead of *quæ dicebantur, spiritualiter non intelligerent*. The criticism appears too nice, making a *distinction* without a *difference*; for the sense is the same either way. The Capernaites were here censured for not *spiritually* construing what was *spiritually* intended; for taking *literally*, what was meant *spiritually*: which is what either translation at length resolves into.

[a] Ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ, ἄρτος οὐράνιος, καὶ ποτήριον σωτηρίου, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἁγιάζοντα· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος σώματι κατάλληλος, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος τῇ ψυχῇ ἁρμόδιος. *Cyril. ibid.* p. 321.

worthy receiver both in body and soul, and that Christ is properly *present* in his *Divine* nature. Wherefore Cyril had the more reason for pressing his exhortation afterwards in high and lofty terms: "Consider them [the ele-" ments] not as mere *bread* and *wine*; for by our Lord's " express declaration, they are the *body* and *blood* of Christ. " And though your *taste* may suggest *that* to you, [*viz.* " that they are *mere* bread and wine,] yet let your *faith* " keep you firm. Judge not of the thing by your *taste*, " but under a full persuasion of *faith*, be you undoubted-" ly assured, that you are vouchsafed the *body* and *blood* " of Christ [b]." This he said to draw off the minds of his audience from low and carnal apprehensions, that so they might view those mysteries with the eye of *faith*, and not merely with the eye of *sense*; might look through the outward *sign* to the inward thing *signified*, and regale their *spiritual taste* more than the *sensual*. This is what Cyril really meant: though some moderns, coming to read him either with *transubstantiation* or *consubstantiation* in their heads, have amused themselves with odd constructions of very innocent words.

As to his exhorting his audience not to take the elements for *mere* bread and wine, it is just such another kind of address as he had before made to them, first in relation to the *waters* of *Baptism*, and next with regard to the *Chrism*. " Look not to this laver, as to *ordinary wa-*" *ter*, but (attend) to the *grace* conferred with the water [c]."

[b] Μὴ πρόσιχε οὖν ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κατὰ δισποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησίς σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις σε βεβαιούτω, μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γεύσεως κρίνης τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως πληροφοροῦ ἀνενδιάστως σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ καταξιωθείς. *Ibid.* p. 321.

N. B. The first Nicene Council (if we may credit Gelasius) had words to the same effect with these of Cyril: not with any intent to declare the *nature* or *substance* of the consecrated elements, (which none could doubt of,) but to engage the *attention* to their appointed *use*, and to the *graces* therein signified and conveyed. Vid. Gelas. Cyzicen. part. 2. concil. tom. i. p. 427. ed. Hard. conf. Albertin. p. 384, &c. Bishop Moreton has largely explained it, b. iv. cap. 11. sect. ii. p. 302, &c.

[c] Μὴ ὡς ὕδατι λιτῷ, πρόσιχε τῷ λουτρῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος δεδομένῃ

Would any sensible man conclude from hence, that the *water* was *transubstantiated*, according to our author, into some other substance? Let us go on to what he says of the *Chrism*. "Have a care of suspecting that this is *ordi-* "*nary ointment*, [or mere ointment;] for, like as the sacra- "mental bread, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, "is no more bare *bread*, but the *body* of *Christ*, so also "this holy unguent is no more bare ointment, nor to be "called *common*, after the invocation; but it is the grace "of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, endowed with special "energy by the presence of his Godhead: and it is *sym-* "*bolically* spread over the forehead and other parts of "the body. So then the body is anointed with the visi- "ble unguent, but the soul is sanctified by the enlivening "Spirit[d]."

I cite not this, as approving all that Cyril has here said of the *Chrism*, (not standing upon Scripture authority,) but to give light to what he has said of the *Eucharist*, which he compares with the other, while he supposes the cases parallel. He conceived the *elements* in one case, and the *unguent* in the other, to be *exhibitive* symbols of *spiritual* graces, instrumentally conveying what they represent. The bread and wine, according to his doctrine, are *symbolically* the body and blood: and by *symbolically* he means the very same thing which I have otherwise expressed by saying, that they are the body and blood in *just construction* and *beneficial* effect. What Cyril feared with respect to *Baptism*, and the *Eucharist*, and the *Unction*, was, that many in low life (coming perhaps from the *plough*, the

χάριτι. *Cyrill. Catech.* iii. p. 40. Vid. Albertin. 429. conf. Chrysostom. in Matt. Hom. lxxxiii. p. 787.

[d] Ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ὑπονοήσῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπίκλησιν· ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, παρουσίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργετικὸν γινόμενον. ὅπερ συμβολικῶς ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σου χρίεται αἰσθητηρίων. καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ μύρῳ τὸ σῶμα χρίεται, τῷ δὲ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι ἡ ψυχὴ ἁγιάζεται. *Mystag.* iii. p. 317. Conf. Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptism. tom. iii. p. 369.

spade, or the *pale*) might be dull of apprehension, and look no higher than to what they *saw*, *felt*, or *tasted*. Upon the like suspicion was grounded the ancient solemn preface to the Communion Service, called *Sursum Corda* by the Latins: wherein the officiating minister admonished the communicants to *lift up their hearts*, and they made answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*[e].

To make the point we have been upon still plainer, let Cyril be heard again, as he expresses the thing in a succeeding lecture. "You hear the Psalmist with divine me-" lody inviting you to the communion of the holy mys-" teries, and saying, *Taste and see how gracious the Lord* " *is*. Leave it not to the bodily palate to judge: no, but to " *faith* clear of all doubting. For the tasters are not com-" manded to taste *bread* and *wine*, but the *antitype* [sym-" bol] of the *body* and *blood* of Christ[f]." Here our author plainly owns the elements to be *types*, or *symbols*, (as he had done also before,) and therefore not the *very things* whereof they are symbols; not *literally* and strictly, but *interpretatively*, *mystically*, and to all *saving* purposes and intents; which suffices[g]. It is no marvel, if Mr. Touttée[h]

[e] Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας. *Cyril. Mystag.* v. p. 326. Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 213. alias 152. conf. Bingham. b. xv. c. 3. sect. 3. Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. vol. i. p. 226.

[f] Ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος, μετὰ μέλους θείου προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγοντος, γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος. μὴ τῷ λάρυγγι τῷ σωματικῷ ἐπιτρέπετε τὸ κριτικόν. οὐχί, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνενδοιάστῳ πίστει. γινώμενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Mystag.* v. p. 331.

[g] Deylingius seems to wonder at Mr. Aubertine and Mr. Claude for undercommenting, as he conceives, with respect to Cyril: Deyling. Observ. Miscell. p. 157. But he attempts not to *confute* what they had said: it was wiser to forbear. The utmost that any one can justly make of the very strongest expressions in Cyril, can amount only to a *mystical* union of Christ's body with the *faithful* communicants, as *members* of him; which is such an union as St. Paul resembles to that whereby man and wife are *one flesh*, (Eph. v. 30, 31.) and which undoubtedly is a *moral* union, independent of *local* presence.

[h] Touttée, Dissert. iii. prefixed to his new edition of Cyril, c. ix. p. 204, &c. The reader may compare Albertinus, (p. 422.) who had sufficiently obviated every thing pleadable on the side of the Romanists. Compare also

and other Romanists interpret Cyril to quite another purpose: but one may justly wonder how the learned and impartial Dr. Grabe should construe Cyril in that *gross* sense, which he mentions under the name of *augmentation*[i]. I presume, he read Cyril with an eye to modern *controversy*, and did not consider him as speaking to *mechanics* and *day-labourers*: or, he was not aware of the *difference* there is, between telling men what they are to *believe*, and what they ought to *attend* to, which was Cyril's chief aim. As to *believing*, he very well knew that every one would believe his *senses*, and take bread to be *bread*, and wine to be *wine*, as himself believed also: but he was afraid of their *attending* so entirely to the report of their *senses*, as to forget the reports of *sacred Writ*, which ought to be *considered* at the same time, and with closer *attention* than the other, as being of *everlasting* concernment. In short, he intended no lecture of *faith* against *eyesight*: but he endeavoured, as much as possible, to draw off their *attention*[k] from the objects of *sense* to the object of *faith*, and from the *signs* to the *things signified*.

It has been urged, as of moment, that Cyril compared the *change* made in the Eucharist to the *miraculous* change of water into wine wrought by our Lord in Cana of Galilee[l]. It is true that he did so: but *similitudes* commonly are no arguments of any thing more than of some *general* resemblance. There was *power from above* in that case,

Johnson, (Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 257.) who has well defended Cyril on this head, and Deylingius, who in a set discourse has replied to Touttée. (Deyling. Observat. Miscell. Exercit. ii. p. 163, &c.) Only I may note, by the way, that he has strained some things in favour of the Lutheran principles, and has better confuted the Romanists, than he has established his own hypothesis.

[i] Grabe, ad Iren. lib. v. cap. 2. in notis, p. 399. Conf. Deyling. Observat. Miscellan. p. 177.

[k] In Sacramentis non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, *attenditur*: quoniam *signa* sunt *rerum*, aliud *existentia* et aliud *significantia*. *Augustin. contr. Max.* lib. iii. cap. 22. conf. de Doctrin. Christian. cap. 7.

[l] Cyril. Mystag. iv. sect. 2. p. 320.

and so is there in this: and it may be justly called a *supernatural* power [m]; not upon the *elements* to change their nature, but upon the *communicants* to add *spiritual* strength to their souls. The operation in the Eucharist is no *natural* work of any creature, but the *supernatural* grace of God's Holy Spirit. Therefore Cyril's thought was not much amiss, in resembling one *supernatural* operation to another, agreeing in the *general* thing, differing in *specialities*. In a large sense of the word *miracle*, there are miracles of *grace*, as well as miracles of *nature*; and the same *Divine* power operates in both, but in a different way, as the ends and objects are different.

I shall proceed no farther with the *Fathers* on this head, because it would be tedious, and in a manner endless. None of them, that I know of, carried the doctrine higher than this Cyril did; but most of them, somewhere or other, added particular guards and explanations [n]. All intended to say, that the elements keeping their own nature and substance, and not admitting a coalition with any other bodily substance, are *symbolically*, or in *mystical construction*, the body and blood of Christ; being *appoint-*

[m] Neque quæritur aut controvertitur an panis et vinum *supernaturali* virtute, et omnipotentia *divina* a communi elementorum usu, in sublimiorem usum et dignitatem transmutentur: fatemur enim in *Sacramentis* omnino necesse esse, cœlestem et *supernaturalem* mutationem supervenire, nec posse fieri *Sacramentum* nisi per *omnipotentiam Dei*, cujus solius est Sacramenta in ecclesia *instituere*, ipsisque *efficaciam* tribuere. *Cosin. Hist. Transubst.* cap. iv. p. 45. conf. p. 124. Compare Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 258. alias 261. Albertin. 855.

[n] For a *specimen*, we may take notice of Facundus, as late as the middle of the sixth century, who writes thus:

Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et calice consecrato, *corpus* ejus et *sanguinem* dicimus: non quod proprie corpus ejus sit *panis*, et *poculum* sanguis, sed quod in se *mysterium* corporis ejus sanguinisque contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, *corpus* et *sanguinem* suum vocavit. Quocirca, sicut Christi fideles, *Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis* ejus accipientes, *corpus* et *sanguinem* Christi recte dicuntur accipere; sic et ipse Christus *Sacramentum adoptionis* filiorum cum suscepisset, potuit recte dici *adoptionem* filiorum accepisse. *Facund. Hermian.* lib. ix. cap. 5. conf. Ephræm. Antioch. in Phot. Cod. 229. p. 793.

ed as such by Christ, *accepted* as such by God the Father, and *made* such in *effect* by the *Holy Spirit*, to every *faithful* receiver. So ran the general doctrine from the beginning and downwards: neither am I aware of any considerable change made in it till the dark ages came on, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and following centuries[o]. The corruptions which grew up by degrees, and prevailed more and more till the happy days of reformation, are very well known[p], and need no particular recital.

Luther first, and afterwards Zuinglius, attempted a reform in this article: but it was difficult to clear off the thick darkness all at once; and so neither of them did it to such perfection as might have been wished. One threw off *transubstantiation* very justly, but yet retained I know not what *corporal, local* presence, and therefore did not retrench enough: the other threw off all corporal and local presence very rightly, but threw off withal (or too much neglected) the *spiritual presence* and *spiritual graces:* which was retrenching a great deal too much[q]. It must however be owned, that apologies have been since made for Zuinglius, as for one that erred in *expression* rather than in real *meaning*, or that corrected his sentiments on second thoughts[r]. And it is certain that his friends and followers, within a while, came into the old and true notion of *spiritual* benefits[s], and left the low notion of naked *signs* and *figures* to the Anabaptists of those times; where

[o] See l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part ii. cap. 12, 13, &c.

[p] In the year 787 the second Council of Nice began with a rash determination, that the sacred symbols are not *figures* or *images* at all, but the *very body and blood.* About 831, Paschasius Radbertus carried it farther, even to *transubstantiation*, or somewhat very like to it. The name of *transubstantiation* is supposed to have come in about A. D. 1100, first mentioned by Hildebertus Cenomanensis of that time, p. 689. edit. Benedict. A. D. 1215, the doctrine was made an article of faith by the Lateran Council, under Innocent the Third. Afterwards, it was reestablished in the Trent Council, A. D. 1551, and at length in Pope Pius's Creed, A. D. 1564.

[q] Vid. Calvin. de Cœna Domini, p. 10. et contr. Westphal. p. 707, 774.

[r] See Archbishop Wake, Discourse on the Holy Eucharist, p. 83.

[s] See Hooker, vol. ii. p. 327.

they rested, till again revived by the Socinians, who afterwards handed them down to the Remonstrants.

Calvin came after Zuinglius, and refined upon his scheme, steering a kind of middle course, between the extremes. He appears to have set out right, laying his groundwork with good judgment: and had he but as carefully built upon it afterwards, no fault could have been justly found. In the first edition of his Institutions, (printed at Basil A. D. 1536,) he writes thus: "We say "that they [the body and blood] are *truly* and *efficacious-*"*ly* exhibited to us, but not *naturally*. By which we "mean, not that the *very substance* of his body, or that "the *real* and *natural* body of Christ are *there given*, but "all the benefits which Christ procured for us in his bo-"dy. This is that *presence* of his body which the nature "of a *Sacrament* requires[t]." This came very near the truth, and the whole truth: only there was an *ambiguity*, which he was not aware of, in the words *there given;* and so, for want of a proper *distinction*, his account was too *confused*. He should have said, that the *natural* body is *there given*, but *not there present*, which is what he really meant. The *mystical union* with our Lord's *glorified* body is *there* (or in that service) strengthened, or *perfected;* as a *right* may be given to a *distant* possession: and such *union* as we now speak of, requires no *local* presence of Christ's body. Here that great man and illustrious reformer was somewhat embroiled, and could never sufficiently extricate himself afterwards. He was well aware, that to assert only an application of the *merit* or *virtue* of Christ's passion, in the Eucharist, came not fully up to many strong expressions of the ancient *Fathers* relating to our union with the *natural* and now *glorified* body: nay, it appeared to fall short of St. Paul's doctrine, which

[t] Dicimus *vere* et *efficaciter* exhiberi, non autem naturaliter. Quo scilicet significamus, non *substantiam* ipsam corporis, seu *verum* et naturale Christi corpus *illic dari*, sed omnia quæ in suo corpore nobis *beneficia* Christus præstitit. Ea est corporis *præsentia* quam *Sacramenti* ratio postulat. *Calvin. Instit. apud Wake*, p. 47.

represents the true disciples of Christ, as *members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones*[u]. I say, Calvin was well aware of this difficulty, and more especially after he had been warmly pressed on that head, in his disputes with the Lutherans. So he found himself to be under a necessity of bringing in the *natural* body some way or other[w], but did it a little confusedly, and out of course. He made it the *ground*[x], instead of reckoning it among the *fruits*; and he supposed the glorified body to be, as it were, *eaten* in the Eucharist, when he should only have said, that it became more perfectly *united* with ours: and he farther invented an obscure and unintelligible notion of the *virtue of Christ's flesh* being brought down from heaven and diffused all around, by the power of the *Holy Spirit*[y]. All which perplexity seems to have been owing to the wrong stating of a notion, which yet was *true* in the main, and which wanted only to be better adjusted, by a more orderly ranging of ideas, or by new casting it; which has been done since.

Our Divines, who came after Calvin, had some advantage in point of *time*, and a greater still in the rule or

[u] Ephes. v. 30.

[w] Neque enim mortis tantum ac resurrectionis suæ *beneficium* nobis offert Christus, sed *corpus ipsum* in quo passus est et resurrexit. Concludo, realiter, hoc est vere, nobis in cœna dari *Christi corpus*, ut sit animis nostris in *cibum* salutarem.——Intelligo, *substantia corporis* pasci animas nostras, ut vere *unum* efficiamur cum eo: vel, quod idem valet, *vim ex Christi carne vivificam* in nos per *Spiritum* diffundi, quamvis longe a nobis distat, nec misceatur nobiscum. *Calvin. in* 1 *Cor.* xi. 24. p. 392. Conf. contr. Westphal. p. 774, 784.

[x] Vid. Beza, Orat. apud Placæi Comment. de Stat. Relig. p. 112. Bishop Cosin follows the same way of speaking; Histor. Transubstan. p. 35, 43, 44, 45.

[y] Plus centies occurrit in scriptis meis, adeo me non rejicere *substantiæ* nomen, ut ingenue et libere profitear spiritualem vitam, incomprehensibili *Spiritus* virtute ex *carnis Christi substantia* in nos diffundi. *Calvin. contr. Westphal.* p. 842. conf. 843.

Corpus quod nequaquam cernis, spirituale est tibi alimentum. Incredibile hoc videtur, *pasci nos Christi carne*, quæ tam procul a nobis *distat*? meminerimus, *arcanum* et *mirificum* esse Spiritus Sancti opus, quod intelligentiæ tuæ modulo metiri sit nefas. *Calvin. in* 1 *Cor.* xi. 24. p. 392.

method which they pitched upon, as most proper to proceed by: which was, not to strike out any new hypotheses or theories by strength of wit, but to inquire after the *old paths*, and there to abide. Archbishop Cranmer took this method: he was a judicious man, and a well-read Divine; and more particularly in what concerns the *Eucharist*. We have the sum of his doctrine in the first page of his preface.

" Where I use to speake sometymes, (as the olde au-
" thours doo,) that Christe is in the Sacramentes, I meane
" the same as they dyd understand the mattier: that is
" to say, not of Christes *carnall presence* in the outwarde
" Sacrament, but sometymes of his *sacramentall presence;*
" and sometyme by this woorde *sacrament* I meane the
" whole mynistration and receyvynge of the Sacramentes,
" eyther of *Baptisme* or of the *Lordes Supper*. And so
" the olde writers many tymes dooe say, that *Christe* and
" the *Holy Ghoste* be *present* in the Sacramentes; not
" meanynge by that manner of speache, that Christe and
" the Hôly Ghoste be presente in the *water*, *bread*, or
" *wyne*, (whiche be only the outward vysyble Sacra-
" mentes,) but that in the dewe mynistration of the Sa-
" cramentes, accordynge to Christes ordynance and in-
" stitution, Christe and his Holy Spirite be *trewly* and
" *indede* present by their mighty and sanctifying *power*,
" *virtue*, and *grace* in all them that *worthily* receyve the
" same. Moreover, when I saye and repeate many tymes
" in my booke, that the *body* of Christ is *present* in them
" that *worthyly* receave the Sacramente, leaste any man
" shulde mystake my woordes, and thynke that I mean,
" that although Christe be not corporally in the outward
" visible *sygnes*, yet hee is corporally in the *persones* that
" duely receive them; this is to advertise the reader, that
" I meane no suche thynge: but my meanyng is, that
" the *force*, the *grace*, the *virtue*, and *benefyte* of Christes
" *bodye* that was crucifyed for us, and of his *bloudde* that
" was shedde for us, be *really* and *effectually* present with
" all them that *duely* receave the *Sacramentes*. But all

" this I understande of his *spiritual* presence, of the " whyche hee saythe, *I wyll bee with you untyll the* " *worldes ende:* and, *Wheresoever two or three be gathered* " *together in my name, there am I in the myddes of them:* " and, *He that eateth my fleshe, and drynketh my bloude,* " *dwelleth in me, and I in hym.* Nor no more truely is " he *corporally* or *really* presente in the due mynistration " of the *Lordes Supper*, than he is in the due mynistra- " tion of *Baptisme*[z]." It is observable, that our judicious author wisely avoids saying any thing of the *eating* of Christ's *glorified* body, for he speaks of the *crucified* only, and justly explains the *spiritual* manducation of it. He drops all mention here of the *mystical union* with the body *glorified*, and so his account may be thought a little *defective* as to that particular: but he frequently takes notice of it in his book, as one of the effects or fruits of the *spiritual* manducation in the Eucharist, which strengthens and confirms the *worthy* receivers as *members* of Christ's natural body[a].

I may spare myself the trouble of reciting the sentiments of Bishop Ridley, and Bishop Latimer, and Mr. Bradford of that time, and of Bishop Jewel who came not long after: for they all agreed, in the main things, with Archbishop Cranmer, who may therefore be looked upon as *instar omnium*, while in him we have all. I shall only take notice how our acutest Divines have, time after time, hit off the difficulties which were once very perplexing, by the use of proper *distinctions*, between the body *crucified* and the body *glorified;* as likewise between *manducation* and *union*. It will be sufficient to name two of them: one wrote as early as the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the other as late as King James the Second.

[z] Cranmer's Answ. to Gardiner, edit. 1551. In the edition of 1580, there is added, to the passage cited, as follows: " That is to say, in both *spiritually*, " by *grace:* and wheresoever in the Scripture it is said that Christ, God, or " the Holy Ghost is in any man, the same is understood *spiritually* by grace."

[a] Cranmer, p. 16, 27, 43, 44, 161, 174, 199. Compare Jewel, Answ. to Harding, art. v. p. 254, &c.

Dr. William Barlow[b], in the year 1601, published a treatise entitled, A Defence of the Articles of the Protestant Religion; which he dedicated to Bancroft, then Bishop of London: he occasionally says something upon our present subject, which may be worth the noting, though the style is not the most commendable.

[c] "Great difference there is (perchance *not observed by* "*many*) between our *eating* of Christ, and our *uniting* "with him.——

"1. We *eat* him as our *Passover*[d]; that as the Israelites "ate the one *mortuum et assum*, *dead* and *roasted*[e], so we "him *crucifixum et passum*, *dead* and *slain*. And so that "speech of St. Austen is true, we have him here *in pa-* "*bulo* as he was *in patibulo*, torn and rent: as himself "ordained the Sacrament *in pane fracto*, not *integro*, the "*bread broken*, not the *whole loaf*; thereby signifying, "yea saying, that in doing it we must remember him, "not as *living* among us, but as *dying* for us; *ut in cru-* "*ce, non in cœlo*, as he was *crucified*, not as he is *glori-* "*fied*. Whereby we conclude, first, for his *presence*, that "his body is so far forth there *quatenus editur*, as it is "*eaten*: but his body is eaten as *dead* and *slain*; so him- "self appointed it, *This is my body*, and stayeth not there, "but adds withal, *which is given for you*. And his blood "is drunk, not as *remaining in his veins*, but as *shed*: so "himself speaketh, *This is my blood of the new testa-* "*ment* SHED *for many*. Now, his body *bruised*, and his "blood *poured out*, can no otherwise be *present* in the "Eucharist, but by a *representation* thereof in the bread "*broken*, and in the wine *effused*, of the one side; and on "the communicant's part, by a grateful *recordation* of the "benefits, a reverent *valuation* of the sacrifice, a faithful "*application* of his merits in his whole passion: and

[b] The same that published a relation of the Hampton-Court Conference in 1604, and was made Bishop of Rochester in 1605, translated to Lincoln in 1608, died 1613.

[c] Barlow's Defence, &c. p. 124, &c.

[d] 2 Cor. v. 7. [e] Exod. xii. 9.

" therefore his *presence* must be *sacramental*, and our eat-
" ing *spiritual;* for, *non quod videtur, sed quod creditur,*
" *pascit*, saith St. Austin.

" 2. For the *union*, we are united to him *ut viventi*, as
" our *living* head, *et nos vivificanti*, and making us his
" lively members. It is true which Christ saith, that *he*
" *which eateth my flesh, abideth in me, and I in him*[f].
" Not that this *union* is first begun in our participation of
" that holy Supper, (for none can truly *eat* the body of
" Christ, unless he be first *united* with him, and ingrafted
" into him: *nec vere edit corpus Christi, qui non est de*
" *corpore Christi*, saith St. Austin,) because *prima unio*,
" saith Aquinas, the *first union* between God and man is
" begun in *Baptism* by *one Spirit*[g], as the Apostle speak-
" eth, and continueth by faith, hope, and charity; all
" these the operation of the same Spirit.

" But if we truly *eat* the body, and *drink* the blood of
" Christ, then by the power of the Holy Ghost, and faith
" cooperating, this *union* is *strengthened*, the vigour and
" effects whereof, after a *true* participation, we shall feel
" within ourselves more *forcible* and *lively*.—Is not Christ
" as *present* in Baptism, as in the Eucharist? for in them
" both we *communicate* with him; *bred anew* in the one,
" *fed anew* in the other: and yet Christ's *real presence* is
" not challenged for Baptism. If they say no, because of
" the Eucharist it was said, *This is my body and blood*,
" not so of Baptism; I answer: As much, if not more,
" was spoken by the Apostle; *They which are baptized*
" *have put on Christ*[h]. Put him on we cannot, unless he
" be *present:* and the *putting him on* is even the very same
" which he elsewhere calleth *Christ's dwelling in us*[i],

[f] John vi. 56. [g] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[h] Gal. iii. 27. Conf. Phot. Amphiloch. apud Wolf. Cur. Crit. vol. ult. p. 737.

[i] Ephes. iii. 17. N. B. The observation here urged appears to be perfectly just, and may be of great use for discovering the weakness of the pleas made for the *real* and *local* presence in the other Sacrament. The learned Buddæus, for instance, pleads, that the *giving* of the body cannot be under-

" namely, that in Baptism we are so transformed, as now " not we, but Christ alone doth live within us [k]; as near " an *unity* as may[l]. And in truth St. Austin is out of " doubt, that in Baptism the true member of Christ *cor-* " *poris et sanguinis Domini particeps fit*, is *partaker of the* " *body and blood of the Lord*[m]: and therefore no reason " withstands, but that he should be really present in *both*, " or in *neither*." Thus far Bishop Barlow, whose words I have here quoted at length, chiefly for the sake of the *distinction* (as it is a very good one) between the *manducation* and the *union*; the former relating properly to Christ considered as *crucified* and *slain*, and the latter to Christ considered as *glorified*, and *living* for evermore. We *eat* him as from the cross; that is, we partake of the *merits* of his passion: and one of the *fruits* of his passion is our *mystical union* with his body now *glorified* in heaven. One thing only I think wants correcting in Barlow's account, that he seems to make the union *antecedent* in natural order to the manducation; which, I conceive, was *needless* with respect to his argument, and is besides wrong in itself, since our *reconciliation* by the *death* of Christ is, in natural order of conception, *prior* to all the blessings and privileges arising from it. It is true that Baptism must be *before* the Eucharist, and that the *mystical union* is begun in Baptism: but then (as our author himself af-

stood without such *real presence* of the body; and that no *communion* can be without such *real presence*: *Κοινωνία inter res quæ sibi invicem præsentes non sunt, esse nequit. Institut. Theol. Dogmat.* lib. v. cap. i. p. 1094. The argument manifestly proves too much; proving (as Barlow well notes) that Christ is so *really present* in *both* Sacraments, or in *neither*. If Christ means *whole* Christ, he must be as much present in *body*, to be *put on* in Baptism, as to be *orally* taken in the Eucharist: but who sees not that this is straining *figurative* expressions to a most extravagant excess?

[k] Galat. ii. 20.

[l] I may here note, that the learned Wolfius on Gal. iii. 27. allows, that the *putting on* Christ, implies *arctissimam communionem*, (p. 740.) the *closest communion*. Now compare Buddæus's argument, or maxim, built upon the word *communion*, as implying *real presence*, and then judge of the *conclusion* resulting from the premises.

[m] See Fulgentius above, p. 137.

terwards very justly observes) we partake of our Lord's body *broken*, and blood *shed*, that is, of his *death* and *passion*, even in Baptism; and that is the *ground* and *foundation* of all our other Christian privileges.

Another excellent writer, whom I had in my eye, and now intend to cite, is Dr. Aldrich, who in the year 1687 published a valuable pamphlet, entitled, a Reply to Two Discourses, where, in a very clear and elegant style, and with great acuteness, he has hit off the main difficulties relating to the *real presence*. He writes thus.

"The *natural* body of our blessed Saviour comes under "a twofold consideration in the Eucharist:

"1. As a body *dead:* under which notion we are said "to *eat* it in the Sacrament, and to *drink* the blood as "*shed;* as appears by the words of the institution, *Take* "*and eat; this is my body, which is given* or *broken for* "*you: drink ye all of this; for this is my blood, which is* "*shed for you:* in which words, as Mr. Bradford long "ago observed, what God has joined, we are not to put "asunder.

"2. As a *glorified body:* in which condition it now "sits at the right hand of God, and shall there continue "till the restitution of all things, imparting grace and in-"fluence, and all the benefits purchased by the sacrifice of "the dead body, to those that, in the holy Eucharist "most especially, are through faith and the marvellous "operation of the Holy Ghost, *incorporated* into *Christ*, "and so *united* to him, that they dwell in Christ and "Christ in them, they are one with Christ and Christ "with them, they are made *members of his body, of his* "*flesh, and of his bones;* and by partaking of the spirit "of him their head, receive all the graces and bene-"fits purchased for them by his bitter death and pas-"sion.

"Wherefore it is evident, that since the body *broken*, "and blood *shed*, neither do nor can now really exist, "they neither can be really *present*, nor literally *eaten* "or *drank;* nor can we really *receive* them, but only the

" *benefits* purchased by them. But the body which now " exists, whereof we *partake*, and to which we are *united*, " is the *glorified* body: which is therefore *verily* and *in-* " *deed* received——and by consequence said to be *really* " *present*, notwithstanding its *local* absence; because a " real *participation* and *union* must needs imply a *real* " presence, though they do not necessarily require a *local* " one. For it is easy to conceive, how a thing that is " locally absent may yet be really *received*,——as we " commonly say, a man *receives* an *estate*, or *inheritance*, " when he receives the *deeds* or *conveyances* of it.——The " *reception* is confessedly *real*, though the thing itself is " not *locally* or *circumscriptively* present, or literally *grasp-* " *ed* in the arms of the receiver.——The Protestants all " agree, that we *spiritually eat* Christ's body, and *drink* " his blood; that we neither eat, nor drink, nor receive " the *dead* body, nor the blood *shed*, but only the *benefits* " purchased by them; that those benefits are *derived* to " us by virtue of our *union* and *communion* with the *glo-* " *rified body* [m], and that our *partaking* of it and *union* " with it is effected by the mysterious and ineffable ope- " ration of the Holy Spirit.——

" Now though it be easy, as I said before, to conceive " how a natural substance may be said to be really *re-* " *ceived*, though not locally *present*, it is not so easy to " conceive it *really present*, when at the same time it is " *locally absent*. Therefore the Church of England has " wisely forborne to use the term of *real presence*, in all " the books that are set forth by her authority. We " neither find it recommended in the Liturgy, nor the " Articles, nor the Homilies, nor the Church's, nor Now- " ell's Catechism.——So that if any Church of England " man use it, he does more than the *Church* directs him: " if any reject it, he has the Church's example to warrant " him.——Yet it must not be denied but the term may

[m] How this is to be understood, see above, p. 108, 109.

" be safely used among *scholars*, and seems to be ground-
" ed upon Scripture itself[n].——

" So much for the use of the *word*; which when we of
" the Church of England use, we mean thus: A thing
" may be said to be really *received*, which is so *consigned*
" to us, that we can really *employ* it to all those *purposes*
" for which it is *useful* in itself, and we have *occasion* to
" use it. And a thing thus *really received* may be said
" to be *really present*, two ways, either *physically* or *mo-*
" *rally*, to which we reduce *sacramentally*.——In the
" holy Eucharist, the *Sacrament* is physically, the *res*
" *sacramenti* morally present; the elements *antecedently*
" and *locally*; the very body *consequentially* and *vir-*
" *tually*, but both *really* present.——When we say that
" Christ is *present*——in the Sacrament, we do not mean
" in the *elements*, but in the *celebration*.——This doctrine
" is sufficiently removed from what the pamphlet calls
" *Zuinglianism*, (how truly, I will not now inquire,) for
" we do not hold that we barely receive the *effects* and
" *benefits* of Christ's *body*, but we hold it *really present* in
" as much as it is *really received*, and we *actually* put in
" *possession* of it, though *locally* absent from us[o]."

I have transcribed thus much, because the account is just, and because the *pamphlet* and *defence* of it are not, it may be, commonly known. The sum of all is, that *sacramental* or *symbolical* feeding in the Eucharist is feeding upon the body *broken* and blood *shed*, under the signs and symbols of *bread* and *wine*: the result of such feeding, is the strengthening or perfecting our *mystical union* with the body *glorified*; and so, properly speaking, we feed upon the body as *dead*, and we *receive* it into closer *union* as *living*, and both in the Eucharist when *duly* celebrated.

Nothing now remains, before I close up this chapter,

[n] Here the author refers to several texts, Matt. xviii. 20. xxviii. 20. 1 Cor. v. 3.

[o] Dr. Aldrich's Reply to Two Discourses, p. 13—18.

but to hint very briefly the use of the foregoing principles for the clearing off difficulties, and for the removing the objections raised by contending parties of various kinds.

1. To the Romanists, who plead warmly for *the very body and blood* in the Eucharist, we make answer, that we do receive *the very body and blood* in it, and through it, as properly as a man *receives* an *estate*, and becomes *possessed* of an *inheritance* by any deeds or conveyances: and what would they have more? Will nothing satisfy, except the *wax* and *parchments* be transubstantiated into *terra firma*, or every *instrument* converted into *arable?* Surely, that is pushing points too far, and turning things most serious into perfect ridicule.

2. To the Lutherans, who seem to contend for a *mixture* of the *visible* elements with the body *invisible*, we have this to reply, that we readily admit of a *symbolical* delivery, or conveyance, of one by the other; which effectually answers every good end and purpose, as it suits also extremely well with the Scripture phraseology in those cases. And though we admit not, that our Lord's body is *locally* present in the Sacrament, or any where so *present* but in heaven; yet so long as it is really united in *one mystical body* with ours, or rather is considered as the *head* with the *members*, we think, that may suffice; and we need not desire any closer alliance, on this side heaven, than such an *union* amounts to.

3. To the Calvinists of the ancient stamp, (if any such remained now,) we might reply, that though we *eat* not Christ's *glorified* body in the Eucharist, yet we really *receive* it, while we receive it into closer *mystical* union than before: and, though we know nothing of the *diffusion* of any *virtue of Christ's flesh*, (which would not profit,) yet we have the power and presence of his *Godhead* with us, and, at the same time, a *virtual* or *mystical* union with his *body*, sufficient to make us, in Divine *construction* and Divine acceptance, *one with him:* "For

"we are member of his body, of his flesh, and of his "bones [p]."

4. To the Zuinglian Sacramentarians, old Anabaptists, Socinians, and Remonstrants, who will not admit of any *medium* between *local corporal* presence, and *no presence* at all as to *beneficial* effects, no *medium* between the *natural* body itself, and mere *signs* and *figures*; to them we rejoin, that there is no necessity of falling in with either *extreme*; because there is a *medium*, a very just one, and where indeed the *truth* lies. For though there is no *corporal presence*, yet there is a *spiritual* one, exhibitive of Divine *blessings* and *graces*: and though we *eat* not Christ's *natural* glorified body in the Sacrament, or out of it, yet our *mystical union* with that very body is strengthened and perfected in and through the Sacrament, by the operation of the *Holy Spirit*. This appears to be both sense and truth; and shall be more largely made out in the sequel.

5. To those who admit not that the *natural* body of Christ is in any sense *received* at all, but imagine that the *elements*, as impregnated or animated with the *Spirit*, are the *only body* received, and are made our *Lord's body* by such union with the *Spirit* [q]; I say, to those we make answer, that the union of the *Spirit* with the *elements* (rather than with the *persons*) appears to be a *gross* notion, and *groundless*: and if it were admitted, yet could it not make the elements, in any just sense, our *Lord's body*, but the notion would resolve into a kind of *impanation* of the Spirit, for the time. Besides that the consequence would be, that the *Lord's body* is received by *all* communicants, *worthy* or *unworthy* [r], which is not the truth of

[p] Ephes. v. 30.

[q] This seems to be Mr. Johnson's notion, in the Unbloody Sacrifice, &c. part i. p. 247. And it is very near akin, so far, to that of the modern Greek Church, as represented by Mr. Claude in his Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist, part i. book iii. c. 13. p. 218.

[r] If the elements are supposed to be *united* to, or *enriched* with the *Spi-*

the case. Wherefore to avoid all such needless suppositions and needless perplexities, let us be content to teach only this plain doctrine; that we *eat* Christ *crucified* in this Sacrament, as we partake of the *merits* of his *death:* and if we thus have part in his *crucified* body, we are thereby *ipso facto* made partakers of the body *glorified;* that is, we *receive* our Lord's body into a *closer union* than before, and become his *members* by repeated and stronger ties; provided we come worthily to the holy table, and that there is no just *obstacle*, on our part, to stop the current of *Divine graces*.

I may shut up this account with the excellent words of Archbishop Cranmer, as follows, only put into the modern spelling:

"The first Catholic Christian faith is most *plain*, *clear*, "and *comfortable*, without any difficulty, scruple, or "doubt: that is to say, that our Saviour Christ, although "he be sitting in heaven, in *equality* with his Father, is "our life, strength, food, and sustenance; who by his "*death* delivered us *from death*, and daily nourishes and "increases us to *eternal life*. And in *token* hereof, he "hath prepared *bread* to be eaten, and *wine* to be drunk "of us in his *holy Supper*, to put us in *remembrance* of his "said *death*, and of the celestial *feeding*, *nourishing*, *in-* "*creasing*, and of all the *benefits* which we have thereby: "which *benefits*, through *faith* and the *Holy Ghost*, are "*exhibited* and given unto all that *worthily* receive the "said holy Supper. This the husbandman at his plough, "the weaver at his loom, and the wife at her rock, can "remember, and give thanks unto God for the same:

rit, all that *receive* must of course receive the *Spirit*, and be *sanctified* by him. For the *presence* of the Spirit, in this case, is not to be understood merely of the *essential* presence extending equally to all creatures, but of a *gracious* presence: and if such *gracious* presence is vouchsafed to the *unworthy* as well as *worthy*, then the *benefits* must be *common* to all, and none can eat and drink their own damnation. The *fundamental* error of this *hypothesis* (as also of the Lutheran and the Romish) is the connecting the *grace* of the Sacrament with the *elements*, instead of looking for it in the *persons* only.

" this is the very doctrine of the *Gospel*, with the consent " wholly of all the old ecclesiastical doctors[s]."

My readers, I hope, will excuse it, if in the course of this chapter I have been obliged sometimes to *suppose* some things, which are hereafter to be *proved:* I could not avoid it, without rendering the whole intricate and obscure. What relates to *spiritual graces* in particular, as conveyed in the Eucharist, shall be distinctly considered in its place, and the *proofs* produced at large: but there was no *explaining* what *sacramental* or *symbolical* feeding means, (which was the design of this chapter,) without taking some previous and general notice of the *spiritual graces*, which are the *food* conveyed from heaven, by and under the *symbols* of bread and wine in the Eucharist.

CHAP. VIII.

1 Cor. x. 16. &c. *explained, and vindicated from Misconstructions.*

ST. PAUL'S doctrine concerning the *Eucharist*, in the tenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, though but occasionally delivered, will yet deserve a distinct chapter by itself, as it is of great moment, and much depends upon a true and faithful construction of it. It will be proper, in the first place, to produce the whole passage, but correctly rendered, as near as may be to the Greek original.

Verse 16. *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?*

17. *For since the bread is one, we, being many, are one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.*

18. *Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they who eat of the sacrifices communicants of the altar?*

[s] Cranmer against Gardiner, p. 396. first edit.

19. *What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that what is offered in sacrifice to the idol is any thing?*

20. *But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not have you become communicants of devils.*

21. *You cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: you cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.*

I have varied a little from the common rendering, partly for better answering the difference of phrase in the Greek, between μετέχειν and κοινωνεῖν, (be they equivalent or otherwise[t],) and partly for the better expressing the three *communions*, here brought in as corresponding to each other in the analogy; namely, that of *Christ's body* and *blood* in the first place, next, that *of the Jewish altar*, and lastly, *of devils*. Our translation has, in some measure, obscured the *analogy*, by choosing, in one place, the word *partakers* (though it means the same thing) instead of *communicants*, and in another place, by saying communion *with* devils, instead of saying *of devils*: κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων, v. 20. I use the phrase *communicants of*, to express the *participating in common* of any thing: which perhaps is not altogether agreeable to the strict propriety of the English idiom. But I could not think of any thing better, that would answer the purpose in other respects; and since I have now intimated what I mean by it, the *phrase*, I suppose, may be borne with. But let us come to the business in hand.

Before we can make a just use of St. Paul's doctrine in this place, as concerning the *holy Communion*, it will be necessary to understand the *argument* which he was then

[t] In strictness, μετέχειν signifies the taking a *part* or *parcel* of any thing, with others, who have likewise their separate *shares* or *parcels* of it: but κοινωνεῖν is the partaking with others, *in commune*, of the same *whole, undivided* thing. Notwithstanding, the words are sometimes used promiscuously. Chrysostom, upon the place, takes notice of the *distinction*, and makes his use of it, for explaining the text, and doing justice to the subject.

upon, with the *occasion* of it. The Christians of Corinth, to whom the Apostle writes, were encompassed with Pagan *idolaters*, and were in great danger of being insidiously drawn in, by specious pretences, to eat of *meats* which had been *offered* up, in the way of *sacrifice*, to their *idols*. Such *eating* (if Christians were aware that the *meat* had been so *offered*) was, in just construction, *participating* in common with the Pagan idolaters, of *devils*, to whom those *idols*, or *statues*, belonged. Whereupon St. Paul exhorts his new converts, to beware of such *dangerous* practice, reminding them of the grievous judgments of God, which formerly came upon their forefathers the Israelites, for the sin of *idolatry*. "Neither be ye idola-"ters," says he, "as were some of them [u]:" and a little lower, "Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idola-"try [x]." But because they seemed not yet fully sensible, that such practice of theirs was really *idolatry*, but they had several artificial evasions to shift off the charge, (as that an *idol was nothing* in itself, and that they had no *design* by eating of such *meats*, to signify any *consent* of theirs with *idolaters*, or to give any *countenance* to them,) I say, because the new converts were not readily convinced of the *sin* and *danger* of such practice, the Apostle undertakes to *argue* the case with them, in a very friendly, but strong and pressing manner, both upon *Jewish* and *Christian* principles, prefacing what he had to urge with this handsome compliment to them: "I speak as to wise "men," (I appeal to your own *good sense* and *sagacity*,) "judge ye what I say [y]." Then he proceeds to argue in the way of *parallel*, or by parity of reason, from the case of the *Christian Eucharist*, and the *Jewish feasts* upon peace-offerings, in order to infer from both, that as the *Eucharist* is interpretatively a *participating* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, and as the *Jewish feasts* were *participating* of the *altar*; so the *eating* of *idol-meats* was interpretatively a *participating* of *devils*. To take the Apostle's ar-

[u] 1 Cor. x. 7. [x] 1 Cor. x. 14. [y] 1 Cor. x. 15.

gument in its just and full view, we must consider him as bearing in mind *two* distinct things which he had upon his hands to prove by one and the same argument: the first was, that eating of the *idol-sacrifices* (knowingly) was *interpretatively* consenting with the *idolaters*, or *communicating* with them, though they might *mean* nothing less; and the second was, that such consenting with the idolaters was interpretatively, or in effect, *participating* of *devils*. Such being the case, it could not but appear to be of very *dangerous* consequence, knowingly to *eat* of things *offered* to *idols*.

From this view of the Apostle's argument, I pass on to consider what we may hence infer with respect to his *doctrine* of the *Eucharist*, thus *occasionally* delivered as the true and *well-known* doctrine of Christ. His account of it is briefly expressed, in its being a *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood*; that is to say, of the body considered as *broken*, and of the blood considered as *shed*; as is very plain from the terms of the *institution*: and it is not improbable that the Apostle here so *distinctly* mentioned *both*, to intimate that they were to be considered as *divided* and *separate*, which was the case at his *crucifixion*, and not after. By *communion*, the Apostle certainly intended a *joint communion*, or participating *in common* with others, as appears by the words immediately following; "We being many are one body," &c. Besides that his *argument* required it, as I have already hinted. For he was to convince the Corinthians, to whom he wrote, that *eating* of *idol-meats* was interpretatively *consenting* with idolaters, and of consequence partaking *in common* with them, of what they were supposed to *partake of*. And I presume, that it was with this particular view, and to make out his *whole* argument, consisting of *two* main points, that the Apostle threw in the words of verse the 17th. So then, we may thus far construe the Apostle's doctrine of the Eucharist to mean, that *Christians* feeding upon the *consecrated* symbols, in due manner, are supposed therein to be *joint partakers* of, or *communicants* in

Christ's *body* and *blood*, whatever that means, and also to be mystically united with each other. Now we come to the main point of all, namely, what that *partaking*, or that *communion* of our Lord's *body* and *blood*, strictly or precisely signifies. *Moderns* have been strangely divided about it, (though it was anciently a very *plain* thing,) and perhaps it may be thought a piece of respect due to them, to mention their several *interpretations*, though we must reject all but *one*, as *late* devices, and more or less foreign to the Apostle's argument.

1. To say that the *communion* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* means the receiving his *natural* flesh and blood into our *mouths*, under the *forms*, *accidents*, or *appearances* of bread and wine, is manifestly a *forced* and *late* interpretation; not heard of for eight hundred years or more, and, besides, absurd, contradictory, and impossible. If we may trust to our *reason* or to our *senses*, (and if we may not, what is there that we can trust to?) the bread and wine do remain, after *consecration*, the same in *substance* as before, changed only as to their *uses*, *relations*, or *offices*. Besides, Christ's body *broken* and blood *shed* 1700 years ago, are no more in that capacity, nor ever will be; and therefore it is absolutely impossible that they should be literally *present* in the Sacrament, or made *food* to the communicants. To all which may be added, that the elements, after consecration, are still expressly called *bread* and *wine* in this very place, and therefore supposed *to be* what they are called.

2. To say that the *communion* of our Lord's *body* and *blood* means the receiving his *natural* flesh and blood into our *mouths*, *together with the symbols*, would be running into the like absurdities with the former. Christ's body as *crucified*, and blood as *spilled*, are no more: his body *glorified* is as far distant as *heaven* and earth, and therefore not *present* in the Sacrament; or if it were, could not properly be *eaten*, nor be of *use* if it could, since the "flesh "profiteth nothing". Besides, the text speaks not of *two bodies*, or *bloods*, as present in the Sacrament. The sym-

bolical body and blood (bread and wine) are there present: the rest is present only in a *figure*, or under certain *construction*. A *mystical* union of Christ's glorified body with our bodies is indeed *intimated* in the text, or may, by just *consequence*, be inferred from it; but the *direct* doctrine of the text relates only to the body as *crucified*, and to the blood as *shed:* and therefore here the proper *distinctions* should be made between the *eating* Christ's dead body, and the *uniting* with his *living* body, (as above [z],) as also between the *express doctrine* of the text, and the *consequences* deducible from it by the help of *reason*, and of *other texts* compared.

3. To say that the *communion* here signifies the *eating* Christ's *glorified* body by *faith*, or with the *mind*, is not a just interpretation: because whatever is *corporeal* cannot be literally the *food* of the *soul;* as also because what is represented and eaten in the Sacrament is not the body *glorified*, but the body *crucified* and blood *shed*, which are no more, and which therefore cannot be received either with *mouth* or *mind*, excepting only in a qualified and figurative sense. A *mystical union* indeed (as before said) with Christ's *glorified* body is strengthened or perfected in the Eucharist: though that is a doctrine rather *insinuated*, than expressed here; while certainly collected both from the nature of the thing, and from divers other texts of the New Testament.

The three constructions hitherto mentioned have been all owing to too strict and servile an adherence to the *letter*, without reason, and against reason, and not countenanced by the *ancients* rightly understood. There are some other constructions which are faulty in the *contrary extreme*, receding too far from the *letter*, and degrading the Sacrament into a kind of *empty* or *fruitless* ceremony. There is the less excuse for so doing, considering how highly the Apostle speaks of the Sacrament, both in this and the next chapter: for though *necessity* will justify

[z] See above, p. 187, &c.

our receding from the *letter*, as far as such necessity extends, yet *reason* requires that we *adhere* to it as closely as we may, and *extremes* are always bad. But I proceed to take notice of some misconstructions in this way of under-commenting.

4. Some interpret *communion* here to mean no more than a *joint partaking* of the outward *signs*, *symbols*, or *memorials* of Christ's body and blood. But St. Paul must undoubtedly mean a great deal more, by his *emphatical* expressions; and his *argument* also requires it, as shall be shown in due place. He does not say, that the Service is a *commemoration* of Christ's body and blood, but a *partaking* or *communion* of them [a]. So likewise, with respect to the Jews, he does not say that they *commemorated* the *altar*, but they were *partakers* of the *altar*: and the *idolaters* whom he speaks of did not barely *commemorate* devils, (if they did it at all,) but they were *partakers* of devils. Besides, to interpret the *communion* of a joint partaking of the *symbols*, or *memorials*, is inventing a sense too flat and jejune to be fathered upon the Apostle; for indeed it is mere *tautology*. It is no more than saying, that partaking of the *bread* and *wine* is partaking of the *bread* and *wine*. There is good sense in saying, that the partaking of *one thing* is, in just construction, the partaking of some *other thing*: but to make all *sign*, and *nothing signified*, or to reckon the *outward signs* twice over, dropping the *inward things* signified, is unsuitable to the turn of the whole passage, and entirely defeats the Apostle's argument. The *eating* of the *sacrifices* was not again mere *eating* of sacrifices, but it was, by interpretation, communicating with *idolaters*: and *communicating* with *idolaters* was not again *communicating* with *idola-*

[a] S. Apostolus refragatur penitus glossæ Socini, quandoquidem *panem* et *poculum* eucharisticum dicat esse *communicationem corporis* et *sanguinis Christi*. Ubi *subjecti* loco,—*panem* et *poculum* benedictionis constituit, in *prædicato* vero, non *commemorationem*, aut *memoriale* corporis aut sanguinis Christi, sed *communicationem* ejusdem ponit. *Calovius de Eucharist.* p. 279.

ters, but it was, in just construction, *partaking* of *devils*[b]. Thus we find strong and admirable sense in the Apostle's discourse: but in the other way all is dull and insipid. Take we the next parallel instance: the *joint partaking* of the *Jewish sacrifices* was not again the *joint partaking of the same sacrifices;* but it was *partaking* of the *altar*, whatever that means: in like manner, a joint partaking of the *symbols* or *memorials* of bread and wine is not again a *joint partaking* of the same *symbols* or *memorials*, but of *something else* (by the Apostle's argument) which they represent, and call to our mind, and which in just *construction*, or in *effect*, they are. Had St. Paul meant only, that the bread which we break is the *joint eating* of the *bread*, and the cup which we bless is the *joint drinking* of the *cup*, why should he have changed the terms *bread* and *cup* into other terms, *body* and *blood*, instead of using the same over again? Or if *body* and *blood* mean only *bread* and *cup*, then see what sense can be made of chap. xi. 27. which must run thus: Whosoever shall eat this *bread* and drink this *cup* of the Lord *unworthily*, shall be guilty of the *bread* and *cup* of the Lord. It is not using an inspired Apostle with any proper respect, to put such an odd (not to say ridiculous) sense upon him. The case is plain, that the *four* terms, *bread*, *wine*, *body*, and *blood*, have severally their respective meanings, and that the two first express the *signs*, to which the other two answer as *things signified*, and so all is right. Add to this, that the *eating* and *drinking* in the Eucharist, upon the foot of the other construction, would be rendered *insignificant:* for the *breaking* of the *bread*, and the *pouring out* of the *wine*, would be sufficient for a bare *representation* or *memorial* of our Lord's death: the *feeding* thereupon

[b] The commentaries under the name of Jerome, supposed to be Pelagius's, well express the sense of the Apostle:

Panis idololatriæ, *dæmonum participatio* esse monstratur:—si cum idololatris de *uno pane* comedimus, *unum* cum illis *corpus* efficimur.—Non potestis et *Dei* et *dæmonum* esse participes. *Hieronym. Opp.* tom. v. p. 995. ed. Bened.

adds nothing to the *representation*, but must either signify our *receiving* something *spiritual* under that *corporeal* symbol, or signify nothing. And it would appear very strange, if the *feeding* itself should not be *symbolical*, some way or other, as well as the rest; especially considering that other places of Scripture (particularly John vi.) do insist very much upon *spiritual* feeding, and that the *quantity* of meat and drink in the Eucharist has all along been so small, that it might be difficult to say what *use* it could be of as a *banquet*, unless allowed to be *significative* or *symbolical* of some *spiritual* entertainment received by the communicants [c]. Upon the whole, this *fourth* interpretation must be rejected, as being altogether low and lame, or rather totally repugnant to all the circumstances of text and context.

5. Others therefore, perceiving that there must be both a *sign* and a *thing signified*, (or in other words, a *corporal* manducation, and a *spiritual* one also,) and yet being unwilling to admit of any *present benefits* in the Eucharist; have contrived this turn, that the sacramental feeding shall *signify* spiritual feeding, yea, and spiritual *communion* with Christ, *before*, and *in*, and *after* the Sacrament, but that this *spiritual feeding* shall mean only the *receiving* Christ's doctrine and promises; or that the Eucharist shall not import any thing *then* received, (more than at *other* times,) but shall be *declarative* only of what was received *before*, or is to be received *then*, or *after*. The design of all which is to evade any pretence of receiving *graces* from *above*, in or by this Sacrament: and this is the scheme which the Socinians commonly take into [d].

[c] Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτι πολὺ λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον, ἵνα γνῶμεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰς πλησμονὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἁγιασμόν. *Concil. Nicæn. in Gelas. Cyzicen. Labb. et Cossart.* tom. ii. p. 234.

[d] Hinc vero patet usum panis et calicis non ideo Christi *corporis* et *sanguinis communionem* dici, quod per istum usum demum communio ista fiat; sed quod per eum *communio* ac societas ista, quæ jam est, et esse debet, *significetur* et *declaretur*. *Crellius in loc.* p. 307. Conf. Socin. Quod Re. Polon. p. 701.

Hoc ritu *testamur* nos corpus Christi pro nobis crucifixum habere pro

Yea, they sometimes scruple not to own, that under *spiritual feeding* is contained *remission of sins*, and *present right* to *life eternal:* but still they will not have it said, that God *conveys* or *confers* these benefits in or by the Sacrament, but that we in the Sacrament do *declare* and *testify* that we are *partakers* of those *benefits*[e], having *brought* them with us, not receiving them there, more than elsewhere.

But these fine-spun notions, being only the inventions of *men*, can never be able to stand against the *truth* of *God*. St. Paul does not say, that the Eucharist is a *declaration* of communion, but a *communion:* nor does he say, communion *with Christ our head*, (though that indeed is a *remote* consequence of the other,) but *communion of the body and blood of Christ*. In the parallel instances, eating of idol-meats was not a *declaration* of what had been done *before*, nor a *declaration* of what was to be done *after*, (perhaps it was the *first* time, and might be the *last*,) but that *single* action was *taking part* with *idolaters*, and that amounted to *partaking* of *devils*. It was so with respect to the *Jewish* sacrifices, the *partaking* of them was not merely *declaring* their participation of the altar, but it was actual *participating* at that very time,

spirituali animæ nostræ *cibo*, et sanguinem ejus fusum pro salutari *potu*, nosque *communionem* illius habere, et sic ad *novum fœdus* pertinere, &c. quæ omnia *fidem* per charitatem *efficacem* postulant. *Racov. Cat.* p. 242.

Panem illum *edendo* atque ex poculo *bibendo* palam *testamur*, et *profitemur* nos corpus Christi fractum ac crucifixum pro animæ *cibo*, sanguinem pro *potu* habere, quo ad vitam *spiritualem* et *sempiternam* proinde alamur et confirmemur, ac cibo potuque corpora nostra ad vitam terrenam et corporalem sustentantur: non quidem quod in *hac* tantum *actione*, Christi carnem et sanguinem *spiritualiter* edamus et bibamus—sed quod *pia* mortis Christi *meditatione*, et *vera* in eum *fide* id perficiatur, ac porro etiam extra hunc ritum a nobis fiat, quam diu meditatio illa ac fides inde concepta in animis nostris viget. *Volkelius*, p. 310. alias 687. Conf. Schlicting. cont. Meisner. p. 751, 788, 789.

[e] Hac ceremonia *profitemur* nos, ea qua dictum est ratione, corpus Christi *edere*, et sanguinem ejus *bibere*, et sic eorum bonorum quæ morte sua cruenta Christus nobis peperit (h. e. *remissionis peccatorum*, et *vitæ sempiternæ*, quam *spe certa* in hoc sæculo veluti præcipimus) esse participes. *Volkelius*, p. 311. alias p. 688.

and by that very act. St. Paul's words are express, "are "partakers of the altar," (not *proclaimers* of it,) and his *argument* requires that sense[f]. Had the Corinthians suspected that the Apostle was talking of *declarations* only, *virtual* declarations, they would soon have replied, that they were ready to *declare* to all the world, that they intended no such thing as communicating *with idolaters*, or *of devils*, by their eating of the *idol-meats*, and that such express *counter-declarations* would more than balance any other. But that would have been *protestation* against *fact*, and would have availed nothing: for St. Paul had plainly told them what the *nature* of the *action* was; *viz.* communicating with *idolaters*, and not only so, but *partaking* of *devils*. Therefore, by analogy and parity of reason, the *nature* of our eucharistical *service* is an *actual* partaking of the *death* of Christ, with the *fruits* thereof.

If there were need of any farther arguing in so plain a case, I might add, that such kind of *declaring* as they speak of, (declaring their *spiritual eating*,) appears not so *modest*, or so *reverent*, as one might wish, if we consider what they mean by *spiritual meat*. They commonly intend by it the whole *faith* and *practice* of a Christian, together with *pardon* of sins and a *right* to life eternal consequent upon it. So then, their coming to the Lord's table to *declare* their *spiritual* feeding, what is it but proclaiming, before God and man, how *righteous*, how *holy*, and how *perfect* they are, and what *claims* they make on that score: which would be much more like to the boasting of a Pharisee, than to the proper penitent behaviour of an *humble* Christian, appearing before God. It may be thought, perhaps, that such *declarations* are of great *use*, because men will be cautious of telling a *solemn lie* in the presence of God, and will of course take care to be as *good* as they *declare* themselves to be[g]. But it might

[f] Compare Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, in answer to the same pretence about *declaring*, &c. part i. p. 172. alias 175, &c.

[g] Ideo simul etiam cogitandum est tibi, ut *talis sis* qualem te in hoc ritu

be rather suspected, that the effect would be quite contrary, and such a method of *ostentation* would be much more likely to harden men in their sins.

However, to soften the matter, they sometimes so explain this their *declaration*, as to amount only to a good *resolution*, or *promise*, for the time to come, or a *protestation* that they look upon a *good life* as the proper *food* of their *souls*. This indeed is more *modest*, but then it is going still farther off from the *text* of St. Paul than before: for, in this view, the receiving the Sacrament is neither *eating* any thing *spiritual*, nor so much as a *declaration* of eating, but it is a declaration only of their own *judgment* concerning it. Let them therefore turn this matter which way they please, they will never come up to the true meaning or force of St. Paul's words. In the mean while, we readily accept, what they are pleased to allow, that *pardon* of *sins*, and *present right* to life eternal, ought to be looked upon as part of the *spiritual food:* and we think it decent and modest, as well as just, to believe, that we *receive* our *spiritual food* at the altar, from the hands of Christ, and do not *bring* it thither *ourselves;* especially considering that Christ himself delivered the *corporal* food to the disciples, which was the *symbol* of *spiritual*. And though we ought to take care to come properly *qualified* to the holy Communion, yet we come not to *declare* how *rich* we were before, but to deplore our *poverty*, and to beg fresh *relief*, and new supplies, from above.

6. Some think it sufficient to say, that the *Eucharist* imports our *holding communion* or *fellowship with Christ our head*. But this interpretation is low and insufficient, expressing a *truth*, but not the *whole* truth. The Apostle's expression is very strong, *communion of*, not communion *with*, and of Christ's *body* and *blood*, not simply

profiteris; nec Deo et Christo *mentiaris*. Quod si talis nondum sis, id saltem omnino constituendum, ut talis quam primum evadas, nec committendum ut irritum postea sit hoc animi tui decretum. *Racov. Catech.* p. 242, 243.

of *Christ*. So in the parallel instances: they that ate of the idol-meats held communion indeed with the *idolaters*, but were *partakers of devils*, not *with* devils: and they that ate of the Jewish sacrifices were *partakers of the altar*. Therefore Bishop Patrick well says, with regard to the word *communion* in this place, "In its full signification it denotes, not merely our being made of his "(Christ's) society, but our having a *communication* of "his *body* and *blood* to us: so the word κοινωνέω is rendered, Gal. vi. 6. Phil. iv. 15[h]." In short, the *communion* here spoken of must either mean merely the *outward* profession of *Christianity*, and then it is an interpretation much too *low*, and is liable to most of the objections with that of the preceding article; or else it means a *vital union* with Christ, as his *living* members, and then it implies *partaking* in his *death*, *resurrection*, &c. and coincides with the common construction. The greatest fault therefore of this interpretation is, that it is loose, general, equivocal; no *explication* of the text, because *not determinate*, but *darker* than the text itself, and therefore fitted only to disguise and perplex the Apostle's meaning, and to deceive an unwary reader.

7. Having considered, and, as I conceive, confuted the several wrong constructions of St. Paul's words, it is now time to return to the true, easy, natural, and ancient[i] interpretation, before hinted, and now to be more largely enforced or confirmed. The Eucharist, in its *primary* intention, and in its *certain* effect to all worthy communicants, is a *communion* of Christ's body *broken* and blood *shed*, that is to say, a present *partaking of*, or having a *part in* our Lord's *passion*, and the *reconcilement* therein made, and the blessed *fruits* of it. This is plain good sense, and undeniable truth. "The body and blood of "Christ are *verily* and *indeed* received of the faithful: "that is, they have a *real part* and *portion* given them in

[h] Bishop Patrick's Christian Sacrifice, p. 52.

[i] See above, p. 112, 114, 159.

" the *death* and *sufferings* of the Lord Jesus, whose body " was *broken* and blood *shed* for the remission of sins. " They truly and indeed partake of the *virtue* of his " *bloody sacrifice*, whereby he hath obtained eternal re- " demption for us [k]." It is observable, that St. Paul, (his own best interpreter,) instead of saying, *Ye do show the Lord's body and blood, broken and shed*, says, " Ye do " show the Lord's death till he come [l]." Which makes it plain, that *body broken* and *blood shed* are, in this case, equivalent to the single word *death* with its *fruits;* and that is the *thing signified* in our sacramental service. And if that be the thing *signified*, it is that which we *partake of*, or *spiritually* receive: and we are in this Sacrament ingrafted, as it were, into the *death* of Christ, in much the same sense, and to the same effect, as in the other Sacrament we are said to be " baptized into his " death [m]," and " planted together in the likeness of his " death [n]." All the difference is, that the same thing is *represented* and *exhibited*, here and there, under *different* signs or symbols. There we have our *right* and *title* to the merits and benefits of his passion, delivered to us under the symbol of *water* inclosing us, as a *grave* incloses a dead body; here we have the same *right* and *title* again delivered under the symbols of *bread* and *wine* [o], received by us, and incorporated with us. But of the analogy of the two *Sacraments*, I have spoken before [p], and need not repeat. Only let it be remembered, that *Baptism* does not only *represent* our Lord's death, burial, and resurrection, but *exhibits* them likewise in their *fruits* and *virtue*, and makes the baptized party, if fitly qualified, *partaker* of them. And as there undoubtedly is a near correspondence and analogy between the

[k] Bishop Patrick's Christian Sacrifice, p. 53.

[l] 1 Cor. xi. 26. [m] Rom. vi. 3. [n] Rom. vi. 5.

[o] Τῆς ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας—δι' ἧς ἡμεῖς τῷ Χριστῷ κοινωνοῦμεν, καὶ τῶν παθημάτων καὶ τῆς θειότητος. *Gregor. Nazianz. Orat.* iii. p. 70.

[p] See above, ch. vii. p. 155.

two Sacraments, in their general *nature*, *ends*, and *uses*, we may justly argue from one Sacrament to the other; and the argument carries in it, if not the force of *demonstration*, yet very considerable weight. There is this further use in it, that it furnishes us with a clear and full answer to the objections made against the supposition of such and such privileges being conferred by or annexed to a *single* act of religion: for if they are annexed to or conferred by *Baptism*, *a single act of religion*, why may they not by the *Eucharist* also, though a *single* act? Such objections either strike at *both* Sacraments, or can really *hurt neither*: or if it be allowed (as indeed it must) that *Baptism*, notwithstanding, has such *privileges* annexed to it, by the *express* words of Scripture, it must be allowed that the *Eucharist*, at least, *may have* the same. If, for instance, *remission* of sins, *sanctification* of the Spirit, *mystical union* with Christ, *present right* to a resurrection and life eternal, are (as they certainly are) conferred in and by *Baptism*, to persons fitly qualified; it is in vain to object, in the case of the *Eucharist*, that those privileges cannot be annexed to or conferred by a *single* act.

But let us return to our *positive* proofs, that such blessings are annexed to a *due* receiving of the holy Communion. This passage of St. Paul, rightly considered, is a demonstration of it, as I have already intimated. The Socinians themselves, as I have before observed, are obliged to allow, that *spiritual manducation* carries with it *present* remission of sins, and *present right* to everlasting life: and they are pleased to allow farther, that *in the Sacrament* (though they will not say, *by the Sacrament*) there *may be*, or *often is*, spiritual manducation. Indeed, Smalcius seems to hesitate a little upon it, or comes with great reluctance to it; but after all is forced to submit to so glaring a truth. First, he pretends, that we are so far from *feeding spiritually* upon Christ in the *Eucharist*, that we must have done it *before*, or we are not *worthy* to

come at all[q]. Well: why may we not have done it *before*, and *now* much more so? He is pleased, soon after, to allow, that *spiritual* manducation is a kind of constant *perpetual* act, or habit, *supposed* in every good Christian, in the whole course of his life, and in all his actions[r]. Why then not in the *sacramental* action? At length, he allows it, with some reluctance, even in that also[s]; as he could not avoid it by his own principles.

Thus far then we are advanced, even upon the *concessions* of *adversaries*, that there *may be* (or that there *certainly is*, to pious and good Christians) a *spiritual feeding* in the Eucharist, and that such *spiritual* feeding carries in it *present remission*, and *present* right to *life* eternal[t]. Where then do we differ? Perhaps here; that we say, *by the Sacrament*, and they, *in the Sacrament*, like as in *all other* good offices. But we do not say, that the Sacrament does it by its *own virtue:* no, it is God only that grants *remission*, or spiritual *rights*, whether in the Sacrament or out of it; and while we assert that he does it in

[q] Dicimus, tantum abesse, ut in cœna Domini corpus Christi *comedatur*, et sanguis ejus *bibatur*, ut qui antea Christi corpus *spiritualiter* non manducaverit, manducatione hac panis *carnali* plane *indignus* sit. *Smalcius contr. Frantz.* p. 336.

[r] Ut manducatio *spiritualis* corporis, et bibitio sanguinis Christi est aliquid *perpetuum*, quod in nobis inesse debet, sic in omnibus vitæ nostræ factis considerari poterit et debet. *Smalc. ibid.* p. 340.

[s] Quia *spiritualis* manducatio corporis Christi *perpetuum* aliquid est, *dici quidem potest*, tunc etiam illam fieri, cum cœna Domini celebratur. *Smalc. ibid.* p. 340.

Schlictingius carries it higher, or expresses it stronger, though indeed he afterwards goes off into the *declarative* notion, seeming to *prefer* it.

Quid igitur est, inquies, Christi corporis proprie κοινωνία? *Commune jus* est, (ut ipsa vox indicat) Christi corporis pro nobis fracti, et sic *bonorum* inde manantium. Sacrum igitur panem qui frangunt et comedunt, modo *digne* id faciant, *bonorum* istorum *participes* fiunt; ut hoc sensu sacri panis fractio, et comestio corporis Christi, *communio* dicatur per *metonymiam effecti;* quod scilicet *communionis* istius *causa* sit et *medium:* quippe Christi præceptorum officiique nostri *pars* non *postrema;* uti qui id facere negligat, non plus *juris* habeat in Christi corpore, quam Petrus habiturus erat *communionis* cum Christo, si pedes sibi lavare volenti præfracte restitisset. *Schlicting. contr. Meis.* p. 750.

[t] See Volkelius above, p. 205.

and by the *Eucharist*, we do not presume to say, or think, that he does it not in *Baptism* also, or in other *religious services*. What then is the *point* of *controversy* still remaining? It appears to be this principally, that we assert the very *act* of *communion* (in persons fitly disposed) to be *spiritual manducation;* a present receiving of *spiritual* blessings and privileges, additional to what was before: this they deny, alleging that there are no *special* benefits annexed to the *Eucharist* [u] as such, nothing more conferred than what is *constantly* conferred to good men, at all other times, and in all other *good* offices, or common duties [x]. Now, in defence of our doctrine, we plead St. Paul's authority, who asserts, that the Eucharist is actually a *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood:* let them show, that any *common* service, or any *other service, office,* or *duty,* (except *Baptism,*) is so; and then they will come close to the point. It hath been observed above, that eating of *idol-meats,* knowingly, was *ipso facto* communicating with idolaters, and that communicating with idolaters was *ipso facto* partaking of devils, and that the eating of the Jewish sacrifices was *ipso facto* partaking of the altar: therefore also receiving the holy Communion, fit dispositions always supposed, is *ipso facto* (in that very act, and at that *present* time, *by that act*) *partaking* of the *death* of Christ, with the *fruits*

[u] Christiani quia mortem Christi commemorant, et pro ea gratias agunt, non *præsens* beneficium requirunt, &c. *Smalcius*, p. 333.

Nequaquam in eum finem hic ritus est institutus, ut *aliquid ex eo reportemus,* sed ut jam antea acceptum beneficium commemoremus. *Volkelius de Vera Relig.* p. 313. alias 691. Non in hunc finem cœnam Dominicam constitutam esse, ut ex ejus usu *aliquem fructum* reportemus. *Volkelius, ibid.* p. 684.

[x] Negat Socinus hunc ritum *proprie* institutum esse ad nostram aliquam singularem utilitatem in negotio salutis. *Proprie* inquam, nam alioquin libenter concedimus, hujus ritus observationem non minus *ad salutem conferre* quam *reliquorum* præceptorum executionem: verum hæc utilitas et *generalis* est, et non *illius causa* proprie ritus hic institutus est. *Schlicting. contr. Meisner.* p. 791. conf. 795.

Libenter admittimus ritus istius observationem inter *bona opera* numerandam, et cum illis conjungendam esse. *Schlicting. ibid.* p. 798.

or *privileges* of it. Since therefore the very *nature* of the act *supposes* it and *implies* it, (which is more than the *nature* of every *other* act, service, or duty does,) therefore there is some peculiar force, virtue, and efficacy annexed to the *Eucharist*, above what is ordinarily annexed to *common* duties. *Duties*, as such, are *conditions* only on our part, *applications* of *men* to God, and therefore are not properly *instruments* in the hand of God for conveying his graces: but sacraments are *applications* of *God* to men, and therefore are properly his *instruments* of conveyance, his appointed *means* or *conduits*, in and by which he confers his graces. Gospel duties are the *conditional causes* of spiritual blessings, while sacraments are properly the *instrumental* conveyances. Neither *repentance*, nor *faith*, nor even sacraments, considered merely as *duties*, or as *acts* of ours, are properly *channels* of grace, being, as I said, *conditions* only: but sacraments considered as *applications of God to men* are properly *channels* of spiritual benefits. This is a distinction which ought carefully to be heeded, for the right understanding of the difference between *sacraments* and *duties*[y].

Preaching of the *word* is most like to *sacraments* in the *instrumental* capacity; for by the *word* also God conveys his graces. But still *inviting*, *exhorting*, or *calling* men to be reconciled to God, comes not up to *signing* and *sealing* the reconciliation: neither is *preparing* men for the covenant the same thing with *covenanting*. The Eucharist, as hath been noted, is an *actual* communion, wherein God *gives* and man *receives* at that instant, or in the very act. Such being the *nature* and *use* of this *eucharistical* service, in *Divine* construction, and by *Divine* appointment, it is manifest from thence, that it carries in it the force of a *promise*, or *contract*[z], on God's part, that

[y] See above, p. 14, 15, &c.

[z] *Verbum* Dei quidem comitatur etiam aliqua Spiritus Dei *efficacia*—Verum efficacia ista a Deo *prorsus libere* dispensatur, et absque ullo *pacto* et *promissione* Dei, qua Deus ad hos et illos, potius quam *alios*, ejusmodi gratia donandos, sese *obstrinxerit*. Cum *Sacramentis* autem, ex Dei *pacto*, con-

fit qualifications supposed on *our part*, this *service* shall never fail of its *effect*, but shall be to every *worthy receiver* like a deed of conveyance, instrumentally investing him with the *benefits* of Christ's death, for the time being; and *to the end* also, if he *perseveres* to the end. "It is no "good argument to say, the *graces* of God are given to "believers *out of* the Sacrament, *ergo*, not *by* or in the "Sacrament: but rather thus; if God's grace *overflows* "sometimes, and goes without his own *instruments*, much "more shall he give it in the *use* of them. If God gives "pardon *without* the Sacrament, then rather also *with* the "Sacrament. For supposing the Sacraments, in their de-"sign and institution, to be nothing but signs and ceremo-"nies, yet they cannot hinder the *work of God:* and "therefore holiness in the *reception* of them will do more "than holiness *alone;* for God does nothing *in vain*. The "Sacraments *do something* in the hand of God: at least, "they are God's *proper* and *accustomed* time of grace: they "are his *seasons* and *our opportunity* [a]."

And now if any one should ask for a catalogue of those *spiritual* privileges, which St. Paul in this place has omitted, our Lord himself may supply that omission by what he has said in John vi. For, since we have proved, that there is a *spiritual manducation* in the Eucharist, with all *worthy* receivers, it now follows of course, that what our Lord says in John vi. of *spiritual manducation* in the *general*, is all strictly applicable to this *particular* manner of spiritual feeding; and is the best explication we can any where have, of what it includes or contains. It contains, 1. A title to a *happy resurrection:* for such as spiritually

juncta est *vis* quædam divini Spiritus, per quam agunt *infallibiliter* in omnibus iis quibus *debite* administrantur, quique illa suscipiunt cum *ea* quam Deus in iis prærequirit, *dispositione*——Ex nullo *pacto* tenetur Deus *verbum* virtute sui Spiritus comitari: *sacramentis* autem ex *certa* Dei *pactione*, adest *virtus divina*, per quam *gratiam* quandam *salutarem* communicant omnibus illis qui secundum ordinem a Deo positum illa participant. *Le Blanc, Thes.* p. 676.

[a] Bishop Taylor's Worthy Communicant, p. 38.

feed on Christ, Christ will "raise up at the last day[b]." 2. A title to *eternal life:* for our Lord expressly says, "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath "eternal life[c]." 3. A mystical union with Christ in his *whole* Person; or, more particularly, a *presential* union with him in his *Divine* nature: "He that eateth my flesh, "&c. dwelleth in me, and I in him[d]." 4. In these are *implied* (though not directly *expressed* by our Lord in that discourse) *remission of sins*, and *sanctification* of the *Holy Spirit;* of which I may say more in a proper place.

To return to St. Paul's text, I shall here sum up the true and the full sense of it, mostly in Mr. Locke's words[e], with some few and slight alterations. "They who drink "of the cup of blessing, which we bless in the Lord's "Supper, do they not thereby *partake* of the *benefits* pur- "chased by Christ's *blood shed* for them upon the cross, "which they here *symbolically* drink? and they who eat "of the bread *broken* there, do they not *partake* in the "*sacrifice* of the *body* of Christ, and strengthen their *union* "with him, as *members* of him their head? For by eating "of that bread, we, though many in number, are all "*united*, and make but one *body* under Christ our head, "as many grains of corn are united into *one loaf*. See "how it is among the Jews, who are outwardly, accord- "ing to the *flesh*, by *circumcision* the people of God. "Among them, they who *eat* of the *sacrifice* are *partakers* "of *God's* table, the *altar*, have fellowship with him, and "*share* in the *benefit* of the sacrifice, as if it were offered "for them[f]. Do not mistake me, as if I hereby said, that

[b] John vi. 54. [c] John vi. 51, 54, 58. [d] John vi. 56, 57.

[e] Locke's Commentary on the Text, p. 181.

[f] Dr. Pelling, in his Discourse of the Sacrament, (p. 116, 117, 118.) well illustrates the case of the Jews, as partaking of the *altar*. I shall cite a small part.

"There is an expression which will make this matter clear, in Levit. vii. 18. "*neither shall it be imputed*, &c. When those sacrificial feasts were regularly "celebrated, they were imputed to the guests for *their good*, they were reck- "oned *advantageous* to them, they were favourably *accepted* at God's hand,

" the *idols* of the Gentiles are *gods* in reality, or that the " things offered to them *change* their *nature*, and are any " thing really different from what they were before, so as " to *affect* us in our use of them: no, but this I say, that " the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to " *devils*, and not to God, and I would not that you should " have *fellowship* with, and be under the influence of " *devils*, as they who by eating of things offered to them, " enter into *covenant*, *alliance*, and *commerce* with them. " You cannot eat and drink with *God*, as *friends* at his " table in the *Eucharist*, and entertain *familiarity* and " *friendship* with *devils*, by eating with them, and partak- " ing of the sacrifices offered to them." Such appears to be the force of the whole argument. But as there is nothing so plain, but that it may be obscured by misconception, and darkened by artificial colourings, so we need not wonder if difficulties have been raised against the construction here given. And because it may sometimes happen, that very slight pretences on one side, if not particularly answered, may weigh more with some persons, than the strongest reasons on the other, I shall here be at the pains to bring together such objections as I have any where met with, and to consider them one by one.

Objections answered.

I. Dr. Whitby, whose comments upon this text, I am sorry to say, appear to be little else than laboured confusion, is pleased to object as here follows: " Neither can " the sense of the words be to this effect: The cup and " bread communicate to us the *spiritual effects* of Christ's " broken body, or his blood shed for us, though this be in " itself a *certain truth*; for these *spiritual effects* cannot

" in order to the ends for which the sacrifice was designed: they served to " make an *atonement*, they were effectual to their purposes, they were good " to all intents, they were *available* to the offerers, (as the Hebrew Doctors " expound the phrase.) This is the true meaning of being *partakers of the* " *altar*," &c. p. 117. In the next page the learned author applies the whole very aptly to the *Eucharist*.

" be *shared* among believers, so that every one shall have " a *part* of them only, but the *same* benefits are *wholly* " communicated to every due receiver. See note on ver. " 16[d]." The learned author did well to call our doctrine a *certain truth:* but he had done better, if he had taken due care to preserve to this text that *true sense*, upon which chiefly that *certain truth* is founded. His objection against the *spiritual* effect being *shared*, appears to be of no weight: for how do we say they are *shared?* We do not say that Christ's *death* is divided into parcels, or is more than *one death*, or that his *sacrifice* is more than one *sacrifice*, or that it is *shared* like a *loaf* broken into *parts*, as the objection supposes: but the many *sharers* all partake of, and communicate in one *undivided thing*, the same death, the same sacrifice, the same atonement, the same Saviour, the same God and Lord: and here is no *dividing* or sharing any thing, but as the same *common blessing* diffuses itself among many divided persons. And what is there amiss or improper in this notion? The learned author himself is forced to allow[e], that κοινωνία τῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῦ, *communion of his Son*[f], and κοινωνία τῶν παθημάτων, *communion of his sufferings*[g], and κοινωνία μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, *communion with the Father and the Son*[h], are all so many proper phrases, to express the communion of *many* in one and the same thing, where the effects are *common* to those many. And he might have added κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, *communion of the Holy Ghost*[i], and κοινωνία τοῦ μυστηρίου, *communion of the mystery*[k], as two other parallel instances, wherein the same *undivided* blessings are supposed to be communicated to *many*, in such a sense as we suppose the undivided blessing, privilege, atonement of Christ's death to be vouchsafed to worthy communicants. And therefore there is no occasion for the low thought, that κοινωνία here, with respect to the Eucharist, must signify no more than the *sharing out* the

[d] Whitby on verse 20. p. 175. [e] Whitby, p. 173.
[f] 1 Cor. i. 9. [g] Philipp. iii. 10. [h] 1 John i. 3.
[i] 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Phil. ii. 1. [k] Ephes. iii. 9.

consecrated *bread* and *wine* among the communicants: which is resolving all into *sign*, and dropping the thing *signified*; and is sinking the Apostle's admirable sense into jejune, insipid *tautology*; as I have before observed. The Socinians themselves deal more justly and ingenuously with St. Paul's text in this place; as may sufficiently appear by what I have quoted from them in this chapter.

II. The same learned man makes a further attempt to defeat the true sense of this passage, first, by interpreting the *partaking of the altar*, to mean only having *communion with God*, or *owning* him as *that God* from whom they had received *mercies*; and next, by interpreting the *partaking of devils* so as to exclude any *spiritual influence* from *devils*[l]. To all which I shall make answer in the excellent words of Bp. Burnet[m]. "If the meaning of their "being *partakers with devils* [he should have said *of devils*] imports only their joining themselves in *acts* of "*fellowship* with *idolaters*, then the sin of this would have "easily appeared, without such a reinforcing of the matter.—St. Paul seems to carry the argument farther:— "since those *idols* were the *instruments*, by which the "*devil* kept the world in subjection to him, all such as "did *partake* in their sacrifices might come under the "*effects* of that *magic*, that might be exerted about their "temples or sacrifices;—and might justly fear being "brought into a *partnership* of those *magical* possessions "or temptations that might be suffered to fall upon such "Christians as should associate themselves in so detestable a service[n]. In the same sense it was also said, that

[l] See Whitby on the place, p. 174, 175.

[m] Burnet on the 28th Article, p. 428.

[n] The true meaning of *partaking* of *devils*, or of coming under the *influence* of *devils*, is very aptly illustrated by the following lines of Tertullian.

Nemo in castra hostium transit, nisi projectis armis suis, nisi destitutis *signis* et *sacramentis* principis sui, nisi pactus simul perire——Quale est enim de Ecclesia *Dei*, in *diaboli* ecclesiam tendere? de cœlo, quod aiunt, in cœnum?——Cur ergo non hujusmodi etiam dæmoniis *penetrabiles* fiant? nam et exemplum accidit, Domino teste, ejus mulieris quæ theatrum adiit, et

" the Israelites were *partakers of the altar*. That is, that " all of them who joined in the acts of that religion, such " as the offering their *peace-offerings*, (for of those of that " kind they might only *eat*,) all these were *partakers of* " *the altar:* that is, of all the *blessings* of their religion, of " all the *expiations*, the *burnt-offerings* and *sin-offerings*, " that were offered on the *altar*, for the *sins* of the whole " congregation.—Thus it appears, that such as joined in " the *acts* of *idolatry* became *partakers* of all that *influence* " that *devils* might have over those sacrifices; and all that " continued in the observances of the Mosaical law, had " thereby a *partnership* in the *expiations* of the *altar:* so " likewise all Christians who *receive* this Sacrament *wor-* " *thily*, have by their so doing a *share* in that which is *re-* " *presented* by it, the *death* of Christ, and the *expiation* " and other *benefits* that follow it."

I cannot too often repeat, that St. Paul is not here speaking of *external* profession, or of *outwardly* owning the true God, (which any *hypocrite* might do,) but of being *real* and *living* members, and of receiving *vital spiritual* influences from Christ; and his *argument* rests upon it[o]. The thing may perhaps be yet farther illustrated from a similar argument, made use of by the Apostle in a resembling case. " Know ye not that your bodies are the " members of Christ? shall I then take the members of " Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God " forbid. What? know ye not that he who is joined to an " harlot is one body? for two, saith he, shall be one

inde cum *dæmonio* rediit. Itaque in *exorcismo* cum oneraretur *immundus spiritus*, quod ausus esset *fidelem* adgredi; constanter, justissime quidem, inquit, feci, in *meo* enim inveni. *Tertullian. de Spectac.* cap. xxv. xxvi. p. 83.

[o] Loquitur Apostolus de ejusmodi communione corporis et sanguinis Domini, per quam *unum corpus* cum illo et inter nos sumus,——reprobi et infideles, omnesque ejusmodi, *Spiritus* Christi destituti, quamvis sumant et participent panem quem frangimus, et benedictionis calicem,——non fiunt *unum corpus* cum Christo et fidelibus, sicut ipse Apostolus docet, inquiens: *Qui Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus.* Rom. viii. 9. 2 Cor. vi. *Albertin.* p. 225.

"flesh. But he that is joined unto the Lord is one "spirit[p]."

Here we may observe, that the *argument*, in both cases, proceeds upon the supposition that the Christians whom the Apostle speaks to are *true* and *living* members of Christ[q], and of consequence actual *partakers* of all the *spiritual benefits* of such union: which union would be entirely broken, and all its privileges forfeited, by commencing a *contrary* union, either with *devils* in one case, or with *harlots* in the other. The Apostle is not speaking of Christians as barely *contradicting* their *outward* professions, or committing a *logical* absurdity, but of their acting inconsistently with their *internal* blessings or privileges. There was no natural impossibility of *appearing* as guests both at *God's table* and the *table* of *devils;* it was as easy to be done, as it was easy for men to be *deceitful, false,* and *wicked:* but the Apostle speaks of a *real* inconsistency in *things;* namely, such as lies in the being in *league* with *God* and the *devil* at the same time, and retaining the *friendship* and *participation* of both[r]. All which shows, that the *communicants* whom the Apostle speaks of, were supposed to be *true members* of Christ, and of the *invisible* Church, in that very action, and so of consequence, thereby receiving all such *spiritual benefits* as that membership implies.

III. It has been thought some objection to this notion

[p] 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16, 17. Compare 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15, 16. N. B. The Apostle is plainly speaking, in all the three places, of Christians, considered as *true* and *living* members of the *internal invisible* Church, and not merely of the *external* and *visible*. Nec ergo *dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi*, quoniam nec in *membris* computandi sunt; quia non possunt esse membra Christi, et membra meretricis. *Augustin. de Civ. Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 25.

[q] Corpus nostrum, (id est, caro quæ cum sanctimonia perseverat, et munditia,) membra dixit esse Christi. *Iren.* lib. v. cap. 6. p. 300.

[r] *Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι, ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ἐπεὶ δίχα σωζομένων καὶ φθιμένων τροφαὶ——οὐκ εὔλογον τραπέζης δαιμονίων μεταλαμβάνειν, τοὺς θείας μετέχειν καὶ πνευματικῆς κατηξιωμένους τροφῆς. Clem. Alex. Pæd.* lib. ii. cap. 1. p. 168, 169.

Non potestis et *Dei* et *dæmonum* esse participes. *Pseudo-Hieronym. in loc.*

of *benefits*, that men could not be supposed to receive *benefits* from *devils;* and therefore the analogy or parallel will not hold, if St. Paul be interpreted as admitting or asserting *benefits* in the Eucharist. In reply to which, I observe, 1. That St. Paul does not particularly mention *benefits*, (though he supposes them all the time,) but draws both parts of his parallel in *general* terms, and terms corresponding: *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood* on one side, *communion of devils* on the other. There the *parallel* rests, and there it answers to the greatest exactness: for as on one hand there are supposed *influences, influxes, impressions, communications* from Christ, so on the other hand, there are likewise supposed *influences, influxes, impressions, communications* from devils. The *parallel* here drawn out by the Apostle goes no farther, and therefore it is strictly just, regular, and elegant: but the nature of the thing speaks the rest, that the influxes must be of as *contrary* a kind, as *Christ* is opposite to Belial. 2. St. Paul certainly supposed *benefits*, and great ones, belonging to the *Lord's table:* otherwise his dissuasive against the *table of devils* had been very lame and insufficient. For undoubtedly there were *benefits* to be expected (*temporal* benefits) on the other side, or else there had been no *temptation* that way, nor any occasion for such *earnestness* as the Apostle uses in the case to dissuade them from it: and if the Apostle had not supposed some *benefits*, of the *spiritual* kind, to be annexed to the Eucharist, much superior to all *temporal* emoluments, there would have been but very little force in his whole *dissuasive*. To be short; the more *beneficial* we conceive the Sacrament to be, so much the *stronger* is the Apostle's argument for *preferring* the *Lord's table* before any other that was *incompatible* with it: and therefore the supposition of *benefits* in the Eucharist was by no means *foreign* to the point in view, or *wide* of his purpose, but quite the contrary. For what could be more *pertinent* to his design of warning Christians to have nothing to do with the *table of devils*, than the intimating to them, that they would thereby forfeit all the *benefits*

and *privileges* they expected from the *table of the Lord?* Upon this foot, and this only, there is force and poignancy in what he says; "Ye cannot be partakers of the "Lord's table, and the table of devils[s]."

IV. It may perhaps be objected farther, that the Pagan notion of their sacrificial feasts was no more than this, that their *gods*, or *demons*, might sometimes condescend to come and *feast* with them, and so those feasts imported some kind of *society* or *alliance* with demons, but nothing of *influxes, communications, impressions*, &c. To which I answer, that we are not here inquiring what the *Pagans* supposed, but how the *Apostle* interpreted their *feastings* of that kind. The Pagans believed in *gods*, (as they thought,) or *good demons;* but the Apostle interprets all of *bad angels* or *devils*. And it is further observable, that he speaks not of partaking *with devils* of such banquets, but of partaking *with idolaters*, of devils. All the expressions made use of by the Apostle declare for this meaning. Κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος, is partaking *of body*, not *with* body. Κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος, is partaking *of blood*, not *with* blood. Κοινωνία τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, is partaking *of* the altar, not *with* the altar. In like manner, κοινωνία τῶν δαιμονίων must mean partaking *of* devils, not *with* devils[t]. For, in truth, the communicants in the idol-sacrifices were joint partakers *with* idolaters, *of devils*, as Christian communicants are joint partakers *with* Christians, *of Christ*. Thus the *analogy* is duly preserved, and the *comparison* answers to the greatest exactness.

I may here briefly take notice, in passing, that what

[s] 1 Cor. x. 21. 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29. If there were not *great benefits* on one hand, as there is *great danger* on the other, what encouragement could there be to *receive* at all? Who would run the dreadful risk of being *guilty* of the *body* and *blood of the Lord?*

[t] An ancient writer, of the third century, well expresses this matter.

Quantum enim ad *creaturam* pertineat, omnis *munda* est: sed cum *dæmoniis* immolata fuerit, *inquinata* est tam diu quam diu simulachris offeratur. Quod mox atque factum est, non est jam *Dei*, sed *idoli:* quæ dum in cibum sumitur, sumentem *dæmonio nutrit*, non *Deo*, convivam illum simulachro reddendo, non Christo. *Novatian. de Cib. Judaic.* cap. 7.

concerns the *communion*, or *participation* of *devils*, has been very minutely examined among some learned Divines abroad, within these thirty years last past. Gottofr. Olearius, a learned Lutheran of Leipsic, opened the subject in a Dissertation on 1 Cor. x. 21. printed A.D. 1709; reprinted in 1712. The design was to explain the Pagan notion of the *communion* of their *demons*, and from thence to illustrate the *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood* in the Eucharist, as taught by the Apostle. Some years after, another learned Lutheran, in a treatise written in the German language, pursued the same hypothesis, and met with good acceptance among many. But in the year 1728, Mr. Elsner of Utrecht took occasion to animadvert upon it[u], blaming Olearius for pushing the point too far, in favour of the Lutheran doctrine concerning the Eucharist, and for maintaining too *gross* a notion of *sacramental* manducation. Others have endeavoured to defend or palliate Olearius's doctrine, and reflect upon Elsner, as too severe or disrespectful in his censure, and as straining things to the worst sense[x]. All I shall observe upon the dispute is, that both sides appear to agree in three particulars: 1. That the idolaters held communion *with each other*, by eating of the *same sacrifices*; to which answers, in the analogy, the communion of Christians *with each other*, by and in the Eucharist. 2. That the idolaters held communion with *devils* by feasting at the table of devils: to which answers our holding *communion* with Christ in the Eucharist. 3. That the devils with whom they so held *communion*, had thereby some *power* or *influence* over them: to which answer the *Divine influences* upon true and worthy communicants in the Eucharist.

V. There is yet another *objection* worth the considering, because it seems to strike at the main grounds upon which we have proceeded in explaining the Apostle's doctrine in this chapter. It is suggested, that δαιμόνιον in that place

[u] Elsner. Observat. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 108.

[x] Wolfius, Curæ Crit. in 1 Cor. x. 21. p. 461. Mosheim. in Præfat. ad Cudworth de Cœna.

does not signify *devil*[y], but either a *good demon*, or something *imaginary*, a mere *nonentity*: and this is grounded partly upon the consideration that the *Pagans* could never *intend* to sacrifice to *devils*, and partly upon St. Paul's allowing an *idol* to be *nothing*. The reader may find this suggestion abundantly confuted, in Whitby and Wolfius upon this chapter; and therefore I shall here content myself with briefly hinting as follows: 1. That the word δαιμόνιον, commonly[z] in the New Testament, does signify some *evil spirit*, as in the many cases of *demoniacs* therein mentioned, besides other instances. 2. That in this place of St. Paul, the word ought to be so interpreted, in conformity to Deuteronomy xxxii. 17. which St. Paul appears to have had in his eye, "They sacrificed unto devils, not "to God;" which Le Clerc himself (who raises the objection which I am now answering) interprets of *evil spirits*[a]. 3. That St. Paul speaks not of what the heathens *intended*, or had in *view*, but of the real nature, tendency, or consequence of their *idolatry*. 4. That though St. Paul knew that *idols*, whether understood of *statues* and *images*, or of the deities supposed to reside in them, were really *nothing*, (as having either *no being*[b], as many had not, or *no divinity*[c],) and were not capable of making any *physical* change in the *meats*, which were the *good creatures* of God; yet he knew withal, that *evil spirits* suggested to men those *idolatrous* practices, and resided in those *images*, and assisted in those *services*, personating those *fictitious* deities, and drawing all those adorations, in the last result,

[y] See Le Clerc in loc. in his Supplement to Hammond, p. 338. Engl. edit.

[z] A late learned writer very acutely as well as justly observes, that the sacred penmen, when speaking their *own* sense, and not reporting the words of *others*, do *always* use the word δαιμόνιον in the bad sense. *Dr. Warren*, part i. p. 75. part ii. p. 7, &c.

[a] Ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ Θεῷ· Deut. xxxii. 17. Vid. Cleric. in loc. item in Levit. xvii. 7. Cacodæmonibus. See also Baruch iv. 7.

[b] Such as *personalized* qualities, mere abstract ideas; as *mercy*, *justice*, *faith*, *truth*, *concord*, *health*, *fortune*, &c.

[c] As sun, moon, stars, &c.

to *themselves*[d]: therefore St. Paul cautions the Corinthians against putting themselves into the *power* and *possession* of those *evil spirits*, which they were not before aware of[e]. 5. There can be no sense or no force in St. Paul's argument, if we interpret his words either of *good demons* or of mere *nothings*: for it would sound very odd to say, *I would not have you partakers of good angels*; or of *nothings*, that is, *no partakers*; and again, Ye cannot partake of the *Lord's table*, and the table of *good angels* or table of *non-entities*. Besides that the Apostle was obviating or refuting that very objection about an *idol's* being nothing; allowing it in a *physical* sense, but not in a *moral* one; allowing it of the idol considered in *itself*, but not of what it *led to*, and *terminated* in. Whatever men might think of bare *idols*, yet *evil spirits*, which promoted and accepted that idolatrous worship, were *real* beings, and very *pernicious*, many ways[f], to the *worshippers*, and to as many as were *partners* with them, either *formally* or in just *construction*. In this light, the Apostle's argument is *clear* and solid; and his sense *strong* and *nervous*; countenanced also by other *Scriptures* and the whole stream of *antiquity*.

[d] Scimus *nihil esse* nomina *mortuorum*, sicut et ipsa *simulacra* eorum: sed non ignoramus *qui* sub istis nominibus, institutis simulacris operentur et gaudeant, et divinitatem mentiantur, *nequam spiritus* scilicet, *dæmones*. *Tertullian. de Spectac.* cap. x. p. 77.

[e] *Non quod idolum sit aliquid*, (ut Apostolus ait,) sed quod quæ faciunt, *dæmoniis* faciunt, consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus *idolorum*, sive *mortuorum*, sive (ut putant) *deorum*. Propterea igitur, quoniam utraque species idolorum conditionis unius est, dum *mortui* et *dii* unum sunt, utraque idololatria abstinemus——quia non possumus *cœnam Dei* edere, et *cœnam dæmoniorum*. *Tertul. ibid.* cap. xiii. p. 79.

[f] Wolfius well distinguishes, in his Comments on this text, p. 459, 460.

Non tam hic quæritur, quid *gentilibus* de *deastris* suis persuasum fuerit, quam quod illis persuasum esse *debuerit*, quidve ex rei veritate de illis sit judicandum: posterius hoc innuit Apostolus, et testatum adeo facit, cultum illum superstitiosum et a *malis dæmonibus* profectum esse, et in illorum societatem pertrahere——Apostolus τὸ εἴδωλον quod nihil est, distinguit a δαιμονίοις, tanquam quæ vere existant, et ex cultu præstito fructum percipiant, in perniciem sacrificantium redundantem; quemadmodum et οἱ θύοντες sacra sua faciant ea intentione, ut cum deastris conjungantur.

VI. There are yet other objections, of a slighter kind, which I may here throw together, and briefly answer, that no further scruple may remain. A learned man very lately[g], in his Latin Notes upon Cudworth's treatise on the Sacrament, and in his Preface to the same, has taken a great deal of pains to *explain*, (should I say?) or rather to *perplex* and *obscure* the Apostle's *argument* in this chapter, and to turn it off to a different meaning from what I have been pleading for. His *reason*, or *motive*, for doing it, appears to be, to make it square the better with the Lutheran notion of the *corpŏral* presence in the Eucharist. He takes it for granted that both *good* and *bad* do equally receive the Lord's *body* and *blood*, (which is indeed the natural and necessary *consequence* of their other principles,) and therefore he cannot admit that the *communion* here spoken of should be understood of *benefits*, lest those *benefits* also should be supposed *common* to both, which is palpably absurd. He frankly enough discovers where his main scruple lies[h]; and then proceeds to *invent* reasons, or colours, to support it. He pleads that St. Paul, in this place, mentions no *distinction* between *worthy* receivers and *unworthy*, but seems rather to make what he speaks of *common* to both; for he inserts no *exception*, or *salvo*, as he ought to have done, had his words been intended of receiving *benefits*[i], &c. To which I answer: 1. That

[g] Joannes Laurentius Moshemius, Jenæ, 1733.

[h] Quid sentiam de interpretatione hac verborum S. Pauli, itemque de argumento quod ex illis elicit vir doctissimus (Cudworthus) ad opinionem suam probandam, in *præfatione* aperiam——Hic monuisse satis erit, premi ab eo vestigia præcipuorum *reformati cœtus* doctorum, &c.——velle enim *hos* notum est, ideo S. Cœnam a Servatore nostro potissimum esse institutam, ut sancti homines, qui ad eam accedunt, cum Christo Servatore suo *arctius conjungantur*, et *beneficiorum* hominibus ab eo partorum reddantur *participes*: nos vero repudiare, qui omnes homines, sive *probi* sint, sive *improbi*, corporis et sanguinis Domini vere fieri compotes in S. Cœna statuimus. *Moshem. in Notis* ad cap. iv. sect. 2. p. 30.

[i] Si vera esset sententia, quæ inter *Reformatos* recepta est, *excepisset* Paulus haud dubie *degeneres* Christianos ex illis qui Christi compotes fiunt in S. Cœna, dixissetque; *Nostisne eos homines, in quibus castus est animus et*

there was no occasion for making any *express* distinction: it was sufficient to leave it to every one's good sense *tacitly* to supply. The Apostle speaks of it according to what it was in the *general*, and in *God's design*, and in its *primary* intention, and what it always would be in the event, if not rendered fruitless through some default of the communicants[k]: but as the real *sacrifice* of Christ's death, with the *benefits* thereof, was to extend no farther than to persons *qualified* for it, and not to the *impenitent;* so every man's own reason would readily suggest to him, without a monitor, that the *application* of that sacrifice could not be of wider extent than the sacrifice itself. 2. Add to this, that nothing is more usual in Scripture than to *omit* such *exceptions* as common sense might readily supply; partly for the sake of *brevity* or *elegancy*, and partly for the avoiding *impertinence* or *offence*. How often are the benefits of *Baptism* spoken of in general and absolute terms, without any *excepting* clause with respect to *unworthy* partakers. It was *needless* to insert any; for Christians understood the *terms* of their Baptismal covenant, and did not want to be told perpetually, that Simon Magus and other the like wretches, though baptized, had *no part* in them. Many times does St. Paul remind Christians of their *bodies* being *the members of Christ*, or *temple of God*, or *temple of the Holy Ghost*[l], making no *exception* at all for *corrupt* Christians: he thought it best to omit *invidious* exceptions; not doubting but that such plain things would be *tacitly* understood by every one, without his naming them. Once indeed, after he had told the Corinthians of *Christ being in them*, he adds, "except "ye be reprobates[m]." But certainly it was neither *necessary*

vera fides, corporis et sanguinis Christi compotes fieri? Moshem. ibid. p. 31. Conf. Gerhard. et Albertin. Respon. p. 225.

[k] Chrysostom is very clear on this head, in Matt. Hom. lxxxiii. p. 788. Bened. ed. And so indeed are all the *ancients*, when rightly understood. None of them ever imagined that the *res sacramenti*, the *thing signified*, was received at all by the *unworthy*, either *spiritually* or *orally*.

[l] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. vi. 15—20. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

[m] 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

nor *proper* to be perpetually inculcating an invidious and grating reflection. The persons whom he wrote to, might not always be *dull* enough to want it, or *bad* enough to deserve it: a softer kind of address might be both more *acceptable* to them, and more *effectual* to incite them to all goodness. There is therefore no force at all in the *negative* argument drawn from St. Paul's omitting to make an express *exception* to the case of *unworthy* communicants in 1 Cor. x. 16. or however, he abundantly supplied it in the next chapter, and needed not to do it *twice* over in the same Epistle, and within the compass of forty verses.

But the learned Mosheim presently after subjoins another little plea [n], to add weight to the former. He asks, why should the Apostle so *distinctly* mention the communion both of the *body* and of the *blood*, if he intended no more than the *fruits* of Christ's death? Might not the single mention of his *death* or of its *fruits* have sufficed? To which we might justly answer, by asking the same question: What occasion could there be, upon his own principles, for *distinctly* mentioning both *body* and *blood*? Might not *body* alone have sufficed, especially considering how *doubtful* a point it has been thought, whether a *glorified* body has properly any *blood* in it or no [o]? The learned author might better have waved an objection which recoils so strongly upon his own hypothesis. To answer more directly, we say, upon our principles, that the *distinct* mentioning both of the *body* and the *blood* was exceeding

[n] Deinde vir divinus *distincte* corporis et sanguinis Christi participes fieri dicit eos, qui poculum benedictum, et panem qui frangitur, acciperent in S. Cœna. Quid *distincta* hac mentione tam *corporis* quam *sanguinis* Christi opus fuisset, si hoc tantum docere voluisset, mortis Christi *fructum* ad eos pervenire qui S. Cœna fruerentur? Suffecisset ad hanc rem exprimendam, si *generatim* dixisset: minime vos præterit, in Christi et mortis ejus communionem pervenire, quibus poculum consecratum et panis fractus in S. Cœna exhibetur. *Moshem. ibid.* p. 31. Conf. Gerhard. et Albertin. Respon. p. 225.

[o] Vid. Allix. Dissertat. de Sanguine D. N. Jesu Christi. Conf. l'Arroque, Hist. of the Eucharist, part ii. cap. 6. p. 268.

proper, and very *significant;* because it shows that our Lord is considered in the Eucharist according to the state he was in at his *crucifixion:* for then only it was, that his body and blood were *separate;* one hanging on the *cross*, the other *spilled* upon the ground. That *body* and that *blood* are commemorated in the Eucharist, the body *broken*, and the blood *shed:* therefore St. Paul so *distinctly* mentioned both, lest Christians should think (as indeed, in *late* and *dark* ages, Christians have thought) that the words of the *institution*, though express for *broken* body, and blood *shed* upon earth, should be interpreted to mean his *glorified* body in heaven. St. Paul very justly followed the style of the *institution*, our Lord's own style: and by that he showed, that he was speaking of the *separation* of the body and blood, which in reality was the *death* of our Lord, or seen only in his *death*, and consequently such manner of speaking directly pointed to the *death* of our Lord, and to the *fruits* or *benefits* arising from it. Mr. Mosheim goes on to make some slight objections to Dr. Cudworth's just notion of the *partakers of the altar*, as sharing the *benefits* or *expiations* thereof. It would be tedious to make a particular reply to every little objection which a pregnant wit can raise, and therefore I shall only say this: either he must understand it of a *real communion* of and with *that God*, whose *altar* it was, and then it implies *benefits* of course; or he must understand it only of *external* declarations or professions, such as hypocrites might make, and then it will be hard to show how that agrees with the *symbol* of *eating*, which means *receiving* something, (not *giving out* declarations,) and is plainly so understood not only in John vi. but also in Heb. xiii. 10. where *eating* of an *altar* is spoken of.

Mr. Mosheim says no more in his Notes: but in his Preface, written afterwards, he pursues the same argument; and there he endeavours to invalidate the other *parallel* drawn from *partaking of devils*. He will not be persuaded that the idolaters did really sacrifice to *evil*

spirits[p]: but it is certain they did; though they *intended* quite otherwise. And he will not allow that they were *partakers of devils*, because an *idol is nothing:* which has been abundantly answered before. I shall only add, that this learned writer was not perhaps aware, that he has been *enforcing* the *objection* of the idolaters, and labouring to *elude* St. Paul's answer to it, in contradiction to the Apostle's clear and *express* words. St. Paul granted that an idol *physically* was nothing, but that *morally* and *circumstantially* it stood in quite another view: for, though an *idol* was nothing, yet a *devil*, under the name or cover of an idol, was a *real* thing, and of very dangerous consequence, to make *alliance* with. But I proceed.

When this learned gentleman comes to propose his *own* interpretation of the whole passage, he does it in such an intricate and confused manner, as discovers it at once to be unnatural and forced. He first breaks the *coherence* of it, in a very particular way, and owns that he does so[q]. Then he proceeds to speak of St. Paul's abrupt and *rapid* manner of writing, and of his *omitting* many things for an interpreter to supply, (though before he would not allow him to *omit* a needless *exception*, which nobody almost could miss of,) and of his jumping to a *conclusion*, before he had sufficiently opened his *premises*[r]. Could one de-

[p] Nunquam mihi persuaserim, sanctum hominem id sibi velle, profanos *vere* malis geniis, aut deastris immolare, quæ immolarent: etenim hæc sententia pugnaret cum eo quod paulo ante largitus erat Corinthiis, deastrum *nihil*, aut *commentitium* esse aliquid: si *nihil* est deaster, quomodo *vere* sacrificari potest illi aliquid? *Moshem. in Præfat.*

[q] Exerceant, quibus placet, ingenium, experianturque, num demonstrare queant hæc *apta* esse inter se, ac *cohærentia?* Quæ cum ita sint, cumque res ipsa testetur, *nullam* esse *cognationem* et *affinitatem* commati 16 et 17 cum consequente commate 18, reliquum est, ut constituamus, *divellendum* esse hoc posterius comma a *prioribus* binis, novamque ab eo partem orationis sancti hominis inchoandam esse, &c. *Moshem. in Præfat.*

[r] Præcisam et concitatam esse multis in locis S. Pauli disputationem, et multa interdum ab eo *omitti* quæ interpretis *meditatione* ac *ingenio* suppleri debent, quo *perfectam* demonstratio formam adipiscatur, neminem in scriptis istis versatum præterit. Id hoc etiam in loco meminisse decet, quo divinus

sire a more sensible or more affecting token of the irresistible strength of the *ancient* and *prevailing* construction than this, that the acutest *wit*, joined with uncommon *learning*, can make no other sense of the place, but by taking such liberties with sacred Writ, as are by no means allowable upon any known rules of just and sober Hermeneutics? I shall dwell no longer on this learned gentleman's speculations; which, I am willing to hope, are not the sentiments of all the Lutherans. They are confronted, in part, by the very learned Wolfius, as I observed above: and I am now going to take notice of the moderate sentiments of Baron Puffendorf (who was an able *divine*, as well as a consummate *statesman*) in his *latest* treatise, left behind him ready for the press, written in Latin, and printed in 1695[s]. He first candidly represents the principles of the *Reformed*, and next passes a *gentle* censure.

"Some say [meaning some of the *Reformed*] that—we "must not believe the bread and wine to be a *naked sym-* "*bol*, but a *communication*, or *mean* by which we come "into *participation* of the *body* and *blood* of Christ, as St. "Paul speaks 1 Cor. x. 16. But of what sort that com- "munion or communication is, whether *physical* or *moral*, "may be very well gathered from that very place of St. "Paul. By a *physical* communion, or participation, must "be understood the conjunction of two bodies, as of *wa-* "*ter* and *wine*, of *meal* and *sugar*: but by a *moral* one is "meant, such as when any thing partakes of the *virtue* and "*efficacy* of another, and in that respect is *accounted* the

vir, *sacro* elatus *fervore*, et incredibili Corinthios emendandi studio accensus, ad demonstrationis conclusionem *properat* potius quam *pergit*, nec plura exprimit verbis quam summa postulat necessitas ad vim ejus capiendam. Quare qui rudiorum captui consulere, et universam argumentationem ejus nervis et partibus suis *cohærentem* exhibere volunt, *addere* passim *quædam* debent et *interjicere*, ad ea plane tollenda quæ intelligentiam morari possunt. *Moshem. ibid.*

[s] *Jus feciale divinum*: sive *de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium*, exercitatio posthuma. *Lubecæ*. 1695.

The Divine feudal Law: or *Means for the uniting of Protestants*. Translated from the original by Theophilus Dorrington, 1703.

" *same* with the other, or is connected with it. As among " the Jews, they who did *eat* of the flesh of the *victim* " were made *partakers* of the *altar*; that is, of the Jewish " worship, and of *all the benefits* which did accompany " that worship. So also, they who did eat of things *sacri-* " *ficed* to *idols* were *partakers of devils*; not for that they " did *eat* the *substance* of the *devils*, but because they did " derive upon themselves the *guilt* of *idolatry*. From all " which things we may learn to understand the words of " the *institution* in this sense—This *bread* eaten by the " faithful, in the ceremony of this Supper, this *wine* also " therein drank by such, shall have the *same virtue* and " *efficacy*, as if you should eat the *substance* itself of my " *body*, and drink the very *substance* of my *blood*. Or, this " *bread* is put *in the stead* of the sacrificed flesh, this *wine* " is *in the stead* of the sacrificed blood; whereby the *cove-* " *nant* between God and men, having me for the *mediator* " of it, is established. Nor indeed are such sort of ex- " pressions (importing an *equivalence* or *substitution*) un- " common, whether in holy Scripture or in profane " writers. For example: *I have made God my hope*[t]. " Elijah was the *chariots of Israel, and the horsemen there-* " *of*[u]. *Woman, behold thy son; son, behold thy mother*[x]. " *He that doth the will of my Father, the same is my brother,* " *and sister, and mother*[y]. It is said of the enemies of the " cross of Christ, that their *belly* is *their god*[z]. So in " Virgil we have the like phraseology, *Thou shalt be to me* " *the great Apollo.*

" But in *articles* of *faith*, it is safer to follow a naked " *simplicity*, than to indulge the *fancy* in pursuit of *subtil-* " *ties*. And it has been observed, that while the reins have " been left too loose to *human reason*, in this article of the " *Lord's Supper*, the other mysteries also of the Christian " religion have been tampered with, so that by degrees " *Socinianism* is at length sprung up. But if both sides

[t] Job xxxi. 24. [u] 2 Kings ii. 12. [x] John xix. 26, 27.
[y] Matt. xii. 50. [z] Phil. iii. 19.

" would but sincerely profess, that in the *Lord's Supper* " Christ's body and blood are verily and properly eaten " and drank[a], and that there is a *participation* of the *be-* " *nefits* by him purchased, all the controversy remaining " is only about the *manner* of eating and drinking, and of " the *presence* of Christ's body and blood, which both " sides confess to be above the reach of human capacity; " and so they make use of *reasonings*, where is no room " for reason[b]." So far this very judicious writer, a moderate Lutheran, and a person of admirable sagacity. I shall hereupon take the liberty to observe, that if the supposed *corporal presence* were but softened into *corporal union*, and that union understood to be of the *mystical* or *moral* kind, (like to that of *man* and *wife* making *one flesh*, or all *true Christians*, at any distance, making *one body*,) and if this *union* were reckoned among the *fruits* of Christ's death, received by the faithful in the Eucharist, then would every thing of *moment* be secured on all sides: and the doctrine of the Eucharist, so stated, would be found to be altogether *intelligible*, *rational*, and *scriptural*, and confirmed by the united verdict of all *antiquity*.

As to Lutherans and Calvinists, however widely they may appear to differ in *words* and in *names*, yet their *ideas* seem all to concenter (as often as they come to explain) in what I have mentioned. The Calvinists, for example, sometimes speak of *eating* Christ's body and blood by *faith*, or by the *mind*; and yet they seem to *understand* nothing more than a kind of *moral*, *virtual*, *spiritual*, or *mystical* union[c], (such as *bodies* at a distance may have,) though perhaps they do not always explain it so happily as might be wished. On the other hand, the Lutherans when pressed to speak plainly, deny every article almost which they are commonly charged with by their adversa-

[a] We say, " Verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful."

[b] Puffendorf. Eng. edit. sect. lxiii. p. 211, 212, 213. Lat. edit. sect. lxiii. p. 227, 228, 229.

[c] Vid. Albertin. p. 230, 231. Pet. Martyr. in 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. p. 178.

ries. They disown *assumption* of the elements into the *humanity* of Christ[d], as likewise *augmentation*[e], and *impanation*[f]; yea, and *consubstantiation*[g], and *concomitancy*[h]: and, if it be asked, at length, what they admit and abide by, it is a *sacramental union*[i]; not a *corporal presence*, but as a body may be present *spiritually*[k]. And now, what is a *sacramental union*, with a body *spiritually* present, while *corporally* absent? Or what *ideas* can any one really have under these *terms*, more than that of a *mystical* or *moral* union, (such as Baron Puffendorf speaks of,) an union as to *virtue* and *efficacy*, and to all *saving* intents and purposes? So far both parties are agreed, and the remaining difference may seem to lie chiefly in *words* and *names*, rather than in *ideas*, or real *things*[l]. But great allowances

[d] Vid. Pfaffius, Dissertat. de Consecrat. Eucharist. p. 449, &c. Buddæus, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 80, 81.

[e] Pfaffius, p. 451, &c. Buddæus, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 81, 82.

[f] Pfaffius, p. 453. Buddæus, ibid. p. 83. Deylingius, Observ. Miscell. p. 249.

[g] Pfaffius, p. 453, &c. Buddæus, ibid. p. 84. Deylingius, ibid.

[h] Pfaffius, ibid. p. 459. Buddæus, ibid. p. 85, 86.

[i] Pfaffius, p. 461, &c. Buddæus, ibid. p. 86, &c.

[k] Quinimo et *corporalis præsentia* negatur, quæ tamen ea ratione adstruitur, ut corpus Christi *vere*, licet *spiritualiter* præsens esse credatur. Cæterum cum corpus Christi ubique *junctam divinitatem* habeat, ea et in sacra cœna præsens est; singulari tamen et incomprehensibili ratione, quæ omnes imperfectiones excludit. *Pfaffius*, p. 462. Præsentiam *realem* profitemur, *carnalem* negamus. *Puffend.* sect. 92.

Unicus itaque saltem isque verus et genuinus *præsentiæ realis* superest modus, *unio sacramentalis;* quæ ita comparata est, ut, juxta ipsius Servatoris nostri institutionem, pani benedicto tanquam *medio divinitus ordinato* corpus, et vino benedicto tanquam *medio divinitus ordinato* sanguis Christi (*modo* quem ratio comprehendere nequit) *uniatur:* ut cum illo pane *corpus Christi* una manducatione sacramentali, et cum illo vino *sanguinem Christi* una bibitione sacramentali, in sublimi mysterio sumamus, manducemus, et bibamus. *Buddæus, ibid.* p. 86, 87.

[l] Testatur Zanchius, se audivisse quendam non vulgarem Lutheranum dicentem, se et alios suos non ita dicere corpus Christi a nobis *corporaliter* manducari, quasi illud Christi corpus os et corpus nostrum attingat (hoc enim falsum esse) sed tantum propter *sacramentalem unionem*, qua id quod *proprie* competit pani, attribuitur etiam *quodammodo* ipsi corpori Christi. In hisce ergo convenimus. *Sam. Ward. Theolog. Determinat.* p. 113.

should be made for the prevailing *prejudices* of *education*, and for a *customary way* of speaking or thinking on any subject.

CHAP. IX.

Of Remission of Sins conferred in the EUCHARIST.

THIS is an article which has been hitherto touched upon only as it fell in my way, but will now require a particular discussion: and that it may be done the more distinctly and clearly, it will be proper to take in two or three previous propositions, which may be of use to prevent misconceptions of what we mean, and to open the way to what we intend to prove. The previous propositions are: 1. That it is *God alone* who properly confers remission. 2. That he often does it in this life *present*, as seems good unto him, on certain occasions, and in sundry degrees. 3. That he does it particularly in *Baptism*, in a very eminent degree. These several points being premised and proved, it will be the easier afterwards to show that he does it also in the *Eucharist*, as likewise to explain the nature and extent of the *remission* there conferred.

1. I begin with premising, that *God alone* properly confers *remission* of *sins:* whatever secondary means or instruments may be made use of in it, yet it is *God* that does it. "Who can forgive sins but God only[t]?" We read, that "it is God that justifieth[u]." *Justification* of sinners comes to the same with *remission:* it is receiving them as *just;* which amounts to *acquitting*, or *absolving* them, in the court of heaven. For proof of this, I refer the reader to Bishop Bull's Harmonia Apostolica[x], that I may not be tedious in a very plain case. The use I intend of the observation, with respect to our present subject, is, that if we are said to *eat* or *drink*, in the Eucharist, the

[t] Mark ii. 7. [u] Rom. viii. 33.
[x] Bull. Harmon. Apostol. Dissert. i. cap. 1.

benefits of Christ's *passion*, (among which *remission* of *sins* is one,) or if we are said to *apply* those *benefits*, and of consequence that *remission*, to ourselves, by *faith*, &c. all this is to be understood only of our *receiving* such remission, and *partaking* of those benefits, while it is God that *grants* and *confers*, and who also, properly speaking, *applies* every benefit of that kind to the faithful communicant. And whether he does it by his *word* or by his *ordinances*, and by the hands of his ministers, he *does it* however: and when such *absolution*, or *remission*, is real and true, it is not an *human* absolution, but a *divine* grant, transmitted to us by the hands of *men* administering the ordinances of *God*. God has sometimes sent his *extraordinary* grants of that kind by *prophets* and other officers *extraordinary*[y]: and he may do the like in a fixed and standing method, by his *ordinary* officers or ministers duly commissioned thereunto[z]. But whoever he be that *brings* the pardon, or who pursuant to commission *notifies* it to the party in solemn form, yet the *pardon*, if true, is the *gift* of *God*, and it is God alone, or the *Spirit* of God, that *applies* it to the *soul*, and converts it to *spiritual* nutriment and increase. This, I presume, may be looked upon as a ruled point, and needs not more words to prove it.

2. The next thing I have to premise is, that God often confers *remission*, or *justification*, for the time being, in this *life present*, with certain and *immediate* effect, according to the degree or extent of it. All remission is not *final*, nor *suspended* upon what may come after: but there is such a thing as *present* remission, distinct from the *final* one, and which may or may not continue to the end, but is *valid* for the time being, and is in its own nature (no cross circumstances intervening) *irrevocable*. Let us come to particulars, in proof of the position. Jesus said unto the sick of the palsy, "Son, thy sins are forgiven

[y] 2 Sam. xii. 13. Compare Ecclus. xlvii. 11.

[z] Matt. xvi. 19. xviii. 16, 17, 18. John xx. 22, 23. Acts xxii. 16.

"thee[a]." There was *present* remission of some kind or other, to some certain degree, *antecedent* to the day of judgment, and of *force* for the time being. So again, our Lord's words, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted[b]," &c. do plainly suppose and imply a *present* remission to some degree or other, antecedently to the great day, and during this *present* life. "All that believe," (*viz.* with a faith working by love) "are justified[c]," &c. The text speaks plainly of a *present* justification, or remission: for both amount to the same, as I have hinted before. St. Paul speaks of sincere converts, as "being justified freely by God's grace, through "the redemption that is in Jesus Christ[d];" and soon after mentions "remission of sins past[e]," meaning remission *then present;* as indeed he could not mean any thing else. In another place, he speaks of *justification* as then actually received, or obtained: "Being justified by faith, we "have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ "——by whom we have now received the atonement[f]." Elsewhere he says, "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye "are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the "Spirit of our God[g]." Again: "You, being dead in your "sins——hath he quickened, having forgiven you all tres-"passes[h]." I shall take notice but of one text more: "I "write unto you, little children, because your sins are "forgiven you[i]." So then, *present* remission, in some cases or circumstances, may be justly looked upon as a *clear* point. Nevertheless, we are to understand it in a sense consistent with what St. Paul teaches elsewhere: "We are made partakers of Christ, (finally,) if we hold "the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end[k]." There is a distinction to be made between *present* and *final* justification: not that one is *conditional* and the other

[a] Mark ii. 5, 9. Luke v. 20.
[b] John xx. 23.
[c] Acts xiii. 39.
[d] Rom. iii. 24.
[e] Rom. iii. 25.
[f] Rom. v. 1, 11.
[g] 1 Cor. vi. 11.
[h] Coloss. ii. 13.
[i] 1 John ii. 12.
[k] Heb. iii. 14.

absolute, (for both are *absolute* in their kind, being founded in *absolute* grants,) but in one case, the party may live long enough to *need* a *new* grant; in the other, he is set beyond all danger or doubtfulness. *Present* justification amounts to a present *right* or *claim* to heaven upon Gospel terms, and presupposes the performance of *every thing stipulated* so far, and is therefore *absolute* for the time being[l]. As to *future* perseverance, because it is *future*, it comes not into *present* account, and so is out of the question, as to *present* justification[m], or *present* stipulation. Perseverance is *conditionally* stipulated, that is to say, upon the supposition or condition that *we live longer:* but the question concerning our *present claim* to heaven upon the Gospel terms, turns only upon what is *present*, and what serves for the *time being*. A *present* right is not therefore *no right*, or *not certain* for the present, because of its being liable to forfeiture, on such and such *suppositions*, afterwards. This I observe here, to remove the prejudices which some may possibly conceive against the very notion of *present remission*, (either in the Sacraments or out of them,) only because it is not *absolute* in every view, and upon every supposition, but upon the *present view* only, or in the circumstances now present. Indeed, remission of sins is a kind of *continued* act of God towards good men, often *repeated* in this life, and more and more *confirmed* the more they improve; *ascertained* to them, against all future chances, at their departure hence, but not *finally*, or in the most *solemn form* conferred, before the day of judgment.

[l] Hic dico, quod notandum est, quemvis justificatum præstitisse *integram* fœderis Evangelici conditionem, *pro statu in quo est*. Quisquis fide in Christum δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη præditus est, is *eo momento* præstitit *integram* fœderis Evangelici *conditionem* quæ, in *statu in quo est*, ab ipso requiritur, etiamsi jugis et pia operatio adhuc desit: proinde ex fœdere illo justificatur, atque ad omnia fœderis ejusdem beneficia *jus* habet. *Bull. Resp. ad Animad.* iii. sect. vi. p. 539.

[m] Hæc conditio *jugis operationis* in evangelico fœdere non *absolute* requiritur, sed *ex hypothesi*: nempe si Deus vitam largitus fuerit. *Bull. ibid.*

3. I proceed to observe, that such *present remission*, as I have hitherto been speaking of, is ordinarily conferred in the Sacrament of *Baptism*, where there is no obstacle on the part of the recipient. Even the Baptism of John, upon repentance, instrumentally conveyed *remission of sins*[n]: much more does the Baptism of Christ. "Except "a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot "enter into the kingdom of God[o]." This implies, that *Water-baptism*, ordinarily, is requisite to *remission*, and consequently is an ordinary means of conveying it. But there are other texts more express: "Repent, and be bap- "tized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for "the remission of sins——the promise is——to all that "are afar off[p]," &c. Ananias's words to Saul are very remarkable; "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy "sins[q]:" words too clear and express to be eluded by any Socinian evasions. And so are those other words; "Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it; "that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing "of water by the word[r]." The same doctrine is again taught by St. Paul, where he speaks of the "putting off "the body of sins, by the circumcision of Christ[s];" by *Christian circumcision*, that is, by Baptism. The same thing is implied in our being "saved by the laver of re- "generation[t]," and "saved by Baptism[u]," and having "hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience[x]." It is in vain to plead against *remission of sins* in either of the Sacraments, on account of their being considered in the recipient as *single acts*: for since it is *certain fact*, that such remission is conferred in and by *Baptism*, there must be some *fallacy* in that kind of reasoning, whether we can espy it or not, and it can be of no weight against plain

[n] Mark i. 4. [o] John iii. 5.
[p] Acts ii. 38, 39. [q] Acts xxii. 16.
[r] Ephes. v. 25, 26. Compare Pearson on the Creed, Article x. p. 556.
[s] Coloss. ii. 12, 13. See Dr. Wall, Hist. of Inf. Bapt. part i. c. 2. Defence, p. 269, &c.
[t] Tit. iii. 5. [u] 1 Peter iii. 21. [x] Heb. x. 22.

and certain *fact*. But I have hinted in my introduction, and elsewhere[y], where the error and misconception of such reasoning lies: and I shall only add here, that if a king were to send out his general *letters* of *pardon* for all *submissive* offenders, who, after renewing their bonds of allegiance, would come and take out their pardon *in certain form*, it would be no objection to the *validity* of their *pardon*, as conveyed by *such form*, that the submitting to it was but *part* of the *condition*, and not the *whole*, so long as it *presupposes* every thing besides. I may note also, by the way, that no just objection can be made against the *general* notion of God's conferring pardon by the *ministry* of men, since it is certain that he does it in the Sacrament of *Baptism*, which is administered by the hands of men commissioned thereunto.

Having thus dispatched the three *previous* propositions, preparatory to what I intend, I now proceed directly to the subject of the present chapter, which is to show, that God confers *remission of sins* in or by the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, as well as by the Sacrament of *Baptism*. The *analogy* which there is between the two Sacraments, considered as *Sacraments*, is itself a strong presumption of it; unless there were some very good reason to be given why *remission* should be granted there, and not here. The once granting of *remission* is no argument against *repeating* and *renewing* it, time after time, if there may be any *new* occasion for it, or if frequent *renewals* may add more abundant *strength* and *firmness* to what was before done, either for greater *security* or greater *consolation*.

It may be said, perhaps, that *Baptism* was necessary to give any person a *covenant-right* to pardon upon repentance, but that when a man is once entered into *covenant*, then *repentance* alone suffices, and there is no longer need of submitting to any other *public*, *solemn form* of remission, as an *instrument* of pardon. I allow, there is not precisely the *same need*; and yet I will not presume to

[y] See above, ch. viii. p. 210.

maintain that there may not be *great need*, notwithstanding. It is one thing to say, that remission is given in the Eucharist, as well as in Baptism; and another to say, that the Eucharist is as *necessary* to remission, as *Baptism*. Baptism may be the *first* and *grand* absolution; and the Eucharist may be only *second* to it: the Eucharist may be an *instrument* of remission, but not the *prime* or *chief* instrument. I am aware that it was St. Austin's doctrine, (and, I think, of the Schools after him,) that *baptismal remission* looks not only backwards to sins *past*, but forwards also to *future* transgressions, and has its *federal* effect for remission of sins *repented of*, all our lives long[z]. But yet that consideration never hindered him, nor others of the same sentiments with him, from believing, that *remission of sins* is granted in and by the *Eucharist*[a], as well as by the other Sacrament. Only, they might think, that Baptism is eminently and emphatically the Sacrament of *remission*, and the other, of *spiritual growth*; one is more peculiarly the instrument of *justification*, while *sanctification* is the eminent privilege of the other. Nevertheless, *justification* and *sanctification*, though distinct in notion, are yet so closely connected in the spiritual life, that they commonly go together, and so whatever tends to increase either, increases both. And though it is certainly true, that the Gospel covenant promises *remission* upon *repentance*, yet receiving the Communion, as it is an article of

[z] Sic, inquam, hoc accipiendum est, ut eodem lavacro regenerationis et verbo sanctificationis, omnia prorsus mala hominum regeneratorum mundentur, atque sanentur: non solum peccata quæ omnia *nunc* remittuntur in Baptismo, sed etiam quæ *posterius* humana ignorantia vel infirmitate contrahuntur. Non ut Baptisma quotiens *peccatur* totiens *repetatur*; sed quia *ipso* quod semel datur, fit, ut non solum *antea*, verum etiam *postea* quorumlibet peccatorum venia fidelibus impetretur. Quid enim prodesset vel *ante Baptismum* pœnitentia, nisi Baptismus sequeretur, vel *postea*, nisi præcesserit? *Augustin. de Nupt. et Concupisc.* lib. i. p. 298. tom. x. edit. Bened. Conf. Sam. Ward. Determ. Theolog. p. 57. Vossius de Baptism. Disp. vi. p. 277. Turretin. Institut. Theolog. tom. iii. p. 460, &c. Hesychius, of the fifth century, expressed it thus: Virtus præcedentis baptismatis operatur et in ea, quæ postea acta fuerit, pœnitentia. *In Levit.* lib. ii. p. 118.

[a] Vid. Augustin. de Peccat. Mer. et Rem. lib. i. cap. 24.

Christian obedience, is included in the notion of *repentance*, making a part of it, as often as we *may* and *ought* to receive. But besides that, as *repentance* alone, without a continual *application* of the great *atonement*, is of no avail upon the foot of the *Christian covenant*, nor can be accepted at the throne of grace; the least that we can say of the *expediency* of the Eucharist, in that respect, is, that it amounts to a *public*, *solemn*, *certain* application of Christ's merits, for the rendering our *repentance* acceptable, (which no other service except Baptism does,) and therefore it is a service carrying in it the liveliest *assurance*, and the strongest *consolation*, with respect to that very *remission* promised upon our serious *repentance*. Baptism *once* received may perhaps justly be supposed to carry in it the force of such *continued application* all our lives after: but yet it was not for nothing, that God appointed another Sacrament, supplemental to Baptism, for carrying on the same thing, or for the more effectual securing the same end. It is further to be considered, that if the Eucharist includes in it (as shall be shown in its place) a *renewal* of the baptismal *covenant*, it must of course be conceived to carry in it a *renewal* of baptismal *remission* also: and remission, on God's part, is a kind of *continued* act, always *growing*, always *improving*, during the several stages and advances of the Christian life[b]. Besides, if Divine wisdom, among other reasons, has superadded the *solemnity* of Baptism to *repentance*, in order to fix the repentance more strongly, and to render it accepted, as also to make the *pardon* therein granted the more affecting and memorable; it is obvious to perceive how the solem-

[b] *Justificatio* et *sanctificatio* sunt actus quidem *perpetuus*, in quo et Deus *semper donat*, et homo *semper recipit*. Tota itaque vita homo fidelis poscit *remissionem* peccatorum, et *renovationem* sui: tota item vita utrumque impetrat. Habet *ante*, sed consequitur tum *conservationem* tum *incrementum* ejus quod habet. Omnibus credentibus opus, ut tum *fides* tum *gratia* fide percepta foveatur, alatur, augeatur. Omnibus igitur credentibus et *verbi*, et *sacramentorum* adminiculo opus est, &c. *Vossius de Sacr. Vi et Effic.* p. 252.

nity of the Eucharist is fitted to serve the like purposes; and is therefore the more likely to have been intended for another *public* and *sensible* application of the *merits* of Christ's death, and a channel of *remission*[c], succedaneous to Baptism, in some views, and so far serving instead of a *repetition* of it. But whether we are right or wrong in these and the like plausible reasonings upon the *analogy* of the two Sacraments, or upon their common, or distinct uses, yet if we can *prove* the fact, that the Eucharist really is an *instrument* of *remission*, or a *Gospel form* of *absolution*, we need not then concern ourselves much about the *rationale* of the thing: our positive proofs will be sufficient without it. This then is what I shall now proceed to, following the light of *Scripture* and *antiquity*.

1. That *remission* of *sins* is ordinarily conferred in the Eucharist, follows undeniably from the doctrine of 1 Cor. x. 16, as explained in the preceding chapter of this work. For if we are therein *partakers* of Christ's death, with the *fruits* thereof; and if the *atonement* be one of those fruits, and indeed the *first* and *principal*; and if *remission* follows the atonement, wherever it is truly *applied*; it is manifest from these considerations taken together, that *remission* is *conferred*, or (which comes to the same)

[c] "By the same reason that it came to be thought needful to make use of "*sensible* means to *convey* or *assure* to mankind God's *pardon* and grace "upon their *first conversion* to Christianity, by the same, or a greater rea- "son, it must be judged to be so, to make use of the like *sensible* means to "*convey* or *assure* the same grace and *pardon*, after men have in any mea- "sure *forfeited* the interest they had in the other.

"By the same reason again, that it came to be thought needful to exact "of us *sensible* declarations of our renouncing the errors of our *unconverted* "state——by the same, or a greater reason, must it be judged to be so, to "exact of us the like *sensible* declarations, after we have, by our disobedi- "ence, departed from, and prevaricated our former ones." *Towerson on the Sacrament*, p. 158.

The author here resolves the reason of granting *remission* by the Eucharist, into the expediency of *sensible* means to testify *repentance* on man's part, for sins committed after Baptism, and for the greater *solemnity* of granting *pardon*, on God's part. Which appears to be a very just account of it, in part, or it is, at least, a sufficient answer to objections drawn from the *rationale* of the thing.

renewed and *confirmed*, in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. This argument is built upon a very clear and allowed maxim, that the *effect* must answer to the *cause*, and the *fruits* to the *stock* from whence they grow[d]. Besides, to deny that the Eucharist carries *remission* with it, seems to make it rather a *memorial* of the *reconcilement*, than an actual *participation* of it: which is what the Socinians do indeed teach, but have been confuted (if I may take leave to say so) in the foregoing chapters.

2. I go on to our Lord's own words in the institution. "Drink ye all of this: for this is my blood, the blood of "the new covenant, shed for you, and for many, FOR THE "REMISSION OF SINS." Our Lord here mentions the *remission of sins* as the effect or fruit of the *blood shed*: that very *blood shed* is what we *symbolically* drink in the Eucharist, together with the *fruits* of it, as hath been abundantly proved above: therefore we drink *remission* in the Eucharist, which is one of those *fruits*. To enforce the argument, observe but with what emphasis our Lord says, "Drink ye all of this: for this is &c." Why such a stress laid upon *drinking* this blood *shed for remission*, if they were not to *drink remission* in the very act? *Commemorating* will not answer the purpose: for drinking is the constant *symbol* of *receiving* something *in*, not of commemorating, which is *paying out*: and I have often observed before, that *receiving* in this instance must, in the very nature of the act, mean *present* receiving: therefore again, the receiving, symbolically in the Eucharist, that *justifying blood* of Christ, must of consequence amount to receiving *present* remission of sins. Bishop Taylor works up the argument a little differently, thus: "The *body* re- "ceives the *body* of the mystery, (we eat and drink the "*symbols* with our *mouths*,) but *faith* feeds upon the *mys-* "*tery* itself, it entertains the *grace*——which the Spirit "of God *conveys* under that signature. Now, since the "mystery is perfectly and openly expressed to be the *re-*

[d] See Dr. Pelling's Disc. on the Sacrament, p. 138, &c.

" *mission of sins*, if the *soul* does the work of the *soul*, as " the *body* the work of the *body*, the *soul* receives *re-* " *mission of sins*, as the *body* does the *symbols* and the Sa- " crament[e]."

The Socinians here object, that the text does not say that the *Eucharist* is ordained for remission, but that the *blood*, the blood spilled upon the cross, was shed *for remission*. But it is obvious to reply, that that blood which was once *literally* given for *remission*, upon the cross, is now every day *symbolically* and *mystically* given in the Eucharist, and given with all its *fruits*: therefore *remission* of *sins* is given. Such is the nature of *symbolical* grants, as I have before explained at large: they *exhibit* what they *represent*, convey what they signify, and are in *divine* construction and acceptance, though not literally or substantially, the very thing which they supply the place of. Which is so true in this case, that the very attributes of the *signs* and things *signified* are reciprocally predicated of each other: the *body* is represented as *broken*[f], though that attribute properly belongs to the *bread*; and the *cup*, by a double figure, is said to be *shed for you*[g], when, in strictness of speech, that attribute belongs only to the *blood*. This is further confirmed from the *analogy* which there is between the *representative* blood in the Eucharist, and the *typical* blood of the ancient *Passover*. For as the *blood* there was a *token* of remission, and made *instrumental* to remission, so is it also in the *symbolical* blood of the Eucharist; and thus every thing answers[h]. The blood likewise of the ancient sacrifices, *prefiguring* the blood of Christ, was a *token* of a covenant[i], and conveyed *remission*, (legal directly, and evangelical indirectly,) and therefore the symbolical blood of the Eucharist *figuring* the same blood of Christ, cannot but be understood to convey

[e] Taylor's Worthy Communicant, p. 51.

[f] 1 Cor. xi. 24. [g] Luke xxii. 20.

[h] See above, ch. ii. p. 52.

[i] Exod. xxiv. 8. See Nature and Obligation of the Christian Sacraments, vol. v. p. 493.

remission as effectually, yea and more effectually than the other, which the very *phrases* here made use of, parallel to the former, strongly argue.

I shall only add further, that since there certainly is *spiritual manducation* in the Eucharist, as before shown, and since *remission of sins*, by all accounts, and even by the Socinians, is allowed to be *included* in spiritual manducation; it will plainly follow, that *remission of sins* is conveyed in and by the Eucharist; which was to be proved.

Having thus far argued the point from Scripture principles, I may now proceed to inquire what additional light may be borrowed from *authorities*, ancient or modern. I shall draw together a summary account of what the primitive churches taught in this article, and shall afterwards consider, very briefly, the doctrine of our own Church on the same head.

The learned author of the Antiquities of the Christian Church, having previously observed of *Baptism*, that it was esteemed *the grand absolution* of all, proceeds soon after to take notice of the *absolution* granted in the *Eucharist*, and gives this general account of it.

"It had some relation to *penitential discipline*, but did "not *solely* belong to it. For it was given to all *baptized* "persons who never fell under *penitential* discipline, as "well as to those who *lapsed* and were restored to com-"munion: and in both respects, it was called the τὸ "τέλειον, the *perfection*, or *consummation*, of a Christian; "there being no higher mystery that an ordinary Chris-"tian could partake of. To those who never fell into "such *great sins* as required a public *penance*, it was an "*absolution* from *lesser* sins, which were called *venial*, "and sins of *daily incursion*: and to penitents who had "*lapsed*, it was an *absolution* from those *greater sins* for "which they were fallen under censure[k]." To this may be added, that the name of ἐφόδιον, *viaticum*, which means *provision for one's journey into the other world*, and which

[k] Bingham, book xix. c. 1.

was frequently given to the Eucharist, in the fourth century [l], and so on, is a *general* proof of the sense of the Church in those times with respect to *remission* in the *holy Communion:* for as that name imports more, so it certainly implies *remission of sins*, as part of the idea belonging to it.

After this brief general account, let us come to particulars. The elder Fathers, of the two first centuries, (so far as I have observed,) make not express mention of *remission* of *sins* in the *Eucharist*, though they are explicit enough with respect to *Baptism*. Their common way, with regard to the Eucharist, was to pass over *remission*, and to go higher up to *sanctification* of the Spirit, and *spiritual* or *mystical* union with Christ, and the consequent right to *glory*, and *immortality*, and *eternal life*. Perhaps they might conceive it low and diminutive, in that case, to speak at all of *remission*, which was but the *initiatory* part, and belonged more peculiarly to the *initiatory* Sacrament, which in those times, and in the case of adults, immediately preceded the other. However that were, we find [m] proofs sufficient from the writers of the third century, that the Eucharist was thought to be of a *propitiatory* nature, in virtue of the great *sacrifice* therein *commemorated:* and though the elder Fathers do not directly say so, they tacitly supposed or insinuated the same thing, by their standing *discipline*, and by their so often calling the Eucharist a *sacrifice* well pleasing to God: besides that the *sanctification* which they do speak of, as conferred in the Eucharist, *implied* remission of sins, either as then *granted*, or at least then *confirmed* and *established*.

Origen is one that speaks plainly of the *propitiatory* nature of the Eucharist [n]; understanding it in a qualified

[l] Testimonies are collected by Casaubon, Exercit. N. lii. p. 415.

[m] Suicer, in Ἐφόδιον, p. 1290. Bingham, book xv. cap. 4. sect. 9. book xviii. cap. 4. sect. 3. Mabillon de Liturg. Gall. p. 85.

[n] Si respicias ad commemorationem de qua dicit Dominus, *Hoc facite in*

sense, as being propitiatory only in virtue of the grand sacrifice, or as all *acceptable* services are, in some sense, appeasing and pacificatory.

Cyprian, of the same time, takes notice of the sacramental *cup* as relieving the *sad* and *sorrowful* heart, before oppressed with the *anguish of sins*, and now overjoyed with a sense of the *Divine indulgence*[o]. From which words it is manifest, that it was *God's pardon* (not merely the *Church's* reconciliation) which was supposed to be conveyed in and by the Eucharist; which is farther evident from the noted story of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, his sending the Eucharist to Serapion at the point of death, and the reflections which he made upon it, as being instrumental towards the *wiping out his sins* before his departure[p]. Such was the prevailing notion of that time in relation to *remission* of *sins*, as conferred in the Eucharist. "Some ancient writers" (I use the words of Mr. Bingham) "acknowledge no other sorts of *absolu-*
"*tion* but only two; the *baptismal* absolution which is
"antecedent to all *penitential* discipline, and this of re-
"conciling public penitents to the *communion* of the *al-*
"*tar:* because this latter *comprehends* all *other* ways of
"*absolution*, in the several acts and ceremonies that were
"used in conferring it[q]." Another very learned writer has made the like observation, in the words here following: "They that have with the greatest diligence search-
"ed into *antiquity*, can discover no other *rite* or *solemnity*
"used upon this occasion, but barely the admitting the
"*penitents* to *communion:* by this they were entirely *ac-*
"*quitted* and *absolved* from the censure under which their

meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola quæ *propitium* facit hominibus Deum. *Origen. in Levit. Hom.* xiii. p. 255.

[o] Epotato sanguine Domini, mœstum pectus ac triste, quod prius *peccatis angentibus* premebatur, *Divinæ indulgentiæ* lætitia resolvatur: quod tum demum potest lætificare in Ecclesia Domini bibentem &c. *Cypr. Ep.* lxiii. p. 107. alias 153.

[p] Vid. Euseb. E. H. lib. vi. c. 44. p. 318.

[q] Bingham, book xix. cap. 1. sect. 6.

" crimes had laid them: by this their *sins were remitted* " *to them*, and so they became once more *fellow citizens* " with the *saints*, and of the household of God[r]."

For the fourth century, Eusebius may be an evidence to prove the doctrine of *remission* in and by the *Eucharist*, where he says; " We moreover offer the *show bread*, " while we revive the *salutary memorial* and the blood of " sprinkling of the Lamb of God, (that taketh away the " sins of the world,) the *purgative* of our souls[s]." He seems here to understand the *blood* of Christ as making the purgation *directly*, and the salutary memorial as doing it *indirectly*, and in virtue of the other. He speaks plainer elsewhere, directly saying, that Christians receive *remission of sins* in the daily *memorial* which they celebrate, *viz.* the memorial of our Lord's *body* and *blood*[t].

Cyril of the same century styles the Eucharist the *sacrifice of propitiation*[u], (in such a sense as I have before hinted with relation to Origen,) and he supposes it to be offered in order to render God *propitious*, which amounts to the same as if he had said, for *remission of sins*[x].

Ephræm Syrus, of the same age, supposes that the Eucharist *purifies* the *soul* from its *spots*, that is, from its *sins*[y]. And Ambrose[z] scruples not to ascribe to the

[r] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 210. compare p. 107. and part i. p. 284, &c. Conf. Morin. de Pœnitent. lib. iv. c. 21, 22.

[s] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως προσφέρομεν, τὴν σωτήριον μνήμην ἀναζωπυροῦντες, τό τε τοῦ ῥαντισμοῦ αἷμα τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ περιελόντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῦ κόσμυ, καθάρσιον τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν. *Euseb. in Psalm.* xci. p. 608.

[t] Διὰ τῆς ἐνθέου καὶ μυστικῆς διδασκαλίας πάντες ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων εὑράμεθα——εἰκότως τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ἐσημέραι ἐπιτελοῦντες, κ. τ. λ. *Euseb. Demonstr. Evang.* lib. ii. c. 10. p. 37.

[u] Τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ. *Cyrill. Mystag.* v. sect. 8. p. 327. Conf. Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 155, &c.

[x] Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον προσφέρομεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων προσφέρομεν, ἱλεούμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεόν. *Cyrill. Mystag.* v. sect. 10. p. 328.

[y] Animæ accedentes per illa tremenda mysteria *macularum purificationem* accipiunt. *Ephr. Syr. de Sacerdotio*, p. 3.

[z] *Ego sum panis vitæ;* etiamsi quis mortuus fuerit, tamen si panem meum

bread consecrated *remission of sins;* which is to be understood with some allowance for a figurative way of speaking. He speaks indeed of the *living bread*, that is, of Christ himself, but considered as symbolically received in the *Eucharist;* which is manifest from his referring to 1 Cor. xi. 28. "Let a man examine himself."

St. Austin appears to have been in the same sentiments exactly: where speaking of the grand sacrifice, by which alone *true remission*[z] comes, he immediately adds, that all Christians are *invited* to *drink* the *blood* of it, meaning in the Eucharist.

All the ancient Liturgies are full of the same notion of *remission* of *sins* conferred in this Sacrament. And though they are mostly *spurious*, or *interpolated*, and answer not strictly to the *names* which they commonly bear, yet some of them have been in use for many centuries upwards in the Greek, Latin, and Oriental churches, and are a good proof of the *universality* of a doctrine for the time they obtained. The Clementine, though it is not thought to have been ever in public use, is commonly believed to be the *oldest* of any now extant: and though, as an entire collection, it cannot perhaps be justly set higher than the fifth century, yet it certainly contains many things derived from earlier times, and among those, probably, the doctrine of *eucharistical remission*. In that Liturgy prayer is made, that the Holy Spirit may so bless the elements, that the communicants may *obtain remission of sins*[a]. And in the *post communion*, prayer is again made that the receiving of the Eucharist may turn to *salvation*, not *con-*

acceperit, vivet in æternum: ille enim *accipit* qui *seipsum probat*. Qui autem accipit, non moritur peccatoris morte; quia panis hic *remissio peccatorum* est. *Ambros. de Benedict. Patriarch.* c. ix. p. 525.

[z] Illis sacrificiis hoc *unum sacrificium* significabatur, in quo *vera* fit *remissio peccatorum*. A cujus tamen sacrificii sanguine non solum nemo prohibetur, sed ad *bibendum* potius *omnes* exhortantur qui volunt habere vitam. *Augustin. in Levit.* tom. iii. p. 516, 517. Conf. Damascen. de Fid. lib. iv. c. 13. p. 271.

[a] Ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ——ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, &c. *Apostol. Const.* lib. viii. c. 12. p. 407.

demnation, to the benefit both of body and soul, to the preserving true piety, and to *remission of sins* [b].

Conformable to this pattern are the *later* Liturgies: particularly that which is called Basil's, according to the Alexandrian use, in Renaudot's edition [c]. And another, entitled Gregory's Liturgy [d]. The same thing is observable in the Liturgies which go under the names of apostles or evangelists, collected by Fabricius: as St. James's [e], St. Peter's [f], St. Matthew's [g], St. Mark's [h], and St. John's [i]. The Liturgy under the name of Chrysostom, published by Goar, has the like forms [k]. So also have the Oriental Liturgies in Renaudotius's Collection, volume the second, and the Latin ones published by Mabillon; of which it would be tedious here to speak more particularly; as it is also needless to trouble the reader with more references in a very clear point. Upon the whole, there appears to have been a *general* consent of the Christian churches all along as to the point of *eucharistical remission* of sins: which is proved, not only from the testimonies of *single* Fathers, but from the ancient standing *discipline* of the Church, and from the concurring language of all the ancient Liturgies now extant.

As to the judgment of the *first Reformers* abroad, it is well known to fall in with the same: or if any doubt should be, let Luther answer for the Lutherans [l], and for the Calvinists Calvin [m].

[b] Καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν μὴ εἰς κρίμα, ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. κ. τ. λ. *Apost. Constit.* lib. viii. c. 14. p. 410.

[c] Basil. Liturg. Alex. p. 61, 69, 71. apud Renaud. vol. i.

[d] Gregorii Liturg. p. 92, 95, 98, 106.

[e] Jacob. Liturg. p. 38, 41, 68, 71, 72, 86, 101, 111, 113, 120.

[f] Petri Liturg. p. 175, 195.

[g] Matth. Liturg. p. 216, 245, 248.

[h] Marci Liturg. p. 261, 299, 315, 316.

[i] Johannis Liturg. p. 203.

[k] Goar. Euchol. p. 77, 80, 82.

[l] Pertinet huc pulcherrima gradatio Lutheri: "Calix Eucharisticus con-
"tinet vinum: vinum *exhibet* Christi sanguinem: sanguis Christi complec-
"titur novum testamentum, quia est novi testamenti sanguis: novum tes-

The judgment of our own Church will easily be proved to concur in the same article, from the known language of our Communion Office, and Homilies. In our public Service, we pray, that "our sinful bodies may be made "clean by his body, and our souls washed through his "most precious blood." The propositions couched under these words are several: 1. That our bodies are the *temple* of the Holy Ghost. 2. That sin *defileth* them. 3. That the *sacrifice* of Christ, removing *guilt*, (other due circumstances supposed,) makes them *clean*. 4. That there is an *application* of that sacrifice made in the Eucharist. 5. That therefore such application ought to be prayed for. So much for the *body*. The like, with a little change, may be understood also of the *soul:* and the conclusion from both parts is, that *guilt* is washed away in the Sacrament, *duly* administered, and duly received, both from *body* and *soul;* which in other words amounteth to this, that *remission of sins* is conferred by the Eucharist, to all *worthy* receivers.

In a *thanksgiving prayer*, of the same Service, we pray, that "we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission "of sins," beseeching the Divine Majesty, not to "weigh "our merits," but to "pardon our offences," &c. which words carry in them a manifest allusion to that *remission* of *sins* which is conceived ordinarily to pertain to this Sacrament, and is expected from it, as one of the benefits of it. But considering that all depends upon our being *meet partakers*, (whereof God only is the unerring Judge,) and

"tamentum continet *remissionem peccatorum*. Ergo, bibitio ex calice Eu-"charistico *applicat, obsignat*, et *confirmat* credentibus, promissionem de "*remissione peccatorum*."——

Sacramentum illud ipsum quod signat, etiam confert, et exhibet. *Gerhard. loc. Comm. de. Sacr. Cœna*, c. xx. p. 178.

[m] Christi consilium fuit, corpus suum *sub pane* edendum porrigere in *remissionem* peccatorum. *Calvin. Admonit. ult. ad Westphal.* p. 950. Conf. Instit. lib. iv. c. 17. sect. 42.

Lambertus Danæus cautiously words the doctrine thus: *Cœna Domini*—— est *applicatio* semel a Christo factæ peccatorum nostrorum remissionis. *Epist. ad Eccles. Gallican.* 1498.

that it becomes every communicant to think *humbly* of himself, leaning to the *modest* side; it is very proper to refer the whole to God's clemency, entreating him to accept of us as *meet* partakers, and thereupon to grant us the *remission* we came for. For though it is an undoubted truth, that the Eucharist confers *remission* to the *faithful* communicant, yet it is right to leave the determination of our *faithfulness* to God the searcher of hearts, and in the mean while to beg *forgiveness* at his hands. Add to this, that were we ever so *certain* that we are *actually* pardoned upon receiving the Eucharist, yet as remission is a *continued* act, and always *progressive*, (which I before noted,) it can never be improper to go on with our petitions for it, any more than to make use of the Lord's Prayer every hour of our lives. It was so used anciently, just after *plenary* remission[n]: and in like manner we now make use of it, immediately after our having received the Communion; without the least apprehension that such usage interferes at all with the principle which I have been maintaining, as indeed it does not. Nothing is more frequent in the ancient Liturgies, than to ask *forgiveness* immediately after *receiving*, though the doctrine of *present* remission is fully expressed and inculcated in the *same* Liturgies[o].

[n] Jerome's remark upon this case, when *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* went together, and *perfect remission* was supposed to have been just granted, is worth noting.

De *Baptismatis fonte* surgentes, et regenerati in Dominum Salvatorem—statim in *prima communione* corporis Christi dicunt: *et dimitte nobis debita nostra*, quæ illis fuerant in Christi confessione dimissa.——Quamvis sit hominum *perfecta conversio*, et post vitia atque peccata virtutum *plena possessio*; numquid possunt sic esse *sine vitio*, quomodo illi qui *statim* de Christi *fonte* procedunt? Et tamen jubentur dicere, *dimitte nobis debita nostra*, &c. Non humilitatis *mendacio*, ut tu interpretaris; sed *pavore* fragilitatis humanæ, suam conscientiam formidantis. *Hieronym. Dialog. adv. Pelag.* lib. iii. p. 543.

[o] See the Clementine Liturgy quoted above, and compare Fabricius's Collection, p. 120, 333. Renaudot's, vol. i. p. 51. vol. ii. p. 42, 152, 174, 212, 233, 253, 269, 447, 634. Mabillon's in Mus. Ital. vol. i. p. 281. Missal. Gall. p. 331. Liturg. Gallic. p. 300.

Enough hath been said to show, that our Communion Office supposes *remission* of *sins* to be conferred in the Eucharist. The same thing is directly and clearly asserted in our Homilies. "As to the number of *Sacraments*, "if they should be considered according to the exact sig- "nification of a *Sacrament*, namely, for visible signs ex- "pressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto "is annexed the promise of *free forgiveness of sins*, and of "our holiness, and joining in Christ, there be but two, "namely, *Baptism* and the *Supper of the Lord* [p]." Here it is not only supposed that *remission* is conferred in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, but that it could not in strictness be reputed a *Sacrament*, if it were not so: so great a stress is there laid on this principle. Accordingly, afterwards in the *same* Homily, *absolution* is rejected as *no Sacrament*, having no such promise of remission *annexed* and *tied* to the *visible sign:* and *Orders* also is rejected, because it "lacks the promise of remission of sin." In another Homily, where the *Lord's Supper* is particularly treated of, it is observed, that therein "the favourable "mercies of God are *sealed*, the satisfaction by Christ "towards us confirmed, and the *remission of sins esta-* "*blished* [q]."

After these public, authentic evidences of the doctrine of our Church in this particular, it will be needless to add the concurring sentiments of our *eminent Divines*, all along from that time. But because the point has been sometimes contested, both abroad and at home, and diffi-

[p] Homily ix. of Common Prayer and Sacraments, p. 299. Compare Cranmer, p. 46.

[q] Homily on the worthy receiving, &c. part i. p. 378. The Reformatio Legum, of the same time, says thus: *Eucharistia* Sacramentum est, in quo cibum ex pane sumunt, et potum ex vino, qui convivæ sedent in *sacra* Domini *mensa:* cujus panis, inter illos, et vini communicatione, *obsignatur* gratia Spiritus Sancti, *veniaque peccatorum*, ad quam ex eo perveniunt, quod *fide* comprehendunt et percipiunt Christi sacrosanctum *corpus*, respectu nostræ salutis ad crucem fixum, et *cruorem* pro *tollendis* fusum nostris *peccatis*, ut Dei promissa palam ipsa loquuntur. *De Sacrament.* tit. v. c. 4. p. 29.

culties have been raised, it will be but fair and just to the reader, to set before him the utmost that has been pleaded on the contrary side, and to suggest, as briefly as may be, the proper solutions of the appearing difficulties.

Objections removed.

1. It has been objected, that "the Sacrament of the "*Lord's Supper* is not itself like *Baptism*, a rite appointed for the *remission of sins*; but it is a *commemoration* "only of the all-sufficient sacrifice, which was once offered for an *eternal* expiation[r]." To which I answer, 1. That supposing this Sacrament were not appointed at all for *remission*, it does not follow that it must be appointed only for *commemoration*; because it might be (as it certainly is) appointed in part, for *sanctification* also. 2. Supposing farther, that it is not completely equal to *Baptism* in point of *remission*, yet it does not follow that it may not confer remission in *some measure*, or to an *inferior degree*. 3. It is untruly suggested, that the Eucharist is only a *commemoration* of the all-sufficient sacrifice, since it most certainly is, as hath been proved, an *application* of that sacrifice to every worthy receiver: and since *remission* of *sins* is one of the *fruits* of that sacrifice, it must, it cannot but be allowed, that the Eucharist carries *remission* in it, more or less, and to some degree or other.

2. A second objection runs thus: "To imagine that "the *Lord's Supper*, which is to be *repeated* perpetually, "has *such* a promise annexed to it of taking away *all* "*past sins*, as *Baptism* had, which was to be administered but *once*, is a dangerous and fatal error, because "such an opinion would be plainly an *encouragement* for "men to *continue* in sin, that the *grace* of forgiveness "might be perpetually *repeated* and *abound*[s]." In answer hereto, let but the reader put *repentance* instead of

[r] Dr. Clarke's Posth. Sermons, vol. iv. serm. vi. p. 133.
[s] Dr. Clarke, ibid. p. 134.

Lord's Supper, and then traverse the objection over again in his mind, if it be only to see whether the very same objection does not plead as strongly against repeated *forgiveness* upon repeated *repentance*, as against the same forgiveness upon repeated *communion*: for we never suppose any *new* forgiveness granted in the communion, but upon *new* repentance. What then have we to trust to, if the plain and comfortable Gospel doctrine of *forgiveness* (*toties quoties*) upon *true* repentance, shall be represented as a *dangerous* and *fatal* error, and an *encouragement* to *continue* in sins, that *grace* may abound? It may be true, that such merciful doctrine of *forgiveness* may carry some *appearance* of *encouragement* to sin: so do some other Gospel doctrines; or else St. Paul would have had no need to caution us against "continuing in sin, that grace "may abound[t]:" but nevertheless, it would not only be great presumption, but a fatal *error*, to draw any such inference from the doctrine of *repeated* forgiveness upon *repeated* repentance. For what would have been the consequence, supposing that the rule had run, that if a man sins *once*, or *twice*, or a *hundred*, or a *thousand* times, and repent as *often*, he shall be *forgiven?* Would not many have been tempted to *sin on*, till they come very near to the utmost verge of forgiveness, before they would think of repenting to purpose? And what scruples might they not raise about the *number* of *sins*, or of *repentance?* And if any man should once go beyond the *limits* now supposed to be assigned, what would then remain but *black despair*, and a hardened resolution to *continue* in *sin?* Therefore Divine wisdom has mercifully fixed this matter upon a much better foot, namely, upon one plain rule, that *as often* as men *sin*, and truly *repent*, (without limitation, or number,) *so often* they shall be forgiven. When evil habits have much and long prevailed, repentance, however *sincere*, will hardly be completed *at once*: but the ordinary method is, to repent again and

[t] Rom. vi. 1, 2.

again, after every relapse, till by degrees a man gains the entire mastery over his appetites and passions. In this way, his relapses will grow *less frequent*, and evil habits *less prevalent*, and every new repentance will be stronger and stronger, till at length by God's grace, and his own hearty endeavours, he gets the victory, and becomes confirmed in all virtue and godliness. By this we may perceive the use and benefit of frequent forgiveness upon frequent repentances, in a degree suitable and proportionate; that sinners may never want encouragement to go on *repenting* more and more, after their *relapses*, and as often sealing their sincere repentances in the blessed Sacrament, to make them the more solemn and the more enduring. But, in the mean while, let sinners beware how they tempt the Divine goodness too far, by relapsing: for even *repentance*, as depending on Divine *grace*, is so far in God's hands, as well as *pardon:* and they who presume to *sin often*, because they may be *often forgiven*, are in a likely way to come to an *end* of *forgiveness*, before they make an *end* of *sinning*, and to be taken, at length, in their own snare [u].

Notwithstanding what I have here said, with respect to eucharistical absolution, I would not be construed to mean, that there is *no difference at all*, in point of remission, between *Baptism* and the *Eucharist:* for I am aware that there is *some* difference, and perhaps *considerable*. I shall here draw from the *ancients*, and shall endeavour to point out the *difference* as clearly and exactly as I can. It was understood to lie in *three* things chiefly; the *extent* of the remission, and the *certainty*, and the *perfection* of it.

Baptism was conceived to amount to a *plenary* and *cer-*

[u] Absit ut aliquis ita interpretetur, quasi eo sibi etiam nunc pateat ad *delinquendum*, quia patet ad *pœnitendum;* et redundantia clementiæ cœlestis libidinem faciat humanæ temeritatis: nemo idcirco *deterior* sit quia Deus *melior* est, totiens delinquendo quotiens ignoscitur. Cæterum, *Finem evadendi* habebit, cum *offendendi* non habebit. *Tertullian. de Pœnit.* c. vii. p. 126.

tain indulgence for *all kinds* of sins, were they ever so *great*; (as for instance, the *crucifying* of our Lord[x];) and of any *number*, were they ever so *many*, or ever so *often* repeated, provided only they were sincerely repented of, and forsaken at the *font:* they were from that instant *remembered no more*[y], either in God's account or the *Church's*. But as to sins committed after Baptism, if of a *grievous* kind, (as *idolatry*, *murder*, *adultery*,) or less grievous, but *often* repeated, or much *aggravated* by the circumstances, they were judged too heinous to be *pardoned* in the *Eucharist*, and the men too vile to be admitted to *communion* ever after[z]. Not that the Church presumed to limit the *mercies* of God, who searches the *hearts*, and who could judge of the *sincerity* of the *repentance* of such persons: but Church governors of that time would not take upon them to *promise* such persons *peace*, upon any professions of *repentance* whatever, but left them to God only. In short, though they would have given *Baptism* to any the wickedest Pagans whatever, upon proper professions of repentance, yet they would not give the *Eucharist* to such as had sinned in like manner after Baptism: which shows, that they made some difference between *baptismal remission* and the *eucharistical* one, in respect of *certainty* and *extent*. When the severity of discipline afterwards relaxed a little, and *communion* was allowed to all *penitents*, at the hour of death, if not sooner, yet they did not then pretend to be *certain*, that God would absolve the persons, like as they judged with respect to *baptismal* absolution[a]. Nevertheless, if we distinguish *justly* upon the two cases, it does not from hence follow, that they thought of any proper *disparity* between the two *absolutions* in themselves consi-

[x] Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. iii. sect. 15. p. 47. Conf. Morinus de Pœnitent. lib. iii. c. 2, 3.

[y] Vid. Theodoret. in Jerem. xxxi. 34. p. 230.

[z] See Bingham, book xviii. cap. 4. sect. 4.

[a] See Bingham, book xxiii. cap. 4. sect. 6. Compare Marshall, Penit. Discipl. p. 111.

dered; but strictly speaking, the *disparity* was supposed to lie in the different *malignity* of sins committed *before* Baptism and *after*. The *remedies* might be conceived of equal force, other circumstances being equal; but the *malady* was not the same in both cases.

Another difference between *baptismal* and *eucharistical* remission was understood to lie here, that the one *perfectly* wiped out all past sins; the other, though it *healed* them, yet left some kind of *blots* or *scars* behind it[b]: on account whereof, many who were admitted to *lay communion* were yet considered as *blemished* in some measure, and not fit to be admitted afterwards to the *sacred offices*[c]. No crimes whatever committed *before* Baptism, and left at the font, were thought any *bar* or *blot* for the time to come; Baptism washed all away: but the case was different with respect to sins of a scandalous nature committed *after Baptism*; for neither *repentance* nor the *Eucharist* was conceived to wash off all *stain*. Hence some made a distinction, upon Psalm xxxii. 1. between *perfect* remission of sin in *Baptism*, and the *covering* it by *penance* and *absolution*[d]; that is, by the *Eucharist*. And others seem to have thought that sins committed before Baptism were perfectly blotted out, as it were, from the book of God's remembrance, as if they had never been, but that sins of any *grievous* kind committed afterwards, though pardoned upon repentance, should yet be *recited*, or *purged*, at the great day[e]: a *conjectural* presumption, which I will not be bold to warrant.

However, in the whole, it may be admitted, upon the principles of *reason*, *Scripture*, and *antiquity*, that the *remission* in the *Eucharist* is not in every respect *equal*, or

[b] Vid. Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. xviii. sect. 20. p. 295. ed. Bened. Athanas. ad Serap. Ep. iv. n. 13. p. 705. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 641.

[c] Origen. contr. Cels. lib. iii. sect. 51. p. 482. ed. Bened.

[d] Origen. in Psal. xxxi. p. 645. Eusebius in Psal. xxxi. p. 120. in Psal. lxxxiv. p. 525.

[e] Vid. Clemens Alex. Strom. iv. num. 24. p. 633, 634. Strom. vi. p. 795. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xv. n. 23. p. 236, 237.

similar to the remission in *Baptism*, because of the *different* circumstances: nevertheless it is certain, in the general, that there is ordinarily *remission* in both, as there is ordinarily an *application* of the *merits* of Christ's all-sufficient sacrifice in both.

I must now further add, that the objection made against *repeated forgiveness*, upon *repeated repentance* in the Eucharist, would have been of much greater force than it really now is, were it not that this holy Sacrament appears to have been appointed as the *strongest security* against those very *abuses* which men are prone to make of the *Divine mercy*. The *two* principal *abuses* are, first, the putting off repentance from day to day, fixing *no time* for it, as it is thought to be left at large, and to be acceptable at *any time;* next, the resting content with a *lame*, *partial*, or *unsincere* repentance: against both which, the appointment of this holy Sacrament is a kind of *standing provision*, the best, it may be, that the nature of the case would admit of. To those who are apt to *procrastinate*, or *loiter*, it is an awakening call, obliging them the more strongly to *fix* upon some *certain* and determinate time for repentance: and to the *superficial* penitents, it is a kind of solemn lecture of *sincerity* and *carefulness*, under pain of being found *guilty* of trampling under foot the *body* and *blood* of Christ. And while it promises *forgiveness* to all that *worthily* receive, and to none else, it becomes a strong incitement to break off sins without delay, and to be particularly *watchful* and *careful* for the time to come. So far is the doctrine of remission in the Eucharist (when justly stated) from being any *encouragement* to *sin*, that it is quite the reverse, being indeed one of the strongest *encouragements* to a *good life*. But I proceed.

3. Socinus and his followers appear much offended at the doctrine of *remission* in the Eucharist, (for fear, I presume, of admitting any *merits* of Christ's death,) and they labour all possible ways to run it down; sometimes *misrepresenting* it, sometimes *ridiculing* it, and sometimes

putting on an air of *grave* reasoning. Socinus himself was content to throw a blunt censure upon it, as bordering upon *idolatry*[f]. An injurious reflection, for which there was no colour; unless he first wilfully *perverted* the meaning, and falsely charged the Protestants with the *opus operatum*.

Smalcius plainly put that false construction upon it, and then took the handle to *ridicule* it, as if any *remission* could be extracted from the *use* of such *common* things as the bare *symbols* are[g]. So ridiculous a mistake of the doctrine which he opposed, either showed no quickness of apprehension, or no sincerity. Schlictingius followed the same blunder, and still with greater levity[h]: a certain argument, that he had no solid reasons to produce on that head. The Racovian Catechism, of the first Latin edition, (A. D. 1609.) pleaded, that a man ought to be *sure* of his pardon[i] in heaven, before he takes the Sacrament, and therefore could have *no more* pardon to receive here: that must be their meaning, if they intended it for an argument. However, the argument, at best, is a very lame one. For whatever *certainty* of that nature any man may pretend to, it is capable of being *renewed* and *reinforced* by repeated assurances: and as we are taught *continually* to pray for *forgiveness*, so may we receive it *continually*, both in the *Word* and *Sacraments*; but more

[f] Plerique ipsorum in hisce quidem regionibus, credunt se, illâ digne obeundâ, suorum *peccatorium veniam* et remissionem consequi: haud valde diversum ab eo quod *Papistæ* sentiunt, qui eam propterea in sacrificium pro vivis et mortuis transformarunt, et *idolum* quoddam ex ea fecerunt. *Socin. Quod. Regn. Polon.* p. 701.

[g] Quis enim de sua carne, cum omnibus concupiscentiis, crucifigenda cogitet, si *usus panis* et *vini*, qui quotidie *obvius* est, possit *remissionem peccatorum*, &c. consequi? *Smalc. contr. Frantz.* p. 333.

[h] O facilem vero et expeditam adipiscendæ salutis rationem, si tot tantaque bona, mica panis, et gutta vini possis consequi. *Schlicting. contr. Meisner.* p. 799.

[i] Qui vult digne cœnæ Domini participare, eum *de remissione* peccatorum, ex parte Dei, *certum* ac *fide confirmatum* esse oportet. *Racov. Catech.* cap. iii.

particularly in the *Sacraments*. In the next edition of that Catechism, (A. D. 1659.) that trifling plea was struck out, and another was substituted in its room; which is to this effect, that *remission* cannot be conferred in the Eucharist, because *commemoration* only, and not remission, was the *end* of that rite by our Lord's account of it[k]. But here the suggestion is not true; for our Lord himself has sufficiently intimated, (as I have before proved,) that *remission of sins* is one end of that service, in the very words of the *institution*[l]: and if he had not so plainly said it, the very *nature* of the *act* proclaims it, taking in what St. Paul has taught. There are more *ends* than one to be served by the same Sacrament, whether it be of *Baptism* or of the *Eucharist:* and all are *consistent*, because *allied* and *subordinate*. Not to mention that *commemoration* itself, rightly considered, strongly infers and implies *present* benefits; as I have observed above[m]. Moreover, the Socinians themselves are forced to allow *other ends* of the Sacrament, over and above the *commemoration* of Christ's death: namely, a *declaration* of their communion with Christ their *head*, and with their *Christian* brethren; besides a further *declaration* of their spiritual *feeding* upon Christ, then and at all times, and of their looking upon his *death* as the *seal* of the *covenant*, and upon his *doctrine* as the *food* of the *soul*. Now if they think themselves at liberty to *invent* as many *ends* as they please, such as may *suit* with their other principles, why are we debarred from admitting such other ends of the Sacrament as *Scripture* plainly points out to us, and the *reason* also of the *thing* manifestly requires?

[k] Cum is finis ritus istius usurpandi sit, ut beneficium a Christo nobis præstitum *commemoremus*, seu *annuntiemus*, nec *ullus alius* præter hunc sit a Christo indicatus *finis;* apparet, non eo institutum esse ut aliquid illic *beneficii*, aliter quam quatenus digne observatus *pietatis Christianæ pars est*, a Christo sumamus. *Racov. Catech.* c. iv. sect. 6. p. 230.

[l] Matth. xxvi. 28.

[m] See above, p. 81.

From hence then it appears, that the Socinian pleas in this case carry more of *artificial* management in them, than of *truth* or *sobriety*.

However, it is visible from the last citation, that one principal drift is, to exclude *God*, and *Christ*, and the *Holy Spirit*, and all *Divine* influences, out of the *Sacrament*, and to make nothing more of it than a *performance* of *man*: and in this view they are content to account it *a part of Christian piety*. Ruarus, one of the shrewdest and learnedest of them, disliked their granting so much, and charged them, in a note of *correction*[n], with an *inconsistency*, in saying it: because every *pious observance* contributes, in some measure, towards *remission of sins*, and they had before absolutely denied any *benefit* at all that way. Schlictingius left this note of Ruarus without any *reply*; though he replied to several others which went along with it: which shows, either that he found it impossible to evade the doctrine of *remission* in this *Sacrament*, unless it were at the expence of *self-contradiction*; or else, that he was willing, at length, to admit of it, provided only they may claim remission as their *due reward* for the *service*, and not as indulged them for the *merits* of Christ's death and sacrifice therein commemorated. It must be owned, that Ruarus's hint on that head was acute, and came home to the purpose: for, as those men supposed *all other* requisites for remission to be implied in *worthy* receiving, and now added this *part of Christian piety* to the rest, it must of consequence follow, that *remission of sins* is granted upon it, by their own principles. So then, in the last result, they and we may seem to be nearly agreed as to the point of *remission* in or upon this service; and the only remaining difference will be about the *meritorious* cause of it: and that will resolve into another *question*, discussed, in some measure,

[n] Si *pars est Christianæ pietatis*, utique ad justificationem, atque ita ad *remissionem peccatorum* nobis prodest: quod tamen in initio quæstionis hujus, *simpliciter* negatum fuit. *Ruari Notæ*, p. 27.

above; namely, the question concerning the value, virtue, and efficacy of the *sacrifice* of Christ.

4. There is an insidious way made use of, by some of our Socinians, for the undermining the doctrine of *remission* in the Eucharist: they depreciate the *service*, and the *preparation* proper to it, making both so slight, that no man could justly expect so Divine a grant, from so contemptible a performance: "I know not," says one, "to "what purpose so many *superstitious* books are written "to teach men to *prepare* themselves for the *memorial* "*supper*, when an *honest* intention and a *reverent* per- "formance are sufficient both *preparations* and *qualifica-* "*tions* for and in all Gospel ordinances[o]." Here is no mention of *faith*, nor of *repentance* from dead works; without which, undoubtedly, there can be no *remission* of *sins*, whether in the Sacrament or out of it. The proper answer to this pretence will fall under the head of *worthy* receiving, in a distinct chapter below. In the mean while, let it be considered, whether they who require *sincere repentance* as a necessary qualification for the *holy Communion*, or they who labour to defeat that most excellent *end* and *use* of it, do most consult the *true* interest of *religion* and *virtue;* which the Socinians would be thought much to befriend in what they teach on this head.

I intended here to have closed this chapter, till it came into my mind that we have had some kind of dispute with the Romanists also, (as well as Socinians,) upon the point of *remission* in the Eucharist. For the Romanists, as it seems, being apprehensive, that if the people be taught to expect *pardon* from *God*, in receiving the *Communion*, they will think they need no other, and that thereupon *masses*, and *indulgences*, and other *absolutions* will sink in their *value;* I say, the Romanists considering this, have contrived, that *venial* sins only shall be *par-*

[o] The Argument of the Unitarians with the Catholic Church, part i. p. 12. printed A. D. 1697.

doned upon reception of the *Eucharist*, but that *mortal sins* shall be remitted another way. Chemnitius, in his Examen, has taken notice of this matter, and charged it upon them with very little ceremony [p]. Bellarmine, in reply, could not deny the main charge, as to their confining the eucharistical remission to *venial* sins only, or to *mortal* ones *unknown*; but passing over the secret *reasons* or *motives* for the doctrine, he employs all his *wit* and *learning* to give the fairest colours to it [q]. Gerhard came after, and defended Chemnitius in that article, confuting Bellarmine [r]. I perceive not that the learned Cardinal, with all his acuteness, was able to prove any thing with respect to the main question, more than this, (which has been allowed above,) that Baptism is *emphatically*, or *eminently*, the Sacrament of *remission*, and the Eucharist of *spiritual growth*: and while he is forced to acknowledge that *venial* sins are remitted in the Eucharist, and *unknown mortal* ones, as often as *necessary* [s], it is obvious to perceive, that it was not any *love* of *truth*, or *strength* of *argument* on that side, which withheld him from granting more. His strongest plea, which all the rest do in a manner resolve into, is no more than this; that as the *worthy* communicant is supposed to bring with him *true faith* and *sincere repentance* to the Lord's

[p] Remissionem peccatorum *graviorum* et *mortalium*, quæ post Baptismum commissa sunt, docent quærendam et impetrandam esse nostra *contritione*, *confessione*, *satisfactione*, *sacrificio missæ*, et aliis modis. Vident autem totam illam *veniarum* structuram collapsuram, si *remissio* illa et reconciliatio quæratur in *corpore* et *sanguine* Christi. Ne tamen nihil tribuant *Eucharistiæ*, loquuntur de *venialibus*, hoc est, sicut *Jesuitæ* interpretantur, de levioribus et minutioribus peccatis. Ut igitur *satisfactionis* suas et reliquas *veniarum nundinationes* retineant, acerbe dimicant, in vero usu Eucharistiæ non fieri applicationem *remissionis* peccatorum. *Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident.* part. ii. p. 70.

[q] Bellarmin. tom. iii. lib. iv. de Eucharist. c. 17, 18, 19.

[r] Gerhard. Loc. Comm. tom. v. de Sacr. Cœn. c. xx. p. 175, &c. Compare Vines, Treatise of the Lord's Supper, p. 328. printed 1657.

[s] Posset etiam dici Eucharistiam applicare hæreditatem, etiam quantum ad *remissionem peccatorum*, sed tum solum cum ea est *necessaria*; nimirum cum ii qui non indigne accedunt, habent aliqua peccata *mortalia*, quorum tamen conscientiam non habent. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. xix. p. 655.

table, he comes *pardoned* thither, and can have no *pardon* to take out there upon his receiving the Eucharist. I mention not how the argument recoils upon his own *hypothesis*. The true answer is, that the grace of *remission*, or *justification*, is *progressive*, and may be always *improving*, as before noted[t]: and whatever *pardon* we may conceive ourselves to be entitled to before, or to be then in possession of, yet it is no slight advantage to have the same solemnly *renewed*, *established*, *ratified*, and *sealed* in the holy Communion, by a *formal* application there made of the *merits* of the grand *atonement*, in which only, after our performing the *conditions*, our *remission* stands.

CHAP. X.

Of the Sanctifying Grace of the Holy Spirit conferred in the EUCHARIST.

THE Greek χάρις, the Latin *gratia*, the English *grace*, is a word of some latitude, admitting of various acceptations: I need not mention all, but such only as are most for our present purpose. *Grace*, in the general, signifies *favour*, *mercy*, *indulgence*, *bounty*: in particular, it signifies a *gift*, and more especially a *spiritual gift*, and in a sense yet more restrained, the *gift* of *sanctification*, or of such *spiritual aids* as may enable a man both to *will* and to *do* according to what God has commanded. The last

[t] See above, p. 242. Bishop Taylor's doctrine on this head, as it lies scattered in distant pages, may be worth noting. "Justification and sanctification are *continued acts*: they are like the issues of a fountain into its receptacles. God is always giving, and we are always receiving." *Worth. Comm.* p. 43. "The Sacrament ministers pardon, as pardon is ministered "in this world, *by parts*.——In the usual methods of God, pardon is *proportionable* to our repentance," p. 52. "If we find that we *increase* in "*duty*, then we may look upon the tradition of the sacramental symbols, as "a direct *consignation* of *pardon*. Not that it is *completed*: for it is a "*work of time*; it is *as long* a doing, as repentance is *perfecting*.——It is "*then working*: and if we go on in duty, God will proceed to *finish* his methods of grace, &c.——And this he is pleased, by the Sacrament, all the "way to *consign*," p. 74.

which I have named appears to be the most prevailing acceptation of the word *grace* at this day, derived from ancient usage, and common consent, which gives the law to forms of speech, and to the interpretation thereof. The use of the word in the New Testament is various, sometimes larger, sometimes stricter, often doubtful which. I will not be positive, as to several texts where the word *grace* occurs, and seemingly in the strict sense, that they must necessarily be taken according to such *precise* meaning, and can bear no *larger*, or no *other* construction: as where the "grace of our Lord Jesus "Christ" is spoken of[u]; or where *grace*, *mercy*, and *peace* are implored[x]; or *grace* and *peace*[y]; or where the *grace* of *God* is mentioned[z]. In several texts of that sort, the word *grace* may be understood in the *stricter* sense, but may also admit of the *larger:* in which, however, the *grace* of *sanctification* must be *included* among others. The texts which seem to be most expressive of the *limited* sense, now in use, are such as these: "Great grace was "upon them all[a]." "The grace of God bestowed on "the churches of Macedonia[b]." "My grace is suffi- "cient for thee[c]." "Grow in grace[d]." "Let us have "grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably[e]." "God "giveth grace unto the humble[f]." In these and the like places, the word *grace*, most probably, signifies what we now commonly mean by that name: or if any *larger* meaning be supposed, yet it is certainly *inclusive* of the other, signifying *that* and more. It is not very material whether we understand the word *grace*, in the New Testament, in the *comprehensive* or *restrained* sense, since it

[u] Rom. xvi. 20, 24. 1 Cor. xvi. 23. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Gal. vi. 18. Phil. iv. 23. 1 Thess. v. 28. 2 Thess. iii. 18. Philem. 25. Revel. xxii. 21.

[x] 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. Tit. i. 4. 2 John 3.

[y] 1 Pet. i. 2. 2 Pet. i. 2. Revel. i. 4.

[z] Acts xiii. 43. xiv. 26. xv. 40. xx. 24. 1 Cor. i. 4. iii. 10. xv. 10. 2 Cor. i. 12. vi. 1. Ephes. iii. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10. Tit. ii. 11.

[a] Acts iv. 33. compare verse 31. [b] 2 Cor. viii. 1.

[c] 2 Cor. xii. 9. [d] 2 Pet. iii. 18. [e] Hebr. xii. 28.

[f] Jam. iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 8.

would be disputing only about *words*, or *names*. The *sanctifying* operations of the Holy Spirit of God upon the minds of men may be abundantly proved from the New Testament: and so it is of less moment to inquire what *names* they go under, while we are *certain* of the *things*. The phrase of *grace*, or *sanctifying grace*, is sufficiently warranted by its ancient standing in the Church[g], so that I need not dwell longer upon it, but may proceed directly to show, that what we commonly call the *grace* of *sanctification* is conferred in the Eucharist.

1. I argue, first, from the *participation* of Christ's death, with its *fruits*, in the Eucharist, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 16. insinuated also in the words of the *institution*, as explained at large in a chapter above. They who so *partake* of Christ, do of course partake of the *Spirit* of Christ: it cannot be otherwise upon Christian principles taught in the New Testament. If any man is Christ's, he has the *Spirit of God dwelling in him*[h]. And this Spirit is the source and fountain of *righteousness* and true *holiness*[i]. And no one can be made an *acceptable offering* unto God, but he who is first *sanctified* by the *Holy Spirit*[k].

2. The same thing will be proved, by undeniable *consequence*, from our Lord's doctrine of the import of *spiritual feeding* laid down in John vi. For since it has been before shown, that they who do *receive worthily*, do *spiritually* feed upon Christ, and are thereby made partakers of all the *privileges* thereto belonging, it plainly follows that they must have Christ *dwelling* in them[l]; and if *Christ*, they have the *Spirit* also of Christ, who is *inseparable* from him. Therefore the *sanctification* of the *Spirit* is

[g] See some account of the ecclesiastical use of the word *grace*, in Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 519, &c. Vossius, Histor. Pelag. lib. iii. par. 1. Thes. ii. Joh. Just. Von Einem. Select. Animadv. ad Joh. Clerici Scripta. p. 761, &c. Magdeb. 1735.

[h] Rom. viii. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 17.

[i] Rom. viii. 10, 14. 1 Cor. vi. 11. 2 Thess. ii. 13.

[k] Rom. xv. 16. [l] John vi. 56.

conveyed in the Eucharist, along with the other spiritual blessings, which suppose and imply it, and cannot be understood without it, upon Scripture principles.

3. A farther argument may be drawn from the known *analogy* there is between the *two Sacraments*, taken together with those several *texts* which speak directly of the sanctification of the *Spirit* conferred in *Baptism* [m]; or an argument may be drawn *a fortiori*, in this manner: if the *putting on* Christ (which is done in Baptism) carries with it a conveyance of the *Holy Spirit;* much more does the *eating* or *drinking* Christ, which is done in the Eucharist.

4. But to argue yet more *directly*, (though *indirect* arguments, where the *connection* is clear and certain, as in this case, are not the less *conclusive*,) we may next draw a proof of the same doctrine from the express words of St. Paul, where he says, "By one Spirit are we all bap-"tized into one body—and have been all made to drink "into one Spirit [n]." That is to say, by one and the same *Spirit* before spoken of [o], we Christians (as many of us as are so more than in *name*) are in Baptism made one *mystical* body of Christ, and have been all made to *drink* of the sacramental cup in the Eucharist; whereby the *same Spirit* hath again *united* us, yet more perfectly, to *Christ* our *head*, in the same *mystical* body. Such appears to be the natural and obvious sense of the place: which accordingly has been so understood by judicious interpreters, *ancient* [p] and *modern* [q]. I shall not dissemble it, that several *ancient* interpreters, as well as some moderns, have understood the whole text of *Baptism* only; interpreting the former part of the *outward* washing, and the latter part of the *Spirit* accompanying it [r]. But, it seems, they

[m] John iii. 5. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Ephes. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5.

[n] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [o] 1 Cor. xii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11.

[p] Chrysostom. in loc. tom. v. p. 324. ed. Paris. Damascen. in loc.

[q] Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Gerhard, Grotius, Gataker, Hammond, Locke, Wells. *Vitringa, Observ. Sacr.* lib. v. cap. 7. p. 109, 114.

[r] Pelagius, under the name of Jerome; and Hilary the *deacon*, under the name of Ambrose: as likewise Theophylact in loc. and perhaps more.

did not well consider, that the concurrence of the *Spirit* in Baptism had been sufficiently insinuated before, in the former part of the verse; "By one Spirit are we all bap-"tized," &c. And therefore to interpret *Spirit* again of the same Sacrament, appears to border too nearly upon *tautology:* neither did they sufficiently reflect, how harsh a figure that of *drinking* is, if applied to Baptism; when *putting on* the Spirit (as is elsewhere said of Christ, with respect to that Sacrament [s]) might have been much more proper. They may seem also to have forgot, or not to have considered, how suitable and pertinent it was to the Apostle's argument, to refer to *both* Sacraments in that place, as I shall now make appear.

It might be highly proper, and much to the purpose, when the Apostle was mentioning *Baptism*, as *one* bond of mystical union, to take notice also of the *Eucharist*, as *another;* which it certainly was, according to his own doctrine in the same Epistle [t]. Indeed, it might be thought a kind of *omission*, and in some measure *diminishing* the force of his argument, in this place, had he referred but to *one* Sacrament, when there was just occasion, or the like occasion, for referring to *both*. His design was to set forth the inviolable *union* of Christians, and to represent the several *ties* by which they were bound together. He knew that the *Eucharist* was a strong *cement* of that *mystical union*, as well as the other Sacrament; for he had himself declared as much, by saying elsewhere, "We being many "are one body, being all partakers of that one bread." It was therefore very natural here again to take notice of the *Eucharist*, when he was enumerating the bonds of *union*, and amongst them particularly the Sacrament of *Baptism*, which would obviously lead to the mentioning this other Sacrament. Accordingly, he has briefly and elegantly made mention of this other, in the words, "made to drink "into one Spirit." Where made to *drink*, but in the *Eucharist?* He had formerly signified the mystical union

[s] Gal. iii. 27. [t] 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

under the emblem of *one loaf:* and now he chooses to signify the same again under the emblem of *one cup*, (an emblem, wherein Ignatius, within fifty years after, seems to have followed him[u],) both belonging to one and the same Eucharist, both referring to one and the same mystical head. Dr. Claget well argues against the Romanists, from this text, as follows: "St. Paul thought the "observation of the *two* institutions of our Saviour (viz. "*Baptism* and the *Communion* of the holy table) was a "sufficient proof that believers were *one body:* and we "have reason to believe, that if he had *known* there were "*other* Sacraments—he would not have *omitted* the men- "tion of them here, where he proves the *unity* of the "Church by *Baptism* and *communion* of the body and "blood of Christ. It is something to our purpose, that "St. Paul owns no more than these, where he industri- "ously proves that Christians are *one body* by these[x]." If this reasoning be just, as it appears to be, and if St. Paul knew (as he certainly did know) that the *Eucharist* has some share in making Christians *one body*, as well as the other *Sacrament*, it manifestly follows, that he could not well *omit* the mention of it in this place. I should take notice, that our very judicious Archbishop Sharpe has pressed the same argument, in a fuller and still stronger manner, from the same text[y]; and that the Protestants in general have made the like use of the text in their disputes with the Romanists, against *multiplying* Sacraments, or against *mutilating* the Sacrament of the Eucharist by taking away the *cup* from it[z]. So that besides *commentators*, in great numbers, thus interpreting

[u] Ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. *Ignat. ad Philadelph.* cap. 4.

[x] Claget, vol. i. Serm. x. p. 263.

[y] Sharpe, vol. vii. Serm. v. vi. p. 106, &c. Serm. x. p. 230.

[z] Nihil obstat quo minus synecdochice hoc loco *potionis* ac *poculi* nomine explicetur *Eucharistia*, (quod *Protestantes omnes* merito ex hoc loco pertendunt, contra *substractionem calicis* in Communione Romana,) ac alibi per solam panis fractionem designatur. Acts xi. 42, 46. xx. 7. *Maresius, Hydra Socinianismi*, tom. iii. p. 835.

this text, there is the concurring judgment of many or most *Protestant Divines* confirming the same construction.

Nevertheless Socinus, having formed a project to throw off *water-baptism*, laboured extremely to elude the interpretation before mentioned. He considered, that if the *latter* part of it were interpreted of the *external* service of the *Eucharist*, then the *former* part must of course be understood of *external* Baptism: besides that he was not willing to allow that any inward *grace* went along with either Sacrament. Such were his *motives* for eluding the true meaning of this text: his *pretexts*, or *colourings*, were as here follow:

1. He pleaded, that partaking of the Eucharist is never once represented in the New Testament by that *particular part* of it, the *drinking*. He acknowledges that the *whole Service* is sometimes signified by the *other part*, (the *nobler part*, in his judgment,) *viz.* the *eating*, or *breaking bread*; but that it should be signified by *drinking only*, the meaner part of the Sacrament, he could not be persuaded to allow [a].

But he seems to me to have been over delicate in this matter, and more scrupulous than need required. For, since the *whole* Service (as he is forced to confess) may be signified by *one part*, while the *other* is understood; why not by the *drinking*, as well as by the *eating*? Or why must the *eating* be looked upon as the *nobler* and *better* part of the two, in this instance especially, when the *blood* of Christ (the most *precious* blood of Christ, so much spoken of in the New Testament) is the thing *signified* [b]? But suppos-

[a] Cur quæso Paulus cœnam Dominicam cum Baptismo collaturus *potionis* tantum mentionem fecisset, non etiam *comestionis*, sive *cibi*, quæ *præcipua* ex duabus quodammodo cœnæ illius partibus censenda est, et cujus *solius* nomine alicubi *tota cœna* intelligitur, ut 1 Cor. xi. 33.——Frequentissime in Sacris Literis *solius cibi*, aut etiam *panis* mentione facta, ipse quoque *potus* intelligitur: id quod, saltem in cœna Domini, nunquam *potionis solius* nomine fieri contingit. *Socin. de Bapt. Aquæ*, cap. viii. Conf. Volkel. de Ver. Relig. lib. vi. cap. 14. p. 684. alias 835.

[b] It may be noted, that the *ancients*, when they made any distinction, sup-

ing the *eating*, or the *meat*, to be the nobler of the two, then the New Testament, one would think, has paid a proper respect to it, by denominating the *whole* from it *more than once*; though taking the liberty to pay *some* regard also to the *other part*, by denominating the *whole* from it *once* at least, if no more. The Apostle might have particular reasons for doing it here, because having mentioned *washing* just before, as belonging to one Sacrament, he might think that *drinking* would best answer to it in the other Sacrament, as *water* and *wine* are more analogous than *water* and *bread*[c]. Or since the Apostle had signified *Christian unity* before[d], under the emblem of sacramental *meat*, he might choose the rather now to represent the *same unity* under the emblem of sacramental *drink*, being that there is as properly *one cup*, as there is *one loaf*.

2. Socinus and Volkelius farther plead, that had the Apostle intended to speak of the *Lord's Supper*, he would have used the word ποτιζόμεθα, to denote the time *present*, not ἐποτίσθημεν, which refers to time *past*: for the Lord's Supper is what Christians *continually* partake of with *repeated* attendance, and so is never wholly *past* or *done with*, like Baptism, which is but *once* submitted to[e].

Now, in answer to this reasoning, I shall not insist, as I

posed the *cup*, the *drinking*, to be the *nobler* part of the two, as being the *finishing* and *perfecting* part. See Salmasius de Transubstantiatione contr. Grot. p. 280—284.

[c] Conf. Hoornbeeck, Socin. Confut. tom. iii. p. 381.

[d] 1 Cor. x. 17.

[e] Si Paulus cœnam Dominicam intellexisset, non verbo *præteriti* temporis, *potavimus*, sed *potamus* præsentis usus fuisset: cum ea cœna non a quolibet Christiano homine plane et omnino jam *manducata fuerit* aliquando, sed identidem in posterum, ubi facultas detur, manducari debeat. *Socinus de Bapt. Aquæ*, cap. viii. p. 88, 89.

Adde quod non *potavimus*, sed *potamus* dixisset, si de cœna Dominica locutus fuisset.——Actiones quippe quas semel perfecisse satis est, *præteriti* potius quam *præsentis* temporis verbo exprimi solent: hæc vero, cum et in posterum, qualibet se offerente occasione peragenda sit, rectius et communi consuetudini loquendi convenientius *præsentis* temporis verbo effertur. *Volkelius*, lib. vi. cap. 14. p. 685. alias 836.

justly might, upon the known latitude of the *aorists*, which are *indefinite* as to time; nor upon any *enallage* of *tenses*, which is frequent in Scripture; but allowing that St. Paul is to be understood of the *time past*, in that instance, I say, it is no just objection against interpreting the text of the *Eucharist*. The Apostle is there speaking of the union of Christians as then *actually subsisting*, and therefore *made* before he spake of it; made by *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, considered as *previous* to that union, and therefore *past*. He had nothing to do with *future* communions, so far as his argument was concerned: none but *past* communions could have any share in making or strengthening that *union*, which *subsisted* before he spake of it. Therefore it might be proper in both the instances, to make use of a *verb* of the *preter tense*, referring to time *past*. *Communions*, which *are not*, or only *will be*, or *may be*, unite nothing, effect nothing in the *mean season*, but would have been *foreign* to the Apostle's argument, which looked only to what had *been done*, and had had its *effect* already upon the *union* then subsisting. The Eucharist in that view was a thing *past*, as much as *Baptism*; and so the *verbs* in both instances were rightly chosen, and aptly answer to each other[f]: *We have been all baptized*, and *We have been all made to drink*[g], &c.

3. Socinus and Volkelius farther urge, (which looks the most like an argument of any thing they have,) that the Apostle, in that chapter, refers only to the *extraordinary* gifts of the Spirit, and therefore cannot reasonably be understood either of *Baptism* or the *Eucharist*, which were *common* to all Christians, and not to the *gifted* only[h].

[f] Conf. Hoornbeeck, tom. iii. p. 387. Maresius, Hydra, tom. iii. p. 836.

[g] Πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν——πάντες εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν. As to some few copies here reading σῶμα for πνεῦμα, I refer to Dr. Mill, who vindicates the present reading. But the sense might be the same either way, because the preceding words, *by one Spirit*, might be applied to both parts of the sentence.

[h] De donis *spiritualibus*; ut unicuique totum caput accurate legenti constare poterit. *Socinus*, cap. viii. p. 84. Paulus isto in loco de *variis* Spiritus Sancti *donis* disserit, quibus Deus per Filium suum *primam* illam *Ecclesiam*

But it is unfortunate for this objection, that the Apostle should so emphatically word it twice over, *We have all*, &c. as it were on purpose to prevent its being understood to relate to the *gifted* only. The *universality* of the Apostle's expression is a much stronger argument for interpreting him of the *Sacraments*, than any thing else in the context can be for understanding the words of the *extraordinary* gifts: for it is plain, and is on all hands confessed, that the extraordinary gifts were not *common* to *all*, or to *many*, but rather peculiar to a *few* only in comparison. But to answer more directly to the pretence drawn from the *context*, it may be observed, that the *design* of the Apostle in that chapter does not only well suit with the interpretation we contend for, but is *better* cleared upon that foot, than upon any other. His *design* was to prevent, as much as possible, any *emulation* between the *gifted* and *ungifted* brethren. How does he execute it? By representing how many things were *common* to all, and how far *all of them* participated of the *Spirit*, one way or other. 1. They *all* owned *Christ Jesus* for their *Lord*, which none could do "but by the Holy Ghost[i];" therefore they were so far upon a level, with respect to the favour of the *Holy Spirit*. 2. Those extraordinary gifts, imparted to a *few*, were really intended for the *common* benefit of the *whole body*: they were *given to every one* of the gifted, *to profit* others *withal*[k]. The same Spirit was present to the *whole Church*, to all *true* members of it, in both *Sacraments*[l]; so that they did not only reap the *benefits* of what the *gifted* men did, but they had themselves an immediate *communion* with the self-same Spirit, in as *useful*, though not altogether so *glaring* a way. 4. However pompous those *shining* gifts might appear, and be apt to dazzle, yet there were *other* gifts more *excellent*[m] by far than they, and *common* to all good Chris-

mirum in modum locupletaverat. *Volkelius*, lib. vi. cap. 14. p. 675, alias 815.

[i] 1 Cor. xii. 3.
[k] 1 Cor. xii. 7.
[l] 1 Cor. xii. 13.
[m] 1 Cor. xii. 31.

tians; namely, the gifts of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity* [n], from the same Spirit [o]. Such appears to be the scope and connection of the Apostle's discourse in that chapter and the chapter following: and it is so far from proving that the *text* which we are now considering belongs not to the *Sacraments*, that, on the contrary, it very much *confirms* that construction [p].

Enough, I presume, hath been said for the vindicating our construction of this text against the forced glosses and unnatural evasions of Socinus and his *followers*: though some of them, either more acute or more ingenuous than the rest, have not scrupled to give up the *new* construction, so far, as to understand the text of both *Sacraments* [q].

The *construction* of the text being thus far fixed and settled, it remains now that we draw the just *conclusion* from it, and so wind up our argument. If the *drinking* of the sacramental cup is drinking into *one Spirit*, the Spirit of God, then the Eucharist duly administered and duly received, is a *medium* by which we ordinarily partake of the *same Spirit*, and consequently of the *sanctifying* gifts or graces of the Spirit. By this we understand, how he that *is joined unto* Christ our *Lord* is *one spirit* [r] with him: because that *Spirit* who is *essentially* one with him is *sacramentally* united with us. And as Christ *dwelleth* in all those who *spiritually* feed upon him [s], so are all such the *temple* of the *Holy Ghost* [t]; and while they are so, they

[n] 1 Cor. xiii. 1—13.

[o] That appears to be insinuated by the Apostle there: but elsewhere he expressly teaches, that all such Christian virtues are the *fruits of the Spirit*. Gal. v. 22. Ephes. v. 9.

[p] Compare Clem. Alexandrin. Pædag. lib. i. cap. 11. p. 106, 107.

[q] Nec ausim multum ab iis dissentire, qui in istis verbis non ad *Baptismum* tantum, sed ad *cœnam Domini* quoque respici putant: utrumque enim institutum nos tam ad *unitatem* et *communionem* unius corporis Ecclesiæ accedere, quam in unitate corporis ejusdem manere testatur. *Sam. Przipcovius in loc.* p. 93.

[r] 1 Cor. vi. 17. [s] John vi. 56.

[t] 1 Cor. iii. 16. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Ephes. ii. 21, 22. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

are *sanctified* both in body and soul. Such *sanctification* carries in it all that the Scripture reckons up among the *fruits* of the Spirit, as *enriching* the *soul*[u]; and likewise all that concerns the *immortalizing* of the *body*[x], and *sealing* the whole man to future glory[y]. All these blessings and privileges are conferred in the Eucharist, to them who receive *worthily;* because the *Spirit* is conferred in it, who is the fountain of them all, and whose *gracious* presence supposes them.

In confirmation of what hath been advanced upon Scripture principles, it may now be proper to descend to *Fathers,* who had the same *Scriptures* before them, and whose sentiments, if concurring, may be of use to give us the more abundant satisfaction in the present article. I have occasionally, in the course of these papers, cited several passages which speak expressly or implicitly of *sanctification,* as conferred *in* or by the Eucharist. I shall not here repeat the same at full length, but shall throw them together in a summary way, to serve as hints for recollection. What has been cited above[z] from Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus, of the *beneficial* nature of the Sacrament, necessarily infers or implies the *graces* of the Holy Spirit.

Clemens of Alexandria, upon another occasion, has been cited, expressly saying that they who receive the Eucharist with *faith,* are "sanctified both in body and soul[a]." Tertullian says, that the *body* is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the "soul may be replenished with "God[b]." In like manner, Origen asserts, that the Eucharist does *sanctify* them that "use it as they ought[c]."

[u] Gal. v. 22. Ephes. v. 9. [x] Rom. viii. 10, 11.

[y] Ephes. i. 13, 14. iv. 30. 2 Cor. i. 22.

[z] See above, p. 114, 157—165.

[a] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 178. See above cap. vii. p. 166.

[b] Tertullian. de Resurr. Carn. cap. viii. p. 330. See above, cap. vii. p. 170.

[c] Origen. in Matt. p. 254. contr. Cels. lib. viii. p. 766. See above cap. v. p. 96, 97.

The same thing is intimated by Cyprian of that time, under some variety of expression[d]. Cyril of Jerusalem expressly says, that the heavenly bread and salutary cup "sanctify both body and soul[e]." Gaudentius Brixiensis, whom I have not quoted before, says of the eucharistical food, that it "sanctifies even them who consecrate it[f]." Lastly, Cyril of Alexandria maintains, that faithful communicants are "sanctified by being partakers of the holy "flesh and precious blood of Christ, the Saviour of us "all[g]." These testimonies might suffice to show how unanimous the ancients were, in asserting *sanctification*, as conferred in the *Eucharist*.

But for the farther *confirmation* or *illustration* of this particular, I shall now proceed to consider what the *ancients* taught concerning the *descent* or *illapse* of the *Holy Spirit* upon the *symbols* or upon the *communicants* in this holy solemnity. Which I the rather choose to do, that I may at the same time clear up that important article, in some measure, and remove some common mistakes.

To give the reader a just idea of the whole thing, it will be necessary to begin with the Sacrament of *Baptism*, wherein the like *descent* or *illapse* of the Holy Ghost was expected, and where the like *invocation* obtained very early; sooner, I conceive, than in the service of the *Eucharist*, so far as may be judged from the records now remaining. The *form* of *Baptism*, probably, might give the first handle for it, as it ran in the name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*. Or, there appeared sufficient warrant in the New Testament, for beseeching God to *send*

[d] Cyprian. Ep. 54, 63. See above, cap. vii. p. 174.

[e] Cyrill. Hieros. Mystag. iv. p. 321. See above cap. vii. p. 176. Conf. Hilar. Diac. Supr. p. 32.

[f] Consecrantes sanctificat consecratus. *Gaudent. Brix. de Exod.* ii. p. 806.

[g] Ἁγιαζόμεθα μέτοχοι γενόμενοι τῆς τι ἁγίας σαρκὸς, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ. *Cyrilli et Synod. Alexandr. Epist. apud Binium.* vol. ii. p. 210. Conf. Theophil. Alexandrin. Pasch. 1. inter Opp. Hieron. tom. iv. p. 698.

the *Holy Spirit*, since our Lord had promised that his heavenly Father would "give the Holy Spirit to them that "*would* ask him[h]." Where could they more properly ask it, than in their *Sacramental* Offices, in that of *Baptism* especially, when the New Testament makes such frequent mention of the *Holy Spirit*, as assisting to it, or presiding in it[i]? Indeed, we find no *express* mention in the New Testament of any ordinary *descent* or *illapse* of the Spirit in either *Sacrament*, nor any *direct* precept for a special *invocation* of that kind: neither can we be *certain* of *apostolical* practice, as to that particular. The custom might commence in the *apostolical* age, or it might come in later: but whenever it commenced, it seems to have been grounded upon such *Scripture principles* as I have just now hinted.

Tertullian (about A. D. 200.) is, I think, the first who speaks any thing *plainly* and *fully* to this matter[k]. He supposes that ever since "the Spirit of God moved upon "the face of the waters[l]," all waters have been privileged for receiving the Spirit, and becoming *signs* and *instruments* of sanctification, upon *prayer* made to *God:* particularly, in *Baptism*, after *prayer* has been sent up, the *Holy Ghost* comes down upon the *waters*, and *sanctifies* them, yea and gives them a *sanctifying* quality. But he supposes the *angel of Baptism* to be sent beforehand[m], to *prepare* the *way* for the reception of the Spirit; which he endeavours to illustrate from some resembling cases in the New Testament[n]. After the *angel's* performing his part[o]

[h] Luke xi. 13. [i] See above, in this chapter, p. 269.

[k] Omnes aquæ de pristina originis prærogativa sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur, *invocato Deo:* supervenit enim statim *Spiritus* de cœlis, et *aquis superest*, sanctificans eas de *semetipso;* et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt. *Tertullian. de Baptism.* cap. iv. p. 225.

[l] Gen. i. 2.

[m] Tertull. ibid. cap. vi. Angelus Baptismi arbiter superventuro Spiritui Sancto vias dirigit ablutione delictorum, quam fides impetrat, obsignata in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto, p. 226.

[n] John v. 4. Matt. iii. 3.

[o] It is frequent with the *ancients*, to speak of the offices of *angels*, which

upon the *waters*, the *Holy Spirit* descended in person on the parties coming to be baptized, and rested, as it were, upon the *waters* [p]. So writes our author: and the true meaning or result of all is, that the *Holy Spirit*, by his coming, *sanctifies* the *persons* in the *use* of those waters, or use of that service [q]. Allowances must be made for something of oratorical flight and figure, contrived for ornament, and to make the more lively impression: it would be wrong to conceive, that every *pool*, *pond*, or *river*, in which any person happened to be baptized, contracted any *abiding* holiness from that time forwards, or that it was not left open to all *common* uses as before. It is evident that Tertullian, where he came to explain his notion, and, as it were, to correct his looser and less accurate expressions, did not suppose the *waters* to be so much as the *medium*, properly speaking, of *sanctification*; but he conceived the *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon the *persons* to come afterwards, when the *washing* was over, and done with [r]. I shall only note farther, with respect to these passages of Tertullian, that it cannot be *certainly* conclud-

they supposed to be employed in *ministering* to God, for the *heirs of salvation*, according to Heb. i. 14. And according to their respective *offices*, they assigned them *names*, having no other rule to go by. So they sometimes mention, besides the *angel of Baptism*, (which means *any* or *every* angel so employed,) the *angel* also of *prayer*, *angel* of *repentance*, *angel* of *peace*, and *angel* of *light*, or the like: such manner of speaking and thinking was just and innocent, till the succeeding *abuses* by *angel-worship* made it almost necessary for wise men to lay it aside.

[p] Tunc ille sanctissimus Spiritus super emundata et benedicta corpora libens a Patre descendit, super Baptismi aquas, tanquam pristinam sedem recognoscens conquiescit, columbæ figura dilapsus in Dominum, ut natura, &c. *Tertull. ibid.* cap. viii. p. 227.

[q] Eadem dispositione *spiritalis effectus*, terræ, id est, *carni* nostræ, emergenti de lavacro post vetera delicta, columba Sancti Spiritus advolat, *pacem Dei* adferens, emissa de cœlis, ubi Ecclesia est *arca* figurata. *Tertull. ibid.* cap. viii. p. 227.

[r] Restituitur homo Deo, ad similitudinem ejus qui retro ad imaginem Dei fuerat.——Recipit enim *illum* Dei *Spiritum*, quem tunc de afflatu ejus acceperat, sed post amiserat per delictum. Non quod *in aquis* Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo, Spiritui Sancto præparamur. *Ibid.* cap. v. vi. p. 226.

ed from them, that a *formal* prayer for the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit* was in use at that time: but from his saying that immediately after *invocation* of *God*, such descent followed, and from his adding afterwards, that in or by the *benediction*, the Spirit was *called* and *invited*[s], I look upon it as extremly *probable*[t], that the practice did then obtain, in the African churches, formally to pray for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, either *before* the immersion or *after*, (upon the *imposition* of hands,) or perhaps both before and after.

Our next author is Origen, (about A. D. 240.) not that he directly says any thing of the *descent* of the *Spirit* in Baptism, or of any *prayer* made use of for that purpose: but he occasionally drops some things which may give light to the present question. His notion was, that the *Holy Spirit*, whose office it is to *sanctify*, operates not at all upon *inanimate* things, nor upon *persons* of obdurate wickedness, but upon those only who are capable of receiving his *sanctifying* influences[u]. Now from his saying that the *Holy Spirit* operates not on things *inanimate*, it must follow, that he thought not at that time of any *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* upon the *waters* of Baptism, but upon the *persons* only, those that were *worthy*. Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, in the decline of the fourth century, charged his doctrine with that consequence, and thereupon condemned it, as overturning the *consecration* of the waters of Baptism, supposed to be made by the *coming* of the Holy Ghost upon them[x]. But it is certain

[s] Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem *advocans* et *invitans* Spiritum Sanctum, cap. viii. p. 226, 227.

[t] It might be, that upon a benediction formed in *general* terms, Christians might expect the illapse of the Spirit: but it appears more natural to think, from what Tertullian here says, that they directly and formally prayed for it.

[u] Vid. Origen. περὶ ἀρχ. p. 62. edit. Bened. Conf. Huetii Origeniana, p. 46. Albertin. lib. ii. p. 357.

[x] Dicit (Origenes) Spiritum Sanctum non operari in ea quæ *inanima* sunt, nec ad *irrationabilia* pervenire: quod adserens, non recogitat aquas in Baptismate mysticas *adventu* Sancti Spiritus consecrari. *Theoph. Alex. Lib. Paschal.* i. p. 698. apud Hieronym. Opp. tom. iv. edit. Bened.

that Origen did admit of a *consecration* of the *water*[y], though he might not perhaps explain it in the manner which Theophilus most approved of, 150 years after: and it is his constant doctrine, that the *Baptism* of the *Spirit* goes along with the outward *washing*, wherever there is no obstacle on the part of the recipient[z]. Nay, he scrupled not to admit, that *the Spirit of God* now *moves upon the face of the waters*[a] of Baptism, alluding to Gen. i. 2. so that Origen could not be much out of the way upon this article: but this we may collect from him, that, properly speaking, the work of the *Spirit* in Baptism was upon the *persons*, when fitly qualified, rather than upon the *outward* element; and that the *Spirit's* coming upon the *water*, and other the like phrases, ought not to be too rigorously interpreted, but should be understood with due grains of allowance.

A late learned writer, apologizing for Origen, takes notice, that Chrysostom was very *positive* for the *illapse* of the *Spirit* on the *outward* symbols; a plain sign that he did not think Origen to be guilty of the *error* charged upon him[b]. I rather think, that Chrysostom understood the *popular* way of expressing the *illapse* of the *Spirit*, in the same *qualified* sense that Origen before did; and that was one reason why he would not come into the warm measures of Theophilus, Epiphanius, and other Eustathians[c] of that time, about the year 400. And whereas it

[y] Vid. Origen. in Johann. p. 124. edit. Huet. And compare what he says of the *eucharistical* consecration, (in Matt. p. 254.) where the reason is the same. See also Albertinus, p. 358.

[z] Vid. Origen. in Matt. p. 391, 416. in Johann. p. 124, 125.

[a] Καὶ παλιγγενεσίας ὀνομαζόμενον λουτρὸν μετὰ ἀναπαινώσεως γινόμενον πνεύματος, τοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐπιφερομένου, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θεοῦ ἐστιν, ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγγινομένου. *Ibid.* p. 125.

Note, that the Latin version has obscured the sense of the passage, not observing, perhaps, the *allusion* to Genesis.

[b] Johnson, Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 181. alias 186.

[c] A short account of the *odium* raised against Origen may be seen in my Second Defence, vol. iii. p. 324, &c. and a larger in Huetius Origeniana.

is suggested by the same *learned writer*[d], that a *solemn consecration* of things inanimate to *holy uses*, without supposing a formal *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon them, is a *degrading* account of a venerable mystery, and leaves no difference between the consecration of a *church* and the consecration of *baptismal water*, &c. I must take leave to reply, that the conclusion is not just: for in things so consecrated to *holy uses*, there will always be as much *difference* as there is between *more* and *less* sacred, according as the *ends* and *uses* are *higher* or *lower*, *holier* or *less* holy. The *higher* and *holier* the use is to which any thing is consecrated by proper ministers, so much the more *worthy* it is, and so much the *nearer* and more *important* relation it bears to God and religion; demanding thereupon so much the *greater* reverence and more *awful* regard.

St. Cyprian (A. D. 255.) speaks of a sacerdotal *cleansing* and *sanctification* of the baptismal water; which he supposes to be wrought by the *Holy Spirit*[e], and very frequently makes mention of it, up and down in his works. But he says nothing from whence one may certainly collect whether any formal *prayer* for the *descent* was then in use; neither does he explain in what sense the Holy Ghost was understood to *sanctify* the baptismal *waters*. Only, as he intimates over and over, that the *end* and *use* of sanctifying the water, was to convey *spiritual graces* to the *persons* coming to be baptized in it; and as it is certain that those *spiritual graces* could not reside in or upon the outward element, it is more than probable that he supposed the *Spirit* to rest where those *spiritual* effects rested, that is, upon the *persons* only: and then the *sanctifying* of the *waters* can mean no more than the *consecrating* them to the uses of *personal* sanctification. The *Spirit* made use of them as a *symbol*, for conveying his *graces*;

[d] Johnson, ibid. p. 182. alias 185.

[e] Oportet ergo *mundari* et *sanctificari* aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit Baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere.——Quomodo autem *mundare* et *sanctificare* aquam potest, qui ipse immundus est, et apud quem *Spiritus Sanctus* non est? *Cyprian. Epist.* lxx. p. 190.

and in that *use* consisted their *relative holiness*: but the Spirit dwells not properly upon *them*, but upon the *persons* baptized.

When we come down to the *fourth* century, there we find plainer evidences of formal prayers offered for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* upon the *waters* of Baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem, (who wrote A. D. 348.) speaks to his catechumens thus[f]: "The Holy Ghost is coming to *seal* "your souls:——look not upon the laver as *common* wa- "ter, but to the *spiritual grace* bestowed along with it. "——This common water, upon receiving the invocation "of the *Holy Spirit*, and of *Christ*, and of the *Father*, ac- "quires a virtue of sanctification." It may be doubted whether Cyril here refers to the *prayer* of *Consecration* or to the *form* of *Baptism*: but it appears most probable, that he refers to the *Consecration*; as the Benedictine editor has endeavoured to prove at large, in his notes upon the place. What I have further to observe upon it is, that Cyril speaks of the *water* as receiving a *sanctifying virtue*. And what does he mean by it? He means what he had just before said, that the *outward* washing and the *inward* graces go together, and are both conferred at once upon the *worthy* receiver in the self-same act. The *visible* sign is *connected*, in certain effect, with the *invisible* grace; and both are applied, at the same instant, to the same man, jointly concurring to the same end and use[g]. This is the foundation of the common way of speaking, as if the Spirit and the water were *physically* united with each other; which is not strictly true in *notion*, but amounts to the same in *moral* effect.

Optatus, an African Bishop, (A. D. 368.) alluding to the name ἰχθὺς, (a technical name of our Lord,) says; "This "fish (meaning Christ) is brought down upon the waters

[f] Μέλλει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σφραγίζειν ὑμῶν τὰς ψυχάς.——μὴ ὡς ὕδατι λιτῷ προσίχῃς τῷ λουτρῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος δεδομένῃ πνευματικῇ χάριτι——τὸ λιτὸν ὕδωρ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πατρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν λαβὸν δύναμιν. ἁγιότητος ἐπικτᾶται. *Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech.* iii. sect. 3. p. 40, 41.

[g] Vid. Vossius Harmon. Evangel. lib. iii. cap. 4. p. 233. Opp. tom. vi.

" of the font, in Baptism, by invocation[h]." I presume this refers to the *Consecration prayer*[i]: and so it imports an expectance of, or petition for the *divine* presence of Christ, to sanctify the person baptized in the *use* of the appointed service.

St. Basil, of the same age, (A. D. 374.) speaks of the conjunction of *water* and the *Spirit* in Baptism; first observing, (in order to obviate mistakes or invidious constructions,) that the Church did not mean to prefer *water* before all other *creatures;* much less to give it a share in the honours due to the *Father* and the *Son*[k]: but he takes notice, that the *water* serves to make out the *symbol* of a *death* unto *sin*, and the *Spirit* is the *pledge* or *earnest* of *life*[l]: therefore *water* and the *Spirit* go together in that Sacrament. Then he adds, that as to the *grace* supposed to be in the *water*, it belongs not properly to the *water*, but is entirely owing to the *presence* of the *Spirit*[m]. Presence *how*, and *where?* To the *water*, or to the *persons?* His next immediate words will decide the question; for he adds, in the language of St. Peter, that " Baptism is " not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the sti- " pulation of a good conscience towards God[n]." The *Spirit* therefore, in his account, must rest upon the *persons*, to answer the *end*. He proceeds, soon after, to observe how much the Baptism of the *Spirit* is preferable to baptizing merely with *water;* and he takes notice, that there is a *Baptism*, as valuable as any, wherein no *water* at all is needful, namely, *Baptism* in one's own *blood*, as a *mar-*

[h] Hic est piscis qui in Baptismate, per invocationem, fontalibus undis inseritur, &c. *Optat.* lib. iii. p. 61.

[i] See Bingham, Christian Antiq. b. xi. c. 10. sect. i. p. 333. conf. 340.

[k] Καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ βαπτιζόμεθα, καὶ οὐδήπου τὸ ὕδωρ πάσης ὁμοῦ τῆς κτίσεως προτιμήσομεν, ἢ καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ τιμῆς μεταδώσομεν. *Basil. de Spir. Sanct.* cap. xv. p. 28. tom. iii. edit. Bened.

[l] Basil. ibid. p. 29.

[m] Ὥστε εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι χάρις, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος παρουσίας. οὐ γάρ ἐστι τὸ βάπτισμα ῥύπου σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν. *Basil. ibid.* p. 29.

[n] 1 Pet. iii. 21.

tyr for the name of Christ. Then he closes up the article he was upon in these words: "Not that I say this, "in order to disparage *water-baptism*, but to baffle the "reasonings of those who rise up against the *Spirit*, and "who would *blend* things together which are *not blended*, "and *compare* things together which admit not of *com-*"*parison*[o]."

I have laid these things together, as *explanatory* of what the ancient Fathers meant by *joining* the *Spirit* with the outward *elements* in the *Sacraments*, (for the reason is the same in *both*,) and as serving to clear up some of their other more *dubious* or *less guarded* expressions. Here, when an objection was raised by adversaries[p], grounded on nothing but *words* and *names*, this good Father then rejected with abhorrence any such *mixture* of the *Spirit* and the *water*, as the Catholics were maliciously charged with: and he declared they were ἄμικτα, *not mixed* with each other. At the same time, he insinuated the true meaning of all to be, that the *Spirit* and the *water* so far went together[q], as to be *applied* at once to the same man, in the same service; but that the *Spirit* properly rested upon the *person* baptized, and not upon the outward *element*. Had the Romanists been as careful to distinguish in the matter of the *Eucharist*, as Basil here was with respect to *Baptism*, they would have seen no more reason for *adoration* of the *Host*, than Basil could

[o] Καὶ οὐκ ἀθετῶν τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι βάπτισμα, ταῦτα λέγω· ἀλλὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς καθαιρῶν τῶν ἐπαιρομένων κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ μιγνύντων τὰ ἄμικτα, καὶ παρεμβαλόντων τὰ ἀσυγκρίτα. *Basil.* p. 30.

[p] As the Catholics had argued justly for the *divinity* of the Holy Ghost, from our being *baptized* into the *Spirit*, and sanctified by the Spirit, the Macedonians, on the other hand, frowardly retorted, that we are baptized also εἰς ὕδωρ, *in*, or *into water*, and sanctified by *water*; and therefore *water* would be *divine*, by that argument, as much as the Spirit. It was in reply to such impertinent cavils, that Basil took occasion to explain what concerned the *water* and what the *Spirit* in that Sacrament.

[q] This is clearly expressed by Nazianzen of the same time.

Διττὴ καὶ ἡ κάθαρσις, δι' ὕδατός τε φημὶ, καὶ πνεύματος, τοῦ μὲν θεωρητῶς τι καὶ σωματικῶς λαμβανομένου, τοῦ δὲ ἀσωμάτως καὶ ἀθεωρήτως συντρέχοντος. *Nazianz. Orat.* xl. *in Baptism.* p. 641. Conf. Greg. Nyss. tom. ii. p. 801. de Bapt. Christi.

find for *adoration* of *water*. He rejected the latter with the utmost disdain; and so should they likewise have rejected the former. But I proceed.

In the same treatise, the same excellent writer speaks of the *consecration*, or *benediction*, that passes upon the *waters* of Baptism, analogous to that of the *Eucharist*, which he had spoken of a little before. "We also bless," says he, "the water of Baptism, and the oil of Chrism, "and the person likewise whom we baptize[r]." But yet he understood the difference (as may appear from what hath been before said) between the *relative* holiness thereupon accruing to the *water*, or the *oil*, and the *grace* of the *Spirit* accruing to the person baptized. Having dwelt thus largely upon Basil, who may serve as a key to all the rest, I shall but touch upon others who came after, contenting myself with a bare *recital* of their testimonies, as needing no farther comment.

Gregory Nyssen, of the same time, (Basil's younger brother,) speaking of Baptism, says; "It is not the *water* "that confers this *benefit*, (for then would it be superior "to the whole creation,) but it is the appointment of "God, and the supervening of the *Spirit*, mystically ad- "vancing to our rescue: however, the water serves to "*signify* the *cleansing*[s]." A little after he observes, that the Spirit invisible being *called* by faith, *comes* in a manner ineffable, and *blesses* both the *person* and the *water*: and the water so *blessed* purifies and illuminates the man[t]:

[r] Εὐλογοῦμεν καὶ τό τε ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, καὶ προσέτι αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. *Basil. de Sp. Sanct.* cap. 27. p. 55.

Cum veteres aiunt sanguinem Christi et Spiritum Sanctum se *aquæ miscere*, populare est loquendi genus; quod ita capere oportet quasi dicerent, quando aqua abluimur foris, oculis fidei intuendum esse *sanguinem* et *spiritum* Christi, quia hæc cum aqua *concurrunt*, haud secus, ac si miscerentur cum aqua. *Voss. de Bapt. Disp.* v. p. 274. Conf. de Sacram. Vi et Efficacia, p. 252, 253. tom. vi.

[s] Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν οὐ τὸ ὕδωρ χαρίζεται, ἦν γὰρ ἂν πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ὑψηλότερον· ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ πρόσταγμα, καὶ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησις, μυστικῶς ἐρχομένη πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐλευθερίαν. ὕδωρ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖ πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς καθάρσεως. *Greg. Nyss. in Baptism. Christi*, p. 801.

[t] Πνεῦμα τὸ ἀφανὲς, πίστει καλούμενον, ἀῤῥήτως παραγινόμενον——εὐλογεῖ τὸ

but if the man is not bettered, the water is mere *water* to him, destitute of the *Spirit* [u].

St. Ambrose (or whoever is the author) speaks of the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* in Baptism [x]: and also of the *presence* of Christ, upon the sacerdotal *invocation* [y]. But it is remarkable, how in one place he distinguishes the descent of the Spirit upon the *water* from the descent upon the *persons*, and, as it were, corrects an *inaccurate* expression by one more *proper* [z], intimating what the *vulgar* way of speaking really and strictly meant. In another treatise, he mentions the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* in Baptism, after the sacerdotal *invocation* [a]: from whence it is manifest that some *prayer* was then used to be offered up for that purpose, imploring such *descent*. The book De Sacramentis is not justly ascribed to St. Ambrose: some think it may have been compiled not long after him, by some of his chief admirers [b], others set it later. I shall only take notice of a custom then prevailing, of praying for the *presence* of the *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, in their Baptismal Offices; or sometimes of the *whole Trinity* [c].

βαπτιζόμενον, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ βαπτίζον, p. 801. ὕδωρ εὐλογούμενον καθαίρει καὶ φωτίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, p. 803.

[u] Επὶ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ὕδωρ ἐστὶν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφανείσης, &c. p. 540.

[x] Illis angelus descendebat: tibi Spiritus Sanctus: illis creatura movebatur, tibi Christus operatur, ipse Dominus creaturæ. *Ambros. de Myster.* cap. iv. p. 330. edit. Bened. In hunc fontem vis divina descendit. p. 331. conf. 342.

[y] Crede ergo adesse Dominum Jesum, *invocatum* precibus sacerdotum. p. 332.

[z] Non utique dubitandum est, quod (Spiritus) superveniens *in fontem*, vel *super eos* qui Baptismum consequuntur, veritatem regenerationis operetur. *Ambros. ibid.* cap. ix. p. 342.

[a] Quid in hoc typo angelus, nisi *descensionem* Sancti Spiritus nunciabat, quæ nostris futura temporibus, *aquas* sacerdotalibus invocata precibus consecraret? *Ambros. de Sp. Sanct.* lib. i. cap. 7. p. 618.

[b] See the Editor's preface to that work. Oudin brings it down to the eighth century, about 780. See Oudin, tom. i. p. 1858. Some attribute it to Maximus Taurinensis of the fifth. Vid. Fabricius, Bibl. Med. et Infim. Latin. lib. xii. p. 191.

[c] Ubi primum ingreditur sacerdos, exorcismum facit secundum creaturam

I shall descend no lower in this account, (since enough has been said,) except it be to present the reader with two or three *forms* of the *invocation* made in Baptism, beseeching God to send the *Holy Spirit* to sanctify the baptismal *waters*, or the *persons* to be baptized. We have not many of those *forms* remaining, in comparison of what we have with respect to the other Sacrament, less care having been taken to preserve or to collect them: but we have enough for our purpose. One of them occurs in the Constitutions; the oldest perhaps that is extant, though of *uncertain* date. It runs thus: "Look down "from heaven, and *sanctify* this water: give it *grace* and "*power*, that he who is baptized therein, according to "the command of thy Christ, may be crucified with him, "and die with him, and be buried with him, and rise "again with him to that *adoption* which comes by him; "that dying unto sin, he may live unto righteousness [d]." Here indeed no *express* mention is made of the *Holy Ghost* the Sanctifier: but it is implied in the word *sanctify*, and *grace*, and *power*, or *virtue*. The *blessing*, we may note, is craved upon the *water*: but as no *grace* can properly rest there as in its *subject*, it is plain what all means, *viz.* that the *persons* should receive the *grace* of

aquæ; invocatione postea et precem defert, ut sanctificetur fons, et adsit *præsentia* Trinitatis æternæ. *Pseud.-Ambros. de Sacram.* lib. i. cap. v. p. 353.

Venit sacerdos, precem dicit ad fontem, invocat *Patris nomen*, præsentiam *Filii*, et *Spiritus Sancti*. Lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 357, 358.

The reader may see more authorities of like kind in Albertin. p. 465.

[d] Κάτιδι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο· δὸς δὶ χάριν καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, αὐτῷ συσταυρωθῆναι, &c. *Constitut. Apost.* lib. vii. cap. 43. p. 384.

N. B. As to the age of the Constitutions, Mr. Dodwell observes, that there is no evidence for them, (as we now have them in eight books,) elder than the time of Dionysius Exiguus, who was of the sixth century. See Dodwell of Incensing, p. 164. Ittigius and Buddæus give the like judgment. Others name the fifth century.

Præferenda mihi reliquis videtur sententia Thomæ Ittigii, quarto omnino sæculo *Constitutiones* quasdam *Apostolicas* innotuisse, quæ postea circa *sextum sæculum* ab homine quodam Ariano corruptæ fuerint et interpolatæ. *Budd. Isagog.* p. 747. Conf. Turner. ch. xxiii. p. 237, &c. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. v. p. 33. tom. xi. p. 7—10.

the Holy Ghost in the *use* of that *water* according to *divine* appointment; or that the outward washing and the inward graces go together [e]. So, in common or customary speech, when any one prays that God may *bless* the *means* made use of for any person's *recovery*, nobody understands more in it, than that God may *bless* the *persons* in the *use* of those means, and crown them with the *success* desired. We have another the like *form* in Pope Gregory's Sacramentarium: which however in its present state is not altogether so old as that Pope; for the Sacramentary is not without *interpolations* [f]. The *form* runs thus: "Let the *virtue* of thy *Spirit* descend, O Lord, up-"on the plenitude of this *font*, and impregnate all the "substance of this water with a regenerating efficacy: "here may the spots of all sins be washed off; here may "that nature, formed after thy image, and now restored "to its original purity, be cleansed from all its former "stains; that every one coming to this *Sacrament* of "*regeneration*, may be born again to a new infancy of "true innocence [g]." Here we may observe, that the petition is put up for the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit* upon the *waters*, as usual, for the benefit of the *persons*, that they may therein receive remission of sins, and all other *spiritual graces*, for restoring original righteousness lost by the fall of Adam, and for supporting and sustaining the *Christian life*.

The Gothic Missal published by Mabillon [h], bearing

[e] Accordingly, the person baptized is directed, immediately after to pray for the *descent of the Holy Ghost* upon him. Δός μοι——πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐπιφοίτησιν πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ πληροφορίαν τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. *Ibid.* cap. xlv. p. 385.

[f] Of the age of the Gregorian Sacramentary, see Dodwell of Incense, p. 218, &c.

[g] Descendat Domine, in hanc plenitudinem *fontis*, virtus *Spiritus* tui; totamque hujus aquæ substantiam regenerandi fœcundet effectu. Hic omnium peccatorum maculæ deleantur, hic natura ad imaginem Dei condita, et ad honorem sui reformata principis, vetustatis cunctis squaloribus emundetur, omnis homo hoc Sacramentum regenerationis ingressus, in veræ innocentiæ novam infantiam renascatur. *Gregor. Mag. Lib. Sacram.* p. 73. ed. Bened.

[h] Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, p. 188, &c.

date as high as the eighth century [i], will furnish us with another *form*; wherein the *descent* of the *Holy Spirit* is directly prayed for, to *sanctify* the baptismal *waters*, in order to derive *pardon* and *grace* upon the persons brought to the font [k]. I shall take notice of but one more, which occurs in the Gallican Sacramentary, of the latter end of the eighth century, or thereabout [l]. There also *prayer* is directly and in terms made, that God would send his *Holy Spirit* upon the *water*, in order to the purifying and regenerating the *persons* coming to Baptism [m].

I hope my readers will not think much of the *excursion* which I have here made into the Sacrament of *Baptism*, with a view to illustrate what belongs to our present subject of the *Eucharist*. For indeed I know of no surer or shorter way of coming at a just and clear apprehension of what concerns *one*, than by comparing together and duly weighing the circumstances of *both*. They are both of them equally *Sacraments* of the Christian Church, and have the like promise of the *Holy Spirit*, founded in the same *merits* of Christ's obedience and sufferings: there is the same reason for a *consecration* of the outward *symbols* in both, the same ground for *expecting* the *presence* of the *Spirit*; the same warrant for *asking* it; the same *rule* to go by, in the doing it; and the like *primitive* practice to countenance it. If we proceed upon *favourable presumption*, that what obtained universally, without order

[i] See Mabillon. Præf. sect. ix. And compare Dodwell of Incense, p. 190.

[k] Benedic Domine Deus noster hanc creaturam *aquæ*, et descendat super eam virtus tua: desuper infunde *Spiritum* tuum, sanctum *Paraclitum*, angelum veritatis. Sanctifica Domine hujus laticis undas, sicut sanctificasti fluenta Jordanis, ut qui in hunc fontem descenderint, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et *Spiritus Sancti*, et peccatorum veniam, et *Sancti Spiritus* infusionem consequi mereantur. *Missal. Goth.* p. 248.

[l] See Mabillon. Musc. Italic. tom. i. in Præfat. ad Sacram. G. p. 275. Dodwell of Incense, p. 203, &c.

[m] Te Deum Patrem omnipotentem deprecamur, ut hic *Spiritum Sanctum* in *aquam* hanc supermittere digneris, ut quoscunque baptizaverimus in nomine, &c. purificans et regenerans accipias eos in numero sanctorum tuorum, et consummes in *Spiritu tuo sancto* in vitam æternam, in sæcula sæculorum. *Sacrament. Gallican.* p. 124.

of *councils*, in the *third* or *fourth* century, (and of which there is no memorandum left when it *began*,) must be taken for *apostolical*, then the practice as to either Sacrament will bear the same date: but if we choose rather, apart from all *conjectures*, to set the practice in each no higher than we have *certain* evidences of it, from monuments now extant, then we must date the practice with respect to *Baptism* no higher than the *third*, or however *second* century, when Tertullian flourished; and with respect to the *Eucharist*, no higher perhaps than the *fourth*, as we shall see presently[n].

I am aware, that several very worthy and learned men (and among the rest Dr. Grabe) have thought of an *earlier* date than I have just now mentioned; and by their united labours and searches into that question, have enabled those that come after them to see the more clearly into it. Two very learned writers, (not to mention more now,) Mr. Pfaffius abroad, and Mr. Johnson at home, have particularly traced that matter with all the diligence imaginable, and have both of them endeavoured to carry it up as high as there was any *colour* for carrying it. One of them appeals even to Ignatius, as a voucher for the practice[o], because he makes mention of some heretics who "abstained from the Eucharist and prayer, as not acknowledging the Eucharist to be the flesh of Christ Jesus[p]." But I cannot see how, by any ever so distant consequence, we can thence fairly conclude, that it was the practice of that time to *pray* for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost* in the Eucharist: for if the *words* of the *institution* were but used in the prayer of *Consecration*, in those days, that alone is sufficient to account for all that Ignatius says there, or any where else.

[n] The testimonies of such *invocation* in the Eucharist are collected by Pfaffius, p. 374, &c. Bingham, xv. 3, 11. Collier, Reasons, &c. p. 21, &c. Deylingius, Observ. Miscell. p. 196, &c. 344, &c.

[o] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 241. alias 245. part ii. p. 180. Compare Collier, Reasons, &c. p. 22. Defence, p. 101, &c. Vindication, p. 109, &c. 128, &c.

[p] Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. cap. vii. p. 4.

Mr. Pfaffius, more plausibly, endeavours to run up the practice as high as Irenæus of the *second* century. And, indeed, could he have sufficiently warranted the *genuineness* of those *fragments* which he has obliged the learned world with, under the name of Irenæus, there could have been no room left for farther dispute on that head[q]. But he has not done it; neither is it, I believe, possible to be done[r]. As to his argument drawn from the use of the word ἔκκλησις, or ἐπίκλησις, *invocation* of God, in Irenæus's certainly *genuine* works[s], it is too precarious a topic to build a thing of this moment upon; because there may be an *invocation of God* in prayer, without any praying for the *descent* of the Holy Spirit; and ἐπίκλησις is nothing but a common name for any kind of *invocation* in prayer; as when the three Persons are *named* or invoked in the *form of Baptism*, (for so Origen uses it[t],) or are otherwise named in the *Eucharist*; as they certainly were by Justin Martyr's account[u]. No proof therefore hath been yet given of the practice of *praying* for the *descent* of the *Holy Ghost*, in the eucharistical service, so early as Irenæus's days.

Mr. Pfaffius endeavours next[w] to make it at least as ancient as the *third* century; because the Dialogue against the Marcionites, commonly ascribed to Origen, or else to Maximus of the same age, makes mention of the Holy Spirit's *coming upon* the Eucharist[x]. But besides that there is no mention of any *prayer* for such descent, (so that the evidence here comes not up to the point in question,) I say, besides that, the author of that Dialogue, most certianly, was neither Origen, nor Maximus, nor any of that

[q] Vid. Fragmenta Irenæi ap. Pfaff. p. 27. conf. p. 94, &c.

[r] Vid. Scipio Maffeius in Notis ad Cassiodori Complex. p. 240, 241.

[s] Iren. p. 60, 251. edit. Bened. conf. Pfaffius, p. 96, &c.

[t] Origen. in Johann. p. 124. et apud Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 29.

[u] Justin. Martyr. Apol. i. p. 96. conf. Cyrill. Hieros. Mystag. i. sect. vii. p. 308.

[w] Pfaffius in Præfat.

[x] Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἔρχεται. *Adamantius Dialog.* sect. ii. p. 826. edit. Bened.

age, but probably another Adamantius, who lived in the fourth century, in the time of Constantine; as the learned editor in his new edition of Origen has observed at large[y]. At last then, we must be content to come down as low as the *fourth* century, and indeed towards the *middle* of it, (when the elder Cyril wrote,) for *clear* and *undoubted* evidence of the practice of praying for the *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon the *symbols* in the holy Communion. No doubt but it was used in the Church of Jerusalem before, for Cyril did not invent it, nor first use it: but *how long* before, is the question; which, for want of higher records, we cannot now *certainly* determine. Cyril intimates part of the very *form* of the *invocation* then in use; and it may be worth the setting down here, for the reader's perusal. "We beseech the all-merciful God to *send the Holy* "*Ghost* upon the elements, that he may make the bread "Christ's *body*, and the wine Christ's *blood*. For what-"soever the *Holy Ghost* once touches, that most certain-"ly must be *sanctified* and *changed*[z]." That is, as to its *uses* or *offices*. Some time after, the Priest says; "Holy "are the elements which lie before us, having received "the *illapse* of the *Holy Spirit*: holy also are ye, being "now endowed with the *Holy Spirit*[a]." This was said before the *receiving*; which I note, for the sake of some inferences to be made from it: 1. That the *elements* are not here made the *conduit* of the Holy Spirit, (for the Spirit is supposed to be received by the communicants *before* them and *without* them,) but the *service* of the Eucharist is the *conduit* rather, if either of them properly be so. 2. That the meaning of the *prayer* for the *illapse*

[y] Delarue in Admonitione prævia, p. 800, &c.

[z] Παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεὸν, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα· ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ· πάντως γὰρ οὗ ἐὰν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μετατέθειται. *Cyrill. Mystag.* v. cap. 7. p. 327. Conf. Albertin. 320.

[a] "Αγια τὰ προκείμενα, ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἅγιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου καταξιωθέντες. Τὰ ἅγια οὖν τοῖς ἁγίοις κατάλληλα. *Ibid.* c. xix. p. 331.

of the *Spirit*, is to invite the Spirit to come down upon the *communicants* immediately, or principally, to make them *holy* in a sense proper to them, as well as to make the *elements* holy in a sense proper to things inanimate: therefore Cyril adds, "holy things then are meet for holy "men." Hence also came that ancient eucharistical form of *sancta sanctis, holy things for holy men*[b], made use of *previously* to the reception of the sacred symbols. 3. Though the elements are *sanctified* by the Holy Ghost, and thereupon become *relatively* holy, as being now *sacred* symbols and representatives of our Lord's *body* and *blood*, yet they are not *beneficial* to *unholy* persons, but *hurtful*, and therefore are not to *them* the body and blood of Christ in real grace, virtue, energy, or effect. 4. Since the persons are supposed to become *holy* by the *presence* of the Holy Spirit, previously to *receiving*, in order to reap *benefit* from it, it is plain that, as to the request for *making the elements Christ's body and blood*, the meaning only is, that they may be so made, not in *themselves*, but *to the communicants*[c], considered as *holy*: for, were the

[b] A full account of it may be seen in Menardus's Notes upon the Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 566. Touttée's Notes on Cyril, p. 331. And Bingham's Eccles. Antiq. book xv. ch. 3. sect. 31. p. 709.

[c] So in the Canon of the *Mass*, and in our Communion Service of King Edward's Prayer-Book of the first edition, the words run, "That they may "become to us the body and blood of Christ." Of which Mr. Thorndike very judiciously comments, as here follows:

"These words *to us*, make an abatement in the proper signification of the "*body and blood*. For the elements may be said to become the body and "blood of Christ *without addition*, in the same *true* sense in which they are "so called in the Scriptures: but when they are said to become the body and "blood of Christ *to them that communicate*, that *true* sense is so well sig-"nified and expressed, that the words cannot well be understood otherwise "than to import, not the *corporal substance*, but the *spiritual use* of them." *Thorndike, Relig. Assemb.* p. 369.

"In the book of the holy Communion we do not pray *absolutely*, that the "bread and wine may be *made* the *body* and *blood* of Christ, but that *unto* "*us*, in that holy mystery, they may be so: that is to say, that we may so "*worthily* receive the same, that we may be *partakers* of Christ's body and "blood, and that therewith in spirit and in truth we may be spiritually nou-"rished." *Archbishop Cranmer against Gardiner*, p. 79. edit. 1580.

elements *absolutely* Christ's body and blood, they would be so both to the *holy* and *unholy*, which they are not. Indeed both good and bad do receive the *consecrated* signs, but those only who are *worthy* do receive the *things signified*.

The next oldest *form* we meet with, after Cyril's, may be that of the Constitutions, falsely called *Apostolical*: "We "beseech thee, O God, thou that art above the *need* of "any thing, to look graciously down upon these *gifts* "here lying before thee, and to accept them favourably "for the honour of thy Christ, and to *send thy Holy Spi-* "*rit upon this sacrifice*, the witness of the sufferings of "the Lord Jesus; that he may make this *bread* become "the *body* of thy Christ, and this cup become the *blood* "of thy Christ; that they who partake thereof may be "*confirmed* in *godliness*, may obtain *remission* of *sins*, may "be delivered from the *devil* and his impostures, may "be filled with the *Holy Ghost*, &c[d]." I need not go on to later *forms* of like kind, many of which are to be met with in the large Collections of Liturgies, published by Fabricius, Goar, Renaudot, Mabillon, and others. The English reader may find a competent number of the same in a Collection translated by several hands, and published by the Reverend Dr. Brett, with several very learned and curious Dissertations upon them, worth the considering[e]. All I need do here is to make some *general* remarks, proper to give light to the true and full meaning of those liturgic forms, with respect to the *descent* or *illapse* of the *Spirit*, either upon the *communicants* or upon the *symbols*.

1. It is observable, that the naked symbols, before the *Spirit* is supposed to approach, or to make them *Christ's*

[d] Ἀξιοῦμέν σε ὅπως ἐυμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνενδεὴς Θεὸς, καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μάρτυρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ βεβαιωθῶσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ ῥυσθῶσι, πνεύματος ἁγίου πληρωθῶσιν. κ. τ. λ. *Const. Apost.* lib. viii. cap. 12. p. 407.

[e] Brett's Collection of the principal Liturgies, printed A.D. 1720.

body and *blood*, are offered up as *gifts*, and called a *sacrifice*. I inquire not now in *what sense*, designing a distinct chapter for that purpose below: but such is the common form and tenor of most of the other Liturgies, Greek ones especially; St. James's[f], St. Mark's[g], St. Basil's[h], and St. Gregory's[i], as they are called.

2. Next it is observable, from the old Liturgies, that after the *oblation* and *sacrifice*, and after the *illapse* of the *Spirit* upon the symbols, to make them *authentic* and *effective* representatives of our Lord's *body* and *blood*, another very solemn prayer was wont to be put up, pleading to God the merits of Christ's *passion*, and beseeching him, for the sake thereof, to be *propitious* towards the *communicants* in particular, and towards the *Church* in general. Cyril represents that part of the service thus: "After the "finishing the *spiritual sacrifice*, the *unbloody service*; "over that sacrifice of *propitiation*, we beseech God in "behalf of the common peace of the churches——we "offer Christ *slain for our sins*, entreating the all-merciful "God to be *propitious* to ourselves and others[k]." There is such another form of prayer in the Constitutions[l]: it follows the *oblation*, and may itself be called, and often has been called, another *oblation*. But the proper name for it is *commemoration* of the *passion*, now made before God, pleading the *merit* of the same, in order to obtain the fruits and benefits of it. This part of the service was very ancient, and most undoubtedly did obtain, in some shape or other, even from the beginning; pursuant to our Lord's command, to make *commemoration* of him, and to

[f] Jacobi Liturg. apud Fabric. p. 66, 68, 70, 82, 96.

[g] Marci Liturg. apud Fabric. p. 275, 278, 286, 287.

[h] Basil. Liturg. in Renaudot. p. 57, 61, 68.

[i] Gregorii Liturg. apud Renaudot. p. 90, 94, 95, 105.

[k] Εἶτα, μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης——Χριστὸν ἐσφαγιασμένον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων προσφέρομεν, ἐξιλεούμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν φιλάνθρωπον Θεόν. *Cyrill. Mystag.* v. p. 327, 328.

[l] Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. cap. 13. p. 408, 409.

St. Paul's account of the Eucharist, as *shewing the Lord's death* till his coming again. Such *memorial* of the *passion* is more than once mentioned by Justin Martyr, and Origen, and Cyprian, and Eusebius, and Chrysostom, and many more [m]. The meaning of the *petition* which went along with it was, that our blessed Saviour, who is our *intercessor* and *advocate* above, might vouchsafe to make those prayers acceptable at the throne of grace, pleading the interest of his all-prevailing sacrifice in heaven [n]. The Liturgy in Ambrose has the like *memorial* with the former, after the consecration [o]: and so has the Gallican Sacramentary [p]. The Greek and Oriental Liturgies have commonly the same, but not always in the same order; sometimes placing the *memorial*, or *annunciation*, improperly, before the consecration [q], and again, more properly, after [r]: which is an argument of the lateness of those Liturgies, as we now have them, and of the *confused* state wherein most of them are.

3. But the most material point of all is to fix the true meaning of the *invocation* and *illapse* of the Spirit, into which the Greeks commonly resolve the *consecration*. The Romish Divines have frequently laid hold of what is said concerning the *illapse* of the *Spirit*, as favourable to their tenet of *transubstantiation;* because the Holy Ghost is said to *make* the bread the *body*, and the wine the *blood* of Christ. But when it came to be observed, that the Greeks constantly used that prayer of *invocation*, for the descent of the Spirit, after the words of the *institution*, (in which the Romanists fix the *consecration*,) a great difficulty arose, how to reconcile Greeks and Latins, upon the article of *consecration:* for the former placed it in the

[m] See above, ch. i. under the name *Oblation* and *Memorial*.

[n] Offert se ipse quasi *sacerdos*, ut peccata nostra dimittat: hic in *imagine*, ibi in *veritate*, ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi *advocatus* intervenit. *Ambrosius de Offic.* lib. i. cap. 48.

[o] Pseudo-Ambrosius de Sacrament. lib. iv. cap. 6.

[p] Sacramentar. Gallican. p. 280.

[q] Jacob. Liturg. ap. Fabric. p. 82. Basil. Liturg. p. 61, 68.

[r] Jacob. Liturg. p. 96.

descent of the *Holy Spirit*, and the latter in the *words* of *institution*. A solution at length was thought on, namely, that the *descent* or *illapse* of the Holy Ghost, spoken of in the Greek Liturgies, should not be understood to *make* the symbols Christ's *body*, &c. (being made such before in consecration, by the words, *This is my body*, &c.) but to *make* the reception of the body and blood *beneficial* and *salutary* to the communicants. Many of the learned Latins, at the Council of Florence, and after, embraced the solution with some eagerness. Bessarion also then, and Arcudius afterwards, (two Latinized Greeks,) set themselves to defend it, and did it with good learning and judgment[s]. It appears to be true, that they justly interpreted the intent and meaning of that *invocation*, by the *beneficial* effect of the *illapse* of the Spirit upon the *communicants* in the use of the symbols, and not by the Spirit's making the symbols *absolutely* the body and blood: and we are so far obliged to them, for pleading unawares on the Protestant side, and thereby giving up the most plausible colours which all antiquity could afford for the novel doctrine of *transubstantiation*[t].

It must however be owned, that the later and shrewder Romanists, observing how their friends were caught in their own snare, have been very solicitous to retract that occasional *concession*, and to condemn Bessarion, Arcudius, and others, for giving into it. Lequien is one of those who endeavour to recall the grant[u]; and Renaudot is another[x]; and Touttée a third[y]. They are justly sensible,

[s] See particularly Arcudius de Concord. Eccles. Occident. et Orient. l. iii. cap. 33. p. 287, &c.

[t] See Dr. Covel's Account of the Gr. Church, p. 54, &c.

[u] Lequien in Notis ad Damascen. tom. i. p. 269.

[x] Quod aiunt Bessarionis et Arcudii imitatores totam orationem referri ad *fructuosam* mysterii susceptionem, ferri non potest.——Unde sequeretur *nullam* esse *transmutationem* erga indigne communicantes, quæ germanissima est *Protestantium* doctrina.——Si hæc ad solam *fructuosam* communionem referantur, nulla magis commoda *Protestantium* causæ interpretatio excogitari poterat. *Renaudot. Liturg. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 93.

[y] Verba hæc detorquere ad *effectus* Eucharistiæ in nobis postulandos, *eccle-*

how their most specious pretences from the *ancients* are at once taken from them, and that the Protestant cause is now triumphant, in that article, even upon their own *concessions*. Their perceiving it with such *concern* does not at all abate the force of what Bessarion, and Arcudius, and many more of their friends very learnedly and justly pleaded for the original meaning of that *form*. All circumstances show, that the true and ancient intent of that part of the service was not to implore any *physical* change in the elements, no, nor so much as a physical *connection* of the *Spirit* with the *elements*, but a *moral* change only in the *elements*, as to *relations* and uses, and a *gracious* presence of the Holy Spirit upon the *communicants* [z].

One argument of it may be drawn from the style of the prayer, *super nos* [a], *et super hæc dona*, begging the descent upon the *communicants* first, and then upon the *elements;* that is to say, upon the communicants in the *use* of those now *holy* or *consecrated* symbols. Renaudot would persuade us, that the *super nos* relates to the consecrators, or to the officiating *clergy* [b]. But what I have before cited from St. Cyril, as understanding the *descent* of the *Spirit* to be upon the *communicants* in general, is a sufficient confutation of every such surmise.

Another argument of what I am here pleading for may be drawn from the restriction *to us*, inserted in that form, in several Liturgies; particularly in the Gregorian Sacramentary [c], and from thence derived to the Canon of the Mass. I have shown the meaning of it before, and need not here repeat.

But the clearest and strongest argument of all may be

siam luculentissimo, antiquissimo, et constantissimo *transubstantiationis* testimonio privare est. *Touttée Cyrillian. Dissertat.* iii. p. 238.

[z] Vid. Fulgent. ad Monim. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10.

[a] See the Liturgies in Fabricius, 68, 84, 85, 98, 204, 205, 243, 298, 300; or in Renaudotius, tom. i. p. 16, 31, 46, 48, 68, 105. tom. ii. p. 118. 143, 313, 325.

[b] Renaudot. Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p. 340.

[c] Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quæsumus benedictam—— facere digneris, ut *nobis* corpus et sanguis fiat, &c.

drawn from the like *form* of invocation in the *Baptismal* Offices; where it is certain that it could mean only a *moral* change of the *water* as to *use* and *office*, not a *physical* change of its substance. Why should the *illapse* of the Holy Spirit be supposed to work any greater, or any other *change* in the *elements* of the *Eucharist*, than in the *waters* of *Baptism*[d]?

Renaudot, being aware of this difficulty, offers a kind of salvo for it; namely, that though the Spirit is invited to come down upon the *waters* in Baptism, yet he comes not to change the waters into Christ's *body* and *blood*, but to give *regeneration* and *remission* to the persons. He observes likewise, that when the Spirit is *invoked* upon the *oil*, or *chrism*, or persons to be *ordained*, or whatever else is to be *consecrated*, it amounts only to a petition for the *grace* of the *Spirit* upon the parties concerned; which is quite another thing from *changing* the symbols in the Eucharist into the *body* and *blood*[e]. But this appears to be begging the question, or rather to be giving up the main thing: for what we assert is, that the *ancients* supposed the like *illapse* of the *Spirit*, and like *change* wrought in the *waters* of Baptism, and in the *oil*, and *chrism*, &c. as in the *elements* of the Eucharist; and therefore if in those it amounted only to a *moral* or *spiritual* change, it cannot, upon their principles, amount to more in this.

[d] Compare what Mr. Pfaffius has well urged on this head, p. 76, &c. Though it must be said, that his own *hypothesis* will no more clear this article, than the Popish one can; for the *invocation* in Baptism draws down nothing but what is *spiritual*.

[e] Invocatur quoque ut mittat *Spiritum Sanctum* super *aquas* baptismales, ut in illis baptizati accipiant *regenerationem*, omniumque peccatorum *remissionem*: super *oleum*, et *chrisma*, ut *gratiam* baptizatis *novam* conferant: super *ordinandos*, ut accipiant *sanctimoniam* et *potestatem* ad sacra ministeria sancte exercenda: super *oleum infirmorum*, ut ejus unctio *prosit* infirmis ad *salutem* animæ et corporis.——Verum in *Eucharistia* consecranda, aliud quiddam se petere designant, nempe illapsum efficacem Spiritus Sancti in dona proposita, ut *mutentur* et *transferantur* in *corpus* et *sanguinem* Domini· quod de *aqua*, *chrismate*, *oleoque*, aliisque Sacramentis, nunquam postulasse *orientales* reperiuntur. *Renaudot.* tom. i. p. 196, 197.

Cyril of Jerusalem, as before quoted, plainly makes those several cases so far parallel[f]; and so does Gregory Nyssen[g] after him: therefore Mr. Renaudot's concessions turn upon himself, and recoil upon his own hypothesis. It is not indeed said, that the Holy Ghost in Baptism converts the water into *body* and *blood*; neither is it said, that the Holy Ghost in the Eucharist converts the symbols into *water of life*, or into a *celestial garment*: each Sacrament has its distinguishing style and title, proper to the *symbols* of it, and to the *resemblance* intended in it. For though they exhibit the *same graces*, yet they do it not under the same *types*, *figures*, or *symbols*: and that is the sole reason of the *different* style here and there. There is the same *change* wrought in both, and by the same *Divine* power, and to the same *salutary* purposes. There is the same kind of prayer in both, for the same kind of *illapse* or *presence* of the Spirit, and for the same kind of *grace*, *virtue*, and *efficacy*, whether upon the *symbols* or *recipients*. If we *feed upon* Christ in the Eucharist, we *put him on* in Baptism, which comes to the same thing in the main. If we are partakers of the *spiritual lamb* there, so are we also here. If we *drink* his blood there, we are *dipped* in his blood here, which is tantamount. Nay, we are *partakers* of the body and blood in both, according to the principles of the ancient writers. Testimonies to that effect have often been collected by learned Protestants: and therefore, for the avoiding of prolixity, I choose rather to

[f] See above, chap. vii. p. 177. Compare Bingham, book xi. ch. x. sect. 4.

[g] Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptismo Christi, tom. ii. p. 801, 802. edit. Paris. 1615. Dr. Covel has observed the same at large, with respect to the *later* rituals, in his Account of the Greek Church, p. 53, &c. And though he intended the *instances* there given, only to shew, that such *forms* implied no *physical* change in the things so *consecrated*, yet they really prove more, *viz.* that the *Holy Spirit* was supposed to rest upon the *persons* in the *use* of the *symbols*, and not upon the *symbols* themselves, in strictness of speech. I may note also, that in p. 56, 57, he has fully confuted the most specious pretence which the Romanists commonly make from some corrupt copies of Basil's Liturgy, by producing a truer reading out of a different copy, near six hundred years old.

refer[h], than to repeat. Such being the certain doctrine of the *ancients*, it is a vain attempt, to strain any expressions of theirs concerning the *illapse* of the *Spirit* in the Eucharist, beyond what they admitted in the other Sacrament. The substance of what they taught is the same with respect to both, only in *different phrases*, as the *difference* of the *symbols* required: for *Baptism* is not the *Eucharist*, though it exhibits the same graces, and does the same thing, and by the same powers, that the Eucharist does.

From the account here given, I may take notice, by the way, of the wisdom of our first Reformers, who, while they thought of inserting any prayer at all for the *illapse* of the *Spirit*, resolved to do it equally and indifferently in *both* the *Offices;* as well in the Office of *Baptism*[i], as in the Office for the *Communion*[k]: for there is, undoubtedly, as much reason and as great authority for it with respect to the former, as there is with respect to the latter. Indeed they were both thrown out afterwards, upon *prudential* considerations, and at the instance chiefly of two learned and judicious foreigners, whom Archbishop Cranmer called in to assist at the review of our Liturgy in 1551[l]. It was thought, perhaps, as there was no express

[h] Bishop Moreton on the Sacrament, p. 568, &c. Albertinus, p. 223, 426. Bingham, book xi. chap. 16. sect. 4.

[i] In King Edward's first Prayer-Book, A. D. 1549. "O most merciful "God our Saviour Jesu Christ——upon whom being baptized in the river of "Jordan, the Holy Ghost came down in the likeness of a dove, send down, "we beseech thee, the same thy Holy Spirit, to assist us, and to be *present* "at this our *invocation* of thy holy name. Sanctify this fountain of Bap-"tism," &c.

[k] "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and with thy *Holy Spi-"rit* and *Word*, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts, and creatures "of bread and wine, that they may be *unto us* the body and blood of thy "most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ."

N. B. If it should be asked, how they are so *unto us*, if they be not first *absolutely* so? *Answ.* They are said to be so *unto us*, when the *beneficial effect* goes along with them. See Cranmer and Thorndike, cited above, p. 295.

[l] See Wheatly on the Common-Prayer, p. 26. Collier, Vindic. of Reas. and Def. p. 150.

Scripture precept, nor any clear proof of *apostolical practice*, either for this form or another, that therefore every church was at liberty in such cases. It might be considered farther, that several centuries probably had passed, before there were any public *written* Liturgies at all: and the Bishops commonly, in and for their respective churches, had been left to draw up such forms as they judged most proper to times and circumstances, conformable to the analogy of faith [m]. And since an ill use had often been made, by Romanists, of those words of the Communion Office, in favour of *transubstantiation* [n], (for which there appeared some *colour*, though *colour* only, and owing to misconstruction and wrong inferences,) *prudence* might require some alteration, under such circumstances. However, in our present Offices, we have some *remains* of the ancient way of praying for the assistance of the *Holy Spirit* in both Sacraments. In our Office of *public Baptism*, we have the *invocation* couched under *general* expressions: the people are admonished to call upon God the Father, that the child brought to the font may be baptized with water "and the Holy Ghost." Then again, "sanctify him with the Holy Ghost," and "give thy Holy "Spirit to this infant:" and as to the outward element, "sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of "sin." These passages, penned in a more reserved, general way, do yet really contain all that the more ancient *invocation* in Baptism amounted to.

In our *Communion Service*, the *invocation* is more obscurely intimated under a *few*, and those *general* terms: "Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread "and wine——may be partakers of his most precious "body and blood [o]." This was part of the ancient *invoca-*

[m] See Bingham, book i. ch. 19. sect. 17. book xiii. ch. 5. sect. 1. book ii. ch. 6. sect. 2. Renaudot, tom. i. p. 9.

[n] See Cranmer, p. 325. Dr. Aldrich, Reply to two Oxford Discourses, p. 8, 9.

[o] That is, partakers of the *merits* and *virtue* of the body as crucified, and

tion; and it expresses the thing formerly prayed for, without specifying the particular *manner*, or *means*, viz. the immediate *operation* of the *Holy Spirit:* though that also must of course be understood and implied, upon Christian principles taught in Scripture. After all, I see no reason why it may not be justly thought as *modest*, and as *reverent*, to beg of God the Father the *things* which we *want*, understanding that he will grant them *by his Holy Spirit*, as to make a formal petition to him, to *send his Holy Spirit* upon the elements or upon the communicants; unless Scripture had particularly ordered some such *special* form, to be made use of in our sacramental solemnities, which it has not done P.

It must be owned, that there was something very *affecting* and *awful* in many of the ancient forms, apt to strike the minds of an assembly, and to raise their devout affections, when properly executed with a becoming dignity, by grave and venerable men. Such was that prefatory part in several old Liturgies, "How dreadful is this sea-"son," &c. made use of just before the expected coming of the *Holy Spirit*, in order to prepare every humble communicant to wait for it with the most profound reverence and most exalted devotions. But it may be doubted, whether such forms are proper at *all times* and in *all circumstances;* and whether they might not, in some circumstances, rather obstruct than further the good ends designed by them. The more general and reserved method is certainly the less affecting; but yet it may be, all things

blood as spilled; and *partakers* also of the same body considered as *raised* again, and *mystically* united with *worthy* receivers.

P Mirum in hisce, aliisque Orientalium Liturgiis, consensum videas circa *invocationem Spiritus Sancti*, ut dona faciat corpus et sanguinem Christi: de hac liturgica invocatione tamen in genuinis Apostolorum scriptis ne γρύ. *Fabricius, Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test.* part. iii. in præfatione.

Nos equidem illam Spiritus Sancti ἐπιφοίτησιν neque ad symbolorum consecrationem *necessariam*, nec *exorandam*, nec Græcorum Liturgiam ea in parte *defendendam*, aut *imitandam* esse arbitramur. *Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan.* p. 199.

considered, the surest way to keep up the *dignity* of the Sacraments among the generality, and to secure the sacred Offices from contempt. But I have said enough of this matter, which came in only by the way.

While I am speaking of our excellent Liturgy, it may not be amiss to take notice of another article relating to this head, wherein it may appear to some *short* and *defective*. It is very certain, that the *commemoration, memorial*, or *annunciation* of our Lord's *passion*, with an address to God for his *propitious* favour thereupon, has been a very ancient, eminent, and solemn part of the Communion Service. There is now no direct formal application of that kind in our Offices. There was in King Edward's Liturgy of 1549, in these words: "We thy humble servants do "celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty with "these thy holy gifts, *the memorial* which thy Son has "willed us to make, having in *remembrance* his blessed "*passion*, mighty *resurrection*, &c." Why this part was struck out in the *review*, I know not; unless it was owing to some scruple (which however was needless) about making the memorial *before God*, which at that time might appear to give some umbrage to the Popish *sacrifice*, among such as knew not how to distinguish. However that were, we have still the sum and substance of the primitive *memorial* remaining in our present Offices; not all in a place, but interspersed here and there in the *exhortations* and *prayers*. In a previous exhortation, we read; "Above all "things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to "God the Father, &c. for the redemption of the world "by the *death* and *passion* of our Saviour Christ both "*God* and *man*, &c." There is the sense and signification of the ancient *memorial*, only under a different form. In the *Post-Communion*, we beseech God "to accept our "*sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving*, and to grant *remis-* "*sion* of *sins to us* and to *the whole Church*, by the *merits* "and *death* of Christ Jesus." Which words contain the substance of what was anciently the appendage to the

memorial. There was besides, in most of the old Liturgies [q], a particular petition added, that the *angels* might carry up our prayers to the *high altar* in heaven; and this also was inserted in King Edward's first Liturgy, but struck out at the first *review.* As to the *altar in heaven,* I shall have occasion to say more in a chapter below, and therefore pass it over here. As to the notion of *angels* conveying the *prayers* of the supplicants to the throne above, I know not whether it had any better grounds than the authority of the apocryphal book of Tobit [r], as Bucer observed [s]. It seems to have been originally a Jewish notion [t]; though a late learned writer chooses rather to derive it from the *Platonic philosophy* [u]: I think, improperly; for it will be hard to prove, that Plato was before Tobit, or before the book bearing his name [x]. Besides that the Pagans were more likely to borrow such things from Jews, than the Jews from them. But be that as it will, since the notion has no certain warrant in *canonical* Scripture, it was prudent to strike it out of our Church Offices. Upon the whole, though all human compositions must have their *defects,* more or less, I am persuaded, that our *Communion Service,* as it now stands, is as grave, and solemn, and as judicious, as any other that can be named, be it ancient or modern. It may *want* some things which were *well inserted* in other Offices; but then it has *well left out* several other things, which most Liturgies are rather *burdened* with, than *benefited.* But I return.

As to the main point now in hand, it is very plain from all Liturgies, and from all kinds of ancient *testimonies,*

[q] See in Fabricius's Collection, p. 36, 54, 70, 96, 147, 173, 206, 234, 265, 273. and in Renaudot's passim. Compare Apostol. Constit. lib. viii. cap. 13. and Pseud-Ambros. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 6.

[r] Tobit xii. 15.

[s] Bucer, Script. Anglican. p. 473.

[t] Conf. Testamentum Levi, in Grab. Spicileg. tom. i. p. 159.

[u] Elsner. in Græc. Testam. tom. ii. p. 117.

[x] Of Tobit, see Prideaux's Connection, part i. p. 39. fol. edit. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. lib. iii. cap. 29. Dupin, Can. of the Old Test. p. 89.

that the *Christian world* has all along believed, that the *Spirit* of *God* is invisibly *present*, and operates *effectually* in both Sacraments; as well to confer a *relative holiness* upon the outward *symbols*, as to convey the *grace* of *sanctification* to the faithful recipients. Therefore the Socinians stand condemned, as to this article, by *all churches*, ancient or modern, as well as by *Scripture* itself, and the plainest reason: neither have they any plea to offer on that side, which carries so much as the face of a *direct* argument. I am aware, that they may have something to plead *obliquely*, while arguing against the *existence*, or *personality*, or *divinity* of the *Holy Ghost*, or against any *ordinary* operations from above upon the minds of men, to *enlighten* or *sanctify* them: and whatever they may have to plead in respect to those *previous* points, will *remotely* affect the *present* question. But it is not my business here, to run out into those *preliminary* inquiries, almost *foreign* to the *particular* subject I am upon, and fitter to make distinct and separate treatises, than to be brought in here. As to *direct* arguments, I can think of few or none [y] at present, unless we may reckon that for one, which charges our doctrine in this particular, as making the Sacraments *charms* and *spells;* an objection built upon manifest calumny or misconception, and looking more like buffoonery than serious argument, especially as worded by some of that side. One of them writes thus: "When St. Austin defined a *sacra-* "*ment* to be the *outward visible sign of an inward invi-* "*sible grace*, or *energy*, the good Father should have con- "sidered, that this is a definition of *a charm*, not of a "Gospel Sacrament: for a *charm* is a bare outward visi- "ble sign, that which has no *natural* or *real* agreement

[y] The argument drawn against *present* benefits from the word *remembrance* has been obviated above, ch. iv. p. 80. I shall only hint farther, that *remembering*, in this case, is not opposed to a thing's being *present*, but to its being *forgot*, as spiritual and invisible benefits easily may, though near at hand all the time. Vid. Nourrii Apparat. tom. i. p. 411.

" with the effect.——They have turned the Gospel Sa-
" craments into *charms* and *spells*[z]." The same trifling impertinence might as justly be urged against Naaman's being healed of his leprosy by washing in Jordan[a]; or against Hezekiah's being cured by a *lump* of *figs*[b]; or against the *blind* man's receiving sight by the means of *clay* and *spittle*, and washing in the *pool* of Siloam[c]. We place no more virtue in the naked symbols, than in the meanest instruments whatever, which God may at any time please to make use of, and sanctify to high and holy purposes. Those instruments in themselves do nothing: it is God that does all, in and through the appointed *use* of them. He that blasphemes or derides the certain workings of God, or of the Spirit of God, upon the souls or bodies of men, under the names of *charms*, *spells*, *enchantments*, or the like, (as the Jews derided our Lord's miracles,) seems to forget the reverence due to Divine Majesty, and the respect which we owe to high and holy things. But to put the kindest and most favourable construction we can upon the objection as here worded, it is charging St. Austin, and all the *primitive* churches, and their followers, with what they are notoriously known, not only never to have taught, but constantly to have disclaimed. They never do attribute to the *bare elements* the works of *grace*, but constantly ascribe them to the powerful *hand of God*, working in or with the elements. If that be working by *charms* or *spells*, let any man tell us, what *supernatural* or *preternatural* works of God are not as justly liable to the same imputation.

If the purport of the objection be to reject all such *Divine* operations as we here suppose upon *moral* agents, as not consistent with human *liberty*; that is a more *general* question, *previous* to what we are now upon, and therefore in a great measure *foreign* to the point in hand.

[z] Trinitarian Scheme of Religion, p. 24, 25. printed in the year 1692.
[a] 2 Kings v. 14.
[b] 2 Kings xx. 7. Isaiah xxxviii. 21.
[c] John ix. 7.

It is sufficient to say, that the *general* doctrine of *grace* is so fully established in the New Testament, that no *Christian* can consistently reject it. As to the *manner* of it, it is not for us to presume to explain it: but we are certain it is wrought in a *moral* way, in a way consistent with *moral* agency and human *liberty*. We know the fact: we need no more. If any man will undertake to demonstrate *a priori*, that there can be no *medium* between *irresistible* impressions and *none at all*, or that God cannot *sanctify*, or *purify*, or *enlighten* the soul of man, in any degree, without making him a *machine*, he may perhaps deserve to be heard; but in the mean while Scripture, express Scripture, will deserve our attention, and will command the faith of every true disciple of Christ.

Some perhaps may think it an objection to what has been here pleaded, that *grace* is also promised sometimes to *prayer*, sometimes to *faith*, and sometimes to *hearing*, and therefore is not *peculiar* to the *Sacraments*: for it has been suggested, that "the spiritual eating of Christ is "COMMON to all places, as well as to the Lord's table[d]." This I have touched upon before[e], and shall only add here, that we do not *confine* God's grace to the *Sacraments*; neither do we assert any *peculiar* grace, as *appropriate* to them only: but what we assert is, some peculiar *degree* of the same *graces*, or some peculiar *certainty*, or *constancy*, as to the effect, in the due use of those means[f]. And if the Divine graces, more or less, go along with all the Divine ordinances, well may they be supposed to go along with those, which are the most solemn and most exalted of any, and have also more of a *federal* nature in them; as has been hinted above[g], and will be proved at large in the chapter here following.

[d] Hales's Tracts, p. 57.

[e] See above, p. 212, &c.

[f] *Verbum* et *Sacramenta* in eo conveniunt, quod ambo *gratiam regenerationis* offerant et exhibeant: sed quod nonnunquam Sacramentis *peculiariter* adscribi videtur, id inde est, quod fides, in Sacramentis, hanc gratiam videat *clarius*, apprehendat *fortius*, teneat *certius*. *Voss. de Sacram.* p. 251.

[g] See above, p. 213.

CHAP. XI.

Of the federal or covenanting Nature of the Holy EUCHARIST.

IT is the prevailing doctrine of *Divines*, that the Service of the holy Communion carries in it something of a *federal* nature, is a kind of *covenanting* or *stipulating* act; not making a new covenant, but covenanting anew, confirming or renewing the stipulation before entered into at our *Baptism*. For the clearing of this important point, it will be proper, 1. To premise something of *covenants* in general between God and man. 2. To specify the ancient forms or methods of contracting under the Old Testament. 3. To descend to the later forms of doing the same thing under the New Testament, by the Sacraments thereunto belonging, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*.

1. The Divine goodness and condescension is such, in all his dealings with mankind, that he considers always what is best for them, and may most help their infirmities. With these gracious views (while he is absolute Lord over them, and might issue out his sovereign commands to all, without admitting any mortal to contract for rewards, or to strike any league with him) he is pleased to enter into *covenants* with men, giving and taking assurances, and, as it were, binding both himself and them, in order to draw them the more strongly to him, and to engage them to look after their own everlasting happiness. Not that God thereby divests himself of his right over them, or that men have a *right* to refuse the covenant proposed to them, or would not be justly *punishable* for such refusal[h]: for indeed they are under a previous indispensable obligation to comply; and the refusing it would deserve very severe punishment[i]. But the entering into covenant produces a closer relation and a

[h] See Puffendorf, Jus feciale Divinum, sect. xx. p. 92, &c. Lat. edit. p. 87. Engl. edit. Abp. Potter on Ch. Gov. p. 12, &c.

[i] Matt. x. 14, 15. xxii. 7. Luke xiv. 21—24.

stronger tie, and is much more engaging and attractive many ways, than naked precepts could be[k]; as will be evident of itself to any man that reflects, and I need not enlarge upon it.

In covenants between *God* and *man*, there is not, as in common covenants, an *equal* and *mutual* meeting of each other, or a joint concurrence: but God is the *first mover* to invite and propound; and man comes in after, sooner or later, to accept and conclude. "We love *God*, because "he first loved us: herein is love, not that we loved God, "but that he loved us[l]." And our Lord says to his Disciples, "Ye have not *first* chosen me, but I have *first* "chosen you," &c[m]. Another thing observable is, that there are not here, as in covenants between man and man, *mutual* advantages, or benefits *reciprocal;* but all the advantage or benefit, properly so called, accrues to one party only, because the other is too perfect to receive any. Nevertheless, there is something *analogous* to benefits, or what may be *considered* as such, accruing to the Divine Majesty; namely, external *honour* and *glory*, and such *delight* as he is conceived constantly to enjoy in the exercise of his *goodness*, *wisdom*, *power*, and other his attributes or perfections. Neither does this *circumstantial* difference, arising from the infinite *disparity* of the parties contracting, at all affect the *essence* of the covenant supposed to be made between them. For a covenant is, in its general nature, (as Baron Puffendorf defines it[n],) an union, consent, and agreement of two wills about the same thing[o]: and if God proposes such and such terms, and man accepts them, there is then a *formal* covenant struck between them. God *conditionally* offers advan-

[k] Vid. Hornbeeck de Fœdere Ecclesiastico, Exercit. Theolog. tom. iii. p. 640.

[l] 1 John iv. 19, 10.

[m] John xv. 16.

[n] Puffendorf, ibid. sect. xx.

[o] Conf. Deylingius, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. p. 328, 329. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 240.

tages on his side; and man covenants to pay a suitable *homage, adoration,* and *service,* as required.

That God has transacted, and does yet daily transact, *covenants* with mankind in succession, shall be shown presently. Only I may here hint by the way, that many considerable Divines have supposed also a *previous* covenant between God the *Father* and God the *Son,* in the affair of man's salvation. There are several things hinted in holy Scripture, which look like an *agreement,* or *covenant,* that upon our Lord's undertaking to be *Mediator,* and performing what belongs to it, a *reconciliation* should ensue between God the Father and mankind. The texts, which chiefly seem to countenance that notion, are collected into one view by the excellent Puffendorf, to whom, for brevity sake, I choose to refer the reader [p].

2. I proceed to observe, that God has, time after time, transacted *covenants* with men, and under various formalities. There was a *covenant of life* made with man in Paradise, in his state of innocency [q]; which commonly goes under the name of the *first covenant,* or *old covenant,* and which continued for a very short space. To that immediately succeeded the *second covenant,* or *new covenant,* called also the *covenant of grace,* and made with lapsed man, in and through Christ Jesus. It commenced from *old time,* in the world's infancy, as St. Paul testifies [r]; though not clearly revealed nor fully executed till the days of the Gospel, but *considered* as executed from the beginning, so far forth as to be available for the remission of sin, in all ages, to men fitly qualified according to the terms of it. Besides these two eminent and

[p] Puffendorf, Jus fecial. sect. xxxvii. p. 144. Lat. p. 129. Eng. edit. Conf. Dodwell, Diss. Cyprian. p. 448. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 240, 241, 242. In Zornius may be seen references to a multitude of writers, who have considered that article.

[q] See this *proved* and *explained* by Bishop Bull, Appendix ad Animad. xvii. and Discourse concerning the first Covenant. Opp. Posth. vol. iii. p. 1065, &c. Compare Puffendorf, Jus fecial. sect. xxiv.

[r] Tit. i. 2. πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, before ancient times. Vid. Bull. Opp. Posth. vol. ii. p. 591. Conf. Rom. xvi. 25. Coloss. i. 26. 1 Pet. i. 20.

general covenants, God entered into other *inferior* or more *special* covenants, (together with *renewals* also of this,) as with Noah[s], with Abraham[t], with Isaac[u], with Jacob[x], with Moses and Aaron[y], and with Phinehas[z], and their families after them. The *legal covenant*, or *Sinai covenant*, was made between *God* and the *Israelites*, by the hand of Moses[a]. It was in itself a *temporal* covenant, containing only *temporal* promises: but in its retired, mystical meaning, it figured out the *spiritual* covenant before made, and was a *shadow* of good things to come[b]. That *external* covenant (representing as through a glass darkly the *internal*) was often *renewed* with the people of the Hebrews: as in the time of Joshua at Sichem[c], and in the reigns of Asa[d] and of Ahab[e], and of Joash[f], Hezekiah[g], and Josiah[h]. This I note to obviate a common mistake, as if, because a covenant has been once *granted* and *fixed* on God's part, it may not be properly said to be *regranted*, or *renewed*, with a fleeting body of men, as new generations come up. Indeed it seems highly expedient, that such covenants should be *renewed* frequently, because the men coming up in succession are *new*, though God is always the *same;* and it is proper that the contracting parties should make it their

[s] Gen. vi. 18. ix. 9—18. In the first instance, there was *express* engagement on one side, *tacit* on the other. See Le Clerc in loc. In the second, there appears to have been no more than *simple engagement* on one side. But in the instances following, there were *mutual* or *reciprocal* engagements, tacit or express.

[t] Gen. xii. 2, 3. xv. 18. xvii. 2—22. Ecclus. xliv. 20.

[u] Gen. xvii. 19. xxi. 2. xxvi. 2, 3. Ecclus. xliv. 22. Psal. cv. 9.

[x] Gen. xxviii. 13, 14, 20, 21, 22. xxxv. 9, &c. Ecclus. xliv. 23.

[y] Exod. vi. 4—7. iv. 28. Ecclus. xlv. 7, 15.

[z] Numb. xxv. 12, 13. Here the covenant was *conditional*, (as appears by the *forfeiture* of the priesthood afterwards,) and *accepting* the priesthood was accepting the *conditions:* therefore, in this instance, the engagement was *reciprocal*, amounting to a *formal* covenant.

[a] Exod. xix. 3. xxiv. 8. Deut. v. 5. Gal. iii. 19.

[b] Heb. viii. 5. x. 1.

[c] Joshua xxiv. 14—25.

[d] 2 Chron. xv. 12, &c.

[e] 1 Kings xviii. 39.

[f] 2 Chron. xxiii. 16, &c.

[g] 2 Chron. xxix. 10.

[h] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31, 32. 2 Kings xxiii. 3.

own act and deed. The stipulations, which I have now been speaking of, were between God and his people *collectively* considered. But besides these, there were also standing forms of covenanting between *God* and *particular* persons. Such were *sacrifices* in general, and such also were the *Sacraments* of the old *Law*, and more especially *Circumcision* and the *Passover*, to which respectively the Christian *Sacraments* succeeded.

That *sacrifices* were *federal* rites, is a point generally allowed by the learned, and which I need not here be at the pains to prove[i]. What I shall more particularly insist on shall be the Jewish *Sacraments* previous to ours, the two most eminent, just before named.

I begin with *Circumcision;* which was manifestly a *federal* rite, a formal stipulation between God and man; carrying in it mutual engagements of blessings on one hand, and service on the other. It is said of Circumcision, "This is my covenant," &c. and "it shall be a "token of the covenant;" and a little after, "my cove- "nant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant;" and the "uncircumcised *shall be cut off*," as having "broken my covenant[k]." All which imply that it was a *covenanting* rite, a contract, or stipulation, passed between two parties, namely, between *God* and *man*. But for the clearer apprehending of this matter, we may consider in *Circumcision*, as in every other *sacrament*, a *sign*, and a *thing signified*, or *both together*, as one transaction. If the name be applied to the bare *sign*, then Circumcision is not a stipulation, but the *token* of it; and if it be applied to the *thing signified*, it means the *terms* of agreement: but if it be applied to the whole transaction between both parties, then it is formally the *contract* or *stipulation* entered into here and there. So that according to different views, the word *circumcision* may either stand

[i] See Mede, Opp. p. 370. Dodwell, One Altar, &c. c. vii. p. 145, &c. 163, &c. Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 266. Spencer de Leg. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 766. edit. Cant.

[k] Gen. xvii. 9—14.

for the *sign, token, seal* of the contract, or for the *contract* itself, passing under those forms. This observation will be of use hereafter, for the clearer apprehension of the two Christian Sacraments; which in like manner are either *signs* and *seals* of a covenant, or the very *acts of covenanting*, according as you understand the word *sacrament*, in a stricter or larger sense. But I pass on. That *Circumcision* carried in it a bond of obligation on man's part, is very plain, since it made a man a "debtor to the "whole law[l]." And that it likewise carried in it a correspondent engagement on God's part, is as plain from God's promises made at the institution of it[m], and from its being styled a "seal of the righteousness of faith[n]:" that is to say, a kind of instrument, by which God *sealed*, or assured to the parties his *acceptance* of such righteousness, as Abraham was accepted in; and such as was *signified* under that outward rite, styled in Scripture the "circumcision of the heart[o]." But it would be tedious to dwell longer upon a by-point, and one so often discussed by knowing and judicious Divines[p].

The other *ordinary* Sacrament of the Jewish church was the *Passover*. That it was a *federal* rite, may be strongly argued from several topics, which I shall barely touch upon in passing. 1. From its being a proper *sacrifice;* a point now concluded among the *learned*[q], and scarce admitting of any further dispute. 2. From its *ty-*

[l] Gal. v. 3. Timothy's case was singular, founded on particular circumstances, and can be no impeachment of the *general* maxim.

[m] Gen. xvii. 7.

[n] Rom. iv. 11.

[o] Rom. ii. 29. Compare Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Jerem. iv. 4.

[p] Bucer, Script. Anglican. p. 608, &c. Buddæus, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 8, &c. Witsius, Œcon. Fœd. p. 700, &c. Towerson on the Sacraments, part iv. p. 47, &c. Hoornbeeck, Socin. Conf. tom. iii. lib. 3. p. 231, &c.

[q] Cudworth on the Lord's Supper, ch. ii. Bochart. Hierozoic. tom. ii. p. 573. Hottinger in Notis ad Tho. Goodwin, p. 535. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. i. c. 13. p. 146, 147. Reland, Antiq. Vet. Heb. par. iii. p. 378. Bishop Patrick in Exod. xii. 27. Clericus in Num. ix. 7. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. p. 295. Deylingius, Obs. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 332. tom. i. p. 287. Moshemius, Not. ad Cudworth, p. 18, 19.

pical and *mysterious* nature, pointing to *Christ* and his *sufferings*, and the *fruits* thereof, in many observable circumstances[r], too long to mention in this place. 3. From the case of the other Jewish Sacraments *extraordinary*, such as the *manna*, and the *rock*, &c. which remitted men to *Christ*, and were a kind of *spiritual* food[s] to as many as were *worthy*; importing a *federal* relation to Almighty God, and a communion with him. 4. From express texts, intimating that the *Passover* was intended as a *sign*, and a *token*, and a *memorial*, to keep up a constant sense of, and regard for, the "law of the Lord[t]," and for that *deliverance*, by which God *confirmed* unto himself that people to be "his people for ever[u]." So that in that service were implied the people's engaging to "keep "the law of God," and God's engaging to be *their God*, while they did so; which two things taken together make up the formal notion of a *contract*, or *covenant*.

From the *Jewish* Sacraments we may pass on to the Christian Sacraments, analogous to them, but exceeding them in several respects, as being *less burdensome*, and of *clearer* signification and application, and made essential parts of an higher and more excellent institution. Method requires that I should first say something of Baptism, the initiating Sacrament, by which a man ordinarily first enters into *covenant* with God, becoming a *Christian*[x]. That Baptism is a *federal* rite, a formal *stipula-*

[r] Witsius, Œconom. Fœderum, p. 722—730. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. i. lib. 3. cap. 9. p. 415, &c.

[s] 1 Cor. x. 1—4. See above, p. 145.

[t] Exod. xiii. 9. 16. See Pelling on the Lord's Supper, p. 63, 91, 112, 253.

[u] 2 Sam. vii. 24.

[x] Some have been willing to suppose, that if a man embraces Christianity, and fulfils the terms, viz. *faith* and *repentance*, he is *ipso facto* entered into *covenant*, without any formal *stipulation*. But Scripture is plain: "He "that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Mark xvi. 16. And, "Except one be born of water, &c. he cannot enter into the kingdom of *God*." John iii. 5. The *stipulation* is as necessary as the rest: or, not to dispute about *words*, it is at least part of the *terms* of acceptance, and of true *Christian obedience*, and so of evangelical *repentance*; which, according to its

tion between God and the party baptized, might be probably argued many ways[y]. But for brevity sake, I shall confine myself to the consideration of one express text; which I render thus: "The like figure whereunto Bap-"tism doth now save us; not the putting away the filth "of the flesh, but the *stipulation* [ἐπερώτημα] of a good "conscience to Godward, by the resurrection of Christ[z]." Here we have the very doctrine which I am pleading for, that Baptism is a *federal* rite, a *stipulation* with God. So Beza and Grotius, and other critics of best note[a], interpret the place, and give very substantial reasons for it, which I need not here recite. I shall only add, that the ancients constantly taught, that Baptism was a *covenanting* rite, a solemn form of *stipulating* with God[b], the *seal* of the Lord[c]; and that it succeeded in the room of *Circumcision*, being therefore called the *Christian* circumcision, "made "without hands[d]," or the *spiritual* circumcision[e], as a figure and instrument of it.

Having thus far cleared the way, we may now proceed to the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, the last of the four. And since it appears that the three former Sacraments

full notion, is but another name for evangelical *obedience*. So that it is in vain to speak of Christian *repentance* or *obedience* as entire, without taking in conformity to the *Sacraments*, which is implied in the other, as a *part* is included in the whole. Compare Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 16, 17.

[y] Vid. Dodwell, Cyprian. Dissertat. xiii. sect. 42. p. 442, &c. Vossius de Baptism. Disp. iv. Thes. iii. p. 269.

[z] 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[a] They are most of them numbered by Wolfius upon the text, who closes in with them.

[b] Tertullian styles it obsignatio fidei. *De Pœnitent.* cap. vi. Testatio fidei, sponsio salutis. *De Bapt.* cap. vi. Anima non lavatione, sed responsione sancitur. *De Resur. Carn.* cap. xlviii. Fidei pactio. *De Pudic.* cap. ix. Conf. Basil. de Spir. Sancto, cap. xii. p. 24. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 641. Pseudo-Dionys. Areop. cap. iii. Facund. lib. iv. p. 62. Compare Bingham, xi. 6, 7.

[c] See Bingham, xi. 1, 6.

[d] Coloss. ii. 11, 12. Basil. Homil. in Baptism. p. 115. tom. ii. Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. xl. Cyrill. Alexandr. in Johan. lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 432.

[e] Vid. Justin. Mart. Dial. p. 222. Cyprian. Epist. lxiv. p. 161.

were *federal* rites, that single consideration affords us a *presumptive* argument, that this is so likewise. But there are several other considerations, that more directly prove it; and these are what I am going to lay down in their order.

1. That the eucharistical service is a *federal* service, follows directly from what has been before proved, that it imports and implies a real and vital *communion* between God and every worthy receiver. For what can *communion*, in this case, import less than *covenanting?* The least that it implies, is a *reciprocal* intercourse of *blessings* on one hand, and *homage* on the other; which, in effect, is the same thing with mutual *stipulations*[f]. If it be said, that it is only performing or executing, on both sides, what was before stipulated in Baptism, it is obvious to reply, that such performances, on both sides, carry in them the strongest *assurances* of a continuation of the same, and so amount, in just construction, to a *repetition*, or *renewal*, of the reciprocal engagements.

2. The federal nature of the Eucharist may be farther argued from what learned men have shown of the customs of divers nations, in *drinking* either *blood*, or *wine* instead of blood, for the ratifying of *covenants*[g]. Such kind of drinking was a noted *federal* rite long before the institution of the Eucharist: a consideration which, taken alone, affords a strong presumptive argument of the *federal* nature of this Sacrament, but if taken together with our Lord's own comment upon it, in the words, "Drink "ye all of this, for this is the new covenant," &c. can leave but little room for any reasonable dispute about it.

3. But we may argue, still more directly, from our Lord's own word's, "This *cup, or wine*, is my blood of "the new covenant[h]," and "This is the new covenant in

[f] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 27, 103, 104, 105.

[g] Grotius in Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. Spencer de Leg. Hebr. p. 614. edit. Cant. Zornius, Bibliothec. Antiquaria Exeg. p. 615.

[h] Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24.

"my blood[i]." I render διαθήκη, *covenant*, rather than *testament*, because such appears to be the constant sense of it in the Septuagint[k], as also in the New Testament, excepting perhaps one place of the Epistle to the Hebrews[l]. Indeed, either the name *testament*, or the name of *covenant*, is applicable to the same thing, considered under different views; as the new covenant is of a mixed or middle kind, in some respects *federal*, and in some *testamentary*, and, as it were, a *compound* of both: for which reason it has been indifferently and promiscuously called either a *federal testament*, or a *testamentary covenant*, to intimate its compound nature[m]. But I take the *federal* notion of it to be the primary or principal part of the idea, and to suit best with the then prevailing sense of the word διαθήκη[n].

Our Lord's expressions in the institution are plainly *federal* expressions; as will appear by comparing them with other the like expressions made use of in the Old Testament in *federal* solemnities[o]. When God instituted the *federal* rite of *Circumcision*, he said; "This is my co-

[i] Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

[k] Notandum quod *brith*, verbum Hebraicum, Aquila συνθήκην, id est, *pactum*, interpretatur: LXX semper διαθήκην, id est, *testamentum*. Et in plerisque scripturarum locis *testamentum* non *voluntatem defunctorum* sonare, sed *pactum viventium*. *Hieron. in Mal.* c. ii. 1816. Conf. Salmas. de Transubstant. p. 541.

[l] Heb. ix. 16, 17. Vid. Wolfius, Crit. Cur. in loc. Towerson on the Sacraments, part i. p. 14, &c.

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotio passim συνθήκη, pactum, fœdus. LXX sæpius διαθήκη, testamentum. *Montfauc. Lexic. ad Hexapl.*

[m] Nostrum fœdus cum Deo non purum aut simplex quoddam fœdus est, sed habens quiddam mixtum ex *fœdere* et *testamento*. Christus in manu habet id, de quo pactus est cum hominibus Deus, æternam nimirum hæreditatem: quoniam autem hic non nisi *moriendo* nobis illud jus acquirit, idcirco quod ad Christum ipsum attinet, *pactum* istud inter Deum et homines initum, speciem quandam *testamenti* refert, quasi ipse *moriens* æterni regni nos fecerit hæredes. *Zornius, Opusc. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 239. See Twells's Examination of New Text and Version, part ii. p. 64.

[n] Vid. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 238.

[o] Exod. xxiv. 8. Gen. xvii. 10. See Nature and Obligation of the Christian Sacraments, vol. v. p. 479, 492, &c.

" venant, which ye shall keep[p]," &c. Therefore, as sure as Circumcision was a *federal* rite of the Jewish Church, so sure is it that the Eucharist is a *federal* solemnity among Christians. When God struck up a *covenant* with the people of the Hebrews, by the sprinkling of blood, the form ran, " Behold the blood of the covenant, which " the Lord hath made[q]," &c. As much as to say, " Look upon yourselves as obliged by these federal so- " lemnities, to observe all the commands which I have " here delivered." Accordingly, it is observable, that the people there instantly promised and engaged " to do " all that the Lord had said, and to be obedient[r]:" which was expressing their formal consent, and executing, as it were, their counterpart in the stipulation[s]. Now as our blessed Lord, in the institution of the Eucharist, addressed himself to Jews, who had been accustomed to such *federal* phrases, it is highly reasonable to believe, that he intended the phrases in such a sense as they would be apt to take them in, namely, in a *federal* sense.

Socinus, to elude this argument, pretends[t], that our

[p] Αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διατηρήσεις. Gen. xvii. 10.

[q] Ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, ἧς διέθετο Κύριος, &c. Exod. xxiv. 8. Vid. Patrick in loc. et Bucherus, Ant. Evang. ad Matth. xxvi. 28. p. 386, 389.

[r] Exod. xxiv. 3, 7. comp. Deut. v. 27.

[s] Other like instances of express consent on man's part may be seen in Gen. xxviii. 20, &c. Exod. xix. 8. Josh. xxiv. 21, 24, 25. 2 Chron. xv. 14, 15. xxiii. 16. xxix. 10. xxxiv. 31. Ezr. x. 3. Nehem. ix. 38. x. 28, 29, 39.

[t] Hinc apparet, cum ipsum poculum *novum testamentum* esse *in suo sanguine* Christus dixisse legitur, aliud nihil intelligendum esse, quam vini, ex illo poculo, potu, *novi testamenti* quod nobiscum suo sanguine interveniente pepigit (seu potius *sui sanguinis*, qui ad novum testamentum confirmandum fusus fuit) *commemorationem* fieri.——Ipsi bibentes, novum testamentum *prædicant* et *commemorant*; idque secum pactum fuisse, aliis *testantur* ac *significant*.——Sicque sibi persuasum esse indicant. *Socin. de Usu et Fine Cœnæ Domini*, p. 36. alias 759. Opp. tom i. Conf. Catech. Racov. sect. vi. c. 4. p. 239. Slichting. in 1 Cor. xi. 25.

Crellius's account is not much different, in making it to be a kind of *declaration* or *testification* of our partaking of, or pertaining to the new covenant. [Testamentum vero, sive *fœdus novum* ideo appellatur, quia sit solennis ritus, quo omnes Christiani in perpetuum profiteri debeant, se ad *novum fœdus* pertinere. *Crellii Ethic.* p. 352. conf. 353.] This is just such another

Lord's words in that case may mean only, that this sacramental cup, or wine, is a *memorial* or *commemoration* of the *blood* once shed, and of the *covenant* therein founded, or thereby executed. But if we have hitherto gone upon sure grounds, it will be easy to throw off those laboured subtilties. For since it is manifest, from the express doctrine of the Apostle, that the Eucharist is not barely a *memorial*, but a *communion* also of the *blood*, and of what goes along with it; it will undeniably follow, that the same Eucharist is not merely a *memorial* of the *covenant*, going along with the blood, but a *communion* also, or *participation* of it, on man's side: and if there be a participation on one side, there must be also a *communication* on the other side; and so both parts are complete. God readmits us into covenant, and we reaccept, under this appointed form, under this holy solemnity; and thus the mutual league of amity is reestablished, the compact renewed and confirmed. Every worthy receiver, as often as he *symbolically* receives the *blood*, revives and recruits his interest in our Lord's *passion*, and in the *covenant* thereupon founded: he takes new hold of it, and binds himself over to it by more and stronger ties; which is what we mean by *renewing* the baptismal covenant in this other Sacrament of the holy Eucharist. How insignificant, unedifying, and comfortless, in comparison, is a bare *commemoration!* It neither answers the *force* of our Lord's words, farther interpreted by St. Paul, nor the purposes of *holiness*, nor the nature, ends, or uses of the *spiritual* life, nor God's usual *methods* of dealing with his Church and people in all former ages.

4. The *federal* nature of the Eucharist may be farther confirmed from the very observable *analogy*, which St. Paul takes notice of and illustrates [u], between the *Sacrament* of the holy Communion, and the *sacrifices* of the Jews and Gentiles. *They* were of a *federal* nature, by

evasion, as the interpreting *communion* by a *declaration* of communion, and admits of the like answer. See above, p. 205, &c.

[u] 1 Cor. x. 16.

the Apostle's account of them; and so must *this* be also, if it was in that very view that he formed the comparison, or parallel. I beg leave here to use the words of a very judicious and learned Prelate of our Church, who says; "In the ancient *sacrifices*, both among Jews and heathens, one part of the *victim* was offered upon the *altar*, "and another reserved to be eaten of those persons in "whose name the *sacrifice* was made: this was accounted a sort of partaking of *God's table*, and was a *federal* "rite, whereby he owned his *guests* to be in his *favour*, "and under his *protection*, as they by offering sacrifices "*acknowledged* him to be *their God*[x].—The Lord's Supper was always believed to *succeed* in the place of *sacrifices*[y].—Eating the Lord's Supper was the same rite in "the Christian Church with eating the things offered in "*sacrifice* among the Jews and heathens. It is an act of "*communion* or *fellowship* with God, at whose table we "are said to be entertained; and therefore it is declared "to be inconsistent with *eating* the Gentile sacrifices, "which is an act of communion with devils, to whom "these sacrifices were offered[z]." From these plain and undeniable principles it directly follows, that the Eucharist is, at the lowest, a *federal rite:* I say, at the lowest, because more than that has been proved, as I conceive, in a former chapter, which treats of 1 Cor. x. 16.

A late Divine of our Church, in a little piece of his upon this subject, has a *distinction* worth the examining, which I shall here give the reader in his own words: "The Lord's Supper is not properly *the federal rite*, or "*the covenant rite*, but the *memorial* of it: the death of "Christ was the *federal rite*, and the Lord's Supper is "the *memorial* of Christ's death. But though the Lord's "Supper is neither a *proper* sacrifice, nor the *great*, *original*, or *primitive* federal rite, strictly speaking; yet being a *feast upon a sacrifice*, (or in *commemoration* of that

[x] Archbishop Potter on Church Government, p. 266.
[y] Ibid. p. 265. [z] Ibid. p. 269, 270.

"great sacrifice of the death of Christ, which was the "*true* and *proper* federal or covenant rite,) it may be "styled a *federal* rite, in the same sense, in which the "Jews eating of their sacrifices was or might be esteem-"ed to be such a rite, *viz.* an open profession of their "being in *covenant* with God, and having devoted them-"selves to his service as his peculiar people[z]." I said, this *distinction* was worth the examining. I judge it not *accurate*, nor indeed *right* upon the whole: but it appears to be well aimed; and it points out to us some difficulties which seem to want a clearer solution. The *distinction* would have answered better, had it been made to run between *covenant* and *covenant*, (than between federal rites, *proper* and *improper*,) or between covenant considered *at large* and *particular* stipulations. If the death of Christ is properly a *federal rite* at all, it is with respect to the covenant made between God the Father and Christ Jesus, in behalf of mankind *collectively* considered, and not with respect to the several *stipulations* coming after, and made between God and particular men. The Eucharist may as *properly* be said to be a *federal* rite with regard to these particular stipulations, as the death of Christ can be supposed to be with regard to the *new covenant* at large. But I much question, whether the *death of Christ* ought to be called a *federal rite* at all; which appears to be too low and too diminutive a name for it: especially considering the ill use which the Socinians have been apt to make of it. The death of Christ is really the *price* of our *redemption*, the *valuable consideration*, whereupon the covenant was founded, and in which it stands. It was submitted to, once for all, and is never to be repeated; which sufficiently distinguishes it from whatever has hitherto passed under the name of a *federal rite*, and shows it to be a thing of much higher consideration. Therefore, let not the name of *federal rite* be so *improperly* applied to what was no *rite* at all, nor can ever

[z] Mapletoft's Plain Account of the Lord's Supper, p. 138.

come under the common or proper notion of a religious or federal *rite*. But the sacrifices and sacraments of the Jewish Church were properly *federal rites:* and since the Christian Sacraments are allowed to be federal rites in as *proper* a sense as those were, that is sufficient to our purpose. They were ceremonious observances, made use of in *stipulations* between God and man; and so are these: not *essential* to the stipulation *necessitate medii*, but *necessitate præcepti;* not in themselves, but as *required*, and made necessary to us by free and voluntary appointment. However, they are more than an *open profession* of our being in *covenant* with God: they are *covenanting* rites, or *stipulating* acts, by which our stipulation with God either *commences*, (as in Baptism,) or is *renewed*, as in the other Sacrament, which we are now upon.

The author last cited allows the Eucharist to be a *feast upon a sacrifice*, and so of consequence a *federal feast*. This is a notion which may deserve a more particular consideration in this place; and the rather because it was very plausibly advanced by an eminent Divine of our Church near a hundred years ago[a], and long passed current among divines and critics of the first rank, both here and abroad, but has been lately disputed by several learned hands, with great acuteness, though perhaps not with equal solidity. It may be a piece of justice due to a great man, and to an important cause, to examine fairly, but as briefly also as may be, the strength of what has been objected to a prevailing notion, which for some time appeared, and still appears, to carry in it the features of truth. The notion, in short, is this; that the Eucharist, considered in its spiritual and mystical view, is a *feast upon a sacrifice*, (*viz.* the sacrifice once offered upon the cross,) bearing some *analogy* to the Jewish *sacrificial feasts*, which were figures or shadows of this true spiritual feeding. For as those were banquets upon *typical* sacri-

[a] Dr. Cudworth, True Notion of the Lord's Supper, A. D. 1642. first edit.

fices, this is a banquet upon the *real* sacrifice, to which they pointed: and as those banquets were *federal* directly, with respect to the *legal* covenant; so is this banquet *federal* with respect to the *evangelical* covenant, formerly couched under the legal one. This, I think, is the sum and substance of Dr. Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper. Next let us examine what has been objected to it.

The first considerable author that appeared against it, was a learned Divine of our own [b], who had an *hypothesis* to serve, of which I shall say nothing here, reserving it for the next chapter, where it shall be examined at large. Most of his objections against Dr. Cudworth's notion belong to that hypothesis of a *material* sacrifice, and therefore may here be passed over. I shall only take notice of one thing objected, namely, that neither priests nor people ever feasted on any sacrifices, which *they* had not *offered before;* therefore Dr. Cudworth's notion suits not with the ancient *sacrificial feasts* [c]. But it is easy to reply, that one disagreeing circumstance, found among many resembling ones, is not sufficient to overturn the *analogy:* besides, in this very case, the *Christian feast*, or *feastings*, upon what was *offered* by the *true* High Priest Christ Jesus, very fitly answer, in the analogy, to the Jewish feastings upon what had been offered by their *typical* priests, or high priest: so that I see no force at all in the objection.

Another learned writer, some years after, expressed his dislike of Dr. Cudworth's notion, and argued against it as far as either wit or learning could supply: I shall here consider his objections.

1. He intimates, as if it were absurd that Christians "should feast upon something that is a sacrifice, and not "offered [d]." But were not Christ's body and blood *offered?* That is the *sacrifice* which Christians feast upon in

[b] Hickes's Christian Priesthood, p. 165. I use the third edition of 1711.

[c] Hickes, ibid. p. 170.

[d] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 338. alias 344.

the Eucharist, according to Dr. Cudworth: they feast upon the *passion*.

2. It is further pleaded, that Dr. Cudworth's notion seems "much of a piece with that conceit of the Calvin-"ists, that we receive the natural body of Christ in the "Eucharist, though as far distant from us as heaven is "from the earth[e]." But that *conceit*, as it is called, is a very sober truth, if understood of *receiving* the natural body into *closer* mystical *union*, as explained in a preceding chapter. However, Dr. Cudworth's notion of a *banquet* relates not to the body considered as *glorified*, but to the body considered as *crucified*, in which respect only it is *eaten*; so that this objection may be looked upon as *foreign*.

3. It is farther objected by the same learned author, that "upon this supposition our Saviour made a feast "upon the sacrifice, before the sacrifice had been offer-"ed[f]." And why might he not, especially when the time was so near approaching, and the sacrifice just going to be offered, that it might well be *considered* as a thing done? This objection however affects only the first and *original* Eucharist, not the succeeding ones: and the like objection might be as justly urged against the *original passover*, as differing in its nature and notion from the passovers that succeeded. It might be pleaded, for instance, that the paschal feast was no *memorial*, no *passover*, because the *first* passover (which was the *pattern* for the following ones) was *previous*[g] to the great transaction *commemorated* in it, *previous* to the *passing over* the dwellings of the Hebrews. But such kind of arguing in that Sacrament would be justly rejected as *frivolous* or *captious*, since there was no more difference between the *original* passover and the *later* ones, than the necessary difference of circumstances required. Such is the case also with respect to the *original* Eucharist, and the *later*

[e] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 338. alias 344.

[f] Johnson, ibid. part ii. pref. p. 3.

[g] See Exod. xii. 21, &c.

Eucharists: the same kind of prolepsis will equally solve the difficulty, whether here or there.

4. It is objected, that it "cannot be said that the Eu-"charist is a feast on a sacrifice," unless it be allowed either that the bare *elements* are a *sacrifice*, or else that they are transubstantiated into the *real* body[h]. But a *symbolical* or *spiritual* feast upon a sacrifice (which is all that Dr. Cudworth maintains) may very well be supposed without either: the *sacrificial feast*, which we here plead for, is not a feast of the *mouth*, but of the *mind*; not a bodily banquet, but a banquet of the soul, upon the *fruits* of the death of Christ.

5. It is objected, that Christ's *crucified* body, and blood *shed*, are now no more, have *no being* as such, and therefore there can be *no feast upon them*; consequently, it is but an *airy notion* to imagine any such *feast* or *sacrifice*[i]. To which we may reply, that though the *crucified* body, as such, is not, and though the blood *shed* is not, yet the *fruits* remain, and ever will remain, as a *feast* for good men here and hereafter: but as to *oral* manducation, either of the *natural* body, or of the *res sacramenti*, (whatever it is supposed to be,) and as to a *material* feast, and a material *sacrifice* in the Eucharist, those indeed have been *favourite notions* among many, but are not sufficiently supported by *Scripture* or *antiquity*. I meet with nothing more, in the last learned writer, against Dr. Cudworth's explication of the Lord's Supper. But I may note, by the way, that whereas it had been before objected, that the notion was entirely *new* and *singular*, this learned gentleman is so ingenuous as to own, "that the "ancients did sometimes speak of receiving the Sacra-"ment, as of a banquet upon what had been first offered "to God[k]," and with some *allusion* also to the feasts upon the *peace offerings* under the Law[l]. And I may

[h] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. pref. p. 4.
[i] Johnson, ibid. p. 4.
[k] Johnson, ibid. part i. p. 338. alias 344.
[l] Johnson, ibid. p. 345.

add, that the ancient testimonies referred to, plainly show, that those *ancients* spoke of a banquet upon the *things signified*, (not upon the *signs* only,) and upon the *real* sacrifice, not upon the bare *memorial:* so that Dr. Cudworth's notion accords well with those ancients.

From our own Divines I may next proceed to some learned foreigners, of the Lutheran way, who have also, now lately, expressed some dissatisfaction with respect to Dr. Cudworth's hypothesis: for though they readily approve of his rejecting any *corporeal* or *material* sacrifice in the Eucharist, yet finding that his notion is not favourable to *local* presence and *oral* manducation, they also have shown some inclination to discredit it, or, if it might be, to confute it.

The learned Pfaffius, in the year 1715, made some mention of Dr. Cudworth's hypothesis; first, commending it as very *ingenious*, and next labouring to warp it to the Lutheran notion of a *real* and *local* presence[m]. But at the same time, he took notice of some *objections* made to it, (mostly the same which I have above recited and answered,) and honoured them with his own approbation[n]. Besides which, he thought also of a *new* objection, which may here deserve considering.

The objection is, that Christ was properly a *sin offering*, answering to the Levitical sacrifices of that kind, which were never feasted upon; therefore the eucharistical banquet does not aptly correspond to the *sacrificial feasts*, which were appropriate to *peace offerings*, and belonged not to *sin offerings*[o]. But the answer to this is very short and obvious: Christ our Lord was a *sin offering* and a *peace offering*, both in one; as is plainly taught

[m] Pfaffius, Dissertat. de Obl. Vet. Eucharist. p. 199.

[n] Pfaffius, ibid. p. 170, 171. et in Addendis.

[o] Nec negari tamen potest, S. *Eucharistiam* in eo ab *epulo sacrificiali* differre, quod hoc ex sacrificio *pro peccato* (cujus sanguis in sanctum sanctorum inferri debuit, et *quale* Christus fuit, 2 Cor. v. 21. Hebr. ix. 12.) non confici, nec sanguis unquam bibi potuit. Levit. vi. 30. Deut. vii. 27. Pfaff. p. 171.

by St. Paul[p]. And if the sacrifice of Christ be considered in the Eucharist, under its most comfortable, most endearing view, as a *peace offering*, (not excluding the other views,) have we any reason to object against so wise and so kind an institution? To represent the sacrifice of Christ merely as a *sin offering*, would be representing nothing but the melancholy and dismal part of it, which had not the *sweet odour*, the *sweetsmelling savour* accompanying it. Dr. Cudworth's notion of a *sacrificial feast* goes upon the more delightful view, as St. Paul's also does in the text before referred to: therefore there is no more room for objecting, in this respect, against our learned author, than there is for objecting against the blessed Apostle. But I pass on.

The excellent Buddæus (in a dissertation written in 1715, published in 1727) expresses himself with great caution and tenderness concerning Dr. Cudworth's notion of the Lord's Supper: and all the fault he has to find with it is, that it appears not favourable to the Lutheran notion of the *real* presence, resolving the eucharistical supper (as he supposed) into *signs* only and *symbols*[q]. The objection runs in terms too *general* and *indefinite*: for *real presence* is a phrase of some latitude, and capable of more senses than one. If a *real* participation of the *fruits* of Christ's passion, together with a *real* strengthening of the *mystical* union of our bodies with Christ's *glorified* body (however *distant*) may suffice, Dr. Cudworth's notion will not be found defective so far: but if the design of the objection be to plead for an *oral* manducation of Christ's *natural* body, or a *local* presence of it, (crucified or glorified,) that stands upon no authority of *Scripture* or *antiquity*, but was condemned long

[p] Ephes. v. 1. Conf. Wolfius in loc. Witsii Miscellan. Sacr. lib. ii. diss. 2. p. 511, 512. Deylingii Observat. Sacr. tom. i. p. 315, 316. Outram, de Sacrif. p. 209—214.

[q] Haud obscure eo tendit, ut solum pro *signo* atque *symbolo* quodam [sacra cœna] habeatur, quod cum præsentia *reali* corporis ac sanguinis Christi consistere nequit. *Buddæus*, *Observ. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 69.

ago by our Lord himself, in his answer to the Capernaites[r].

Another very learned and ingenious Lutheran has taken particular pains to confute (if it were possible) Dr. Cudworth's True Notion, in his notes upon the Latin version, and in his preface to the same, printed A. D. 1733. His great concern is for the real and local presence: and he represents Dr. Cudworth, not only as making the elements bare *symbols* and *figures*, which is true, but as making the *Lord's Supper* itself nothing more than a *memorial*[s]; which is contrary to *truth* and *fact*, and is a manifest injury done to his very learned author. For how could Dr. Cudworth be supposed to make the Eucharist a bare *memorial*, when he professedly contends for a *real* spiritual banquet, a *real* feasting upon all the *benefits* of the grand sacrifice? Is *partaking* of the sacrifice nothing more than *commemorating?* Or is the *feast* ever the less *real*, for being *spiritual* and *heavenly*, and reaching both to *soul* and *body;* both to this world and the world to come? It is plain enough that Dr. Cudworth's notion is no way favourable to the *figurists*, or *memorialists*, but much otherwise; yea more so by far, than the notion or notions which are set up against it. For the certain truth is, (and why should it be any longer dissembled?) that none give so great advantage to the *figurists*, as those that contend for *oral* manducation, and make the sacramental feast *common* both to worthy and

[r] John vi. 63.

[s] Non obscure hic vir doctissimus significat, eorum sese favere partibus, qui panem et vinum, quibus frui datur illis qui ad sacram cœnam accedunt, *symbola* tantum et *imagines* corporis et sanguinis Servatoris nostri esse; ipsum vero hoc convivium ritum esse eo unice institutum consilio putant, ut *memoria* magni sacrificii illius repetatur et renovetur, quod pro generis humani peccatis Christus in cruce supremo numini intulit. *Moshem. in Notis*, p. 10. confer p. 11, 12.

Sapiunt hæc scholam cœtus illius, qui semetipsum *reformatum* dici vult; cui quidem s. cœna nihil est, quam *adumbratio* beneficiorum morte et meritis Jesu Christi humano generi partorum.——*Reformati signis* tantum et *imaginibus* sacrificii potiri suos opinantur in sacra cœna. *Moshem. in Præfat.*

unworthy; and who, in order to bring that about, interpret the words of the *institution*, as likewise 1 Cor. x. 16, &c. so as to exclude all intimation of *benefits*. Which is what the *figurists* most of all wish for: and if that be once granted them, they desire nothing farther to carry their cause.

But that I may not seem to lay a charge of this nature without sufficient grounds, let it but be considered how the last learned objector[t] to Dr. Cudworth's notion, labours to elude all Scripture proof of *benefits*, as drawn from 1 Cor. x. 16. only to make the sacramental feeding common both to *good* and *bad*, (as his hypothesis requires,) and so at length to resolve the Apostle's whole sense into this only, that all communicants equally receive what the Apostle there speaks of, and that the text is not to be understood of any *spiritual union* of good men, but of an *external* profession, or *outward* membership[u]: which, so far, is the very same interpretation that the Socinians and other *figurists* warmly contend for. It is true, he supposes the Lord's natural body and blood to be really or locally *present*, as well as really *received*, (which the *figurists* deny,) but he supposes no spiritual *benefits* to be intimated in the text, because he supposes every communicant to receive *all* that is there spoken of,

[t] Hic monuisse satis erit, premi ab eo vestigia præcipuorum *reformati cœtus doctorum*, &c.——velle enim eos notum est, ideo cœnam a Servatore nostro potissimum esse institutam, ut *sancti homines*, qui ad eam accedunt, cum Christo et Servatore suo arctius conjungantur, et *beneficiorum* hominibus ab eo partorum reddantur *participes*: nos vero repudiare, quia *omnes* homines, sive *probi* sint sive *improbi*, corporis et sanguinis Domini *vere fieri compotes* in sacra cœna statuimus. Quæ quidem eorum sententia haud patitur, ut verba sancti hominis aliter quam de *spirituali conjunctione fidelium* cum Christo accipiant. Mihi vero expositio hæc neque verbis Pauli, neque proposito ejus videtur esse consentaneum——*generatim* et *universe* tradit, sacram cœnam communionem esse corporis et sanguinis Christi; nec Christianorum aliquem, ad sacrum hoc epulum venientium, *cujuscunque demum sit indolis*, ab hac communione excludit. *Moshem. in Notis*, p. 30.

[u] Cum in sacra cœna Christiani compotes fiant corporis et sanguinis Domini, *testenturque*, quoties sacrum illum cibum sumunt, sese inter se conjunctos et unius sacræ civitatis membra esse. *Moshem. in Præfat.*

though the *unworthy* can receive no *benefits*. Thus the force of St. Paul's doctrine in that place (so far as concerns spiritual *benefits*) is eluded and frustrated. And when those prime texts are thus explained away, what other Scripture texts are there left sufficient to found the doctrine of *spiritual benefits* upon? I know there is a distinction, by the help of which *good* men may be *presumed* to receive *benefits*, and *bad* men *detriment* from the same things: but the question now is not whether good men *may* receive benefits, but whether these or any other texts positively teach that they infallibly *do*. If the words of *institution*, and those of St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. do not teach it, I must frankly profess, that I know not what other texts can be justly thought to do it without them. So that in the last result, for the sake of I know not what *corporal* or *local presence*, and *oral* manducation, the most important article of all, which concerns *spiritual benefits*, is left to shift for itself, divested of *Scripture proof*, and standing only on *tradition*, or the *courtesy* of the common adversaries. The *Reformed* churches (strictly so called) have been often, and very invidiously charged upon this head. But after all, they are the men who have formerly been, and still are, the true and faithful supporters of the doctrine of *spiritual benefits* in the Eucharist[x]. They maintain it in a *rational*, *consistent* way, and, as becomes them, upon a *Scripture foot*; grounding that doctrine chiefly on our Lord's words in the *institution*, and upon the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 16. If they who *participate* of Christ's body and blood, in the sense there *intended*, are really *ingrafted* into Christ, and are *vital* members of him, and *one* with him, then indeed the doctrine of spiritual *graces* or *benefits* rests upon firm ground: but if men may *participate* of the same, in the sense there spoken of, however *unworthy*, and in heart

[x] Compare Werenfels. Dissertat. de Cœna Domini, c. iii. p. 352, &c. alias p. 202, &c. item 405. alias 230.

and life *alienated* from Christ, and without any spiritual *benefits* at all; then it plainly follows, that the *communion of Christ's body* and *blood* does not, in itself, imply any benefits at all, neither do those *texts*, nor perhaps any other, teach any such doctrine; but the doctrine must be left to stand, as it can, either upon bare *presumption*, or at most upon the *tradition* of the Church. Let but any man look into the learned writings of Chemnitius, for example, or Gerhard, to see how they prove the *beneficial* nature of this Sacrament; and there it will be found, that all, in a manner, resolves into this, that since Christ's body and blood is there given, all spiritual graces are by implication therewith given. Right, if as many as receive the *body* and *blood*, in St. Paul's sense of *communion*, receive also the *graces*. But that they deny: for the *unworthy* communicants are supposed to receive the body, without the *graces*. Therefore there is no certain connection, in their way, between the *body* and the *graces*: therefore the main argument of all, on which the doctrine of such *graces* depends, is defeated; and St. Paul's meaning in 1 Cor. x. amounts only to a *commemoration* of Christ's death, or an *outward* profession of Christ's religion, which indeed is what the learned Mosheim (as before noted) resolves it into. From hence then let the indifferent readers now judge, whether the learned Cudworth, or his learned adversary, most favours the *memorialists*. One admits of *benefits*, and can *prove* them by St. Paul's words, justly interpreted; the other admits them *verbally*, but in effect destroys them, by destroying the prime standing *proofs* upon which they rest.

I thought it of some moment thus previously to remove a *prejudice*, wrongfully thrown upon Dr. Cudworth's notion in particular, and upon the *Reformed* Divines in general: and now I proceed to examine what his learned antagonist has farther advanced in the way of *argument*. He has not indeed produced any *new* argument beyond what I have before mentioned, and an-

swered; but he has pitched upon two of them, as most considerable, endeavouring to reinforce them in more pompous form.

1. The first is, that Christ had not yet *offered* himself a *sacrifice*, when he *instituted* the Eucharist: therefore the *original* Eucharist was not a feast *consequent* upon a sacrifice: therefore the subsequent Eucharists, being undoubtedly of the *same kind* with the *first*, are not feasts upon a sacrifice[y]. I desire the reader to look back to the answer before given to the same objection, as proposed by a learned writer of our own[z]. All I shall here farther add is, that many learned writers, ancient and modern, (as I shall have occasion to show in my next chapter,) have taught, that Christ did really *offer* himself as a *sacrifice*, *before* his passion, and *in* his passion, and *after*; and that those three several acts may be justly looked upon as *one continued oblation*. If this hypothesis be admitted, the edge of the objection is blunted, or broken at once, without more ado: or if it be rejected, yet the former answer will stand in full force.

2. The second objection is, that the sacrifice of Christ corresponds to the *sin offerings* of old, (which had no *feasts* following,) and not to the *peace offerings*, which had[a]. This was before objected by Pfaffius, and has been answered above[b]. But I may here add, that St. Paul himself conceived that the sacrifice of Christ corresponded, some way or other, to the *peace offerings*, as appears by the parallel which he draws (1 Cor. x.) between the *peace offerings* of the law and the *Eucharist* under the Gospel. If St. Paul, notwithstanding that he supposed the Eucharist to be a representation, memorial, and communion of our Lord's *passion*, yet conceived it *analogous* to the *peace offerings*, and to the *feasts* thereupon; then certainly Dr. Cudworth could not be much out of the way, in maintaining the same *analogy*, or in conceiving

[y] Moshem. in Præfat.
[a] Moshem. in Præfat.
[z] See above, p. 327.
[b] See above, p. 329.

that the two notions of *Christ's sacrifice*, and of a *sacrificial banquet*, are consistent with each other, and agree well together. So that it is in vain to argue against Dr. Cudworth's notion from such topics as equally affect the Apostle himself. I have before examined [c] this learned gentleman's account of St. Paul's reasoning in that chapter, and have shown where it is defective: but be that as it will, it cannot be denied that the Apostle is there speaking of the *sacrificial feasts* among the Jews, and that he judged the Eucharist to be a feast of *like kind*, bearing such resemblance to them, as was sufficient to support his argument, and to make good his parallel. So much in answer to the learned Mosheim, in behalf of our learned countryman.

There is another very eminent Lutheran, who, as late as the year 1736, has given his judgment of Dr. Cudworth's notion, in terms of respect, and with his own approbation [d], as to the main of the notion; referring also to St. Paul, as affording sufficient warrant for it.

My readers will, I hope, candidly excuse the excursion here made, in order to do justice to a very *great man* in the first place, and next, to the *Reformed* Divines in general, and at the same time to a very important article of religion, which concerns the spiritual *benefits* conferred in the Eucharist. Upon the whole, I take leave to say, that the objections raised against the notion espoused by Dr. Cudworth, appear to be rather ingenious than solid, rather in-

[c] Above, p. 226—231.

[d] A sacrificio distingui solet *epulum sacrificiale*, quale de *oblatis* olim et Pagani et Israelitæ instituere solebant.——Et hoc ipsum epulum *sacrificium* interdum appellatur, &c.——Cum ejusmodi epulo sacrificiali S. Eucharistia non incommode comparari potest. Præivit Apostolus 1 Cor. x. 14. et fusius id demonstravit Cudworthus in libro de Vera Notione Cœnæ Dominicæ, Lond. 1642. et 1676.——Nos igitur intercedere nollemus, si adversarii [viz. *pontificii*] hoc sensu s. cœnam *sacrificium*, aut *epulum de sacrificio* dicere vellent. Nam Servator partem quasi victimæ pro nobis oblatæ, videlicet corpus et sanguinem suum, in hoc epulo nobis comedendum et bibendum exhibet, cum inquit: *Edite, hoc est corpus meum; Bibite, hic est sanguis meus.* Sed pontificii non *epulum de sacrificio*, sed sacrificium *verum*, et *proprie* dictum, esse contendunt. *Deyling. Observ. Miscellan.* p. 294.

dustriously sought, upon foreign considerations, than naturally arising from the subject-matter, and proving at length, not that there is any thing faulty in his notion, but that there are faults in those other schemes, which stand in opposition to it, or comport not with it. The favourable reception which the notion had met with amongst our own Divines all along, till very lately, and also among very considerable Divines abroad, (both Lutheran and Reformed [e],) is a great commendation of it. Dr. Pelling, in his treatise on the Sacrament, has made frequent use of it, and has enlarged upon it; and may properly be consulted for those parts, wherein Cudworth himself may seem to have been rather too concise, and sparing of words.

The *notion* then being sufficiently fixed and established, we have nothing now remaining, but to pursue it in its just consequences, or inferences, for the supporting the point in hand. If the Eucharist be indeed a *sacrificial feast*, in such a sense as hath been mentioned, it will inevitably follow, that it is also a *federal* banquet, carrying in it the force of a *compact*, or *stipulation*, between God and man. This conclusion, or corollary, is drawn out at large by Dr. Cudworth in a distinct chapter [f], and still more largely by other learned and judicious writers [g]; and I need not repeat. Only because some exceptions are made to the evidence, brought to prove that *covenants* were anciently struck and ratified by *feasting* together, I may briefly consider those exceptions. To the instance of Isaac so covenanting with Abimelech [h], it is objected, that the covenant was *subsequent* to the feast [i], and therefore there was not a feast *upon*, or *after* a covenant, as Dr.

[e] See several of them numbered up by Mosheim in Præfat.

[f] Cudworth, chap. vi.

[g] Pelling on the Sacrament, chap. iii. iv. Compare Abp. Potter on Church Government, p. 266. Vitringa, Observ. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 113. Dodwell, One Altar, cap. vii. p. 165. Mede's Christian Sacrifice, p. 370. Bp. Patrick's Christian Sacrifice, p. 31, &c.

[h] Gen. xxvi. 28—31.

[i] Moshem. in Notis, p. 34.

Cudworth's notion supposes. But then it must be observed, that Isaac and Abimelech met together in order to *treat*, and they *settled* the *terms* either *at* the feast or *before* it; and what was done after, was no more than executing in *form* the things before concluded: besides that the whole may be considered as but *one continued act* of covenanting along with a feast. The next instance is that of Laban's covenanting with Jacob by a *feast*[k]: which is permitted to pass without any objection. A third is that of the Israelites victualling, and thereby covenanting with the Gibeonites[l]: to which it is objected, as in the first instance, that the covenant was *subsequent*[m]. But the truth is, the feast and the covenant were one entire transaction, one federal feasting, or festial covenanting. There are other the like slight exceptions made to other evidences[n]; which might be as easily replied to, were it needful: but I forbear, lest I should be tedious to the reader.

The Socinians, in general, are adversaries to this *federal* doctrine, as not consistent with their principles. Yet some of them unawares (such is the force of truth) have been observed to come into it, or to drop such expressions as appear tantamount. Crellius in particular (who was a great refiner of the *Socinian system*) scruples not to allow, that as in *Circumcision* formerly, so likewise in *Baptism* and in the *Eucharist* now, men bind themselves to the observance of the Divine law, as by a pledge of their obedience[o]. Which, if admitted, does of course imply a reciprocal engagement, on God's part, to confer spiritual blessings and privileges: so that this concession does in

[k] Gen. xxxi. 43—55. [l] Josh. ix. 14, 15.

[m] Moshem. ibid. p. 34. [n] Moshem. p. 35, &c.

[o] Adde quod *Circumcisio* sit signum quoddam et tessera totius religionis Judaicæ in lege præscriptæ, ita ut ea suscepta, veluti pignore se homines *legi obstringant*, non aliter quam *Baptismus* in Christi nomine susceptus, vel etiam *cœnæ Dominicæ* usus tessera quædam est et symbolum Christianismi. *Crellius in Gal.* v. 3.

plain consequence amount to declaring both Sacraments to be *federal rites* [p].

Socinus, being aware that the ancient sacrifices were *federal* rites, and that they were as *seals* and *pledges* of a *covenant* between God and the people; and being aware also, that our Lord, in the institution of the Eucharist, had called the wine *the blood of the covenant;* was distressed for a reason, why the Eucharist should not be esteemed a *federal* rite, as well as those sacrifices. At length he thought to account for it by saying, that to the blood of the sacrifices *answers* the *real* blood of Christ shed upon the cross, and not the *wine* in the Lord's Supper [q]. The force of his reasoning stands only in the *equivocal* meaning of the word *answers:* for, if he meant it of the *antitype* answering to the *type*, it is true what he says, that our Lord's real blood *answers*, in that sense, to the *blood* of the sacrifices; and it answers also to the *wine*, the symbol of it; but if he meant it (as he ought to have meant it) of *symbol* answering to *symbol*, or of one *typical service* answering to another *typical service*, by way of *analogy;* then it is plain, that the *wine* in the Eucharist so *answers* to the *blood* of the sacrifices, being that they are representations of the *same thing*, and are *federal* by the *same virtue*, and under the *like views*, and therefore fitly answer to each other, as *analogous* rites.

Dr. Pelling refutes the same objection thus: "Though

[p] The sense of the *primitive* Church, with regard to the Eucharist as a *covenanting* rite, may be learned from the famous passage of Pliny quoted above, chap. i. p. 32. To which agrees that passage of St. Austin: Voventur omnia quæ offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio, quo *sacramento* prædicatur nostrum illud *votum maximum*, quo nos vovimus in Christo esse mansuros, utique in compage corporis Christi: cujus rei sacramentum est, quod unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus. *Augustin. Epist.* cxlix. p. 509. edit. Bened. It was *binding* themselves by solemn *vow* or *oath* to abstain from all iniquity, and to adhere to godly living. Which amounted to a renewal of their Baptismal covenant. Such a way of covenanting with God by solemn *vow*, or *oath*, is not without precedent under the Old Testament. Deut. xxix. 12. 2 Chron. xv. 14. Ezra x. 5. Nehem. x. 29. And so God also covenanted by *oath* with men. Isa. xvi. 8.

[q] Socin. de Usu et Fine Cœnæ, p. 46. alias 761.

" we grant what Socinus affirms, that it is not the *wine*, " but the *blood* of Christ, which *answers* to the ancient " sacrifices; yet since the wine is the *representation* and " *communication* of Christ's blood, we must conclude that " it *communicates* those benefits for which that blood was " shed; and consequently that it *seals* that covenant to " every faithful communicant *in particular*, which the " blood of Christ sealed to all mankind *in general*. And " as it is true that our Saviour's *passion* did *answer* those " *sacrifices* which were offered up of old; so it is true " also, that this *holy banquet* doth *answer* those *sacrificial* " feasts which were used of old[r]." The sum of all is this: the *legal* sacrifices were *federal* rites, binding *legal* stipulations directly, and indirectly *evangelical* stipulations also, shadowed out by the other: the Gospel Sacraments, which by St. Paul's account (in 1 Cor. x.) bear an *analogy* to those legal sacrifices, do likewise *bind* in a way proper to them, and as suits with the *Gospel state:* therefore they do directly fix and ratify *evangelical* stipulations. These are properly *federal* rites of the Gospel state, as the other were properly *federal* rites of the legal economy.

It may be asked, why *verbal* professions, or *repeated* acknowledgments, may not amount to a *renewal* of a covenant, as much as a *Sacrament?* The reason is plain: *verbal* professions are not the federal *form* prescribed; and besides, at the most, they amount only to *verbal engagements*, and that but on *one side*, and therefore express no *mutual* contract. They amount not to a *communion* of Christ's body, or a *participation* of his sacrifice: they are not *the new covenant* in Christ's blood: they are not *drinking* into *one spirit*, nor *pledges* of our union in *one body*, like as the partaking of *one loaf* and of *one cup* is. In short, *Sacraments* are transactions of two parties, wherein *God* bears a share as well as *man*, and where the visible signs have an *inseparable* conjunction with the invisible graces signified, when duly administered to persons *wor-*

[r] Pelling on the Lord's Supper, p. 106.

thy. *Verbal* professions, singly considered, come far short of what has been mentioned, and therefore cannot be presumed to amount to a *renewal* of a *covenant*, like the other.

It may be pleaded perhaps, that *repentance* is the best *renewal* of our covenant, and is more properly so, than any *Sacrament* can be. But, on the other hand, it is certain, that repentance is rather a *qualification*, on our part, for renewing, than a *form* or *rite* of renewal; and it expresses only what *man* does, not what *God* does at the same time; and therefore it amounts not to *mutual* contract. The *terms* of a covenant ought to be distinguished from *acts* of covenanting, and the *things* stipulated from the *stipulation* itself, or from the *federal forms*. To be short, repentance is properly the *renewal* of the *man;* but the *renewal* of a *covenant* is quite another thing, and must include the reciprocal acts of both parties. It is very wrong to argue, that any act or performance of *one party* only can be *federal*, like a *Sacrament* which takes in both, and includes both *part* and *counterpart*. But the aim seems to be, to throw *God's* part out of the Sacraments, and then indeed they would not be *federal* rites, no, nor *Sacraments*, in any just sense.

I know of no material objection farther, so far as concerns the present article, and so I proceed to a new chapter.

CHAP. XII.

The Service of the EUCHARIST *considered in a Sacrificial View.*

THAT the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in whole or in part, in a sense proper or improper, is a *sacrifice* of the Christian Church, is a point agreed upon among all knowing and sober divines, Popish, Lutheran, or Reformed. But the Romanists have so often and so grievously abused the once innocent names of *oblation*, *sacrifice*, *propitiation*, &c. perverting them to an ill sense, and grafting

false doctrine and false worship upon them, that the Protestants have been justly jealous of admitting those names, or scrupulously wary and reserved in the use of them.

The general way, among both Lutheran and Reformed, has been to reject any *proper* propitiation, or *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist; admitting however of some kind of *propitiation* in a qualified sense, and of *sacrifice* also, but of a *spiritual* kind, and therefore styled *improper*, or *metaphorical*. Nevertheless Mr. Mede, a very learned and judicious Divine and Protestant, scrupled not to assert a *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist, (as he termed it,) a *material* sacrifice, the sacrifice of *bread* and *wine*, analogous to the *mincha* of the old Law[s]. This doctrine he delivered in the college chapel, A. D. 1635, which was afterwards published with improvements, under the title of The Christian Sacrifice. In the year 1642, the no less learned Dr. Cudworth printed his well known treatise on the same subject; wherein he as plainly denies any *proper*, or any *material* sacrifice in the Eucharist[t]; but admits of a *symbolical* feast upon a sacrifice[u], that is to say, upon the grand sacrifice itself *commemorated* under certain *symbols*. This appears to have been the prevailing doctrine of our Divines, both before and since. There can be no doubt of the current doctrine down to Mr. Mede: and as to what has most prevailed since, I need only refer to three very eminent Divines, who wrote in the years 1685, 1686, 1688[x].

In the year 1702, the very pious and learned Dr. Grabe published his Irenæus, and in his notes upon the author fell in with the sentiments of Mr. Mede, so far as concerns a *proper* and *material* sacrifice in the Eucharist[y]: and

[s] See Mede's Work, p. 355. edit. 3. A. D. 1672.

[t] Cudworth's True Notion of the Lord's Supper, chap. v. p. 77.

[u] Cudworth, ibid. p. 21, 78.

[x] Dr Pelling on the Sacrament, p. 41—47. Dr. Sharpe, (afterwards Archbishop,) vol. vii. Serm. 2. Dr. Payne's Disc. of the Sacrifice of the Mass, p. 42—54.

[y] Grabe in Iren. lib. iv. cap. 32. p. 323. edit. Oxon.

after him, our incomparably learned and judicious Bishop Bull, in an English treatise, gave great countenance to the same [z].

Dr. Grabe's declaring for a *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist, and at the same time censuring both Luther and Calvin, by name, for rejecting it, gave great alarm to the learned Protestants abroad, and excited several of them to reexamine the question about the eucharistical *sacrifice.*

The first who appeared was the excellent Buddæus [a], (A. D. 1705.) a Lutheran Divine of established character for learning, temper, and judgment; though he happened to betray some precipitancy in this matter: he appeared much concerned at what Dr. Grabe had written on this argument, but misapprehended him all the time, as was natural for him to do: for, imagining that Dr. Grabe had maintained a *real* presence in the Lutheran sense, and a *proper* sacrifice besides, the consequence was self-evident, that such a *presence* and *sacrifice* together could resolve into nothing else but the *sacrifice* of the *mass.* Therefore he treats Dr. Grabe all the way, as one that had asserted the *popish sacrifice:* and what confirmed him in the injurious suspicion was, that some of the Jesuits [b] (whether ignorantly or artfully) had boasted of Dr. Grabe as a declared man on their side, against both Luther and Calvin. However, Buddæus's dissertation on the subject is a well penned performance, and may be of good service to every careful reader, for the light it gives into the main question.

In the year 1706, a very learned Calvinist [c] occasionally engaged in the same question about the *sacrifice:* not with any view to Dr. Grabe, (so far as appears,) but in opposition only to the Romanists. However, I thought it pro-

[z] Bishop Bull's Answer to the Bishop of Meaux, p. 18, 19.

[a] Buddæus de Origine Missæ Pontificiæ, Miscell. Sacr. tom. i. p. 3—63.

[b] Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Sciences, &c. A. D. 1703.

[c] Sam. Basnage, Annal. tom. i. p. 370—374.

per just to make mention of him here, as falling within the same time, and being a great master of ecclesiastical antiquity.

Some time after, (A. D. 1709.) Ittigius, a learned Lutheran, took occasion to pass some strictures upon Dr. Grabe in that article[d]: then Deylingius[e] and Zornius[f], learned Lutherans, and all still pursuing the same mistake which Buddæus had fallen into.

But in the year 1715, the acute and candid Pfaffius (a Lutheran also) took care to do justice to Dr. Grabe's sentiments, (though not altogether approving them,) being so fair as to own, that Dr. Grabe's notion of the eucharistical *sacrifice* was nothing akin to the *sacrifice* of the *mass*[g]. Nevertheless others still went on in the first mistake: and among the rest, the celebrated Le Clerc[h], and a greater man than he, Campegius Vitringa[i]; and another fine writer[k], later than both; all of them condemning the doctrine, wrongfully, as *popish*. But it may be proper here to take notice, that the learned Deylingius, who had formerly charged Dr. Grabe too hastily, has, upon better information, retracted that censure, in a book lately published[l]: and the complaint now is, not that Dr. Grabe asserted the *sacrifice* of the *mass*, (which he heartily abhorred,) but that he rejected the *real*, local, or corporal *presence*[m], such as the Papists or Lutherans contend for: in which most certainly he judged right.

But before I close this brief historical view of that controversy, it may not be improper to observe how far the learned Pfaffius was inclinable to concur with Dr. Grabe in this article. He allows that the ancients, by *oblation*

[d] Ittigius, Histor. Eccles. primi Sæc. p. 204.
[e] Deylingius, Observat. Sacr. tom. i. n. 54. p. 262.
[f] Zornius, Opuscul. Sacr. tom. i. p. 732.
[g] Pfaffius, Irenæi Fragm. Anecdot. p. 106, &c. 499.
[h] Clerici Histor. Eccl. p. 772.
[i] Vitringa in Isa. tom. ii. p. 951.
[k] Moshem. A. D. 1733. in Præfat. ad Cudworth de Cœna.
[l] Deylingius, Observat. Miscel. p. 103. A. D. 1736.
[m] Vid. Deylingius, ibid. p. 77.

and *sacrifice*, meant more than *prayer*, and that it is even ludicrous to pretend the contrary[n]. He acknowledges that they speak of an *oblation* of *bread* and *wine*[o], and that the Eucharist is a *sacrifice* of *praise*[p], and *propitiatory* also in a qualified sober sense[q]. In short, he seems almost to yield up every thing that Dr. Grabe had contended for, excepting only the point of a *proper* or *material* sacrifice: and he looked upon that as resolving at length into a kind of *logomachy*, a difference in *words* or *names*, arising chiefly from the difficulty of determining what a *sacrifice* properly means, and from the almost insuperable perplexities among learned men, about the ascertaining any precise *definition* of it[r]. I am persuaded there is a good deal of truth in what that learned gentleman has said, and that a great part of the debate, so warmly carried on a few years ago, was more about *names* than things.

As the question arises chiefly out of what was taught by the ancient *Fathers*, it will be proper to inquire what they really meant by the word *sacrifice*, and in what sense they applied that name to the Eucharist, in whole or in part. St. Austin, who well understood both what the *Scripture* and the *Christian writers* before him had taught, defines or describes a *true sacrifice*, in the general, as follows: "*A true sacrifice* is any work done to keep up our "league of amity with God, referred to him as our sove- "reign good, in whom we may enjoy true felicity[s]." I follow his sense, rather than the strict letter, to make it the clearer to an English reader. St. Austin here judged it necessary for every such good work to be performed with a *view to God*, to be *referred* to his *glory*; otherwise it could not with any propriety be called a *sacrifice* to him: therefore even works of *mercy* done to man, out of

[n] Pfaffius, ibid. p. 50.
[o] Pfaffius, ibid. p. 254—274, 314, 344.
[p] Pfaffius, ibid. p. 330, 338.
[q] Pfaffius, p. 211, 229.
[r] Pfaffius, in Præfat. et p. 344, 345.
[s] *Verum sacrificium* est, omne opus quod agitur ut sancta societate inhæreamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse possimus. *Augustin. de Civit. Dei*, lib. x. cap. 6. p. 242.

compassion, tenderness, or humanity, though *true sacrifices* if considered as done with a *view to God*, would be no *sacrifice* at all, if they wanted that circumstance to recommend them[t]. From hence we may see what that Father's general notion of a *true sacrifice* was. He takes notice farther, that what had been commonly called *sacrifice*, is really nothing more than an outward *sign*, *token*, or *symbol* of true sacrifice[u]. The distinction here made may afford great light as to the meaning of the ancients, where they denominate the Eucharist a *sacrifice*, or a *true* and *perfect* sacrifice. They meant, for the most part, that it was true and *evangelical service*, as opposed to *legal:* in that sense, the eucharistical service was itself *true sacrifice*, and properly *our* sacrifice. And if, over and above, the *elements* themselves, unconsecrated, were ever called a *sacrifice*, or *sacrifices*, the meaning still was, that the *service* was the sacrifice: but when the *consecrated* elements had that name, it was only a metonymy of the *sign* for the *thing signified*, as they *represent*, and in effect exhibit the grand sacrifice of the cross.

It is worth observing, that in Scripture style, whatever exhibits any advantage or blessing in larger measure, or in a more eminent degree, is denominated *true*, in opposition to other things which only *appear* to do the like, or do it but *defectively*[x]. In such a sense as that, the Gospel services are the *true* sacrifices, called also under the Law, *sacrifices of righteousness*[y]. I know not how it comes to

[t] Misericordia *verum sacrificium* est.——Ipsa misericordia qua homini subvenitur, si *propter Deum* non fit, non est *sacrificium*.——Sacrificium *res divina* est, &c. *Augustin. ibid.*

[u] Illud quod ab omnibus appellatur *sacrificium*, *signum* est veri sacrificii. *Augustin. ibid.* Nec quod ab antiquis patribus talia sacrificia facta sunt in victimis pecorum (quod nunc Dei populus *legit*, non *facit*) aliud intelligendum est, nisi rebus illis eas res fuisse *significatas* quæ aguntur in nobis, in hoc ut *adhæreamus Deo*, et ad eundem finem *proximo* consulamus. Sacrificium ergo *visibile*, invisibilis sacrificii *sacramentum*, id est, *sacrum signum* est. *Ibid.* cap. 5.

[x] See John i. 4, 9, 17. vi. 32. ix. 23, 24. xv. 1. Luke xvi. 11. Heb. viii. 2. ix. 11, 24.

[y] *Vera* sacrificia sunt ejusmodi sacrificia, quæ *vere* id habent quod cætera

pass, that *moderns* generally have reckoned all the *spiritual* sacrifices among the *nominal, improper, metaphorical* sacrifices; whereas the *ancients* judged them to be the *truest* sacrifices of any, yea, and infinitely more *excellent* than the other. If it be said, that external, material, symbolical sacrifices had all along engrossed the name of *sacrifices*, and therefore were the only sacrifices *properly* so called, as the *custom* of language is the rule of *propriety*; it may be replied, on the other hand, that *spiritual* sacrifices really carry in them all that the other *signify* or *point to*, and so, upon the *general reason* of all sacrifice, have a just, or a more eminent title to that name: and this may be thought as good a rule of *propriety*, as the custom of language can be. Suppose, for instance, that *sacrifice*, in its general nature, means the *making a present* to the Divine Majesty, as Plato defines it[z]; is not the *presenting* him with our *prayers, praises*, and *good works*, as properly *making him a present*, as the other? Therefore if the general reason or definition of *sacrifice* suits as *properly* (yea, and *eminently*) with *spiritual* sacrifices as with any other, I see not why they should not be esteemed *proper* sacrifices, as well as the other. However, since this would amount only to a strife about *words*, it is of no great moment, whether *spiritual* sacrifices be called *proper* or *improper* sacrifices, so long as they are allowed to be *true* and *excellent*, and as much to be preferred before the other, as *substance* before *shadow*, and *truth* before *sign* or *figure*. The *ancients*, I think, looked upon the *spiritual* sacrifices as *true* and *proper* sacrifices, and are so to be understood, whenever they apply the name of *sacrifice* to the *service* of the Eucharist. But to make it a *material* sacrifice would, in their account, have been degrading and vili-

habere *videntur*. Dicuntur illa, eodem loquendi modo, *sacrificia justitiæ*, id est, θυσίαι ἀληθιναὶ, *sacrificia vera*. Intelligitur autem hac phrasi *totus cultus* Novi Testamenti. *Vitringa de vet. Synag.* p. 65. Conf. ejusd. Observat. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 499. et in Isa. tom. ii. p. 56, 733, 829.

[z] Οὐκοῦν τὸ θύειν, δωρεῖσθαί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς. *Plato in Euthyphron.* p. 10.

fying it, reducing it to a *legal* ceremony, instead of a *Gospel service.*

The service therefore of the Eucharist, on the foot of ancient Church language, is both a *true* and a *proper* sacrifice, (as I shall show presently,) and the noblest that we are capable of offering, when considered as comprehending under it *many* true and evangelical sacrifices: 1. The sacrifice of *alms* to the poor, and *oblations* to the Church; which when religiously intended, and offered through Christ, is a *Gospel sacrifice*[a]. Not that the *material* offering is a sacrifice to *God*, for it goes entirely to the use of *man;* but the *service* is what God accepts. 2. The sacrifice of *prayer*, from a pure heart, is evangelical *incense*[b]. 3. The sacrifice of *praise* and *thanksgiving* to God the Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord, is another *Gospel sacrifice*[c]. 4. The sacrifice of a *penitent* and *contrite* heart, even under the *Law*, (and now much more under the *Gospel*, when *explicitly* offered through Christ,) was a sacrifice of the *new* covenant[d]: for the *new covenant* commenced from the time of the fall, and obtained under the *Law*, but couched under *shadows* and figures. 5. The sacrifice of *ourselves*, our *souls* and *bodies*, is another *Gospel sacrifice*[e]. 6. The offering up the *mystical body* of Christ, that is, his *Church*, is another *Gospel sacrifice*[f]: or rather, it is coincident with the former; excepting that there persons are considered in their *single* capacity, and here *collectively* in a body. I take the thought from St. Austin[g], who grounds it chiefly on 1 Cor. x. 17. and the texts belonging to the former article. 7. The offering up of true

[a] Phil. iv. 18. Hebrews xiii. 16. Compare Acts x. 4. Ecclus. xxxv. 2.

[b] Revel. v. 8. viii. 3, 4. Compare Psalm cxli. 2. Malach. i. 11. iii. 4, 5. Hos. xiv. 2. Acts x. 4. Ecclus. xxxv. 2.

[c] Hebr. xiii. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. Compare Ps. l. 14, 15. cxvi. 17. lxix. 31.

[d] Psal. li. 17. iv. 5. Isa. i. 16. lvii. 15.

[e] Rom. xii. 1. vi. 13. Phil. ii. 17. 2 Tim. iv. 6.

[f] 1 Cor. x. 17.

[g] Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 6. p. 243. Cap. xx. p. 256. Epist. lix. alias cxlix. p. 509. ed. Bened.

converts, or sincere *penitents*, to God, by their *pastors*, who have laboured successfully in the blessed work, is another very acceptable *Gospel sacrifice*[h]. 8. The sacrifice of *faith* and *hope*, and *self-humiliation*, in *commemorating* the *grand sacrifice*, and resting finally upon it, is another *Gospel sacrifice*[i], and eminently proper to the *Eucharist*.

These, I think, are all so many *true* sacrifices, and may all meet together in the one great complicated *sacrifice of the Eucharist*. Into some one or more of these may be resolved (as I conceive) all that the *ancients* have ever taught of Christian sacrifices, or of the Eucharist under the name or notion of a *true* or *proper sacrifice*. Let it be *supposed* however for the present, in order to give the reader the clearer idea beforehand, of what I intend presently to *prove*. In the mean while, supposing this account to be just, from hence may easily be understood how far the Eucharist is a *commemorative sacrifice*, or otherwise. If that phrase means a *spiritual service* of ours, commemorating the *sacrifice* of the *cross*, then it is justly styled a *sacrifice* commemorative of a *sacrifice*, and in that sense a *commemorative sacrifice:* but if that phrase points only to the outward *elements* representing the *sacrifice* made by Christ, then it means a *sacrifice commemorated*, or a *representation* and *commemoration of a sacrifice*[k].

From hence likewise may we understand in what sense the officiating authorized *ministers* perform the office of proper, evangelical *priests* in this service. They do it three

[h] Rom. xv. 16. Phil. ii. 17. Compare Isa. lvi. 20. cum Notis Vitring. p. 950.

[i] This is not said in any single text, but may be clearly collected from many compared.

[k] Nonne semel *immolatus* est Christus in seipso? Et tamen in *sacramento* non solum per omnes paschæ solennitates, sed omni die populis *immolatur;* nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus, *eum* responderit *immolari*. Si enim sacramenta quandam *similitudinem* earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent: ex hac autem *similitudine* plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum *nomina* accipiunt. Sicut ergo, secundum quendam modum, *sacramentum* corporis Christi *corpus* Christi est, *sacramentum* sanguinis Christi *sanguis* Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. *Augustin. Epist. ad Bonifacium* xcviii. alias xxiii. p. 267. ed. Bened.

ways: 1. As *commemorating*, in solemn form, the same *sacrifice* here below, which Christ our *High Priest* commemorates above. 2. As handing up (if I may so speak) those *prayers* and those *services* of Christians to Christ our Lord, who as *High Priest* recommends the same in heaven to God the Father[l]. 3. As offering up to God all the *faithful* who are under their care and ministry, and who are *sanctified* by the *Spirit*[m]. In these three ways the Christian officers are *priests*, or *liturgs*, to very excellent purposes, far above the *legal* ones, in a sense worth the contending for, and worth the pursuing with the utmost zeal and assiduity.

Having thus far intimated beforehand what I apprehend to be in the main, or in the general, a just account of the *eucharistical sacrifice*, upon the principles laid down in Scripture, as interpreted by the *ancients*; I shall next proceed to examine the *ancients* one by one, in order to see whether this account tallies with what they have said upon this article.

I shall begin with St. Barnabas, supposed, with some probability, to have been the author of the Epistle bearing his name, penned about A. D. 71. This very early writer, taking notice of the difference between the *Law* and the *Gospel*, observes that Christ had abolished the *legal sacrifices*, to make way for an *human oblation*[o]: which he explains soon after, by an *humble and contrite heart*, referring to Psalm li. 17. So by *human oblation*, he means the *free-will* offering of the *heart*, as opposed to the *yoke* of *legal* observances; the offering up the *whole inner man*, instead of the *outward* superficial performances of the *Law*. Therefore the *Christian sacrifice*, as here described by our author, resolves into the 5th article of the account which

[l] Revel. viii. 5. Vid. Vitring. in loc.

[m] Rom. xv. 16.

[o] Hæc ergo [sacrificia] vacua fecit, ut nova lex Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quæ sine jugo necessitatis est, *humanam* habeat *oblationem*——nobis enim dicit, *Sacrificium Deo*, cor tribulatum, et humiliatum Deus non despicit. Psal. li. 17. *Barnab. Epist.* cap. ii. p. 57.

I have given above. Mr. Dodwell renders the words of Barnabas thus: "These things therefore he has evacuated, "that the *new law* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is "without any *yoke* of *bondage*, might bring in the *mys-* "*tical oblation* [p]." He conceived the original Greek words (which are lost) might have been λογικὴ λατρεία, *reasonable service:* which however is merely conjecture. But he understood the place, of Christians offering *themselves*, their *souls* and *bodies*, instead of sacrificing *beasts*. Another learned man, who had an hypothesis to serve, understands by *human oblation*, an offering made *with freedom;* and he interprets it of the *voluntary* oblations made by communicants at the altar, *viz.* the *lay oblations* [q]. The interpretation appears somewhat forced, and agrees not well with Barnabas's own explication superadded, concerning an *humble* and *contrite heart;* unless we take in both: however, even upon that supposition, the Christian sacrifice here pointed to, will be a *spiritual sacrifice*, or *service*, the sacrifice of *charitable benevolence*, and will fall under article the *first*, above mentioned. There have not been wanting some who would wrest the passage so far, as to make it favour the *sacrifice* of the *mass:* but the learned Pfaffius [r] has abundantly confuted every pretence that way, and has also well defended the common construction; which Menardus had before admitted, and which Dodwell also came into, and which I have here recommended. There is nothing more in Barnabas that relates at all to our purpose, and so we may pass on to other Christian writers in order.

Clemens of Rome has been cited in a chapter above [s], as speaking of the *lay oblations* brought to the altar, and of the *sacerdotal* oblation afterwards made of the same *gifts*, previously to the *consecration*. No doubt but such *lay offerings* amounted to *spiritual sacrifice*, being acceptable

[p] Dodwell of Incensing, p. 33, &c.

[q] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 333. alias 338.

[r] Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. sect. xxii. p. 239, &c.

[s] See above, chap. i. p. 26.

service under the Gospel; and they fall under article the *first*, in the enumeration before given. I cannot repeat too often, that in such cases the *service*, the *good work*, the *duty* performed is properly the *sacrifice*, according to the *definition* of sacrifice in St. Austin[t] above cited, and according to plain good sense. When Cornelius's prayers and alms ascended up for a *memorial*, (a name alluding to the legal *incense*,) it was not his *money*, nor any *material* gifts that *ascended*, or made the *memorial*; but it was the *piety*, the *mercy*, the *beneficence*, the *virtues* of the man. Under the Gospel, God receives no *material* thing at all, to be consumed and spent in his own *immediate* service, and for his *honour* only: he receives no *blood*, no *libation*, no *incense*, no *burnt offerings*, no *perfumes*, as before. If he receives *alms* and *oblations*, (as in the eucharistical service,) he receives them not as *gifts* to himself, to be consumed in his *immediate* service, but as gifts to be consecrated for the *use* of *man*, to whom they go. All that is *material* is laid out upon man only; not upon *God*, as in the Jewish economy. But God receives, now under the Gospel, our religious *services*, our *good works*, our *virtuous exercises*, in the name of Christ, and these are our truly Christian and spiritual *sacrifices*. In this view, the *lay oblations*, which Clemens refers to, were *Christian sacrifices*. So also were the *sacerdotal* services, referred to by the same Clemens; though in a view somewhat different, and falling under a distinct branch of *Gospel sacrifice*, reducible to article the *seventh* in the foregoing recital. Those who endeavour to construe Clemens's προσφοραὶ and λειτουργίαι (*oblations* and *sacerdotal ministrations*) as favouring the *sacrifice* of the *mass*, run altogether wide of the truth; as is plain from one single reason among many[u], that all

[t] *Omne opus*, &c. *every good work*. And it is observable that, conformably to such definition, that Father makes *Baptism* a *sacrifice*: Holocausto Dominicæ passionis, quod eo tempore offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur, et Christianorum fidelium nomine Baptizatus imbuitur. *Augustin. ad Roman. Expos.* cap. xix. col. 937. tom. iii.

[u] The reader may see that whole question discussed at large in Buddæus, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. i. p. 45—49. Pfaffius de Oblat vet. Euch. p. 254—269.

which Clemens speaks of, was *previous* to the consecration. Those also who plead from thence for *material* oblations, as *acceptable* under the Gospel, mistake the case: for the *material* part (as before hinted) goes not to *God*, is not considered purely as a *gift* to him, (like the *burnt offerings* or *incense* under the Law, *consumed* in his *immediate* service,) but as a *gift* for the *use* of *man;* and so nothing remains for God to *accept* of, as given to him, but the *spiritual service;* and even that he accepts not of, unless it really answers its name. So that it is plain that the New Testament admits of none but *spiritual sacrifices;* because none else are now properly *given* to God, or *accepted* by him as so given.

Justin Martyr, of the second century, is so clear and so express upon the subject of *Gospel sacrifice*, that one need not desire any fuller light than he will furnish us with. The sum of his doctrine is, that *prayers* and *praises*, and *universal obedience*, are the only *Christian sacrifices:* from whence it most evidently follows, that whenever he gives the name of *oblation*, or *sacrifice*, to the Eucharist, his whole meaning is, that it is a religious *service* comprehending *prayers*, *praises*, &c. and therefore has a just title to the name of Christian *oblation* and *sacrifice*. But let us examine the passages.

He writes thus: "We have been taught, that God has "no need of any *material oblation* from men; well know-"ing, that he is the giver of all things: but we are in-"formed, and persuaded, and do believe, that he *accepts* "those only who copy after his moral perfections, *purity*, "*righteousness, philanthropy*[x]," &c. Here we may observe, that God accepts not, according to our author, any *material* oblation at all, considered as a *gift to him*, nor any thing but what is *spiritual*, as all religious services, and

[x] Ἀλλ' οὐ δίεσθαι τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσφορᾶς προσιλήφαμεν τὸν Θεὸν, αὐτὸν παρέχοντα πάντα ὁρῶντες· ἐκείνους δὲ προσδέχεσθαι αὐτὸν μόνον διδιδάγμεθα, καὶ πεπείσμεθα, καὶ πιστεύομεν, τοὺς τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ μιμουμένους, σωφροσύνην, καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅσα οἰκεῖα Θεῷ ἐστι. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 14. edit. Lond.

all virtuous exercises really are: those are the *Gospel oblations* according to Justin, here and every where. A few pages after, he takes notice, "that God has no need of "*blood, libations,* or *incense,* but that the Christian manner was, to offer him *prayers* and *thanksgivings* for all "the blessings they enjoy, to the utmost of their power: "that the only way of paying him *honour suitable,* was "not to *consume by fire* what he had given for our sustenance, but to spend it upon *ourselves,* and upon the *poor,* "and to render him the tribute of our grateful *hymns* and "*praises*[y]," &c.

Here we may note how exactly he points out the difference between other *sacrifices* (Pagan or Jewish) and the sacrifices of the Gospel. In *those* there was something *spent,* as it were, immediately upon *God,* entirely *lost, wasted, consumed,* because considered as a *gift to God only;* which is the *proper* notion of a material *sacrifice:* but in *these,* nothing is entirely *spent,* or *consumed,* but all goes to the *use* of *man;* only the *praise,* the *glory,* the tribute of *homage* and *service,* that is *given* to God, and that he accepts, as a proper *sacrifice,* and as most suitable to his Divine Majesty. Not that he *needs* even these, or can be *benefited* by them: but he takes *delight* in the exercise of his own *philanthropy,* which has so much the larger field to move in, according as his *creatures* render themselves fit objects of it by acts of religion and virtue. But I proceed with our author.

In another place he expressly teaches, that "*prayers* "and *thanksgivings* made by them that are *worthy,* are "the only *perfect* and *acceptable* sacrifices;" adding, that "those only are offered in the eucharistical *commemora*-"*tion*[z]." It is observable, that by the restriction to *the*

[y] Ἀντιδιῆ αἱμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων——λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες· μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ, τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφὴν γινόμενα, οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὄντας διὰ λόγου πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν. κ. τ. λ. *Just. Mart. ibid.* p. 19.

[z] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ

worthy, he supposes a *good life* to go along with *prayers* and *praises* to make them acceptable *sacrifice*, conformably to what he had before taught, as above recited. Indeed, *prayers* and *praises* are most directly, immediately, emphatically *sacrifice*, as a tribute offered to God *only:* which is the reason why Justin and other *Fathers* speak of them in the first place, as the proper or primary *sacrifices* of Christians. *Obedience* is sacrifice also, as it respects *God;* but it may have another aspect towards *ourselves*, or other *men*, and therefore is not so *directly* a sacrifice to God *alone*. This distinction is well illustrated by a judicious Divine of our own[a], whose words I may here borrow: "The sacrifice of *obedience* is *metaphorical:* that is, God "accepts it as well as if it had been a *sacrifice;* that is, "*something given to himself:* but the sacrifice of *praise* is "*proper*, without a *metaphor*[b]. The nature of it accom- "plished by offering something to God, in acknowledg- "ment of him.——The honour which God receives from "our *obedience*, differs from that of a *sacrifice;* for that is "only of *consequence*, and by *argumentation:* that is, it "suits with the nature and will of God; as we say, *good* "*servants* are an *honour* to their *masters*, by reflection. "But the honour by *sacrifice* is of *direct* and *special* in- "tendment: it hath *no other use*, and is a *distinct* virtue "from all *other* acts of obedience, and of a *different* obli- "gation.——Though God hath the honour of *obedience* "and a *virtuous* life; if we deny him the honour of a "*sacrifice* besides, we rob him of *his due*, and a greater

εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι. Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς. *Justin. Dial.* p. 387.

[a] Bishop Lany's Sermon on Hebr. xiii. 15. p. 30, 31, 32.

[b] Note, this very acute and knowing Divine had not learned to call every *spiritual* sacrifice a *metaphorical* sacrifice: for he admits of prayers and praises, and the like *religious* services, as *true* and *proper* sacrifices. I conceive farther, that even *obedience*, formally considered as respecting *God*, and as a *tribute* offered to *him*, (though it has *other views* besides, in which it is no *sacrifice* at all,) is as properly *sacrifice* as the other: and so judged St. Austin above cited.

" *sacrilege* we cannot commit.——This is robbing God of " the *service itself*, to which the other, dedicated for his " service, are but *accessary*." Thus far Bishop Lany to the point in hand. I return to Justin Martyr.

We have seen how uniform and constant this early Christian writer was, with respect to the *general* doctrine concerning *Gospel sacrifices*, as being *spiritual* sacrifices, and no other. Nothing more remains, but to consider how to reconcile that *general* doctrine with the *particular* doctrine taught by the same writer concerning the *Eucharist*, as a *sacrifice*. He makes mention of the legal offering of *fine flour*, or *meal offering*, as a *type* of the *bread* of the Eucharist [c]: and a little after, citing a noted place of the Prophet Malachi, he interprets the *pure offering*, the *mincha*, or *bread offering* there predicted, of the *bread* eucharistical, and likewise of *wine* [d], denominating them, as it seems, the *sacrifices* offered by us *Gentile Christians*. Does not all this look very like the admitting of *material* sacrifices under the Gospel? And how then could he consistently elsewhere *exclude* all *material* oblations, and admit none but *spiritual* sacrifices as belonging to the Christian state? Mr. Pfaffius, being aware of the appearing difficulty, cuts the knot, instead of untying it, and charges the author with *saying* and *unsaying* [e]: which perhaps was not respectful enough towards his author, nor prudent for his own cause, unless the case had been *desperate*, which he had no reason to suspect, so far as I apprehend. He undertakes afterwards, to sum up Justin's sentiments on this head, and does it in a manner somewhat perplexed, to this effect: " That the New Testament admits of no *sacrifices* " but *prayers*, *praises*, and *thanksgivings*: but however, if it " does admit of any thing *corresponding*, or *similar* to the " *legal* oblations, it is that of the oblation of *bread* and

[c] Justin. Mart. Dial. p. 220.

[d] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας προλέγει τότε. *Justin. ibid.*

[e] Pfaffius de Oblat. vet. Eucharist. p. 270, 272.

"*wine* in the Eucharist[f]." This is leaving the readers much in the dark, and his author to shift for *sense* and *consistency*. At the best, it is dismissing the evidence as *doubtful*, not *determinate* enough to give reasonable satisfaction.

Mr. Dodwell's account of Justin in this article is no clearer than the former. He takes notice, that this Father "allows no other sacrifice but that of prayer and Eucha-"rist;" he should have said, *thanksgiving:* and soon after he adds in the same page; "elsewhere he owns no ac-"ceptable sacrifice under the Gospel, but the Eucharist; "in opposition to the Jewish sacrifices, which were con-"sumed by fire, and which were confined to Jerusalem[g]." Still, here is no account given how Justin could reject all *material* sacrifice, and yet consistently admit of the Eucharist as a *sacrifice*, if that be a *material*, and not a *spiritual* oblation. The most that Mr. Dodwell's solution can amount to is, that Justin did not absolutely reject *material* sacrifices, provided they were not to be *consumed by fire*, or provided (as he hints in another work[h]) that they are but purely *eucharistical*. But this solution will never account for Justin's so expressly and fully excluding all *material* oblations, and so particularly restraining the notion of *Gospel sacrifices* to *prayers*, *praises*, and *good works*.

Some learned men think that a *material* sacrifice may yet be called a *rational* and *spiritual* sacrifice[i]: and therefore, though the *Fathers* do expressly reject *material* sacrifices, they mean only sacrifices of a *certain* kind; and though they admit none but *spiritual* sacrifices, they might

[f] Ita nempe secum statuit vir sanctus, *nulla* esse in Novo Testamento *sacrificia*, quam *laudes*, *gratiarum actiones*, et *preces*; si quid tamen sit quod cum oblationibus Veteris Testamenti *conferri* queat, esse *panem vinumque Eucharistiæ*, quæ altari, seu mensæ sacræ imposita, precibusque juxta mandatum Christi Deo oblata, in Sacramentum corporis sanguinisque Dominici consecrentur. *Pfaffius, ibid.* p. 274.

[g] Dodwell of Incensing, p. 46.

[h] Dodwell's One Altar, p. 203, 204.

[i] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 18, &c.

yet tacitly except such *material* sacrifices as are *spiritual* also. But this appears to be a very harsh solution, and such as would go near to confound all language. However, most certainly, it ought never to be admitted, if any clearer or juster solution can be thought on, as I am persuaded there may.

Justin's principles, if rightly considered, hang well together, and are all of a piece. He rejects all *material* sacrifices absolutely: and though the Eucharist be a *sacrifice*, according to him, yet it is not the *matter* of it, *viz.* the *bread* and *wine*, that is properly the sacrifice, but it is the *service* only, and that is a *spiritual* sacrifice. *Alms* are a *Gospel sacrifice*, according to St. Paul: not the *material* alms, but the *exercise* of *charity*, that is the sacrifice. In like manner, the *Eucharist* is a *Gospel sacrifice*. Not the *material* symbols, but the *service*, consisting of *prayer*, *praise*, *contrite hearts*, *self-humiliation*, &c. Well, but may not the like be said of all the *legal* sacrifices, that there also the *service* was distinct from the *matter*, and so those also were *spiritual* sacrifices? No: the circumstances were widely different. In the legal sacrifices, either the *whole* or some *part* of the offering was directly *given* to God[k], and either *consumed by fire*, or *poured forth*, never returning to the *use* of man: and thereupon was founded the *gross notion*, of which God by his Prophets more than once complains[l], as if the Deity had *need* of such things, or took *delight* in them. But now, under the Gospel, nothing is so *given* to God, nothing *consumed* in his *immediate* service: we present his *gifts* and his *creatures* before him, and we take them back again for the *use* of *ourselves*

[k] Some have thought the *paschal sacrifice* to make an exception, because it was all to be eaten. But it is certain that one part, *viz.* the *blood*, was to be *poured forth*, and *sprinkled*, 2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11. yea and *offered* unto God, Exod. xxiii. 18. xxxiv. 25. as belonging of right to him: and those who are best skilled in Jewish antiquities, think that the *inwards*, or *fat*, was to be burnt upon the altar. See Reland, Antiq. Hebr. p. 383. Deylingius, Observ. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 332. Cudworth on the Lord's Supper, p. 3. fol. ed.

[l] Psalm l. 12, 13. Isaiah i. 11. Mic. vi. 6, 7.

and of *our brethren*. All that we really give up to *God* as his tribute, are our *thanks*, our *praises*, our *acknowledgments*, our *homage*, our *selves*, our *souls* and *bodies*; which is all *spiritual* sacrifice, purely spiritual: and herein lies the main difference between the *Law* and the *Gospel*[m]. We have no *material* sacrifices at all. The *matter* of the Eucharist is *sacramental*, and the bread and wine are *signs*: yea signs of a *sacrifice*, that is of the *sacrifice* of the *cross*: but as to any sacrifice of *ours*, it lies entirely in the *service* we perform, and in the *qualifications* or *dispositions* which we bring, which are all so much *spiritual* oblation, or *spiritual* sacrifice, and nothing else.

From hence may be perceived how consistent and uniform this early Father was in his *whole* doctrine on that head. He expressed himself very accurately, when speaking of spiritual and perfect sacrifices, he said, that they were what Christians offered *over*, or *upon* the eucharistical commemoration[n]: that is, they *spiritually* sacrificed in the *service* of the Eucharist. They did not make the *material* elements *their* sacrifice, but the *signs* only of a *greater*. Their *service* they offered up to God as his *tribute*; but the *elements* they took entirely to *themselves*. When he speaks of the *sacrifices of bread and wine*[o], he may reasonably be understood to mean, the *spiritual* sacrifices of *lauds*, or of *charity*, which went along with the solemn feasting upon the *bread* and *wine*; and not that the *elements* themselves were *sacrifices*[p]. Upon the whole

[m] See Mr. Lewis's Answer to Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 2, 5, 11.

[n] Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς.—— *Dial.* p. 387.

Θυσίας——ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου——γινομένας. *Dial.* p. 386.

[o] Προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου. p. 220.

[p] It may be suggested (see Johnson, part i. p. 271.) that the word ἀνάμνησις, *memorial*, was used in relation to the *shew bread*, Levit. xxiv. 7, a *type* of the Eucharist. But it is observable, that the *shew bread* was not the memorial; but the *incense* burnt upon it, that was the *memorial*, as the text expressly says. Now it is well known, that *prayers*, *lauds*, &c. are the *evangelical incense*, succeeding in the room of the *legal*: therefore, to make

therefore, I take this blessed martyr to have been consistent throughout in his doctrine of spiritual sacrifices, as being the only sacrifices prescribed, or allowed by the Gospel. And if he judged the Eucharist to be (as indeed he did) a most acceptable sacrifice, it was because he supposed it to *comprise* many sacrifices in one; a right faith, and clean heart, and devout affections, breaking forth in fervent prayers, praises, and thanksgivings unto God, and *charitable* contributions to the brethren.

Athenagoras may come next, who has not much to our purpose: but yet something he has. He observes, that "God needs no *blood*, nor *fat*, nor sweet *scents* of flowers, "nor *incense*, being himself the most delightful *perfume*: "but the noblest sacrifice in his sight, is to understand his "works and ways, and to lift up holy hands to him[q]." A little after he adds, "What should I do with *burnt of-* "*ferings*, which God has no *need* of? But it is meet to "offer him an *unbloody sacrifice*, and to bring him a *ra-* "*tional service*[r]." Here we see what the proper *Christian* sacrifices are, namely, the *spiritual* sacrifices of devout prayers, and obedience of heart and life. The *service* is, with this writer, the sacrifice. He takes notice of God's not *needing* burnt offerings, and the like. All *material* sacrifices considered as *gifts* to God, were apt to insinuate some such idea to weak minds: but the *spiritual* services do not. In our eucharistical solemnity we consider not the elements, when *presented* before God, as properly *our gifts* to him, but as *his gifts* to us[s]; which, we pray, may be consecrated to our spiritual uses. We pay our *acknow-*

every thing correspond, the *spiritual* services of the Eucharist are properly our *memorial*, our *incense*, and not the *material* elements.

[q] Θυσία αὐτῷ μεγίστη, ἂν γινώσκωμεν τὶς ἐξέτεινε, &c. καὶ ἐπαίρωμεν ὁσίους χεῖρας αὐτῷ. *Athenag.* p. 48, 49. ed. Oxon.

[r] Τί δὲ μοι ὁλοκαυτώσεων, ὧν μὴ δεῖται ὁ Θεός; καί τοι προσφέρειν δέον ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, καὶ τὴν λογικὴν προσάγειν λατρείαν. *Athenag.* p. 49.

[s] Hence came the usual phrase, so frequent in *liturgic* Offices, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων σοι προσφέρομεν, *We present unto thee the things that are* THINE *out of* THY OWN GIFTS: that is, by way of acknowledgment. See the testimonies collected in Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 201, 312.

ledgments for them at the same time: and that makes one part, the smallest part, of our *spiritual sacrifice*, or *service*, in that solemnity. It may be worth noting, that here in Athenagoras we find the first mention of *unbloody sacrifice*, which he makes equivalent to *reasonable service*: and he applies it not particularly to the Eucharist, but to *spiritual* sacrifices at large. An argument, that when it came afterwards to be applied to the Eucharist, it still carried the same meaning, and was chosen with a view to the *spiritual* services contained in it, and not to the *material* oblation, or oblations, considered as such.

Irenæus, of the same time, will afford us still greater light, with regard to the point in hand. He is very large and diffuse upon the distinction between the *typical* sacrifices of the *Law* [t], and the *true* sacrifices of the *Gospel* [u]. He seems to mean by *typical* there the same that St. Austin, before cited, meant by *signs*. Those external sacrifices were *symbols*, *tokens*, *pledges* of the *true* homage, or *true* sacrifice; which Irenæus interprets of a *contrite* heart, *faith*, *obedience*, *righteousness* [x], &c. referring to several texts [y] of the Old Testament and New, which recommend true goodness as the acceptable sacrifice. He understands the Gospel incense, spoken of in Malachi [z], of the *prayers of the saints* [a], according to Rev. v. 8. He makes mention also of an *altar* in *heaven*, to which the *prayers* and

[t] Per *sacrificia* autem et reliquas *typicas* observantias, putantes propitiari Deum, dicebat eis Samuel, &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. xvii. p. 247. edit. Bened.

[u] *Verum* sacrificium insinuans, quod offerentes propitiabuntur Deum, ut ab eo vitam percipiant: quemadmodum alibi ait; *Sacrificium Deo cor tribulatum*, odor suavitatis Deo, cor clarificans eum qui plasmavit. *Iren.* l. iv. c. 17. p. 248.

[x] Non sacrificia et holocaustomata quærebat ab eis Deus, sed *fidem*, et *obedientiam*, et *justitiam*, propter illorum salutem. *Ibid.* p. 249.

[y] 1 Sam. xv. 22. Psal. li. 17. Psal. l. 14. Isa. l. 16, 17. Jerem. vii. 22, 23. Hos. vi. 6. Philip. iv. 18.

[z] Malach. i. 11.

[a] *In omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo, et sacrificium purum.* Incensa autem Johannes in Apocalypsi *orationes esse*, ait, *sanctorum*. *Iren. ibid.* p. 249.

oblations of the Church are supposed to ascend, and on which they are conceived to be offered by our great High Priest to God the Father [b]. The thought, very probably, was taken from the *golden altar* mentioned in the Apocalypse [c], and represented as bearing the mystical incense. The notion of a *mystical altar* in heaven became very frequent in the Christian writers after Irenæus [d], and was in process of time taken into most of the old Liturgies, Greek, Latin, and Oriental; as is well known to as many as are at all conversant in them. The notion was not *new:* for the Old Testament speaks of prayers, as "coming up "to God's holy dwelling-place, even to heaven [e]:" and the New Testament follows the same figure of speech, applying it both to *prayers* and *alms-deeds,* in the case of Cornelius [f].

Irenæus, as I have observed, understood the *incense,* mentioned in the Prophet, of the *evangelical* sacrifice of *prayer:* but then it is to be farther noted, that he distinguished between the *incense* and the *pure offering,* and so understood the latter of something else. He understood it of the *alms* or *oblations* that went along with the prayers; referring to St. Paul's doctrine, in Phil. iv. 18. which recommends charitable contributions, as "an odour of a "sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to "God;" as also to Proverbs xix. 17. "He that hath pity "upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord [g]." Such were the *pure offerings* of the Church, in Irenæus's account; and they were *spiritual* sacrifices: for it is the *service,* not

[b] Est ergo *altare* in *cœlis* (illic enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur) et templum; quemadmodum Johannes in Apocalypsi ait, *Et apertum est templum Dei. Iren. ibid.*

[c] Revel. viii. 3, 5. Vid. Vitringa in loc. Dodwell on Incensing, p. 39—44.

[d] Clemens Alex. p. 209. Origen. Hom. in Joh. xvii. p. 438. Gregor. Nazianz. vol. i. p. 31, 484, 692. Chrysostom. in Hebr. Hom. xi. p. 807. Cyrill. Alex. de Adorat. lib. ix. p. 310. Apostol. Constitut. lib. viii. cap. 13. Augustin. Serm. 351. de Pœnit. p. 1357. tom. v.

[e] 2 Chron. xxx. 27. Compare Tobit iii. 16. xii. 12. Wisd. ix. 8.

[f] Acts x. 4.

[g] Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 251.

the *material* offering, which God accepts in such cases, as Irenæus himself has plainly intimated [h]. It must be owned that Irenæus does speak of the eucharistical *oblations* under the notion of *presents* brought to the *altar*, offered up to *God*, for the agnizing him as *Creator* of the world, and as the *giver* of all good things, and for a testimony of our love and gratitude towards him on that score [i]. This he calls a *pure sacrifice* [k], *present*, *offering*, and the like: and since the bread and wine so offered were certainly *material*, how shall we distinguish the sacrifice he speaks of from a *material* sacrifice, or how can we call it a *spiritual* sacrifice? A learned foreigner, being aware of the seeming repugnancy, has endeavoured to reconcile the author to himself, by saying, that the eucharistical *oblation* may still be reckoned a *spiritual sacrifice*, on account of the *prayers*, *lauds*, and *offerings* going along with it, which are *spiritual* services [l]. Another learned gentleman observes, that according to Irenæus, the very *life* and *soul* of the *new oblation* rests in the *prayers* by which it is

[h] Qui enim nullius indigens est Deus, in se assumit *bonas operationes nostras*, ad hoc ut præstet nobis retributionem bonorum suorum. *Iren. ibid.* p. 251.

[i] Suis discipulis dans consilium, *primitias* Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi *indigenti*, sed ut ipsi nec *infructuosi* nec *ingrati* sint, eum qui ex creatura *panis* est accepit, et gratias egit, &c.—*Novi* Testamenti *novam* docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo *offert Deo*, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, *primitias* suorum munerum in Novo Testamento, &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. cap. 17. p. 249.

[k] Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, *purum sacrificium* reputatum est apud Deum, et acceptum est ei: non quod indigeat a nobis *sacrificium*, sed quoniam is qui *offert*, glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur *munus* ejus. Per *munus* enim erga regem et *honos* et *affectio* ostenditur: quod in omni simplicitate et innocentia Dominus volens nos offerre, prædicavit, dicens, *Cum igitur offers munus tuum ad altare*, &c. *Iren.* lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 250.

[l] Non satis *sibi constare* videtur Irenæus, qui de sacrificiis *spiritualibus* antea locutus erat, deque iis acceperat vaticinium Malachiæ, quod nunc contra ad *oblationes* istas *eucharisticas* trahere videtur. At bene cuncta se habent, si observemus et ipsam Eucharistiam ratione *precum* et *gratiarum actionis*, quæ eam comitari solet, et *oblationes* quoque istas, quas cum Eucharistia conjungere moris erat, suum itidem locum inter *sacrificia spiritualia* promereri. *Buddæus*, *Miscellan. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 59, 60.

offered up, and which *finish* or *perfect* the *spiritual* oblation [m]. The solution appears to be *just*, so far as it goes: but I would take leave to add to it, that the *material offering*, in this case, is not properly a *present* made to God, though brought before him: for it is not consumed (like a burnt offering) in God's *immediate* service, nor any part of it, but it goes entire to the *use* of *man*, not so much as any *particle* of it separated for *God's portion*, as in the *legal* sacrifices [n]. Therefore the *material* offering is not the *sacrifice*; but the communicant's *agnizing* the Creator by it; that is properly *sacrifice*, and *spiritual* sacrifice, of the same nature with *lauds*. I may add further, that those eucharistical *oblations* were, in Irenæus's account, *contributions* to the *Church* and to the *poor*, as is plain by his referring to Prov. xix. 17. and Phil. iv. 18. which I noted before: and therefore he looked upon them as evangelical and spiritual sacrifices, falling under *article* the *first* of the recital given above. For it is not the *matter* of the contributions which constitutes the *sacrifice*, but it is the *exercise* of *benevolence*, and that is *spiritual*, and what God accepts. Under the *Law*, God accepted the *external* sacrifice, the *material* offering, as to *legal* effect: but under the Gospel, he accepts of nothing as to any salutary *effect* at all, but the *spiritual* service. This is the *new oblation*, the only one that is any way acceptable under the Gospel, being made in *spirit* and in *truth*.

Some perhaps may object, that such *spiritual* oblation cannot justly be called *new*, since it was mentioned by the *Prophets*, and is as old as David at least, who speaks of the *sacrifice* of a *contrite* heart, and the like [o]. All which is very certain, but foreign to the point in hand. For let

[m] Ex quibus patet *animam* oblationis *novæ*, quæ in Nov. Test. juxta Irenæum fit, et a Christo instituta est, esse *preces* queis dona offeruntur.—— Accedentibus *precibus*, quibus nomen Dei glorificatur, ipsi gratiæ redduntur, donorumque sanctificatio expetitur, *perficitur* utique *spiritualis* illa atque eucharistica oblatio. *Pfaffius in Irenæi Fragm.* p. 57.

[n] See above, p. 152.

[o] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 264. alias 268.

it be considered, 1. That the *new covenant* is really as old as Adam, and yet is justly called *new*. 2. That though *spiritual sacrifices* were always the most acceptable sacrifices, yet God did *accept* even of *material* sacrifices, under the Mosaical economy, as to *legal* effect; and so it was a *new* thing to put an end to such *legal* ordinances. 3. That when *spiritual* sacrifices obtained (as they all along did) under the *Law*, yet they obtained under *veils*, *covers*, or *symbols*; and so it was a *new* thing to accept of them, under the Gospel, stripped of all their *covers* and *external* signatures. 4. The Gospel sacrifices are offered *in*, *by*, and *through Christ*, expressly and explicitly; and so the *spiritual sacrifices* of the Gospel are offered in a *new* way, and under a *new* form P. These considerations appear sufficient to justify Irenæus's calling the Christian oblation a *new oblation*: or it may be added, that new *light*, new *force*, and new *degrees* of perfection have been brought in by the Gospel to every part or branch both of speculative and practical religion.

I pass on to Clemens of Alexandria. He maintains constantly, under some variety of expression, that *spiritual* sacrifices are the only *Christian* sacrifices. To the question, what sacrifice is most acceptable to God? he makes answer, in the words of the Psalmist, *a contrite heart*. He goes on to say: "How then shall I *crown*, or *anoint*, "or what *incense* shall I offer unto the Lord? A *heart* "that glorifies its Maker is a *sacrifice of sweet odour* unto "God: these are the *garlands*, and *sacrifices*, and *spices*

P "By him we are to *offer*: it is his *merit* and *mediation* that crowns the "*sacrifice*.——This *by him* gives the *characteristical* difference of the *Christ-*"*tian sacrifice* from all others: for, otherwise, the *sacrifice of praise* was "common to all times before and under the Law. You find in many Psalms "a *sacrifice* of *praise* and *thanksgiving*, but in none of them *by him*, in "Christ's name. *Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my name*, says our "Saviour; but hereafter his name will give virtue and efficacy to all our ser-"vices: and therefore, to gain so gracious an advocate with the Father, our "prayers and supplications are in the *Liturgy* offered up in his name, con-"cluding always, *by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ*." *Bishop Lany's Sermon on Hebr.* xiii. 15. p. 13, 14.

" and *flowers* for God [q]." In another place, condemning the luxury of *perfumes*, he starts an objection, *viz.* that Christ our High Priest may be thought perhaps to offer *incense*, or *perfumes*, above: an objection grounded probably, either upon what the *typical* high priest did under the *Law* [r], or upon what is intimated of Christ himself under the *Gospel* [s]: to which Clemens replies, that our Lord offers no such *perfume* there, but what he does offer above is the *spiritual perfume* of *charity* [t]. He alluded, as it seems, to our Lord's *philanthropy*, in giving himself a *sacrifice* for mankind; unless we choose to understand it of our Lord's recommending the *charity* of his saints and servants at the high altar in heaven. Clemens elsewhere reckons up *meekness*, *philanthropy*, exalted *piety*, *humility*, *sound knowledge*, among the acceptable sacrifices [u], as they amount to sacrificing the *old man*, with the *lusts* and passions: to which he adds also, the offering up *our own selves*; thereby glorifying him who was sacrificed for us. Such were this author's sentiments of the *Christian* sacrifices: he looked upon the *Church* itself as the altar here below, the collective body of Christians, sending up the *sacrifice* of *prayer* to heaven, with united voices: the *best* and *holiest* sacrifice of all, if sent up in *righteousness* [x]. He speaks slightly of the *legal sacrifices*, as being symbols only of evangelical righteousness [y]. He makes the *just soul* to be a *holy altar* [z]: and as to the *sacrifice of the Church*, it is " speech *exhaled* from *holy*

[q] Clemens Alex. Pedag. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 306. Conf. Strom. lib. ii. p. 369, 370.

[r] Exod. xxx. 7.

[s] Revel. v. 8. viii. 3. Conf. Vitring. in loc.

[t] Τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης δικτὸν ἀναφιρειῖν τὸν Κύριον, τὴν πνευματικὴν ἰυωδίαν, εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, &c. *Clem. Alex. Pedag.* lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 209.

[u] Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 836.

[x] Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 848.

[y] Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον θυσίαι, τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐυσίβειαν ἀλληγορεῦσι. *Clem. Alex. ibid.* p. 849.

[z] Βωμὸν δὲ ἀληθῶς ἅγιον, τὴν δικαίαν ψυχήν. p. 848. Conf. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. 4.

" *souls*, while the whole mind is laid open before God, " together with the *sacrifice* [a]." Elsewhere, the *sacrifices* of the Christian *Gnostic* he makes to be *prayers*, and *lauds*, and *reading* of *Scripture*, and *psalms*, and *anthems* [b]. Such were Clemens's general principles, in relation to Gospel sacrifices. He has not directly applied them to the particular instance of the Eucharist; though we may reasonably do it for him, upon probable presumption. It is manifest that he could not *consistently* own it for a *sacrifice* of ours, in any other view but as a *service* carrying in it such *spiritual* sacrifices as he has mentioned: in that view, it might be upon his principles a noble sacrifice, yea a combination of sacrifices.

Tertullian may come next, a very considerable writer, who has a great deal to our purpose: I shall select what may suffice to show his sentiments of the *Christian sacrifices*. Giving some account of them to the Pagans, in his famous Apology, he expresses himself thus: " I offer unto " God a fatter and nobler sacrifice, which himself hath " commanded; viz. *prayer* sent out from a chaste body, " an innocent soul, and a sanctified spirit: not worthless " grains of *frankincense*, the tears of an Arabian tree [c]," &c. I shall only observe, that if Tertullian had understood the material *elements* of the Eucharist to be a *sacrifice*, how easy might it have been to retort upon him the *worthless grains* of wheat, and the like. But he had no such thought. *Prayer* and a *good life* were his *sacrifice:* and a noble one they are. In another place of his works, he says; " We *sacrifice* indeed, but it is with *pure prayer*, " as God has commanded; for God, the Creator of the

[a] Ἡ θυσία τῆς ἐκκλησίας, λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμιώμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης, ἅμα τῆς θυσίας, καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἁπάσης τῷ Θεῷ. *Clem. Aelx.* p. 848.

[b] Θυσίαι μὲν αὐτῷ, εὐχαί τε καὶ αἶνοι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ἐντεύξεις τῶν γραφῶν, ψαλμοὶ δὲ καὶ ὕμνοι, &c. *Strom.* vii. p. 860, 861.

[c] Offero ei opimam et majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit; *orationem* de carne *pudica*, de anima *innocenti*, de spiritu *sancto* profectam: non grana thuris unius assis, Arabicæ arboris lacrymas, &c. *Tertul. Apol.* cap. xxx. p. 277. edit. Havercamp.

" universe, hath *no need* of any *incense*, or *blood*[d]." How obvious might it have been to retort, that God has *no need* of *bread* or *wine*, had that been the *Christian sacrifice:* but Tertullian knew better; and still he rests it upon *pure prayer*, that is, *prayer* together with a *good mind.* Let us hear him again: " That we ought not to offer unto " God *earthly*, but *spiritual* sacrifices, we may learn from " what is written; *The sacrifice of God is an humble and* " *contrite spirit:* and elsewhere; *Offer unto God the sa-* " *crifice of thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most* " *High.* So then, the *spiritual* sacrifices of *praise* are here " pointed to, and a *troubled spirit* is declared to be the " acceptable sacrifice unto God[e]." What Justin Martyr rejected as *material* sacrifice, our author here rejects under the name of *earthly*, or *terrene.* Are not *bread* and *wine* both of them *terrene?* Therefore he thought not of them, but of something *spiritual:* and he has named what; viz. *lauds* and *thanksgivings*, and discharge of sacred *vows*, all from an *humble* and *contrite* heart: these were the acceptable sacrifices, in his account. He goes on, in the same place, to quote Isaiah against *carnal* sacrifices, and Malachi also, to show that *spiritual* sacrifices are established[f]. In his treatise against Marcion, he again refers to the Prophet Malachi, interpreting the *pure offering* there mentioned, not of any *material* oblation, but of *hearty prayer from a pure conscience*[g]; and elsewhere, of giving *glory*, and *blessing*, and *lauds*, and *hymns*[h]. Which, by the way,

[d] Sacrificamus——sed quomodo Deus præcepit, *pura prece:* non enim egit Deus, conditor universitatis, *odoris*, aut sanguinis alicujus. *Tertull. ad Scap.* cap. ii. p. 69. Rigalt.

[e] Namque, quod non *terrenis* sacrificiis, sed *spiritalibus*, Deo litandum sit, ita legimus ut scriptum est: *Cor contribulatum et humiliatum hostia Deo est.* Et alibi, *Sacrifica Deo sacrificium laudis, et redde Altissimo vota tua.* Sic igitur sacrificia *spiritalia* laudis designantur, et *cor contribulatum* acceptabile sacrificium Deo demonstratur. *Tertull. adv. Jud.* c. v. p. 188.

[f] Tertull. adv. Jud. cap. v. p. 188.

[g] *Sacrificium mundum:* scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura. *Tertull. contra Marc.* lib. iv. cap. 1. p. 414.

[h] *Sacrificium mundum:* gloriæ scilicet relatio, et benedictio, et laus, et hymni. *Adv. Marc.* lib. iii. cap. 22. p. 410.

may serve for a comment upon Justin and Irenæus, as to their applying that passage of Malachi to the *Eucharist*: they might do it, because the *spiritual* sacrifices here mentioned by Tertullian make a great part of the *service*. It would have been very improper, to interpret one part of *spiritual* service, *viz.* of *prayer*, and the other of a *material* loaf. In another treatise, Tertullian numbers up among the acceptable sacrifices, *conflicts* of *soul*, *fastings*, *watchings*, and *abstemiousness*, with their *mortifying appurtenances*[i]. But besides all this, there is, if I mistake not, in the latter part of his *Book* of *Prayer* (published by Muratorius, A.D.1713.) a large and full description of the *eucharistical sacrifice*, which will be worth the transcribing at length. After recommending the use of *psalmody* along with prayers, and the making *responses* in the public service, he then declares that such kind of *prayer*, so *saturated* with psalmody, is like a *well fed* sacrifice: but it is of the *spiritual* kind, such as succeeded in the room of all the *legal* sacrifices. Then referring to Isaiah, ch. l. ver. 11. to show the comparative meanness of the Jewish sacrifices, and to John iv. 23. for the right understanding the *evangelical*, he proceeds thus: "We are the *true wor-*
" *shippers* and the *true priests*, who worshipping *in spirit*,
" do *in spirit* sacrifice *prayer*, suitable to God and accept-
" able; such as he has required, and such as he has pro-
" vided for himself. This is what we ought to bring to
" God's altar [by way of *sacrifice*] *devoted* from the whole
" heart, *fed* with faith, *decked* with truth, by innocence
" made *entire*, and *clean* by chastity, *crowned* with a feast
" of charity, attended with a *train* of good works, amidst
" the acclamations of *psalms* and *anthems*[k]." The reader

[i] *Sacrificia Deo grata*; conflictationes dico animæ, jejunia, seras et aridas escas, et appendices hujus officii sordes. *De Resurrect. Carn.* cap. viii. p. 330.

[k] Diligentiores in orando subjungere in *orationibus Alleluia* solent, et hoc genus *Psalmos*, quorum clausulis respondeant, qui simul sunt: et est optimum utique institutum omne, quod proponendo et honorando Deo competit, *saturatam* orationem, velut optimam [lege *opimam*] hostiam admovere.

will here observe, how the author most elegantly describes the *Christian* and *spiritual* sacrifice of *prayer*, in phrases borrowed from *material* sacrifices; with an *heifer*, or *bullock* in his mind, led up to the *altar* to be *sacrificed:* and his *epithets* are all chosen, as the editor has justly observed, so as to answer that *figure*[i]. But what I am principally to note is, that this was really intended for a description of the *eucharistical sacrifice:* which is plain from the circumstances: 1. From his speaking of the public *psalmody*, as going along with it[m], and the *responses* made by the assembly. 2. From the mention made of *God's altar*. 3. And principally, from what he says of the *feast* of *charity*, which is known to have been connected with the *service* of the Eucharist, or to have been an *appendage* to it[n], at that time; for which reason, that service may very properly be said to have been *crowned* with it. These circumstances sufficiently show, that Tertullian had the *Communion Service* in his mind, and that was the *sacrifice* which he there chose to describe; a complicated sacrifice, consisting of many articles, and all of them *spiritual*, but all summed up in a *right faith*, *pure worship*, and *good life*. Such is the *Christian sacrifice;* and such we ought to bring constantly to the *Lord's table*, to the holy and *mystical* altar.

Hæc est enim *hostia spiritalis*, quæ pristina sacrificia delevit. *Quo mihi*, inquit, *multitudinem sacrificiorum vestrorum?*——Quæ ergo quæsierit Deus, Evangelium docet: *Veniet hora*, inquit, *cum veri adoratores* adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate: Deus *enim Spiritus est*, et adoratores itaque tales requirit. Nos sumus veri adoratores, et veri sacerdotes, qui Spiritu orantes, Spiritu sacrificamus orationem Dei propriam, et acceptabilem, quam scilicet requisivit, quam sibi prospexit. Hanc de toto corde *devotam*, fide *pastam*, veritate *curatam*, innocentia *integram*, castitate *mundam*, *agape coronatam*, cum pompa bonorum operum inter *psalmos* et *hymnos* deducere ad *Dei altare* debemus. *Tertull. de Orat.* cap. xxvii, xxviii. p. 52, 53. edit. Murator.

[i] *Orationi*, quam *hostiam spiritalem* appellat, singula tribuit, quæ victimis *carneis* conveniebant, nimirum ut de toto corde *voveatur* Deo, ut sit *pasta*, *curata*, *integra*, *munda*, *coronata*. *Muratorius in Notis*, p. 53.

[m] Quorum clausulis *respondeant*, qui *simul* sunt.

[n] See Bingham, book xv. chap. 7. sect. 7, 8. Suicer. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 26.

To the same purpose speaks Minucius Felix, not long after Tertullian. The only *gifts* proper to be *offered* to *God* by Christians, are Christian *services*, Christian *virtues*, according to his account [n]. To offer him any thing else, is *throwing* him *back* his *own* gifts, not presenting him with any thing of *ours*. What could Minucius therefore have thought of offering him *bread* and *wine*, if considered as *gifts* or *sacrifices* to God? It is manifest, that he must have understood the *service*, not the *elements*, to be the Christian *gift*, and Christian *sacrifice*.

Origen falls in with the sentiments of the earlier Fathers, as to *spiritual* sacrifices, and their being the only Gospel sacrifices. For when Celsus had objected to Christians their want of *altars*, he replies: "The Ob-"jector does not consider, that, with us, every good "man's mind is his *altar*, from whence truly and spi-"ritually the incense of perfume is sent up: *viz. prayers* "from a pure conscience [o]." Then he refers to Rev. v. 8. and to Psalm cxli. 2. A little higher up in the same treatise, he speaks of Christians presenting their *petitions*, *sacrifices*, and *supplications*; beseeching Christ, since "he "is the propitiation for our sins," to recommend the same, in quality of High Priest, to the acceptance of God the Father [p]. We may here observe, that the *altar* which he speaks of, is *spiritual*, as well as the *sacrifice*. Had he known of any *material* altar, or *material* sacrifice, (properly so called,) among Christians, this was the place for

[n] Hostias et victimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei *suum munus?* Ingratum est: cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus, et pura mens, et sincera conscientia. Igitur, qui *innocentiam* colit, Domino supplicat; qui *justitiam*, Deo libat; qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat Deum; qui hominem periculo subripit, opimam victimam cædit. Hæc nostra *sacrificia*, hæc Dei *sacra* sunt. *Minuc. Fel.* sect. xxxii. p. 183.

[o] Οὐκ ὁρῶν, ὅτι βωμοὶ μέν εἰσιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἑκάστου τῶν δικαίων ἡγεμονικὸν, ἀφ' οὗ ἀναπέμπεται ἀληθῶς καὶ νοητῶς εὐώδη θυμιάματα, αἱ προσευχαὶ ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως καθαρᾶς. *Origen. contra Cels.* p. 755.

[p] Ὧι πρῶτον προσφέρομεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν, ἱλασμὸν ὄντα περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, προσαγαγεῖν ὡς Ἀρχιερέα τὰς εὐχὰς, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἡμῶν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ. p. 751.

him to have named it. It is true, the Lord's table is often called *altar* in the ancient monuments, and it is a *material* table: and the *alms* also and *oblations* made at the same table, for the use of church and poor, are *material*, as well as the table. But the *service* is *spiritual*, and that is the *sacrifice*, there offered: and therefore the *table*, considered as an *altar*, an altar for *spiritual* sacrifice, is a *mystical*, *spiritual* altar. So if a man offers his own body as a *sacrifice* for the name of Christ upon a *scaffold*, his body is *material*, and so is the scaffold also: but nevertheless, the *sacrifice* is spiritual, and the *scaffold*, considered as an *altar*, must be a *spiritual* altar, to make it answer to the *sacrifice*, as they are *correlates*. This I hint by the way, in order to obviate some wrong constructions, which have been made [q] of a *material* table and *material* elements. It is true, the table is *material*, and the elements also *material:* but so far as one is considered or called an *altar*, it is *spiritual* and *mystical;* and so far as the other are called a *sacrifice*, they also are *spiritual* and *mystical*. The holy table is called an *altar*, with regard to the *spiritual* services, that is, *sacrifices* sent up from it, and so it is a *spiritual* altar: then as it bears the *symbols* of the *grand sacrifice* applied in this service, and herein feasted upon by every *worthy* communicant, it is a *symbolical* or *mystical* table, answering to the symbolical and mystical banquet. But I pass on.

Cyprian, of that age, speaks as highly of *spiritual sacrifices* as any one before or after him. For in an epistle written to the *confessors* in prison, and not permitted to *communicate* there, he comforts them up in the manner here following: "Neither your *religion* nor *faith* can "suffer by the hard circumstances you are under, that "the *priests* of God have not the liberty to *offer* and cele- "brate the *holy sacrifices*. You do *celebrate*, and you do "*offer* unto God a *sacrifice* both precious and glorious, "and which will much avail you towards your obtaining

[q] See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 30. alias 31.

" heavenly rewards. The holy Scripture says, *The sa-*
" *crifice of God is a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite*
" *heart God doth not despise*, Psal. li. 17. This *sacrifice*
" you offer to God, this you celebrate without intermis-
" sion, day and night, being made *victims* to God, and
" presenting *yourselves* as such, holy and unblemished,
" pursuant to the Apostle's exhortation, where he says,
" *I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God,*
" *that you present your bodies*, &c. Rom. xii. 1. For this
" is what pleases God: and it is this by which our other
" services are rendered more worthy, for the engaging the
" Divine acceptance. This is the *only* thing that our de-
" vout and dutiful affections can offer under the name of
" a *return* for all his great and salutary blessings: for so
" by the Psalmist says the Spirit of God, *What shall I*
" *render*, &c. Psal. cxvi. 12, 13, 15. Who would not
" readily and cheerfully take this cup[r]?" The remarks here proper are as follow: 1. That the author looked upon the Eucharist as an *oblation*, or *sacrifice*, or complication of sacrifices. 2. That in case of injurious exclusion from it, he conceived that *spiritual sacrifices* alone were *equivalent* to it, or more than equivalent to the *ordinary* sacrifices therein offered. 3. That therefore he could not suppose any sacrifice *offered* in the Eucharist to be the *archetypal* sacrifice itself, or to be *tantamount* to it: which I note chiefly in opposition to Mr. Dodwell, who imagined that the ancients " reckoned the " Christian Eucharist for the archetypal sacrifice of Christ " upon the cross[s]:" an assertion, which must be very much qualified and softened, to make it tolerable. The Eucharist, considered as a *Sacrament*, is indeed representative and exhibitive of the *archetypal sacrifice*; not as *offered*, but as *feasted upon* by us, *given* and *applied* by God and Christ to every *worthy* receiver. Therefore that excellently learned man inadvertently here confounded

[r] Cyprian, Epist. lxxvi. p. 232. ed. Oxon. alias Epist. lxxvii. p. 159. Bened.

[s] Dodwell of Incense, p. 55.

the *sacrificial* view of the Eucharist with the *sacramental* one, and *man's* part in it with what is properly *God's*. What we *give* to God is our own service, and *ourselves*, which is *our* sacrifice: but the *archetypal* sacrifice itself is what no one but Christ himself could offer, whether *really* or *symbolically*. We *represent* it, we do not *offer* it in the Eucharist; but it is there sacramentally or symbolically to us *exhibited*, or *applied*. 4. It may be noted of Cyprian, that he judged the devoting *our whole selves* to God's service and to God's glory, to be the most *acceptable* sacrifice which *we* are *capable* of offering: and his preferring the sacrifice of *martyrdom* (other circumstances supposed equal) to the *ordinary* sacrifice of the Eucharist, was conformable to the standing principles of the Church, in preferring the *baptism* of *blood* to the *baptism* of *water*[t].

It remains to be inquired, in how many senses, or upon what accounts, St. Cyprian styled the Eucharist a *sacrifice*. 1. He might so style it on account of the *lay-offerings* therein made, which were a *spiritual* sacrifice[u]. 2. Next, on account of the *sacerdotal* recommendation of the same offerings to the Divine acceptance[x]: which was another *spiritual* sacrifice. 3. On account of the *prayers, lauds, hymns*, &c. which went along with both the former, and were *emphatically* spiritual sacrifice. 4. On account of the *Christian charity* and *brotherly love* signified by and exemplified in the service of the Eucharist: for that Cyprian looked upon as a *prime* sacrifice of it[y].

[t] Vid. Dodwell. Cyprian. Dissert. xiii. p. 420, &c.

[u] See above, chap. i. p. 31.

[x] See above, p. 31. Pope Innocent I. clearly expresses both, in these words: De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces sacerdos faciat, atque *eorum oblationes*, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, *sua oratione commendet*, quam superfluum sit, et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis: ut cujus *hostiam* nec dum Deo *offeras*, ejus ante nomen insinues, &c. *Harduin. Concil.* tom. i. p. 997.

[y] Sic nec sacrificium Deus recipit *dissidentis*.——Sacrificium Deo *majus*, est *pax nostra* et fraterna *concordia*, et de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti *plebs adunata*. *Cyprian. de Orat.* pag. 211. edit. Bened. pag. 150. Oxon.

5. On account of the *grand sacrifice* applied by Christ, commemorated and feasted on by us (not properly *offered*) in the Eucharist[z]. Such *commemoration* is itself a *spiritual* service, of the same nature with *lauds*, and so makes a part of the spiritual *sacrifice* of the Eucharist. In these several views, Cyprian might, or probably did look upon the Eucharist as a *sacrifice*, and accordingly so *named* it.

There is one particular passage in Cyprian, which has been often pleaded by Romanists in favour of a *real* sacrificing of Christ in the Eucharist, and sometimes by Protestants, amongst ourselves, in favour of a *material* sacrifice at least, or of a *symbolical* offering up of Christ's body and blood to God the Father. The words of Cyprian run thus: "If Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, be the High "Priest of God the Father, and first offered *himself* a sa- "crifice to the Father, and commanded *this* to be done in "commemoration of himself; then that Priest truly acts "in Christ's stead, who imitates what Christ did, and "then *offers* a *true* and *complete* sacrifice in the Church "to God the Father, if he begins *so to offer*, as he sees "Christ to have offered before[a]." From hence it has been pleaded, that Christ offered himself *in the Eucharist*, and that the Christian Priests ought to *do the same* that he did; that is, to *offer*, or sacrifice *Christ himself* in this Sacrament. But it is not certain that Cyprian did mean (as he has not plainly said) that Christ offered himself *in the Eucharist:* he might mean only, that Christ offered himself *upon the cross*, and that he instituted this Sacrament as a *commemoration* of it. As to the words *true* and *complete* sacrifice, he certainly meant no more,

[z] See above, chap. i. p. 30, 31, 37.

[a] Si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et *sacrificium* Patri *seipsum* primus obtulit, et *hoc* fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit; utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id, *quod Christus fecit*, imitatur, et sacrificium *verum* et *plenum* tunc offert in Ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat *offerre* secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse. *Cyprian. Ep.* lxiii. p. 609. And see above ch. i. p. 30.

than that Christ offered both *bread* and *wine*, and had left it us in charge to *do the same:* and this he observed in opposition to some of that time, who affected to *mutilate* the Sacrament by leaving out the *wine*, and using *water* instead of it, which was not *doing the same* that Christ did.

However, I think it not material to dispute whether Cyprian really intended to teach, that our Lord offered himself *in the Eucharist*, since it is certain, that some Fathers of eminent note in the Church, after his days, did plainly and in terms affirm it[b]: and other *Fathers* admitted of our Lord's *offering*, or *devoting* himself *previously* to the passion[c]. And they are therein followed by several learned *moderns*, even among Protestants[d]; who ground the doctrine chiefly on John xvii. 19. A sufficient answer to the objection (so far as concerns the Romish plea built thereupon) is given by our incomparable Bishop Jewell, in these words: "We deny not but it "may well be said, Christ *at his last supper* offered up "himself unto his Father: albeit, not *really* and *indeed*, "but in a *figure*, or in a *mystery;* in such sort as we say, "Christ was offered in the *sacrifices* of the *old Law*, and, "as St John says, *The lamb* was *slain from the beginning* "of the *world*, as Christ was *slain* at the *table*, so was he "*sacrificed* at the *table:* but he was not slain at the

[b] Hilarius, in Matt. c. xxxi. p. 743. ed. Bened. Ambrosius, de Myster. Paschæ, c. 1. Gregor. Nyssen. de Resurr. Christi, seu Pasch. i. Hesychius in Levit. p. 55, 56. conf. 169, 376, 540. Conf. Steph. Gobar. apud Phot. Cod. 232. p. 902. Missal. Gotho-Gallican. p. 297. et Mabillon. in Præfat. et alibi.

[c] Chrysostom. in Johan. Hom. lxxxii. p. 484. Cyril. Alex. de Adorat. lib. x. p. 350. In Johan. lib. iv. c. 2. p. 354.

[d] Mede, Opp. p. 14. Outram de Sacrif. p. 307, 370. Witsius, Miscellan. Sacr. tom. i. dissert. 2. not. 87. In Symb. Apost. Exercit. x. p. 147. Whitby on John xvii. 19. Zornius, Opusc. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 251. Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 560. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part i. p. 61—96. part ii. p. 4—10. N. B. These authors suppose that our Lord *devoted* himself beforehand, *gave* himself on the cross, *presented* himself *in* heaven: *one continued oblation* in all, but distinguished into *three* several parts, views, or stages.

" table *verily* and *indeed*, but only in a *mystery*[e]." This is a just and full answer to the *Romanists*, with whom the good Bishop held the debate. But it may still be pleaded by those who maintain a *material* sacrifice, that this answer affects not *them*, since they contend only, that Christ offered the *symbols* in the Eucharist, and *himself* under those symbols, that is, in a *mystery*; just as a man offers to God *houses* or *lands*, by presenting a *sword*, or *piece* of *money*, or *pair* of *gloves*, upon the altar of a church, or transfers an estate by delivery of *parchments*, and the like: and if Christ thus *symbolically* offered himself a sacrifice in the Eucharist, why may he not be, in like manner, *symbolically* offered in the Eucharist at this day[f]? This, I think, is the sum and substance of what is pleaded by some Protestants in favour of a symbolical *sacrifice*, as offered in the Eucharist. To which I answer: 1. That no one has any authority or right to offer Christ as a sacrifice (whether *really* or *symbolically*) but Christ himself. Such a sacrifice is *his* sacrifice, not *ours;* offered *for us*, and not *by us*, to God the Father. If Christ in the institution offered *himself* under those *symbols*, (which however does not appear[g],) he might have a *right* to do it: we have *none*, and so can only *commemorate* what he did, and by the same *symbols*. 2. If we *symbolically* sacrifice any thing in the Eucharist, it is only in such a sense as St. Austin (hereafter to be quoted) speaks of; where he considers the *bread* and *wine* as symbols of the *united body* of the Church. We may so symbolically offer up, or sacrifice *ourselves*, and that is all: more than that cannot comport with *Scripture*, or with the principle of the *ancients*, that all our sacrifices are made *in* and *by* Christ. He is not the *matter* or *subject* of our sacrifices, but the *Mediator* of them: we offer not *him*, but we offer, what we do offer, *by him*[h]. 3. If the thing symbolically

[e] Jewell, Answer to Harding, p. 417. compare p. 426, 427.

[f] See Johnson's Collection of Saxon Laws, &c. præf. p. 57, &c.

[g] Vid. Sam. Basnag. Annal. tom. i. p. 371, 372.

[h] Hebr. xiii. 15. Per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia.——Non receperunt

offered in the Eucharist were *Christ himself*, then the *offerer* or *offerers* must stand in the place of Christ, and be as truly the *symbols* of Christ in their *offering* capacity, as the elements are supposed to be in their *sacrificial* capacity. Then not only the *Priests*, but the *whole Church*, celebrating the Eucharist, must *symbolically* represent the person of Christ, and stand in his stead: a notion which has no countenance in *Scripture* or *antiquity*, but is plainly contradicted by the whole turn and tenor of all the ancient Liturgies, as well as by the plain nature and reason of the thing. 4. I may add, lastly, that all the confusion, in this article, seems to arise from the want of distinguishing the *sacrificial* part of the Eucharist from the *sacramental* one, as before noted: we do not *offer Christ to God* in the Eucharist, but God *offers Christ to us*, in return for our offering *ourselves*. We *commemorate* the grand sacrifice, but do not *reiterate* it; no not so much as under *symbols*. But God applies it by those *symbols* or *pledges:* and so, though there is no *symbolical* sacrifice of that kind, neither can be; yet there is a *symbolical grant*, and a *symbolical banquet*, which is far better, and which most effectually answers all purposes. In short, there is, as the Apostle assures us, a *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, in the Eucharist, to every *worthy* receiver. The real and natural body is, as it were, under *symbols* and *pledges*, conveyed to us here, where the *verity* is not: but to talk of our sending the same up thither, under the like *pledges*, where the *verity* itself is, carries no appearance of truth or consistency; neither hath it any countenance either in Scripture or antiquity.

I now go on to Lactantius, who is supposed to have flourished about A. D. 318. The *Christian sacrifices* which he speaks of, are *meekheartedness*, *innocent life*, and *good*

verbum *per quod* offertur Deo. *Iren.* lib. iv. c. 17, 18. p. 249, 251. ed. Bened. τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων προσφέρειν Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀνωτάτου ἀρχιερέως αὐτοῦ διδάγμιθα. *Euseb. Dem. Evang.* lib. i. c. 10. p. 39. Conf. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. x. c. 20. Apostol. Const. lib. ii. c. 25. p. 240, 241.

works. He allows of no sacrifices but of the *incorporeal invisible* kind, being that such only are fit for *God,* who is incorporeal and invisible, to receive, under the last and most perfect dispensation of the Gospel. He distinguishes between *gifts* and *sacrifices,* because the Pagans had so distinguished: but in the last result, he lays no stress upon that distinction, indifferently reckoning a *good life,* either as a *gift* or a *sacrifice.* However, where he seems at all to distinguish, he chooses to make *integrity* the *gift,* and such an one as shall continue *for ever;* while he appropriates the name of *sacrifice,* emphatically so used, to *lauds, hymns,* and the like, which he supposes are appointed *for a time* only [i].

We may now come down to Eusebius, of the same century, a man of infinite reading, and particularly conversant in *Christian antiquities.* He speaks of "the *venerable sacrifices of Christ's table,* by which officiating, "we are taught to offer up to God supreme, during our "whole lives, the *unbloody, spiritual,* and to him most "*acceptable* sacrifices, through the High Priest of his, "who is above all [k]." For the clearer understanding of what he meant by the *unbloody, spiritual* sacrifices, let him explain himself in the same page, where he says: "The prophetic oracles make mention of these *incorporeal* and *spiritual* sacrifices: *Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High.*" And again, "*The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit* [l]."

[i] Quisquis igitur his omnibus præceptis cœlestibus obtemperaverit, hic cultor est veri Dei, cujus *sacrificia* sunt *mansuetudo animi,* et *vita innocens,* et *actus boni.*——Duo sunt quæ offerri debeant, *donum* et *sacrificium:* donum *in perpetuum,* sacrificium *ad tempus.*——Deo utrumque *incorporale* offerendum est, quo utitur. *Donum* est integritas animi, *sacrificium* laus et hymnus. Si enim Deus *non videtur,* ergo his rebus coli debet, quæ *non videntur.*——Summus igitur colendi Dei ritus est, ex ore justi hominis ad Deum directa laudatio. *Lactant. de vero Cultu,* lib. vi. c. 24, 25.

[k] Τὰ σιμνὰ τῆς Χριστοῦ τραπέζης θύματα, δι' ὧν καλλιεροῦντες, τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς, αὐτῷ τι προσηνεῖς θυσίας, διὰ παντὸς βίου, τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων προσφέρειν θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀνωτάτου ἀρχιερέως αὐτοῦ διδιδάγμεθα. *Euseb. Dem. Evang.* lib. i. c. 10. p. 39.

[l] Ταύτας δὲ πάλιν τὰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ νοερὰς θυσίας τὰ προφητικὰ κηρύττει λό-

&c. Hence it is manifest, that Eusebius did not mean by *sacrifices* the sacred *symbols*, which are *corporeal*, but the *spiritual* services of *prayers*, *praises*, and a *contrite* heart, as he expressly mentions. Which will appear still the plainer, by his quoting, soon after, the noted place of Malachi, and expounding both the *incense* and *pure offering*, of *prayers* and *praises*. His comment is worth the reciting: "We offer therefore to God supreme the *sacri-*
"*fice* of *praise:* we offer the holy, the venerable sacrifice,
"which hath a decorous sanctity: we offer after a *new*
"way, according to the *New* Testament, the *pure sacri-*
"*fice:* for the sacrifice to God is said to be a *contrite spi-*
"*rit* [m]." He goes on to sum up all in very strong and remarkable words, as here follows: "Therefore we offer
"both *sacrifice* and *incense:* first, celebrating the *memo-*
"*rial* of the *grand sacrifice* by those mysteries which he
"has ordained, and presenting our thanksgivings for our
"salvation, by devout hymns and prayers. Next, we
"offer up *ourselves* to him, and to the *Logos*, his High
"Priest, resting upon him both with body and soul.
"Whereupon we endeavour to preserve to him our *bo-*
"*dies* pure and untainted from all filthiness, and to bring
"him *minds* free from all evil affection and stain of mali-
"ciousness, and take care to honour him by purity of
"thought, sincerity of affection, and soundness of prin-
"ciples; for these, we are taught, are more acceptable to
"him than a multitude of sacrifices, streaming with blood,
"and smoke, and nidor [n]."

This is an admirablede scription of the *eucharistical solemnity* of the *sacrifices* contained in it, and of the *ends* and *uses* of it, and likewise of the *preparation* proper for

για——θῦσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνίσεως, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σου——καὶ πάλιν, θυσία τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον. *Euseb. ibid.* p. 39.

[m] Θύομεν δῆτα τοιγαροῦν τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνίσεως· θύομεν τὸ ἔνθεον, καὶ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἱεροπρεπὲς θῦμα· θύομεν καινῶς κατὰ τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην τὴν καθαρὰν θυσίαν· θυσία δὲ τῷ Θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον εἴρηται. *Euseb. ibid.* p. 40. conf. c. vi. p. 19, 20, 21. et in Psalm. p. 212.

[n] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. lib. i. c. x. p. 40.

it. But my present concern is only with the *sacrificial* view of it. Eusebius here takes notice, in the first place, of the *grand sacrifice*: which is no sacrifice of *ours*, but we make a *memorial* of it; and that very memorial is indeed an article of spiritual *service*, and so of course makes a part of our *own* spiritual sacrifice in the Eucharist[o]. The rest is made up of such other *sacrifices* as the author has there handsomely enumerated. I shall only observe farther of Eusebius, for the cutting off all possible cavils about his meaning, that in another work of his, he expressly teaches, that the *unbloody sacrifices* will be offered to God, not only in *this life present*, but also *in the life to come*[p]. Certainly, he could not intend it of the eucharistic *symbols*, but of something else. Cyril of Alexandria has followed him in the same thought, where he supposes the *angels* to offer the *unbloody* sacrifices[q].

Were I now to go on to other Fathers, down to the sixth century, or farther, it might be tedious to the reader: but they will all be found constant and uniform in one tenor of doctrine, rejecting all *material*, *corporeal*, *terrene*, *sensible* sacrifices, and admitting none but *spiritual*, such as I have mentioned. Neither is there any difference concerning that point between Justin of the second, and Cyril of the fifth century, but that the latter

[o] I observed above, p. 359, that the legal *incense* was a *memorial*, and it was burnt over the *show bread*, Lev. xxiv. 7. In like manner, our *commemorative service* is offered up to God *over* the elements, and is part of our *Gospel incense*, consisting of *prayers*, *lauds*, *self-humiliation*, &c.

[p] Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δὲ αἰῶνι, τὰ λογικὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰς ἀναιμάκτας τῷ Θεῷ θυσίας ἀναπέμπων οὐ διαλιμπάνει ὁ δηλωθεὶς λαός. *Euseb. in Hesai.* xviii. p. 427.

[q] Cyrill. Alexandr. de Recta Fide, p. 160. N. B. The learned author of Unbloody Sacrifice once thought, that mere spiritual sacrifices were never called *unbloody*: but he found afterwards that *prayers* had that epithet given them by Constantine. Apud Sozom. lib. ii. c. 15. He might have added Greg. Nyssen. de Pœnit. p. 170. As to this place of Cyril, he supposes it meant of *offering* Christ's *body* in heaven. Addend. to part i. in part ii. p. 266. A strange thought! especially considering that *angels* are supposed by Cyril to be the offerers. Compare what Lactantius says above of *gifts*, as continuing *for ever*, meaning the tribute of *homage*, &c. and so all is clear.

is more full and express for the same thing. However, I shall go on a little farther, making choice of a few testimonies, appearing most considerable either for their *weight* or their *accuracy*. I pass over Hilary and Basil, with bare references to the pages[r]: but Gregory Nazianzen may deserve our more especial notice. He was eminently called *the Divine*, for his exactness of *judgment*, and his consummate knowledge in *theology*; and he has some remarkable passages, very apposite to our present purpose. About the year 379, putting the case, that possibly, through the iniquity of the times, he might be driven from the *altar*, and debarred the benefit of the Eucharist, he comforts himself thus: "Will they drive "me from the *altars?* But I know, there is another *al-*"*tar*, whereof these visible ones are but the *figures*, &c.— "To that will I present myself, there will I offer the *ac-*"*ceptable* services, *sacrifice*, *oblation*, and *holocausts*, pre-"ferable to those now offered, as much as *truth* is prefer-"able to *shadow*.——From this *altar*, no one, who has "ever so much a mind to it, shall be able to debar me[s]." Here we may observe, how Nazianzen prefers the *spiritual sacrifices* even before the *sacrifice* of the *altar*, externally considered. A plain argument, that he did not look upon it as the *archetypal sacrifice:* for, if he had, he could never have been so presumptuous or profane, as to prefer any sacrifice of his *own* to the sacrifice of *Christ*. He looked upon the eucharistical sacrifice, *externally* considered, and in its *representative, commemorative* view, to be no more than the *figure* of the *archetypal*, and a *sign* of the spiritual sacrifices: therefore he justly preferred the *substance* before *shadows*, and the real sacrifice

[r] Hilarius, p. 154, 228, 534, 535. edit. Bened. Basil. tom. iii. p. 52, 207. edit. Bened.

[s] *Θυσιαστηρίων εἴρξουσιν; ἀλλ' οἶδα καὶ ἄλλο θυσιαστήριον, οὗ τύποι τὰ νῦν ἐρῶμενα τούτῳ——παραστήσομαι, τούτῳ θύσω δικτὰ, θυσίαν, καὶ προσφορὰν, καὶ ὁλοκαυτώματα, κρείττονα τῶν νῦν προσαγομένων, ὅσῳ κρεῖττον σκιᾶς ἀλήθεια.——τούτου μὲν οὐκ ἀπάξει με τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος.* Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xxviii. p. 484. Confer. Albertinus, p. 474.

of the heart, before the *outward* symbols[t]; the offering of which was not *sacrificing* at all, but *representing* a sacrifice, or sacrifices.

There is another passage of Nazianzen, worth the reciting; and so I shall throw it in here, with some proper remarks upon it. He had been setting forth the *dignity* and *danger* of the sacerdotal function, which for some time he had studiously declined; and among other considerations, he urges one, drawn from the weighty concern of well-administering the *holy Communion*, as here follows: "Knowing that no man is worthy of the great "*God*, and *Sacrifice*, and *High Priest*, who has not first "presented *himself* a living *holy sacrifice* unto God, and "exhibited the *rational acceptable* service, and offered to "God *the sacrifice of praise*, and the *contrite spirit*, (which "is the only sacrifice that God, who giveth all things, "demands from us back again,) how shall I dare to offer "him the *external* sacrifice, the *antitype* of the great "mysteries? or how shall I take upon me the character "or title of a priest, before I have purified my hands "with holy works[u]?" Here it may be noted, 1. That the author distinguishes very carefully between the *external* sacrifice in the Eucharist, and the *internal*, between the *symbolical* and the *real*. 2. That he did not judge the *external* sacrifice to be *really* a sacrifice, or to be more than *nominal*, since he opposes it to the *real*, *internal* sacrifices, judging them to be the *only sacrifices* required.

[t] Hence it may be observed, that the *eucharistical sacrifice* began to be more and more confined to one *particular* meaning, and to be understood in a *narrow* sense, as denoting the *representation* of a sacrifice: otherwise there would have been no room for Nazianzen's preferring one to another; for it would have been opposing *spiritual* sacrifice to *spiritual*, and would not have answered.

[u] Ταῦτα οὖν εἰδὼς ἐγὼ, καὶ ὅτι μηδεὶς ἄξιος τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ θύματος, καὶ Ἀρχιερέως, ὅστις μὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν παρίστησι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, μηδὲ ἔθυσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως καὶ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον (ἣν μόνον ὁ πάντα δοὺς ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν θυσίαν) πῶς ἔμελλον θαῤῥῆσαι προσφέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἔξωθεν, τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον; ἢ πῶς ἱερέως σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ὑποδύεσθαι, πρὶν ὁσίοις ἔργοις τελειῶσαι τὰς χεῖρας; *Greg. Nazianz. Orat.* i. p. 38.

3. That he judged the *external* sacrifice to be the *sign, symbol,* or *figure*[x] of a true sacrifice, (*viz.* of the *grand sacrifice,*) improperly or figuratively called a sacrifice, by a *metonymy* of the *sign,* for the *thing signified*[y]. 4. That such *external, nominal* sacrifice has also the name of *oblation*[z], in the same figurative, metonymical way, as it was *presenting* to God the *signs* and *symbols* of the body broken, and blood shed, and pleading the merits of the *passion* there *represented.* 5. That the name of *rational* or *spiritual* service, borrowed from St. Paul[a], is not a name for the *external* sacrifice, in our author, but for the *internal* of *prayers, praises, contrite heart,* &c. 6. That the *external* sacrifice, (being the same with the *memorial,*) if considered as more than *vocal,* and making a part of the *thanksgiving* service, may be justly reputed a sacrifice of the *spiritual* kind, falling under the head of *sacrifice of praise.* 7. That the *spiritual sacrifices,* whether considered as *previous* qualifications, or *present* services of priests and people, were thought to be the *only* true and proper sacrifices *performed*[b] in the Eucharist: and therefore so far as it is itself a *sacrifice,* and not barely a *sign* of a

[x] This is intimated by the word ἀντίτυπον. Conf. Orat. xi. p. 187. Orat. xvii. p. 273. of which word see Albertinus, p. 273—280. Pfaffius, p. 131—145.

[y] Vid. Suicer. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 1423, 1424.

[z] Intimated in the word προσφέρειν. Conf. Cyrill. Hierosol. Myst. v. c. 9. p. 328.

"Christ is, in some sense, *offered up to God* by every communicant in "the Sacrament, when he does mentally and internally *offer* him to God, "and *present,* as it were, his bleeding Saviour to his *Father,* and desire "him for his sake to be merciful to him, and forgive him his sins. This *in*-"*ternal oblation* of Christ and his *passion* is made by every *faithful Chris*-"*tian,* &c.——The *Minister* also—does *offer,* as it were, *Jesus Christ* and "his *sacrifice* for the people," &c. *Dr. Payne's Discourse on the Sacrifice of the Mass,* A. D. 1688. p. 52, 53. Compare Abp. Sharpe, vol. vii. serm. xi. p. 251. and Deylingius, Observat. Miscellan. p. 315. and Pfaffius, who says, This no Protestants deny, p. 106, 314, 344.——The *oblation,* in this view, is but another name for *commemoration;* as I have often noted before.

[a] Rom. xii. 1. λογικὴ λατρεία.

[b] I say, *performed:* there is another sacrifice *represented, commemorated,* which was *performed* 1700 years ago upon the cross.

former sacrifice, it is a *spiritual* sacrifice. 8. Those *spiritual* sacrifices were believed *essential* to the Eucharist, considered either as a *sacrifice* or a *salutary sacrament*: for, without such *spiritual* sacrifices, there was no *sacrifice* performed at all, but a *representation* of a sacrifice[c]; and not of *ours*, but of our *Lord's*. And though the Eucharist would still be a *sacrament*, (not a *sacrifice*,) yet it could not be *salutary* either to administrator or receiver, for want of the *spiritual sacrifices*, to give it life and efficacy; as is here sufficiently intimated by Nazianzen.

There is a commentary upon Isaiah, which has been ascribed to St. Basil by critics of the first rate, but yet is probably rejected, as none of his, by the last learned editor of Basil's works; who allows it however to be an useful piece, and as early as the *fourth* century, or thereabout. What I mention him for is, that, instead of all the *legal* sacrifices, he admits of *two* only, under the Gospel; our *Lord's* upon the cross, and *ours*, which consists in every man's offering his *own self*[d]. There is another author, who has commonly gone under the name of St. Chrysostom, but is now rejected as spurious, who divides the *sacrifices* of the *Gospel* after the same way: only the latter of the two he subdivides into *nine*, and so makes *ten* in all[e], and all of the *spiritual* kind. Cyril of Alexandria has a great many things very clear and express to our present purpose[f]: but there is one particular passage in his tenth book against Julian, which is so *plain*, and so full for *spiritual* sacrifices, in opposition to all *material* or *corporeal* sacrifices whatsoever, that nothing can be more so. Comparing the sacrifices of *Christians* with those of

[c] Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensum Christi per *sacramentum memoriæ* celebratur. *Augustin. contr. Faust.* lib. xx. c. 21. p. 348. tom. viii. edit. Bened.

[d] Pseudo Basil. in Isa. p. 398, &c. tom. i. edit. Bened.

[e] Pseudo Chrysostom. in Psal. xcv. p. 631. inter spuria, edit. Bened. tom. v.

[f] Cyril. Alex. contr. Julian. lib. ix. p. 307, 308. Comment. in Isa. lib. i. Orat. i. p. 14, 15. In Malach. i. 11. p. 830.

the *Jews*, he writes thus: "We sacrifice now much better "than they of old did: for here descendeth from heaven, "not any *sensible fire* for a *symbol* of the ineffable nature, "but the *Holy Spirit* himself, from the Father by the "Son, *enlightening* the Church, and receiving our *sacri-* "*fices*, namely, the *spiritual* and *mental* ones. The Is- "raelites offered up to God bullocks and sheep, turtles "and pigeons; yea, and *first fruits* of the earth, *fine flour* "with *oil* poured upon it, *cakes*, and *frankincense:* but "we, discarding all such *gross service*, are commanded to "perform one that is *fine* and *abstracted*, *intellectual* and "*spiritual*. For we offer up to God, for a sweetsmelling "savour, all kinds of virtues, *faith*, *hope*, *charity*, *right-* "*eousness*, *temperance*[g]," &c. Here it is to be noted, that Cyril rejects absolutely *all* corporeal sacrifices, and not only the *bloody* ones of *bulls* and *goats*, and the like. He opposes the Christian *mental* sacrifices to the sacrifices of *fine flour* and *cakes*, and other such *gross* and *sensible* sacrifices. How could he do this, if he thought the *elements* of the Eucharist were a *sacrifice* or *sacrifices?* Are *bread* and *wine* at all less *gross*, or less *sensible*, than *fine flour*, *cakes*, and *oil*, and other *fruits* of the earth? Or have they any other claim to the name of *mental* and *spiritual* sacrifices, than the other also might justly have? Therefore it is plain, that Cyril never admitted the *material* elements of the Eucharist, as any part of the *Christian sacrifice;* but the *spiritual service* performed in it, that was the sacrifice. The *material* elements were *signs* and *symbols* of our *Lord's sacrifice*, not *the sacrifice* itself, nor *any sacrifice* at all, in strict propriety of speech: for our *own proper* sacrifice, as distinct from our *Lord's*, are our own *services* of *prayer* and *praise*, of *faith*, and of a *good life*. Such is the constant doctrine of all antiquity.

I shall close this account with the sentiments of the great St. Austin. His treatise De Civitate Dei may be

[g] Cyrill. Alex. contr. Jul. lib. x. p. 345.

called his masterpiece, being his most learned, most correct, and most elaborate work; which lay upon his hands thirteen years, from 413 to 426: he died in 431. Here then we may expect to find his maturest sentiments, laid down with the utmost exactness, relating to the *sacrifice* of the *Eucharist*. He comprises all the Gospel sacrifices under *two:* one of which is our *Lord's* own sacrifice upon the cross; and the other is the *Church's* offering *herself*. The first of these is *represented* and *participated* in the Eucharist, the latter is *executed:* this is the sum of his doctrine. Of the former he observes [h], that it succeeded in the room of the *legal* sacrifices which *prefigured* it: of the latter he observes, that the *legal* sacrifices were *signs* or *symbols* of it [i]. The legal sacrifices were, in a *prophetic* and *propitiatory* view, *figures* of the former, and in a *tropological* view, figures of the latter. The *body* of Christ he considers as twofold, *natural* and *mystical;* one of which is *represented* by us, and *exhibited* by Christ in the Eucharist; the other is *offered* as a proper *spiritual* sacrifice [k]: and the bread and wine in the Eucharist are considered as *symbols* of *both*. I say, he considers the sacramental elements not merely as symbols of the *natural body*, but of the *mystical* also, *viz.* the *Church* [l], repre-

[h] Id enim sacrificium successit omnibus sacrificiis Veteris Testamenti, quæ immolabantur in *umbra futuri*. Pro illis omnibus sacrificiis et oblationibus *corpus* ejus offertur, et participantibus ministratur. *August. de Civit. Dei*, lib. xvii. cap. 21. p. 484.

[i] Per hoc et sacerdos est, et ipse oblatio: cujus rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit *Ecclesia sacrificium*, quæ cum ipsius capitis *corpus* sit, *seipsam* per ipsum discit offerre. Hujus *veri* sacrificii multiplicia variaque *signa* erant sacrificia prisca sanctorum, cum ob hoc unum per multa figuraretur, tanquam verbis multis *res una* diceretur, ut sine fastidio multum commendaretur. Huic *summo veroque* sacrificio cuncta sacrificia *falsa* cesserunt. *Ibid.* lib. x. cap. 20. p. 256. Conf. lib. xix. cap. 23. p. 227.

[k] Hoc est sacrificium Christianorum, *multi unum corpus* in Christo: quod etiam *sacramento altaris*, fidelibus noto, frequentat *Ecclesia*, ubi ei demonstratur, quod in *ea re* quam offert, ipsa offeratur. *Ibid.* l. x. c. 6. p. 243.

Hujus autem præclarissimum atque optimum *sacrificium nos ipsi sumus*, hoc est, civitas ejus: cujus rei mysterium celebramus *oblationibus* nostris, quæ fidelibus notæ sunt. Lib. xix. cap. 23. p. 226.

[l] *Corpus* ergo Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus,

sented by the *one loaf* and the *one cup:* so that by the same *symbols* we symbolically consign *ourselves* over to God, and God consigns *Christ*, with all the merits of his death and passion, over to us. At length, his notion of the *eucharistical sacrifice* resolves into one compound idea of a *spiritual* sacrifice, (wherein the communicants offer up *themselves*,) *commemorative* of another sacrifice, *viz.* the *grand* sacrifice. The *offering* of the *body* of Christ is a phrase capable of two meanings; either to signify the *representing* the *natural* body, or the *devoting* the *mystical* body: and *both* are included in the eucharistical service. Such appears to be St. Austin's settled judgment in this article, grounded, as I said, upon St. Paul's. It is a most ridiculous pretence of Father Harduin, (which he pursues through many tedious pages[m],) that, according to St. Austin, Christ's *natural* body is the *sign*, and his *mystical* body the *thing signified* in the Eucharist: for nothing is plainer from St. Austin, than that the bread and wine are the only *signs*, and that the *things signified* by them are both the *natural* and the *mystical* body of Christ, both his *flesh* and his *Church*. As the word *offer* is a word of some latitude, he supposes both to be *offered* in the Eucharist; one by way of *memorial* before God, and the other as a real and spiritual *sacrifice* unto God.

Having thus traced this matter down through four centuries, and part of the fifth, I cannot think it of moment to descend lower, since the earliest are of principal value, and are alone sufficient. The Fathers were very wise and excellent men, saw very clearly what many learned moderns have had the misfortune to overlook, and agreed perfectly well in many points, about which the moderns

Vos estis corpus Christi et membra. Si ergo vos estis *corpus* Christi et *membra*, mysterium vestrum in *mensa* Domini positum est, mysterium Domini accipitis.——Nihil hic de nostro adseramus; ipsum Apostolum item audiamus: cum ergo de isto *Sacramento* loqueretur, ait; *Unus panis unum corpus multi sumus.*——Recolite enim, quia panis non fit de uno grano, sed de multis. *Augustin.* serm. ccxxix. p. 976. Conf. serm. cclxxii. p. 1103.

[m] Harduin. de Sacramento Altaris, cap. x.

have been strangely divided. The Fathers well understood, that to make Christ's *natural* body the real sacrifice of the Eucharist, would not only be *absurd* in reason, but highly *presumptuous* and *profane;* and that to make the outward *symbols* a proper sacrifice, a *material* sacrifice, would be entirely contrary to Gospel principles, degrading the *Christian* sacrifice into a *Jewish* one, yea, and making it much lower and meaner than the *Jewish*, both in *value* and *dignity* [n]. The right way therefore was, to make the sacrifice *spiritual:* and it could be no other upon Gospel principles. Thus both *extremes* were avoided, all perplexities removed, and truth and godliness secured.

So then here I may take leave of the *ancients*, as to the present article. The *whole* of the matter is well comprised and clearly expressed in a very few words, by as judicious a Divine as any our Church has had: "We "offer up our *alms;* we offer up our *prayers*, our *praises*, "and *ourselves:* and all these we offer up in the virtue "and consideration of *Christ's sacrifice*, represented before "us [I would only add, *and before God*] by way of *re-* "*membrance* or *commemoration;* nor can it be proved, "that the *ancients* did more than this: this *whole service* "was their *Christian sacrifice*, and this is ours [o]." A learned foreigner has likewise very briefly and justly expressed the nature of the *Christian sacrifice;* whose words I have thrown to the bottom of the page [p], for the learned reader.

[n] How contemptibly the Romanists speak of a *material* sacrifice in that view, may be seen in Bishop Morton, (p. 438.) who has collected their sentiments upon it.

[o] Archbishop Sharpe, vol. vii. serm. xi. p. 253. If any one is disposed to trace this matter down, even to the *dark* ages, he will find that most of the Greek and Latin Liturgies contain the same notion with the *Fathers*, of the *spiritual sacrifice* in the Eucharist. See Covel, Acc. of Gr. Church, pref. p. 47. book, p. 36, 41, 46, 53, 67, 68, 175. Deyling. Observat. Miscellan. p. 310, &c.

[p] *Oblatio* omnis quæ fit a credentibus sub *Novo Testamento*, est *incruenta*, et vero castissima, et simplicissima, quia *spiritualis*. Sive quis *se ipsum*,

I shall now shut up this chapter with two or three short *corollaries*, which naturally offer, and may be of some use.

1. The first is, that this *sacrificial* view of the Eucharist squares exactly with the *federal* view before given. For if it be really a *spiritual* sacrifice, in or by which every faithful communicant *devotes* himself entirely to God; and if the *sacerdotal* offering up our Lord's *mystical* body be (as St. Austin explains this matter) a sacerdotal *devoting* all the faithful joining it, to God's service, and to God's glory; then may we again justly conclude, that the sacramental service is a *federal*, as well as a *sacrificial* solemnity: because, in this case, the administrator's *devoting* the communicants, and their *devoting* themselves to God, is tantamount to a solemn *renewing* former engagements or *covenants* made with him, under such *symbols* as God has appointed, and promised to ratify on his part.

2. From hence may be understood, how *Christians*, at large, are *priests* unto God[q]: for every one that *sacrificeth*, is so far a *priest*. Therefore Justin Martyr represents *Christians* in common as so many *priests*, offering their *sacrifices* in the Eucharist[r]. And Isidorus, so late as the fifth century, does the like[s], reckoning every man a *priest*, when he offers up his *own body*, or himself, a *sacrifice* unto God, by sacrificing his lusts and passions. Nevertheless, the proper officers, who minister in holy things, and who offer up to God both the *sacrifices* and *sacrificers*, are *priests* in a more eminent and emphatical sense; as Isidorus observes in the same place, and as the

sive σῶμα suum, *affectum*, omnesque suas *facultates* et *actiones* Deo offerat ut *sacrificium*; sive alia σχίσυ, *ministri* verbi, qui in nobis convertendis laborarunt, *nos offerant Deo*; sive *preces*, εὐχαριστίας, *supplicationes* nostras feramus ad Deum, ubique eadem ratio: nullus hic funditur *sanguis*, nihil committitur *violentum*; actio tota est *spiritualis*, et λογικὴ. *Vitringa in Isa.* lxvi. 21. p. 951.

[q] 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. Rev. i. 6. v. 10. xx. 6.

[r] Justin. Mart. Dial. p. 386. Conf. Origen. in Levit. hom. ix. p. 236.

[s] Isidorus Pelusiot. lib. iii. ep. 75. p. 284.

reason of the thing itself sufficiently evidences[t]. I may farther note, that as Christians at large were considered as *priests*, on account of their offering *spiritual sacrifices*, so their *consecration* to such their priesthood was supposed to be performed in or by *Baptism:* or, in other words, their baptism was their consecration[u].

3. A third *corollary* is, that the Socinians, or others, who reject both the *sacrificial* and *federal* view, do not only causelessly *depreciate* a venerable *sacrament* and *sacrifice*, but at the same time do the greatest disservice imaginable to *practical* religion. For as the *sacrificial* notion of the Eucharist, here explained, carries in it the most instructive and compendious lesson of *Christian practice*, so does the *federal* notion of the same carry in it the strongest engagements to bind us for ever to it. The removing these awakening hints, and the dissolving these sacred ties, under fair and smooth pretences of supporting *practical Christianity*, is betraying great want of judgment or want of sincerity; because there cannot be a more dangerous or more fatal way of subverting, by little and little, all true *Christian morality*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Preparation proper for the HOLY COMMUNION.

IF we have hitherto gone upon sure grounds, with respect to the *nature, ends,* and *uses* of the *holy Communion*, there can be no doubt made, but that so *sacred* and so

[t] Cum omnes credentes N. T. sint *sacerdotes* respectu status *spiritualis*, et juris *appropinquandi* Deo in summo *Pontifice* Jesu; *ministri* verbi, dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, quatenus a Deo *electi* sunt, ut circa sacra publica versentur, respectu quodam *œconomico* et *externo*, in externa Ecclesiæ πολιτείᾳ fundato. Hunc titulum sibi *peculiari modo* vendicant. *Vitringa in Isa.* lxvi. 21. p. 951. Conf. Vitring. in Apocalyps. p. 335. N. B. This argument is discussed at large by Mr. Dodwell, De Jure Laico Sacerdotali, and by other tracts going along with his.

[u] Tertullian. de Monogam. cap. vii. p. 529. Origen. in Levit. hom. ix. 238. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. xviii. cap. 33. p. 301. Ambrosiaster. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 1. p. 365. ed. Bened.

salutary an institution ought to be held in great *reverence*, and to be observed with all *joy* and *thankfulness*, tempered with *godly fear*. If we consider it either as a *Divine* ordinance coeval with Christianity, and perfective of it, or as a solemn *memorial* of *God* made *man*, or as an instrument whereby *God* vouchsafes to receive us, *Christ* to dwell in us, and the *Holy Ghost* to shed his blessed influences upon us; or if we consider it as the noblest part of *Christian worship*, the *renewing* of our *covenant* with God, the *sacrificing* of the *heart*, and the *devoting* of the *affections*, and all that we have, to his *service*, and to his *glory*; or if we farther consider it as a *badge* of our most holy *profession*, and as a band or cement of *union*, whereby we abide in Christ, and have fellowship with all the family of heaven[x]; in which soever of these views we contemplate this holy ceremony, it must appear to be a matter of infinite concern to us, and highly deserving our most affectionate and devout regards. How we ought to express our esteem of it, is the next thing to be inquired into: and the general rule here is, that we take care to do it in such a way, as may best answer those heavenly and salutary purposes for which this holy Sacrament was ordained. Our esteem or disesteem of it will be seen by our conduct; by our frequenting or not frequenting it, by our preparing or not preparing for it, as also by our manner of behaviour at the time of receiving, or after. My present concern is with the *preparatory* part. There is something of a *preparation* of heart, mind, and ways, required for all religious offices[y]; much more for this, which is the flower and perfection of all: and now the only remaining question is, *what* preparation is here requisite, or whereof it consists. The *nature* and *ends* of the institution, laid down above, will be our sure marks of direction, and cannot mislead us, if carefully attended to. Let us come to particulars.

[x] Hebr. xii. 22, 23, 24.

[y] Eccles. v. 1, 2. 1 Sam. vii. 3. 2 Chron. xxxv. 6.

1. *Baptism*, it is well known, must go before the Eucharist, like as Circumcision was *previous* to the Passover. A person must be *admitted* into covenant first, in order to *renew*; must be *initiated*, in order to be *perfected*; must be *born* into the Christian life, before he takes in the additional *food* proper to support and increase it. Of this there can be no dispute, and so I need not say much of it. There is an instance in antiquity, as high as the third century, of a person who had long been a *communicant*, and who afterwards found reason to doubt whether he had been *validly* baptized, and thereupon scrupled the coming again to the *Lord's table*. His Bishop advised him, in that case, (considering how long he had been a *communicant*, and *honestly* all the time,) to go on without scruple; not presuming to give him *Baptism*, which now seemed to be *superseded* by the long and frequent use of this other Sacrament [z]. The case was very particular, and the resolution, probably, wise and just: both the scruple on one hand, and the determination on the other, (made with some *hesitancy*, and scarce *satisfactory* to the party,) show how acknowledged a principle of the Church it then was, that *Baptism* is ordinarily a most essential part of the qualification required for receiving the holy Communion. *Confirmation* besides, is highly *expedient* [a], but Baptism is strictly *necessary*.

2. A *competent knowledge* of what the Communion means is another *previous* qualification. St. Paul teaches, that a person, coming to the Lord's table, should *examine* or approve *himself*, and that he should *discern* the *Lord's body* [b]: both which do suppose a *competent* knowledge of

[z] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 9. But Timothy, afterwards Bishop of the same see, (about A. D. 380.) determined, that if a *catechumen* ignorantly should happen to receive the Communion, he should forthwith be *baptized*, pursuant to such call of God. *Timoth. Alexandr.* Can. I. Hard. p. 1192. tom. i.

[a] See the Rubric at the end of our Order of Confirmation, and the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham, A. D. 1281. Spelm. Concil. tom. ii. p. 331.

[b] 1 Cor. xi. 28, 29.

what the Sacrament *means*, and of what it *requires*[c]. And from thence may be drawn a very just and weighty argument against *infant communion*. But I return to the point in hand. As to the *measure* of the competent knowledge required for receiving the Communion, it must of course vary, according to the various opportunities, abilities, circumstances of the parties concerned; to be judged of by themselves, with the assistance of their proper guides. Great care was anciently taken in instructing the *adults*, called *catechumens*, in order to *Baptism:* something of like kind will be always proper, in such circumstances as ours, for the preparing persons for the *first* time of receiving the holy Communion.

3. A *sound* and *right faith*, as to the main substance of the Christian religion, is another *previous* qualification for this Sacrament. For whether we consider it as a *renewal* of our baptismal *profession* and *covenant*, which is engaging to observe the *Gospel terms;* or whether we consider it as an *instrument* of *pardon* and *grace*, and a *pledge* of the inheritance among the saints in light; *sound faith* must undoubtedly be required, to answer such ends and uses of it. Scripture has not directly said so, as there was no occasion for it; since the very nature of the thing, taking in Scripture principles, very fully and plainly declares it. Accordingly, we find, as early almost as we have any records left, that *true* and *sound* faith was very particularly required in those that came to the Lord's table[d]. Besides a *right faith* in the general, a *particular* belief with respect to the *graces* and *benefits* of a worthy reception of this Sacrament, was anciently, as well as reasonably, judged to be a *previous* qualification for it, requisite to render it salutary to the recipient. It would be

[c] Ὀρθὸς βίος, ἅμα μαθήσει τῇ καθηκούσῃ. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. p. 318.

[d] Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξὸν ἐστι, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ διδάγμενα ὑπ' ἡμῶν. *Just. Mart.* p. 96. Hitherto belongs the noted proclamation anciently made by the *Deacons*, before the Communion began: Μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων: *Let no misbeliever come to the Lord's table. Vid. Apostol. Constitut.* lib. viii. cap. 12. p. 403.

tedious to produce authorities for it, and therefore I choose to refer the reader to the collections of that kind already made to our hands [e].

4. Above all things, *repentance* ought to be looked upon as a most essential qualification for a due reception of the holy Communion. All the *ends* and *uses* of the Sacrament declare it: the reason of the thing itself loudly proclaims it. For, without that, what is *covenanting*, but playing the *hypocrite?* What is *devoting* ourselves to God at his table, but *lying* and *dissembling?* How is it possible to hold *communion* at once with *God* and *Baal*, with *Christ* and *Belial?* Or how can the *Spirit* of *God*, and the spirit that *worketh* in the *children* of *disobedience*, dwell together? It is plain therefore, that *repentance*, in some degree or other, and a heart turned to God, is essentially necessary to make the Sacrament *salutary*, yea, and to prevent its proving *hurtful* to the receiver.

If we look into the *ancients*, upon this head, we shall find them with united voice declaring, that *repentance* is absolutely necessary to make a *worthy* receiver. Justin Martyr specifies it among the previous qualifications, that the communicant shall be one who "lives according as "Christ has commanded [f]." Clemens, of the same century, intimates, that a *good life* [g] is requisite to a due receiving, and to prevent the receiving *unworthily* in St. Paul's sense; quoting 1 Cor. xi. 27, 28. Origen interprets the same words to mean, that the Sacrament must not be taken with a "soul defiled and polluted with sin [h]." St. Cyprian also more than once represents it as receiving *unworthily*, when a man comes to the Lord's table, before he has *expiated* his *offences*, *confessed* his *crimes*,

[e] Bingham, book xv. cap. 8. sect. 8.

[f] Οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. *Justin. Apol.* i. p. 96.

[g] Clemens Alex. Ὀρθὸς βίος, ἅμα μαθήσει τῇ καθηκούσῃ. *Strom.* i. p. 318.

[h] Ne in anima contaminata et peccatis polluta, Dominici corporis Sacramenta percipias. *Quicunque enim manducaverit*, inquit, *panem, et biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit*, &c.——Cibus iste sanctus non est communis omnium, nec cujuscunque *indigni*, sed *sanctorum* est. *Origen. in Lev.* hom. xiii. p. 257. Conf. in Matt. p. 254. ed. Huet.

purged his *conscience*, and *appeased* the anger of God[i]. All which shows, that he understood the text of St. Paul, not merely of the *manner* of behaviour at receiving, but of the previous *qualifications* of the receiver. In the same *general* way is the Apostle interpreted by the *ancient* commentators on that chapter[k]. But because some persons had made a distinction between being *unworthy* to receive, and receiving *unworthily*; to cut off all evasion sought for in that nicety, it was replied; that if the Apostle had restrained even the *worthy* from receiving *unworthily*, he had much more restrained every *unworthy* person from receiving at all; being that such a one is not capable of receiving *worthily*, while he continues such, that is, while he goes on in his *vices*[l]. There is scarce any one principle more *universally* agreed upon among the *ancients*, than this, that *repentance* and newness of life is a *necessary* preparation or qualification for the holy Communion, and is implied in *worthy* receiving.

It has been pleaded, in abatement, that the Apostle, by his caution against receiving *unworthily*, intended only to censure all *irreverent* behaviour at the table, and that the censure or admonition there given concerns rather the *manner* of receiving, than the *previous* qualifications of the receiver[m]. But to this pretext sufficient replies have

[i] Contumacibus et pervicacibus comminatur et denuntiat, dicens: *Quicunque ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.* Spretis his omnibus atque contemptis, ante *expiata* delicta, ante *exomologesim* factam criminis, ante *purgatam conscientiam* sacrificio et manu sacerdotis, ante *offensam placatam* indignantis Domini et minantis, vis infertur corpori ejus et sanguini, &c. *Cypr. de Laps.* p. 186. Conf. p. 19, 20, 141. edit. Bened.

[k] Chrysostom. in loc. p. 301. et de Pœnit. hom. vii. p. 326. tom. ii. Bened. Theodoret, Œcumenius, Damascene, Theophylact, Pelagius inter Opp. Hieronym. Ambrosiaster, Cassiodorus complex, p. 37. Conf. Gregor. Nyssen. de Perfect. Christian. p. 718.

[l] Quidam sane dicunt, quia non *indignum*, sed *indigne* accipientem revocat a *sancto*. Si ergo etiam dignus *indigne* accedens retrahitur, quanto magis *indignus*, qui non potest accipere *digne?* Unde oportet otiosum cessare *a vitiis*, ut sanctum Domini corpus *sancte* percipiat. *Pelagius in loc.*

[m] See Mr. Locke on 1 Cor. xi. 28. Arth. Bury's Constant Communicant, p. 250, &c.

been made by the more judicious [n]. I may briefly observe, 1. That if the Apostle had said nothing at all of *unworthy* receiving, yet the *reason of the thing* would show, that the receiving of the Communion with dispositions *repugnant* to the end and use of it, is receiving *unworthily*, and offering an affront to its author. 2. That the Apostle's reproof to the Corinthians, in that chapter, was not levelled barely against an *irreverent manner* of receiving, but against the *ill spirit* and the *unchristian temper*, with which they came to the Lord's table: they were *contentious*, and full of *animosities*, split into *factions* and *parties* [o]; and from thence arose all their other disorders. Therefore the Apostle both began and concluded his admonition [p] with particular cautions against the spirit of *division* then reigning amongst them; a temper very improper for a feast of love and amity. 3. There is no reason for restraining the Apostle's *general* rules, laid down upon a *special* occasion, to that *particular* case only, especially when the *reason* of them extends equally to more. The Apostle says, *Whosoever* shall receive *unworthily*, &c. not confining what he says of it to *this* way or *that*. If it be receiving *unworthily*, in *any ways whatever*, his words are *general* enough to comprehend them all: and so are his other words; *Let* every one *examine himself*, and then *eat*, &c. and let him *discern*, discriminate, esteem, reverence *the Lord's body*. Therefore Chrysostom, upon the place [q], highly extols the wisdom of the Apostle, in making such excellent use of a *particular* case, as thereupon to lay down *general* rules for all cases of like nature, for the standing use of the Church in all times to come. Accordingly the judicious Theodo-

[n] Jenkins, Remarks on some Books, p. 140—145. Le Clerc, Biblioth. Chois. tom. xiii. p. 96. Wolfius, Cur. Crit. in 1 Cor. xi. 28.

[o] 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. Compare 1 Cor. i. 11, 12.

[p] 1 Cor. xi. 33, 34.

[q] Chrysostom in 1 Cor. xi. hom. xxviii. p. 300, &c. Conf. Damascen. in loc. p. 102. Œcumenius, p. 532. Theophylact, p. 260. Compare Jenkins, p. 142, 143.

ret takes notice, that the Apostle in verse the 27th, where he speaks of receiving *unworthily*, obliquely rebuked the *ambitious*, and the *fornicators*, and those also who had eaten of things *offered* unto *idols*; and, in short, all that come to the Communion with a *guilty conscience*[r]. 4. Let it be considered, whether such as the Apostle forbids us to *eat with*[s], and whether those whom the Apostle censures as "partakers of the table of devils[t]," and those whom he elsewhere describes as making *one body* with *harlots*[u], could be capable, while so abiding, of receiving *worthily*? If they could not, then the general rule of the Apostle, laid down in 1 Cor. xi. about receiving *unworthily*, must be understood to extend farther than to the *particular* disorders which occasioned it. But if it be said, that such, so abiding, might notwithstanding receive *worthily*, then these absurdities will follow; that persons who are not fit for Christians to *eat with*, or who are communicants of *devils*; or who are incapable of being *living* members of Christ, or *temples* of the *Holy Ghost*, are yet capable of *worthily* receiving that *symbolical* body and blood of Christ, which are appointed to strengthen our *union* with him, and which suppose men to be *living members* of him, at their coming to receive.

Add to this, that St. Paul himself has elsewhere laid down a general rule, obliging all Christians to come *clean* to the *Christian passover*, drawn from the consideration of what was prescribed with respect to the *Jewish* one[x]. For if the feast there mentioned does not directly mean the *eucharistical feast*, but the *whole Christian life* considered as a *feast of holiness*; yet the *reason* there given, will hold more strongly for those *particular seasons*, when we are actually celebrating the memorial of "Christ our "passover Lamb," as "sacrificed for us." For, as at all times, so *then* more *especially*, ought we to "purge out

[r] Theodoret in 1 Cor. xi. 27.
[s] 1 Cor. v. 11.
[t] 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.
[u] 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16.
[x] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

"the old leaven," and to keep the sacred feast with the "unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

Upon the whole, it must be allowed, that St. Paul's general rule will by parity of reason reach farther than the particular cases there mentioned, and must be understood to exclude all *impenitent* offenders. This the Socinians themselves make no scruple to allow[y]; as indeed it is so clear a case, that there can be but very little room left for any reasonable dispute.

It remains still to be considered, what *repentance* really means, or wherein it consists. In the general, it means a new heart, or a serious resolution to amend what we find amiss, to the utmost of our power, and a deliberate intention to live a life of *holiness*[z] for the future; squaring our conduct, as near as human infirmities will permit, by the unerring rule of God's commandments. To be more particular, there are *four* principal articles, which the *ancients*, in this case, most insisted upon, as previous qualifications for receiving the holy Communion: I shall consider them one by one, but as briefly as may be.

1. One was, *restitution* or *reparation* for any *wrongs* done to others in their persons, estate, or good name, to the utmost of our ability[a]. This is but *common* justice, or *moral* honesty, and therefore must be looked upon as an *essential* article of amendment. It would lead me too far, to undertake here to state the exact rules or measures of it: those may be learned from sound *casuists*, who have professedly weighed and considered the subject[b].

[y] Crellius, Ethic. Christian. lib. iii. c. 10. p. 354. Slichting. in 1 Cor. xi. 28. p. 58. Przipcovius in loc.

[z] The ancient way was to proclaim before the service began, ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. *Cyrill. Hierosol. Mystag.* v. p. 331. A *form* occurring in all the old Liturgies, and which Chrysostom interprets to mean, Εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἅγιος, μὴ προσίτω, *If a man is not holy, let him not come near. In Hebr.* hom. xvii. p. 585. See also above, p. 295.

[a] See Bingham, b. xv. c. 8. sect. 10.

[b] Bishop Tillotson's Posth. Serm. cxvi. cxvii. p. 82, &c. fol. edit. Placete, Christian Casuist, or Treatise on Conscience, book i. chap. 20, 21, 22. Abridgment of Morality.

In ordinary cases, an honest mind will not much need an instructor, but every well disposed person may be his own best casuist. All I shall hint is, that for *public* wrongs, *public* satisfaction is most proper, as being perhaps the only one that can sufficiently repair the public injury: but for *secret* wrongs, the more *secret* the reparation is, so much the better, other circumstances being equal; because so the wrong is repaired, and at the same time ill blood prevented, future suspicions obviated, peace and amity secured.

To this head belongs what our Lord says; "If thou "bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that "thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy "gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled "to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift[c]." The Lord's Supper was not instituted when these words were spoken: nevertheless they are applicable to it, in a view to the *general* reason on which the rule stands; and they have been often so applied both by ancients and moderns. Mr. Mede has well proved, that the precept is *evangelical*[d], though worded in *Jewish* terms, suited to the time wherein it was given. The disciples of our Lord (that is, *believers* at large, to whom that Divine sermon was directed[e]) were Jews and Christians both in one, and therefore could not be properly addressed in any language, but what might competently suit them in such their double capacity. The like was the case with respect to the Lord's Prayer, which though a *Christian* prayer, was yet formed in such general terms, as might indifferently serve a religious Jew, at the time when it was given. I say then, that the precept delivered by our Lord, about the great duty of *reparation* to be made to every *injured* brother, before we *offer* to God, though an *evangelical* precept, was yet so worded as to comport with

[c] Matth. v. 23, 24.

[d] Mede, Disc. xlvi. p. 357, &c. edit. 1664. Compare Johnson's Propit. Oblat. p. 19, &c. and Lewis's Answer to Unbloody Sacrifice, p. 32.

[e] See Blair on the Sermon in the Mount, vol. i. serm. ii. iii. p. 27, &c.

the then present circumstances of the persons to whom it was directed. When circumstances came to be altered, the *general* reason still continued the same, and the application of it was easy and obvious to every capacity.

Irenæus quotes the text, and adapts it to *Christian* circumstances in a very just and natural way. *Gifts* he interprets to mean Christian worship, alms, and oblations: and by *altar*, he understands the high altar in heaven[f]. Tertullian, in like manner, accommodates it to the case of Christians coming to offer up their *prayers* to God; intimating, that they ought first to be *at peace* with their offended brethren, and to bring with them a *forgiving* temper, as they hoped to be forgiven[g]. Both parts are true: but the latter appears *foreign* with respect to this text, which relates not to *pardoning* others who have injured us, but rather to the *seeking pardon* where we have injured. However, as the two parts are near allied, it was easy to blend ideas, and to run both into one; as several other Fathers did. Cyprian also accommodates the precept to Christian circumstances, interpreting the *gift* of *prayers*, which ought to be offered with a *pacific* temper of mind[h]. Elsewhere he applies it to the *eucharistical* prayers and services[i]. Eusebius and Cyril apply the text much in the same way[k]. And Origen interprets the *gift* to mean *prayer*[l]. The Constitutions called *Apostolical* interpret *gift* of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, and the *precept* of entertaining no *enmity* against others, and taking what care we can that they may have no *just ground* of complaint against us[m]. Chrysostom accommodates the precept to the *prayers* and *alms* offered at the holy

[f] Iren. lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 250, 252. Conf. Pfaffius, p. 57, 58.

[g] Tertullian. de Pœnitent. cap. xii. p. 147. de Orat. cap. x. p. 133. et contr. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 9. p. 420.

[h] Cyprian. de Oratione, p. 211.

[i] Cyprian. de Unit. Eccl. p. 198.

[k] Eusebius de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. cap. 41. Cyrill. Hierosol. Mystag. v. p. 326.

[l] Origen. de Orat. p. 198.

[m] Constitut. Apostol. lib. ii. cap. 53. p. 260.

Communion, which would not be accepted, if not brought *in charity*, and with a *peaceful* mind[n]. In another Homily[o], he presses the point somewhat farther, and says many good things of the care we ought to take to make up differences, if possible, even with those who without any just cause are our *enemies;* that so we may restore them, and heal their sores, and gain them over to good will. All which is right, if tempered with the rules of Christian *prudence*, and not strained so far, as to make well disposed and truly peaceable persons stay away from the Lord's table upon *needless* scruples; arising either from the *irreconcileable* temper of others, or from a want of due discernment of what is *safe*, *prudent*, or *proper*, under such or such circumstances. Improper or indiscreet overtures made by the offended party towards an offender, may often widen the breach which they mean to heal, and may increase the mischief, instead of curing it.

Jerome, upon the text, appears rather *argute* than *solid;* where he comments to this effect, if I understand him: "It is not said, *if you take any thing amiss of your brother*, "but *if your brother takes any thing amiss of you;* to "make the terms of reconciliation so much the harder. "So long as we are not able to *pacify* the party, I know "not whether we ought to offer our gifts unto God[p]." This is straining the point too far, if it means any thing more than the using all *safe*, *prudent*, and *reasonable* endeavours to remove causeless offences, where a person is ignorant or froward.

St. Austin, who had a cooler head than Jerome, and was a more exact casuist, has given the justest and clearest account of this text that I have met with; perhaps with a

[n] Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. xvi. p. 217. edit. Bened. tom. vii.

[o] Chrysostom. de Simult. hom. xx. p. 206, &c. tom. ii.

[p] Non dixit, *si tu habes aliquid adversus fratrem tuum*, sed *si frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te;* ut durior reconciliationis tibi imponatur necessitas. Quamdiu illum placare non possumus, nescio an consequenter munera nostra offeramus Deo. *Hieron.* in loc. tom. iv. pag. 16. edit. Bened.

design to take off such scruples as Jerome's account might have raised. As to the *gift* mentioned, he interprets it of *prophecy*, that is, *doctrine*, and *prayers*, and *hymns*, and the like *spiritual* services [q]. And as to the *precept*, he explains it thus: "If we call to mind that *our brother has ought* "*against us;* that is, *if we have any way injured him;* "for then it is that *he has something against us.* But, if "he has injured us, then *we have something against him:* "in which case, there is no occasion to go to him for re- "concilement. You would not *ask pardon* of the man "that has done you an injury; it is sufficient that you "*forgive* him, as you desire forgiveness at God's hands "for what you have offended in. We are to go therefore "to be *reconciled*, when it comes into our mind, that "haply we may have some way injured our brother [r]." The sum then of all is, that if we are *certain* that we have done any man an *injury* in his person, estate, or good name, or that we have given *just* cause of offence, it is our duty and business to make *reparation*, and to sue first for reconcilement: or if we are not certain, but *probably suspect* that we have been guilty that way, the same rule will still hold in proportion. But if we have good reason to judge that the person has really *injured us*, or has causelessly and captiously *taken* offence where none was *given*, then be it to himself: there is nothing in this text obliging an innocent person, in such a case, to make the first step towards reconcilement, or to suspend his offerings on any such scruple. There may, in some particular circum-

[q] Quodlibet enim *munus* offerimus Deo, sive *prophetiam*, sive *doctrinam*, sive *orationem*, sive *hymnum*, sive *psalmum*, et si quid tale aliud *spiritualium* donorum animo occurrit, &c. *Augustin. de Serm. Domini in Mont.* p. 176. edit. Bened. tom. iii.

[r] Si in mentem venerit, quod *aliquid habeat adversum nos frater;* id est, *si nos eum in aliquo læsimus:* tunc enim ipse *habet adversum nos.* Nam nos *adversus illum* habemus, si ille *nos læsit:* ubi non opus est pergere ad reconciliationem; non enim veniam postulabis ab eo qui tibi fecit injuriam, sed tantum dimittes, sicut tibi dimitti a Domino cupis, quod ipse commiseris. Pergendum est ergo ad reconciliationem, cum in mentem venerit, quod nos forte fratrem in aliquo læsimus. *Augustin. ibid.*

stances, be a kind of debt of *charity*, and Christian *condescension*, lying upon the *injured* party, to endeavour to reclaim and pacify the *offender* by soft and healing ways: but as that is a very nice affair, and the office such as many are not fit for, there lies no *strict* obligation in such a case, or at least not upon Christians at large, but upon those only who are peculiarly fitted for it. Therefore it falls not properly under the question now in hand, nor within the precept of the text, which is *general*, extending equally to all Christians. From the summary view here given of what the *ancients* thought of those words of our Lord, (besides the clearing an important case of conscience, which I chiefly aimed at,) it may be noted by the way, that the *gift* there mentioned was understood of *spiritual* sacrifice only, and the *altar* also of course must have been *spiritual*, while considered as an altar: which I take notice of as a confirmation of what hath been advanced in a preceding chapter. But I proceed.

2. As making *restitution* for any offences we have committed, is one necessary article of sacramental preparation, so is a readiness to *forgive* any offences committed against us, another as necessary an article, and much insisted upon by the *ancient* churches[s]. This is a rule laid down by our blessed Lord in his Gospel, and made an *express* condition of our own *forgiveness*, and left us, for the greater caution, as an article of the Lord's Prayer to be daily repeated. All the difficulty lies in clearing and ascertaining the true and full meaning of the *forgiveness* required. Our Lord in one place says, "If thy brother "trespass against thee, rebuke him, and if HE REPENT, "forgive him;" and so again and again, as often as *he repents*, forgive[t]. May we then *revenge* ourselves upon an enemy, if he does not *repent?* No, by no means: *vengeance* is God's sole right[u]: man has nothing to do with

[s] See Bingham, xv. 8, 13.

[t] Luke xvii. 3, 4. Matth. xviii. 21, 22.

[u] Deut xxxii. 35. Rom. xii. 19. Hebr. x. 30.

it. Even *magistrates*, who, in some sense, are *revengers*, or avengers, *to execute wrath*[x], yet, strictly speaking, are not appointed to dispense *vengeance*. They do not, they cannot award *punishments* in just proportion to *demerits*, as God can do: but they are appointed to act for the *safety* of the State; and what they do, is a kind of *self-defence*, in a public capacity, rather than a dispensing of *vengeance*. So that even they, properly speaking, are not commissioned to *revenge*: much less can any private persons justly claim any right to it. *Forgiveness*, if understood in opposition to *revenge*, is an unlimited duty, knows no bounds or measures, is not restrained to any *kind* or *number* of offences, nor to any *condition* of *repenting*: but all offences must be *forgiven*, in that sense, though *not repented* of, though ever so cruelly or so maliciously carried on, and persisted in. Therefore the *forgiveness* which our Lord speaks of, as limited to the *repentance* of the party offending, can mean only the receiving a person into such a degree of friendship, or intimacy, as he before had: a thing not *safe*, nor *reasonable*, unless he shows some tokens of sorrow for his fault, and some signs of a sincere intention to do so no more. *Forgive* him in such a sense, as to meditate no *revenge*, to *wish* him *well*, and to *pray* for him, and even to do him good in a way prudent and proper: but admit him not into *confidence*, nor *trust* yourself with him, till he repents: for that would be acting too far against the great law of *self-preservation*. Only take care, on the other hand, not to be over *distrustful*, nor to stand upon the *utmost proofs* of his relenting sincerity, but rather risk some relapses. This, I think, in the general, is a just account of *Gospel forgiveness*[y].

But to prevent all needless scruples, I may explain it a little further, in some distinct articles. 1. *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with proper *discipline*, nor the bringing

[x] Rom. xiii. 4.

[y] Compare Abp. Tillotson, Serm. xxxiii. p. 392. vol. i. fol. edit. Towerson on the Sacraments, p. 298.

offenders in a *legal* way to *public* justice. An *informer* may prosecute, a *witness* accuse, a *jury* bring in guilty, a *judge* condemn, and an *executioner* dispatch a criminal, without any proper *malevolence* towards the party, but in great *benevolence* towards mankind. 2. *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with a person's prosecuting his own *just* rights, in a *legal* way, against one that has *grievously* injured him in his estate, person, or good name: for a man's barely doing himself *justice*, or recovering a *right*, is not taking *revenge*. A person wrongs me, perhaps, of a considerable sum: I forgive him the *wrong*, so as to bear him no *malice;* but I forgive him not the *debt*, because I am no way obliged to resign my own *property* or *maintenance* to an injurious invader. 3. *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with a just *aversion* to, or *abhorrence* of, some very ill men; *liars*, suppose, *adulterers*, *fornicators*, *extortioners*, *impostors*, *blasphemers*, or the like: for such hatred of *aversion* is a very different thing from hatred of *malevolence*, may be without it, and ought to be so. We cannot love monsters of iniquity with any love of *complacency*, neither does God *delight* in them as such: but still we may love them with a love of *benevolence* and *compassion*, as God also does[z]. 4. Neither does *Gospel forgiveness* interfere with any proper *degrees* of love or esteem. A man may love his *enemies* in a just degree, and yet love his *friends* better, and one friend *more* than another, in proportion to their *worth*, or *nearness*, or other circumstances. Our Lord *loved* all his *disciples*, even Judas not excepted: but he loved one more particularly, who was therefore called "the disciple whom Jesus loved[a];" and he loved the rest with distinction, and in proportionate degrees. 5. I have before hinted, that *Gospel forgiveness* interferes not with rejecting enemies from our *confidence*, or refusing to admit them into our bosoms. We may wish them well, pray for them, and do them good; but still at

[z] See Towerson as above, p. 298, 299.

[a] John xiii. 23. xix. 26. xx. 2. xxi. 7, 20.

a proper *distance*, such as a just regard for our own *safety*, or reasons of *peace*, *piety*, and *charity* may require. 6. I may add, that cases perhaps may be supposed, where even the duty of *praying* for them may be conceived to cease. "There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he "shall pray for it[b]." But in this case, they are not to be considered merely as *private* enemies, but as *public* nuisances, and as offending of *malicious* wickedness, not against *man* only, but against *God* and *religion*. Indeed, *charity* forbids us to pass such a censure, except it be upon *very sure* grounds; which perhaps we can but seldom, if ever, have: but I was willing to mention this case, for the better clearing up St. Paul's conduct in this very article. It may deserve our notice, that he *prayed* for those who had meanly, and through human infirmity, deserted him in the day of trial, that the *sin* might not be "laid to their charge[c]:" in the same breath almost, speaking of Alexander, a wicked apostate, who had most maliciously opposed *him* and the *Gospel*, he says; "The "Lord reward him according to his works[d]." He would not *honour* him so far, as to *pray* for his *conversion* or *forgiveness*: or he knew his case to be too desperate to admit of either. Nevertheless, he left the *vengeance* entirely to *God*, whose right it was; and he took not upon him so much as to *judge* of the *precise degree* of his demerits, but committed that also to the unerring judgment of God. I am aware, that very considerable Divines, ancient and modern, choose to resolve the case another way, either into *prediction* by the Spirit, or into *apostolical* authority: but I humbly conceive, that there is no need of either supposition, to reconcile the seeming difficulty. Only, as I before hinted, an *Apostle* might better know the *desperate* state of such a person, than any one can ordinarily know at this day; and so he might proceed upon *surer* grounds: on which account, his example is not lightly to be imitated, or to be drawn into a precedent. Enough, I

[b] 1 John v. 16. [c] 2 Tim. iv. 16. [d] 2 Tim. iv. 14.

presume, has been here said of the nature, measure, and extent of *Gospel forgiveness*, and I may now proceed to a new article of *sacramental* preparation.

3. Another *previous* qualification, much insisted upon by the ancients[e], was a due regard to *Church unity* and *public peace*, in opposition to *schism* in the Church or *faction* in the State. The reason and the obligation of both is self-evident, and I need not enlarge upon it. It may be noted, that the Corinthians, whom St. Paul reproved, were much wanting in this article of *preparation;* as appeared by their heats and animosities, their sidings and contests. They did not duly consider this Sacrament as a *symbol* of *peace*, a *feast* of *amity:* they did not *discern* the *Lord's body* to be, what it really is, a *cement* of *union*, and a bond of true Christian membership, through the Spirit.

4. A fourth article was *mercy* and *charity* towards the *poor* brethren[f]. The equity of which is manifest: and it is a duty which has been so often and so well explained, both from the press and the pulpit, that I may here spare myself the trouble of saying a word more of it.

Having shown, first, that *repentance*, at large, is a necessary part of sacramental preparation, and having shown also of what *particulars* such repentance *chiefly* consists, (not excluding other particulars, for repentance means *entire* obedience,) I may now add, for the preventing groundless scruples, that *allowances* are always supposed for *sins* of *infirmity*, sins of *daily incursion*, such as are ordinarily consistent with a *prevailing* love of God and love of our neighbour. The slighter kind of offences ought never to be looked upon as any *bar* to our *receiving*, but rather as arguments for receiving, and that *frequently*, in order to gain ground of them more and more, and to have them washed off in the salutary blood of Christ.

As to the length of *time* to be taken up in preparing, there is no one certain rule to be given, which can suit all

[e] Bingham, xv. 8, 11. [f] See Bingham, xv. 8, 12.

cases or circumstances: only, when a man has competently adjusted his accounts with God, (be it sooner, or be it later,) then is he fit to come, and not till then. There is an *habitual*, and there is an *actual* preparation. The *habitual* preparation is a *good life;* and the farther we are advanced in it, the less need there is of any *actual* preparation besides: but because men are too apt to flatter and deceive their *own hearts*, and to speak *peace* to themselves without sufficient grounds for so doing; therefore some *actual* preparation, self-examination, &c. is generally necessary even to those who may be *habitually* good, if it be only to give them a *well grounded* assurance that they really are so. However, the better men are, the less actual preparation may suffice, and the shorter warning will be needful. Some therefore may receive as often as they have opportunity, though it were ever so sudden or unexpected; and they may turn it to good account by their pious care and recollection in their closets afterwards. Others may have a great deal to consider of beforehand, many offences to correct, many disorders to set right, much to do and much to undo, before they presume to come to God's altar.

Fault has been sometimes found with the little treatises of Weekly Preparation, and the like: I think without reason. They are exceeding *useful* in their kind; and even their *number* and *variety* is an advantage, considering that the tastes, tempers, necessities, capacities, and outward circumstances of Christians, are also manifold and various. It may be happy for them who need *none* of those helps: but they that *least* need them are not the men, generally, who most *despise* them. However, they are not *obtruded* as things absolutely *necessary* for *all*, but as highly *useful* to *many*, and especially upon their *first* receiving: though we are none of us perhaps so perfect, as not to want, at some seasons, some such hints for recollection, or helps to devotion. There may be *excesses*, or there may be *defects* in such treatises: what *human* compositions are without them? On the other hand, it should be considered,

that there may be *excesses* and *defects* also in the *censures* or *judgments* passed upon them: for *human* frailties are as much seen to prevail in the work of *judging* and *censuring*, as in any thing else whatsoever. In the general, it is well for common Christians, that they are so plentifully provided with useful *manuals* of that kind: they that are well disposed will make use of them as often as they need them, and will at all times give God thanks and praises for them.

I have said nothing hitherto, about coming *fasting* to the Lord's table, neither need I say much now. The rule was *early*, and almost *universal*[g]; a rule of the *Church*, not a rule of Scripture, and so a matter of *Christian liberty*, rather than of strict *command*. They that use it as most expressive of Christian *humility* and *reverence*, or as an help to *devotion*, do well; and they that forbear it, either on account of *infirmity*, or for fear of being *indisposed*, and rendered less fit to attend the service, are not to be blamed. No one need be *scrupulous* concerning this matter: none should be *censorious* either way; either in rashly charging *superstition* on one hand, or in charging, as rashly, *irreverence* on the other. I shall only observe farther, that it was a weak thing for so great a man as the justly celebrated Mabillon to draw an argument in favour of the *corporal* presence, from the custom of the Church in administering or receiving this holy Sacrament *fasting*[h]. For as the custom, probably, came in accidentally, either because, in times of persecution, Christians chose to communicate *early* in the *morning* for their greater *safety*, or because abuses had been committed in the previous *love feasts*; so was it continued for the like prudential reasons, and then only came to have different colours put upon it, when the reasons which first introduced it were, in a manner, forgotten and sunk. Besides, it was the ancient custom for both the administrator and receiver of *Baptism*, to

[g] Bingham, xv. 7, 8. Gaspar. Calvoer. Ritual. Eccles. vol. i. p. 413, &c. Sam. Basnag. Annal. tom. ii. p. 295, &c.

[h] Mabillon de Liturg. Gallican. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 60, 61.

come *fasting*, out of reverence to that Sacrament[i]: which further shows how slight the argument is, drawn from the custom of *fasting* before the Eucharist, as to proving any thing of a *corporal* presence. If any man duly considering how *sacred* those *symbols* of the Eucharist are, and to what *high* and *holy* purposes they were ordained, looks upon *fasting* as a proper token of the *reverence* he bears towards things *sacred;* he may as well fast upon that principle, as upon the imaginary notion of a *corporal* or *local* presence.

I have nothing further to add, upon the head of sacramental *preparation:* but if any one desires to see this article more minutely drawn out, in its full length, he will not perhaps easily find a treatise better fitted to the purpose, than Bishop Taylor's Worthy Communicant[k]: to that therefore I refer the reader.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Obligation to frequent Communion.

AS to *frequency* or *constancy* in receiving the Sacrament, it may be justly said in the general, abstracting from particular circumstances, that a man cannot *too often* commemorate our Lord and his passion, nor *too often* return devout thanks and praises for the same, nor *too often* repeat his resolutions of amendment, nor *too often* renew his solemn engagements, nor *too often* receive pardon of sins, and fresh succours of Divine grace: and if coming to the Lord's table (prepared or unprepared) were a sure and infallible way to answer those good and great ends, there could then be no question, but that it would be both our wisdom and our duty to communicate as often as opportunities should invite and health permit. But it is certain, on the other hand, that bare *communicating* is not

[i] Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 25. The like rule was afterwards made for Confirmation. Vid. p. 237, 239.

[k] Taylor's Worthy Communicant, chap. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. p. 79—357.

the thing required, but communicating *worthily*. Here lies the main stress of all, not to urge *frequency* of communion so far as to render this holy Sacrament *hurtful* or *fruitless* to the parties concerned; neither yet to abate so far of the *frequency*, as to make a kind of dearth or famine of this so salutary and necessary food. Divines in all ages of the Church (unless we may except the first, and part of the second) have found some perplexity in settling a *just mean* between the extremes. I do not mean as to *theory*, or as to the thing considered in the *general* and in the *abstract*, but with respect to particular persons, cases, and circumstances; of which it is very difficult, if not impossible, to judge with unerring exactness. They determined perhaps as well and as wisely, upon the fairest presumptions and probabilities, as human sagacity in such dark cases could do: and if they sometimes ran into extremes, either on the right hand or on the left, their meaning all the while was good, and their conduct such as may reasonably claim all candid construction, and the best natured allowances. One thing is observable, (and I know not whether one can justly blame them for it,) that, for the most part, they seemed inclinable to abate of *frequency*, rather than of the strictness of *preparation* or *qualification*. They considered, that *due dispositions* were absolutely necessary to make the Sacrament *salutary*, and were therefore chiefly to be looked to: and they supposed, with good reason, that God would more easily dispense with the want of the *Sacrament*, than with the want of the *qualifications* proper for it. They thought farther, that while a man was content to abstain from the Lord's table, out of an *awful reverence* for it, there was good probability that such a person would, by degrees, be perfectly reclaimed: but if once a man should set light by those *holy solemnities*, and irreverently rush upon them, without awe or concern, there could be very little hopes of his conversion or amendment; because he *despised* the most *sacred bands* of allegiance towards *God*, and looked upon them only as

common forms[l]. Such were the prevailing sentiments of the ablest Divines and casuists in those *ancient* times; as will appear more fully, when I come to give a brief detail of their resolutions in this article, which I shall do presently.

But I may first take notice, for the clearer conception of the whole case, that since it is allowed on all hands, that there can be no just bar to *frequency* of Communion, but the *want of preparation*, which is only such a bar as men may themselves remove if they please, it concerns them highly to take off the impediment, as soon as possible, and not to trust to vain hopes of alleviating one fault by another. It was required under the Law, that a man should come *holy* and *clean*, and well *prepared*[m] to the *Passover:* but yet his neglecting to be *clean* (when he might be clean) was never allowed as a just apology for his staying away. No: the absenting in that case was an offence great enough to deserve the being *cut off* from God's people[n], because it amounted to a disesteeming, and, in effect, disowning God's *covenant*. The *danger* of misperforming any religious duty is an argument for *fear* and *caution*, but no excuse for *neglect:* God insists upon the *doing* it, and the doing it *well* also. The proper duty of the high priest, under the Law, was a very *dangerous* employ, requiring the exactest *care* and profoundest *reverence*[o]: nevertheless, there was no declining the service; neither was the *exactness* of the preparation or qualifications any proper excuse to be pleaded for non-performance. It was no sufficient plea for the *slothful* servant, under the Gospel, that he thought his Master hard to please, and thereupon neglected his bounden duty[p]: for the use he ought to have made of that thought was, to

[l] Vid. Isidor. Pelusiot. lib. iii. ep. 364. p. 398. alias 345.

[m] 2 Chron. xxx. 1, &c. xxxv. 3—6, &c.

[n] Exod. xii. 15, 19. Numb. ix. 13.

[o] Levit. xvi. 13. Conf. Deyling. Observ. Sacr. tom. ii. n. 41. p. 493. tom. iii. n. 46. p. 454, &c.

[p] Matt. xxv. 24, &c. Luke xix. 20, &c.

have been so much the more wakeful and diligent in his Master's service. Therefore, in the case of the *holy Communion*, it is to very little purpose to plead the strictness of the *self-examination*, or *preparation*, by way of excuse either for a *total*, or for a *frequent*, or for a *long* neglect of it. A man may say, that he comes not to the table, because he is *not prepared*, and so far he assigns a *good* reason: but if he should be farther asked, why he is not *prepared*, when he may; there he can only make some trifling, insufficient excuse, or remain speechless.

But for the farther clearing of this important article of *frequent Communion*, it may be proper to trace the judgment and practice of the churches of Christ from the beginning, and downwards through six or eight centuries; which I shall endeavour to do in as plain and few words, as the nature of the subject will admit of.

Century the First.

In the days of the Apostles, Communions were *frequent;* either *every day*, or at least every *Lord's day*. Some have probably enough collected from the history of the Acts, that at Jerusalem, the mother church, there was a *daily* Communion [q], and that in other churches the custom was to have *weekly* Communions at least, that is to say, upon the *Lord's day* [r]. But all must be understood of persons *fitly prepared*, to appearance at least: for it is certain, that open *fornicators*, *extortioners*, *idolaters*, and the like, were not admitted to Communion. Christians were not allowed to *keep company* with such delinquents, no not to *eat* common meals [s]; much less to *communicate*. St. Paul gave orders for excommunicating the *incestuous* Corinthian [t]; and he admitted him not again, till after a very serious and solemn repentance, after his being almost *swallowed up of grief* [u]. However, it is observable, that both his *exclusion* and his *readmission* were within the

[q] Acts ii. 42, 46.
[r] Acts xx. 7.
[s] 1 Cor. v. 11, 12. Compare 2 John 10.
[t] 1 Cor. v. 5, 13.
[u] 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

compass of a twelvemonth: for St. Paul's two Epistles to Corinth are judged to bear date the same year, namely, A. D. 57. Such are the apostolical precedents for *frequent* Communion if *prepared*, and for *abstaining* if *not prepared*.

Century the Second.

In the next century we have undoubted evidences of *weekly* Communions, and particularly on the *Lord's day*. This is justly collected from the testimony of the younger Pliny above cited[x], and is plainly declared by Justin Martyr[y], of the same century. None but true *believers* and men of *good lives* were permitted to receive, as I before observed[z] from the same excellent writer: so that *frequency* of communicating was never urged in derogation of the *preparatory* requisites, or to make any abatement in them. As to *public* and *scandalous* offences, in faith or manners, those the Church could see, and provide against, by debarring the offenders from Communion: and as to *secret* impediments, they took what care they could, by permitting or exhorting such as might be conscious of their own unfitness, to forbear coming to the altar. There is a remarkable passage to this purpose, in a learned writer of the second century, which runs thus: "Some, "after the customary division of the elements, leave it "upon the *consciences* of their people, either to take their "part, or otherwise. For the best rule to determine them "in their participation or forbearance, is their *own con-* "*science*: and the surest foundation for conscience to pro- "ceed upon is a *good life*, joined with a competent mea- "sure of proficiency in *Christian knowledge*. And the "best method of coming at the knowledge of the *truth*, "and a *right performance* of what is commanded, is to "choose for your direction persons of most *approved* faith

[x] See above, chap. i. p. 32.

[y] Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, κ. τ. λ. *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 97.

[z] See above, chap. xiii. p. 395.

" and conduct. For whosoever shall eat this bread and " drink this cup of the Lord *unworthily*, shall be *guilty* " of the body and blood of the Lord: but let a man ex- " amine himself, and so let him eat of the bread, and " drink of the cup[a]." Thus far Clemens. And from thence we may observe, that there was yet no standing rule or Canon of the Church, obliging all the faithful to *receive* as often as they met for Divine Service; but Christians were left at liberty to judge how far they were fitly *qualified* in knowledge, or in godly living: only, it was supposed, that they ought to be *fitly* qualified; and if they were, to *receive*.

Tertullian, who lived in the close of the same century, takes notice of some who declined *receiving*, upon the *stationary* days, (Wednesdays and Fridays,) for fear of breaking their *fast*[b]. He blames them for their foolish scruple, and suggests to them a better way, whereby they might keep both their *fast* and their *feast*. I may observe from it, that he thought it a *duty* incumbent upon all the faithful, to *communicate* as often as they might; but the Church had not yet enforced the duty with any *Canons*, obliging them under pain of ecclesiastical *censure* to *receive:* for, had that been the case, Tertullian, probably, would have mentioned it; or rather, there would scarce have been room left either for their *scruples* on one hand, or for his charitable *advice* on the other. However, from hence perhaps we may date the first beginnings of that *coldness* and *backwardness* in point of *frequent* Communion, which grew up apace amongst Christians afterwards: it is not certain that those persons were *sincere* in their pretended scruples; but they might be willing to shift off the duty as decently as they could, under the fairest colours.

[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 318.

[b] Tertullian. de Orat. cap. xiv. p. 136.

Century the Third.

St. Cyprian, who flourished about the middle of the third century, mentions *daily* Communions, as the common practice of that time[c]: and he every where speaks highly of the *use* and *benefit* of the Sacrament to the *worthy* receivers: but no man could be more careful to prevent any one's coming to the Lord's table, who had committed any of the *grievous* sins, and had not yet made full *satisfaction* to God and the world, by a strict and solemn repentance.

In this century crept in some superstitious or overcurious conceits about *legal* defilements[d], as a bar to *Communion*, or even to coming to the Christian assemblies. Such niceties, while they carried a show of reverence for *holy* places and things, might notwithstanding have better been let alone; having no warrant in the Gospel of Christ, nor in the practice of the earlier ages of the Church, so far as appears: neither indeed were they altogether consistent with the ancient custom of *daily* Communions of all the faithful, which had obtained in some churches. One thing is observable, that during the first *three centuries*, we meet with no *Canons* made to enforce *frequent* Communion, scarce so much as *exhortations* to it, or any *complaints* of neglect in that article: which is an argument that Christians in those times were not *tardy* in that respect, but rather forward and pressing, under an high notion of the *privilege* and *comfort* of partaking of the holy Communion. Therefore the chief care and concern of Church guides, during the first ages, was rather to inculcate the necessity of *due preparation*, than to insist upon *frequency*, for which there was less occasion. But times and circumstances soon came to be altered; as we shall see presently, upon taking a view of the following centuries.

[c] See the whole passage above, chap. vi. p. 123, 124.

[d] Vid. Canones Dionys. Alexandrin. Harduin. tom. i. p. 187, &c. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 4, &c.

Century the Fourth.

In the year 305 (some say, 300, or 303, or 313, or 324) was held a council of nineteen Bishops, at Eliberis, or Elvira, in Andalusia, a province of Spain. Among many other Canons, a rule was then made, not to accept of an *offering* from one who did not *communicate*[e]. We may judge from hence, that Christians now began to be *remiss*, with respect to *Communion*, and that such *Canon* was intended for a gentle rebuke to them; a mark of public disfavour, in order to excite and quicken them, first to *prepare*, and then to *receive*. Many perhaps might now grow cold and careless as to coming to the Lord's table; either because they had not a just sense of the *use* and *benefit* of it, and of the *obligations* they were under to it; or they loved the world too well, and were willing to put off their *repentance* from day to day, and so of course to stave off that *solemn profession* which the holy Sacrament required. The like coldness and backwardness appeared in many of that age, even with respect to *Baptism*[f]: for, while they were well-wishers to it, and stood candidates for it, they yet loved to procrastinate and to feign excuses; because delaying *Baptism* was delaying *repentance*, which depraved nature was prone enough to do. The case, very probably, was much the same with respect to this other *Sacrament:* and hence arose that *coldness* towards it, which the Church guides of those times were much concerned at, and endeavoured gently to remove.

When those milder applications did not sufficiently answer, some brisker methods were thought on for the compassing the same good end. In the year 341, a Council of Antioch decreed, "That all they who came to Church,

[e] Episcopos, placuit, ab eo qui *non communicat*, munera accipere non debere. *Concil. Illiberit.* Can. xxviii. Harduin. 153.

[f] Vid. Basil. Homil. in Sanct. Bapt. p. 114, &c. edit. Bened. tom. ii. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 647, &c. Constit. Apostol. lib. vi. cap. 15. Gregor. Nyssen. de Baptism. Opp. tom. iii. p. 216, &c. Compare Bingham. xi. 6. 2, 3, &c.

" and heard the holy Scriptures read, and afterwards joined " not in *prayer* with the people, or turned their backs on " the *holy Communion*, after a disorderly way, should be " cast out of the Church, till such time as they should " make public confession of their fault, and give proofs of " their repentance, and humbly sue to be reconciled g." This rule may seem to be a *severe* rule, on more accounts than one. 1. As it appears to run in *general* terms, making no express exceptions for those who, for *just* causes, best known to themselves, might sometimes decline *receiving*. 2. Supposing any person to absent from the Lord's table, out of *reverence* to it, (being conscious to himself of some *secret* offences,) as it was a rule of the Church to excommunicate no man but for *open* and *scandalous* sins, it might look hard to excommunicate merely for not receiving *constantly*; because it was, in effect, extending discipline even to the most *private* and *concealed* offences, or to other impediments. 3. Since no one ought to *receive* but he that sincerely *repents*; and since repentance must be *free*, or it is really no repentance; it appears not right to excommunicate a man, in order to oblige him to *receive*, unless it were right also to excommunicate every one who should delay *repentance*, or who would not instantly be persuaded to *reform*, so far as to be capable of receiving *worthily* the holy Communion. This appears not to have been the rule of the earlier centuries: for they left men at liberty to judge (except in cases of open scandal) how far they were *worthy* or otherwise, and thereupon to choose either to *receive* or *forbear*. These or the like reasons, I presume, have put learned men upon softening explications, to mitigate the rigour of the *Canon*. Emanuel Schelstrate has suggested, that the order then

g Πάντας τοὺς, εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποτρεφομένους τὴν ἁγίαν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας, κατά τινα ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἕως ἂν ἐξομολογησάμενοι καὶ δείξαντες καρποὺς μετανοίας, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τυχεῖν δυνηθῶσι συγγνώμης. *Concil. Antioch.* Can. ii. Bevereg. Pand. p. 431.

made pointed chiefly at the *Audians*, or *Quarto-decimans* [h], who held private conventicles, but came occasionally to Church, to hear the Scriptures read, and sermons preached, and then departed, in a disorderly and scornful manner, upon some erroneous principles of their sect, to the great scandal and offence of the more serious and sober part of the congregation. Schelstrate's account is favoured by two circumstances: one, that the Canon immediately preceding most plainly strikes at the *Quarto-decimans*, though without naming them; and the other, that the Canon does not *simply* and *absolutely* censure *all* non-communicants, but *some* only, with this *restriction*, as doing it κατά τινα ἀταξίαν, which Dionysius Exiguus renders *pro quadam intemperantia*, with a *certain rudeness*; and Isidorus Mercator renders *secundum aliquam propriam disciplinam*, *according to the principles of their own sect*. Now, if such was the case, then the rigour of the Canon affected not the main body of the faithful, adhering to the Church, who might be still left to the same discretionary conscientious liberty as before.

Perhaps the like account may serve for the *Apostolical Canons* also, so far as concerns this article: Schelstrate was of that mind, and applied the same solution to both [i]. One of the *Apostolical Canons* orders, "That if any Bishop, "Priest, or Deacon, or any of the sacerdotal college, does "not *communicate* when there is a *Communion*, [*oblation*,] "he shall be obliged to assign a *reason*; and if it be a *just* "one, he shall be excused: otherwise he shall be *sus-* "*pended*, as giving offence to the people, and as raising a "suspicion upon the *administrator*, as if he did not *salu-* "*tarily* execute his office [k]." The last words put me in

[h] Vid. Schelstrate de Concil. Antiochen. p. 179, 222.

[i] Schelstrate, ibid. p. 222.

[k] Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, προσφορᾶς γινομένης, μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ ἐὰν εὔλογος ᾖ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω, ὡς αἴτιος βλάβης γενηθεὶς τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ἐμποιήσας κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος, ὡς μὴ ὑγιῶς ἀνενέγκοντος. *Can. Apostol.* vi. alias viii.

mind of the fourth Canon of the Council of Gangra, held a few years before the Antiochian: some place it in 324, some in 330; all agree, that it was not later than 340. That Canon decrees, "That if any one takes exception to a "*married* Presbyter, as such, thinking it not lawful to re- "ceive the *Communion* at his hands, let him be anathe- "ma[l]." Whether the Antiochian and Apostolical Canons might not have some view to that case, in what they decreed against any one's turning his back on the Communion, I leave to the learned to consider.

The next *Canon* called *Apostolical* makes a like order with respect to the *laity*, as the former had done with regard to the *clergy: viz.* "That as many of the faithful as "came to Church, and did not abide all the time of the "*prayer* and *Communion*, should be excommunicated, as "guilty of raising disturbance in the Church[m]." It is hard to judge certainly of the particular drift or purport of such Canons, without a more explicit knowledge of the then present circumstances: but it is not likely that they were ever intended to oblige all the faithful to communicate as often as they came to Divine Service, or to abridge them of the reasonable liberty of judging how far they were *prepared* for it, and whether they might not sometimes (provided it were not customary, so as to amount to *contempt*) abstain from it. Balsamon, in his Notes upon the Apostolical Canon last cited, calls it a very *harsh decree*[n]: and so indeed it is, if interpreted with utmost rigour. But he intimates elsewhere, that the Greek Church in his time received it with a *softening* explication[o]. Schelstrate, as before noted, has suggested

[l] Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο περὶ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι, λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Concil. Gangrens.* Can. iv. Hard. p. 530. Bevereg. Pand. tom. i. 419.

[m] Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμίνοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή. *Can. Apostol.* vii. alias ix.

[n] Διορισμὸς δριμύτατός ἐστιν. *Balsam. in loc.*

[o] Vid. Beveregii Annot. in Apost. Can. ix. p. 21.

another; and to both I have taken the liberty to subjoin a third. It is not reasonable to think, that a modest and sober departure, before Communion began, (a practice now common, and, I believe, always in use, more or less,) could be looked upon as a *disturbance:* but if it was done out of *dislike*, or *contempt*, and upon *factious* principles, then indeed it would be apt to make *great disturbance;* and that, very probably, was what the compilers of those *Canons* were solicitous to prevent or remedy. But I return.

I proceed in reciting the principles of the *fourth* century, with regard to *frequent* Communion. Basil (about the year 372.) being consulted on this head, declares it good and profitable to communicate *every day;* testifying withal, of the practice of the church of Cæsarea, where he was, that they celebrated the Sacrament *four* times a week, (on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday,) besides the saints days, [festivals of martyrs,] as often as they occurred[p]: but he does not say how diligent or how constant the people were in attending upon it.

Chrysostom, of the same century, somewhat later, will give us the best light, both with respect to the *practice* of that age, and the *rules* whereby it was conducted. In one place of his works, he speaks thus: "Many partake of "this sacrifice *once* a year, some *twice*, some *oftener.*— "Which of them should we most approve of? Those "that communicate *once*, or those that do it *often*, or "those that *seldom* do it? Neither the *once-comers*, nor "the *often*, nor the *seldom*, but those that come with a "*clean conscience*, a *pure heart*, and a *life unblameable*, "they that are so qualified should come *constantly:* but "as to them that are not, *once* is too much for them. And "why so? Because they will only receive to themselves "*judgment* and *condemnation*, *pains* and *penalties*[q]."

[p] Basil. Epist. xciii. (alias cclxxxix.) p. 186. ed. Bened. tom. iii. Conf. Socrat. Eccles. Histor. lib. v. cap. 22.

[q] Chrysostom. in Hebr. hom. xvii. p. 856. edit. Paris.

Here we may observe how this good Father pressed upon his hearers the duty of *constant* Communion, but under caution of coming *fitly prepared:* otherwise he thought it would not be barely *fruitless,* but *hurtful.* That was the standing rule of the Church, the settled principle which they constantly went upon, with respect to *both Sacraments.* For, whatever high notions they might entertain of the *use* or *necessity* of *Baptism,* yet they never would encourage any person to receive it, before they believed him well *qualified* for it; but would sometimes keep the *catechumens* back, for five, or ten, or twenty years, or even to the hour of death, rather than admit them in a state of *impenitence,* or before they had been well disciplined and proved[r]. Sacraments were a good *superstructure:* but the *foundation* was first and principally to be looked to, the foundation of *repentance* and a *good life.* Qualifications ought to go before admission: and *service* before *privileges.* But I pass on.

Chrysostom, in another Homily, reproves the *non-communicants,* and presses *frequent* Communion in the manner here following: "In vain stand we at the *altar,* none "come to *receive.* I speak not barely to persuade you to "*receive,* but to make yourselves *worthy.* You are not "*worthy* [you will say] of the *sacrifice,* or not fit to re- "ceive? Then neither are you worthy of *the prayer:* do "you not hear the *Deacon,* when he stands up and pro- "claims, *As many among you as are under penance, with- "draw?* All that do not communicate, are supposed to "be under penance. If you are of the number of *peni- "tents,* you must not receive: for he that does not re- "ceive is under *penance.* Why does he [the Deacon] "say, *All ye that cannot pray, depart?* And why do you, "after that, impudently stay? You are not one of those, "you will say, but of those who may receive. Have you "then no regard for that, or do you think it a slight pri- "vilege? Consider, I beseech you, &c.—Every one that

[r] See Testimonies referred to in Bingham, xi. 6. 1.

" does not partake of the mysteries, is shameless and im-
" pudent to stand by all the while.—You sing the *hymn*
" with the rest, and you profess yourself one of the *wor-*
" *thy*, by your not departing with the *unworthy*. With
" what face then can you presume to *stay*, and yet not
" partake of the table? You plead, you are *unworthy:*
" you are therefore unworthy to join in the *prayers*, for
" the Holy Spirit descends, not only in the offering of the
" *elements*, but also in the chanting of the *hymns*[s]." Chrysostom here pleads for *frequent* Communion, in a strong affecting way, but still loses not sight of the main point, which was the receiving *worthily*.

The argument he draws from *prayer* to *Communion* has been sometimes misunderstood, and may here deserve to be set right. He does not mean that *prayer* in general requires the same preparation that the *Communion* does, or that every one who may properly be admitted to the former may as properly be admitted to the latter also. No: that would run directly counter to the known principles and practice, and standing discipline of the Church in that age: for nothing was more usual than to admit *penitents*, of the *fourth order*, to *communion in prayers*, for two, three, four, or sometimes five years, and all the while to debar them from the *holy Communion*, as not yet *worthy* to be admitted to it[t]. But what Chrysostom meant was, that it

[s] Chrysost. in Ephes. hom. iii. p. 887, 888.

N. B. The Communion hymns are by Goar (Euchol. p. 136.) distinguished into four:

1. Ὕμνος ἀγγελικός. The angelical. *Glory to God on high*, &c.
2. Ὕμνος χερουβικός. The *cherubical* hymn, in Goar, p. 106.
3. Ὕμνος τρισάγιος. *Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis*, &c.
4. Ὕμνος ἐπινίκιος. The *triumphal* hymn. *Holy, holy, holy*, Lord, &c. Isa. vi. 3.

But the first and fourth are the most ancient: the second and third are both later than Chrysostom. The three last are but one *trisagium* in the main, one *cherubical*, or *seraphical* hymn, with some variations, additions, and interpolations made at different times. See Bingham, xiv. 2, 3. xv. 3, 9, 10. Allix. Dissert. de Trisagii Origine. Renaudot. Liturg. Collect. tom. i. p. 228. tom. ii. p. 69.

[t] Concil. Ancyran. Can. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 24. Concil. Nicen. Can. 11,

was very absurd, and even downright impudent, for a man to claim a right to stand by, all the while that the *Communion* was administering, and to *join* in those most *sacred* and *mystical* prayers and *hymns*, which were *proper* to it, and at the same time to pretend that he was not *worthy* of it: for, if he really was not worthy to *receive*, he was not worthy to be *present* during that holy solemnity, or to bear a part in the *prayers* which peculiarly belonged to it. I know, it has been thought by persons of good learning, that the *fourth* order of penitents (called συνιστάμενοι, *consistentes*, in English *co-standers*, or *associates*) were allowed to be *present* during the *whole* solemnity, while prohibited from *receiving*, and that Sunday after Sunday, for several years together: which would have been committing that very *absurdity* which Chrysostom here so strongly remonstrates against. But I take that prevailing notion to be all a mistake, owing to the want of a right understanding the ancient *Canons* and ancient *phrases*. Those *co-standers* were allowed to communicate in *prayers* with the faithful[u]. What prayers, is the question. I suppose the prayers *previous* to the holy kiss, *previous* also to the *oblation*; which were indeed part of the *missa fidelium*, or *Communion Service*, (like to our *prayer* for the *Church militant*,) but were not the proper *mystical* prayers belonging to the *Communion*, and of which Chrysostom is to be understood. The *co-standers*, being the highest order of *penitents*, had the privilege to *stand* in the same place of the Church with the *faithful*, and to *abide* there, after the *catechumens* and lower penitents were dismissed; and they

12, 13. Basil. Can. 22, 30, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 75, 82, 83. Concil. Carthag. vi. Can. 11. Concil. Trull. Can. 87.

[u] Εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι. *Concil. Ancyr.* Can. iv. Κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς. *Ibid.* Can. vi. So in the Nicene Canons, and Basil's, &c.

All that did not depart with the *catechumens*, after the Gospel, or with the *penitents* soon after, *communicated in prayer*, as appears by the Apostolical Constitutions. Μὴ κοινωνείτωσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐξερχέσθωσαν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. lib. ii. cap. 39. The Council of Laodicea distinctly mentions what *prayers* preceded the *oblation*. Can. xix. p. 786. Harduin.

were permitted to *communicate in prayer*, till the *oblation* began, and then they also were to withdraw. This I collect, as from several other circumstances, so particularly from hence, that the Deacons just before the *salutation* of peace, warned all *non-communicants* to withdraw [x]. The *co-standers* must of course have been reckoned of that number, being forbid to communicate; and therefore they must have been obliged to withdraw after the *preparatory* prayers, and before the *Communion*, properly speaking, began. Chrysostom himself intimates in another Homily, that all *non-communicants* were warned to depart [y]; and that presently after came on the mystical *hymn*. About that time the *co-standers*, as I conceive, withdrew. Neither, indeed, is it credible, that so knowing a person as Chrysostom would have represented it as a flaming absurdity for a *non-communicant* to be present during the *whole* solemnity, had the custom of the Church allowed it in the *co-standers*, who were non-communicants.

It may be objected, that Pope Siricius (about A. D. 385.) allowed or ordered some *non-communicants* to abide till the *whole service* was over [z]: and Sozomen speaks of the custom of the western churches, as obliging the penitents to wait all the time of the *Communion Service*, in order to receive the Bishop's absolution after it was *ended* [a]. These are the principal passages which have led learned men into a persuasion, that the *co-standers* were used to

[x] Ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ἀναφορᾷ, ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ πρὸ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ· οἱ ἀκοινώνητοι περιστατήσατε. *Timoth. Alex. Resp.* ix. 1104. Hard. Οἱ τὴν πρώτην εὐχὴν εὐχόμενοι, προέλθετε. *Apost. Constitut.* lib. viii. cap. 12. Si quis non communicat, det locum. *Gregor. M. Dial.* lib. ii. cap. 23.

[y] Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων, μή τις τῶν μὴ ἑσθιόντων, μή τις τῶν κατασκόπων, μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θιάσασθαι τὸν μόσχον ἑσθιόμενον.——μή τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζώσης θυσίας, &c. *Chrysost. Homil. de Fil. Prod.* tom. vi. p. 375. Paris.

[z] Diximus decernendum, ut *sola* intra ecclesiam fidelibus *orutione* jungantur; *Sacris mysteriorum celebritatibus*, quamvis non mereantur, *intersint*: a Dominicæ autem mensæ convivio segregentur, &c. *Siric. Epist.* p. 848. Harduin.

[a] Πληρωθείσης τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργίας. *Sozom.* lib. vii. cap. 16. p. 300. edit. Cant.

be *present* during the *whole solemnity*. But they did not observe, that the *preparatory* service was called the *service*, or the *mass*, and that the *Communion*, properly, began not till that service was ended, and the non-communicants were withdrawn. Gregory Turonensis, of the sixth century, may help to clear this matter: he speaks of the *Communion's* beginning after the *masses* or *liturgies* were ended[b]. Cyprian, long before, spake much after the same way[c]. And even Justin Martyr has made mention of the *common* prayers, as *ended*, before the Communion began, before the holy *salutation:* and soon after he takes notice of the subsequent *prayers* and *thanksgivings* proper to the Communion[d]. Those subsequent prayers were what Chrysostom spake of, as altogether improper for any to join in, or to be present at, except the *communicants* themselves.

A learned writer of our own observes, that "what in "Chrysostom's time was reckoned a crime, was presently "after accounted a piece of devotion, for the people to "stay and hear the *whole solemnity* of the service, till the "time of communicating, and then they might depart "without partaking of the Communion: which was "plainly a relaxation of the ancient discipline, and a de-"viation from the primitive practice[e]." For this he refers to the Council of Agde of the year 506, and to the first Council of Orleans in 511. I take not upon me to defend what was done in later times, but to clear Chrys-

[b] Ubi *peractis solemnibus*, ad sacrosanctum altarium communicandi gratia accessisset, &c. *Gregor. Turon.* lib. ix. n. 3. p. 419.

Cumque *expletis missis*, populus cœpisset sacrosanctum corpus Redemptoris accipere. *Greg. Turon. de Mirac. Mattin.* lib. ii. cap. 47. p. 1060. Conf. Mabillon de Liturg. Gallican. p. 35, 36, 51.

[c] Ubi vero *solennibus adimpletis*, calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit, &c. *Cyprian. de Laps.* p. 132. edit. Oxon.

[d] Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα, παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν· ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ κράματος. Καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει. *Justin. Mart. Apol.* i. p. 95, 96. edit. Thirlb.

[e] Bingham, xv. 4, 2.

ostom's argument, as consonant to the principles and practice of that age with respect to *non-communicants*, whether *co-standers* or others. However, I must observe, with respect even to the Councils of Agde and Orleans, that no order was made for *non-communicants* to stay during the *whole solemnity* of the Communion: only, they were obliged to wait for the Bishop's *benediction*, (which was *previous*[f] to the most *solemn* part of the service,) and then to depart. So that though the dismission of the *non-communicants* might perhaps be deferred somewhat later now, than in Chrysostom's time, yet dismissed they were before the *Communion* properly came on; and the *absurdity* which Chrysostom complained of, that of staying out the *whole solemnity* without communicating, never was admitted in those days.

The principal use I had in view, by what I have here said, was to take off a kind of popular plea, which has been sometimes urged in the name of Chrysostom, that every one who may be admitted to *prayers*, ought to be admitted to *Communion* also; and that there is no more reason for absenting from the *Communion*, on account of *unfitness*, than there is for absenting from *prayers* on the like account: for it is pleaded, that either a man is fit for *both* or for *neither*. Chrysostom never *said*, or most certainly never *meant* any such thing: so that his *authority* ought to be out of the question. As to the *reason* of the case, the plea can never hold upon that foot. It is true, *prayer* requires some *preparation;* and a man may pray *unworthily*, as well as communicate *unworthily:* and his prayer, in such circumstances, may be vain and fruitless[g]. But yet it is no where said, that he who prays unworthily shall be *guilty of the body and blood* of the Lord, or that he shall draw down *judgment* upon himself by doing it.

[f] Vid. Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. ii. cap. 16. n. 1, 2. p. 664, &c. Mabillon de Liturg. Gallic. lib. i. cap. 4. n. 14. p. 35. Calvoer. Ritual. Ecclesiast. vol. i. p. 713. Bingham, xv. 3, 28, 29.

[g] Prov. xv. 8. Isa. i. 15.

Neither is all prayer so sacred and solemn as *sacramental* prayer, nor is any mere prayer a *federal* rite, like a *Sacrament:* nor does the want of due preparation in prayer (though a culpable neglect) so directly tend to frustrate the most *sacred ties*, and to turn all religion into *hypocrisy* and *form*, as the want of it in the other case does: therefore, the two cases are by no means *parallel*, but *similar* only, and that in great disproportion. And hence it was (as I before hinted) that the ancients, while they admitted *catechumens* to some *prayers*, proper to them, and the lower degrees of *penitents* to *prayers* proper for them, and the highest order of penitents to some part of the *Communion prayers*, as not improper for them; yet they debarred even the best of them, sometimes, month after month, or year after year, as not yet *worthy* to receive the holy Communion.

I may now proceed somewhat farther with Chrysostom. In another Homily, after he had been speaking of the *danger* of receiving *unworthily*, he adds, "I speak not this "to deter you from coming, but from coming *carelessly*. "For, as there is *danger* in coming carelessly, so there is "*famine* and *death* in the not partaking at all of the *mys*- "*tical* supper. This table is, as it were, the *sinews* of our "souls, the girding up of the mind, the support of our "confidence; our hope, our health, our light, our life[h]." Here the eloquent Father seems to make it not so bad to receive *unworthily*, as to forbear receiving at all: for he represents the one as *dangerous*, the other as *fatal*. If so, the *unworthy non-communicant* would be in a worse condition than the *unworthy communicant;* and it would be *safest* to receive at all adventures: and if that were admitted, it would be hard to justify the ancient *discipline* with respect to either *Sacrament*. But here we must answer with distinction. Supposing the *unworthiness* equal in both, there is equally *contempt* in both cases, but not *equal* contempt; for the unworthy *communicant* is guilty

[h] Chrysostom in 1 Cor. x. hom. xxv. p. 262.

of a *greater* contempt than the other, and is the most *profane* of the two, incurring *greater* damnation. As it were *better* not to have known the way of life, than to go counter to it[i]; so it were *better* never to take the Sacrament, than to *profane* it as constantly as we take it. So then, to neglect it out of contempt is indeed *famine* and *death:* but still the other is more *dangerous*, as exposing the person to *sorer* death and more *grievous* punishment; which I take to be Chrysostom's real meaning. Nevertheless, if a man only *suspects* or *doubts* within himself, whether he is fit to receive, it will certainly be his *safest* way to receive; and his humble modesty, if really such, will itself be a commendable part of his *preparation*[k]. The *degrees* of unworthiness are many and various, and no man is strictly *worthy:* a *sincere*, though for the present *weak* resolution to amend instantly in every known article of disobedience, seems to be ordinarily a sufficient security against the *danger* of receiving *unworthily*.

Century the Fifth.

The first Council of Toledo, in the year 400, made an order about those who were observed *never to come to Communion*, that they should be *admonished* for such their habitual and total neglect, and if they did not reform, should be obliged to submit to *penance*[l]. This decree appears very mild and moderate, as being pointed only against those who *constantly* absented, and as prescribing an *admonition* before the censure; and at length *excommunicating* those only, who had in a manner excommunicated themselves. No doubt but such order might have a very good effect upon those who were barely *supine* and *careless* in that article, otherwise leading innocent lives. But perhaps *exhortation* or *admonition* alone might have been sufficient to as many as were *well disposed;* and as

[i] 2 Pet. ii. 21. [k] See Luke xviii. 13, 14.

[l] De his qui intrant in ecclesiam, et deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur, ut, si non communicant, ad pœnitentiam accedant, &c. *Concil. Tolet.* i. Can. 13.

to the rest, *censure* might be thought too much: for who shall *force* a man to *repent?* Or how is it repentance, if it is not *free?* Or what signifies the coming to the Lord's table in *hypocrisy?* These considerations have their weight: and therefore *excommunication* in such a case, so far as it is justifiable, must be maintained upon some *general* principle, such as the *necessity* of removing notorious *offences* or *scandals*, for fear of *contagion* to the rest, and for fear of bringing an *infamy* upon the whole body, by such *connivance* as might look too like an *allowance* of so shameful a neglect. The *general good* of the Church, in some cases, ought to overrule all such considerations as have been before mentioned. For example: there are, suppose, ten thousand *officiating* clergy in a nation, who may be obliged, by the laws of Church and State, to administer and to receive the holy Communion, so often, be they *prepared* or otherwise. In such a number, some hundreds, it may be, may officiate and receive, not duly *prepared*. Let them look to that: the Church is *clear* so far, because the *necessity* of the case and the *general good* so requires. It would be trifling here to urge, that it is *forcing* men to *profane* the holy Sacrament, or forcing them to *repent* and amend. That must be risked upon higher and more weighty considerations: for God's people must not be deprived of the benefit of the Sacrament in such cases. Therefore, I observed, that the considerations before mentioned *have their weight;* as indeed they ought to have; but so far only, as they are not opposed to other considerations of a more *general* nature, and of still greater weight.

The same Council made a strict order, that such of the resident *clergy* as came not to the daily prayers and Communion should be deposed, if they did not reform after admonition [m]. By this we see that *daily Communions* were

[m] Clericus, si intra civitatem fuerit, vel in loco quo ecclesia est, aut castello, aut vico, aut villa, et ad ecclesiam ad *sacrificium quotidianum* non accesserit, clericus non habeatur, si castigatus per satisfactionem veniam ab episcopo noluerit promereri. *Concil. Tolet.* i. Can. 5.

yet kept up in some churches. Which appears likewise from the testimonies of Jerome[n] and Austin[c], of that time. Some Christians of that age were so scrupulous in that matter, that they thought themselves under a strict obligation to communicate, if possible, *every day*: others thought otherwise; and St. Austin was consulted upon the question. It was pleaded on the side of *daily* Communion, that every one ought to communicate as *often* as he *worthily* might; and that if he was not *debarred* by Church censures from it, he might be looked upon as *worthy*, the Church being judge of that case. On the other side it was pleaded, that some particular *chosen* days, when a man might be most *recollected*, and best *prepared*, were preferable; for so the greater *reverence* would be shown towards the Sacrament, and it would be more likely to answer its end and use. St. Austin did not care to determine for either, but took a middle way to compromise the dispute; which was to advise both parties (as they intended the same thing in the main) to show their *reverence* to the Sacrament in their *different* ways, according to their respective persuasions. For, says he, "neither of them really *dishonours* the Lord's body and "blood, while both contend, only in a different way, who "shall do most honour to the blessed Sacrament. For "neither did Zaccheus and the Centurion strive together, "or one prefer himself before the other, when the former "gladly *received* our Lord into his house, and the latter "said, *I am not worthy* that *thou shouldest come under my* "*roof*: but both did honour to our Saviour in their *several*, "or rather *contrary* ways; both were sinners, and both "found mercy.—So here, one out of *reverence* dares not

[n] Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem ut fideles *semper* Christi corpus accipiant: quod nec reprehendo, nec laudo; unusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat. *Hieron. adv. Jovin.* p. 239. Conf. Ep. lii. ad Lucin. p. 579. edit. Bened.

[o] Alii *quotidie* communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt. *Augustin. Epist. ad Jan.* liv. (alias cxviii.) p. 124. tom. 2. edit. Bened.

" partake *every day:* another out of the like *reverence*, " dares not omit it a *single* day: all is well, so long as " there is no *contempt* in either case upon the holy Sacra- " ment[p]." This resolution of St. Austin was most certainly very wise and just, suitable to the question as there stated, whether a man should communicate *every day*, or only upon some *select days*, when fittest for it. But had the question been, whether it were sufficient for persons fitly prepared to communicate *once* or *twice* a year, or the like, he would have said *no*, but *oftener;* either *every month*, or *every week*, if opportunity offered. Gennadius, who lived in the close of the same century, (about A. D. 495,) determined as cautiously about *daily* receiving, neither approving nor disapproving it: but *weekly* receiving he spoke fully up to, recommending it as highly proper for all that were competently *prepared*, that is, for all that were sincerely penitent, and were not under any *prevailing* inclination to vice[q].

Century the Sixth.

In the beginning of this century (about A. D. 506.) the

[p] Neuter enim eorum *exhonorat* corpus et sanguinem Domini, sed saluberrimum sacramentum certatim *honorare* contendunt. Neque enim litigaverunt inter se, aut quisquam eorum se alteri præposuit Zachæus et ille Centurio, cum alter eorum gaudens in *domum suam* susceperit Dominum. Alter dixerit; *Non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum:* ambo Salvatorem honorificantes *diverso*, et quasi *contrario* modo; ambo peccatis miseri, ambo misericordiam consecuti.—— Ille honorando non audet *quotidie* sumere; et ille honorando non audet *ullo die* prætermittere. Contemptum solum non vult cibus iste, &c. *Augustin. ibid.* p. 125.

[q] *Quotidie* Eucharistiæ communionem percipere, nec laudo nec vitupero: omnibus tamen *Dominicis diebus* communicandum suadeo et hortor; si tamen mens in affectu peccandi non sit. Nam habentem adhuc *voluntatem* peccandi, *gravari* magis dico Eucharistiæ perceptione, quam purificari. Et ideo quamvis quis peccato mordeatur, peccandi non habeat de cætero voluntatem, et communicaturus satisfaciat lacrymis et orationibus, et confidens de Domini miseratione, qui peccata piæ confessioni donare consuevit, accedat ad Eucharistiam intrepidus et securus. Sed hoc de illo dico, quem *capitalia* et *mortalia* peccata non gravant. *Gennad. Massil. inter August. Opp.* tom. viii. App. p. 78. ed. Bened.

Council of Agde, in Gaul, obliged the *laity* to receive three times a year at least, at the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide[r]. It is the first precedent of that kind: and some very pious and serious Christians have wished, that it never had been set, because it might furnish an handle to many for imagining that they were under no obligation to *greater* frequency. But the Council designed no such inference; which at best is but a perverse construction of the thing: only, they considered, that to oblige all persons to receive *weekly* was impracticable; and to exhort them to *frequency* at large, without specifying any *certain* times, was doing nothing; and that if ordinary Christians were left to themselves, they would not, probably, communicate so often as *thrice* in the year, nor *twice*.

Other Councils, later in the same century, revived the more ancient rules: the Councils of Braccara and Luca, in Spain, (A. D. 572.) approved of the collection of old canons drawn up by Martinus Braccarensis; among which is the second Antiochian canon, above recited, being the eighty-third in this collection[s]. Afterwards, the second Council of Mascon (A. D. 585.) endeavoured to reinforce *weekly* communions, obliging both men and women to communicate every *Lord's Day*, under pain of *anathema*[t]: which was severe enough, unless we may under-

[r] Seculares, qui *Natali Domini*, *Pascha*, et *Pentecosten*, non communicaverint, Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur. *Concil. Agathens.* Can. xviii. p. 1000. Hard.

[s] It is thus worded: Si quis intrat Ecclesiam Dei, et sacras Scripturas audit, et *pro luxuria sua* avertit se a *communione* sacramenti, et in observandis mysteriis declinat constitutam *regulam disciplinæ*, istum talem projiciendum de Ecclesia Catholica decernimus &c. *Concil. Braccarens. et Lucens.* Can. lxxxiii. Hard. tom. iii. p. 400.

[t] Decernimus, ut omnibus *Dominicis diebus*, altaris oblatio ab omnibus *viris* et *mulieribus* offeratur tam panis quam vini, ut per has immolationes, et peccatorum fascibus careant, et cum Abel, vel cæteris justis offerentibus promereantur esse consortes. Omnes autem qui definitiones nostras per inobedientiam evacuare contendunt, *anathemate* percellantur. *Concil. Matiscon. II.* Can. iv. Hard. tom. iii. p. 461.

stand it only as opposed to absenting in way of *scorn* or *contempt*.

Century the Seventh.

I may here take notice, that the Council of Autun, in the year 670[u], revived the abovementioned canon of the Council of Agde, about communicating *three* times a year, at the three great festivals. In this century, the Greeks used to communicate *weekly;* and such as neglected three weeks together were excommunicated: but in the Church of Rome, the people were left more to their own liberty[x].

Century the Eighth.

Venerable Bede, in his epistle to Ecgbriht Archbishop of York, in the year 734, has a passage to our purpose, worth the noting. He writes thus: "The teachers—should "instruct the people, how salutary *daily communions* "might be to all kinds of Christians; a point which the "Church of Christ through Italy, Gaul, Africa, Greece, "and the whole East, have much laboured, as you well "know. This solemn service of religion, and devout "sanctification to Godward, is so far sunk almost among "all the *laity*, by negligence of their teachers, that even "those among them who appear to have a more than "ordinary sense of religion, yet presume not to partake "of those holy mysteries but upon the Nativity, Epi-"phany, and Easter: though there are innumerable per-"sons of very innocent and chaste conversation, boys and "girls, young men and maidens, old men and matrons, "who without the least scruple of doubt, might well re-"ceive every *Lord's Day*, or over and above, upon all the "festivals, whether of *Apostles* or *Martyrs;* as you have

[u] Concil. Augustodunens. Can. xiv. Hard. tom. iii. p. 1015.

[x] Græci omni Dominica die communicant, sive Clerici sive Laici, et qui tribus Dominicis non communicaverint, excommunicantur. Romani similiter communicant qui volunt, qui autem noluerint, non excommunicantur. *Theodor. Pœnitential.* p. 46.

" seen with your own *eyes*, in the holy apostolical Church " of Rome[y]."

From this remarkable paragraph, we may observe, that even so late as the eighth century, *daily* communions were still kept up, among some of the *Clergy* at least; and that all the Christian Churches, or Church guides of best note, wished to have the like prevail among the *laity*, and had laboured that point as far as they could: but as that was impracticable, hopes however were conceived, that *weekly* communions, and more, might yet take place, if due care were taken; and that it was in some measure owing to the remissness of pastors, that *communion* was grown so rare and uncommon among the *laity* of the better sort; who neglected the communion, when competently qualified for it, only for want of *opportunity*, or for want of being *reminded* of it and *exhorted* to it, or else out of *ignorance*, *supineness*, or the like, more than out of any *dislike* to it or *unfitness* for it: which may also be the case at this very day.

What has been here offered may be sufficient, I conceive, to give a competent idea of the state of *frequent communion*, for the first *eight* centuries: and I need not go lower; except it be to throw in a word or two of what has been done, as to this article, since the Reformation.

The Lutherans, we are told, by one that declares he is

[y] ——quam salutaris sit omni Christianorum generi *quotidiana* Dominici corporis ac sanguinis perceptio; juxta quod Ecclesiam Christi per Italiam, Galliam, Africam, Græciam, ac totum Orientem solerter agere nosti. Quod videlicet genus religionis ac Deo devotæ sanctificationis tam longe a cunctis pene nostræ provinciæ Laicis, per incuriam docentium, quasi prope peregrinum abest, ut hi qui inter Religiosiores esse videntur, non nisi in *Natali* Domini, et *Epiphania*, et *Pascha* sacrosanctis mysteriis communicare præsumant; cum sint innumeri innocentes et castissimæ conversationis pueri et puellæ, juvenes et virgines, senes et anus, qui absque ullo scrupulo controversiæ; *omni die Dominico*, sive etiam in *natalitiis* sanctorum *Apostolorum*, sive *Martyrum* (quomodo ipse in sancta Romana et *Apostolica* Ecclesia fieri vidisti) mysteriis cœlestibus communicare valeant. *Bed. Epist. ad. Ecgbert.* p. 311. edit. Cant.

well assured of it [z], do in this particular excel all other Protestants: for they have a communion every *Sunday* and *holyday* throughout the year. Calvin and Beza, and the French churches, laboured to restore *monthly* or *weekly* communions; but strictly insisted upon *four* times a year, under pain of *contempt* [a]. Our own Church has taken good care about *frequent* communion, time after time [b]. She has been one while charged as doing *too little*, and another while charged as doing *too much*: an argument that she has competently observed the *golden mean*. But in complicated cases, where there is no passing any certain judgment, without a large comprehensive view of a vast variety of circumstances, it is impossible to please every body, or even to satisfy all the honest and well-deserving. In Queen Elizabeth's time, Mr. Cartwright managed the charge of *remissness* against us in that article: he would have had the *generality* obliged to communicate constantly, (except in cases of *infirmity* or *necessity*,) under pain of *ecclesiastical* censure, yea, and of *civil* penalties [c]. Dr. Whitgift, on the other hand, pleaded for *moderate* counsels and *convenient* discipline, considering the *end* and *use*, and how it might best be attained [d].

It is well known what *canons* have been since made to enforce *frequent* communion [e]: *moderate* enough, if compared with *ancient* canons, or even with those of other Reformed churches. For no express mention is made of

[z] Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, part ii. p. 151. But compare Calvoer, a Lutheran, who gives but an indifferent account of the *number* of their communicants, being left to their own *liberty*, and no particular times strictly insisted on. *Calvoer. de Rit. Eccl.* tom. i. p. 758.

[a] Bingham, French Church's Apology, c. xiv. L'Arroque, Conformity of the Reformed Churches of France, p. 246.

[b] See Wheatly on the Common Prayer, p. 326.

[c] Cartwright, Reply to Whitgift, p. 117. Reply to Whitgift's Defence, part ii. p. 148.

[d] Whitgift, Defence of his Answer to the Admonition, p. 530, &c. Compare Hooker, book v. sect. 68.

[e] Canons of 1603. Can. 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, 112.

excommunicating for neglect, but the affair is in a great measure left to the *prudential* care of the Diocesan, as is just and proper. Nevertheless, exceptions have been taken to the severity of those canons: and the charge has been well answered by our learned Divines [f], so that there is no occasion now to enter into that dispute. However, I am persuaded that *instruction* and *exhortation*, generally, are the best and most effectual methods of promoting *frequent* communion, so as to make it answer its true *end* and *use*. The most *religious* kind of persons will of course communicate as *often* as they have opportunity: the *impenitent* or *irreligious* will not *choose* to communicate at all; neither is it fit that they should, because, while they continue such, it would do them no good, but harm. There remain only the *supine*, *careless*, and *ignorant*, but *well disposed*, (such as Bede, before cited, spake of,) who perhaps make up the main body of Christians: and they are to be dealt with in a tender, engaging manner, either by *exhortations* from the pulpit, or by *private* instruction, or by putting good *books* into their hands. Much probably might be done, in this way, towards reviving *frequent* communions, if suitable care and diligence were used in it. But I have said enough on this article, and it is now time to conclude. I once thought of adding a chapter upon the *comportment* proper at and after receiving the communion: but these papers are already drawn out into a length beyond what I at first suspected; and I may the more conveniently omit what relates to the *demeanour* proper at and after receiving, since it is well provided for by most of the little *manuals* which are in every one's hands, and particularly by Bishop Taylor's Worthy Communicant, chapter the seventh.

What I have endeavoured all the way, has been to maintain the dignity of a venerable sacrament, by the light of *reason*, *Scripture*, and *antiquity*, against unreason-

[f] Falkner, Libert. Eccl. book i. c. 5. p. 205, &c. Sherlock, Defence of Stillingfleet, p. 119. Bingham, French Church's Apol. book iii. c. 14.

able attempts to depreciate or undervalue it. The common methods of *subversion* begin with lessening the work of *preparation*, and then go on to sink the *benefits*: the next step in the progress is to reduce the whole to a bare *memorial*, a memorial of an *absent* friend, master, or chief martyr; passing over the *Divine* perfections of our Lord, and the all-sufficient *merits* of what he has done and suffered for us. Now in order to build up again, as others pull down, the business of these papers has been to show, that the sacramental *memorial* is a memorial of Christ *God-man*, who died a willing *sacrifice* for the sins of mankind; and that it is not a bare *memorial*, or *representation* of something once done and suffered, but a real and present *exhibition* of the *graces*, *comforts*, or *blessings* accruing therefrom, to every *worthy* receiver: that therefore proper *acknowledgments* and *engagements* are expected from us, and those require suitable *preparations* and *qualifications*, and a *deportment* thereto corresponding; in a word, *self-examination* and *self-approbation* beforehand, serious resolutions of *amendment* at the time, and a conscientious care afterwards, to persevere in well-doing to our lives end.

END OF VOL. VII.