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THE
CHURCHMAN

AUGUST, 1897.

ART. I.—ENGLISH CHURCH TEACHING IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES UPON THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

(Concluded.)

THE innovations combated by Rabanus Maurus found little acceptance in our island, if we are to judge from the later writings of Ælfrie. In the Homily, already referred to, he says: "Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of his (its) proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread and corruptible wine; and is, by might of God's word, truly Christ's body and His blood, not so, notwithstanding, bodily, but ghostly. Much is betwixt the body Christ suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body, truly, that Christ suffered in was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and His ghostly body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood."¹

Similar explanations are given by Ælfrie in his epistles to Wulfine, Bishop of Sherburn, and to Wulfstane, Archbishop of York. The following extract from the latter epistle is too important to be omitted: "The lively loaf is not, however, bodily the same body that Christ suffered in, nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood that for us was shed in corporeal reality. But in spiritual meaning both the loaf is truly His body, and the wine also is His blood; even as the heavenly loaf which we call manna, which forty years fed God's folk, and the clear water that ran from the rock in the wilderness was truly His blood. Paulus accordingly wrote in one of his

¹ Usher's Works, vol. iii.

epistles : *Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt.* All our fathers ate, in the wilderness, the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink. They drank of the spiritual rock, and that rock was Christ. The Apostle said, even as ye now heard, that they all ate the same spiritual meat, and they all drank the spiritual drink. He does not, however, say bodily, but spiritually. Then Christ was not yet born, nor was His blood shed, when the people of Israel ate the meat, and drank of the rock : and the rock was not Christ bodily, though he said so ; these were the same sacraments under the old law, and they spiritually betokened the ghostly housel of our Saviour's body which we hallow now."¹

IV. Adoration of the consecrated elements, as either containing or signifying the Real Presence of Christ, was neither taught nor known in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

The consideration of the two previous points shows that such a practice would be utterly inconsistent with the faith of the English Church of those days. It was not ordered in the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory the Great, with which Augustine must have been familiar, and there is no reference to it in the ancient Liturgies.² In fact, it was not practised in the Christian Church at all for eleven hundred years after Christ, and then it was introduced by the supporters of the novel doctrine of Transubstantiation.³

¹ Soames, "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 308. This epistle of Ælfric was tampered with by Latin copyists after the Norman Conquest. An interesting account of the matter may be seen in "Eucharistic Worship, etc.," p. 124 ; Haughton and Co.

It is most suggestive to compare Ælfric's teaching with that of another Archbishop of Canterbury—Thomas Arundel, in the reign of Henry IV. In the latter Archbishop's "determinations," offered to Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) to test his orthodoxy, it is said : "The feyth and the determinacion of Holy Chirche touchyng the blysfyl sacrament of the auter is this : That after the sacramental wordys ben seyde be a prest in hys masse, the materyal bred that was before is turnyd into Crysty's veray body ; and the materyal wyn that was before is turnyd into Crysty's veray blood, and so there levyth in the auter no materyal bred, no materyal wyn, the whiche were there before the seyinge of the sacramental wordys. How leeve ye thys article ?" (Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. iv., p. 518). It is pertinent to ask, With which Archbishop does the black rubric at the end of the Communion Office in the Book of Common Prayer agree ?

² Mr. Keble writes : "The only plausible objection, that I know of, to the foregoing statement arises from the omission of the subject in the primitive liturgies, which are almost or altogether silent as to any worship of Christ's Body and Blood after consecration. We find in them neither any form of prayer addressed in special to His holy humanity so present, nor any rubric enjoining adoration inward or outward" ("Eucharistic Adoration," p. 126 ; Oxon, 1867).

³ Palmer, "Origines Liturgicæ," vol. ii., p. 16.

The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 754, where there were 338 bishops, expressed an opinion which is most interesting and very suggestive with regard to the points now under consideration. "They maintained that Christ 'chose no other shape or type under heaven to represent His incarnation by but the Sacrament,' which 'He delivered to His ministers for a type and a most effectual commemoration thereof,' 'commanding the substance of bread to be offered, which did not any way resemble the form of a man, that so no occasion might be given of bringing in idolatry'; 'which bread they affirmed to be the body of Christ, not *φύσει*, but *θέσει*: that is, as they themselves expound it, 'a holy and a true image of the natural flesh.'"¹

It seems very probable that these most reverend fathers had in their mind's-eye some emotional and ill-taught converts from heathendom, who longed to make for themselves what our own Bishop Andrewes called in later days a "bread-made Christ."

We may learn something of the regard paid to the Eucharistic symbols from one of the canons of the English synod of Celchyth, held A.D. 816, under Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury. It was the custom to deposit relics with the sacred elements in a box at the time of the consecration of any church. It was ordered in this synod that, if relics could not be had, the sacramental elements would alone suffice. Evidently the latter are placed on no higher level than that of the relics of saints; indeed, the plain inference is that they were regarded as inferior. At any rate, it is impossible to reconcile this canon with any belief of a Real Presence involving adoration.²

V. In the Anglo-Saxon Church the Holy Communion was administered to the people in both kinds. Of course this was so, because it was the practice of the universal Church till long after the Norman Conquest. Popes Leo the Great and Gelasius I. denounced the practice of half-communion as "sacrilegious;" and the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Clermont, A.D. 1095, presided over by Pope Urban II., declared that: "No one shall communicate at the altar unless he receives the Body and Blood separately and alike, unless by way of necessity and for caution."³

VI. The Anglo-Saxon Church was taught to believe that the wicked communicant did not receive the Body and Blood

¹ Usher, "Answer to a Challenge," Op., vol. iii., pp. 79, 80.

² Soames, "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 130.

³ Littledale's "Plain Reasons, etc.," p. 83.

of Christ, but that the faithful only were the recipients of the virtue of the Sacrament, or the thing signified.

This teaching involves the doctrine that *faith* is "the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper" of the Lord.¹

Before citing proofs in support of this statement, it is necessary to observe how, in the teaching of the writers of this period, in imitation of the Fathers, "man is to be regarded as having spiritual needs and spiritual senses corresponding to those of his body; and while the *sacramentum* is the object of the touch, sight, taste of the outer man, the *res sacramenti* is the object of the spiritual senses—the touch, sight, taste of the inner man.

Thus the real eating and drinking of the Body and Blood of Christ is regarded as the spiritual act of the soul, which has a spiritual mouth for this purpose. In accordance with this view, the receiving, eating, and drinking of the spiritual food, signified and conveyed by the outward signs of bread and wine, is the office of faith. It is by faith's operation that the soul is fed. Eating is by believing. The eating of the flesh of the Son of Man is by believing that He died and gave Himself for our sins."²

In the sense of the foregoing explanation, Gregory the Great writes: "He gave His very self as food to the minds of mortals, saying, He who eats My flesh, and drinks My blood, remains in Me and I in him."³

Bede, enlarging upon the same words and following St. Augustine, says: "He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood, remains in Me and I in him. Therefore, to eat that meat and drink that cup is this: to dwell in Christ and to have Christ dwelling in him. And, for this reason, he who does not dwell in Christ, and in whom Christ does not dwell, without doubt neither eats His flesh nor drinks His blood, although he eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a thing to his own condemnation."⁴

To this passage, in his commentary upon St. John vi, he

¹ Articles of Religion, XXVIII.

² "Eucharistic Worship in the English Church," p. 329.

³ "Cibum semetipsum mentibus mortalium præbuit, dicens: Qui comedit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo" ("Morals," lib. vii., c. 7).

⁴ "Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in illo. Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat ejus carnem, nec bibit sanguinem, etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibit" ("Ad Cor.," i. 10).

adds: "because unclean he presumes to approach the sacraments of Christ, which no one takes worthily unless he who is clean: of whom it is said, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."¹

In a Homily, quoted by Dr. Lingard, Bede says: "His body and blood is not slain and poured forth by the hands of unbelievers to their own destruction, but it is taken by the mouth of the faithful to their salvation."²

Commenting upon St. John vi. 51, Bede speaks of the faithful as composing the body of Christ, and maintaining their spiritual life by a spiritual eating of spiritual food.³

Rabanus Maurus follows the teaching of Bede upon this point; in fact, he adopts the very words of a sentence in the extract just quoted. "Therefore," says he, "the faithful take well and truly the body of Christ, if they do not neglect to be the body of Christ. Let them become the body of Christ, if they wish to live of the Spirit of Christ." It is evident from this passage that the "faithful" receiver is the living member of Christ's body, and that the word "faithful" cannot possibly here include the baptized—good and bad. In the opinion of Rabanus Maurus, the inner man is nourished by the grace of the Sacrament, and the worthy receiver is changed into the Body of Christ, and gives testimony of such a change by a life of peace, piety, and obedience. His statement is most clear, emphatic, and important.⁴

Alcuin also is in agreement with Bede, and quotes the

¹ "Quia immundus præsumitur ad Christi accedere sacramenta, quæ alius non digne sumit, nisi qui mundus est: de quibus dicitur, Beati mundi corde, quoniam Deum videbunt."

² "Corpus et sanguis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur, et occiditur, sed fidelium ore suam sumitur ad salutem" ("Hom.," p. 275; Lingard's "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 326, edit. 1845). It is worthy of notice that Dr. Lingard gives the Latin words as a footnote; but he translates them in his text without the negative "non," thus expressing the very contrary of Bede's statement.

³ "*Caro mea est, inquit, pro mundi vita.* Norunt fideles corpus Christi, si corpus Christi esse non negligunt, fiant corpus Christi, si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi. . . . Quisquis vivere vult, credat in Christum, manducet spiritualiter spirituales cibum."

⁴ "Aliud sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti: sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Sacramentum enim in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem sacramenti æternæ vitæ dignitas adipiscitur. In sacramento fideles quique commuicantes pactum societatis et pacis ineunt. In virtute enim sacramenti omnia membra capiti suo conjuncta et coadunata in æternæ claritate gaudebunt. Sicut ergo in nos id convertitur cum id manducamus et bibimus, sic et nos in corpus Christi convertimur, dum obedienter et pie vivimus. . . . Sumunt ergo fideles bene et veraciter corpus Christi, si corpus Christi non negligent esse. Fiant corpus Christi si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi" (Soames, Bamp. Lect., p. 412).

same words as given in the latter's commentary on Cor. i. 10, quoted in foot-note, p. 562.¹

Similar teaching is found in the writings of Haymo, or Aimon, of Halberstadt, a supposed Englishman and a fellow-pupil with Rabanus Maurus of Alcuin.²

Elfric, again, finally clenches the matter in the Paschal Homily referred to above: "If we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it *with belief*."

The proofs, therefore, adduced in support of this head show without doubt to any impartial mind that the ante-Norman English Church held the doctrine of the Anglican Church of to-day, as expressed in the XXIXth Article and the Church Catechism.

VII. The Anglo-Saxon Church presented the Lord's Supper as a Holy Communion of which all the faithful present should partake. Solitary celebrations were forbidden by royal and ecclesiastical laws.

The view of this Sacrament as a Communion is one that might reasonably be expected to follow from the testimony quoted in support of the last head. Bede, in his History, narrates an incident which tends to show that a general Communion of the people was the practice then: "And when they (the sons of Sebert, King of the East Saxons) saw the Bishop, celebrating Mass in the Church, give the Eucharist to the people, they said, 'Why do you not give us also that white bread which you used to give to our father, and which you still continue to give to the people in the Church?'"³

Dr. Lingard is also a witness upon this point. He says: "The time appointed for partaking of the housel was towards the conclusion of the Mass, immediately after the communion of the celebrant. During the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period it was administered under both kinds—first to the clergy of the Church, and then to the people, the priest administering the offletes (bread), and the deacon the cup. Originally, during the time of persecution it was deemed the duty of all to communicate who were present at the sacrifice; afterwards, when Christianity became the religion of the people, this practice could not with propriety be retained; frequency of Communion began to decline, and became dependent on the choice of the individual. When our ancestors received the faith, the custom of general Communion on the Sundays was

¹ Bishop Hall, "The Old Religion," vol. ii., Op. 1633.

² *Vide* Soames, Bamp. Lect., pp. 415, 416; and "Eucharistic Worship in the English Church," p. 294.

³ "History," book ii., c. 5.

still preserved in the Church of Rome; and it is but reasonable to suppose that the Roman missionaries established it in the Anglo-Saxon Churches of their foundation." Then, referring to the neglect of frequent Communion, he proceeds: "Venerable Beda noticed the abuse, and in strong language exhorted Archbishop Egbert to reform it by his authority. There were, he maintained, among his countrymen thousands in every department of life whose religious conduct entitled them to the privilege of communicating at the heavenly mysteries on every Sunday and holiday, as was done in other churches, and as Egbert himself had seen practised in the Church of Rome. The fault was in the clergy, who neglected to instruct the people in the spiritual benefits of this sacrament, and thus suffered them to remain in ignorance and in indifference, the natural offspring of that indifference."

"The sentiments of this pious monk were shared by the Bishops at the Council of Cloveshoe in 747, who recommend to laymen the practice of frequent Communion, that they may not be of the number of those who eat not of the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink not His blood; whence it must follow that they have not life in them."¹

Two hundred years later the rulers of the English Church are found to be of the same mind as their predecessors, and desirous of checking any abuse that tended to discourage the people from communicating, or to give to this Sacrament the character of a show. Among the canons enacted under the authority of King Edgar, in 966 A.D., is one that strictly forbade the clergy from celebrating "Mass alone, without other men."²

Ælfric, also, in one of his Homilies, refers to the old custom of all persons present communicating: "In those days it was usual for the deacon to cry at every Mass before the administering of the housel, 'Whosoever is unworthy to partake of the housel, go out of the Church.'³

VIII. The Anglo-Saxon Church applied the term *sacrifice*

¹ Lingard, "Anglo-Saxon Church," pp. 327, 328.

² "Mass priests shall not on any account or by any means celebrate Mass alone without other men, that he may know whom he addresses, and who responds to him. He shall address those standing about him, and they shall respond to him. He shall bear in mind the Lord's saying which He said in His Gospel. He said: 'There, where two or three men shall be gathered in My name, there will I be in the midst of them.'"

³ "Tha was hit gewunelic on tham dagum thæt se diacon clypode æt ælcere mæssan, ær tham hufel-gange, 'se the hufel-ganges unworthe sy, gange ut of there cyrcan'" ("Homilies of Ælfric," edit. Thorpe, vol. ii., pp. 174, 175).

to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and most frequently it was associated with the words *mystery* and *mysterious*.

It is necessary, however, to ask, In what sense was this term *sacrifice* used by the Anglo-Saxons? Every student of early ecclesiastical history knows that "the ancients gave the general name of sacrifice to all parts of Divine Service."¹ The term included Prayers, Praises, Preaching, Devotion of body and soul to Christ, good works, as well as the service of Holy Communion.² Numerous authors might be cited, but it is pertinent and sufficient to refer to Pope Gregory the Great's use of the word in this general sense. He says: "For that singleness of conscience which the unrighteous one and all scorn as a thing most mean and abject, the righteous turn into a *sacrifice of virtue*, and the just in their worshipping *sacrifice purity and mildness* to God, which the sons of perdition in abomination thereof account weakness."³ Again: "For we make a perfume compounded of spices, when we yield a smell upon the *altar of good works* with the multitude of our virtues; and this is 'tempered together and pure' in that the more we join virtue to virtue, the purer is the *incense of good works* we set forth."⁴

The word "sacrifice" in this general sense was in use in this island long before the coming of Augustine to Kent, and he added no new meaning to it. The only definition known to the Anglo-Saxon Church was that of the great Latin Father, St. Augustine of Hippo, who said that "A true sacrifice is every good work done, that we may cleave unto God in holy amity, referred, as it were, to Him as the end of good, in Whom we may be truly blessed."⁵ Elsewhere the same Father says: "Mercy, if extended to man for God's sake, is a true sacrifice."

A *true sacrifice*, therefore, according to St. Augustine, is a *work* or *service* in God's honour. He also explains the meaning of the word when it is more particularly applied to the service of the Holy Communion: "That, which is called by all sacrifice, is the sign of true sacrifice. . . . Therefore, a visible sacrifice is the sacrament of an invisible sacrifice, that is, it is a sacred sign."⁶ In the sense of this definition, the term *sacrifice* is applied to the consecrated elements in the Penitential of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁷

¹ Bingham, "Antiquities," book xii., sec. 5.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Morals," book x., p. 614; Library of the Fathers.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵ "De Civ. Dei," lib. x., c. 6, edit. Bened.

⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 5.

⁷ "Qui acceperit sacrificium post cybum VII. dies pæniteat" (Thorpe's "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," cxxxix., sec. 12).

The last quotation from St. Augustine is a witness to the fact that in his day the word "sacrifice" was applied to the Holy Eucharist for a reason other than the general one of religious service, viz., because it is the representation or sign of the true sacrifice offered upon the Cross. But the same Father, in several passages, explains that it was usual, and by no means improper, to call a sign by the name of that which it signified, and a memorial by the name of the event which it commemorated; and he illustrates his statements by references to the Rock that was called Christ, and to the Easter anniversary customarily named the Day of Resurrection.¹

The way in which Bede adopts the language of St. Augustine on this particular matter is a proof that the Anglo-Saxon Church of that date used the word "sacrifice" in respect of the Holy Eucharist in the sense expressed by the great Latin Father. In his commentary upon 1 Cor. x. he quotes two passages from St. Augustine, each from different writings, to support his statement that, according to the use of speech, signs receive the names of what they represent.²

As late as the times of Ælfric evidence is not wanting to show that the teaching of the English Church on the sacri-

¹ "Solet autem res quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari. . . . Hinc est quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique, per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem" ("Quæstiones in Levit.," lib. iii., Quæst. 57).

"Sæpe ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquante dicamus, crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem . . . ipso die dominico dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit. . . . Cur nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum, quibus hæc gesta sunt, similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus. . . . Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen . . . omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandem similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. *Ex hac similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt*" ("Epist. ad Bonifacium," ep. xcvi., sec. 9).

"Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post adscensum Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur" ("Contra Faustum," lib. xx., c. 21).

See also "De Civ. Dei," lib. xviii., c. 48; In Joan Evang., c. 13, Tract 63; "De Doctrina Christ.," lib. ii., c. 1.

² "Multum hæc locutio notanda est, ubi aliqua significantia earum rerum, quas significant, nomine appellantur. Inde est, quod ait Apostolus: Petra autem erat Christus. Non ait, Petra significabat Christum. Solet res, quæ significat ejus rei nomine, quam significat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est, Septem spicæ septem anni sunt. . . . Omnia significantia videntur quodammodo earum rerum, quas significant sustinere personas." Compare this with Augustine's words ("Quæstiones in Levit.," lib. iii.) cited above; and "De Civ. Dei," lib. xviii., c. 48.

ficial aspect of the Lord's Supper remained unchanged. This Archbishop is assumed by Dr. Lingard to have been "a faithful expositor of the opinion of Bertram" of Corbie;¹ and the testimony of the latter may therefore be fairly cited. Referring to Isidore's explanation, that "the sacrament is called a sacrifice, as if a sacred thing, because by mystic prayer it is consecrated for a memorial of the Lord's Passion,"² he says: "This Catholic doctor teaches that the sacred mystery of the Lord's Passion is to be celebrated in memory of the Lord's suffering for us, in saying which, he shows that the Lord's Passion was once made, but that the memorial thereof is represented in the sacred solemnities."³ Elsewhere, he expresses himself in reference to the Lord's command, "Do this," etc., as follows: "We are taught by the Saviour, and also by the Apostle Paul, that this bread and this wine, which are placed upon the altar, are placed for a figure or memorial of the Lord's death, so that it may recall to present memory that which was done in the past, and that we may be reminded of His passion."⁴

He also quotes a striking passage from Fulgentius, who, referring to the sacrifices of the Old Testament, says: "For in those carnal victims there was a signification of the flesh of Christ which for our sins He Himself, without sin, should offer; and of the blood which He was to shed for the remission of our sins. But in this sacrifice there is a thanksgiving and commemoration of the flesh of Christ, which He offered for us, and of the blood which the same God shed for us. . . . Therefore, in those sacrifices that which was to be given for us was figuratively signified; but in this sacrifice that which has now been given for us is evidently set forth."⁵ Commenting upon this quotation, he writes: "In saying that in those sacrifices that was signified which was to be given

¹ "Hist. and Antiq.," ii. 460.

² "Sacrificium dictum, quasi sacrum factum, quia prece mystica consecratur in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis; unde hoc eo jubente Corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus, quod, dum sit ex fructibus terræ, sanctificatur, et fit sacramentum" (Isidore Hispalensis, "Etymol.," lib. vi., c. 19).

³ "The Book of Bertram," translated by Archdeacon Taylor, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ "In illis enim carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi quam pro peccatis nostris ipse sine peccato fuerat oblaturus, et sanguinis quem erat effusus in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. . . . In illis ergo sacrificiis quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur. In hoc autem sacrificio quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur" ("De Fide.," c. xix.; *vide* "Eucharistic Worship in the English Church," p. 222).

for us, but in *this* sacrifice that which has been given is commemorated, he plainly intimates that even as those had a figure of future things, so also this sacrifice is a figure of things that are past."¹

Dr. Lingard, however, suggests that Bertram's teaching, though adopted by Ælfric, did not represent the faith of the Anglo-Saxons;² but it can be proved beyond controversy that Bertram expressed the teaching of St. Augustine—so much so as to wind up his own treatise by a copious reference to, and an explanation of, that early Father. Furthermore, it can be shown that this particular teaching of St. Augustine is endorsed by all the better known theologians of the Latin Church down to the time of the Reformation. Such doctors as Isidore Hispalensis, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Alphonsus à Castro, hang their explanations upon the teaching of the Bishop of Hippo.³

With reference to the quotations that have been adduced upon this heading, it is most important to notice the comparison that is made between a sign, representation, memorial, remembrance, and a *true sacrifice*, and also the apologies made for calling this Sacrament a sacrifice. It goes without saying that a representation, or memorial of a sacrifice, is not in itself a true and proper sacrifice, no more than a sign is truly and properly the thing signified.

In the face of the eight points discussed in this article, it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that the Ante-Norman English Church held the same belief in respect of this most important and prominent article of the Christian

¹ "Patenter innuit quod sicut illa figuram habuere futurorum, sic et hoc sacrificium figura sit præteritorum" ("De Corpore," etc., sec. 91).

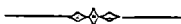
² Vide "Hist. and Antiq.," ii. 460.

³ Isidore is cited on p. 568. Peter Lombard says: "I demand whether that which the priest doth be properly called a sacrifice or an oblation? and whether Christ be daily offered, or else were offered only once? To this our answer is brief: That which is offered and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a memory and representation of the true sacrifice and holy oblation made on the altar of the Cross. Also Christ died once on the Cross, and there was He offered Himself; but He is offered daily in a Sacrament, because in the Sacrament there is a remembrance of that which was done once" (book iv., 12th distn.).

Thomas Aquinas says: "Because the celebration of this Sacrament is a certain image of Christ's passion, it may conveniently be called the sacrificing of Christ. The celebration of this Sacrament is termed the immolating of Christ in two respects: first, for that, as Austin saith, resemblances are wont to be called by the names of those things whose resemblances they are; next, for that by this Sacrament we be made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's Passion" (quoted by Bishop Bilson in "Of Subjection and Rebellion"). For other illustrations, vide Field, "Of the Church," vol. ii.

religion, as the Anglican Church of to-day. This historical fact well deserves the consideration of those amongst us who seek for models of custom and precepts of dogma in the darkest, most corrupt, most immoral period of Western Christendom.

D. MORRIS.



ART. II.—"THE SPIRIT ON THE WATERS."¹

EVERY attempt to translate eternal and abiding truth into such a form as shall render it specially helpful towards the solution of the problems and needs of the present age deserves most careful consideration; such a translation, we presume, is the real object of the book before us.

The book is not an easy one to describe adequately, or to criticise justly within moderate limits; for, though not a large one, the aphoristic style—designedly chosen—has enabled the author, within a moderate compass, to touch upon an enormous range of subjects. No one, we think, can read the book without feeling that there is very much in it which is both true and helpful. The writer is thoroughly in earnest, and his conceptions of the moral standard, moral ideal, and moral power of Christianity are exceedingly lofty. Yet, after the most careful consideration of his argument, we feel sure the position he assumes is wholly untenable, and that his theory of the "origins" of Christianity has that fatal note of weakness—it does not explain the facts, it does not account for those historical phenomena consequent upon the appearance of Christianity, for which any true theory of the origins of our religion must give an adequate explanation.

A genuine seeker after truth is quite justified in saying to himself, "I will spend my best energies in considering these origins in the colourless light of an impartial historical investigation and of the unbiassed reason. I will, as far as possible, forget any conceptions I may have formed, and any tendencies I may have inherited. I will start *ab initio*, carefully examining the history of Judaism previous to the appearance of Christianity, the conditions of the epoch which saw its birth, the original documents in which the life of the Founder is narrated, and the early history and subsequent progress of the movement."

¹ "The Spirit on the Waters: The Evolution of the Divine from the Human," by Edwin A. Abbott. Macmillan and Co., 1897.