

THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

TRANSLATED AND COMPILED

FROM

THE WORKS OF AUGUSTI, WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS FROM
RHEINWALD, SIEGEL, AND OTHERS.

BY
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P R E F A C E .

IN preparing the following summary of the rites and institutions of Ancient Christianity, the author has sought to make it intelligible to the English reader ; and, at the same time, to present to the theological student a convenient book of reference, and to the scholar and antiquary a guide in his more extended and original investigations.

German authors, with a provoking reliance upon the scholarship of those who may consult their pages, are accustomed to overspread them with original quotations from the dead languages, and references to writers in every tongue, so that even the practised scholar but darkly threads his way through the endless mazes of their works. Much therefore remains for humbler minds in selecting, arranging, translating and condensing, before the researches of these great men can be made available to the mass of the reading public. This task, in the absence of a better work, has been attempted in the preparation of the following pages ; and in the execution of it the author has endeavored to perform the service only of a translator and compiler.

In the fulfilment of this duty, the original authorities, when introduced into the text, are followed by a translation ; but more frequently they are transferred to the margin in the form of notes, or dismissed with a reference to the works from which they were taken, according as their importance seemed to require ; and all for the purpose of presenting to the eye of the reader a fair English page.

For the same general reasons, the references are all brought together in an index at the end. These references, in the original, are accumulated to an excess even for German scholarship and scholastic affectation. Of these very many have been omitted, but enough, it is believed, are retained, not only to direct to sufficient

original authorities, but to satisfy the largest desires even of the antiquary or the scholar.

From the rich and abundant materials which Augusti has furnished, it has been a difficult task to decide what to select, and what to omit; and from the parts selected, it has been one of equal difficulty so to abridge as to preserve a just medium between a tedious detail and a barren abstract. In the progress of this work, however, other writers on the same and kindred subjects have been freely consulted, to supply, in some instances, the omissions and deficiencies of Augusti, and in others, to enrich the following pages with the combined results of different authors. Compilations have been freely gathered from many sources, and incorporated with the work in hand. The works especially of Rheinwald, and Siegel, together with those of Neander, Gieseler, and others, have been laid under contribution to a greater or less extent. With the two first mentioned, the several subjects in their order have been compared with more or less care, and numerous compilations from them are embodied in the work.

In making these compilations, the course pursued has been to go through with an abridgment of a given article from Augusti, and then to compare it with these authorities, such additions and corrections being made as the subject seemed to require. These additions, when of any considerable extent, are distinguished as quotations with appropriate references, or introduced with preliminary remarks indicating the source from whence they are derived. In other instances, additional or qualifying words and sentences have been silently entered without any formal acknowledgment. In all this the compiler has considerably increased the labor and responsibility which devolved upon him; but the work, it is believed, has by this means been rendered more complete and valuable. It is important farther to remark that the larger work of Augusti has been freely consulted, and in several instances entire articles have been translated or abridged directly from it. At other times the order of the

sentences and paragraphs has been transposed as occasion required. It is hardly necessary to add that the above explanations should be borne in mind in making a comparison of this abridgement and compilation with the originals.

The reader will not expect in this volume a close or literal translation; the work, however, has been executed with a constant endeavor to give a fair and faithful interpretation of the author, and, on important or disputed points, to give it in terms as literal as the idioms of our language would admit. In other instances merely the *results* of the author are given with references, to the original sources from which he has derived his authorities. And at other times, the substance of his researches and conclusions is presented in language appropriately our own.

After having advanced far towards the completion of his task, the compiler obtained a copy of Riddle's Manual of Christian Antiquities. This work is an abridged translation from Augusti, with occasional compilations from Siegel, and copious extracts from Bingham. The work, though executed with candor and ability, is unsuited for the American public, and too expensive for general circulation. The compiler however acknowledges himself under many obligations to this author in the revision and correction of his own translations. The translation from Siegel on the *Agapae*, or love-feasts of the primitive church, in the following pages, is transferred entire from that work. The article on Prayers for the Dead is also from his hand, together with various extracts, in different parts of the following work, of which the most important are acknowledged in their proper place.

Jamieson on the Manners and Trials of the primitive Christians came to hand just as this work was going to the press. From this work various extracts have been made by way of recapitulation, though at the hazard of being occasionally repetitious. These extracts give a brief and popular view of the topics which have been previously treated of in a manner more methodical and minute.

His reputation as a distinguished preacher in Edinburgh entitles this treatise to the confidence of the reader, especially when informed by the author himself that he "has with minute and patient industry tested almost every statement contained in his book with the original authorities." The chapter on the Domestic and Social Character of the Primitive Christians is compiled chiefly from this work.

The Plan of churches and the Chronological Index are from Rheinwald. The reader will here find a valuable compend of the historical events connected with the antiquities of the church, in which the successive stages of departure from the simplicity and purity of primitive worship are distinctly stated, in connection with the contemporary authors and rulers in church and state, who were instrumental either in introducing or opposing these innovations.

The critical observer will notice some confusion in the accentuation of oxytone words in the Greek language. The accents were incautiously copied as found on the pages of Augusti, and the printing had advanced some distance before the more approved mode of the accentuation of such individual words was adopted.

The chapter on the Sacred Seasons of the Puritans supplies an obvious deficiency in the history of our forefathers, and will, no doubt, be received as a valuable addition to this work, and an important contribution to our own ecclesiastical history.

The account of the religious rites of the Armenian church from Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, missionary at Constantinople, cannot fail to interest the christian reader, while it reveals to him, through the dimness of a high antiquity, the customs of the primitive church.

This work was undertaken with the hope that it would, in some measure, supply a great deficiency in our ecclesiastical literature, and serve to direct the attention of the public to this neglected branch of study. Many topics of great interest relating to the rites, institutions and authority of the ancient church, are now the subject of earnest controversy in England, and of eager inquiry in this country. Ancient Christianity is destined, in both countries, to be severely

scrutinized anew, and its merits sharply contested. And this consideration presents one reason among many for offering this publication, at the present time, to the service of the public. But the various reasons, which recommend the study of Christian Antiquities to the attention of the public, are clearly exhibited by the Rev. Prof. Sears, in the Introduction which he has very kindly prepared for this work. The reader is there presented with the views of an eminent scholar, thoroughly familiar with the researches of German authors on this subject, and fully qualified to speak of their comparative merits, and of the importance of this department of sacred literature.

It only remains to render my grateful acknowledgments to this gentleman not only for his valuable contributions to this work, but for his advice and assistance which in the progress of it have been as kindly given as it has been freely sought. Similar acknowledgments are also due to the Rev. Prof. Edwards, of this place, for like offices of kindness and assistance, in these protracted labors which are now drawing to a close.

Conscious of having labored diligently to prepare a compend of this interesting branch of the history of the church, that shall be at once acceptable and useful in disclosing the sources from which the venerable institutions of our religion are derived, and in delineating the virtues of those holy men from whom they have been transmitted down to us, I now commit it, with all its deficiencies, to the charitable consideration of the public, and await in submission the result of their decision.

Andover, April, 1841.

NOTE.

The Print upon the back of this volume is a copy of an ancient christian coin. The monogram at the top, is formed by blending the Greek capitals X, P, the initial letters of the word *Χριστός*, Christ; which, with the primitive Christians, was the most sacred name of our Lord. This device is of very ancient date. It was their favorite emblem of our Saviour's name, which they not only engraved upon their tombs, and upon the walls of their cemeteries, but they caused it to be impressed upon coins and medals which they wore upon their breasts as sacred memorials of their Lord. Constantine adopted it as the emblem of his victorious banner under which he led on the conquests of the cross.

This banner, called the *labarum*, is described as a long pike intersected by a transverse beam in the form of a cross. The silken veil which hung down from this beam, was curiously inwrought with the images of the monarch and his sons. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold which enclosed this mysterious monogram. In the print before us, it rests upon a cross from which is suspended the veil of the *labarum*. At the foot lies a dead serpent, emblem of the great deceiver crushed by the cross of Christ. The whole, therefore, combines the expressive emblems both of the fall and recovery of man. The motto, *SPES PUBLICA*, points to the cross as the hope of a lost world. Constantine caused this device to be painted upon the vestibule of his palace and to be imprinted on the coin of his kingdom. These coins are now extremely rare; but they continued in common use through the reigns of several succeeding emperors.—*Aringhi, Roma Subterranea*, tom. ii. pp. 566, 705; *Eckhel, Doctrina Num. Vet.* 4. tom. viii. p. 88.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

I. CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. A Font of water, where the worshippers wash before entering the church.—2. The Great Porch, probably having a portico or vestibule in front.—3. Entrance into the Narthex.—4. The Narthex.—5. Entrance into the church.—6. The Inner Porch.—7. Entrance into the Nave.—8. Entrance to court surrounding the Nave.—9. The Court.—10. The Nave.—10. a) The Solea.—10. b) Probable site of the Ambo.—11. Pillars supporting the Gallery.—12.—The Chancel surrounding the Choir, or Sanctuary.—13. Entrance to the Sanctuary.—14. The Sanctuary.—15. The Altar.—16. The Canopy of the Altar.—17. The bishop's Throne.—18. The Seats of the presbyters.—19. The emperor's Throne.—20. Apartments for the Utensils of the church.—21. Passage from the church.

II. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH AT ROME.

1. Entrance to the Porch, or the Vestibule.—2. The Porch.—3. The Nave divided into five parts by rows of pillars.—4. The Choir, Bema, or Sanctuary.—5. The Altar.—6. The bishop's Throne.

III. CHURCH AT TYRE.

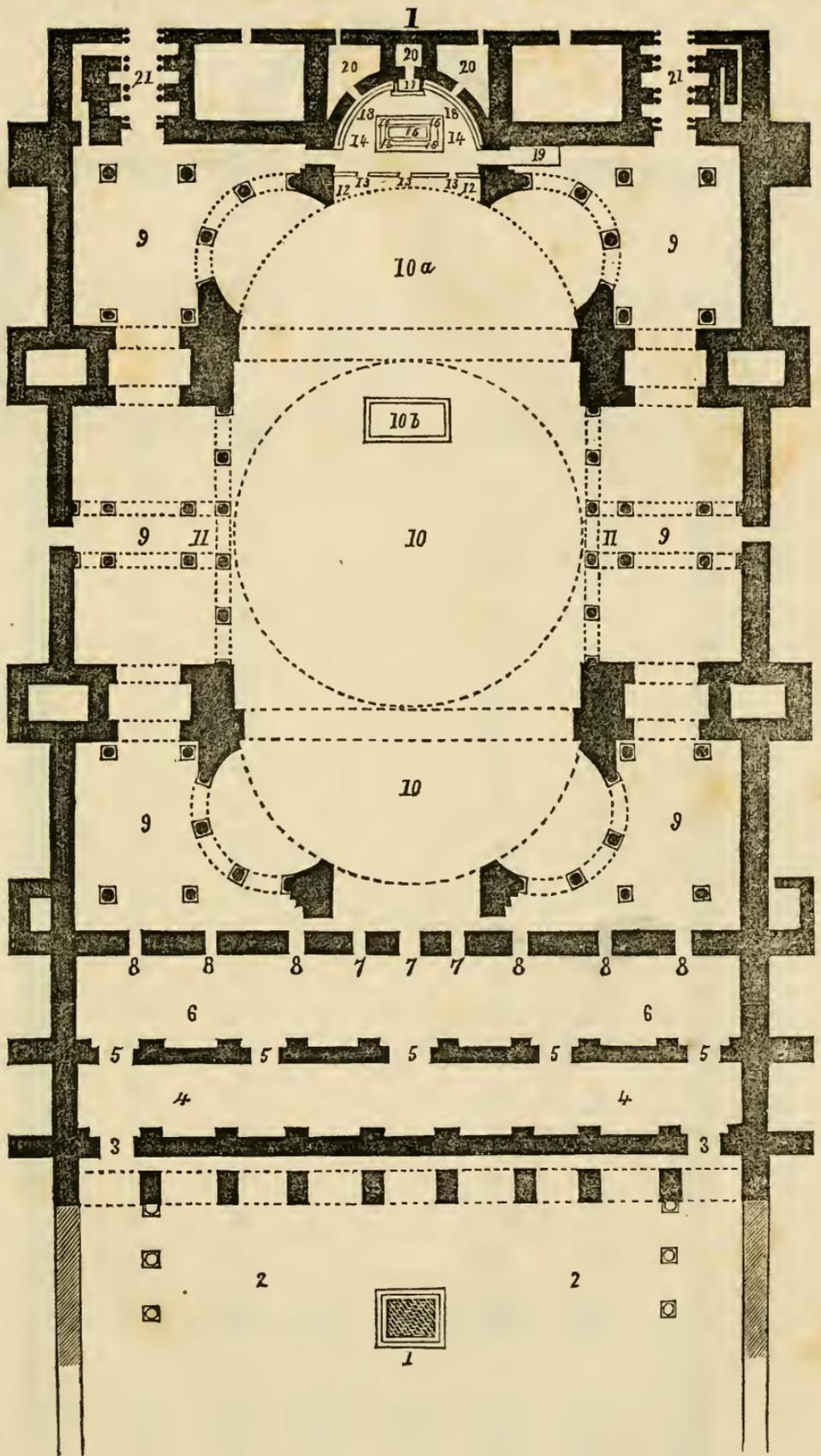
1. Entrance to the Porch, or the Vestibule.—2. The Porch.—3. Pillars of the porch.—4. Font of water.—5. Doors of the church.—6. The Nave.—7. Probable site of the Ambo.—8. Ascent to the sanctuary.—9. Chancel of the sanctuary.—10. The Sanctuary.—11. The Altar.—12. The bishop's Throne.—13. The Seats of the presbyters.—14 a. Supposed to be the Baptistery.—14. The *Οίκου*, or Ante-chambers.—15.—The Exedrae.

IV. CHURCH OF ST. CLEMENT AT ROME.

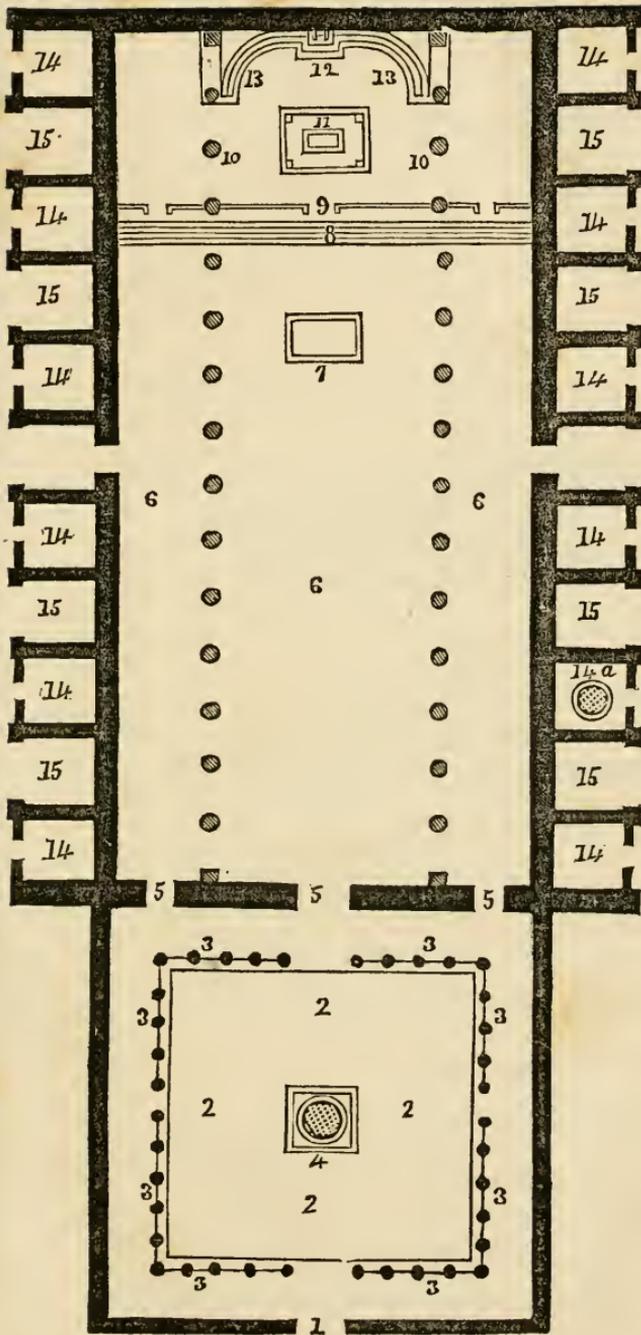
1. Entrance, with four pillars supporting the piazza.—2. The Portico, or Vestibule.—3. The Porch.—4. Entrance to the church.—5. The Nave in three divisions.—6, 7. Two Ambos within one enclosure, surrounded by the nave.—8. The Altar with pillars.—9. Bishop's Throne.—10. Presbyters' Seats.

V. THE BAPTISTERY OF ST. SOPHIA.

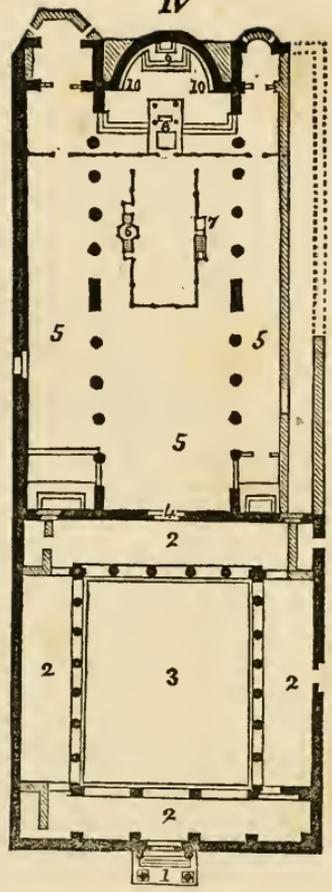
1. Stairway leading to the entrance.—2. Front Porch, or Vestibule.—3. The Basement-room of the baptistry.—4. The First Story.—5. Pillars in the basement.—6. Ascent to the font.—7. The baptismal Font.—8. The Court of the baptistry.



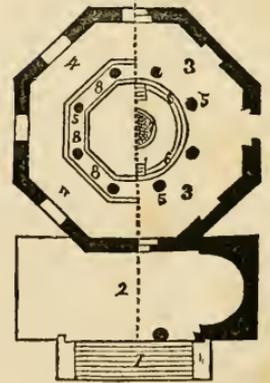
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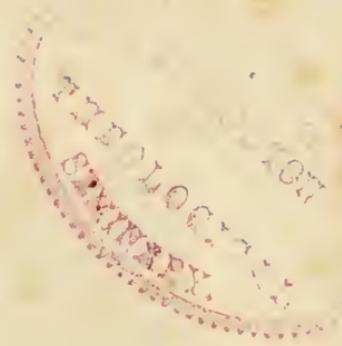
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INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of Christian Antiquities will be variously regarded by different individuals according to their religious creeds and their intellectual habits and tastes. He who regards the *church* as the source of religious knowledge, and its doctrines and rites as revelations of the will of God, would, of course, study the history of these doctrines and of these rites with as much earnestness and zeal as he would study the Scriptures themselves. This will best account for the fondness which learned men in the Catholic church have always shown for ecclesiastical antiquities.

Protestants have generally contemplated the subject under quite a different aspect. With them the voice of the church has no authority coördinate with that of the Bible. Their interest in the antiquities of the church arises from other considerations. For them the sentiments and practices of the early church have a theological importance only so far as they serve to illustrate the sentiments and practices of the inspired writers. Hence they have been interested to show the gradual departure of the early church from the purity and simplicity of the apostolic age, and to point out the late origin of many things which others had regarded as descending from the primitive apostolical church.

The English church, occupying intermediate ground between the Catholics and Protestants, in this respect, have leaned quite as much to the former as to the latter; and this is in perfect consistency with the principles of reform originally adopted by that church.

We have alluded to these circumstances for no other purpose than that of tracing out the causes of the obvious diversity that exists among the older writers in their mode of treating this subject. In respect to the end which they have had in view, they may be divided into three general classes according to their ecclesiastical relations. The different, and often opposite considerations which have inspired their zeal, could not fail to give a peculiar feature to their works. While the individual writers of each of the three classes men-

tioned above have had their individual peculiarities, with an almost endless variety in regard to ability, learning, and candor, they have, in general, been either warm polemics, or laborious apologists for their respective parties. Even where this feature is less obvious, there is a peculiar spirit and manner manifested in the topics selected, and in the relative importance attached to each, betraying the author's ecclesiastical preferences. Hence the solemn awe and tedious minuteness with which the Catholic writer describes the veriest trifles; the belligerent manner in which the Protestant, whether Lutheran or Calvinistic, musters his forces, using the weapons of the antiquary chiefly, perhaps, because others have abused them; and the pleasure with which the English churchman approaches the subject of the clerical orders and the venerable liturgy.

Far be it from us harshly to censure those great men, and profound scholars, of different parties who lived in the age of theological warfare, or to cast reproach upon any one class of them. Still we must maintain that they have all gone out of the way, some from the violence of their own passions, and more, we would hope, from the agitations of the times on which they were cast.

We are happy in the belief that we live in an age when it need not be argued that the zeal of the partizan is worse than useless to the historian. The antiquities of the church, no less than other subjects, must and will be studied with the calm spirit of philosophic inquiry. The spirit of the Magdeburg Centuriators is passing away, at least in the literary and scientific world, and a purer and nobler order of historians is rising up to adorn and bless the church. *Impartiality* is now the watch-word through all the higher ranks of scientific historical inquirers.

There is at present, especially in some parts of Europe, a greater interest in the study of christian antiquities than ever existed before. This is owing to a variety of causes,—to the unparalleled zeal with which every branch of history is cultivated; to the increased and increasing attention bestowed upon the study of the Christian Fathers; to the critical taste of the age, reviewing with rigid scrutiny all the grounds of historical belief; and to the attention given to the philosophy of history, as illustrative of the nature of man. Nor is it strange that reflecting men should be attracted to this study; they are influenced by important considerations, a few of which will here be named with as much brevity as possible.

1. This branch of study belongs to the history of *man*. No individual, who is desirous of viewing the character and conduct of his species under all its aspects, and particularly of contemplating the human mind under extraordinary moral influences,—of watching the various experiments of Christianity when combined in a social system with other elements, can consent to be excluded from such a source of instruction as is found in the antiquities of the christian church.

2. It is indispensable as a key to many parts of ecclesiastical history. The very same circumstance which renders Greek and Roman antiquities important to the classical student, and Jewish antiquities to the biblical student, renders christian antiquities important to the ecclesiastical historian. He who supposes that he can find all he needs on this subject in certain chapters in general works on church history, has only to make the trial, and then take up such a work as the following, and compare the results, and the difference will be sufficiently perceptible. Church history itself has gained no less by making this a distinct branch of study than by making the history of christian doctrines a distinct branch; both have contributed immeasurably to the advancement of the historical branch of theology within a few years past. How much broader and clearer the light which now shines on this whole department of study than at the close of the last century!

3. A polemic use of this branch of knowledge cannot be safely and profitably made except by him who has previously studied the subject with no other interest than that of truth, aside from all party aims. One of the most grievous evils which has afflicted the church, is that men have been driven into these dark regions by the violence of the theological strife. Facts have been guessed at, or seized, at a venture, out of their connections, and a momentary triumph has been gained only to be surrendered again on maturer investigation. Thus with all the controversies that have agitated the church, there has been but little scientific progress, but little won which could be regarded as an earnest of final union in the truth.

4. Few studies have a more salutary influence in liberalizing the mind than the philosophic study of the religious customs and usages of a christian people. When we perceive how little the common mind is what it makes itself, and how much it is what descent, hereditary customs, political connections, popular literature, the pre-

vailing philosophy and the spirit of the age make it, we find ourselves almost unconsciously cherishing a feeling of *humanity* instead of an *odium theologicum*, towards those whose views we regard as erroneous.

5. Ecclesiastical antiquities have a special value for men of letters. They stand intimately connected with modern European history, and with the fine arts. Their influence was inconceivably great in forming the character of the Middle Ages, and the Middle Ages were the nursery of modern civilization. Who can entertain any just views of society in the south of Europe, and yet be ignorant of the influence of those ecclesiastical usages which have descended from a venerable and sacred antiquity? History, ancient usages, sacred associations, poetry, painting, sculpture and a thousand nameless things which captivate the imagination and kindle the natural sensibilities, hold the people spell-bound to a religious and social system from which they can be broken off by no mere power of logic.

It is from these and other similar views that the German scholars of the present age have had their attention more particularly directed to the antiquities of the christian church. The same causes have also led to great improvements in the treatment of the subject. In most of the older works, an account of the rise and progress of ecclesiastical usages and a philosophical view of the *internal* as well as external causes are almost entirely wanting. Indeed the entire method which characterizes Neander and his school was either unknown to them, or unheeded by them. Though the most important changes were perpetually going on from the time of Justin Martyr to the time of Chrysostom, even such men as Bingham and Pelliccia seem to have written under the impression, that what was true in the fifth century was equally so in the second. The sentiments and usages of a later age are, in numerous instances, imposed upon a preceding age, and witnesses are often brought forward to testify to what occurred centuries before their birth. Thus the philosophical element of history is almost entirely wanting, and with it the greatest charm connected with the study.

But a new era has commenced in the mode of treating history and antiquities. The internal bond which holds all external events together in an organized system, is now a leading object of search; all those phenomena, which were once supposed to be accidental, are now regarded as springing from the life and spirit of a people as

naturally as flowers and leaves from their stems. This tracing out of the connections actually existing in nature, gives a truth to the representations of history not otherwise to be obtained.

It must not hence be inferred that the facts of history are less valued, or less scrupulously investigated; directly the reverse. There never was a time when facts were brought to light in greater abundance. The sources of evidence are explored with a most searching criticism; the spurious writings on which the older authors placed so much dependence, are subjected to the severest scrutiny, and estimated according to their proper value; ancient ecclesiastical writers are more rigidly, and by consequence, more safely interpreted; each point of inquiry is investigated in the concentrated light of the entire literature of that age; numerous treatises and even large works, on single topics, are continually issuing from the press, so that every new writer has the advantage of laboring in a highly cultivated field.

To Augusti more than to any other one, belongs the honor of reviving among the learned a taste for ecclesiastical antiquities. His great work *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie*, in twelve octavo volumes, published 1817—1831, was the most complete that had appeared since the time of Bingham. However deficient it was in arrangement and in some of its details, still by its rich collection of materials, and by its incorporating for the first time christian art as a branch of this subject, it aroused the public mind and gave a new impulse and a new direction to the study. The *Sinnbilder der alten Christen* by Münter, published with plates, in 1825, contributed also much to awaken an interest in christian art, and from the time of those publications to the present, the subject of ancient art has continued to lend its charm to the antiquities of the church. A manual which should combine scientific arrangement and accuracy with completeness and brevity, was still wanting. This was admirably supplied by Rheinwald, a disciple of Neander, in a single volume with plates, in 1831. The new edition of Pelliccia's *Politia*, by Ritter and Braun, Cologne, 1829—1838, in two octavo volumes, has, indeed, rendered the work very accessible, and corrected the errors of the author; but it contains too little that is new. The work of Binterim, in seven volumes, of which a second edition was commenced in 1838, is but a German translation of Pelliccia, with great additions, made in the spirit of a true son of the Catholic church.

In 1835, Augusti undertook the abridgement of his great work, in such a way as to furnish what was still a desideratum, and in the two following years appeared his *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, in three volumes, which forms the basis of the present volume. The text of Rheinwald's Manual like that of Gieseler's Church History, was a mere thread for the convenient arrangement of extracts from original documents in the form of notes, and is better adapted to the critical scholar, than to the common reader. The author's *Denkwürdigkeiten* were too extensive for general use. He, therefore, aimed to unite copiousness with brevity, and to give, in an improved form, the substance of his larger work. By adopting a plan directly the reverse of Rheinwald's,—by crowding his pages with the *facts* of christian archæology, and making quotations sparingly, he has, in reality, given a new edition of his great work, in a compressed and more convenient form, with a pretty thorough revision of each subject; thus presenting by far the most complete manual now before the public. This work, in a modified form, has already been brought before the English public by the Rev. J. E. Riddle. Though the compiler, or translator appears to have performed his task with ability, yet he who is acquainted with the original, could foresee that the modifications necessary to make it acceptable to the church of England, would be an indifferent recommendation to the American public in general. We do not desire this remark to be understood as disparaging the labors of that learned gentleman, but merely as explaining the reason why the present undertaking was not relinquished, when that work appeared.

We have felt much pleasure in examining another work, entitled *Handbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Alterthümer in alphabetischer Ordnung*, by C. C. F. Siegel, now lecturer on christian antiquities in the university of Leipsic. The first volume was published about the same time with the first volume of Augusti's Manual, and the fourth and last, in 1838. These two works, though independent of each other, are very similar in extent and in their critical value. Siegel's production, has, of course, all the advantages and disadvantages of an alphabetical arrangement. The reader will have no occasion to regret the free use that has been made of it in the following pages.

Of W. Böhmer's *Christlich-kirchliche Alterthumswissenschaft* now in a course of publication and of which only two volumes have ap-

peared (1836 and 1839), we have had no opportunity to form an opinion of our own. From the scattered hints we have seen in German notices, we should infer that it is in Archaeology what Olshausen's Commentary is in exegesis, distinguished for learning, piety and *genius*.

Staudenmaier's *Geist des Christenthums, dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, in den heiligen Handlungen und in der heiligen Kunst*, second edition, 1838, though the production of a good scholar, is addressed chiefly to the sensibilities of the heart; and is one of those good books, which lose their value in crossing the Atlantic.

Of these two last works the former could not be obtained in season, and the latter, though obtained, *could not be used* in preparing the Manual here presented to the public.

In regard to the life and literary character of the author of the volumes from which this work is chiefly compiled, we must limit ourselves to a few words. He was born in Eschenberga, a small town in the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha, in 1772. After pursuing his studies with success under a learned minister by the name of Moller, he entered the university of Jena and devoted his attention to theology. At the age of twenty-six he became a *Privatdozent*, or tutor in the same place, and rose rapidly to distinction, being made Extraordinary Professor of Philosophy after a period of only two years, and, Ordinary Professor of Oriental Languages in three years from that time. After laboring in this latter department of instruction nine years, he went to Breslau as Professor of Theology, and seven years later to Bonn, where he still remains as professor, though he holds an additional ecclesiastical office, as *Oberconsistorialrath* at Coblenze. He is the author of several productions in various departments of theological learning. Besides those already mentioned, his Translation of the Bible in conjunction with de Wette, his Introduction to the Old Testament, his History of Christian Doctrines, his System of Theology, and his Symbolical Books of the Reformed Church are best known. The order of his talent and scholarship is characterized by versatility and universality rather than by profoundness of reflection or investigation. His reading is very extensive; his acquisitions are easily and rapidly made; all his ideas assume a definite and tangible form, and the reader follows him with ease and pleasure. He possesses, in short, all the qualities necessary to a high degree of success in such a work as his Manual of Antiquities.

He is a professed believer in the orthodox faith, and has written, in general, with an impartiality becoming a historian. His own countrymen unite in giving him this praise, and the popularity of his Manual with them is one of the surest proofs of its deserving, as it undoubtedly will receive, a similar popularity among us.

The writer of these introductory lines does not hold himself responsible for the sentiments either of the author or of the translator of the following pages. Indeed, on some points, he differs from them both. Yet from the means of judging which have been afforded him, he is fully convinced of the translator's ability, indefatigable labor, and candor, and of the general accuracy of the work. The difficult task of making a judicious selection of the matter, of arranging it and of adapting it to the mass of American readers, appears to have been performed not only with great care, but in the exercise of a sound discrimination.

B. SEARS.

*Newton Theological Institution,
April, 1841.*

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION AND WORSHIP OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

§ 1. ACCOUNTS FROM JEWISH AND PROFANE AUTHORS.

To one who would inquire into the early history of the primitive church, or critically examine its policy, the testimony of contemporary writers of another faith must be peculiarly important. But such writers, both Jewish and profane, of the first three centuries of the Christian era, unfortunately afford us very imperfect information on these points. The Jews, from whom we might expect the fullest information, offer us none of any value. The celebrated passage in Josephus which has been so often cited, even if genuine, only proves that he had knowledge of the author of the christian religion and some faint apprehensions of his divine character; but it gives us no knowledge of the religion which he taught. Nor does Philo, his contemporary, offer any essential aid to our inquiries.

Greek and Roman authors, especially the latter, take but little notice of the early Christians. They probably regarded the Christians as only an heretical body of Jews, or as a detestable and dangerous sect. Accordingly the passages in which Suetonius,^{1*} Tacitus,² Arrian, Antoninus, Dio Cassius, and other writers speak of Christians, throw little or no light on their manners and customs.³

The most important notices of this kind, occur in the letters of Pliny the younger, who, according to the most approved chronology, was governor of Bithynia in the years 103, 104; and in the writings of Lucian of Samosata, an opponent of Christianity, who also lived in the second century. Pliny had been instructed, by the em-

* The numerical numbers refer to the Index of Authorities.

peror Trajan, to keep a strict guard against all secret societies, and under this commission, proceeded to severe measures against the assemblies of Christians. In reporting his proceedings to the emperor, he takes occasion to explain the character of these Christians, and the nature of their assemblies. In this manner he unconsciously passes a high encomium upon these primitive Christians. The letter itself was written but about forty years after the death of St. Paul, and, together with Trajan's reply, constitutes the most important record extant of the times immediately succeeding the apostles. They are accordingly given entire, with a translation by Melmoth.

PLINIUS TRAJANO.

Solenne est mihi, Domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad Te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio, quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant; deturne poenitentiae venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse non prosit; nomen ipsum etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis, qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum et tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae: quos, quia cives Romani erant, annotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine autore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarent, se esse Christianos aut fuisse. Cum praeceunte me Deos appellarent, et imagini Tuae, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent, praeterea maledicerent Christo, quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani; ergo dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt: fuisse quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidem ante plures annos, nonnemo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes et imaginem Tuam, Deorumque simulacra venerati sunt, et Christo maledixerunt. Affirmabant autem, hanc

fuisse summam vel culpae suae 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: quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua haetarias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam. Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum Te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur: neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros, superstitionis istus contagio pervagata est. Quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope jam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra solennia diu intermissa repeti, passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emtor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit poenitentiae locus.

TRAJANUS PLINIO.

Actum, quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquaerendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt; ita tamen, ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, *i. e.*, supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum fuerit, veniam ex poenitentia impetret. Sine autore vero propositi libelli, nullo crimine locum habere debent: nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri seculi est.—Ep. Lib. X. p. 96, 97; al. 97, 98. Edit. Gierig. Vol. II. 1802. p. 498.

PLINY TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.

“It is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer myself to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of removing my scruples, or informing my ignorance? Having never been present

at any trials concerning those who profess Christianity, I am unacquainted not only with the nature of their crimes, or the measure of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination concerning them. Whether, therefore, any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the young and the adult; whether repentance entitles them to a pardon; or, if a man has once been a Christian, it avails nothing to desist from his error; whether the very profession of Christianity, unattended with any criminal act, or only the crimes themselves inherent in the profession, are punishable; in all these points I am greatly doubtful. In the mean while, the method I have observed towards those who have been brought before me as Christians, is this:—I interrogated them whether they were Christians; if they confessed, I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time; when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, that a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved correction. There were others also brought before me, possessed with the same infatuation, but being citizens of Rome* I directed them to be carried thither. But this crime spreading, (as is usually the case,) while it was actually under prosecution, several instances of the same nature occurred. An information was presented to me without any name prescribed, containing a charge against several persons, who upon examination denied they were Christians, or had ever been so. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and frankincense before your statue, (which for this purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with those of the gods,) and even reviled the name of Christ: whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians into a compliance with any of these articles. I thought proper, therefore, to discharge them. Some of those who were accused by a witness in person, at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it; while the rest owned indeed that they had been of that number formerly, but had now (some above three, others more, and a few above twenty

* It was one of the privileges of a Roman citizen, secured by the Sempronian law, that he could not be capitally convicted but by the suffrage of the people; which seems to have been still so far in force, as to make it necessary to send the persons here mentioned to Rome.—MELMOTH.

years ago) forsaken that error. They all worshipped your statue and the images of the gods, throwing out imprecations also at the same time against the name of Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their guilt or error was, that they met on a certain stated day before it was light and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery ; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up ; after which it was their custom to separate, and then re-assemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. From this custom, however, they desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your orders, I forbade the meeting of any assemblies. After receiving this account, I judged it so much the more necessary to endeavor to extort the real truth, by putting two female slaves to the torture, who were said to administer in their religious functions :* but I could discover nothing more than an absurd and excessive superstition. I thought proper, therefore, to adjourn all further proceedings in this affair, in order to consult with you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration, more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these persecutions, this inquiry having already extended, and being still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages, and even of both sexes. For this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the country villages. Nevertheless it still seems possible to remedy this evil, and restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were almost deserted, begin now to be frequented ; and the sacred solemnities after a long intermission are again revived ; while there is a general demand for the victims, which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine, what numbers might be reclaimed from this error if a pardon were granted to those who shall repent.”

TRAJAN TO PLINY.

“ THE method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings against those Christians which were brought before you, is extremely proper ; as it is not possible to lay down any fixed plan, by

* Deaconesses.

which to act in all cases of this nature. But I would not have you officiously enter into any inquiries concerning them. If indeed they should be brought before you, and the crime is proved, they must be punished ; with this restriction, however, that when the party denies himself to be a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not, by invoking our gods, let him (notwithstanding any former suspicion) be pardoned upon his repentance. Informations without the accuser's name subscribed ought not to be received in prosecutions of any sort ; as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the equity of my government."

From this record of antiquity, we learn several important particulars respecting the early Christians.

1. That they were accustomed to meet on a certain stated day for religious worship—whether on the first or last day of the week, does not appear.

2. Their meetings were held in the morning before day-light—doubtless that they might the better avoid the notice of their enemies.

3. They appear not to have had, at this time, any stated place of worship.

4. They worshipped Christ as God. The phrase, *carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem*, may imply any short ascription of praise to Christ, a doxology, a prayer, a psalm, or hymn, in prose or verse, though the latter is most probable. Christ was the object of worship to whom they offered this doxology or prayer, rehearsing it alternately, or in responses.

It appears from this passage that these Christians were not only acquainted with the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, but manifested great boldness in asserting it.

5. They celebrated the sacrament and their love-feasts in these assemblies. This is implied in their binding themselves by a solemn oath not to commit sin, and in their coming together to take bread, "ad capiendum cibum promiscuum tamen et innoxium." These religious rites appear also to have been accompanied with the reading and exposition of the Scriptures. It seems to be included in these solemnities, though it is not distinctly mentioned.

6. This epistle bears honorable testimony to unflinching steadfast-

ness of faith in these Christians, which Pliny styles an absurd and excessive superstition.

7. This epistle affords a striking proof of the early and extensive propagation of Christianity, and of its tendency to overthrow idolatry. It also confirms the statements of the early apologists respecting the same points, while it establishes our confidence in their statements where we have not, as in this case, the testimony of contemporary writers.⁴

Lucian of Samosata travelled in Syria, Asia Minor, Italy, and France, and had the best means of becoming acquainted with the Christians who had already become numerous in those countries. From his frequent and reproachful mention of the Christians of his day,⁵ we may collect the following particulars.

1. He speaks of the followers of Christ by their appropriate name, Christians, though in speaking of them he usually employs some reproachful epithet.

2. He speaks of the author of this religion as one who lived in Palestine and was crucified. He styles him a great man, and says that his followers reverence him as their lawgiver.

3. He denominates their religious teachers, prophets, masters of the synagogue, and rulers.

4. He, in common with many of the fathers, calls their rites of worship, *new mysteries*.

5. He particularly mentions the fraternity of Christians, their denial of the gods of the Greeks, and their worshipping of Him crucified.

6. He records their readiness to relieve and to support those who were sick or in prison.

7. He mentions their *δέιπνα ποικίλα*, their manifold meals, referring obviously to their *agapae* and sacramental suppers, possibly to abuses similar to those which are reprov'd by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 11: 20—22.

8. It is observable also that Lucian makes mention of the sacred books of the Christians; and also,

9. Of their community of goods, as is described Acts 4: 32—37; and,

Finally, of certain prohibited articles, as by the church at Jerusalem they were required to abstain from things strangled and from blood;—all which evinces their piety and benevolence and diligence in the christian life.

§ 2. ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Christianity, after the lapse of several centuries, assumed an intermediate character between other forms of religion. But it was at first a substitute for the religion of the Jews, or rather it was only a modified and improved form of the same. The author of this system was himself obedient in all things to the law of Moses, out of which he also taught his disciples, and, undeniably, derived from the same source the rites of initiation and fellowship, baptism and the Lord's supper.

This affinity between the Jewish and christian religion, was well understood by intelligent heathen, and by the ancient apologists of Christianity it was not denied. Chrysostom complained that the Christians, even of the fourth century, were half Jews.

On the contrary, scarcely the remotest trace of paganism can be found in the christian church as originally constituted. Whatever has been adduced in favor of such a resemblance, is only uncertain conjecture, or gratuitous hypothesis. The apostle of the gentiles remonstrates against the incorporating of any part of their religion with the Christian, Gal. 2: 14, 15; and the apostle Peter accords with him on this point, 1 Pet. 4: 3. Neither can anything be drawn from the apostolic fathers and early defenders of the christian religion which, with any appearance of truth, can be made to harmonize with the religion of the gentiles. But they uniformly manifest the strongest aversion to any connection with idolators and their religious rites.

Basil, of Seleucia, has indeed affirmed that there is paganism disguised under the form of Christianity. But this can be said with truth only after the establishment of the system of secret discipline, and when the jealousy of the church for the purity of her faith and the integrity of her discipline had, in a measure, abated. Even the most celebrated Roman Catholic writers find much difficulty in the attempt to trace this blending of two systems back to a remote antiquity. Protestant writers, on the other hand, labor to show that the decline of the church dates its origin from the introduction of paganism into Christianity; and that papacy is little else than a disguised system of pagan superstition.¹ The truth is, that the primitive church was at first established on the *principles* and in the *spirit* of

the Jewish church ; the *domestic rites* of the Jews, and *their levitical priesthood* being strictly excluded. But when, in process of time Christianity became the state religion, this alliance of church and state, it was thought, would acquire more honor and respect by blending with it a priesthood and a ritual like that of the Old Testament. This, therefore, became the basis of a new church-service ; and the same office was transformed into a priesthood the elements of which were derived both from Jew and gentile systems of religion.

The rules and institutions of the primitive church are chiefly valuable to show what Christ and his apostles taught and approved. They have not, with us, the form of a law any further than they are founded on the Scriptures. Accordingly, different religious denominations have, from time to time, varied at pleasure from their original form, not only the less important and common institutions of religion, but even the characteristic ordinances of the church—baptism and the Lord's supper—and that too, without laying any sacrilegious hand upon the ancient church of Christ.

The law of the Christian church is the law of liberty. The truth, says Christ, shall make you free, with evident reference to the freedom of religious worship under the Christian dispensation. To this the sacred writers frequently refer, John 4: 24. Rom. 6: 18, 22. 1 Cor. 7: 22. Gal. 5: 1 seq. 4: 9 seq. Col. 2: 16—20. James 1: 25. comp. 2: 12. Not only do the several writers of the New Testament declare the unrestrained freedom of christian worship ; but the earliest and most venerable fathers harmonize with this sentiment, which again is confirmed by the symbolical books, and many other writings of indisputable authority.

Christianity accordingly rejected from the religion of the Jews all that related to them as a separate and peculiar people, and modified that religious system, so that it might become the religion of all nations. At the same time it rejected with abhorrence every other form of religion. In this way it sought to retain whatever might best promote the kingdom of God, and the edification of his people. On the same principle did the reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Zuiniglius and Calvin proceed. They confessedly retained much that pertained to the Catholic religion, and yet they were actuated by the most enlarged views of religious freedom and independence.

§ 3. PECULIARITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN SYSTEM.

1. This system presents the only true form of a *church*. The Jews had no distinct organization which could, with propriety, be denominated a church. Much less is any association under other forms of religion, entitled to this appellation.

2. The christian church has always been distinguished for its veneration for the Holy Scriptures. The reading and exposition of these has, from the beginning, been an important part of christian worship. All the instructions and exhortations of the preacher, have been drawn from this source. The prayers, the psalmody, the catechisms and confessions of faith of the primitive Christians, together with their religious ordinances, were all based on the Scriptures.

3. The doctrines of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ, are the distinguishing characteristics of the christian system. The church itself is based especially on the first mentioned doctrine; so that there is not an ancient symbol, or confession, or rule of faith, in which it is not either expressed or distinctly implied, nor an ordinance which is not commemorative of the belief in God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This is implied in the consecration of churches to God. Even the names of God, *Κύριος*, *Dominus*, according to the Athanasian creed, expresses the idea of a triune God. *Deus triunus*, *Pater Dominus*, *Filius Dominus*, *Spiritus Sanctus Dominus*; non tamen *tres Domini*, sed *unus Dominus*. The same sentiment is implied in the baptismal formulary; in the three elements of the eucharist—the bread, the wine, and the water; and in the *three* great festivals of the ancient church, which were instituted about the fourth century. [The author might have added, that the same is implied in the form of the ancient Christian's oath which was usually taken in the name of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.—Vegetius, as quoted by Bingham and Cave.—Tr.]

The doctrine of the divinity of Christ appears in the sacrament which commemorates his death, and in the religious services connected with this ordinance, as well as in the prayers, doxologies, psalms and hymns, which are addressed to him. The same sentiment is expressed in many of the emblems and symbols of the ancient church, and in their mystical names, such as *ἰηθὺς*, composed of

the initials of the following words : Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱός, *Jesus Christ the Savior, the Son of God*. The mystical word ABRAXAS, is another instance of the same kind, each letter representing the initials of the following words : אָב Father, בְּרַב Son, הַקָּדוֹן Spirit, אֵלֹהִים one, i. e. one God, Χριστός Christ, Ἄνθρωπος man, i. e. God-man, Σωτήρ Savior.¹

5. It is peculiar to the christian religion, that all the people take part in their religious services. The humblest worshipper, as well as the highest functionary, here enters the temple of his God, approaches the altar, and offers an acceptable sacrifice to our common God and Father.

6. It is the peculiar privilege of the Christian that he may worship God, not at some appointed place, and at stated seasons ; but at all times and in every place. The reader is directed to an extended discussion of this subject in the index of authorities.²

§ 4. OF THE SECRET DISCIPLINE, THE DISCIPLINA ARCANI, OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, ETC.

As frequent references will be made to these in the subsequent work, a brief explanation is given for the information of the common reader. No intimation is given either in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the apostolic fathers, or by Justin Martyr, that any rites or ordinances of religion are to be concealed from the people. Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clemens are the first who make mention of any such custom of the church. But it afterwards became customary to celebrate the sacrament with an air of the most profound mystery, and indeed to administer baptism, and to perform most of the appropriate rites of religion with cautious secrecy. Not only were unbelievers of every description excluded from the view of these rites, but catechumens also, and all who were not fully initiated into the church and entitled to a participation in its ordinances. From all else the time, and place, and manner of administering the sacred rites were concealed, and the *import* of each rite was a profound mystery which none was at liberty to divulge or explain. To relate the manner in which it was administered, to mention the words used in the solemnity, or to describe the simple elements of which it consisted, were themes upon which the initiated were as strictly forbidden to touch, as if they had been laid under an oath of secrecy.

Not a hint was allowed to be given, nor a whisper breathed on the subject to the uninitiated. Even the ministers, when they were led in their public discourses to speak of the sacraments, or the higher doctrines of faith, contented themselves with remote allusions, and dismissed the subject by saying: The initiated know what is meant, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι. They never wrote about them except through the medium of figurative and enigmatical expressions, for fear of giving that which is holy unto dogs, or casting pearls before swine.

These mysteries were particularly—the manner of administering baptism; the unction or chrism; the ordination of priests; the manner of celebrating the Lord's supper; the liturgy or religious service of the church; the knowledge of the holy Trinity, the creed, and the Lord's prayer. Such was the secret discipline of the ancient church, the disciplina arcani above mentioned.

The reason which led to the introduction of this discipline probably was, the persecution to which the early Christians were subject. Under these circumstances they very naturally would conceal their worship as far as practicable from the observation of their enemies by whom they were surrounded. This precaution is distinctly indicated in the foregoing letter of Pliny, p. 26. Accordingly this secret discipline gradually fell into disuse after the time of Constantine, when Christianity had nothing to fear from her enemies.¹

Apostolical Constitutions and Canons.

These two collections of ecclesiastical rules and formularies, were attributed in early ages of the church to Clement of Rome, who was supposed to have committed them to writing from the mouths of the apostles, whose words they pretend to record. The authority thus claimed for these writings has, however, been entirely disproved; and it is generally supposed by critics that they were chiefly compiled during the second and third centuries; or that at least the greater part must be assigned to a period before the first Nicene council. We find references to them in the writings of Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Athanasius, writers of the third and fourth centuries. A modern critic supposes them not to have attained their present form until the fifth century.

The *Constitutions* are comprised in eight books. In these the apostles are frequently introduced as speakers. They contain rules and regulations concerning the duties of Christians in general, the

constitution of the church, the offices and duties of ministers, and the celebration of divine worship. The tone of morality which runs through them is severe and ascetic. They forbid the use of all personal decoration and attention to appearances, and prohibit the reading of the works of heathen authors. They enjoin Christians to assemble twice every day in the church for prayers and psalmody, to observe various fasts and festivals, and to keep the sabbath, (i. e. the seventh day of the week,) as well as the Lord's day. They require extraordinary marks of respect and reverence towards the ministers of religion; commanding Christians to honor a bishop as a king or a prince, and even as a kind of God upon earth,—to render to him absolute obedience,—to pay him tribute,—and to approach him through the deacons or servants of the church, as we come to God only through Christ! This latter kind of (profane) comparison is carried to a still greater extent; for the deaconesses are declared to resemble the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as they are not able to do anything without the deacons. Presbyters are said to represent the apostles; and the rank of christian teachers is declared to be higher than that of magistrates and princes.—We find here also a complete liturgy or form of worship for christian churches; containing not only a description of ecclesiastical ceremonies, but the prayers to be used at their celebration.

This general description of the contents of the Books of Constitutions is alone enough to prove that they are no productions of the apostolic age. Mention also occurs of several subordinate ecclesiastical officers, such as readers and exorcists, who were not introduced into the church until the third century. And there are manifest contradictions between several parts of the work. The general style in which the Constitutions are written is such as had become prevalent during the third century.

It is useless to inquire who was the real author of this work; but the date, and probable design, of the forgery are of more importance, and may be more easily ascertained. Epiphanius, towards the end of the fourth century, appears to be the first author who speaks of these books under their present title, *Apostolical Constitutions*. But he refers to the work only as one containing much edifying matter, without including it among the writings of the apostles; and indeed he expressly says that many persons had doubted of its genuineness. One passage, however, to which Epiphanius refers, speaks a language

directly the reverse of what we find in the corresponding passage of the work now extant ; so that it appears probable that the Apostolical Constitutions which that author used have been corrupted and interpolated since his time.

On the whole, it appears probable, from internal evidence, that the Apostolical Constitutions were compiled during the reigns of the heathen emperors towards the end of the third century, or at the beginning of the fourth ; and that the compilation was the work of some one writer (probably a bishop), of the eastern church. The advancement of episcopal dignity and power appears to have been the chief design of the forgery.

If we regard the Constitutions as a production of the third century (containing remnants of earlier compositions), the work possesses a certain kind of value. It contributes to give us an insight into the state of christian faith, the condition of the clergy and inferior ecclesiastical officers, the worship and discipline of the church, and other particulars, at the period to which the composition is referred. The growth of the episcopal power and influence, and the pains and artifices employed in order to derive it from the apostles, are here partially developed. Many of the regulations prescribed, and many of the moral and religious remarks, are good and edifying ; and the prayers especially breathe, for the most part, a spirit of simple and primitive Christianity. But the work is by no means free from traces of superstition ; and it is occasionally disfigured by mystical interpretations and applications of Holy Scripture, and by needless refinements in matters of ceremony. We find several allusions to the events of apostolical times ; but occurrences related exclusively in such a work are altogether devoid of credibility, especially as they are connected with the design of the compiler to pass off his book as a work of the apostles.

The *Canons* relate chiefly to various particulars of ecclesiastical polity and christian worship ; the regulations which they contain being for the most part sanctioned with the threatening of deposition and excommunication against offenders. The first allusion to this work by name is found in the acts of the Council which assembled at Constantinople in the year 394, under the presidency of Nectarius, bishop of that see. But there are expressions in earlier councils and writers of the same century which appear to refer to the canons, although not named. In the beginning of the sixth century, fifty of

these canons were translated from Greek into Latin by the Roman abbot Dionysius the younger; and about the same time thirty-five others were appended to them in a collection made by John, patriarch of Constantinople. Since that time the whole number (eighty-five) have been regarded as genuine in the east; while only the first fifty have been treated with equal respect in the west. It appears highly probable that the original collection was made about the middle of the third century, or somewhat later, in one of the Asiatic churches. The author may have had the same design as that which appears to have influenced the compiler of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. The eighty-fifth canon speaks of the Constitutions as sacred books; and from a comparison of the two works, it is plain that they are either the production of one and the same writer, or that, at least, the two authors were contemporary, and had a good understanding with each other. The rules and regulations contained in the Canons are such as were gradually introduced and established during the second and third centuries. In the canon or list of sacred books of the New Testament given in this work, the Revelation of St. John is omitted, but the two epistles of Clement and the Apostolical Constitutions are inserted.²

CHAPTER II.

NAMES AND CLASSES OF CHRISTIANS.

§ 1. SCRIPTURAL APPELLATIONS AND NAMES ASSUMED BY CHRISTIANS.

The professors of the christian religion were originally denominated *saints*, *ἅγιοι*. This is their usual appellation in the sacred Scriptures. This they apply, not only to apostles and teachers, but generally to the community of Christians. The inspired writers are indeed particularly styled, *holy men of God*, 2 Pet. 1: 21. Timothy is denominated *a man of God*, 2 Tim. 3: 17. But it might also be shown from many passages that all Christians, without distinction, are included in the venerable appellation of *saints*. The term

is derived from the Hebrew קְדוּשִׁים, by which the Jews were denoted as God's chosen people, in distinction from all idolatrous nations. But, by the apostle Peter, the several prerogatives and titles of the people of God are ascribed also to all Christians. He denominates them *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people*, 1 Pet. 1: 15. But he also teaches that this sanctity consists, not in mere outward forms of social worship, but in that piety which their holy calling requires them to cultivate, 2 Pet. 3: 11. comp. Eph. 5: 3. Col. 1: 12. 3: 12.

The name was doubtless adopted for the sake of convenience, and not as implying that all were the true worshippers of the holy Jesus. For among Christians wicked persons were also found. Even a Judas Iscariot was numbered with the apostles. But, to the highest honor of Christianity, it should be said that her followers, generally, were men of a pure spirit, and sanctified the Lord God in their hearts. Such is the uniform testimony of her early historians and apologists. And even her enemies acknowledged, that the spotless character of her followers caused religion to be universally respected, and led to its introduction into every country.

The names which Christians assumed for themselves, such as, *saints*, ἅγιοι; *believers*, πιστεύσαντες; *elect*, ἐκλεκτοὶ; *disciples*, μαθηταὶ; *brethren*, ἀδελφοὶ; *people of God*, λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, and the like, were adopted from the Jews, and were expressive, severally, of some moral quality. But in process of time, the common acceptance of these terms became so different from their original application, that they ceased to be used as the distinctive appellations of their community, composed both of Jews and Gentiles. What name they should assume, became now a question on which they were greatly divided among themselves; and so much the more so because they had, from the first, refused all sectarian names. They would call no man master; neither would they receive any title which should imply that their religion was of human origin, as the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries began to assert. In this dilemma a name was providentially conferred on them, which soon gained ascendancy among friends and foes, and supplanted all others.

Of the origin of this name we have a distinct account in the eleventh chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; where we are informed, that while Paul and Barnabas were laboring together at Antioch,

the disciples of our Lord first began to be called *Christians*. The form of this word, *Χριστιανοί*, clearly proves it to be a Latin derivative from *Χριστός*, *Christ*. Nor is there the remotest probability that either the Christians, or the Jews would have invented this name. To the latter, this term was peculiarly offensive, 1 Cor. 1:23. The followers of Christ they styled *Galileans*, Acts 2: 7. 24: 5, or the sect of the *Nazarenes*, Acts 26: 28. 1 Pet. 4: 14, 16. In the New Testament the phrase occurs in only two other passages, and in these in such a connection as to indicate the foreign origin of the word.

On the supposition that the pagan inhabitants of Antioch, in derision first promulgated the name of *Christians* as a nickname, it is easy to see how it might soon come into general use among the Romans. For that the Roman historians regarded Christians as an insignificant and contemptible faction, is evident from the language of Tacitus, who says that "Nero inflicted the severest punishments on those who were commonly denominated *Christians*, and were detested for their infamous crimes. Their name they derived from one *Christus*, who, in the reign of Tiberius suffered under Pontius Pilate."² Suetonius, also, referring evidently to Christians, relates, that the *Jews* were expelled from Rome because of their ceaseless tumults, to which they were instigated by one named *Chrestus*.³

It would seem therefore, that the apostles themselves adopted the name which had been imposed upon them in derision, and rejoiced to bear this reproach.⁴ From the apostles, their followers adopted it, as the exclusive name of their body. To be denominated a *Christian* was, in the estimation of the christian professors and martyrs, their highest honor. This is forcibly illustrated in the narrative which Eusebius has copied from an ancient record, of one Sanctus in Vienna, who endured all the inhuman tortures which art could inflict. His tormentors hoped, by the continuance and severity of his pains, to extort from him some unfortunate acknowledgement; but he withstood them with unflinching fortitude, neither disclosing to them his name, nor his native land, nor his condition in life, whether freeman or slave. To all their interrogations he only replied, in the Latin tongue, *I am a Christian*, affirming that his name, his country, and his kindred,—all were included in this. Of the same import also was the deportment of the martyr Lucian as related by Chrysostom.⁵ To every interrogation he replied, I am a

Christian. Of what country are you? I am a Christian. What is your occupation? I am a Christian. Who are your parents? I am a Christian. And such was his reply to every question.

It was a favorite sentiment with the primitive Christians, that the name of *Christian* would be sufficient to prevent all sectarian divisions, and to preserve and to perpetuate among them unity of faith and doctrine. I honor Peter, said Gregory Nazianzen,⁶ but I am not called by his name. I honor Paul, but I am not of Paul. The name I bear is derived from no man, but I am from God. No sect or church took their name from the apostles, observes Epiphanius.⁷ For we have never heard of the followers of Peter, Paul, Bartholomew or Thaddeus: But all the apostles, from the beginning, held one faith, and preached, not themselves, but Jesus Christ their Lord. For this reason they all gave the church one name, derived, not from themselves, but from their Lord Jesus Christ, after they had already begun to be called *Christians* at Antioch. As they all had one Lord, so were they also *one*, and bore the common name of Christians, professing themselves to be the followers of him, not as *the head of their sect or party*, but as the author of their common faith. They even refused the name of *Christ's church*, claiming to be only a *christian church*, i. e. a body of Christians. From this primitive church, various religious sects separated themselves, who assumed the names of Manichaeans, Simonians, Valentinians, Ebionites, etc.

Without attempting a full definition of all the names which have been ascribed to Christians by the fathers, I give a brief account of the principal appellations by which they were known.

1. *Catholics*. While the church remained one and undivided, it was appropriately styled the *Catholic* church. But after the rise of different sects, who, notwithstanding their separation from the church, still claimed to be called Christians, then did the true believers assume the name of *Catholics* to distinguish themselves from these heretical sects. So that the Catholic church is the true church, in distinction from all heretics. None were allowed to be Christians who did not belong to this Catholic church. I am of the Catholic church, said Pionius the martyr, for Christ has no other.

2. *Ecclesiastics, men of the church*. Eusebius, Origen, Epiphanius, and Cyril of Jerusalem, frequently use this term in distinction from Jews, gentiles, and heretics; and in such a connection as not to designate by it the priesthood, to whom the appellation of ecclesiastics appropriately belongs.

3. *Dogmatics*, οἱ τοῦ Δογματος, *men of the true faith*. This term denotes those who held fast the sound doctrines of the church. Primarily, it was applied only to religious teachers and rulers in the church, but subsequently, it was so extended as to include all who were sound in the faith.

4. *Gnostics*. Denoting such as are truly learned, in opposition to the pretensions of false teachers. By this, Christians were especially distinguished from an arrogant sect who claimed to be called by the same name. Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenaeus, and others, would intimate by this term that not merely the teachers, but all members of the catholic church, were in possession of true wisdom drawn from no corrupt fountain, and mixed with no foreign ingredient.

5. *Theophoroi*, Θεοφόροι, *Christophoroi*, χριστοφόροι. These epithets, originally applied as titles of honor, became, in time, proper names. The former was first conferred upon Ignatius, who is usually quoted as Ignatius ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος. From him or some other ancient father, it passed into a sur-name, but whether from his declaration to the emperor Trajan that he bore Christ his God in his heart—or from the blessing of Christ bestowed upon him in his childhood—or from the name of Christ imprinted on his breast—or for some other reason, is not known. It is certain, however, that many other eminent Christians were so named.⁸

6. Ἰχθὺς *Fishes*. An acrostic fancifully derived from the initials of the several appellations of our Saviour. Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ. The first letters of each are united in the word Ἰχθὺς.

The names Christian, Christiana, Christopher, Theophilus, and the like, so common in every age of the church, though adopted for convenience, by implication denotes also, devotedness to the service of Christ, and the acknowledgement of his name and his divinity.

§ 2. NAMES OF REPROACH AND DERISION CONFERRED ON CHRISTIANS BY THEIR ENEMIES.

These are indeed without number. Such hatred and contempt was felt for Christianity and its professors, both by Jews and gentiles, that they seized every opportunity to expose the disciples of Christ, as dangerous and contemptible men. The reproachful epithets cast upon them, with few exceptions, relate only to the first

centuries of the christian era, and are chiefly interesting to the historian and antiquarian. And yet they are of importance as illustrating the condition of the primitive church.

1. *Jews*. By the Romans, Christians were at first regarded merely as a Jewish sect, like the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. As such they were accordingly denominated *Jews*, and despised as a superstitious and misanthropic sect. After they began to be distinguished from the Jews, they were described by Suetonius as a class of men of a new and mischievous superstition. Genus hominum superstitionis novae et maleficae.¹

2. *Nazarenes*. Both Jews and gentiles unitedly denominated the Christians Nazarenes. The word is variously written Nazarenes, Nazarenes, Nazorenes, Nazerenes, and Nazirenes. The significations of the term seem to have been as various as its form, though it is uniformly applied in a bad sense.² Acts 24: 5.

3. *Galileans*. The author of the name Galileans as a term of reproach was, according to Gregory Nazianzen,³ Julian the apostate. This he constantly employed, and made a law requiring that they should not be called by any other name. He died with these remarkable words on his lips: Ah! thou Galilean! thou hast conquered.⁴

4. *Greeks*. In direct opposition to Julian, christian converts were by the ancient Romans, styled *Greeks*; which with them was a proverbial phrase, expressive both of suspicion and contempt, as an impostor. Whenever they saw a Christian in the high way, they were wont to exclaim: Ah! a Greek impostor.⁵ Christ himself was regarded as an impostor, Matt. 27: 63.

5. *Magicians*. By heathen nations, the author of the christian religion was styled Magician, and his followers Magicians.⁶

Of other names which the malice of their persecutors invented or applied to them, the following is a brief summary.

Sibyllists. From their being charged with corrupting the Sibylline books. A favorite insinuation of Celsus.⁷

Sarmentitii. Derived from the faggots with which the fires were kindled around them at the stake.⁸

Semarii. From the stake to which they were bound.

Parabolani, παράβολοι. From their being exposed to ravenous beasts.⁹

Βιαθάνατοι, self-murderers. Alluding to their fearlessness of death.

ἄθεοι, *Atheists*.¹⁰

Νεοτεροί,¹¹ *Novelli, new lights*.

Σταυρολάτραι,¹² *worshippers of the cross*, 2 Cor. 1: 18.

Plautinae prosapiae¹³ homines et Pistorēs, *men of the race of Plautus, bakers*. Plautus is said to have hired himself to a baker, to grind in his mill.

Asinariī,¹⁴ *worshippers of an ass*. Creduli, Simplicēs, Stulti, Lucifugae, Stupidi, Fatui, Imperiti, Abjecti, Hebetes, Idiotae, etc.

§ 3. DIVISION AND CLASSIFICATION OF CHRISTIANS.

As in the Old Testament, two great classes of persons are recognized and distinguished, the one from the other—the *children of Israel* and the *gentiles* בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל and גֵּוֹיִם. So in the New Testament we observe a similar division, οἱ ἔσω and οἱ ἔξω, those that are within and those that are without. The former denotes Christians, not only as united together in the fellowship of the church, but as opposed to the latter class, which includes both Jews and gentiles. This classification, however, has no reference to a division of Christians among themselves, but simply to the distinction between such as are, and such as are not, believers in the Christian religion. A similar form of expression is used in various passages also to distinguish the true and the false disciples of Christ, Mark 4: 11. 13: 14. Luke 6: 13. 2 John 2: 19.

The equality of all Christians is clearly asserted in the Scriptures. They are *brethren*, and as such have equal rights, ἰσοτίμοι. Comp. 2 Pet. 1: 1. They are one heritage, 2 Pet. 5: 3; and all members of the same head, Col. 1: 18. Nay, Christ himself asserts the equality of all his disciples, Luke 22: 25, 26. And yet a distinction is made between the *master* and his *disciple*—the *teacher* and the *taught*. The one are denominated *the people*, ὁ λαός; *the flock*, τὸ ποιμνιον; *the body of believers*, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πιστῶν; *the church*, ἡ ἐκκλησία; *private persons*, ἰδιῶται; and *laymen*, or men devoted to secular pursuits, βιωτικοί. The others are styled *teachers*, διδάσκαλοι; *leaders*, ἡγούμενοι; *shepherds*, ποιμένες; *overseers*, ἐπίσκοποι; *elders*, προεσβύτεροι; *rulers*, προεσιῶτες, etc. Subordinate to these were the *deacons*, διάκονοι; the *widows*, χήραι, or *deaconesses*, διακονίσσαι; the *attendants*, ὑπηρέται, and the *inferiors*, νεώτεροι. So that even the New Testament indicates an ecclesiastical order, which at a later age became much more prominent.

The sacred persons mentioned in the New Testament, and the regulations prescribed for the worship of God, were undoubtedly derived from the religion of the Jews. Indeed this fact has never been called in question. The only inquiry has been whether the organization of the christian church is to be derived chiefly from the forms of the *temple service*, or from those of the *synagogue worship*, both of which were in use through the period of the second temple, from the time of the Babylonish captivity to that of the christian era.

This difference of opinion is evidently very ancient. Tertullian compares the office of bishop with that of the high priest.¹ Cyprian and Jerome consider the Mosaic economy as the prototype of the christian church;² while Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Augustine and others, refer its origin to the synagogue. The church of Rome manifestly has great interest in establishing the first hypothesis. And yet there are not wanting in that church those who maintain the contrary opinion. The majority of the learned, especially of the evangelical church, oppose the theory that the constitution of the church is to be traced for the most part to the temple service; but in every particular they labor to show that it is derived from the regulations of the Jewish synagogue.

The most ancient specific classification in the church, of which we have any knowledge, is found in Eusebius.⁴ "In every church there are three orders of men. One of the *ἡγούμενων*, *superiors*, i. e. rulers, leaders or guides; and two of the *ὑποβεβηκότων*, *subjects*, i. e. the people, the body of the church. The latter class comprehends two divisions, the unbaptized, and the faithful. The unbaptized are usually denominated *κατηζόμενοι*, *catechumens*, candidates for baptism." See § 5.

The above classification of Eusebius, in reality recognizes but two classes of men. *Those that teach, and those that are taught.* And this corresponds with the classification given by Jerome,⁵ though he specifies five classes—bishops, presbyters, deacons, believers, and catechumens. Here again, there really are but two divisions; *those that teach*, comprising the first three, and *those that are taught*, comprising the last two. The divisions of the church which occur in periods still later, are substantially the same. They universally recognize the distinction of *the teacher*, and *the taught*. These are most frequently denominated the *laity* and the *clergy*, with this difference, that in the latter class, the idea of *ruler* as well as *teacher*

is comprehended, a distinction, however, which is rather implied than expressed.

§ 4. OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

This term, *ἐκκλησία*, in the New Testament, and by the ancient fathers, primarily denoted an assembly of Christians, i. e. believers in the christian religion in distinction from all others. In this sense it included the officers and teachers, though these were more frequently denominated *ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ*, *ecclesiastics*. But it has, from the earliest ages, been used in a more restricted sense to denote the great body of the church, the *laity*, in distinction from her officers and teachers. So it is used by Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Amalarius.

That it so seldom occurs in this signification, is to be ascribed merely to the circumstance that the term *laity* was the technical name of the body of the church in contradistinction from the clergy. The derivation of the word is unquestionably from the Greek *λαός*, *people*. In this sense it is not indeed used in the New Testament, but it occurs in the earliest christian writers, and was in familiar use in the third century.

Tertullian especially complains of heretics, that they confounded the officers of the church. One is made bishop to-day, another to-morrow. One is to-day a deacon, to-morrow a reader; to-day a presbyter, to-morrow a layman; for they confer the sacerdotal offices even upon the laity.² Such was the anxiety of the ancient church to distinguish between the clergy and laity, and to guard them from assuming any of the official duties of the priesthood. Jerome indeed speaks of a *lay priesthood*, but by the term he only designates those who have received christian baptism, in allusion to the passage: He hath made us kings and priests unto God!

The laity were also divided into different classes, which were very distinctly known and cautiously observed previous to the general introduction of infant baptism. The prevalence of this ordinance changed, in a great measure, the ancient classification of the church, which again was subject to other modifications by the rise of the different classes of penitents, and of the energumens and the several orders of monastics.

[The views which the primitive Christians entertained of themselves as the priests of God are clearly exhibited in the following extracts from Bib. Repos. July 1840, pp. 97—99. “They viewed themselves as the *priests of God*, placed in a polluted world to sanctify it, to be purified temples in which the Holy Spirit might dwell, safe from the contact of surrounding corruption, to be purified channels in which the sweet influences of heaven, the rills from the river of life, which surrounds the throne of God, might freely flow to purify a world which lay in wickedness.

“‘We,’ says Justin Martyr, (Dial. Tryph. 355,) ‘are the true high priests of God, as God himself testifies, when he says that pleasant incense and a pure offering shall in every place among the heathen be offered to him. Mal. 1: 11. He receives offerings from none but his priests. Prayer and thanksgiving only, brought by the worthy, are genuine offerings well pleasing to God; and those, Christians alone are in a condition to give.’ Says Irenaeus (iv. 20), ‘All the righteous have the sacerdotal dignity.’ Says Tertullian (de Orat. c. 28), ‘We are the true worshippers and the true priests, who, praying in the Spirit, in the Spirit offer to God the prayer which is his due, and is well-pleasing to him. Such prayer, coming from a heart full of devotion, nourished by faith, kept pure by a blameless life, made glorious by love, and accompanied with good works, we must with psalms and hymns bring to the altar of God; and it is all which God requires of us.’

“There was then no such distinction between clergymen and laymen, that compliances which would be acknowledged improper in the one would yet be considered harmless in the other. They were all equally the priests of God, and as such they felt their responsibilities, and as such they endeavored to keep themselves unspotted from the world, and always to maintain the grave and serious demeanor becoming in a priest of the Most High. Says Tertullian (Monog. 7), ‘We are priests, called thereto by Christ. The supreme High Priest, the great Priest of the Heavenly Father, even Christ, when he clothed us with that which is his, for as many of you as are baptized have put on Christ, Gal. 3: 27, hath made us kings and priests to God and his Father.’ Rev. 1: 6. ‘We are deduced if we imagine that that is allowed to the layman which is not permitted to the priest. Are not we laymen also priests?’ (Exhort. c. 7.)”

According to Rheinwald, Arch. § 12, and Gieseler Kirchengesch. I. 169, the distinction between laity and clergy was unknown until the second century. Previous to this, all performed the office of priests as they had occasion. The power of speaking and exhortation was considered rather the free gift of the spirit, and was possessed by many of the Christians, though exercised in different ways—prophets, teachers, speaking with tongues, 1 Cor. 12: 28—31. chap. 14. There was as yet no distinct order of clergy, for the whole society of Christians was a royal priesthood, 1 Pet. 2: 9; the chosen people of God, 1 Pet. 5: 3. comp. Deut. 4: 20. 9: 29.

In support of his opinion, Gieseler quotes the following authorities.—“*Tertullian* de exhort. castit. c. 7. *Ambrosiaster* (Hilarius Diaconus?), about A. D. 380, in comment. ad Ephes. iv. 11: Primum omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, quibuscunque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio; nec enim Philippus tempus quaesivit aut diem, quo eunuchum baptizaret neque jejunium interposuit. * * * Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare et scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi omnia loca complexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt et rectores, et caetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clericis [ceteris?] auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, praesumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. Et coepit alio ordine et providentia gubernari ecclesia, quia si omnes eadem possent, irrationabile esset, et vulgaris res et vilissima videretur. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo praedicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant, neque quocunque die credentes tinguntur, nisi aegri. *Ideo non per omnia conveniunt scripta Apostoli ordinationi, quae nunc in ecclesia est, quia haec inter primordia sunt scripta.*—TR.]

§ 5. CATECHUMENS.

These take their name from *κατηχούμενοι*, *learners*, a word of frequent occurrence in the New Testament, Acts 18: 25. Gal. 6: 6. Rom. 2: 19. 1 Cor. 14: 19. The catechumens of the ancient church were candidates for baptism under instruction for admission into the christian church. They were styled candidates, *candidi*, because they were wont to appear dressed in white on their admission to church. In the Latin church they were sometimes denominated

Novitii, Tirones, Audientes, Rudes, Incipientes, Pueri, etc. equivalent to the terms *pupils, beginners*, etc.

The importance of this order in the opinion of the ancient church, appears from the fact that schools were instituted especially for their instruction, and catechists appointed over them. One part of the church service was also suited to them especially, and another to the faithful. The discipline and instruction which they received in this manner, was usually an indispensable preliminary to their admission into the church.

The reasons which led to the institution of this order, are well described by Jamieson, in the following extract :

“ While those who were entitled to partake of the Lord’s supper were exclusively denominated the *faithful*, and considered as occupying the rank of perfect or approved Christians, there were several other classes of persons, who, though connected with the Church, and forming constituent parts of it, were yet separated from, and inferior to, the former, being in various stages of advancement towards a qualification for the holy rites of the Gospel. These orders, known by the name of catechumens, were distinguished from each other by lines of demarcation, beyond which none was allowed to pass without a long and gradual preparation ; and between a newly made catechumen, and a Christian in the rank of the faithful, there was as wide a difference in the eye of the primitive Church, as between an infant of a day, and one who has attained the stature of a full-grown man. In the records of apostolic times, we shall in vain look for any traces of this distinction,—for then a heathen no sooner made an avowal of his faith in Christ, than he received the initiatory rite of Christianity. His conversion was immediately followed by his baptism, and whatever shades of difference there might be in the knowledge of the new converts, all were considered as equally entitled to the outward sign, as they were to the inward and spiritual benefits of the ordinance. But in the process of time, when the Church was enlarged by a daily increasing influx of members from heathenism, and when her purity was no longer guarded by the presiding care of those who possessed the miraculous gift of discerning spirits, the pious solicitude of her rulers in after-times, gave rise to the custom of deferring the admission of converts into the fellowship of the Church, till clear and satisfactory evidence was obtained of their fitness, in point of knowledge and sincerity, to be enrolled in the ranks of the

disciples. The dear-bought experience of the primitive Christians had convinced them that the gross habits of idolaters were not easily and all at once, in many instances, relinquished for the pure and spiritual principles of the Gospel, and that multitudes of professed believers held their faith by so slender a tie, that the slightest temptation plunged them anew into their former sensuality, and the first alarm drove them back into the enemies' camp. To diminish, and, if possible, to prevent the occurrence of such melancholy apostasies, which interrupted the peace and prosperity of the christian society, and brought a stain on the christian name, was a consummation devoutly wished for by the pious fathers of the primitive age; and accordingly, animated by a spirit of holy jealousy, they adopted the rule, which soon came into universal practice, of instituting a severe and protracted inquiry into the character and views of candidates for admission to the communion of the church,—of not suddenly advancing them to that honorable degree, but of continuing them for a limited period in a state of probation. It was thus that the order of the catechumens arose, an order which, though unknown to the age of Peter and Paul, boasts of a very early introduction into the primitive church; and, at whatever period its date may be fixed, its origin is to be traced to the laudable desire of more fully instructing young converts in the doctrines of the christian faith, and at the same time affording them opportunities to give evidence of the sincerity of their profession, by the change of their lives and the holiness of their conversation."—Manners of Prim. Christ. pp. 130—2.

Alexandrinus and Origen have much to say in recommendation of a certain *secret doctrine* of the church, *μυστηριωδοσία*, *scientia arcani*. This discovers itself about the same time with the order of catechumens, and appears to have fallen into disrepute, as the church increased, and additions were made to it from baptized children of christian families, rather than from the candidates who had been received from among Jews and Gentiles.

There was no specific rule respecting the age at which Jewish and heathen converts were received as catechumens. History informs us, that the greater part were persons of adult age. Even Constantine the Great was reckoned among this class. The delay of baptism, against which Gregory of Nyssa and others inveighed so earnestly in the fourth century, seems to intimate that these subjects of baptism were usually advanced beyond the legal age of manhood.

It must indeed be admitted as an exception to this usage, that whole families were occasionally baptized, as in the times of the apostles, Acts 16: 15, 31. 18: 8. 1 Cor. 1: 16. And as an argument in favor of infant baptism, this usage is the more persuasive from the fact that after the fourth century paedobaptism was much more generally introduced and defended. In the meanwhile, no rule is given for the children of christian parents, respecting their requisite age, for becoming catechumens. And it is remarkable that Tertullian and Cyprian who, in other respects are so harmonious, should so disagree on this point. The latter was an advocate for paedobaptism; the former, a zealous opposer. "It is better, he says, for each one to delay his baptism, according to his condition, disposition and age—especially for the young. Let them come when they have arrived to maturity; let them come when they have sufficient knowledge—when they are taught why they come; let them become Christians (by baptism) when they have a competent knowledge of Christ."¹

The case of Augustine may with propriety be cited in this place. By his pious mother Monica he had, from his infancy, been carefully instructed in the christian religion. In consequence of a dangerous sickness he was about to be baptized in early childhood, that he might die as a Christian, under the covenant. But the administration of the ordinance was deferred in consequence of his recovery; and the delay he regarded as a kind Providence. From this example the inference is, that he might have received due preparation for the ordinance from his pious mother, but that his baptism would have been an exception to the general rule on this subject. He was converted under Ambrose of Milan, and, though at this time a distinguished writer, became a regular catechumen. After due preparation, he was baptized in the year 387.

It is however certain that children were, at an early age, the subjects of baptism, and that too, not merely in cases of emergency, but by established rule and usage; for it was against this usage that Tertullian felt himself constrained to write. But these little children who were incapable of knowing Christ, as Tertullian describes them, could not of course be subject to any such preliminary preparation as the catechumens received. They could only be subject to such exercises *subsequent to baptism*, just as, since the general introduction of infant baptism, the subsequent instructions preparatory to

confirmation are regarded, which is a religious ordinance introduced into the church very unlike the original usage.

No general rule prevailed respecting the time which the catechumens should spend in that relation. It varied at different times, and according to the usages of the several churches; especially, according to the proficiency of each, individually. In the constitution of the apostles,² three years are prescribed. By the council of Illiberi,³ A. D. 673, *two years*. By that of Agatha,⁴ A. D. 506, eight months. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Jerome, direct them to observe a season of fasting and prayer for forty days.⁵ From all which, the inference is, that there was no determinate rule on this subject. This public preparation of the catechumens necessarily implies, that they were previously subject to *private instruction*. The same is inferred from the instructions which were preliminary to confirmation. The true idea of which is, that of completing and confirming the discipline to which the candidate has already been subjected. Exceptions there undoubtedly were. Instances may be adduced in which all the preparation which the candidate received was limited to a single day.⁶ And the procedure is authorized by examples in the Scriptures. But the rules of the church, have ever required a longer period of probation.

The catechumens were early divided into separate classes. But their number, and their names, were somewhat different. The Greek canonists specify two classes.⁷ The uninitiated, *ατελείστοροι*, and the more advanced, *τελειστοροι*, *perfectiores*. These are styled by Suidas,⁸ the *ἀκροαμένοι*, such as are occupied in learning, and *ἐὶχομένοι*, such as are engaged in devotional pursuits. Maldonatus gives three classes,⁹ the *audientes*, the *competentes*, and the *poenitentes*. According to Bingham,¹⁰ there were *four* classes. 1. Those who were subject to private instruction. 2. Such as received public instruction. 3. Those who were occupied with devotional exercises. 4. Those who were duly qualified for baptism. But this classification is not duly authorized.

These distinctions, however, are of little importance, and have never been generally recognized. They seem to have been made as occasion required, rather than by any essential rule of classification. The churches at Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, were at variance among themselves on this point, and each agreed with the churches of its own communion only in a few lead-

ing particulars. The gradations of improvement were particularly observed. The age, and sex, and circumstances of the catechumens, were also duly regarded; men of age, and rank, not being classed with children of twelve or thirteen years of age. At one time they may have all been united in one class, and at another, may have been divided into two, three, or even four several divisions.

The mode of their admittance was very brief, and unceremonious. But some form of admission was uniformly required, a circumstance which illustrates the degree of consideration in which the rite was held, while it indicates the existence both of some determinate time of admission, and of some difference of opinion respecting it. The imposition of hands was one of the prescribed ceremonies.¹¹ The sign of the cross is also mentioned. Augustine received the sign of the cross, and affirms that this, with the imposition of hands, was the usual mode of setting them apart. By Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, converts from paganism were received, by prostrating themselves at his feet, and requesting to receive the sign of the cross. After having passed upon them this sign, and received them as catechumens, he propounded them for admission to the church, and dismissed them with his benediction. Soon after this, he baptized them, having previously given them catechetical instruction.¹² In this instance, the term of probation must have been short. They were also immediately recognized as candidates for baptism, without reference to the distinction of classes.

The manner of receiving a catechumen, therefore, was substantially as follows: The bishop examined the candidate, and, if he was found worthy, enrolled his name in the records of the church. The solemnity was then concluded by prayer, imposition of hands, and the signing of the cross.—Siegel, *Catechumenat*, Vol. I. p. 367.

The exercises of the catechumens until their union with believers, were wholly directed with reference to their preparation for baptism. They consisted generally in attending to various catechetical and doctrinal instructions, the reading of the Scriptures, etc. The advanced class, before baptism, were subject to repeated examinations, and to a kind of exorcism accompanied with imposition of hands, the sign of the cross, and insufflation, the breathing of the priest upon them. They also passed many days in fasting and prayer, and in learning the words of their creed and the Lord's prayer.¹³

In case of severe sickness, baptism was administered to the patient on his bed, ἐπι τῆς κλίνης. This was called *clinic baptism*. In such instances, it was allowable to administer it by sprinkling. Baptism was also administered to apostate catechumens in the near approach of death, and to such apostates as gave evidence of repentance it was not denied, even though they were not received to the class of penitents.

Any one devoted to martyrdom, was reckoned among the catechumens, martyrdom being regarded as a full substitute, and therefore styled *blood baptism*.¹⁴

This notion was derived from various passages in the Scriptures. 'He that loseth his life, shall find it,' Matt. 10: 39. 'I have a baptism to be baptized with,' Luke 12: 50. Baptism was accounted essential to salvation. Martyrdom was also esteemed a passport to heaven. It was therefore made a substitute for baptism.

On the contrary, if any catechumen who had caused the delay of his baptism by his crimes, died unbaptized, he was not treated as a Christian. His name was not enrolled in the records of the church while living, and after death, he was denied the solemnities of christian burial, and refused a place in the catalogue of Christians. He was buried, *Sine cruce et luce*.

Much controversy has arisen out of a passage from Augustine,¹⁵ respecting the sacrament of the catechumens, relating chiefly to the consecrated bread *panis benedictus*. But Bona, Basnage and Bingham have sufficiently shown, that it was not the sacramental bread, but bread seasoned with salt; and that this, at their baptism, was administered with milk and honey, salt being the emblem of purity and incorruption.¹⁶

The ancient discipline of the catechumens, preparatory to their admission into the communion of the church as above stated, is briefly summed up in the following extract. It exhibits so clearly the extreme caution and deliberation of the ancient church, in receiving candidates into their communion, that no apology can be necessary for inserting it as a brief recapitulation.

"The moment that a heathen announced his resolution to abandon the religion of his fathers, and to embrace that of Jesus, he was introduced to the pastor of the place, who, having laid his hand upon his head, a ceremony of very frequent use in all the offices of the ancient church, and prayed that he might become a partaker of the

grace of the gospel, consigned him to the care of some missionaries, whose duty it was from time to time to wait upon him privately, and in his own house, to instruct him in the elementary principles of the christian faith. At an appointed time, and when he had satisfied his private instructors of his capacity to profit by the services of the church, he was permitted to come into the congregation, where he stood in a particular place appropriated to the hearers—those who were admitted to hear the Scriptures read, and the plain and simple discourses on the fundamental articles of faith and points of duty, which always formed the subject of the preliminary exhortations of the church. If the proficiency and conduct of the catechumen during his continuance in this lower rank were approved of, he was, at a certain period, advanced to a higher order, which was privileged not only to be present at the reading of the Scriptures, and the delivery of the sermons, but also at the prayers, which we described as concluding the first service. After remaining the appointed time in this more advanced stage of his progress, he was successively privileged to be present at the public prayers of the church, to hear the discourses addressed to the faithful on the higher and more abstruse doctrines of Christianity, and even to witness, at an humble distance, the dispensation of the Lord's supper. He was then considered ripe for baptism, and immediately put upon a new course of discipline, preparatory to partaking of the holy mysteries at the next celebration of the solemnity. Hitherto, he had been trained, by a regular course of catechetical instructions in private, to a knowledge of the leading doctrines and duties of the gospel, and now he was subjected to frequent and minute examinations in public on every branch of his religious education. If approved, he was forthwith instructed in some of the sublimer points of Christianity, which had been hitherto withheld from him,—such as the doctrine of the Trinity, the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, the influences of the Spirit, and the way in which a participation of the symbols of a Saviour's love gives spiritual nourishment to the soul. He was allowed to employ the Lord's prayer,—the use of which was considered as the exclusive privilege of his adopted children; and was enjoined to commit to memory the creed, as a formula which embodied, in a small compass, all the grand articles of revealed truth, which it had been the object of his protracted discipline to teach him. For twenty successive days he continued a

course of partial fasting, during which he had daily interviews with his minister, who, in private, and secluded from the presence of every other observer, endeavored, by serious discourse, to impress his mind with a sense of the important step he was about to take,—and more especially, prayed with him, in the usual solemn form, by imposition of hands, that he might be delivered from any evil spirit that had possession of his heart, and be enabled to consecrate himself a living sacrifice to God and the Saviour. Such was the discipline of the catechumens,—a discipline to which all ranks and descriptions of men, who were desirous of being admitted into the bosom of the church, were in primitive times indiscriminately subjected. “None,” to use the words of Lord King, “were permitted to enjoy the privileges of the faithful, till they had in a manner merited them,—which was, when they had, through a considerable time of trial, manifested the sincerity of their hearts by the sanctity and purity of their lives. When they had changed their manners, and rectified their former habits, then they were washed with the waters of baptism, and not before.

“The period during which they continued this course of preparation varied in different places, and was, indeed, often regulated by no other rule than the proficiency of the candidates. In general, it lasted for two or three years; though, in cases of severe indisposition and imminent danger, the probation was shortened, and the most benevolent and anxious provision made to dispense to the sick or dying catechumens, whose life was consistent with their views, though they had not completed their appointed time of discipline, all the comforts which a participation in the privileges of the church could give. But when no such pressing emergency occurred, the young disciple was left to accomplish his noviciate in the ordinary course; and it was only by slow and progressive steps he ascended to the standard of knowledge and virtue that gave him a passport to the region of the faithful.”

§ 6. OF BELIEVERS—OR, THE FAITHFUL.

This term is used to designate the constituents of the christian community, that body or assembly which was appropriately denominated *the church*, ἡ ἐκκλησία, and ἐκκλησία τῶν ἀγιῶν. Persons of this description were distinguished by various names, designed in a

measure to illustrate the true nature and peculiar constitution of the church.

1. They were styled *πιστοί*, *the faithful*, as has already been mentioned. This is the favorite and universal name which has uniformly been used to denote such as have been duly instructed in the fundamental principles of the christian religion; and received, by baptism, into the communion of the church. By this name they are distinguished on the one hand from the *ἄπιστοι*, such as are not Christians, and heretics, and on the other, from the clergy and from the catechumens, penitents, energumens, and ascetics. It is worthy of remark, that the disciples of Christ use the *active* form, *οἱ πιστεύοντες*, or *πιστεύσαντες*, while the fathers uniformly use the *passive*, *οἱ πιστοὶ*. The latter, however, occurs occasionally in the New Testament, Acts 16: 1. 2 Cor. 6: 15. 1 Tim. 4: 12. 5: 16, but in a sense more unlimited than that in which it is used by the fathers.

2. *Φωτιζόμενοι*, illuminati, *the enlightened*. This name they received upon being baptized, baptism being by them denominated *φωτισμός*, or *φώτισμα*, *illumination*. It is a curious fact, that the baptized are denominated *φωτιζόμενοι*, and candidates for baptism *φωτισθέντες*, while on grammatical principles precisely the reverse might have been expected. The usage of *φωτισθέντες* is supposed to be derived from Heb. 6: 4, as the most proper to denote such as were suitably enlightened to be received into the church.

3. *Μεμνημένοι*, *the initiated*. This appellation was most in use in the fourth and fifth centuries, when so much was said of the *arcani disciplina*, the secret mysteries of the christian religion. It denotes such as have been initiated into these mysteries, a privilege belonging exclusively to members of the church. The phrase *the initiated know*, occurs about fifty times in Augustine and Chrysostom alone. The terms *μυσταί* and *μυσταγωγητοί* are also often used, and, in short, almost all the phraseology which profane writers use respecting an initiation into their mysteries. Indeed the rite of baptism itself has an evident relation, as Cyril of Jerusalem represents,¹ to the initiatory rites of Eleusis, Samothrace, etc.

4. *Τέλειοι* and *τελειούμενοι*, *the perfect*. This name, like the foregoing, has a relation to their sacred mysteries. It is adopted from the New Testament, where it is used, not indeed in the same, but in a kindred meaning in relation to christian perfection. To join the church was styled *ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τελείον*, or *μετέχειν τοῦ τελειοῦ*, *to at-*

tain unto perfection ; and the participation of the sacrament, which in the ancient church invariably followed baptism, was denominated *τελετή τελειῶν*,² *perfection of perfections*.

5. The titles, *brethren, saints, elect, beloved, sons of God*, etc. have ever been applied as the special prerogative of believers, or professing Christians.

The foregoing titles also conveyed to those who bore them exclusively, certain rights and privileges.

1. They were permitted to be present at all religious assemblies without exception,—to take part in the *missa catechumenorum*, the first religious service of public worship, designed especially for the catechumens, as well as in the *missa fidelium*, the *after-service*, which was particularly designed for them, and which none but the initiated were permitted to attend. To this service neither catechumens, nor any other, were permitted to be present, not even as spectators.

2. It was another special privilege of *the faithful*, that they were permitted to hear and join in the rehearsal of the Lord's prayer. None but believers were permitted, in any case, audibly to adopt the language of this prayer and say, Our Father who art in heaven ; though it might be used in silent prayer. In the worship of *the faithful*, on the contrary, it might be rehearsed aloud, or sung by them, or repeated in responses.

3. As another prerogative, they were allowed to seek an explanation of all the mysteries of the christian religion. Origen and Gregory of Nyssa often allege, in commendation of Christianity, that it has refined mysteries, *μυστήρια*, *ἀρόγητα*, and *ἀπόόγητα*, which no vulgar mind can comprehend. By which is understood, among other things, the rites and doctrines of the church, and the subtleties of their faith. All these were cautiously concealed from catechumens, and taught to believers only, because “by God's gift they were made partaker of these mysteries, and therefore qualified to judge of them.” To the uninitiated, the ancient fathers discoursed only on obvious points of morality ; and if, at any time, they were led to touch upon their profound mysteries, they dismissed them with the expression, *ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι*, To the initiated it is given to know these things.*

* De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, cum vel Patriarcharum gesta, vel proverbiorum legerentur praecepta : ut his informati atque insti-

4. The most important religious privilege of believers, is that of partaking of the eucharist, which has always comprehended a right to participate in all the sacred mysteries, and hence has derived the significant name of *κοινωνία*, *communion*.

5. In close connection with this communion stands also that important right which, as a member of the church, each communicant had of taking part in all the transactions of that body, especially in *the choice of the clergy* (*Wahl der Geistlichen*), and *in the discipline of the church*.

In view of the importance of this right, we are surprised to observe that it is passed over in entire silence by Bingham, and but briefly touched upon by other writers on this subject. In treating of rules for electing a bishop, Book IV. Ch. 2, Bingham has indeed much to say respecting the rights of suffrage enjoyed by the people, but that relates only to the *form* of the election. This, however, is the proper place distinctly to assert this right of suffrage which the faithful enjoyed, although it is of necessity implied and included in the general privileges of church membership. That the church, i. e. the united body of believers has had a part in the election of their pastor, from the earliest period downward, is certain, not merely from the testimony of Scripture, but also from the most ancient of the fathers; and has never been denied even by those who, in this respect, have been most anxious to abridge the privileges of the people. All they assert is, that the original usage has been changed, because of its manifold abuses, and of necessity abrogated. Hence has arisen

tuti assuesceretis majorum ingredi vias eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire mandatis, quo renovati per baptismum ejus vitæ usum teneretis, quæ ablutos deceret. Nunc *de mysteriis* dicere admonet atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere: quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandum nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius, quam edidisse, aestinaremur. AMBROS., *De his qui mysteriis initientur*, c. 1.—Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinimus: quia, præter illa, quæ omnes Christianos convenit in commune servare, specialiter de cælestibus mysteriis locuturi sumus, quæ audire non possunt, nisi qui ea donante jam Domino perceperunt. Tanto igitur majore reverentia debetis audire quæ dicimus, quanto majore ista sunt, quæ solis baptizatis et fidelibus auditoribus committuntur, quam illa, quæ etiam catechumeni audire consueverunt. AUGUST. *Serm. 1 ad Neoph.*—*Ἀξιμὸς διὰ τοὺς ἀμνήτους πρὸς τῶν θεῶν διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων τούτων δὲ χωριζομένων, σαφῶς τοῖς μεμνημένους διδάσκομεν.* THEODORET. *Quæst. 15 in Num.*

the question whether, in the election of a pastor, the church is entitled to a *valid*, elective vote, or whether their suffrage should be testimonial only, or negative. Then again arises another question, of equal importance, relating to the method of voting by proxy and by a body of electors which, so far as is known, appears to have been first practised by the church in Africa.³

The participation of the church in church-discipline discovered itself especially in the excommunication of *penitents*, and reception of them again, which, although administered by the bishop, could not be ratified except by the concurrence of the church.*

§ 7. OF PENITENTS.

None but such as had received baptism and confirmation could be reckoned among the penitents. They consisted wholly of such laymembers of the church as had been separated from it by reason of their unworthy deportment, or for grosser offences, and who voluntarily submitted to the penalties inflicted upon them with a view to their readmission into the church and restoration to christian fellowship, and the privileges of communion. See Chap. XVII, on Penance.

§ 8. OF ENERGUMENS, OR DEMONIACS.

Mention is often made in the ancient church, of persons possessed of an evil spirit. The regulations of the church bestow upon them special care. They constitute a distinct class of Christians, bearing some relation both to the catechumens and the faithful; but differing from both in this, that they were under the special oversight and direction of Exorcists, while they took part in some of the religious exercises of both classes.

Catechumens who, during their probationary exercises became demoniacs, were never baptized until thoroughly healed, except in case of extreme sickness.¹ Believers who became demoniacs, in the worst stages of their disease, like the weeping penitents, were not permit-

* In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos antè consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. *Cyprian, ep. 33. ad cler. et pleb. Carth.* Plebs ipsa maximam habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. *Cyp. ep. 68.*

ted to enter the church; but were retained under close inspection in the outer porch. From this circumstance they were denominated, *χειμαζόμενοι*, or *χειμάζοντες*, *hymantes*.* When partially recovered they were permitted, with the audientes, to join in public worship, but they were not permitted to partake of the sacrament until wholly restored, except in the immediate prospect of death. In general, the *energumens* were subject to the same rules as the penitents.²

§ 9. ASCETICS, COENOBITES, MONKS, FRATERNITIES.

The ascetics of *antiquity*, and of the *middle ages* were essentially different in many respects. To the first class belong all those who sought a life of solitude for religious exercises, and private contemplation, and either alone, or in company with others, separated themselves from christian society without wholly excluding themselves from the communion of the church. These constituted, therefore, a distinct class of the laity.

The origin of the ascetic manner of life dates back far beyond the christian era. In Egypt, Assyria, Persia, and India, there were at this early period ascetics, hermits, and recluses. The Therapeutics, of whom Philo and Josephus speak, were a religious fraternity, who in many respects had a striking influence in the subsequent formation of monastic establishments. Many of the Pythagorean institutes also bore a striking resemblance to the monastic rules of later date. Some again have compared them with those of the Nazarites and Rechabites of Scripture, respecting whom, Witsius and Less may be consulted. The prophet Elijah, the schools of the prophets, and John the Baptist, have also been considered as patterns of monastic life. But its high antiquity is sufficiently proved by Jerome.¹

As early as the second century, the foundations of monachism were laid in a vain admiration of the supposed virtues of fasting, solitude, and celibacy. Soon after the age of the apostles, bodily mortification, and a contemplative life, began to be regarded by many Christians as indications and means of extraordinary piety. In the time of Cyprian and Tertullian, the "sacred virgins of the church," or the "canonical virgins," were recognized as a distinct class, and celiba-

(* Suicer, Bingham and Du Fresne derive it from the agitations to which they were subject, like a ship in a storm.—Tr.)

cy was extolled as a species of super-eminent sanctity. Cyp. Ep. 62. al. 4, ad Pompon. Such superstition with its pernicious adjuncts and consequences made rapid progress in the church.

But many Greek and Latin writers concur in ascribing the origin of christian Anchorets and Monks to the third century. They are believed to have arisen first in Egypt. Among the founders of this sect, some of the most celebrated were Paulus, Antonius, Pachomius, Hilarion, and Athanasius. To these may be added Basil the Great, Ephraim the Syrian, the two Gregories, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Cassian, and many others.

In the fourth and fifth centuries the monastic life had become common to all orders of men, not only in the eastern, but also in the western church; but it had not attained the celebrity which it afterwards acquired. Men of the highest distinction obtained indeed great renown from this manner of life; but as yet, they were far from enjoying equal privileges with the clergy. Neither were they reckoned among the laity. But they were accounted a distinct religious order, denominated *Religiosi*, or *Canonici*, by which, until the tenth century, they were distinguished, both from the clergy and laity. From that period they began to be reckoned with the clergy. About the same time arose the distinction between the *Clerici seculares*, and *Clerici regulares*. The former denoted such as had a regular parochial charge and cure of souls; the latter, the clergy belonging to some religious order. The *Clerici seculares*, however, uniformly refused to own the monastics as fellow laborers in the ministerial office. Indeed the monks have never been fully blended with the clergy. On the contrary, in all cloisters, there have ever been a certain class of lay-brethren, or lay-monks, *monachi laici*, who, without discharging any of the appropriate functions of the ministry, have, as in the ancient church, occupied an intermediate station between the clergy and the laity.

The following are the principal orders of the monks and the names by which they are distinguished.

1. ASCETICS, Ἀσκηταὶ. Originally the term was used by profane writers to denote the gladiators and athletæ of the ancients. But in the fathers it denotes all those, of every age and condition, who devote themselves peculiarly to acts of piety, such as fasting, prayer, watchings, and the denial of sensual desires. They are sometimes styled ἄγαμοι, *unmarried*, and ἐγκρατεῖς, *continentes*. There were

also female ascetics. The places appropriated for these exercises were styled ἄσκητρία.

2. MONKS, appropriately so called. Μονάχοι, sometimes Μονάζοντες, οἱ μονῶ ζῶντες θεῶ. Such as lived a sequestered life, taking no part in the ordinary pursuits of men, and retiring alone into desert places, and solitary cells; or, in company, frequenting the wilderness and distant mountains. These belonged exclusively to the *laity*, and were characterized chiefly by their deep seclusion from society, while the *ascetics* belonged either to the *clergy* or *laity*, and were distinguished particularly for their austerities. These monks were sometimes denominated Coenobites, Solitarii, Solitaires, etc.²

3. ANCHORETS, Ἀναχωρηταί, *Hermits*. A distinction however is sometimes made between the two—anchorets denoting those who led a solitary life without establishing their residence in solitude, while hermits are those who inhabit the most desolate and inhospitable places, in solitary cells and caves.³

4. COENOBITES, from κοινὸς βίος, *communis vita*. So called from their inhabiting one place in common, styled *coenobium*, and having all things common. They are also called συνοδίται⁴ and from συνοδοίς,⁵ *conventuales*.⁶

5. GROVAGI. Strolling vagrants, whose lives were dishonored by the lowest sensuality, and the most shameless vices.⁷

6. Στυλιῖται, *Pillarists*. So called from their living continually upon a pillar, a manner of life so austere and forbidding, that few were induced to adopt it.⁸

There are a multitude of names denoting different classes of monks and ascetics, the mention of which may serve to show how numerous were these religious orders in the ancient church, and the estimation in which they were held. Such as the following :

Σπουδαῖοι, *studiosi*,⁹ Ἐκλεκτοί, *electi*,¹⁰ Ἀκοίμητοι, *insomnes*,¹¹ Βασκοί, *pascentes*,¹² who lived by themselves in perpetual silence; Ἡσυχασταί, *quiescentes*;¹³ Ἀποταξάμενοι, *renuntiantes*;¹⁴ *Culdei, Keldei, Keledei*, etc., certain monks in Scotland and the Hebrides; *Apostolici*, monks in Britain and Ireland.

8. *Canonici regulares*, clerical monks. These were the priests who were addicted to a monastic life in distinction from the secular or parochial clergy, *canonici seculares*.

9. *Secular Monks*, *Monachi Seculares*; a class distinct from the lay brethren. These without renouncing marriages and the social

relations, under the guidance of overseers of their choice, devoted themselves to various offices of piety. Thus constituted, they served as patterns for those religious fraternities or brotherhoods which first appeared in France, Italy and Germany in the ninth century, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries became exceedingly numerous and powerful, and widely dispersed. All these fraternities occupied an intermediate rank between the laity, the monks, and the clergy.¹⁵

Monastics of the female sex were not, at first, accounted a distinct religious order. Nor is there mention of them as such so long as the ancient rule of the church remained in force, which positively debarred women from ever conducting religious worship, or assuming any of the offices of the priesthood.

Monasteries and nunneries probably arose simultaneously. The first traces of the associations of *women* in a monastic life discover themselves in the fourth century. In this period they begin to be denominated *Μοναχαι*, but more frequently *Μοναι*, *monae*, *salae*, *viduae*. Jerome was the first to call them *Nonnae*, Nuns. By some, this is understood to be the same as *matronae*, or venerable widow. Others derive it from *Νορις*, a *virgin*. They are also called by many other names, such as *Sanctimoniales*, *Virgines Dei*, *s. Christi*, *Ancillae Dei*, *Sorores ecclesiae*, etc. But by whatever name they are known they are carefully to be distinguished from the ancient order of deaconesses in the church. As early as the fifth and sixth centuries, the office of deaconess ceased in the Western church. After this, many offices of charity which they were wont to perform to the poor and the sick, were discharged by the sisters of the church. For this purpose they formed themselves into various associations and corporations. Their influence was, in general, very happy, and so powerful that they outlived the storms of political revolutions; and, to a great extent, still survive under various names and in different establishments.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. OF THE CLERGY AND THE LAITY.

SUCH as bore the office of the priesthood were denominated, in distinction from the laity, the *clergy*, *cleri* and *clerici*. Respecting the derivation of this term the learned are much divided in opinion. All agree indeed that it is derived from *κληρος*, *a lot*, but allege very different reasons for using it to denote the priesthood. Some affirm, that men at first were elected to this office *by lot*, and were therefore called *cleri*, from *κληρος*. In confirmation of this theory, they allege that this mode of election was common, both among pagans and Jews, and not unknown in the primitive church, as appears from the choice of Matthias, *by lot*, Acts 1: 17, 25. But this method of electing persons to the sacred office, has never been allowed in the church, except in some extraordinary cases. Jerome says, they were called clergy, either because they are chosen by lot to be the Lord's, or because the Lord is their lot, or heritage. The Jews were of old God's peculiar people, the heritage of the Lord. Such, especially, were the Levites who ministered at the altar. And, after the cessation of the Levitical office, the name was transferred to the ministers of the christian church. Hence the name *κληρος*, *clergy*, which primarily signifies a *lot*, or *heritage*. Such is the approved derivation of this word. But many learned men derive it from the mode of election, *by lot*.¹

Many allege that this term came into general use in the beginning of the third century, as the name of the religious teachers of the church. But this cannot be accurately determined. The formal distinction between the clergy and laity, was evidently introduced at a period still later. Previous to this, the whole church were styled God's heritage, 1 Pet. 5: 3; and every Christian, a priest of God.² And yet, the epithet might with peculiar propriety be applied to those, who devoted themselves to the ministerial office; and the more naturally, inasmuch as this phraseology is common in the Old Testament. With this usage, several passages in the New

Testament very well accord, Acts 16: 18. Col. 1: 12. Eph. 1: 11. The unlearned again, *ιδιωται*, in 1 Cor. 14: 16, 23, 24, may, for aught that appears, be laymen or catechumens, as Chrysostom and Theodoret affirm. Different officers there certainly were in the time of the apostles, such as rulers, bishops, elders, deacons, etc., derived immediately from the Jewish *synagogue*, though they may with propriety be compared also with the *Levitical* priesthood, as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews has done.

Much importance is attached to the authority of Clemens Romanus on this subject, who, in the first century speaks of the laity, and the several officers of the church and orders of the priesthood, as though they were then the same that they are known to have been in the second and third centuries; ³ that passage, however, relates to the Levitical priesthood. Ignatius is also quoted to the same effect, but the genuineness of the passage is disputed.⁴

It is worthy of remark, that the advocates of the Episcopal form of church government, labor much to prove that the distinction between the clergy and the laity, was as ancient as the time of the apostles, while the Roman Catholic writers, Rigaltius, Salmasius, and others, deny this early distinction. The dispute, however, is of little importance; for the distinction can, in no case, be proved to be of apostolic authority. It can, therefore, be of little consequence to show, that it was introduced a few years earlier or later. Boehmer, and Rigaltius, have shown that Tertullian may be regarded as the author of the distinction in question,—but in this general sense only, that he distinctly pointed out the *difference* between the laity and clergy, and clearly defined the limits of the several offices of the church; the confounding of which he complained of, as the leading fault of heretics. And yet, who will venture to affirm, that these distinctions and offices were wholly unknown before Tertullian lived? It may at least be said with truth, that at some time in the first two centuries, the three higher orders, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were denominated *clergy*; so that a higher antiquity may be claimed for this name, than for some subordinate classes which had their origin in the third and fourth centuries.⁵

The clergy were also known by the name of *canonici, κανονικοί, οἱ τὸν κανόνα*. Two reasons are assigned for this appellation. One, that they were subject to the *canons*, or general rules of the church. The other, that they were wont to be registered in a cata-

logue of the church, as the authorized officers of the same. This catalogue was also called a *κανον*, *κανὼν*, ἄγιος κανὼν, κατάλογος ἱερατικός, *album*, *matricula*, and *tabula clericorum*.⁶

They were also called Ecclesiastics, Dogmatists, and Gnostics, names applicable to all Christians, but especially to their officers and teachers. In the middle ages, it was customary to denominate the *subordinate* officers of the church *ecclesiastics*.

Another name by which they were less frequently known, is *τάξις τοῦ βήματος*, *order of the altar*, or *shrine*, from their being permitted to enter within the sacred enclosure which surrounded the altar.

The word *order*, *ordo*, *τάξις ἱερατική*, as applied to the priesthood, like that of *κλήρος*, has also been the subject of more critical discussion than its importance demands. Many contend, that it is adopted from the Roman language, and used by Tertullian and others in the *classic sense*, to exhibit the *patrician rank* of the clergy like the *ordo senatorius* of the Romans. The result, however, of the discussion is, that the word is derived from the Roman language as a technical phrase, but applied not according to the *usus loquendi* of the Romans, but, of the church, and of the *Scriptures*, to denote the distinction between the priesthood and the people,—the *ordo ecclesiasticus* and the laity; and that, in this sense it has been used since the close of the second century. Jerome uses it as synonymous with *gradus*, *officium*, *potestas*, *dignitas*, etc.; Basil, as the same as *τάξις*, *τάγμα*, *βαθμὸς*, *χώρα*, *ἄξια*, *ἰστομα*, etc.⁷

The precise time, when this distinction between the *superior* and *inferior* clergy was introduced, is unknown. It must, however, have been very early, for the several offices and officers of the church were clearly defined, towards the close of the second, and beginning of the third century. To say nothing of the authority of Ignatius which is justly suspected, there are authorities sufficient to show that, at this early period, the officers of the church were, substantially, the same as in later centuries.⁸ On this subject, the remark of Amalarius is worthy of special notice: “that the offices of the priesthood and deacons were instituted by the apostle Paul, because they were indispensable in the church, and that as the church increased, other offices were created, and inferior officers appointed in aid of the superiors.”⁹

The Roman Catholics divide the officers of the church into two

classes, *ministers*, and *magistrates*. In the former, are included bishops and presbyters; in the latter, the other officers of the church.¹⁰

According to the authority of Cave, “the whole *κατάλογος ἱερατικός*, as it is often called in the Apostle’s Canons,—the roll of the clergy of the ancient church, taking it within the compass of its first four hundred years, consisted of two sorts of persons,—the *ἱεροῦμενοι*, who were peculiarly consecrated to the more proper and immediate acts of the worship of God; and the *ἐπηγέται*, such as were set apart for the lower and common services of the church. Of the first sort were these three, bishops, presbyters, and deacons.”¹¹

The distinction of *ordinary* and *extraordinary* officers of the church, is given on the best authority, based on many passages of Scripture, Eph. 4: 11, 12. 1 Cor. 12: 28. Rom. 12: 7, 8. 1 Tim. 3: 5. etc. The shepherds and teachers were the same as bishops and elders, ministers of particular congregations, who were equally necessary at all times. But there were others, who were known in the church only while the miraculous gifts of the Spirit were continued, and of whom mention is very seldom made in later times. Among these may be reckoned, 1. *Apostles*, including the immediate disciples of Christ, and several others, Acts 14: 4. 2 Cor. 8: 23. Phil. 2: 25. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, missionaries to foreign lands bore this title. 2. *Evangelists*. This term is used sometimes in a restricted, and sometimes in a wider sense. Eph. 4: 11. Acts 21: 8. 2 Tim. 4: 5. In later ages, the officer who read, or chanted the gospel, was called *Evangelist*. 3. *Prophets*. Inspired writers and teachers of the christian religion—such as foretold future events, and also a particular class of teachers in the primitive church, whose business it was to act as expounders of the Scriptures, and interpreters of the divine will.

§ 2. GENERAL REMARKS UPON THE DIFFERENT ORDERS AND CLASSES OF THE CLERGY.

The pastors and teachers *ποιμένες* and *διδάσκαλοι*, of whom mention is made in Eph. 4: 11, and 1 Cor. 12: 28—30, are usually reckoned among the permanent and ordinary teachers and rulers of the church. The *extraordinary* teachers might also bear the same names, inasmuch as they are represented as overseers of the church,

and promulgators and defenders of the gospel of Christ. An apostle or evangelist might with propriety be styled ποιμὴν καὶ διδύσκαλος, a *pastor* and *teacher*. But after the cessation of the *extraordinary* teachers, the *ordinary*, with great propriety assumed their names as venerated and significant titles, derived from the writings of the Old Testament.

The term *pastor* or *shepherd*, ποιμὴν, without regard either to sacred or profane writers, is particularly recommended by the circumstance, that our Lord styled himself a shepherd, and the church his flock, John 10: 12. The apostle Peter also denominated him the *chief Shepherd*, 1 Pet. 5: 4.

The word *master*, *teacher*, διδύσκαλος, was the honorary title of a Jewish teacher. It is the Greek interpretation of the Hebrew רַבִּי, *rabbi*, John 1: 38. These terms, *pastor*, and *teacher*, have ever been approved in the church, to designate one who is entitled to instruct, to administer the sacrament, and to discharge all the functions of the ministerial office.

The appropriate officers of the church which are specified in the New Testament, are these three. 1. Ἐπίσκοποι, *overseers*, *superintendants*; 2. Πρεσβύτεροι, *presbyters*, *elders*; 3. Διάκονοι, *deacons*. These together constitute the *ordo ecclesiasticus*, the ecclesiastical order, and require a more extended examination. Some derive these several orders from the institutions of the Romans; but they bear a closer, and a more natural comparison, with the orders belonging to the temple and synagogue of the Jews, and from them, they were doubtless derived; as the following remarks may sufficiently show.

1. The Ἐπίσκοποι in the church correspond to the rulers of the synagogue, as their name *overseers* implies. The ruler of the synagogue, who in Hebrew was styled *head of the assembly*, ראשׁ הַקְּהָלָה, had the oversight both of the discipline and instructions of the synagogue. He is also styled מוֹרֵךְ, our *master*, or *teacher*, and נְשִׂיחַ הַקְּהָלָה, *legatus congregationis*.

2. The πρεσβύτεροι correspond to the זְקֵנִים, *elders*, which, among the Jews, designated, not so much the *age* of these officers, as the rank and authority of their office. In the latter ages of the Hebrew commonwealth, the members of the Sanhedrim were styled by preference, *presbyters*, or *elders*. They are classed in the New Testament with the rulers, the chief priests, and the scribes.

The connection of *πρεσβύτεροι*, *elders*, with *ἐπίσκοποι*, *bishops*, is in like manner indicated in the following passages. Acts 11: 30. 14: 23. 15. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23. 16: 4. 20: 17. 21: 18. 1 Tim. 5: 17, 19. Tit. 1: 5. James 5: 14. 1 Pet. 5: 1. 2 John 1: 3. 3 John 1. But in all these passages, these elders of the church compare, not with the *זְקֵנִים*, the elders of the Jews; but with the officers of the synagogue, who were styled *רַבֵּי*—a word which, both in Chaldee and Syriac, denotes *pastors*, *rulers*, etc.

3. The office of *deacon* was similar to that of *זָבִיב*, *inspector*, *overseer*. But the official duties of the deacon, in the second, third, and fourth centuries, better compare with this Jewish officer, than those which were at first prescribed, such as the care of the sick, and of the charities of the church, Phil. 1: 1. 1 Tim. 3: 8, 12. Rom. 16: 1. The principal duties of the *זָבִיב* was to preserve order and decorum, to assist in the reading of the law, and to lead the singing. But the silence of Scripture, on this subject, is no evidence that the deacons might not also have the same offices to perform. And these Jewish officers might also have been charged with the care of the sick, and the contributions of the people. At least, it is certain that the usage in regard to these points has not been uniform.

The *ὑπόδητης*, *servant*, corresponds to the Hebrew *עֲבָד*, which is rendered *δοῦλος*, *παῖς*, *a servant*. In Luke 4: 20 he is styled the waiter in the synagogue. At other times he is a waiter or attendant upon the assembly of the Sanhedrim, Acts 13: 5. 26: 16. 1 Cor. 4: 1. He acts, not with freedom and independence in the discharge of his duties, but is subject to the direction of another. These servants are analogous to the sub-deacons, *acolyths*, and subordinate officers of the church who have the general title of *inferiors*.

The distinction of inferior and superior orders, though not of apostolic origin was very early made, as has been already observed. Jerome and many others assert that in the first two centuries bishops and presbyters constituted the superior order, and deacons with their assistants and subordinate officers, the inferior order.² At times, however, Jerome classes them with bishops and presbyters, styling them co-presbyters and associate priests—Augustine, and Optatus also, do the same. They were, undeniably, reckoned as a *third class* in the superior order, except when the offices of bishops and presbyters were regarded as the same; in which case deacons constituted the *second class* in the same order.

The *ordo sacerdotalis*, and *ordo ecclesiasticus* of Tertullian³ is the same as the *senatus ecclesiasticus* of Jerome.⁴ It is an ecclesiastical court, a presbytery; and even if laymen were received as members, it consisted chiefly of clergymen, and was controlled by them. In the absence of the bishop, or when his office was vacant, it was conducted by presbyters and deacons.⁵ From which we infer that deacons were considered as belonging to the superior order.

In the division of the priesthood it is a great mistake to seek for any general and fixed rules at a time when circumstances would not admit of them, and without regard to the exigencies of different communities and countries. In a populous city, and among a numerous body of clergymen, a more careful distinction of office and of rank might naturally be expected, than in smaller states and dioceses. This remark is too obvious to require any illustration, but is fully confirmed by a letter to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, from Cornelius bishop of Rome, who died in the year 252.⁶ From this epistle several important facts and inferences are derived. 1. That Christians at Rome had, at this early period, become so numerous as to have more than forty churches. 2. That there were more than 1500 widows and paupers who were supported by charity. In this connection it is worthy of remark, that according to Chrysostom, more than three thousand widows and virgins were daily fed by the church of Antioch, with only moderate revenues, besides the contributions in food and clothing made for the maintenance of clergymen, prisoners, leprous persons, and strangers. So that even Julian recommended the heathen to imitate the *Galileans*, in the care which they took of the poor.⁷ 3. It appears that at Rome the members of the church constituted three classes—the clergy and paupers, who were supported by the church—the rich, who paid for their support by contributions and taxes—and the great body of the people, who paid little or nothing. 4. It is particularly worthy of notice that Cornelius recognizes the order of the clergy, and declares the inferior order to comprehend five distinct classes. Sub-deacons, *ὑποδιακόνους*; acolyths, *ἀκολούθους*; exorcists, *ἐξορκιστάς*; readers, *ἀναγνώστας*, and door-keepers, *πυλωροὺς*. 5. It is also worthy of remark, that there were only seven deacons. It is also observable that the usages in the neighboring churches such as Milan, Naples, Syracuse, and Ravenna, did not, at the same time, correspond with those of Rome.

For the vast church at Constantinople, Justinian prescribed the

following officers—sixty presbyters, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety sub-deacons, one hundred and ten readers, and twenty-five singers; in all, four hundred and twenty-five, besides one hundred door keepers, *ostiarii*.

From all these authorities the inference clearly is, that the distinction of *superior* and *inferior* clergy was recognized in all the churches, though there was no uniform rule of division.

In this connection it is important also to take notice of the different classifications which prevail in the several great divisions of the church.

In the Greek church, the officers were as follows: 1. Bishops; 2. Priests; 3. Deacons; 4. Sub-deacons; and 5. Readers, to which class the singers and acolyths also belonged.

Their ecclesiastical judicatories consisted of three orders—archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs. To these another officer still higher was sometimes added, styled *exarch*. The ecclesiastical court of Russia is styled the Holy Synod. Its organization corresponds with that of the Greek church.⁹

The Syriac and Nestorian churches affect to copy after the heavenly hierarchy, and to compare their officers with those of the court of heaven. The Nestorians compare their patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops with the orders of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones,—their arch-deacons, pastoral priests, and preachers, with angels of the second rank, styled Virtues, Powers, and Dominations—their deacons, sub-deacons and readers with those of the *third rank*, viz. Princedoms, Archangels, and Angels.¹⁰

The Roman Catholics of the Western church, in general abide firmly by the principle established by the schoolmen, that the priesthood is to consist of *seven* classes corresponding to the seven spirits of God. Of these, the three who are chiefly employed in the duties of the ministerial office, compose the superior order, and the four, whose duty it is to wait upon the clergy in their ministrations, and to assist in conducting public worship, belong to the inferior order.

The canonists divide the priesthood into *nine classes*, of which four belong to the higher order, and five to the lower. The following is a catalogue of the several classes as given by them, proceeding from the lowest to the highest. Of the *inferior order*—1. Singers; 2. Door-keepers; 3. Readers; 4. Exorcists; 5. Acolyths.

Of the *superior order*—6. Sub-deacons ; 7. Deacons ; 8. Presbyters ; 9. Bishops.¹¹

The classification according to the scholastics of the Roman Catholic church, is as follows : Of the superior order, *three*—1. Presbyters or priests ; 2. Deacons ; 3. Sub-deacons. Of the inferior order, *four*—1. Acolyths ; 2. Exorcists ; 3. Readers ; 4. Door-keepers. This classification of the inferior order was established by the council of Trent, but another of a subordinate rank is sometimes added.¹²

§ 3. OF THE EPISCOPAL FORM OF RELIGION.

1. The official and honorary titles of the clergy.

The term *bishop*, is the same as the Latin *episcopus*, and the Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*. In the Latin it is sometimes rendered *inspector*, *superinspector* ; *superintendens*, or *superattendens*. Augustine more properly renders it *speculator*, and *prepositus*.¹ Jerome derives it from *ἐπισκοποῦντες*, i. e. *superintendentes*, superintendants.² The Hellenists translate the Hebrew *בְּקֵרֶת* and *בְּרֵדָה*, *ἐπίσκοπος*. The word *בְּקֵרֶת* of very common occurrence is accordingly rendered *ἐπισκοπή*, *bishoprick*. The apostle Peter, also, in saying, *ye have returned to the shepherd and bishop of your souls*, uses the phrase, not to denote any *official* rank in the church, but to designate the *office* rather of an overseer, guardian, or protector. The Greek writers, as appears from Athenaeus, Demosthenes, and the scholiasts of Aristophanes,³ sometimes use the term *ἐπίσκοπος* to denote a specific civil office,—that of revising the judicial and municipal administration of the government. According to this analogy the *ἐπίσκοπος*, *praeses*, *praefectus*, may be compared with the *bishop* under the Carlovingian dynasty, as the framer of the synodical court of judicature.

By the term *bishop* the Hellenists also translate the Hebrew *רֹאשׁ הַבְּיָדָה*, who is ruler of the synagogue, and the *שֹׁפֵט הַבְּיָדָה*, i. e. *ἀπόστολος ἐκκλησίας*. The office of bishop they compare with that of ruler of the synagogue. According to this comparison, the bishops are the same as presbyters, *בְּרֵדָה*, or elders. The apostle Peter, in exhorting the elders, *προσβύτεροι*, to feed the flock of Christ, *taking the oversight of them*, *ἐπισκοποῦντες*, evidently uses the term *προσβύτεροι* as an *honorary*, and *ἐπισκοποῦντες* or *ἐπίσκοποι* as an *of-*

facial title of the same persons. This usage is also very frequent with the ancient fathers, and in official documents even down to the third century.

[Rheinwald, Gieseler and Siegel concur also in opinion with our author, that originally the term *bishop* denoted merely the official title of a presbyter who had been constituted a moderator, ruler, or overseer of the church.⁴ For a fuller explanation of the name see references.—TR.]⁵

The following are the most important names which were anciently applied to the bishops.

1. *Προεβύτιροι, προϊσιτώτες*, 1 Tim. 5: 17; *προϊστάμενοι*, 1 Thess. 5: 12—rendered in Latin *prepositi*, and used to designate them as the *presiding officers* in christian assemblies. The Greek fathers are careful to add the phrase *spiritual, πνευματικοὶ* or *πνευματικοῦ χοροῦ*, to distinguish them from secular rulers.⁶

2. *Πρόεδροι, praesides, praesidentes*,—used in close connection with the foregoing, and derived from the *προεδρία*, the elevated seat which the bishop occupied in the synod, and in the religious assemblies of the people.⁷

3. *Ἐφοροι, inspectors*. Not often used because it is liable to be confounded with the *ἔφοροι* of the Greeks. Both the Greek and Latin term is much in use among protestants to designate the principal of a school, or corporation, or church, and is synonymous with church or school inspector, or master of a gymnasium.

4. *Ἀπόστολοι, apostles*. So called by Theodoret to distinguish them from presbyters who were also called *ἐπίσκοποι*.⁸—Also, *Διάδοχοι τῶν ἀποστολῶν, vicarii, or successors of the apostles*.⁹ On this title now depends the important dogma concerning the perpetual and uninterrupted succession of bishops which, not only the Greek and Romish churches, but a portion also of the church of England maintain with singular pertinacity.

5. *Angeli ecclesiae, angels of the church*. An epithet derived from the angel of the church in the Apocalypse. It was a doctrine of great antiquity that some angel in heaven acted as the representative of every nation and kingdom and province, and that some guardian angel was intrusted with the care of each individual, Heb. 1: 14. The bishops, therefore, who were appointed by Christ and his apostles to the ministry of the gospel, and the service of the saints, were supposed to bear the same relations in the hierarchy of

the church that these tutelary angels bore in the court of heaven. On the subject of guardian angels, see references.¹⁰

6. *Summi sacerdotes, pontifices maximi*, chief priests, etc. These titles were conferred by those writers who derived the organization of the church from the regulations of the *temple service*, rather than from those of the synagogue. They afterwards became the titles of the patriarchs and bishops of the Roman Catholics.

7. *Patres, patres ccclesiae, patres clericorum*, and *patres patrum*, 'fathers, fathers of the church, fathers of the clergy, fathers of fathers;' according to the oriental custom of calling a teacher or superior, אב, ἄββῆ and ἄββῆς, *father*.

The title of a presbyter is usually that of *pater laicorum, father of the laity*, or simply *pater, father*. The presiding officer of these was accordingly called *pater patrum*.

Abba and *abbas* was originally the common appellation of a monk. Modern usage also confers upon him the name of father.

Papa, pope, corresponds in signification with ἄββῆ, πάππια, *father, honored father*, and is a familiar and affectionate form of expression. The most probable opinion is, that it was first applied to the bishop of Alexandria. Siricius was probably the first Roman bishop who, about the year 384, assumed the name as an official title in a public document.¹¹ It was not, however, employed officially until the time of Leo the Great; and it was afterwards applied exclusively to the bishop of Rome according to an order of Gregory the Great, who declares this to be the only appropriate title, belonging to the office.

8. *Patriarchs*. At first all bishops were called by this name, as being superior to the presbyters, who were merely denominated *patres*. It was afterwards only applied to the archbishop and metropolitan, or to the bishop of some large and influential diocese. Between the fourth and sixth centuries, five large churches arose whose highest ecclesiastical officer bore the title of patriarch. These were the churches of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis or Antioch, and Jerusalem.

9. *Stadtholders and vicegerents of Christ and of God*. From the time of Ignatius and the date of the apostolic constitutions, the bishops were represented to have received their commissions from Christ himself, and, in his name, to administer the affairs of the church. Cyprian speaks of the bishop as acting "*vice Christi*," in the place of Christ. Basil represents him as occupying the place of

the Saviour ;¹² and Augustine and Ambrose employ much the same language. So early did the church forget the Saviour's injunction, "Call no man master."

10. *Ἀρχοντες ἐκκλησιῶν*, rulers of the church. So Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerome and others. They were rulers, however, not in a political, but merely in a *religious* sense.

11. *Princeps sacerdotum*, and *Episcopus episcoporum*, are synonymous with archbishop, patriarch, etc.

12. Various other epithets are applied to them, such as *blessed*, *most blessed—holy, most holy—most beloved of God*, etc. The usual salutation of a letter was as follows: *Τῷ ἁγιοτάτῳ καὶ μακαροτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῷ πατριάρχῃ*.

§ 4. OFFICIAL DUTIES OF THE BISHOP.

The office of bishop comprehended in general two different classes of duties.

I. *All those that relate to the worship of God.* This division comprises all the offices of religious worship without exception, whether performed by the bishop in person, or by others acting under his commission.

II. *Duties relating to the government, and discipline of the church.* Under this class, is comprised the oversight in all the churches of his diocese, both of the laity and the priesthood; and the management of the affairs of the several churches which were submitted to his care.

These separate divisions require, each, a careful examination.

I. In regard to duties pertaining to religious worship, we are to distinguish carefully, between the *right* or *vocation*, and the actual exercise of the duties consequent upon this vocation. In the earliest period of the church, while yet the greatest simplicity of form prevailed, and before any determinate distinction was known between bishop and presbyter, *ἐπίσκοπος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, many services relating to the worship of God were prescribed to the deacons and ministers, *διακόνους* and *ὑπηρέταις*, who were already known in the New Testament. According to Justin Martyr,¹ it was the duty of the minister, *ὁ προσετώς τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, synonymous with *ἐπίσκοπος*, *ἀρχιερεύς*, *ἱεράρχης*, to consecrate the elements. To the deacons belonged the duty of distributing them. The same distribution of the

services is also prescribed in the Apostolical Constitutions.² Other duties are also assigned to the deacons and subordinate officers of the church, to be performed however by the direction, or under the immediate oversight of the bishop, whose representatives they all are.

It is made especially the duty of the bishop to perform the services of *catechist* and *preacher*. Ambrose expressly declares that it was the duty of the bishop *to instruct the people*.³ This duty was distinctly acknowledged, and actually performed by Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyprian, Augustine, Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, and others. Such was not only the sentiment of the church generally, but Charlemagne and Louis I., expressly enjoin the bishops not to neglect this important part of their official duties on any plea of ignorance or indolence.⁴ The same duty is explicitly taught by the council of Trent in the following terms, and in perfect accordance with the views of the primitive church. "Whereas the preaching of the gospel, which is the peculiar office of bishops, is as essential to every christian community as the reading of the word, therefore, this sacred synod has determined and decreed that all bishops, archbishops and primates, and all other prelates of the churches, are themselves required, and personally bound, to preach the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ unless specially prevented, *legitime prohibiti*."⁵

Such, beyond all controversy is the *duty* of those who sustain the office of bishop, though their *practice* has at times been altogether the reverse of this, and still is in part. Occasionally, even in the ancient church, the bishops, through the pressure of secular cares, neglected entirely their ministerial duties. At other times they refused in the pride of office their duties as preachers and catechists; and the more humble duties of the sacred office, as derogatory to their character. But at no time has the right and the duty of the bishop, to discharge all the offices of the ministry been called in question. The act of ordination, of itself, and according to the canons of the church, exclusively invests them with *all* the offices and prerogatives of the priesthood.

It only remains to specify certain other offices which belong exclusively to them.

1. *The confirmation of baptized persons*, by which they are received as regular members of the church. This, which is styled the

sealing of the covenant, was the prerogative of the bishop. This rite is still performed in the Roman Catholic church by the bishop himself, or his substitute. In the orthodox churches, as the act of confirmation follows immediately upon baptism, and no rule is given respecting it, the priest is permitted to administer the ordinance.

2. *The ordination of the clergy, and consecration of other officers of the church.* It has been a uniform rule of the church, both in ancient and modern times, to which there have been only occasional exceptions that the right of ordaining belongs to the bishop. The substitute was regarded as acting strictly in the *place* of the bishop, and in this way the bishop gained peculiar influence and consideration in the view of pagan observers. The archdeacon is sometimes represented as officiating in the ancient church in the ordination of inferior officers; but he is to be regarded as acting in such cases in the place of the bishop, so that what he does by another he does of himself. Instances of this kind are also to be found in the ancient church. Three bishops were required to assist in the ordination of one to that office; but some of the higher officers in other orders of the clergy were subsequently permitted to assist in this service.

3. *The reconciling of penitents, or the restoration of offending members of the church.* It is the duty of the bishop to announce those who make profession of penitence—to receive them on probation—to prescribe the time and form of their penance, and to exercise a watch over them; though in all this the presbyter often cooperates with him. But to remove the sentence of excommunication was in the ancient church the especial prerogative of the bishop which was very seldom delegated to a presbyter or any other. On the introduction of the forms of confession and private absolution, the whole system of penance previously in use was changed, but there still remained much to be administered publicly by the bishop.

4. It was especially the duty of the bishop to perform the several acts of consecration, and to pronounce the benediction.

II. *Of the power of the bishop in the government and discipline of the church, after the establishment of the hierarchy.*

It was a favorite sentiment in the church after the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, that all power centered in the bishop as an universal hierarch—that all the clergy were subject to his authority—that all spiritual benefices and preferments proceeded from him, and that all the sacraments were to be administered in his name,

and by a commission from him. Both the Apostolical Constitutions and the liturgy of the pseudo Dionysius the Areopogite, represent that everything relating to the worship of God in all its parts, is the collective work of the bishop. But restrictions were early laid upon the authority of the bishop by regulations of the church, by synodical divisions, and by metropolitan, patriarchal, and papal decrees. By these regulations and decrees, the power of the bishop was at times greatly reduced. But however limited his prerogatives, the bishop uniformly remained the source and centre of ecclesiastical authority within his own diocese. The diocesan clergy of every rank were dependent upon him, and by him were the regulations of the churches directed. His influence was especially manifested in the following particulars.

1. In the *superintendence of religious worship*. All the forms of public worship were subject to his direction. This direction he gave at pleasure, either in accordance with his own will, or in conformity with usage, or by rules more or less specific. It was his business to see that everything was done according to the established order. Over occasional and peculiar religious acts, such as processions, pilgrimages, fasts, and vows, he had a special control.

2. *The oversight of all the members of his diocese in regard to spiritual and ecclesiastical matters*. This oversight he exercised by adjudicating, excommunicating, prescribing penance, and regulating the laws of the marriage institution. The doings of the priest were especially open to an appeal to him and subject to his revision. In a word, all that related to the discipline of the church, was subject to his control.

3. *All the subordinate members of the priesthood, and the servants in the church were subject to the superintendence of the bishops*, both as to the discharge of their offices, and the conduct of their lives. It was an ancient rule in the church that the clergy are under the same subjection to the bishop as the soldier to his commander. History indeed abounds with examples of severe punishment inflicted upon a refractory and disobedient priesthood. At first, no exemption was made in favor even of the monks; but in the middle ages they threw off their subjection to the bishops to the great dishonor of that office—to the injury of the parochial clergy and of the welfare of the church.

4. *It was the specific duty of the bishop to visit curates, churches,*

schools, cloisters, and religious establishments. Many rules of the church enforce this duty upon the bishops personally, and it was with reluctance allowed to the bishop to appoint to this service rural bishops, chorepiscopi, exarchs, and itinerant or visiting presbyters, *περιοδευταί*. The council of Laodicea in the middle of the fourth century, decreed that bishops should not reside in the country or smaller villages; but itinerant presbyters only, and that these should do nothing without the knowledge of the bishop residing in the city, just as presbyters acted in subordination to his will. Under the Carolingian dynasty, bishops and counts of the realm were placed on equal footing, and exercised a joint jurisdiction.

5. *The bishop acted as moderator of all synods within his diocese, and gave direction to their doings.* This was formerly a privilege of great importance. The disrespect into which synodical councils and decrees have fallen in modern times, has greatly reduced the authority and influence of the bishops. Ecclesiastical councils are supposed to have been first held in the Greek church towards the close of the second century.

6. *The bishop controlled and disbursed at pleasure, both the occasional contributions and the stated revenues of the church.* The deacons at first, acted as his assistants in the business, but as the management of the revenue became more intricate and responsible, it was intrusted to stewards subject to the direction of the *archdeacons*, over whom the bishop retained a general superintendence.

7. *The bishop exercised in part a civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially in cases relating to marriages and divorces, and to the person or goods of ecclesiastics; and in what are called mixed cases in civil and penal actions which are to be adjudged, both by statute and by common law.* At first there were certain justices, *ἔκδικοι*, and *σύνδικοι*, *advocati*, and *consules*, who acted as his substitutes and in his name. Special tribunals were established here as occasion required for the management of his various judicial concerns. Such was the origin of the office of deputies, officials and chancellor, and of the courts of the archdeacons and consistories. But these all acted in the name, and by the authority of the bishop, and were accountable to him.

Chapters of clergy and collegiate establishments were entirely unknown in the ancient church. The first traces of them appear in the ninth century. In the twelfth they obtained a constitution through

the influence of the court of Rome and the favor of their sovereigns, which laid, indeed, salutary restraints upon the arbitrary will of the bishop; but, at the same time, it laid the foundation for a most pernicious aristocracy in the church. The bishop continued indeed to be nominally at the head of these bodies, but his best intentions and efforts were baffled by their detraction and intrigue.

§ 5. INSIGNIA OF THE BISHOP.

No badge of office or clerical dress was worn by the clergy until the fourth century. The various insignia or emblems of office which have from time to time been appropriated to the bishop are as follows:

1. *A ring*, emblematical of his espousals to the church in imitation of the ancient ceremony of presenting a ring on the espousal of the parties in marriage. It was called the ring of his espousals, *annulus sponsalitiuus*, *annulus pronubus*, and sometimes, *annulus palatii*.

2. A shepherd's *staff* or *crook*, *δικανικιον*. Sometimes a straight staff was presented instead of the crook. That of the archbishop had usually a single, and that of the patriarch a double cross piece. According to Montfaucon the staff of the Greek archbishop had a head-piece resembling the letter T.¹ According to Goari, it was curved upward, thus, Υ for which he offers the following whimsical reason: *Ansae retortas habet baculus hamorum instat, ut efferatos fuget et perniciosos et ultimo Christi crucem manifestet.*²

3. A *mitre* or *fillet*. It is usually stated that only bishops and abbots of the Western church have worn the mitre since the tenth century. But the usage was not unknown in the Eastern church also.³

4. *A pair of gloves*, *chirothecae*. These the bishop always wore when engaged in any religious offices.⁴

5. *Sandals*. Without these, no priest was permitted to celebrate mass. They consisted of a sole so attached to the foot as to leave the upper part bare. They were called sandals from the vegetable color in which they were dyed. From the seventh and eighth centuries they are mentioned as one of the badges of the episcopal office, in distinction from that of the priests.⁵

6. *Caligae* or *boots*. These, in ancient warfare, were a part of

the military equipments of the soldier. To the bishop they were emblematical of that spiritual warfare upon which he entered.

7. *The robe*, ὠμοφόριον, ἑστὰ σιολῆ, *pallium superhumeralē, pectorale; ephod*. This badge was so essential, that writers often use the robe to denote both the person and the office of the bishop. It was at first worn by all bishops, but afterwards became the distinctive badge of archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs.⁶ Gregory Nazianzen affirms,⁷ that it was the insignia of the Roman emperor as *pontifex maximus*; and that Constantine the great, first granted it to the bishop of Jerusalem. But this is in direct opposition to tradition, which reports that Mark the Evangelist as bishop of Alexandria first assumed the robe, and left it for his followers.

Nothing is known of the form and quality of the robe in the first centuries, save that it was a seamless garment, *nullis acubus perforata*, made of white linen, and hung loosely from the shoulders.⁸ It was afterwards made of woollen. In the twelfth century, it was made of white woollen, having a circular gathering on the shoulders, and two scarfs hanging over it behind and before. On the left side it was double, and single on the right. Previous to the eighth century, it had also four purple crosses upon it,—before and behind, one; and one on either side. It was fastened by three golden pins.⁹ The Greek bishops, according to the patriarch Germanus, assumed the purple crosses as early as the eighth century. The robe itself was styled *πολυσταύριον*.

The rationale, τὸ λόγιον, of the robe has been the subject of dispute among the learned. It appears, however, to relate to the proper form of it when the bishops of Rome assumed it as they did the name of *pontifices maximi*, *high priests*, and all the prerogatives of the Jewish high priest.

8. *The cross*. This was both worn on the neck or breast, and carried in public processions, and thus became a *twofold* badge of the bishop's office. He was accustomed to wear upon the neck or breast, a cross made of wood, or gold, or some sacred relic, which by the Greeks was called τὸ περίσμιμα, and was regarded as an amulet, or phylactery. It was also sometimes called τὸ εγκόλπιον, from κόλπος, *the bosom*.¹⁰ The cross was used in like manner, in the Latin church. Binterim is of opinion that it was at first worn by Christians indiscriminately, and not as an official badge.¹¹

The cross which was carried before the bishops in processions

and festive parades, was called *crux gestatoria*. For a long time the bishops of Rome claimed the right of carrying the cross as exclusively their own. In the twelfth century it was granted to metropolitans and patriarchs, and to archbishops in the time of Gregory IX. The patriarchs of the Greek church did not so frequently carry the cross, but in the place of it, they carried lamps and burning candles.

§ 6. OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF BISHOPS.

The names of several orders of bishops appear early in the history of the church, such as archbishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, etc. But their office was very unlike those of the same name under the established hierarchy of the church, just as in civil governments, the same name may, at different times, denote offices widely different.

In this place it is proper to remark, that a long, intricate, and angry strife existed between the Eastern and Western churches, as well as between particular and provincial churches. But it would be foreign to my purpose to speak of these, and I dismiss them with this brief notice.

The Episcopal form of government recognizes in general two orders of bishops—superior and inferior.

I. *Of the superior order of Bishops.*

These are archbishops, metropolitans, primates, exarchs, independent bishops, patriarchs, cardinals, and high priests.

1. *Of Archbishops, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπου.* They are not the same as metropolitans, as has frequently been supposed. The two have ever been distinct in the Eastern church, and usually in the Western. The archbishop is the highest functionary, and as such presides over both metropolitans and bishops.¹ The theory of Bingham is not altogether correct, who supposes that the bishops of larger cities, such as Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, etc. may have gained an ascendancy in the fourth and fifth centuries over the bishops and metropolitans of smaller towns, and assumed the name of archbishops to denote this superiority. The title however is known to have been first given to the bishop of Alexandria, and to have been adopted as an official title in the year 431.² But it prevailed only until the introduction of the Jewish title, *patriarch*, to which the

name of archbishop gave place, and yet it was very seldom used as exactly synonymous with it.

The first bishop of any diocese was sometimes styled archbishop. The policy of the church of Rome in giving the occupants of such a place, the title of archbishop was to prevent them from exercising the rights of *metropolitans*. That church even bestowed the title upon such as had no diocese under their jurisdiction. In the Greek church the office was held in more respect.

2. *Metropolitans*. These were so called because they presided over the principal town of the district or province,³ but the limits of their authority were not necessarily the same as those of the state; for there are many examples both in ancient and modern history of inconsiderable towns which yet were metropolitan sees. The title was not in use previous to the council of Nice.⁴ But instead of it, other titles were employed, such as *αρχιεπίσκοπος, πρῶτος, κεφαλή, ἕξαρχος τῆς ἐπαρχίας*, etc. The third council of Carthage decreed that the chief bishop should neither be called *princeps sacerdotum*, nor *summus sacerdos*; but merely *primae sedis episcopus*, senior bishop. In Africa, and especially in Nicomedia and Mauritania, his title continued for a long time to be *senex* and *senior*, while the seniority of office continued to be carefully maintained and observed.

3. *Primates, πρῶτοι, τρωιεύοντες, ἐπισκοπῶν*. This title is not, as many suppose, derived from an ancient civil office in Rome. The term *primas urbis, castelli, palatii*, etc. primate of the city, palace, etc. is of much later origin, and probably was itself derived at first from the church. Bishops, venerable for their age or personal dignity, and those who held offices over other dignitaries of the church, were called primates. The distinction, however, between *titular* or *honorary* primates, and primates *in power*, was very early made. In Africa, the senior bishop, and the bishop of Carthage, were each respectively styled primate of all Africa. The term *primate* was often the same in signification as archbishop, metropolitan, and patriarch. In the eighth and ninth centuries it was common to style the chief dignitaries of the whole province, or empire, *primates*—such as primate of the kingdom, primate of Gaul, Germany, etc. But it has ever been the policy of the Roman church to take care that these splendid titles should not express any high prerogative.

4. *Exarchs*. These were in the Eastern church the same as the primates of the Western church. Morini affirms it to be an ecclesi-

astical office inferior in dignity to that of patriarch, but superior to that of metropolitan.⁵ Evagrius asserts that the bishops of Antioch, Ephesus, Caesarea, and Heraclea were distinguished by the title of *exarch*, and that they exercised the right of the patriarch in consecrating the metropolitans of their diocese.⁶ It is a disputed point whether the word originally denoted an ecclesiastical, or civil office. But the title of exarch of Italy, Ravenna, Africa, etc. of later times assuredly denoted a secular office.

5. *Absolute or independent bishops*, ἀκέφαλοι and αὐτοκέφαλοι, not subject to the authority of a superior. Such were all bishops and metropolitans who had the independent control of their dioceses. It was not in frequent use because the Monophysites claimed the same title in another, but kindred sense. According to Bingham the four following classes received this title. 1. All metropolitans anciently. 2. Some metropolitans who remained independent after the establishment of the patriarchal power, such as those of Cyprus, Iberia, Armenia, and Britain. 3. Such bishops as acknowledged no subjection to metropolitans, but only to the patriarch of the diocese. 4. Such as were wholly independent of all others, and acknowledged no superior whatever.⁷ In reality, however, none but the pope, in the height of his supremacy, can with propriety be said to be ἀκέφαλος or αὐτοκέφαλος. The independent bishops of the Western church were so only in regard to their archbishops and primates, and even the church of Ravenna, which for a long time refused to surrender her independence, submitted at last to the apostolic see.⁸

6. *Patriarchs*. Few topics of antiquity have been so much the subject of strife among the learned, as this relating to the patriarchs of the ancient church.⁹ But it will be sufficient for our purpose, to take only a brief view of the points in question.

This term originally applied to the archbishop, first occurs in the year 451, and was synonymous with ἑξαρχος τῆς ἐπαρχίας.¹⁰ It was borrowed from the Jews who after the destruction of Jerusalem, styled the primates of their church *patriarchs*, and when this office became extinct, the *name* was conferred upon the dignitaries of the christian church. According to Jerome, the Monanists and Caphryians had already appropriated this title previous to that event.¹¹

The bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem particularly were called patriarchs. Several councils

had bestowed upon these bishops peculiar marks of distinction,¹² which encouraged them proudly to assume this title. Agreeably to the designs of Theodosius the Great, Constantinople maintained her proud prerogative, and became a second Rome in ecclesiastical power and dignity. These high pretensions of her rival, Rome herself reluctantly saw; Alexandria and Antioch uniformly protested against them; Jerusalem retained indeed her empty honors, but not her patriarchal rights and privileges. The Romanists are careful to say that there were at first five patriarchs in the church, that those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were deservedly so called, *per se et ex natura*; but that those of Constantinople and Jerusalem were by mere accident, *per accidens*, graced with this title.

In the sixth century Rome and Constantinople engaged in a bitter strife for the title of imperial patriarch, *παιριάρχης τῆς οἰκουμένης*, *universalis ecclesiae papa*. But the primacy of Rome finally ended the controversy by resigning the title of patriarch, and assuming only that of pope, or pontifex Maximus.

The following summary of the prerogatives of the patriarch is given by Bingham, Book II. chap. 17. 1. "They were to ordain all the metropolitans of their own diocese, and to receive their own ordination from a diocesan synod. 2. To call diocesan synods and and to preside over them. 3. To receive appeals from metropolitans and provincial synods. 4. To censure metropolitans and their suffragan bishops if metropolitans were remiss in censuring them. 5. They might delegate metropolitans as their commissioners to hear ecclesiastical causes in any part of the diocese. 6. They were to be consulted by metropolitans in all matters of moment. 7. To communicate to their metropolitans such imperial laws as concerned the church, as the metropolitans were to notify the provincial bishops. 8. Absolution of great criminals was reserved to them.¹³ 9. They were absolute and independent one of another.

7. *Cardinals*.¹⁴ The order of cardinals really belongs to the Western church. The corresponding court in the church of Constantinople is the college of the *Exocatacoeli*.* To the Russian church Peter the Great gave, after the resignation of the patriarchal

* Critics are not agreed as to the origin of this name. The most probable is that of Du Cange who derives it from the fact that, those who were high in office were seated in public assemblies in high and more honorable seats erected for the purpose on either side of the patriarchal throne.

power, the court of the holy synod, corresponding to the college of cardinals at Rome, and with that of the electors in the Roman catholic States of Germany.

The term has long been in use, and originally either signified the same as *praecipuus*, *principalis*, *id quod rei cardo est*, synonymous with *praclatus*; or else it was derived from *cardinare* or *incardinare*, to hinge or join together; and was applied to the regular clergy of the metropolitan church. In Italy, Gaul, etc., such churches early received the title of cardinal churches, the ministers of these churches were also called cardinals.

The following statements comprise the important historical facts relative to the office of Cardinal.

1. The institution of the office has been ascribed by respectable Roman catholic writers to Christ himself,—to the apostle of their faith,—to the Roman bishop Evaristus, to Heginus, Marcellus, Boniface, III, and others. But we only know that cardinals, presbyters, and deacons occur in history about the sixth and seventh centuries, who were however not itinerant, but stationary church officers for conducting religious worship. The deacons and presbyters of Rome especially bore this name, who composed the presbytery of the bishop of the place. The title was also conferred upon the suffragan bishops of Ostia, Albanum, and others in the immediate vicinity, but without any other rights, than those which were connected appropriately with the ministerial office.

2. The import of the term was varied still more in the ninth century, and especially in the eleventh, by Nicolaus II., who, in his constitution for the election of the Roman pontiff, not only appointed his seven suffragan bishops as members of the pope's ecclesiastical council, but also constituted them the only legitimate body for the election of the pope.¹⁵ To these he gave the name of cardinal bishops of the church of Rome, or cardinals of the Lateran church.

This is the important period in history when the first foundation was laid for rendering the hierarchy of the church independent both of the clergy and of the secular power. This period has not been noticed so particularly by historians as its importance requires. They seem especially to have overlooked the fact that the famous Hildebrand, Gregory VII, in the year 1073, concerted these measures for the independence of the church, as the following extract will show. "It was the deep design of Hildebrand, which he for a

long time prosecuted with unwearied zeal to bring the pope wholly within the pale of the church, and to prevent the interference, in his election, of all secular influence and arbitrary power. And that measure of the council which wrested from the emperor a right of so long standing, and which had never been called in question, may deservedly be regarded as the master-piece of popish intrigue, or rather of Hildebrand's cunning. The concession which disguised this crafty design of his, was expressed as follows—*that the emperor should ever hold from the pope, the right of appointing the pope.*"¹⁶

3. As might have been expected, this privilege was afterwards contested by the princes of the German States, especially by those of Saxony, and the house of Hohenstaufen. But these conflicts uniformly resulted in favor of the ambitious designs of the pope. A momentary concession, granted under the pressure of circumstances, became reason sufficient for demanding the same ever afterwards as an established right. In the year A. D. 1179, Alexander III, through the canons of the Lateran, confirmed yet more the independent election of the pope, so that after this the ratification of the emperor was no longer of any importance. Something similar was also repeated by Innocent III, A. D. 1215, and Innocent IV, A. D. 1254. The former had already, in the year A. D. 1198, renounced the civil authority of Rome, and ascended the papal throne. In the year 1274, the conclave of cardinals for the election of the pope was fully established by Gregory X, and remains the same to this day.

4. The college of cardinals, which, until the twelfth century, had been restricted to Rome and its vicinity, has since been greatly enlarged, so as to become the supreme court of the church universal. Priests of illustrious name in other provinces and countries, have been elevated to the dignity of cardinals. Of this Alexander III gave the first example in the year 1165, by conferring the honor upon Galdinus Sala, archbishop of Milan, and upon Conrad, archbishop of Mentz. But to the injury of the church, the greater part have ever been restricted to the limits of Rome and Italy.

5. The formal classification of the cardinals into three distinct orders, 1. Cardinal bishops; 2. Cardinal presbyters; 3. Cardinal deacons, was made by Paul II, in the fifteenth century. He also gave them, instead of the scarlet robe which they had worn since the year 1244, a *purple robe*, from whence they derived the name of the *purple*, a title indicative not merely of their superiority to

bishops and archbishops, but of their regal honors and rights. Boniface VIII, gave them the title of *eminentissimi*, *most eminent*; and Pius V, in the year 1567, decreed that no other should have the name of cardinal.

6. The number of cardinals was at first not less than *seven*, and, after having ranged from *seven* to *fifty-three*, it was reduced again in the year 1277, to the minimum above mentioned. The General Assembly of the church of Basil limited the number to twenty-four; but the popes from this time increased them at their pleasure. Under Leo X, there were sixty-five cardinals; Paul IV, and Pius V, decreed that the maximum should be seventy—equal in number to the disciples of Jesus. These were arranged under the following grades. 1. Six cardinal bishops with the following titles—the bishops of Ostia, Porta, Albano, Frascati, Sasina, and Palaestrina. 2. Fifty cardinal priests, who were named after the parochial and cathedral churches of Rome. 3. Fourteen cardinal deacons, who were named after the chapels. This number was seldom full, but since 1814, they have again become quite numerous.

Lastly. Among the superior officers of the church may be mentioned the Pope, *papa Romanus*, *pontifex Maximus*. Upon this officer, elevated to the summit of ecclesiastical dominion, we can only bestow a complimentary notice. An entire volume would be required merely for an enumeration of the most important transactions of the pope, and they are recorded by innumerable authors both ancient and modern.

II. *Of the inferior order of Bishops.*

1. Ἐπίσκοποι σχολάζοντες, *vacui*, *vacantes*, *cessantes*, *quiescentes*, *bishops without cures*. To this class belong those who, for any cause, declined the duties of their office. In times of persecution and religious commotion, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, many men of distinction refused to be considered candidates for the office of bishop, and even when elected, declined the duties of the office. Others resigned who had been fully inducted into office; and others again, not being acknowledged by their colleagues and dioceses, were subject to a compulsory resignation. Under this head may also be ranked those bishops who, though they did not resign, absented themselves from their diocese for a length of time, and resided, without good reason, in other places. In the fourth and fifth centu-

rics it was not uncommon for ten or twelve bishops to relinquish the duties of their office, and resort to the court at Constantinople. These were deservedly accounted subordinate to their colleagues who continued in the faithful discharge of their duties.

2. *Titular bishops, Episcopi in partibus infidelium, Episcopi gentium, regionarii.* Bishops of this class were invested with their office, but had no stated charge or diocese. This title was first given in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the bishops of those provinces which had been gained by the conquests of the cross, and which had long been held under the dominion of the Saracens and Tartars. They may be compared with various juridical and political pretenders, and with the kings of Jerusalem, who retained their title after the overthrow of the kingdom. The patriarchs of Constantinople made the same claim, and resigned it with extreme reluctance.

Since the reformation, the Romish church has manifested the same deportment towards those bishoprics which they have lost. That church expressly decreed that no one should be ordained *at large*, *απολειμένως*, without a specific charge.¹ And yet their titular dignitaries receive the unmeaning titles of bishops of Tarsus, Ephesus, Samaria, Aleppo, etc. Under a change of circumstances, a bishop so ordained, might enter immediately upon the discharge of the official duties of his office. Even Bingham, though zealously opposed to these nugatory and titular bishops, admits that instances of this kind sometimes, though seldom, occurred in the ancient church.

3. *Suffragan bishops.* These were originally the same as diocesan bishops, who acted as the representatives and substitutes of their metropolitans. They were called suffragan, either because they could not be consecrated without the *suffrage* of the metropolitan, or because they had the right of suffrage in the synod, whilst yet distinct from other members of that body. The latter is the most probable explanation of the term.

These suffragan bishops are not the same as the chorepiscopi.² But after the cessation of these, the necessity of suffragans became much greater; and they were accordingly increased. Bishops who had no metropolitan power, first began in the tenth century to have suffragans under them. These were also styled vicar generals, vicegerents, *bishops in pontificalibus, vice Episcopi*, etc.³ The suffragan bishops of Germany were appointed for the ordination of inferior officers, and the consecration and benediction of churches, altars, baptismal waters, etc.

4. *Country bishops.* Χωρεπίσκοποι, *Episcopi rurales, s. villani.* These, though of ancient origin, have been the subject of much dispute among the learned, and called forth a multitude of treatises and authors, ancient and modern.

These authorities are not agreed as to the etymology of the word. Some derive it from *chorus*, a choir of singers.⁴ Others from the appellation, *occulus* or *cor episcopi*, *eye* or *heart of the bishop*, as his archdeacon was sometimes called;⁵ and others again from the Syriac word, כּוּר, which in connection with the word bishop, denotes a vicar of the bishop.⁶ But it was doubtless derived from *χώρα* or *χωρίον*, *country*, and denotes a country bishop.

The most important points in explanation of this office, may be comprised under the following remarks.

a) There is not indeed satisfactory evidence that this office is authorized in Titus 1: 5, but there is very early notice of its institution from Clemens Romanus, who says that “as they, the apostles, preached in the cities and *country places*, *χώρας*, they appointed their first converts as bishops and deacons over them that should believe, having first proved them by the spirit.”⁷ Eusebius speaks both of presbyters and bishops over the neighboring countries and cities, τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων πρεσβύτεροι, distinguishing thus these chorepiscopi from the bishops of the cities.⁸ Some affirm that no churches were established *in the country* in the first three centuries, and accordingly, that this office was not instituted until a later period.⁹ But the ἐπίσκοποι τῶν ἀγρῶν of Eusebius are the *chorepiscopi* in question, nor is it fair to infer that they were first created in the fourth century, because the synods of that period more definitely prescribe the duties of their office, for they speak of the office itself as already well known.

b) Those that sustained this office are expressly distinguished from presbyters both of the city and country, but are described as officiating bishops, subordinate in rank and restricted in many respects.¹⁰ They are styled σιλλειτουργοί, fellow laborers with the bishop, and, like the cardinals of later times, were reckoned seventy in number, which shows again that they, as well as the bishops, were compared with the apostles in office.¹¹ The council of Nice also, c. 8, so speaks of them as to show that they held an intermediate grade between presbyters and bishops. Their duties were, to give letters of commendation and the testimonials of the church, to take the over-

sight of the church in the section of country allotted to them, to appoint the readers, sub-deacons, and exorcists ; and they might ordain presbyters and deacons, but not without the consent and coöperation of the city bishop.¹² In the year 451, they voted, for the first time, as the substitutes or representatives of their bishops.¹³ Previous to this time, they had an independent vote in general council, as in the council of Nice, and in the presence of the city bishops.¹⁴

c) These officers were at first confined to the Eastern church. In the Western church, and especially in France, they began to be known about the fifth century. They have never been numerous in Spain and Italy. In Africa, on the contrary, they constitute a numerous body under the name of Donatists. In Germany they must have been frequent in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹⁵ And in the twelfth century the arrogance, insubordination and injurious conduct of this class of ecclesiastics became a subject of general complaint in the Western church ; but more especially in France. In the East the order was abolished for the same reasons by the council of Laodicea, A. D. 361. But so little respect was entertained for this decree that the order continued until the tenth century. They were first prohibited in the Western church in the ninth century,¹⁶ but according to some writers they continued in France until the twelfth century, and until the thirteenth in Ireland. About this time they disappeared from the page of history, and were succeeded by archdeacons, rural-deans, and vicar-generals.

5. *Visitors, περιουδευται, itinerant presbyters.* They were, at first, appointed by the council of Laodicea in the room of the *chorepiscopi*. Their business was, to go about continually to guard the wavering, and to confirm the faithful. But it was their peculiar characteristic that they had no fixed abode. They had not the independent prerogatives of the country bishops, but were merely vicarious assistants of the bishop, like a visiting committee of the church, or the *visitores ecclesiarum* of the Latin church.¹⁸

6. *Intercessors, intercessores and interventores.* Officers peculiar to the African church, who are first mentioned in the fifth council of Carthage. They were temporary incumbents of a vacant bishopric, and, for the time being performed the several offices of bishop. It was their duty to take measures for the regular appointment of a bishop as speedily as possible. To prevent abuse no one was allowed to continue in office more than one year.

§ 7. OF PRESBYTERS—THEIR EQUALITY AND IDENTITY WITH BISHOPS.

Bishops and presbyters are regarded by some as having been, from the beginning, distinct orders of the clergy. Others maintain that they were originally the same; and that the bishop was only the foreman or chairman of a body of presbyters or clergymen. Of these conflicting views, the former is entertained by those who contend that the bishops were constituted *by the apostles themselves* a distinct and superior order of the clergy. The latter, by those who deny the divine origin of episcopacy.

The controversy on this subject has arisen chiefly from the equivocal import of the term *πρεσβύτερος* which, in the peculiar phraseology of the church, denotes both a *superior* and a *teacher*. The first mentioned signification earliest prevailed. The *πρεσβύτεροι*, *presbyters* or *elders* of the christian church correspond to the *זְבָנִים*, *elders* of the Jews. Both denote *precedence in office*, not seniority in age. But as seniority of age and precedence in office are very naturally united in the same person, and in the christian church ever have been united, so also in the New Testament there are examples of the union of both in the same person. The apostles style themselves *elders* and *fellow laborers*, *πρεσβύτερους* and *συνπρεσβύτερους*, with evident reference to this twofold relation. The passage in 1 Tim. 5: 17, is peculiarly pertinent in this connection. Let the elders that *rule well* be counted worthy of double honor; especially *they who labor in the word and doctrine*. In other passages these elders are styled *shepherds* and *teachers*.

It is equally evident also that both *bishops*, *ἐπίσκοποι*, and *elders*, *πρεσβύτεροι*, are of similar import both in the Scriptures and ecclesiastical writings of the first centuries of the christian era. In the Scriptures in the following passages: Acts 17: 28. Phil. 1: 1. 1 Tim. 3: 1. Tit. 1: 5, 7. comp. Acts 15: 2, 4, 6, 22, 23. 1 Cor. 12: 28—30. Eph. 4: 11, etc. The following passages are sufficient to illustrate the usage of early ecclesiastical writers. Chrysostom says that the elders or presbyters were formerly called *bishops* and deacons of Christ, and that the bishops were called *elders*. *Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλοῦντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι (ἐκαλοῦντο) πρεσβύτεροι.*¹ Theodoret styles both the elders

and the bishops, *watchmen*, alleging that, at that time, they were called by both names, ἀμφότερα γὰρ εἶχον καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὰ ὀνόματα.² In another passage he also says, that those who were called *bishops* evidently held the rank of *presbyters*, *elders*, ὡς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἐπέλεον οἱ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ κληθέντες ἐπίσκοποι, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου δηλονότι τὴν τάξιν πληροῦντες. The famous Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, in his official letter to the Roman bishop Victor, enumerates all the bishops who preceded Victor at Rome, and styles them *presbyters* who formerly presided over that apostolic church at Rome.

“Jerome, one of the most learned of the Latin fathers, who had before him all the testimonies and arguments of earlier writers, has placed this matter in its true light with peculiar distinctness. In his annotation on the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus, he gives the following account of the nature and origin of the episcopal office:— ‘A presbyter is the same as a bishop. And until, by the instigation of the devil, there arose divisions in religion, and it was said among the people, “I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas,” churches were governed by a common council of the presbyters. But afterwards, when every one regarded those whom he baptized as belonging to himself rather than to Christ, it was everywhere decreed that one person, elected from the presbyters, should be placed over the others; to whom the care of the whole church might belong, and thus the seeds of division might be taken away. Should any one suppose that this opinion,—that a bishop and presbyter is the same, and that one is the denomination of age, and the other of office,—is not sanctioned by the Scriptures, but is only a private fancy of my own, let him read over again the apostle’s words to the Philippians, “Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi with the bishops and deacons; grace be unto you and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ,” etc. Philippi is a single city of Macedonia; and certainly, of those who are now styled bishops there could not have been several at one time in the same city. But, because at that time they called the same persons bishops whom they styled also presbyters, therefore the apostle spoke indifferently of bishops as of presbyters.’ The writer then refers to the fact, that St. Paul, having sent for the *presbyters* (in the plural) of the *single city* of Ephesus only, afterwards called the same persons

bishops. (Acts xx.) To this fact he calls particular attention ; and then observes that, in the Epistle to the Hebrews also, we find the care of the church divided equally amongst many ; ‘ Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves ; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account ; that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is [un]profitable for you.’— ‘ And Peter,’ continues Jerome, ‘ who received his name from the firmness of his faith, says, in his Epistle, “ The presbyters who are among you I exhort, who am also a presbyter, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed ; feed the flock of God which is among you, [he omits the words, taking the oversight thereof, ἐπισκοποῦντες, i. e., superintending it,] not by constraint, but willingly.” These things we have brought forward to show that, *with the ancients, presbyters were the same as bishops.* But in order that the roots of dissension might be plucked up, *a usage gradually took place that the whole care should devolve upon one.* Therefore, as the presbyters know that *it is by the custom of the church that they are subject to him who is placed over them,* so let the bishops know that *they are above presbyters rather by custom than by the truth of our Lord’s appointment,* and that they ought to *rule the church in common,* herein imitating Moses,’ etc.*

* ‘ Idem est presbyter, qui et episcopus ; et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, *Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephae,* communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat, suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur caeteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiae cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur. Putet aliquis non Scripturarum, sed nostram, esse sententiam, episcopum et presbyterum unum esse, et aliud actatis, aliud esse nomen officii : relegat Apostoli ad Philippenses verba dicentis, “ Paulus et Timotheus servi Jesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Jesu qui sunt Philippis, cum episcopis et diaconis, gratia vobis et pax,”—et reliqua. Philippi una est urbs Macedoniae, et certe in una civitate plures, ut nuncupatur, episcopi esse non poterant. Sed quia eisdem episcopos illo tempore quos et presbyteros appellabant, propterea indifferenter de episcopis quasi de presbyteris est locutus. Adhuc hoc alicui videatur ambiguum, nisi altero testimonio comprobetur. In Actibus Apostolorum scriptum est, quod cum venisset Apostolus Miletum, miserit Ephesum, et vocaverit presbyteros ecclesiae ejusdem, quibus postea inter caetera sit locutus, “ Attendite vobis, et omni gregi in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos, pascere ecclesiam

“The same views are maintained by this father in his Epistle to Evagrius, with the additional mention of the fact, that from the first foundation of the church of Alexandria down to the days of Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters of that church made (or, as we should say, consecrated) their bishops. The passage, which is quoted at some length in the note, is very important. Having referred to several passages of the Acts and Epistles in proof of an assertion which he had made, to the effect that bishop and presbyter were at first the same, he proceeds to say that ‘afterwards, when one was elected, and set over the others, this was designed as a remedy against schism. * * * For at Alexandria, from the evangelist Mark down to the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters always gave the name of bishop to one whom they elected from themselves, and placed in a higher degree; in the same way as an army may create its general, or as deacons may elect one of their own body, whom they know to be assiduous in the discharge of duty, and call him archdeacon. For what does a bishop perform, except ordination, which a presbyter may not do,’ etc.* The fact which Jerome

Domini, quam acquisivit per sanguinem suum.” Et hoc diligentius observate, quo modo unius civitatis Ephesi presbyteros vocans, postea eosdem episcopos dixerit. Si quis vult recipere eam epistolam, quae sub nomine Pauli ad Hebraeos scripta est, et ibi aequaliter inter plures ecclesiae cura dividitur. Siquidem ad plebem scribit, “Parete principibus vestris, et subjecti estote; ipsi enim sunt qui vigilant pro animabus vestris, quasi rationem reddentes, ne suspirantes hoc faciant: siquidem hoc utile (sic) vobis est.” Et Petrus, qui ex fidei firmitate nomen accepit, in epistola sua loquitur dicens, “Presbyteros ergo in vobis obsecro compresbyter, et testis Christi passionum, qui et ejus gloriae, quae in futuro revelandus est, socius sum, pascite eum qui in vobis est gregem Domini, non quasi cum necessitate, sed voluntarie.” Haec propterea, ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros quos et episcopos; paulatim vero, ut dissensionum plantaria evelleantur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiae consuetudine ei qui sibi praepositus fuerit esse subjectos, ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicae veritate presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen; qui cum haberet in potestate solus praeesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret.—*HIERON. Comment. in Tit. i.*

* ‘Quod autem postea unus electus est qui caeteris praeponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est: ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriae a Marco evangelista usque ad Hera-

here states respecting the appointment and ordination of bishops in the church of Alexandria by presbyters alone for the space of more than two centuries, is attested also by Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria. And the opinion of Jerome respecting the original equality, or rather identity, of presbyter and bishop, is in perfect accordance with the language of a still earlier writer, Tertullian. *De Bap. c. 17.*”*

The identity of bishops and presbyters is further evident from the circumstance that *they both received the same honorary titles*, προεστώτες, προστάται, πρόεδροι, *prepositi, antistes*, equivalent to *presidents, moderators, chairmen or presiding officers*. Presbyters were also denominated σύθρονοι and οἱ τοῦ θρόνου, *partners of the throne*. A distinction is sometimes made between those of the *first*, and of the *second throne*; in which case the latter evidently designates presbyters. But it is still plain that, in such instances, the preeminence ascribed to the bishop is only that of *primus inter pares*—chief among equals.

Even the most zealous advocates of the Episcopal system in the Greek, Roman, and English church are constrained to recognize and admit the identity of the terms ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος according to the *usus loquendi* of the ancient church. They are constrained

clam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant: quo modo si exercitus imperatorem faciat; aut diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent. Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat? Nec altera Romanae urbis ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Galliae, et Britanniae, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbarae nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulam veritatis. Si auctoritas quaeritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romae, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriae, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem, episcopum non facit. Caeterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt. . . . Presbyter et episcopus aliud aetatis, aliud dignitatis, est nomen. Unde et ad Titum, et ad Timotheum de ordinatione episcopi et diaconi dicitur; de presbyteris omnino reticetur; quia in episcopo et presbyter continetur. . . . Et, ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumetas de veteri Testamento; quod Aaron et filii ejus (one order, namely, priests, corresponding to bishops or presbyters), atque Levitae (another order, corresponding to deacons), in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri, et diaconi, vindicent in ecclesia.—*HIERON. Ep. ad Evagrium, 85.*

* Riddle, pp. 186—196.

to admit that the distinction between the office of bishop and presbyter, which prevailed about the third and fourth centuries and to a period still later, was unknown in the first two centuries.

A fierce controversy arose about the time of the Reformation whether the word *πρεσβύτερος*, as used in the Scriptures, and in the most ancient documents of the church, does not denote merely the *laity* and not any order of the clergy. This position was maintained not only by Presbyterians, but by another class of modern writers who are in reality no friends of the system. They sought to show that both presbyters and bishops were not originally religious teachers, but overseers and managers of the general concerns of the church. According to this theory, which had many advocates,⁵ the presbyters were merely municipal officers like the elders of the Jews. The principal arguments for this theory were drawn from 1 Tim. 5: 17. 1 Thess. 5: 12, especially the first. This theory has been ably discussed by Vitranga, Danovius, Gabler, and many others. The result of the whole is given in the following extract from Gabler.⁶ “We admit that there were not a few presbyters in the apostolic age, appointed by the churches who *did not act as religious teachers*. But contend that Paul, disapproving of this measure, and that he might prevent the further spread of the errors of false teachers and apostles, ordered that *all* presbyters should be teachers, *essent διδασκoi*. If now we admit that Paul in 1 Tim. 5: 17 speaks of presbyters *as they were* (not as they ought to be), all acting as *rulers*, but not all acting as *teachers*, still we learn from another passage in this same epistle, 1 Tim. 3: 2, that the apostle’s desire and direction was, that all who should, in future, be chosen presbyters should be “apt to teach.”

History clearly informs us that presbyters were uniformly reckoned as belonging to the regular priesthood from the time when the church first began to rear up an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and when the distinction began to be made between *clergy* and *laity*. The language of the fathers, and especially of Cyprian seems to imply that there still were some who did not perform the duties of their office as teachers; but even these were still reckoned among the regular clergy, and not as belonging to the laity.

Ignatius always joins bishops and presbyters together as presiding over the church, one, in the place of Jesus Christ, and the other, as the great council of God, in the place of the apostles, without which

the church is no church. *Τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερῶν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Ἐμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέψασθε αὐτοῖς (ἐπισκόποις) ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν — — οἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέροι, ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ καὶ συνδέσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ.*⁷

Much the same representations are made by many other ancient authors. In the Apostolical Constitutions, the presbyters are denominated the counsellors of the bishop—the *sanhedrim* and *council of the church*.⁸ Chrysostom calls them the sanhedrim of the presbyters.⁹ Cyprian styles them the sacred and venerable assembly of our clergy,¹⁰ and Jerome the assembly of presbyters—the *senate* of the church.¹¹ The original of each is here given in their order. *Σύμβουλοι (consiliarii) ἐπισκόποι—συνέδριον καὶ βουλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*—Apost. Con. *Τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων συνέδριον*—Chrysostom. *Cleri nostri, sacer venerandusque consessus*—Cyprian. *Coetus presbyterorum, senatus ecclesiae*—Jerome. To which the following may with propriety be added: *Primum presbyteri episcopi adpellabantur ut uno recedente sequens ei succederet. Primum episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio sint. Uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est ut omnis episcopus presbyter est; non omnis presbyter, episcopus: Hic enim episcopus est qui inter presbuteros primus est.*

From all these passages the conclusion is that the imposition of hands and the privileges of the priesthood, *ἱερώσυνη*, belonged of right to the presbyters. For this reason, and not because of any seniority in age, they were called *πρεσβύτεροι*, which is the same as priests, or pastors, shepherds, etc. The term *senior* or *elder*, which is the literal interpretation of *πρεσβύτερος* very seldom occurs, and when it does is applied only to such persons as sustained no ministerial office, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and *seniors*, and seniors of the people are mentioned in connection. The clergy and *seniors* are also contrasted one with the other. These seniors Augustine styles *virī nobilissimi, optimates, principes*, etc. They correspond with the *elders* in the Presbyterian church, and with the *notables* in the Reformed church in France. Bingham erroneously compares them to church-wardens, vestry-men and stewards who assist in the ceremonies of the church, but take no part in its discipline, or ministerial services.

[Gieseler's account of the foregoing subject is as follows. "The new churches everywhere formed themselves on the model of the mother church at Jerusalem. At the head of each were the *elders*,

πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι, all officially of equal rank, though in several instances a peculiar authority seems to have been conceded to some one individual from personal considerations.*—After the death of

* That these names are the same, follows from Acts 20. 17, 28. Tit. 1: 5, 7. Phil. 1: 1. 1 Tim. 3: 1, 8. Acknowledged by *Hieronymus, Epist.* 82 (al. 83) *ad Oceanum*: Apud veteres iudem Episcopi et Presbyteri, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc aetatis: *Epist.* 101, *ad Exangelum*. See under § 32, n. 2.—*Idem ad Tit.* 1: 7. Idem est ergo Presbyter, qui Episcopus: et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephae, cummuni Presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat, suos putabat esse, non Christi; in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superoneretur caeteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiae cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur. Putat aliquis non Scripturarum, sed nostram esse sententiam, Episcopum et Presbyterum unum esse; et aliud aetatis, aliud esse nomen officii: relegat Apostoli ad Philippenses verba, dicens:—here follows the passages cited above. Then: Haec propterea, ut ostenderemus, apud veteres eosdem fuisse Presbyteros, quos et Episcopos: paulatim vero, ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam. Sicut ergo Presbyteri sciunt, se ex ecclesiae consuetudine ei, qui sibi praepositus fuerit, esse subjectos: ita Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis dominicae veritate, Presbyteris esse majores, et in commune debere ecclesiam regere. *Augustini Epist.* 82, ad Hieron. c. 33.—cf. *Chrysostomi* hom. I. in Philipp. i. *Theodoret.* in Philipp. i. 1. It is remarkable how long this notion of the original sameness of Bishops and Presbyters was retained. *Isidorus Hispal.* Etymol. VII. c. 12, copies the passage from Hieron. Epist. ad Oceanum. *Bernaldus Constantiensis* (about 1088), the most zealous defender of Gregory VII., after citing Jerome in his *de Presbyterorum officio tract.* (in Monumentorum res Allemannorum illustrant. S. Blas. 1792. 4to. T. II. p. 384 seq.), continues: Quum igitur Presbyteri et Episcopi antiquitus idem fuisse legantur, etiam eandem ligandi atque solvendi potestatem et alia nunc Episcopis specialia habuisse non dubitantur. Postquam autem Presbyteri ab episcopali excellentia cohibiti sunt, coepit eis non licere, quod licuit, videlicet quod ecclesiastica auctoritas solis Pontificibus exequendum delegavit. Even Pope Urban II. in *Conc. Benevent.* ann. 1091. can. 1: Sacros autem ordines dicimus Diaconatum et Presbyteratum. Hos siquidem solos primitiva legitur ecclesia habuisse: super his solum praeceptum habemus Apostoli. Hence Gratian adopts without hesitation the passages, *Hieron.* ad Tit. i. (Dist. XCV. c. 5.) *Epist. ad Exangel.* (Dist. XCIII. c. 21), and *Isidori Hisp.* (Dist. XXI. c. 1). Also *Nicol. Tudeschus, Archiep. Panormitanus* (about A. D. 1428) *super prima parte Primi cap.* 5, (ed. Lugdun 1547. fol. 112 b): Olim Presbyteri in commune regebant ecclesiam et ordinabant sacerdotes. It is, perhaps, still more remarkable that even the papal Canonist, *Jo. Paul. Lanclottus* (about 1570) in his *In-*

the apostles, and the pupils of the apostles, to whom the general direction of the churches had always been conceded, some one amongst the presbyters of each church was suffered gradually to take the lead in its affairs. In the same irregular way the title of *ἐπίσκοπος*, *bishop*, was appropriated to this first presbyter.”* Cuning-

stitut. Juris. Canon. lib. I. Tit. 21, § 3, introduces the passage of Jerome without any attempt to refute it. The distinction between the *institutio divina et ecclesiastica* was of less importance in the middle ages, than in the modern Catholic church, and this view of the original identity of Bishops and Presbyters was of no practical importance. It was not till after the Reformation that it was attacked. *Michael de Medina* (about A. D. 1570) does not hesitate to assert, *illos Patres materiales fuisse haereticos, sed in his Patribus ob eorum reverentiam hoc dogma non esse damnatum. Bellarminus de clericis lib. I. c. 15*, calls this *sententiam valde inconsideratam*, and prefers rather to resort to interpretation. Since this, all Catholics, as well as the English Episcopalians, maintain an original difference between bishop and presbyter. Comp. especially *Petarii de ecclesiastica hierarchia lib. V. and dissertatt. theologic. lib. I.*, in his *theolog. dogmat. Tom. IV. p. 164*. On the other side, *Walouis Messalini* (Claud. Salmasii) *diss. de episcopis et presbyteris. Lugd. Bat. 1641. Svo. Dav. Blondelli apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de episcopis et presbyteris. Amstelod. 1616. 4to.* Against these *Henr. Hammondus dissertatt. IV.*, quibus *episcopatus jura ex sacra scriptura et prima antiquitate adstruuntur. Lond. 1651*. The controversy was long continued. On the side of the Episcopalians *Jo. Pearson, Guil. Buceridge, Henr. Dodwell, Jos. Bingham, Jac. Usserius*. On that of the Presbyterians, *Jo. Dallaeus, Camp. Vtringa*; also the Lutherans, *Joach. Hildebrand, Just. Henn. Bochner, Jo. Franc. Buddens, Christ. Matth. Pfaff, etc. comp. Jo. Phil. Gabler de episcopis primae ecclesiae Christ. eorumque origine diss. Jenae. 1805. 4to.*

* *Ambrosiaster*, about 380, in *comment. ad 1 Tim. 3: 10*—*Episcopi et Presbyteri una ordinatio est. Uterque enim sacerdos est, sed Episcopus primus est; ut omnis Episcopus Presbyter sit, non tamen omnis Presbyter Episcopus: hic enim Episcopus est, qui inter Presbyteros primus est.* We find the latest traces of this relation between Bishops and Presbyters in *Hieronym. Epist. 101 (al. 85) ad Evangelium* (in the old ed. erroneously *ad Evagrium*, also in *Gratianus Dist. XCIII. c. 24*): *Apostolus perspicue docet eosdem esse Presbyteros, quos Episcopos.* — *Quaeris auctoritatem? Audi testimonium. Then he cites Phil. 1: 1. Acts 20: 28, etc. Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui caeteris praeponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriae a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos (about A. D. 240) Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. Quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faciat, aut Diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint, et Archi-*

ham's Trans. Vol. I. p. 56, 65. So also Rheinwald § 14, p. 25, and Seigel, Vol. I. p. 229, to the same effect.—Tr.]

§ 8. OFFICIAL DUTIES OF PRESBYTERS.

These duties are comprised under the following heads.

1. Before any formal distinction was known between bishops and

diaconum vocent. (Comp. on this letter *Chr. Waechtler*, Acta Eruditorum, ann. 1717, p. 484 seq., 524 seq. More lately the letter ad Evangelum has been pronounced spurious by P. Molkenbuhr, whom Binterim Denkwürdigk. d. christkath. Kirche Bd. 2. Th. 1. S. 70 ff. has followed. But there are so many similar passages that little is gained even if this should be proved not genuine.) *Ambrosiaster comm. ad Ephes.* 4: 11: Primi Presbyteri Episcopi appellabantur, ut, recedent eo, sequens ei succederet. Denique apud Ægyptum Presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit Episcopus. Sed quia coeperunt sequentes Presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente Concilio; ut non ordo, sed meritum crearet Episcopum multorum sacerdotum judicio constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum.—*Pseudo-Augustini* (according to the conjecture of the Benedictines, *Hilarii Diaconi*) *Quæstiones Vet et Nov. Testamenti* (in the Appendix Tom. III. P. II. of the Benedict. ed.) *Quæst.* 101: Presbyterum autem intelligi Episcopum probat Paulus Apostolus, quando Timotheum, quem ordinavit Presbyterum, instruit, qualem debeat creare Episcopum (1 *Tim.* 3: 1). Quid est enim Episcopus, nisi primus Presbyter, hoc est summus sacerdos?—Nam in Alexandria et per totam Ægyptum, si desit Episcopus, consecrat [*Ms. Colb.* consignat] Presbyter. In like manner, *Euty chius* (Saïd Ibn Batrik about 930) Patriarcha Alex. in Ecclesiae suae *Origg.* (ed. *Joh. Selden*, p. XXIX): Constituit Marcus Evangelista XII Presbyteros, qui nempe manerent cum Patriarcha, adeo ut cum vacaret Patriarchatus eligerent unum e XII Presbyteris, cujus capiti reliqui XI manus imponerent, eique benedicerent, et Patriarcham eum crearent (cor. p. 1 *Tim.* 4: 14).—Neque desiit Alexandriae institutum hoc de Presbyteris, ut scilicet Patriarchas crearent ex Presbyteris duodecim, usque ad tempora Alexandri Patriarchae Alexandrini qui fuit ex numero illo CCCXVIII. Is autem vetuit, ne deinceps Patriarcham Presbyteri crearent. Et decrevit, ut mortuo Patriarcha convenirent Episcopi, qui Patriarcham ordinarerent. In this passage it is at least certain that the part which is contradictory to the usage of latter times has not been interpolated, and so far it has an historical value. Attempts have been made to explain away its evidence by Morinus, Pearson, Le Quien, Renaudot, Petavius, and especially by *Abraham Echellensis* Euty chius Patriarcha Alex. vindicatus et suis restitutus Orientalibus, s. responsio ad Jo. Seldeni *Origines* etc. Romae. 1661. 4to. *Mamachii* *Origg.* et Antiquitt. Christian. Tom. IV. p. 503 seq. On the other hand, see *J. F. Rehkopf* *Vitae Patriarcharum Alexandr.* fasc. 1. et II.

presbyters the latter, especially those who were styled *προεστῳτες*, performed the duties of the former. Subsequent to the specific division of church officers, [after the establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy,] they performed a vicarious service in the place of the bishops; but there are occasional instances still later when they, in special cases, or by virtue of their office, performed duties which, according to canonical rules, belonged exclusively to the bishops.

2. According to the views of the bishop's office which represent him as controlling all that relates to religious worship, and the administration of the ordinances, (see above, § 4,) the presbyters performed the common religious services as his representatives, or assistants. As such, from the beginning, they discharged the offices of *teacher* and *preacher*, which appropriately belonged to the bishop. Even the deacons were frequently authorized to preach. Hence it appears that both presbyters and deacons acted in this capacity by authority delegated by the bishop. This state of things must however be understood to have prevailed only in communities where there were both bishops and presbyters, and while the bishops were still able and disposed themselves to perform the duties of the ministry. Jerome expresses his dissatisfaction that presbyters were not fully invested with the office of the ministry.¹ Passages of much the same import occur in the writings of Socrates,² Sozomen,³ and Ambrose.⁴ The example of Leo, and Gregory the Great, together with the fact that there are still extant sermons from bishops, such as Origen and others, is sufficient to show that they continued to discharge the duties of public preachers through the first seven centuries of the christian era. From that period these duties devolved entirely upon the presbyters.

3. The presbyters assisted in the administration of the sacraments. They are styled the *Συλλειτουργοι*, *coadministrari*, *consecradores*, of the bishop who, according to the explicit rules of the church, had the control of this service. That the presbyters acted as the representatives and assistants of the bishops in this ordinance, may be inferred from the circumstance that in the rites of ordination, which belonged exclusively to the bishop, they also assisted in the imposition of hands.⁵ Subsequently they regularly administered the ordinances, and other sacred rites, such as the following.

a) They administered baptisms, particularly after the introduction

of infant baptism. The act of confirmation belonged to the bishop, though there are exceptions to this rule.

b) They administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The solemnizing act in this ordinance is the consecration of the elements, which was performed by the presbyters except when the bishop was *present*, or was *in missa pontificalibus*, as the phraseology was. It was theirs also, by an ancient rule, to impart the consecrated bread—the host, and to pronounce the benediction. The administration of this ordinance was the highest official act of the priesthood.⁶ With reference to this part of his office, the presbyter was styled *μεσίτης*, mediator, *medius*. A phraseology deservedly censured by Augustine as seeming to relate to the office of the Mediator of the christian covenant; but it was probably designed to denote the intermediate grade of the *presbyter*, between the subordinate officers of the priesthood, and the bishop.

c) The presbyters also took part in acts of public penance while that system prevailed, though this was the peculiar prerogative of the bishop. All that related to the regulation of penance was, with certain reservations, under their immediate oversight. They were the appropriate penitentiary priests, *penitentiarii* and *confessarii*.

d) It belonged to them appropriately, to solemnize marriages, and to perform all the nuptial ceremonies.

e) They administered extreme unction, and performed all religious funeral services.

f) All the forms of benediction and consecration, such as that of the *chrism*, or anointing oil, etc. pertained to their office, with the exception of those which, from the beginning, were exclusively prescribed to the bishops.

g) The stated public prayers, *προσφώνησεις, εὐχὴ τῶν πιστῶν*, and collects, *ἐπίκλησις, occasional prayers*, were offered by bishops and presbyters indiscriminately,⁷ and both had a general superintendence of all their ceremonies of religious worship, together with the oversight of the deacons and lower officers of the priesthood.

4. In common with the bishops, presbyters indisputably had a part in the discipline of the church, both as it related to the clergy and the laity.⁸ This point has been the subject of much uncertainty and controversy, but it was never denied that the right of concurrence belonged to the presbytery *collectively*, if not to individual

members of it. Subsequently, it became the right of the chapters of the cathedral churches. Indeed, both the doings of the church, and of the synod were under the controlling influence of presbyters. The references subjoined are sufficient to show, that they had both a seat and a voice in the assembly of the synod.⁹

5. The most important office of the presbyters remains to be mentioned, and that is, the "cure of souls," specific and general, *cura animarum, et generalis, et specialis*. This has ever been their chief employment as pastors, vicars, and parish ministers. This point cannot in this place be discussed at length; suffice it to say that, in the discharge of their duties, they had occasion to combat with the greatest difficulties. At one time, through the arrogance and tyrannical power of the bishops, at another, through the contempt of the monks, they became martyrs to their high and holy calling.

§ 9. OF THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OR CLASSES OF PRESBYTERS.

Like the bishops they were very early divided into *city* and *rural presbyters*. The latter, *ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, regionarii*, were less esteemed, and accounted somewhat lower in rank, than the former. They were not permitted, for example, to administer the sacrament to a church in the city in the presence of the bishop, or city-presbyter, but, in the absence of these, the duty devolved upon one of them.¹ Neither were they allowed to issue canonical epistles, *Μὴ πρεσβύτερος τοῖς ἐν ταῖς χώραις κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς διδόναι, ἢ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς γείτονας ἐπισκόπους ἐκπέμπειν*.² Similar examples occur at all times sufficient to show that pastors in the country, were subordinate to those in the city; and yet, there is good evidence that all who sustained the office of the priesthood were accounted *in theory* equal.

2. The *ἀρχιπρεσβύτεροι*, and *πρωτοπρεσβύτεροι, archpresbyters*, and *pastores primarii*, were the same;³ both are called by the same name.⁴ One who sustains the relation of moderator and superior among the priesthood, is called by Jerome *archpresbyter* to distinguish him from the bishop.⁵ By Gregory Nazianzen and others the *oldest* clergyman was styled *archpresbyter*;⁶ the Greeks called him *πρωτόπαις*.⁷

The archpresbyters enjoyed the highest consideration between the fifth and eighth centuries, and occupied bishoprics as suffragans and vicar-generals. When the bishop's see became vacant they dis-

charged his duties, and took care to secure the vacant office for themselves. Several branches of administration they held under their entire control; they even aspired to an equality with the bishops, with whom they not unfrequently engaged in a spirited controversy. The bishops, on the other hand, sought by every means to oppose them, and accordingly favored the *archdeacons* as a check upon the archpresbyters. The first notice of this policy appears in the fourth council of Carthage. These presbyters were finally made subject to the archdeacon by Innocent III, in the twelfth century.

3. The office of dean was first known in England about the eleventh or twelfth century. The word is derived from *decanus*, *δεκαδάρχος*, and denotes the ruler of a *decad*, a body of ten men. The deans of cathedral churches were dignitaries of importance. Rural deans were inferior officers, who finally became merely itinerant visitors, and were at all times subject to the authority of the archdeacon.

4. The word *presbytera*, *presbyterissa*, *πρεσβυτέρα*, *πρεσβῦτις*, is of frequent occurrence in ancient writers, and may denote either the wife of a presbyter, a female officer, or a deaconess in the church; sometimes it denotes the matron of a cloister, and an abbess.

§ 10. OF THE RANK AND DUTIES OF DEACONS.

The terms *διάκονος*, *διακονία*, *διακονεῖν*, are primarily employed with reference to every kind of service, and every species of assistance, whether relating to religion or not; but they generally denoted some *specific* office. They correspond with the Hebrew *שָׂרָה* and *מְשִׁיבָה*, though the Septuagint does not so interpret them, except in two instances. In the New Testament the words are of frequent occurrence, both in a general, and specific application.

But they are generally used in a *specific* sense to denote some kind of service in religious things, as in the following passages, *διακονία τοῦ λόγου*, Acts 6: 4; *διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος*, 2 Cor. 3: 8; *διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας*, 2 Cor. 9: 12; *κλήρος τῆς διακονίας*, Acts 1: 17, 25. 20: 25. 21: 19. Rom. 11: 13; *διάκονοι καινῆς διαθήκης*, 2 Cor. 3: 6; *διάκονοι Θεοῦ*, 2 Cor. 6: 4. Compare also 1 Pet. 4: 10. 1: 12. 2 Tim. 1: 18. Acts 19: 22.

It is particularly important however to remark that the word *δια-*

κονία has, in many passages, reference to an office in the church instituted by the apostles; and that the appellation of *διάκονος*, *deacon*, denotes one whose duty it is to receive the charities of the church, and to distribute their alms, Acts 9: 29, 30. 12: 25. Rom. 16: 1, 31. 15: 25. 2 Cor. 8: 4. 9: 1, 13, 19, 20. Heb. 6: 10. 1 Tim. 8: 8, 10, 12, 13. Phil. 1: 1. 1 Peter 4: 10, 11. An explicit account of the first appointment of a deacon in the church at Jerusalem is given in Acts 6: 1—7. Here it may be observed, 1. That the appointment was made to obviate a misunderstanding between their Jewish and Gentile converts respecting the distribution of the daily alms of the church. 2. This account presupposes that there were already almoners of the poor; but that they belonged exclusively to the Jewish converts. Mosheim² and Kuinoel³ have well observed, that the office of deacon was derived from the Jewish synagogue, in which there were three persons entrusted with the care of the poor, who were called פְּרָשֵׁי הַקָּהָל, *pastores*. But in the church at Jerusalem seven were appointed, that they might better reconcile the two parties. 3. These seven were Hellenists, Grecians, as both their names and their care of the widows of such sufficiently indicate. 4. They were inducted into office by prayer, and the imposition of hands, and yet, though full of faith and the Holy Ghost, they took no part in the ministration of the word. 5. They were not reckoned with the priesthood. By virtue of their ordination they became officers of the church, and bore a part in the service of the church, *διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας*, while they had no concern with the instruction or discipline of the church.

These officers continued for a long time to perform only the duties at first ascribed to them, nor does it appear that they were appointed in any church save that at Jerusalem. It is at least remarkable that no trace of them is perceptible in the Acts of the apostles, not even when the apostles are making arrangements for the due administration of the church in their absence, chap. 14: 23. comp. Tit. 1: 5, nor in the epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians. In Philipians 1: 1, mention is merely made of them in connection with bishops, but no intimation is given respecting their office.

On the other hand in 1 Tim. 3: 8—13, instructions are given for the appointment of deacons in the church at Ephesus, whose offices are totally unlike those of the seven whose appointment is recorded

in the sixth chapter of Acts. 1. They are introduced in immediate connection with bishops, of whom Luke makes no mention. 2. In Jerusalem they were *chosen* by the church and installed in their office. Here nothing is said of their election and the inference is from Titus i. and ii, that Timothy was authorized to appoint them. 3. If bishops and presbyters are classed together as one in office, then these deacons obviously constitute a *distinct* class. But if the deacons and presbyters are identical, then it would follow that there is no mention of deacons in the New Testament as constituting a *third order*. The ancients adopted the first supposition and accordingly always unite the terms bishops and deacons. 4. Many have denied that the deacons were entitled in any case to preach.⁴ In reply to which no further proof is requisite, than the words of the apostle. 'Holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. They that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness *in the faith which is in Christ Jesus*.⁵ 1 Tim. 3: 9, 13.'

The most ancient authorities afford the fullest evidence that they were strictly ministers who acted as the assistants of bishops and presbyters in their religious services and other official duties.⁶ To use a military phrase, they were the *adjutants* of the bishop. Such is the uniform testimony of ancient history.⁷ 'Let the deacon,' says the book of Apostolical Constitutions, 'refer all things to the bishop, as Christ did to the Father.' 'Such things as he is able, let him rectify by the power which he has from the bishop, just as the Lord is delegated by the Father to act and to decide; but let the bishop judge the more important cases.'^{8*}—Again, 'let the deacon be the ear, the eye, the mouth, the heart, the soul of the bishop.' They are also styled his angels and his prophets. So universally did the bishop employ their service in the discharge of his duties.

In consequence of these relations to the bishop they early assumed to themselves great consequence, and refused to render similar assistance to presbyters, so that it often became necessary in ecclesiastical councils to admonish them of their duties by such decrees as the following. "Let the deacons observe their proper place, know-

* This reference to the relations of Christ to the Father was very common in the second and third centuries. From the fourth century it was avoided to prevent giving countenance to the Arian theory of his actual subordination.

ing that they are indeed the assistants of the bishop, but that they are inferior to the presbyters."⁹—"Let the deacon know that he is alike the minister of the presbyter, and of the bishop."¹⁰ The same council proceeds to admonish him of his subordination, reminding him that he was ordained to his office by the bishop *alone* without the aid of presbyters, for which they offer the following reason: *Quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur.*

The deacons continued to acquire increasing consideration as the bishops rose in power. Those particularly who were called archdeacons gained great favor with the bishop by reason of the assistance they rendered to him in curtailing the power of the presbyters. The *seven* who were originally appointed at Jerusalem, became a precedent for limiting their number in other churches, beyond which they were never much increased. So that they derived increasing consequence from the fact that they were so few.¹¹

There was another class of persons whose duty it was to perform the *lower offices* of deacons, and who, for this reason, were called *subdeacons* and assistants, *ὑποδιάκονοι, ὑπηρέται*. These were created a *distinct class* when the duties of the deacons became too arduous for them, in order that they might not diminish, by the increase of their own number, the consideration which they had acquired. Even these subdeacons are, in many churches, included in the superior order of their officers.

Deacons are sometimes called Levites, and their office *levitica dignitas, leviticum ministerium*. In the councils of the Western church presbyters and deacons are indiscriminately called by that name.¹²

From the above statements it appears, that the duty of the deacons was to perform the services which the bishops and presbyters were either unwilling or unable to discharge, with the exception of those which, according to the rules and usages of the church, could not be delegated to another. There were official duties of his own which the bishop could not impose upon presbyters. These it was equally unlawful for him to delegate to the deacons. Exceptions were occasionally made, especially in the case of the archdeacon, but they were violations of established usage. In consequence of performing the delegated duties of the bishop, the deacons made many pretensions to superiority over the presbyters, of which the latter often complained.

The consecration of the eucharist was one of the reserved rights which could not be delegated to the deacons.¹³ Instances to the contrary occasionally occurred, but they were violations of an established rule. Baptism, extreme unction, etc. they were allowed to administer as not belonging to the most sacred offices of the priesthood. From their performing only these subordinate ministerial duties they were early called *sacerdotes secundi vel tertii ordinis*.

But there must have been certain duties belonging to their office besides those which were delegated to them, else they could not with propriety be regarded as a *third* order of officers in the church. Of those offices, *two* are generally specified—that of reading the gospels—and of assisting the bishop and presbyter in the sacrament of the Lord's supper.¹⁴ *Diaconatus est ordo sacer in quo confertur gratia, et traditur precipua potestas ministrandi proxime Episcopo et Presbutero in missa sacrificio et solemniter legendi Evangelium.* The deacons alone were permitted to read the gospel in the communion service. For this reason the presentation of the gospel to them was one of the rites of their ordination.

The above were the *distinguishing characteristics* of their office. A full enumeration of their duties is given below.

1. Their first duty was to assist in the administration of the sacrament. 'After the benediction of the minister, and the response of the people, says Justin Martyr, they whom we call deacons distribute the consecrated bread and wine and water to each one who is present, and carry them to those who are absent.'¹⁵ According to the Constitutions, the *bishop* distributed the bread, and the deacons presented the cup.¹⁶ In the absence of the bishop, the presbyter invariably performed the same service.

Connected with the sacramental service, certain other duties devolved upon the deacons. a) They publicly proclaimed the name of each communicant.¹⁷ b) They received the contributions of the communicants and delivered them to a subordinate officer for safe keeping. c) They had the charge of the sacred utensils—the chalice, the patin or plate, the napkin, the fan for repelling the flies, *ἐπίδιον, stabellum*, etc.¹⁸

2. It was their duty, previous to the appointment of readers, to perform the services of that office. Subsequently it continued to be their duty to read the gospels in the celebration of the eucharist

whenever the bishop did not officiate in person, in which case the reading devolved upon the presbyter.¹⁹ At Alexandria the archdeacon alone read the Scriptures—in other churches, the deacons, and in many also the presbyters performed this service, and on feast days it was discharged by the bishop himself.²⁰

3. They acted as monitors in directing the several parts of religious worship, giving notice by set forms, called *προσφώνησεις*, of the commencement of each act of worship, and calling the attention of the audience to it, commanding silence and preserving order. For this reason they were called the sacred heralds of the church, *ἱεροκήρυκες*, *κήρυκες*, *tibicines sacri*, *precones*, etc. The following are examples of these forms: *δεηθῶμεν*, *oremus*, let us pray; *orate catechumeni*, let the catechumens pray; *attendamus*, attention; *flectamus genua*, kneel; *ἀπολύεσθε*, you are dismissed; *προέλθετε*, *ite*, withdraw; *missa est*, the service is ended; *sursum corda*, lift up your hearts; *sancta sanctis*, holiness becomes sacred things; and the like.²¹

4. They had a general oversight of the assembly in religious worship to prevent disturbance, and see that everything was conducted with propriety.

5. They *occasionally* preached in the absence of the bishop. Chrysostom, when deacon of the church at Antioch, preached for his bishop Flavianus, as did also Ephraim the Syrian, under similar circumstances. The right is firmly denied by Ambrose,²² but explicitly authorized by the second council of Vaison, A. D. 529. c. 2. which devolves upon them the duty of conducting the worship in the absence of the bishops and presbyters, or when they were prevented by infirmity from officiating.

6. The duty of giving catechetical instructions stood on the same footing. It was the appropriate duty of the bishop; but the deacons were frequently intrusted with this service to the candidates for baptism, especially when it was continued for a length of time.

7. They administered baptism by permission of the bishops and presbyters as *their substitutes*, but not as authorized administrators of the ordinance.²³

8. They were not only permitted, but in certain cases required, to absolve and restore penitent backsliders. St. Cyprian says, "If they, the sick, are seized by any dangerous disease, they need not await my return, but may have recourse to any presbyter that is present,

or if a presbyter cannot be found, and their case becomes alarming, they may make their confession before a deacon that so they may receive imposition of hands and go to the Lord in peace."—Ep. 13. al. 18.

9. They had the charge of the inferior orders of church officers and servants, and, in the absence of the presbyters might, at their discretion, censure or suspend them for a time for misconduct.

10. They acted as the representatives and proxies of their bishops in general council. In such cases they sat and voted, in the Eastern church, not as *deacons*, but as *proxies*, in the room and place of those that sent them. In the Western church they voted after the bishops, and not in the place of those whose proxies they were.

11. They exercised an inspection over the life and morals both of the clergy and laity. They were the *justices* and *grand jurymen* of the church, and were to make diligent inquiry and due presentation to their bishops. It is in this sense that they are styled *the eyes* and *the ears* of the bishop.²⁴ Their office evidently must have been one of great respectability; but at the same time such duties must have rendered it odious to the community.

12. It was their duty to receive and disburse the charities of the church. In the discharge of these duties they were styled the *mouth* and the *heart* or *soul* of the bishop. In this sense they were accounted the indispensable assistants of the bishop, without whom he could do nothing.²⁵ Their duties increased with the possessions of the church, so that they acted essentially as the accountants and clerks of the bishop.

§ 11. OF ARCHDEACONS.

The policy of the bishop, in attaching to himself the interests of the deacons in opposition to the presbyters, was peculiarly manifested in respect to the archdeacon, who was the firm adherent of the bishop, and the bitter opponent of the archpresbyters.

Contrary to the general usage of antiquity, qualifications for office had more influence in his election than seniority of age and ordination. Athanasius of Alexandria, while yet a young man, was invested with the office of archdeacon.¹ Jerome also gives us to understand that the deacons chose from among themselves indiscrimi-

nately the most suitable candidate for the office ; according to the same author, there was one archdeacon for each church.

The office was in certain churches *elective* ; in others it was filled by appointment of the bishop. Indeed, he might very naturally be expected to guard with peculiar jealousy the appointment of this officer who, according to the antiquated phraseology of the day, was to be his own right hand, his mouth, his ear, his eye. Accordingly, when the rule of seniority prevailed, he retained the right of overruling it at pleasure, leaving to the candidate elect his rank and title, but substituting in his place another better qualified to transact the business of the office.²

The leading historical facts relating to this office are briefly as follows.

1. The office occurs as early as the fourth or fifth century, but without any distinct title ; such were Athanasius of Alexandria, Caecilianus of Carthage, and the famous Leo the Great of Rome.
2. The arrogance and ambition of the archdeacons became, as early as the fifth century, the subject of bitter complaint.³
3. They usually had the address to become the successors of the bishop ; they claimed to take precedence of the presbyters, and to be second in rank only to the bishop.⁴
4. Their power became greatly extended through the period reaching from the seventh to the ninth centuries, when they were not only authorized to remove deacons, and subordinate officers,⁵ but the honors shared by them were in some instances eagerly sought by the presbyters themselves ;⁶ even the jurisdiction of the bishop was disowned by them, with whom they became, in a measure, partners in office.⁷
5. From the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the bishops were engaged in a fruitless endeavor to curtail the grasping ambition of the archdeacons, who still had the address to ally themselves more and more with the *secular power*, and finally, not only became independent of the bishops, but subjected them, in a degree, to their own control.⁸ The establishment and the increase of their power was favored at Rome, as the means of weakening the hands of the bishops, and extending the influence of the Romish see. So that the very order of men that the bishops employed to assist them in gaining ascendancy over the presbyters, was now employed by a more aspiring power against themselves.
6. In the thirteenth century, the archbishops succeeded in putting an effectual check upon the immoderate power of the archdeacons ; a

decree in council having been finally obtained which prohibited the archdeacon from employing *any substitute whatever* in the discharge of his office, or passing any *judicial* sentence for grave offences *without the permission of the bishop*. The archbishops also required of the bishops that they should employ in the discharge of their duties, a new class of officers, who should be entirely distinct from the archdeacons. These were first appointed by Innocent IV, A. D. 1250, and were called *vicarii, officiales*, officials, vicars, and also vicar generals, because they were intrusted with judicial authority and adjudicated in the name of the bishop. This measure had the desired effect to reduce the power of the archdeacon, which in consequence became an inconsiderable office. In the East it became extinct as early as the eighth century.

The office itself may be compared both with that of bishop and deacon, for it partook in part of the nature of both. The principal complaint against the archdeacon arose from the abuse of his power in assuming as his right what was only delegated to him, as has been already related. His various offices are specified by Bingham in the following summary, 1. To attend the bishop at the altar; 2. to assist him in managing the church revenues; 3. in preaching; 4. in ordaining the inferior clergy; 5. he also had power to censure deacons, and the inferior clergy, but not presbyters.

§ 12. OF DEACONESSES.

The office of deaconess may be regarded as substantially the same with that of *female presbyters*. They were early known in the church by a great variety of names, all of which, with some circumstantial variations, denoted the same class of persons. They were helpers, assistants to perform various services in the church. The following are the most frequent names by which they are distinguished, *πρεσβύτιδες, πρεσβύτιραι, διακόνισσαι, episcopae, episcopissae, antistae, χῆραι, viduae, viduatas, προκαθήμεναι, ministræ, ancillae*, etc. Their most frequent appellation however is that of *deaconess, diaconissa*, a term which does not occur in the Scriptures, though reference is undoubtedly had to the *office* in Rom. 16: 1. Profane writers use the term *ἡ διάκονος*, and *diacona*, to denote both the wife of a deacon, and an officer in the church; which has been a fruitful source of controversy. The principal points of dispute

which have been raised on this subject are arranged under the following heads.

1. The terms *διάκονοι*, *χήραι*, *προεβύτεροι*, in many passages distinctly indicate that they were appointed to perform the same offices towards the female sex, as the deacons discharged for their sex, Rom. 16: 1, 2, 12. 1 Tim. 5: 3, seq. Titus 2: 3, seq. 1 Tim. 3: 11. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of this office, some suppose it to have been derived from the Jews; others, that it was peculiar to the Christian church; Paul's commendation of Phebe, Rom. 16: 1, 2, however, refutes the hypothesis that they were appointed to administer *exclusively* to their own sex.

Hugo Grotius, in his commentary on that passage says, that "in Judea the deacons could administer freely to the female sex. The office of deaconess was accordingly unknown among the Jews; but in Greece no man was allowed to enter the apartment of that sex, which custom gave rise to *two* classes of female assistants, one called *προεβύτιδες*, or *προκαθήμεναι*, who devoted their attention to the *department* of the women; the other *διάκονοι*, Latin *diaconissa*,² whom Pliny in his epistle to Trajan calls *ministrae*, attended to the poor and the sick of their own sex, and provided for their wants." Others give a different explanation of this matter; and indeed it must be admitted, that from the second to the fourth century the office was known in many churches in various countries, though it was never universally adopted.

One part of their office was to *give religious instruction*, which undoubtedly was merely *catechetical*; for the language of Paul, 1 Cor. 14: 34. 1 Tim. 2: 8—12, forbids the supposition that they ever usurped the place of *public* teachers; but the primitive church at least agreed in permitting them to impart catechetical instruction to their own sex. They were in this way private catechists to female catechumens.

2. Satisfactory evidence of the reality of this office is derived, not only from the apostles and the ancient fathers, but from pagan writers, particularly from Pliny, (see page 25—27,) who mentions them in his account of the persecutions of the Christians as *anillace quae ministrae dicbantur*. They are also mentioned by Lucian of Samosata, and Libanius.¹

3. The requisite age for this office was usually sixty years and upward,³ 1 Tim. 5: 9; but the usage of the church in this respect

was not uniform. According to some councils they were eligible to this office at *forty*;³ some were chosen even at the early age of *twenty*.⁴ Their age probably varied with the particular duties to which they were appointed; matrons, venerable for age and piety, being selected for religious teachers, and younger women for almsgiving, the care of the sick, assistants at baptism, etc.—Neither were *widows* alone invariably appointed to this office. Tertullian however directs that they should be the widow of one man, having children, But Ignatius in his epistle to the Smyrneans salutes the *virgins* that are called widows; and such were not unfrequently chosen to this office,⁵ though it must be admitted that widows of virtuous character were sometimes denominated *παρθέναι*, *virgins*.⁶

4. The ordination of deaconesses has been the subject of much dispute; but there is satisfactory evidence that they were consecrated to their office by prayer, and the imposition of hands.⁷ This form of consecration was indeed prohibited by certain councils,⁸ but even the prohibition of it is evidence that it was practised. Their consecration, however, gave them *no power to perform any of the duties of the sacred office*; they were merely a religious order in the church. The views of the primitive church respecting them, are well expressed by Epiphanius, *καὶ ὅτι μὲν διακονισσῶν τάγμα (ordo) ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὲ εἰς ἱερατεῖν, οὐδὲ τι ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐπιτροπείν*, etc.

5. Their duties were, a) *To take the care of the poor and the sick*; this in the apostolic age was their principal office. A service so commendable that, in imitation of it, even Julian the Apostate required the same. Under this head may also be classed the duty of ministering to martyrs, and confessors in prison. b) *To instruct catechumens, and to assist at their baptism*. They instructed female candidates in the symbols, and other things preparatory to their baptism. Their attendance at the baptism of candidates of their own sex, was requisite to assist in divesting them of their raiment, to administer the unction, and to make arrangements for the administration of the ordinance with all the decency becoming a rite so sacred.* c) *To exercise a general oversight over the female members of the church*. This oversight they continued, not only in all the exercises

* The custom of the times was to baptize by immersion, and in a state of nudity.¹⁰

of religious worship, of the sacrament, and of penance, but in private life, imparting needful admonition, and making due reports of them to the presbyters and bishop.¹¹

6. This office ceased in the church at an early period, but the precise time cannot be determined. It was first abrogated in France, by the Council of Orange, A. D. 441. But it continued for some time after this, and gradually disappeared from the Western church. In the Greek church it became extinct in the twelfth century.¹²

Morinus offers several reasons for the abrogating of this office in Syria,¹³ which were briefly—that the services of these women became less important after the cessation of the *agapae* of the primitive church,—that the care of the sick and the poor which had devolved upon the church, was in the time of Constantine assumed by the state,—that after the introduction of infant baptism, their attendance at this ordinance became of less importance—and finally, that they, in their turn, became troublesome aspirants after the prerogatives of office; just as the abbesses and prioresses of later times assumed all the offices of the bishop, preaching, administering the communion, absolving, excommunicating, and ordaining at pleasure; abuses which it required all the authority of councils, and of the pope himself, to rectify; in a word, the order was abolished because it was no longer necessary. *Cessante causa, cessat effectus.*

[There were fanatical sects even in the ancient church, such as the Montanists and Collyridians, who authorized and encouraged women to speak, dispute, and teach in public. But the sentiment of the church has uniformly been opposed to such indecencies. What impudence, says Tertullian, in these heretical women to teach, to dispute, to exorcise, and even to baptize! *De Bap.* 17. Let no woman speak in public, nor teach, nor baptize, nor administer the sacrament, nor arrogate to herself any office of the ministry belonging to the other sex, *De Virg.* vel. c. 9. Let not a woman, however learned or holy, presume to teach men in public assembly—is the injunction of the council of Carthage, IV. 99. Let all the female sex, says Chrysostom, forbear from assuming the responsibility of the sacred office, and the prerogatives of men, *De Sacerdotio*, L. II. The Apostolic Constitutions declare it to be a heathenish custom, Lib. 3. c. 9; and Epiphanius has a particular dissertation in which he shows at large, that no woman, from the foundation of the world, was ever ordained to offer sacrifice, or perform any solemn service of the church.—Tr.]

CHAPTER IV.

INFERIOR OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. OF SUBDEACONS.

The *ὑπηρέται*, *servants*, of the New Testament are the same as the subdeacons of whom mention is so frequently made, both by the early fathers and by later ecclesiastical writers. This appellation was first used by Athanasius, but earlier traces of it occur in the epistles of Cyprian, 8. 20. 29. 34. 35, etc., as a term in use in the Latin church, from whom it was afterwards adopted by the Greek church.¹ The office became common to both the Eastern and Western churches in the fourth century.

The specific duty of the subdeacons was to *assist the deacons in their duties*. The number of these was so limited that it was quite impracticable for them personally to discharge all the duties of their office. For this reason they were provided with the assistance of the subdeacons. Like the deacons they were usually *seven* in number. To this number the church of Rome adhered with singular pertinacity. But in order that they might retain their sacred number *seven*, and still have the aid of a sufficient number of assistants, they created *three* several orders of these officers, consisting of seven each, and called *palatini*, *stationarii*, and *regionarii*.² In the church at Constantinople there were at one time ninety, and at another, seventy subdeacons.

Authorities are not agreed respecting the consecration of the subdeacons. Some affirm that they were, and others that they were not, ordained by the imposition of hands.³ In the East they were uniformly regarded as of a subordinate rank, and classed with the *readers*. In the West they ranked the first in the *lower order* of the priesthood, and about the twelfth or thirteenth centuries they were transferred to the *superior* order.⁴ The reason for this promotion was that on the elevation of the episcopal order the *three* orders might still retain their original number and relative rank. The Eastern church adhered more closely to the original design for which they were appointed.

Before their promotion in the Western church, their duties were the following :—to convey the bishop's letters or messages to foreign churches, and to execute other commissions of the superior ministers; to fit and prepare the sacred vessels of the altar, and to deliver them to the deacon in time of divine service; to attend the door of the church during the communion service, taking care that no one went in or out during the time of oblation; and, perhaps, to conduct those who came into church to their proper places.⁵

After their promotion in the Western church, they were permitted to assist in celebrating mass. An empty chalice and patine was delivered to them at their ordination; but they were not allowed either to consecrate, or distribute the sacred elements. As it was customary to deliver to the deacons a copy of the gospels, so to the subdeacons was delivered a copy of the epistles also, at their ordination. In a word the strife was to elevate their office as much as possible above that of the reader, and to attach to it all possible honors. Contrary to all the authority of the primitive church, they were often promoted to the highest honors and offices of the priesthood.

§ 2. OF READERS.

These occupied the first rank in the lower order of church officers in the Greek church; in the Roman they were next in rank to the subdeacons. They have been frequently regarded as an order instituted by the apostles, and by them derived from the Jewish synagogue. Compare Luke 4: 16. Acts 13: 15, 27. 2 Cor. 3: 14. And it must be admitted, that reading formed a very important part of public worship. There were also, among the Jews, persons who performed the same duties as the readers in the christian church.¹ But the fact that the Scriptures were read by certain individuals, is not proof that these constituted a distinct order. Justin, indeed, distinguishes between the *reader* and the presiding officer of the church, and yet the *former* may have been a presbyter or deacon. The deacons were expressly required to read at the communion service, but this is no certain evidence that they may not have been at the same time the ordinary readers in the religious service. For these reasons it is advisable to refer the institution of this order to the *third* century. They are first mentioned by Tertullian, who complains of the heretics that they confound all rule and order, allowing the

same person to perform alternately the offices of bishop, presbyter, deacon, and *reader*.² Cyprian also mentions the ordination of a *reader*, and remarks that the readers are a subordinate class who are candidates for promotion to the clerical office. Ep. 24. (al. 29).³

The office was at first held in peculiar honor. Cyprian styles the reader the instructor of the audience, intimating thereby both the dignity of the office, and the importance of the reading of the Scriptures as a part of divine worship. The church observed the rules of the synagogue in admitting persons to this office without prescribing to them any specific age. As with the Jews, so with the primitive Christians, lads at an early age, if duly qualified, might serve as their readers. There are instances on record of youth who, even at seven years of age, have been employed in this service; and others at eight, ten, and twelve years of age. Young men of noble birth especially, aspired to this office.⁴

In the Western church the subdeacons soon sought means to bring the readers under subordination to them, and accordingly this order finally ceased from the church. In the cloisters and chapters, on the contrary, they acquired still increasing consideration, and at a period still later, as they were withdrawn from the service of the church, they were transferred to the professorships of Philosophy and Theology in the universities and other schools of learning.

§ 3. OF ACOLYTHS.

The word *ἀκόλουθος* denotes a servant. The office corresponds to that of the Roman *apparitor*, or *pedellus*, *bedellus*, a *beadle*. The word is evidently of Greek origin. Hesychius defines it by ὁ νεώτερος παῖς, θεράπων, ὁ περὶ τὸ σῶμα, a *servant*, or *personal attendant*. With this view of the origin of the word, it is remarkable that it was, for four hundred years, an office of the *Latin* church, and adopted from them by the Greek at a late period. This may have arisen from the fact that the subdeacons in the Greek church have a close analogy with the acolyths in the Latin, and that name was commonly retained. But the term *ἀκόλουθος* was also familiar in the Greek church, and is explicitly mentioned by Eusebius and others.¹ Eusebius relates that an inconceivable number of presbyters, deacons, acolyths and others attended the bishops at the council of Nice.

The acolyths, as their name implies, were the immediate atten-

dants and followers of the bishop, especially in public processions, and on festive occasions, and were employed by them in errands of every kind. Their duties in regard to religious worship, as specified by the council of Carthage, were to light the candles, and to bring the wine and water for the eucharist.²

§ 4. OF EXORCISTS.

Our business is merely to speak of the origin and offices of this order in the church. And this we can do by adopting the language of Bingham, who gives the following as the result of his investigations on this subject: 1. That exorcists did not at first constitute any distinct order of the clergy; 2. That bishops and presbyters were in the three first centuries the usual exorcists of the church; 3. That in a certain sense, by prayer and by resisting the devil, every Christian might be his own exorcist; and 4. That exorcists began to be known as a distinct order in the church in the latter part of the third century. The appointment and office of the exorcists is by the fourth council of Carthage, c. 7, described as follows: When an exorcist is ordained, he shall receive at the hands of the bishop a book wherein the forms of exorcising are written, the bishop saying, “receive thou these and commit them to memory, and have thou power to *lay hands on the energumens, whether they be baptized or only catechumens.*” This was the uniform mode of ordination, although, after the introduction of infant baptism, the assistance of exorcists in administering this ordinance was either omitted entirely, or greatly changed. Subsequently, the exorcising of demoniacs was either wholly discontinued, or subjected, by explicit decrees of council, to the oversight of presbyters or bishops. “The routine of their duties was prescribed by the bishop according to circumstances of time and place. In some churches in Germany, they had the oversight of the consecrated water, and the vessels in which it was kept. In other churches they reciprocated their duties with the door-keepers, readers, and acolyths of the church, or it was their business to conduct communicants in crowded assemblies to the sacramental table.”¹

[According to the authority of Bingham, “Nothing is more certain than that, in the apostolic age, and that next following, the power of exorcising or casting out devils was a miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost, not confined to the clergy, much less to any single or-

der among them, but given to other Christians also, as many other extraordinary gifts then were." For his authorities, see reference.²

Cave's account of this order is as follows: "After the miraculous power of casting out devils began to cease, or at least not to be so common as it was, these possessed persons used to come to the *out parts* of the church where a person was appointed to exorcise them, i. e. to pray over them in such prayers as were peculiarly composed for such occasions, and this he did in the public name of the whole church, the people also at the same time praying within, by which means the possessed person was delivered from the tyranny of the evil spirit without any of those *charms* and *conjurations* and other *un-christian* forms and rites which by degrees crept into this office, and are at this day in use in the church of Rome."³—Tr.]

§ 5. OF THE SINGERS, OR PRECENTORS.

The appointment of singers and choristers takes its origin from the importance in which the singing of psalms and hymns was held not only in the temple and synagogue service of the Jews, but in the apostolic and primitive churches. We have the fullest and most satisfactory evidence of the early and universal introduction of this part of religious worship into the christian church,¹ Eph. 5: 19, 20, Col. 3: 16, and of the appointment of singers as a distinct class of church officers.² It is remarkable that this part of public worship was restricted by the council of Laodicea,³ to a distinct order in the church, styled by them *κανονικοὶ ψάλται*, *canonical singers*. These went up into the singer's seats and sung from a book. The object of this restriction was to correct abuses and suitably to regulate this part of worship. The *subjects* of their psalmody were submitted to the control of the bishops or presbyters. But all that related to the *performance* of the music *as an art* was left to the singers.

[Bingham asserts, that from the apostolic age, for several centuries, the whole body of the church united in singing, and that these *κανονικοὶ ψάλται* were only a temporary provision to regulate and restore the singing to some tolerable degree of harmony, and that it continued to be the usage of the church for the whole assembly to join in singing. For this opinion he quotes various authorities. Baumgarten. p. 136, and Siegel, Vol. II. 206, also agree with Bingham in opinion.—Tr.]

Systems of psalmody, both plain and complicated, were early introduced into the church. The singer in the Latin church is sometimes called *psalmista* or *psalmistanus*, but more frequently, *cantor*. The term *ὑποβολεῖς* also occurs in connection with the singers, who may be styled *psalmi promuntiatores*, or *sucentores*, *leaders*. Their office was to begin the psalm or hymn, and thus lead the singing, so that others might unite their voices harmoniously with them. The duties of the office are thus described by Durandus; *pertinet ad psalmistam, officium canendi, dicere benedictiones, laudes, sacrificium, responsoria, et quidquid pertinet ad cantandi peritiam.*⁴

No special form for the ordination of singers is prescribed; and by the fourth council of Carthage, c. 10, the presbyter is authorized to make the appointment without the knowledge or authority of the bishop. This commission the presbyter delivered in these words: *Vide ut quod ore cantas, corde credas; et quod corde credis, operibus comprobas.* See that what thou singest with thy mouth thou believest also with thy heart; and that what thou believest in thy heart, thou confirmest in thy life. In the Catholic church the singers do not constitute a separate class, and in other churches they are reckoned with the readers.

But though the singers have not been classed with the priesthood, they have ever been held in great respect, as appears from the establishment of schools of sacred music, and from the peculiar attention which was paid to them; especially to the instructors of them. Such schools were established as early as the *sixth* century, and became common in various parts of Europe, particularly in France and Germany. These schools were very much patronized by Gregory the Great; under whom they obtained great celebrity. From them originated the famous *Gregorian Chant*, a plain system of church music which the choir and the people sung in unison. The prior, or principal, of these schools was a man of great consideration and influence. The name of this officer at Rome, was *archicantor ecclesiae Romanae*, and like that of *prelatus cantor*, in their chapters and collegiate churches, it was a highly respectable and lucrative office.⁵

§ 6. OF OSTIARII, OR DOORKEEPERS.

These, though the last of the lower orders, were of a more elevated rank than the modern sexton, with whom they should not be confounded. The ostiarii belonged, in a sense, to the clerical order; while the sexton is the attendant and waiter on the clergy. Their duties were more comprehensive than the latter, in that they separated the catechumens from believers, and excluded disorderly persons from the church.¹ They closed the doors of the church, not only at the close of religious worship, but during the services, especially after the first part of it, called the *missa catechumenorum*. They had also the care of the ornaments of the church, and of the altar. It afterwards became their duty to ornament the church and the altar on festive occasions—to guard the grave-yards and sepulchres of the dead; to present the book to the preacher; to ring the bell; to sweep the church, and on Thursday of passion-week to make preparation for the consecration of the chrism, or anointing oil.² They are sometimes called *mansionarii* and *janitores*.

The most probable explanation of the origin of this order is that they were made doorkeepers of the *christian church* in imitation of the doorkeepers of the Jewish tabernacle as related in the book of secret discipline. If so the origin of this office was antecedent to the time of the apostles. The office was esteemed as essential in observing the secluded rites of our religion as it was in celebrating the mysteries of pagan superstition. The office was known in the Eastern church in the time of the Sardinian council (c. 24) but was discontinued about the seventh or eighth centuries—being no longer necessary.

The customary forms of ordination are prescribed in the fourth council of Carthage, c. 9, and the ceremony of *delivering the keys* is derived from the book of secret discipline.

§ 7. OF THE SUBORDINATE SERVANTS OF THE CHURCH AND OF THE CLERGY.

a) *The Copiatae*, undertakers, grave-diggers, sextons. These were intrusted *with the care of funerals, and the burial of the dead*. They are called *respillones, bispillones, νεκροθάπται*; also

ordo fossariorum,² *fossores*,³ grave-diggers—*λεπικαριοι*,⁴ bearers of the bier, and *collegiati*, *decani*, collegiates and deans.

They are said to have been first instituted at Constantinople by Constantine the Great, and to have been further organized and established by the emperor Anastasius.⁵

b) *The Parabolani*. Their office was *to take care of the sick*; a service which in the times of the apostles and primitive Christians was of great importance, especially during the prevalence of severe sickness. The common belief is that they took their name from the hazardous office in which they were employed, *ἔργον παράβολον*, *negotium periculosum*. Others derive it from *παράβολοι* in the sense of *bestiarii*, persons of great courage and desperate character who exposed themselves in combat with wild beasts.¹

They were chiefly limited to Egypt and Asia Minor; where they were the more necessary by reason of the contagious diseases of these countries. Still they were regarded with jealousy as dangerous disturbers of the peace; and for this reason, efforts were frequently made to diminish their number.² Very few traces of them appear in the history of the Western church; in the middle ages, the brothers and sisters of charity supplied their place.

c) *The sacrista*, *sacristanus*, and *sacristarius*, was much the same as *treasurer*, the keeper of the sacred things, *sacrorum custos*, *qui ecclesiae suretum curat*.¹

d) *The custos*; *custor*, *acdituus*, was much the same as the *sacristan*. Sometimes he is called *capellanus*, which denotes particularly the keeper of the *altar*.

e) *The campanarii*, *campanatores*, were the *bell-ringers*. An office which of necessity has been instituted since the introduction of bells in the ninth century. Their usual business was to light the church, and ring the bell for religious worship.

f) *The matricularii* were intrusted with the care of the church, in which they were accustomed to sleep; they also had a specific office to perform in public processions.

g) *The parafrenarii* were the coachmen of the higher clergy who had also the care of their stables, horses, and coaches. They were sometimes reckoned among the number of the clergy, but of an inferior order.¹

§ 8. OF OCCASIONAL OFFICERS IN THE CHURCH WHO RANKED WITH THE CLERGY.

a) *Catechists*.¹

In view of the importance in which catechetical instructions were held, it is truly surprising that none were permanently designated to this office. The *name* of catechist indeed is of common occurrence, but they did not constitute a distinct order. These instructions were given in part by the bishops themselves, who were, by virtue of their office, the chief catechists, and had the oversight of all such exercises in which presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists bore a part. The deaconesses, and aged women also, acted as catechists for their sex.

There was indeed a famous catechetical school at Alexandria. But the catechists of that institution sustained the relations of a modern lecturer or professor, rather than those of a common catechist.²

b) *Capellani*.

The name is derived from *capella*, which primarily means a certain kind of hood. In the fifth century it became the name of oratories, or *private churches*, which were built about that time in France, and afterwards became common in the West. The first instance of this form of private worship occurs in the life of Constantine,¹ who constituted his military tent a place for religious worship in the open field. Probably the *μαρτύριον ἐπὶ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, which according to Eusebius was erected by Constantine, was a sort of *court-church*. Certain it is that we read of the *clerici palatii*, *sacelli regii*, court-preachers, under the succeeding emperors. The chief among these were called *πάππας τοῦ παλατίου*, etc. answering to the Capellani, Regii, Archi-Capellani, Summi, Sacellani, etc. under the monarchs of France, Germany, and England.² The *capellanus* then was the *chaplain* or minister of these *private* or *court* chapels.

After the crusades multitudes of places where *sacred relics* were preserved were also called *chapels*, and the persons who had the care of these relics received also the name of *chaplains*, though they had no stated ministerial office, but occasionally officiated by special permission.

c) *Hermeneutai, Interpreters.*

The duty of these was to translate from one tongue into another, where people of different languages were commingled; like the Greek and Syriac,—Latin and Punic. They had a seat also with the bishop to assist in translating the correspondence of the church into different languages—to interpret synodical records, etc.

Readers and deacons were employed as interpreters for the preacher when they were competent for the discharge of such duties, but whoever performed this service, must of necessity be regarded as acting the part of a religious teacher, and, in this sense, as belonging to the priesthood. The bishop's assistant translators might be chosen from among the laity, when no suitable person belonging to the clergy could be found; and though he was little else than a notary or scribe, he was honored with a place among the clergy.

§ 9. OF OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH WHO DID NOT BELONG TO THE PRIESTHOOD.

Persons of this description are to be distinguished by their rank and influence respectively, as well as by the time and circumstances of their appointment. They were chosen at one time from the clergy, at another from the laity. In the service of the church they often sustained much the same relations as did the archbishops, and other dignitaries, when acting as ministers of state. Their influence was chiefly felt in Rome and Constantinople, rather than in the provincial dioceses. The influence of some of these officers was often greater even than that of a prime minister, archbishop, or patriarch, just as the most important concerns of church and state are often controlled by a secretary or counsellor. Officers of this class however had little or no concern with the *appropriate* duties of the ministry. And we will treat of them very briefly in the order of their importance proceeding from the lowest to the highest.

a) The *Mansionarii, stewards*, to whom was intrusted the care of the *church-glebes*, styled also *προσμονάριοι, παραιμονάριοι*.—b) *Οἰκονόμοι*, persons appointed by the bishop and archdeacon to assist in managing the possessions of the church. This became in the middle ages, an office of great influence, and was in a good degree in-

dependent of the bishop. They were totally distinct from the stewards of cloisters, and other similar establishments.

c) *Cimeliarchs*, *κειμηλιάρχαι*, *Thesaurii*, *Sacellii*, *Sacristae*, different from the sacristans, or sextons before mentioned, *treasurers*. *Μέγας σκευοφυλαξ*, chancellor of the exchequer; *μέγας σακελλάριος*, treasurer of the cloisters, prefect of monasteries, etc.

d) *Notarii*. The Greek *νοτάριος*, was of late origin. Previous to this, the corresponding terms were *γραμματεῖς*, *ἐπογραφεῖς*, *ὑποδοχεῖς*, *ὀξυγράφοι*, *ταχυγράφοι*, etc. neither of which exactly expresses the meaning of the term *notarius*. This denotes a *scribe*, and always implies that he acts in some *official capacity*, as the scribe or secretary of a deliberative assembly, or the clerk of a court. The *Notarii* were frequently employed by private persons, but retained even then their official character. The *ὀξυγράφοι* and *ταχυγράφοι*, were copyists and translators of homilies, records, etc.¹ It was particularly their duty to write memoirs of such as suffered martyrdom,² and to record the protocols of synods, and doings of councils.³ They also acted the part of a modern secretary of legation,⁴ and were again the agents of bishops and patriarchs in exercising a supervision over remote districts of their diocese. In this capacity, they frequently attained to great influence and honor.⁵

The various services of a secretary or scribe in preparing writings, whether of a judicial, or extra-judicial character, were chiefly performed by men of the clerical order, because they were the best qualified for these duties.

e) *Apocrisarii*, or *Responsales*. They were often legates or ambassadors from one court to another, like the *cancellarii*, *consiliarii*, *secretarii*, *referendarii*, etc. The title of *apocrisary*, was appropriated particularly to the pope's deputy or agent, who resided at the court of Constantinople to receive the pope's orders and the emperor's answers. The existence of such an agent at that court, has been called in question without good reason. Both Leo and Gregory the Great once resided there in that capacity, and there are other unequivocal notices of the office.¹

After the reestablishment of the Western empire, an accredited agent of the pope, of the like character, was accustomed to reside at the French court; he was sometimes called *capellanus*, *palatii custos*, corresponding to a modern charge d'affaires.

The most celebrated cloisters and abbeys, as well as the arch-

bishops had also their agents at Rome. Since the ninth century they have had the name of *ambassadors*.

g) *Syncelli*, *σύνγελλοι*. The chief *syncellus* at Constantinople was an officer of high rank, and the *syncelli* were generally chosen from the bishops and metropolitans to this office.¹ The prelates of Rome had also their *syncelli*; but the office in time degenerated into an empty name.² Their business is said to have been originally to attend upon the patriarchs and prelates as their spiritual advisers, and as witnesses of their deportment, and the purity of their manners.

h) *The Syndici*, *σύνδικοι*, *defensores*. Their business was to redress the wrongs of the poor and the injured, to defend the rights of the church, to exercise a supervision over the property of the church, to settle disputes, manage law-suits, etc. They were known in the church as early as the fourth or fifth century.

i) There was still another class of officers who may perhaps be styled *patrons* or *protectors*. By whatever name they are called, they were divided into three subdivisions. 1. Learned men, knights, and counts, who were patrons and guardians of different religious bodies. 2. The agents of the church, patrons, who, especially in the absence of the bishop, acted in his place in the administration of affairs both of church and state. Under this head may be classed those who, under the name of landlords, exercised a territorial jurisdiction in matters relating to the church. 3. Kings and emperors, who claimed to be *patrons of the church*, and *defenders of the faith*. The Roman Catholic princes of Germany, and the kings of France, have been peculiarly emulous of this honor.

CHAPTER V.

OF APPOINTMENT TO ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES.

§ 1. ELECTION BY LOT.

The first example on record of the appointment of an officer in the christian church is that of Matthias, Acts 1: 15—26. He was not *chosen*, but rather *designated* to his office *by lot*. And subsequently, the church were accustomed to resort to the same expedient, when they could not agree respecting any individual. This form of election was neither peculiar to any sect, nor prevalent at any given time, nor applicable to any one case; but was adopted as occasion required. The election was little else than a decision between several candidates who were equally eligible to the office.¹

§ 2. OF ELECTIONS BY THE CHURCH COLLECTIVELY.

Many learned men are of opinion that in the apostolic age the right of universal suffrage was enjoyed by the church. In proof of this they appeal to Acts 1: 15 seq., where the apostles appointed a substitute in the place of Judas Iscariot, but not *without the consent of the church at Jerusalem*. In the appointment of the seven deacons it is worthy of remark, that the *brethren, the church, were first required to look out among them seven men* of honest report and full of the Holy Ghost; and that *they made the choice* and set the persons chosen before the apostles [to be inducted into office]. Hugo Grotius, indeed, maintains that this case proves no more than the right of the church to choose their own deacons to distribute alms, and that in all the New Testament there is not the least hint of the appointment of any bishop or presbyter by the intervention of the church.¹ He goes on to say that the apostles themselves did appoint presbyters, Acts. 14: 23. 2 Tim. ii. Tit. 1: 5, and that Timothy and Titus were authorized by Paul to do the same. But in opposition to this assertion, it should be remembered that the expression *χειροτονεῖν* relates to the act of *consecration and ordination*, and by no means excludes the idea of a preceding election *by the church*.

The apostle presupposes that Timothy and Titus, when authorized by him to *consecrate* and induct into office a presbyter who had been duly elected, would proceed as he himself and the other apostles did in similar cases—i. e. that they would proceed according to the rule given in Acts 6: 3, and appoint no man presbyter without the knowledge and choice or desire of the church. The following passages and many others are sufficient to show that the advice and consent of the church was had in other matters, Acts 15: 1 seq. 1: 15. 1 Cor. 5: 2. 2 Cor. ii. 8: 19, 20.

Clemens Romanus is the best interpreter of the apostle's sentiments, and the earliest witness that can be obtained on this subject. This writer informs us that the apostles appointed and ordained the first ministers (*versteher*) of the church, and "then gave direction how, when they should die, other chosen and approved men, *δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες*, should succeed to their ministry. Wherefore we cannot think those may justly be thrown out of their ministry who were either appointed by them or afterwards by other eminent men *with the consent of the whole church, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*. Those persons who received, in this manner, the concurring suffrages of the church, were to be men of tried character, and of good report with all, *μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων*. This concurrence of the whole church, based upon their previous acquaintance with the candidates, evinces clearly the coöperation of the church in the appointment of its ministers; and that this intervention of the church was not merely a power of negating an appointment made by some other authority.*

The fullest evidence that bishops and presbyters were chosen by the people, is also derived from Cyprian. It was, according to his authority, a rule of divine appointment that a minister should be chosen in the presence of the people, and should be publicly acknowledged and approved as worthy of the office—*plebe presente sub om-*

* The apostles appointed bishops and deacons,—*Καὶ μετὰξὺ ἐπινομήν δεδωκασιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. Τούτους οὖν καιαυσταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μετὰξὺ ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οὐ δικαίως μομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας.*
CLEM. ROM. Ep. (1) ad Corinth. § 44.

nium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur. He further says that the act of ordination should in no instance be solemnized without the knowledge and assistance of the people, so that the crimes of the bad may be detected, and the merits of the good made known. In this manner the ordination becomes regular and valid, *justa et legitima*. Such, he observes, was the example of the apostles, not only in the appointment of bishops and ministers, but also of deacons. And all this was done to prevent the intrusion of unworthy men into the sacred office.^{3*} He further says of Cornelius, "that he was made bishop agreeably to the will of God, and of Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, and *the suffrage of the people then present*."⁴

With reference to this influence in appointing them, the bishops elect were wont to style their constituents, the people, *fathers*. "Ye, (says St. Ambrose,) ye are *my fathers* who chose me to be bishop: ye, I say, are both my children and fathers, children individually, fathers collectively."⁵ Which intimates that he owed his appointment to *the choice of the people*. And this is still further confirmed by the testimony even of profane writers. Alexander Severus, who reigned from A. D. 222 to 235, whenever he was about to appoint any governors of provinces, or receivers of public revenue first pub-

* Quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere ut sacerdos plebe praesente sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur. . . Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem, id est, instruit atque ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe praesente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita praedicentur, et sit ordinationis *justa et legitima*, quae omnium suffragio et iudicio fuerit examinata. Quod postea secundum divina magisteria observatur in Actis Apostolorum. . . . Nec hoc in episcoporum tantum et sacerdotum, sed et in diaconorum ordinationibus apostolos fecisse animadvertimus. . . . Quod utique idcirco tam diligenter et caute convocata plebe tota gerbatur, ne quis ad altaris ministerium, vel ad sacerdotalem locum, indignus obreperet. CYPRIAN, Ep. 68.—Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus iudicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quae tunc adfuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio, cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri et gradus cathedrae sacerdotalis, vacaret: quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensio firmato, quisquis jam episcopus fieri voluerit, foris fieri necesse est, nec habeat ecclesiasticam ordinationem, qui ecclesiae non tenet unitatem. Id. Ep. 52.

licly proposed their names, desiring the people to make evidence against them if any one could prove them guilty of any crime, but assuring them that if they accused them falsely, it should be at the peril of their lives; for he said "it was unreasonable that when *the Christians and Jews did this in propounding those whom they ordained their priests and ministers*, the same should not be done in the appointment of governors of provinces in whose hands the lives and fortunes of men were intrusted."⁶

It may perhaps be said that all this is only proof of a negative or *testimonial* choice on the part of the people, and that this *propounding* of the candidates presupposes a previous appointment of which the people were only invited to express their approbation. It is true, indeed, that the clergy or the presbytery, or the bishop, or presbyter, on resigning his office, took the lead in these elections by proposing or nominating the candidate; but then followed the vote of the people, which was not a mere testimonial suffrage, but really a *decisive* and *elective* vote.

Besides, there are not wanting instances when the people made choice of some one as bishop or presbyter without any preliminary nomination, or propounding of the candidate. Ambrose was thus appointed bishop of Milan by joint acclamation of all.⁷ Martin of Tours was appointed by the people against his own will, and that of the bishops.⁸ And the same is true of Eustathius at Antioch,⁹ Chrysostom at Constantinople,¹⁰ Eradius at Hippo,¹¹ and Meletius at Antioch,¹² etc.

The evidence indeed is full, that the people coöperated in the election of presbyters, and numerous instances of such coöperation occur in ecclesiastical history.

So also the fourth council of Carthage decreed: *Ut episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet: ita ut civium adsensum et conniventiam et testimonium quaerat.*—'that as the bishop might not ordain clergymen without the advice of his clergy, so likewise he should obtain the consent, coöperation and testimony of the people.'⁷

Sometimes, when the opinions of the people were divided between several candidates, it would seem that the people were called to a formal vote, styled *ζήτησις, ψήφισμα, ψήφος, scrutinium*.¹⁴ But the common method was by acclamation. The people exclaiming *ἄξιός, fit*; or *ἀνάξιός, unfit*. The apostolical constitutions,⁸ c. 4, direct that the

inquiry be three times made whether the candidate is worthy of the office, and that the uniform and concurring response be, He is worthy. In the Latin church the acclamation was *dignus est et justus*.¹⁵

§ 3. ELECTION BY REPRESENTATIVES OR INTERVENTORS.

The popular elections above described were liable to great irregularities. Great care was accordingly requisite, lest the exercise of this right should lead to disorder, and disturb the public peace by exciting a malignant party spirit. To what a pitch these tumultuous elections were carried, may be seen from a remarkable description of them by Chrysostom. "Go witness a popular assembly convened for the election of ecclesiastical officers. Hear the complaints against the minister, manifold and numerous as the individuals of that riotous multitude, who are the subjects of church-government. All are divided into opposing factions, alike at war with themselves, with the moderator, and with the presbytery. Each is striving to carry his own point; one voting for one, and another for another; and all, equally regardless of that which alone they should consider—the qualifications, intellectual and moral, of the candidate. One is in favor of a man of noble birth; another of a man of fortune who will need no maintenance from the church; and a third, one who has come over to us from the opposite party. One is wholly enlisted for some friend or relative, and another casts his vote for some flatterer. But no one regards the requisite qualifications of the mind and the heart."¹⁷

Similar disorders prevailed not only at Constantinople, but at Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and other large cities. To correct these abuses, many distinguished bishops passed into the opposite extreme, and, by the exercise of arbitrary power, appointed men to spiritual offices. This gave great offence to the people, who were ever jealous of their rights, and were provoked, by these means, to commit scandalous and violent outrages. The emperor Valentinian III. upbraids Hilary of Arles, that he unworthily ordained some in direct opposition to the will of the people, and when the people refused to receive those whom they had not chosen, that he collected an armed force and *by military power thrust into office the ministers of the gospel of peace*.² Leo the Great also passes a similar censure upon this procedure.³

It has been supposed that the council of Nice deprived the people

of the right of suffrage, and conferred the right of appointment upon metropolitans and patriarchs, but the supposition is clearly refuted by Bingham.⁴ The same council distinctly recognizes the right of the people in the choice of a bishop.

The council of Laodicea, denied indeed the right of suffrage to the *rabble*, τοῖς ὄχλοις. But they carefully distinguished between these and the people, τῷ λαῷ, to whom they did not deny the right. An effort was made, particularly in the Latin church, to correct the disorders of popular elections without taking away the rights of the people. This they did by the agency of an *interventor*, who was sent among the people to endeavor to unite their votes upon a given person, and thus to secure his election without division or tumult. Symmachus and Gregory the Great encouraged this procedure ;⁵ but it was received with little approbation, and was soon discontinued.

Justinian, for a similar purpose, restricted the right of suffrage to the *aristocracy* of the city. By his laws it was provided ‘ that when a bishop was to be ordained, the *clergy, and chief men* of the city should meet and nominate three persons, drawing up an instrument, and swearing in the customary forms of an oath, upon the *Holy Bible*, that they chose them, neither for any gift, nor promise, nor friendship, nor any other cause ; but only because they know them to be of the catholic faith, of virtuous life, and men of learning. Of these three, the ordaining person was required to choose, at his own discretion, that one whom he judged best qualified.’⁶

Had now some permanent restrictions been laid upon the body of electors, and had it been more clearly defined who should be reckoned among the chief men of the city, and how they were to cooperate with the clergy, then would order have been established, and much arbitrary abuse of power prevented. In this way a worthy body of men would have been organized from the people of the diocese, by whom the rights of the people would have been secured, and disorder, and party spirit, and discord, would have been prevented.

But, instead of this, the whole was left to the direction of accident, and of arbitrary power. Thus the right of suffrage was wrested from the people, and was shared in part by the rulers, who were accounted *the chief men of the city*, and in part by the priesthood, who, either by their bishops and suffragans, or by collegiate conventions, often exercised the right without any regard to the people.

The church sometimes protested earnestly against this encroachment of secular power; but in vain. The council of Paris, 557, decreed that "no bishop should be consecrated contrary to the will of the *citizens*, alleging in vindication of this measure, the neglect of ancient usage, and of the ordinances of the church. Nor should he attain to that honor who had been appointed by the authority of the rulers, and not by the choice of the people, and of the clergy, and whose election had not been ratified by the metropolitan and other bishops of the province." Whoever entered upon his office merely by the authority of the king, they commanded the other bishops not to acknowledge, under penalty of being themselves deposed from office.

But such attempts to restore the *apostolical* and *canonical* forms of election were but seldom made, and were followed by no lasting result. In Spain the appointment of a bishop, as early as the seventh century, was made dependent entirely upon the king.⁷ Under the Carolingian dynasty in France, it was divided between the rulers and the bishops without entirely excluding the people. Innocent III, in the thirteenth century, excluded entirely the people, and made the election dependent only on the chapter of the cathedral.⁸ In the East, the people were excluded much earlier.⁹

§ 4. OF CERTAIN UNUSUAL FORMS OF ELECTION.

The examples on record of this description, relate only to the appointment of bishops. The appointment by lot, as above described, may with propriety be classed among the unusual forms of election in question. To this may be added,

1. *Elections by divine authority, and providential manifestations.* To this class belong the appointments which the apostles made by the divine authority with which they were invested. Tradition informs us that many churches were planted by them, besides those which are mentioned in their writings. John, the apostle, after his return from Patmos, is said by Clemens Alexandrinus to have taken charge of the churches of Asia in the neighborhood of Ephesus; "in one place *appointing bishops*, in another, taking upon himself the regulation of whole churches, and in another, choosing *by lot* one from such as had *been designated by the Spirit*."¹ Then follows a list of young men whom he committed to the instruction of

the bishop whom he had ordained, together with an account of the wonderful conversion of these youths.

Ancient history abounds with similar examples of divine interposition in such appointments.² Various providential circumstances were regarded as divine designations, such as remarkable tokens of divine approbation, visions, the lighting of a dove on the head of the candidate, and the unexpected concurrence of a discordant people in a candidate, as in the case of Martin, bishop of Tours, and Ambrose, bishop of Milan, whose elections were carried by the sudden and unanimous acclamation of the multitude. *Vox populi, vox Dei!*

2. It was at times submitted to some one who was universally respected, to settle a contested election by his own nomination of a bishop. Alexander, bishop of Comana, was elected thus by Gregory Thaumaturgus, who is said to have been directed by special revelation.³ Bishops were also appointed by nomination, for distant provinces and unorganized districts.⁴

3. Whenever a bishop resigned his office, or was removed to another diocese, he very frequently nominated his successor; but in all such cases on record, the *concurrence* of the people was either presupposed, or expressly obtained.⁵ The council of Antioch, A. D. 441, c. 23, forbade such nominations;⁶ still they were sometimes made, and a divine intimation plead in justification. The church at Rome, on the contrary, in the year 503, conceded to the bishops the right of nominating their successors before their decease. This was however a *recommendation* of the candidate, rather than an election, but it was as influential as the direct *presentation* of a candidate on the part of a patron. It laid the foundation in part, of *ecclesiastical benefices*, that crafty expedient by which so many canonized rights have been usurped.

§ 5. OF CHURCH PATRONAGE.¹

The prevalent opinion is, that the origin of the right of patronage ought to be referred back to the fifth century. And it is true that the subject of church and state rights began to be publicly asserted and discussed as early as the year 441;² but the right in question, was both asserted and exercised at a date still earlier. The council of Orange gave permission to any bishop to build a church in another's diocese, reserving the right of consecration to him in whose

diocese it was erected, and instructing him to ordain *any one to the clerical office whom the founder might nominate to officiate in the church, and requiring of him a quiet acquiescence in the nomination, if the person presented had already been ordained.* But at the same time, it was provided that the entire government of the church should be submitted to him in whose territory the church was built.³

It appears from Chrysostom that what is called *secular patronage* prevailed in the church at a date still earlier.⁴ He speaks of naming the founders of churches in the prayers of the congregation. In Justinian's Novels, 123. c. 18, the right of lay-patronage is confirmed and perpetuated by inheritance. The bishop is required to ordain the person nominated, unless disqualified by virtue of the canons. From the fifth century the name of *patron* becomes familiar in public documents, indicating the relation of landlord to his dependents, [in consequence of his having settled a *parsonage* and *glebe* upon churches which he had built;] but the whole system of church patronage in conferring benefices, etc, was not established until about the eighth or ninth century. Thomassin takes notice of several distinct stages in the progress of this system. 1. The right of patronage and presentation, extending through five centuries. 2. Ecclesiastical and lay-patronage from Clovis, A. D. 496, to Charlemagne, A. D. 800. 3. Through the dynasty of Charles and his descendants. 4. From the year 1000. The whole he sums up in the following remark. "It appears therefore that *ecclesiastical patronage* was first introduced in the Western church, and *lay-patronage*, at least so far as related to the conferring of benefices, began first in the Eastern church; and that the limited exercise of lay-patronage in the first centuries after its introduction, was abundantly compensated by the controlling influence which the laity had in the election and ordination of bishops, and other incumbents."

In most of the Lutheran, and some of the Reformed churches, the members of the church possess a negative vote concerning the presentation of a minister, but nothing more.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE RANK, RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AND COSTUME OF
THE CLERGY.

§ 1. RANK OF THE CLERGY.

Nothing appears to indicate the relation of rank either in the age of the apostles, or of their immediate successors; nor indeed until the establishment of Christianity as the religion of state under Constantine. The representations which the Scriptures and the primitive fathers so frequently make of the dignity and worth of religious teachers have no reference to this subject. They only represent these teachers as the servants and stewards of God, and their office as one in the highest degree elevated and heavenly. Ignatius styles bishops the vicegerents of Christ, whose instructions are to be obeyed as the ordinances of Christ and his apostles, and whom men should honor above potentates and kings. But all this is only what, in the phraseology of the times, philosophers, poets and orators might have claimed for themselves. Such representations are only ideal delineations which present the reality in a contrast the more striking. Such, indeed, was the real estimation in which some of the most eminent christian bishops were held, by the world, in the first three centuries, that one might fitly say of them—the greatest in the kingdom of heaven was the least of all men.

The famous Origen was, in regard to rank, one of the *lesser lights* in the church, invested at first with only the humble office of *catechist*, and afterwards, informally, with that of *deacon*, or according to some with that of presbyter. Yet had he more influence and authority than any dignitary of the church in his time. Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian were never bishops; but they were held in the highest estimation both by their contemporaries and by posterity. Jerome was only an itinerating presbyter, but he was honored as the dictator of the church. And still later, even when the aristocracy of the church was fully established, there occurred, at times, instances of men who, by their talents, rose superior to all the distinctions of rank and of office. On the other hand, even the bishops of Rome,

Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage and others, notwithstanding their high office, were often treated with the greatest indignities.

Something analogous to the relations of rank must have existed among the priesthood *themselves* previous to the time of Constantine, as appears from the fact that they were regarded as a distinct order, and were divided into the classes *superior* and *inferior*. But it was a long time before even these relations became so distinct as they have been since the establishment of the Eastern and Western hierarchy in the eighth century. The primitive presbyters first sustained an arduous conflict against the pretensions of bishops to superiority; and then again, against the order of deacons, and especially with the *archdeacons*, who arrayed themselves on the side of the bishops. And the bishops again sustained a struggle, arduous and disastrous to themselves, with the archbishops, primates, and patriarchs. With the latter, particularly, a long and obstinate strife for the mastery was maintained, which finally resulted in the popish supremacy; but the conflict ceased not so long as one remained to sustain it.

But previous to the reign of Constantine no relations of rank were established among the clergy, save those of different gradations among themselves. As in both the Jewish and Roman states the priesthood were invested with peculiar honors, so this monarch sought to transfer the same to the christian ministry. Thus these forms of the priesthood perpetuated themselves in the christian church after the overthrow of the religion to which they, at first, respectively belonged.¹

The bishops, especially, profited by this reference to the priesthood of Jewish and pagan systems of religion. The christian bishops, it was supposed, ought at least to be equal in rank to the Jewish patriarchs.² It was an expedient for elevating a depressed priesthood, to invest them with new honors, just as Julian the apostate sought again to overthrow them by reinstating the pagan priesthood in their ancient rank.³ And again Constantine himself sustained a certain relation to the priesthood. Eusebius declares him to have been a bishop duly constituted by God.⁴ And he styles himself bishop, τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ θεοῦ καθεστῆμενον ἐπίσκοπον—a phrase of similar import with *pontifex maximus*, which after the example of the Roman emperors he solemnly assumed in the year 325.⁵ The emperor Gratian was the last who bore this title. But so long as it was

retained it had the effect to elevate the office, both of bishops and emperors in the estimation of the people, and to justify the intervention of secular power in ecclesiastical councils, and in the elections of bishops.

The priesthood of the christian church were the constituted guardians of the morals of the community, and in this relation had a decided superiority to the Pagan and Jewish priesthood. Even the highest magistrates and princes were not exempt from the sentences of suspension and excommunication. Theodosius the Great submitted himself to this discipline, and his example was imitated by many of his successors down to the time of Henry IV.⁶ Gregory Nazianzen, in speaking on this subject, says "The law of Christ subjects you to my control. For we also are in authority, and I will add, an authority greater and more perfect than yours, inasmuch as the carnal is inferior to the spiritual—the earthly, to the heavenly."⁷ Multitudes of passages of similar import are found in the writings of Chrysostom,⁸ Ambrose,⁹ and other of the fathers.¹⁰

But notwithstanding the high consideration in which the clergy were held, we are still left in ignorance of their relative rank in civil life. But on the reestablishment of the western empire, their civil and political relations were clearly defined; and under the Carlovingian dynasty, the bishops obtained the rank of barons and counts, and as civil dignitaries took part in all political and ecclesiastical concerns, of importance. They were regular members of all *imperial diets*, which were in reality ecclesiastical synods. At a later period, bishops, archbishops and abbots were, by statute laws, made princes of the empire, and electors. And the last mentioned were often involved in conflicts with the Roman cardinals for superiority. This organization was continued until the dissolution of the German confederacy subsequent to the French Revolution, and became a pattern for other lands.

§ 2. IMMUNITIES, PREROGATIVES, AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

Reference is here had to these privileges only as they have existed since the fourth century, when the priesthood were duly acknowledged by the civil authorities as a distinct body. Previous to his conversion Constantine gave to the clergy of the christian church,

equal privileges with the Pagan and Jewish priests. These acts of toleration were followed by others conferring upon the clergy of the church certain specific privileges which were confirmed and increased by his sons. And what was lost by the intervention of Julian the apostate, was fully regained under the propitious reigns of Valentinian III, Gratian, Theodosius the Great, Honorius, etc. For a full account of the several grants of the early emperors, see references.¹

The principal rights and privileges of the priesthood were as follows :

1. *Exemption from all civil offices and secular duties to the state.*² Such exemption was granted by Constantine, A. D. 312 ; and in 319 and 330, it was extended to the inferior order, and the reason assigned for conferring this privilege was, that "the clergy might not, for any unworthy pretence, be called off from their religious duties," *ne sacrilego livore quorundam a divinis obsequiis avocentur*, or as Eusebius expresses it, "that they might have no false pretence or excuse for being diverted from their sacred calling, but rather might rightfully prosecute it without molestation." By this right they were excused from bearing burdensome and expensive municipal offices. The Jewish patriarchs and Pagan priests enjoyed a similar exemption.³

2. *Exemption from all sordid offices, both predial and personal.* This right was also granted by Constantine and confirmed by Theodosius the Great, and Honorius.⁴ The right relieved them from the necessity of furnishing post-horses, etc. for public officers, and sometimes from that of constructing and repairing public highways and bridges.⁵

3. *Exemption from certain taxes and imposts*, such as the *census capitum*—analogous to poll-tax ; but the learned are not agreed respecting the precise nature of it—the *aurum tironium*—an assessment for military purposes, a bounty paid as a substitute for serving in the army,—the *equus canonicus*, the furnishing and equipping of horses for military service,—*chrysargyrum*, χρυσόργυρον, commerce-money, duties on articles of trade assessed every five years, and paid in silver and gold,—the *metatum*, tax levied for the entertainment of the emperor and his court as he travelled, or for judges and soldiers in their journeys,—the *collatio superindicta et extraordinaria*, a direct tax levied on special emergencies.⁶ Certain taxes on real estate they were required to pay.⁷

4. *Exemption from military duty.* This right is not expressly stated, but fairly inferred from many considerations. The maxim, *ecclesia non sinit sanguinem*, was always recognized by the state.

5. *Exemption in certain civil and criminal prosecutions.* They were not required to give testimony under oath⁸. Neither were they required to make oath to affidavits, but instead thereof, they attested the truth of them on the Bible at home.⁹ *Sacerdotes, ex levi causa, jurare non debent.*

6. *No ecclesiastical matters were to be tried before secular courts.*¹⁰ Of this nature were all questions of faith and practice which came appropriately under the cognizance of presbyteries, bishops, or synods, together with all such acts of discipline as belonged to individual churches in which the clergy were allowed a controlling influence.

The primitive church had originally no other authority than that of deposing from office, excommunicating, and pronouncing their solemn anathema. But after the church became dependent upon the civil authority, that power was often exercised to redress the offences of the church. Heretics especially were thus brought before courts of justice. For it is undeniably evident that heresy was regarded as an actionable offence, deserving severe punishment. Offences of a graver character were at all times punishable, not in ecclesiastical, but in secular courts of justice.

7. Bishops, like the Jewish patriarchs, were often requested to settle disputes and act as arbitrators and umpires in civil matters.¹¹ They were also common intercessors in behalf of criminals for their reprieve or pardon when condemned to death.¹²

§ 3. COSTUME OF THE CLERGY.

The Roman Catholics attach great importance to the attire of the priesthood. They prescribe a peculiar uniform to the several orders of their priesthood, according to the nature of their duties. The origin of this usage their writers, together with most protestants, concur in referring to the fourth century.¹ "No one can be ignorant," says Pellicia, "that the garb of the clergy in the first three centuries was nowise different from that of the laity." Whether any distinction was known in the fourth century is a disputed question; but ecclesiastical history clearly informs us, that the dress of the clergy and laity was generally the same, even in the sixth cen-

tury.² Writers on this subject, however, seem not to have been sufficiently attentive to the distinction between the *ordinary* and *official* garb of the priests ; for, although there were no existing rules of the church on this subject, all analogy requires us to believe that there was, even in the first three centuries, some clerical dress which was worn during the celebration of divine service. And in this belief we are the more confirmed from the fact, that Christianity was originally derived from the Jewish religion. After the third and fourth centuries, this official garb became more distinct and splendid, and to this result both the writings of the Old Testament, and the customs of the pagan priests in Greece and Rome undeniably contributed.

In illustration of the general subject before us, the following remarks are worthy of notice.

1. There is a tradition extant relating to certain insignia of the apostles. Hegesippus, as related by Eusebius,³ ascribes to John, James, and Mark, a golden head-band, and to Bartholomew, a splendid mantle.⁴ The Koran also speaks of the apostles under the name of candidates, *albatî*, in allusion, as it would seem, to their *white robes*.

2. It is but reasonable to suppose, that in the times of persecution, the priesthood wore no sacerdotal habit in civil and social life ; just as all such is of necessity excluded wherever religion is not protected by the civil authorities. But because a missionary lays these aside in China, or in Turkey, is it therefore to be presumed that he would appear without them in a religious assembly in the discharge of his official duties ?

3. After the persecutions ceased, the *secret discipline* of the primitive church must have offered urgent reasons for the use of the sacerdotal robe. When all was done with the air of solemnity and mystery, is it to be supposed that the principal actor would enter upon these solemnities only in his daily attire ? Read the directions given in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in the mystical catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem, respecting the ceremonies of baptism, and the Lord's supper ; and then say, is it becoming for the administrator of these ordinances to appear in his daily habit ? The subjects of baptism, "*grex niveus*," were arrayed in the purest white.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑποδρηστήρες ἐν εἵμασιν πημφανόωσιν
 "Ἐστασαν, ἀγγελικῆς εἰκόνες ἀγλαΐης."⁵

At the baptism of the younger Theodosius, all the grandees of the court were dressed in white raiment: *ut existimaretur multitudo esse nive repleta*.⁶ Under these circumstances would the minister at the altar appear only in his usual garb? According to Clemens Alexandrinus, the *whole assembly* were required to engage in public worship in a *becoming dress*, *ἐπιτολισμένοι κοσμίως*.⁷ And would not the rule apply with peculiar force to him who ministered to the assembly?

4. It is manifestly absurd to suppose that the hierarchy of the church was established in the second or third centuries, with the different orders inferior and superior, and yet that they had no badge of office. Besides, the badges of the different clerical orders became in the fourth century, the subject of consideration in ecclesiastical councils. The council of Laodicea ordered that the *ᾠράγιον*, the surplice or robe of an officiating minister, should not be worn by the subordinate attendants, readers, or singers. The fourth council of Carthage, c. 41, forbade deacons the use of the white surplice, *nisi in sacro ministerio*, except in the discharge of the ministerial office. In this, and similar decrees,⁸ a distinction between the *official garb* and *ordinary attire* is clearly indicated. It has been erroneously supposed that these instructions to the clergy to appear in suitable dress, is evidence that no *official* uniform was known; whereas these instructions relate only to their daily dress, and merely show that when not engaged in official duties, they wore no professional habit.

The monks were the first to assume such a garb; a practice which was strongly reprobated by the church. "One habit," says Jerome,⁹ "is proper when engaged in religious duties; another, in common life. Hence we learn, that it ill becomes us to enter into the most holy place in our customary attire, but that we ought with a pure conscience, and unsullied raiment, to administer the ordinances of the Lord." Stephhaus III, bishop of Rome, A. D. 260, directs ministers and the clergy generally, to wear the sacred vestments, not in their daily occupations, but only in the church.¹⁰

5. In view of the foregoing considerations, and others that could be mentioned, we must dissent from the received opinion that no clerical costume was in use before the fourth or fifth century; but we need not suppose that the *fashion* of it has from the beginning been the same. All analogy, as well as authentic history, justifies the

belief, that in form, and color, and materials, the costume may have been entirely changed. Some such essential change was probably made about the sixth century, by *adopting the ancient Greek and Roman costume.*

In support of this hypothesis we offer the following considerations.

a) This costume had been so superseded by the barbarian invaders, that it had already become obsolete and antiquated, and was now recommended not only by its natural fitness, and by its antiquity, but by the hallowed associations with which it was connected.

b) It was the best means of preventing the general adoption of the odious garb of the monks, which in the fifth century was most zealously opposed.¹¹

c) The adoption of this costume was greatly facilitated by being combined with the insignia and ornaments of the Jewish priests. The *pallium* of Tertullian, the *τετραγώνιον* of Greek writers, which was afterwards known by the name of *cappa*, was the cowl of the monks, and was greatly abhorred. But the *pallium*, called *ὀμοφώριον*, corresponded to the ephod of the Jews, and was one of the distinguishing insignia of bishops, patriarchs, etc.

6. Bellarmin, who traced the history of the clerical costume through eight or nine hundred years, has very justly remarked that, notwithstanding some circumstantial changes, the characteristic badges of the several orders remained substantially the same.¹²

7. The costume in question was originally white, and that has ever been the prevailing color of the christian uniform, *λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον, ἐν λευκοῖς, veste candente, in albis*, is the phraseology in which it is constantly described by ancient writers.¹³ The bishops of Constantinople, and the higher order of clergy in the fourth century, assumed the *black* robe, and the Novatians retained the *white*.¹⁴ But since the tenth century, the modern Greek church have changed again the color of their costume. On festivals in honor of saints, they are accustomed to wear a purple robe.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, red, blue, and green, was worn in clerical vestments, as well as black, and white. Innocent III. prescribed white, the emblem of purity, for confessors and young people,—*red*, as a suitable memorial of the apostles and martyrs,—*green*, for sunday and feast-days; and *black*, for fasts, fune-

rals, lent, etc.; *violet* was worn at first but twice a year, but afterwards became common in some churches.¹⁵

8. Peculiar attention was paid to the head-dress both of bishops and priests. The clerical tonsure was introduced between the sixth and eighth centuries, and continued an essential requisite of the clergy, while the other ornaments of the head were endlessly varied, both in the Eastern and Western churches. The use of the *wig* is of a date still later, and was totally unknown in the primitive church. It was universally adopted by the clergy against all precedent, and, although often prohibited, was for a long time retained, and then again passed into disuse. In the protestant church it was again introduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and became alternately the badge of orthodoxy, heresy, and neology.¹⁶

9. Sandals and the *caligae*, a kind of half boot, or bootees, were at first the only ornaments of the foot; the use of common shoes was censured as unbecoming.¹⁷ In the year 789, the priests were required to wear shoes made after the fashion at Rome.¹⁸ In the middle ages, they wore, in the summer, a kind of boot called *aestivalia*. The *accampia* were probably some military boot.

10. The various kinds of ornaments which were worn by the priests are passed in silence. A mere enumeration of them would be of no value, and a treatise respecting them would of necessity be too extensive for this work. For information respecting their sacred vestments the curious reader is referred to the works of Ferrarius, Ritter, Bonanni, Du Tour, Saussaeus, Boileau, and others.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REVENUE OF THE CHURCH, AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CLERGY.

Nothing like the provisions of the levitical law, for the maintenance of the priesthood was known in the primitive church. Neither was there any distinction between the property of the church and of the parish. But the duty of the church to maintain her religious teachers is presupposed and implied in the writings of the New Tes-

tament. The workman is worthy of his meat, says Christ, to which the apostle appeals. Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live by the gospel, 1 Cor. 9: 14, which he had previously shown to be not only an obvious conclusion from the words of Christ, but from the common understanding of men, and from the Mosaic laws, vs. 7—13. All this he is careful to show is said, not for his own sake, vs. 15—18, for he uniformly preached the gospel and served the church gratuitously; Acts 20: 33—35. 2 Thess. 3: 7 seq. 2 Cor. 11: 7, 8. 12: 13. Phil. 4: 16—18. 1 Tim. 6: 5. Tit. 1: 11. Acts 18: 3. 24: 17, etc., but to exhibit the duty of the Church towards her teachers. The example of the apostle was the general rule of the apostolic age. The church possessed no property, and exacted no tithes; but her wants were supplied by voluntary offerings and contributions.

The ordinary maintenance of the clergy consisted merely in the supply of their personal wants, 2 Thess. 3: 8. 1 Cor. 11: 20. 22: 33. Jude 11, 12. For this end the priests were accustomed to retain a due portion of the contributions which were made at the *agapae*, or love feasts of the church. But Tertullian severely censured this custom, together with other abuses connected with this festival.¹

Whatever was given for the relief of the poor and for the support of religious worship, was altogether voluntary on the part of the church. Acts 11: 29. Rom. 15: 26. 1 Cor. 16: 1 seq. Tertullian particularly informs us that they were accustomed once a month, or at any time, to deposit in a *charity box* whatever any one was able and willing to give, and adds, *Nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert.*² These charities were expended in providing for the support and burial of the poor; of orphans, of aged domestics, of the disabled and infirm; and for their brethren in bonds. It is worthy of remark that in all this, no mention is made of the *clergy*, as a distinct class; but they are included among the aged and the poor.

Such collections were at all times *voluntary* in the church, and when at length specific provision was made for the support of the clergy, and of religious worship, it was not by any ordinance of the church, but by the law of the state. Cases growing out of voluntary or stated contributions and compensations made to clergymen, were frequently submitted to the decision of councils.³ Fees paid to the clergy for services rendered, were called *sportae*, *sportellae*, and *sportulæ*; probably in allusion to the bringing of the first fruits

in a basket, *sportula*, Deut. 26: 1—12. They surely were not the same as the *jura stolae*, stol-gebühren, surplice fees, which were totally unknown in the primitive church. It was an established rule that no fees should be received for religious services. The council of Il-libiris, c. 48, forbade the custom of dropping a piece of money into the baptismal basin as a gratuity to the minister for administering the ordinance.⁵ Another strictly prohibited the receiving of anything from communicants at the Lord's table, alleging that the grace of God was not an article of merchandize, neither was the sanctification of the spirit imparted for money.⁶ Neither was it lawful to receive any fee for performing the burial service.⁷

The first departure from the voluntary principle above mentioned, began with the celebration of religious ordinances *in a private manner*, in which the individual, at whose request this private celebration was performed, was required to pay something as an equivalent for the public and voluntary oblations which would otherwise have been made. For the sake of increasing the treasury of the church, a dispensation of the primitive usage was also introduced in the case of penance, which shortly led on to a wider departure from the rules of the church. Still when the payment of surrogate and surplice fees became common, they were not paid to the officiating priest, but into the public treasury of the church. The payment of fees and perquisites as now practised, is an abuse of later date than the above mentioned, which, like the penance-fees so often and so justly censured, still has found supporters even in the protestant churches of Europe.⁸

So far as the clergy of the primitive church can be said to have had any salary, it was paid, either according to their necessities, or according to some general rule, from the treasury of the church, or of the society. The treasury was supplied only from incidental sources, and chiefly from voluntary contributions. The amount paid to servants of the church, and for the poor, must have been more or less, according to the receipts of the treasury. The revenue of the church was submitted to the direction of the bishops, who employed the deacons and the *oeconomi*, or stewards to disburse it.

Various rules were from time to time given for the distribution of funds.⁹ One required that they should be divided into *three* equal parts, one of which was to be paid to the bishops, another to the clergy, and the third was to be expended in making repairs and pro-

viding lights for the house, etc.¹⁰ Another orders a fourfold division, to be equally appropriated to the bishop, the clergy and the poor, and in repairs of the churches and their furniture.¹¹

In the fourth century the church and the clergy came into the possession of property, personal and real. As early as the year 321, Constantine granted the right of receiving the donations and bequests of pious persons.¹² This right was often renewed and defined to prevent unjust exactions and other abuses. According to Eusebius, he granted at one time more than seventy thousand dollars from his treasury for the support of the ministry in Africa; which is only one instance among many of his liberal donations.¹³ The laws of Julian confiscating this property were themselves either quickly abrogated, or but partially enforced, without producing any lasting effect.¹⁴

The liberality of Gratian, Theodosius the Great, Theodosius the Younger, and other emperors, we must pass in silence; but there were certain other ordinances for enriching the revenue of the church which are worthy of notice.

1. On the demolition of heathen temples and the dispersion of their priests by Theodosius and his sons, some of the spoils were secularized to enrich the treasury of the state; but the greater part were applied to the benefit of the clergy, or appropriated to religious uses.¹⁵

2. On the same principle the property belonging to *heretics* was sequestrated to the true catholic church.¹⁶

3. The estates of the clergy who died intestate and without heirs, and of all those who left the ministry for unworthy reasons, became the property of the church.¹⁷

4. The church was the heir at law of all martyrs and confessors who died without near relations.¹⁸

5. The revenue of the church was increased by *tithes* and *first fruits*. The primitive church might be expected to have introduced this ordinance of the Jews from the beginning. But it was wholly unknown until the fourth and fifth century. Irenaeus, indeed, speaks of *first fruits* at an earlier period,¹⁹ but it is a disputed passage,²⁰ and only relates to the wine and the bread of the eucharist as the *first fruits of Christ*. Besides Irenaeus,²¹ Chrysostom,²² Gregory Nazianzen,²³ Hilary,²⁴ Augustine,²⁵ and others, all enjoin the paying of tithes *as a duty*, and not in imitation of the Jews. These tithes and first fruits the primitive Christians gave as a freewill offering, and

not by constraint of law, of which there appears no indication in the first five centuries. The council of Maçon, in the year 585, ordered the payment of tithes *in the church*, as the restoration of an ancient and venerable custom. They directed the clergy to urge the duty in their public addresses, and threatened with excision from the church all who should refuse compliance.²⁶ This it will be observed is merely an *ecclesiastical* law. No mention is made of any enactment of the state.

Charlemagne first required the payment of tithes by statute law, and enforced the duty by severe penalties.²⁷ That emperor himself paid tithes from his private property and his Saxon possessions. His successors confirmed and completed the system of tithes by law, which was subsequently introduced into England and Sweden.²⁸

In the Eastern church the support of religion was never legally enforced, but it was urged as a religious duty, and tithes were paid as a voluntary offering.²⁹ In the Western, under the general name of *offerings*, the ancient system of contributions and almsgivings was perpetuated in connection with the tithes and first fruits. These offerings were made, in some instances, in money, and in provisions, and in live stock—cattle, swine, lambs, geese, fowls, etc. The avails of these were applied to the treasury of the church, or presented particularly to the parson, vicar, chorister, or warden. Similar offerings are still common in the protestant churches.

The payment of a stipulated salary to the clergy, in money, parsonages, tithes, interest, and other rents, and the distribution of regular salaries and occasional perquisites, is an institution of the middle ages, and too extensive and complicated to be discussed in this place.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF ORDINATION.¹

§ 1. REMARKS.

The solemn consecration of a religious teacher to his office, as an institution of religion, is derived from the ordinances of the synagogue, as they were constituted after the Babylonish captivity. The presidents and readers of the synagogue were at first appointed to

their office by the solemn imposition of hands. Afterwards was added the anointing with oil, the investiture with the sacred garments, and the delivery of the sacred utensils. This was called $\text{רָאֵן אֶת הַיָּדַיִם}$, *the filling of the hands*, Ex. 29: 24. Lev. 21: 10. Num. 3: 3.

The first instance on record of an ordination in a christian church is that of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, in Acts 6: 1—7. These, though not appointed to the office of religious teachers, were set apart by prayer and the laying on of hands. The consecration of religious teachers and officers of the church is also mentioned in the following passages, Acts 13: 1—4. 14: 23. 1 Tim. 4: 14. 5: 22. 2 Tim. 1: 6. In these passages three particulars are mentioned, *fasting, prayer, and the laying on of hands.*

The historical fact is undeniable, that the church has, at all times, observed some prescribed mode of inducting into the sacred office those who were appointed to serve in that capacity. The several offices which were subsequently created were indeed unknown in the first organization of the church, as well as the different rites of ordination and installation. But the injunction that all things should be done decently and in order—the ministry of the word, and the laying on of hands, of which the apostle so often speaks, all imply a consecration to the sacred office by peculiar religious rites. The most ancient liturgies also, both of the Eastern and Western church, prescribe at length the mode of consecration to this office, and in this manner illustrate the solemnity of the transaction in the estimation of the ancient fathers of the church.

It is also worthy of observation, that the various religious sects, schismatics and heretics, almost without exception, observed the rites of ordination.

§ 2. DISQUALIFICATIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS FOR ORDINATION.

The strictest precaution was exercised by the church to guard against the introduction of unworthy or unsuitable persons into the ministry. Several classes of persons were accordingly excluded from ordination, such as the following.

1. *Women.*¹ This rule was in conformity with the apostolical precept, 1 Cor. 14: 34, 35. 1 Tim. 2: 11 seq. The appointment of deaconesses was no exception to this rule. They were not appoint-

ed to bear rule, or to teach, but to perform certain offices which, from a due sense of decency and propriety were restricted to their own sex.* They were ordained with the usual formalities in the early periods of the church,² but the custom was afterwards discontinued.³

2. *Catechumens.* To this rule there were a few exceptions as in the case of Ambrose, Nectarius, etc., but in general it was observed with great strictness.

3. *Neophytes, novices* ; men who were deficient in age, or knowledge, or christian experience,† 1 Tim. 3: 6.

4. *Energumens* ; including all who were subject to severe mental or bodily infirmities.

5. *Penitents* ; all who for any offence had fallen under the censure of the church, even though they had been fully restored to the privileges of its fellowship and communion.

6. *Apostates.* All who lived a vicious life after baptism.⁴ Offences committed previously were not alleged as a disqualification.⁵

7. *All who were devoted to theatrical pursuits*, or any occupations which disqualified them from receiving baptism.‡

8. *Slaves, and freedmen* who were still under some obligation to their former masters. This restriction was made not by reason of their humble condition, but because such persons could not be supposed to act with the freedom and independence which became the ministerial office.

9. *Soldiers and military men of every description* ; for reasons

* Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Διακονισσῶν τάγμα ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῖον, οὐδέ τι ἐπιχωρεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἔνεκεν δὲ σεμνότητος τοῦ γυναικίου γένους, ἢ δι' ὄραν λουτροῦ, ἢ ἐπισκέψεως πάθους, ἢ πόνου, καὶ ὅτε γυμνωθεῖη σῶμα γυναικίον, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἱεροουροῦντων θεηθεῖη, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς διακονούσης. ΕΠΙΡΗ. *Haeres.* 79, n. 3.

† Μὴ δεῖν πρόσφατον [προσφάτως] φωτισθέντας προσάγεσθαι ἐν τάγματι ἱερατικῷ. *Conc. Laodic.* can. 3. Conveniens non est, nec ratio, nec disciplina patitur, ut temere vel leviter ordinetur, aut Episcopus, aut Presbyter, aut Diaconus, qui Neophytus est. . . . Sed hi, quorum per longum tempus examinata sit vita, et merita fuerint comprobata. *Conc. Sardic.* c. 10 ; *Conf. GREGOR. M. Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 50 ; lib. vii. ep. 3 ; JUSTIN. *Nov.* 6, c. 1 ; *Nov.* 137, c. 1 ; *Conc. Paris.* A. D. 829, can 5.

‡ Puto nec majestati divinae (says Cyprian), nec evangelicae disciplinae congruere, ut pudor et honor ecclesiae tam turpe et infami contagione foedetur.

substantially the same as those which are mentioned in the preceding article.

10. *Lawyers and civilians.* Men bearing civil offices, or in any way entangled with the affairs of state, were incapacitated for the sacred office. Cavendum ab his est (says Innocent I.), propter tribulationem quod saepe de his ecclesiae provenit. The power of Rome at times overruled this regulation, but the church uniformly sought to separate herself wholly from all connection with the state.⁶

11. *All who were maimed, especially eunuchs.* Non infirmitatem (says Ambrose), sed firmitatem; non victos, sed victores, postulat ecclesia. To this rule there were exceptions.

12. *Persons who had contracted a second marriage.* This rule is based on an erroneous interpretation of 1 Tim. 3: 2, and Tit. 1: 6. To these views of the church may be traced the ancient sentiments respecting the celibacy of the clergy, which prevailed as early as the fourth century, and in the twelfth required of them the vow of celibacy in the Roman Catholic church.

13. *Those who had received baptism upon their beds in extreme sickness, or under any urgent necessity when they might be suspected of having acted not voluntarily, but by constraint.*⁷

14. *They who had been baptized by heretics.* An exception, however, was made in favor of the Novatians and Donatists.

15. *Persons who had been guilty of simoniacal conduct, i. e. of using bribery or any unfair means of obtaining ordination.* This species of iniquity, the buying and selling of appointments to spiritual offices, and the obtaining of them by any unfair and dishonorable means, was severely censured by the church. The penalty was deposition from office, both on the part of him who was invested with holy orders, and of those who had assisted in his ordination. The laws of Justinian also required the candidate elect to make oath that he had neither given nor promised, nor would hereafter give, any reward directly or indirectly as a remuneration for aiding in his appointment.⁹

The exceptions above mentioned are comprised in the following lines :

Aleo; venator; miles; canpo; aulicus; erro
 Mercator; lanius; pincerna; tabellio; tutor,
 Curator; sponsor; conductor; conciliator; pronexeta
 Patronus causae; procurator ve forensis;
 In causa iudex civili; vel capitali,
 Clericus esse nequit, nisi Canones transgrediantur.

Besides the foregoing negative rules, there were others of a *positive character* prescribing the requisite qualifications for ordinations.

1. *The candidate was required to be of a certain age.* The rules by which this canonical age was determined were undoubtedly derived from the Jewish rituals. The deacons were required to be of equal age with the levites—twenty-five years. The canonical age of presbyters and bishops was the same as that of the priests of the Jews—thirty years. The Apostolical Constitutions prescribe fifty years as the canonical age of a bishop. This was afterwards reduced to thirty. In some instances, persons may have been introduced into the ministry at an age still earlier.¹⁰ Both Siricius and Zosimus required thirty years for a deacon, thirty-five for a presbyter, and forty-five for a bishop.¹¹

The age at which our Lord entered upon his ministry is frequently alleged as a reason for requiring the same age in a presbyter and bishop. That was usually the lowest canonical age.¹² Children were sometimes appointed readers. The age of subdeacons, acolyths, and other inferior officers, was established at different times, at fifteen, eighteen, twenty, and twenty-five years.

2. *They were subject to a strict examination previous to ordination.* This examination related to their faith, their morals, and their worldly condition. They were especially subjected to the severest scrutiny in regard to the first particular. It was the duty of the bishop and subordinate officers of the clergy to conduct, for the most part, the examination; but it was held in public, and the people also took a part in it. No one would be duly ordained without the concurrence of the people in this examination, and the united approbation both of them and the bishop.* Cyprian also insists upon the concurrence of the people in the selection of a pastor, and offers as a reason, the consideration that they were more familiarly acquainted with the life and conversation of the candidate.¹³ The names of the candidates were published, in order that they might be subjected to a severer canvass by the people.¹⁴ By a law of Justinian, the candidate was required to give a written statement of his religious faith, in his own handwriting, and to take a solemn oath against simony.¹⁵

* *Nullus clericus ordineter non probatus vel episcoporum examine, vel populi testimonio.* Conc. Carthage, III. c. 22.

The extracts in the margin show how carefully the church observed the apostolic injunction to lay hands suddenly on no man.*

3. *No person could regularly be appointed to the higher offices of the church without having passed through the subordinate grades.* To this rule there were frequent exceptions, but the principle was strenuously maintained, in order that no one should assume the ministerial office until he had, in this way, become practically familiar with the whole system of ecclesiastical discipline and polity.¹⁶

4. *Every one was to be ordained to some special charge.*† This was supposed to be the apostolical rule, Acts 14: 33. Tit. 1: 5. 1 Pet. 5: 2. Exceptions sometimes occurred, though very rarely, and always against the decided sentiments of the church. Non-resident clergy who are in this way removed from the watch and discipline

* Qui episcopus ordinatus est, antea examinetur: si natura sit prudens, si docilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis vacans, [al. cavens], si humilis, si affabilis, si misericors, si literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in Scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus, et ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus afferat [asserat]. Quaerendum etiam ab eo; si novi vel veteris Testamenti, id est legis et prophetarum et apostolorum, unum eundemque credat auctorem et Deum; si Diabolus non per conditionem sed per arbitrium factus sit malus. *Conc. Carth.* iv. c. 1.—Quando episcopus ordinationes facere disponit, omnes, qui ad sacrum ministerium accedere volunt, feria quarta ante ipsam ordinationem evocandi sunt ad civitatem, una cum archipresbyteris, qui eos repraesentare debent. Et tunc episcopus a latere suo eligere debet sacerdotes et alios prudentes viros, gnaros divinae legis, exercitatos in ecclesiasticis sanctionibus, qui ordinandorum vitam, genus, patriam, aetatem, institutionem, locum ubi educati sunt, si sint bene literati, si instructi in lege Domini, diligenter investigent, ante omnia si fidem catholicam firmiter teneant, et verbis simplicibus asserere queant. Ipsi autem, quibus hoc committitur, cavere debent, ne aut favoris gratia, aut cujuscunque muneris cupiditate illecti a vero deviant, et indignum et minus idoneum ad sacros gradus suscipiendos episcopi manibus applicent. *Conc. Nannetense*, A. D. 658. can. 11. Presbyterum ordinari non debet ante legitimum tempus, hoc est, ante xxx aetatis annum; sed priusquam ad presbyteratus consecrationem accedat, maneat in episcopio discendi gratia officium suum tam diu, donec possint et mores et actus ejus animadverti; et tunc, si dignus fuerit, ad sacerdotium promoveatur. *Conc. Turon.* 3, A. D. 813, c. 12.

† Ut ex laico ad gradum sacerdotii ante nemo veniat, nisi prius in officio lectorati vel subdiaconati disciplinam ecclesiasticam discat, et sic per singulos gradus ad sacerdotium veniat. *Conc. Bracar.* 2, A. D. 563, c. 20. Varia habendu est ordinatio quae, nec loco fundata est nec auctoritate munita.¹⁷

of the church, receive no favor from the ancient canons, and early ecclesiastical writers.*

5. *Every minister was required to remain in the diocese over which he was ordained*; and no one could, at the same time, be invested with more than one office. Plurality of livings were unknown to the ancient church.

6. A clerical tonsure was made requisite about the fifth or sixth century. No mention is made of it before the fourth, and it is first spoken of with decided disapprobation.¹⁹

§ 3. ADMINISTRATION OF THE RITE.

The duty of administering the rite devolved, *ex officio*, upon the bishop alone. This is abundantly implied in the canons of councils, and often expressly asserted by ecclesiastical writers.¹ Ordination by a presbyter is frequently declared to be null and void.² The office of the presbyter in the rites of ordination was to assist the bishop in ordaining a fellow presbyter.†

The ordination was solemnized in the church and in the presence of the assembly. Private ordinations were severely censured.³

During the first four centuries, the ordination was had at any season of the year, as occasion required, and on any day of the week. It afterwards became a rule of the church that the ordination should be performed only on the sabbath,⁴ sometimes in the morning, some-

* *Μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως* (absolute) *χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὄλως τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς* (specialiter) *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως, ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ, ἢ μοναστηρίῳ ὃ χειροτονοῦμενος ἐπικηρύττειτο. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολύτως χειροτονοῦμενος ὥρισεν ἡ ἀγία σὺνδος ἄκκιρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, καὶ μηδαμοῦ δινασθαι ἐνεργεῖν ἐφ' ὕβρει του χειροτονήσαντος. Conc. Chalced. A. D. 451, c. 6; Conf. Conc. Valent c. 6.*

† Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui praesentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant; *Conc. Carth. iv. c. 4.*—Presbyteros quoque et diaconos sola manuum impositione ordinabant; sed suos presbyteros quisque episcopus cum presbyterorum collegio ordinabat. Quanquam autem idem agebant omnes, quia tamen praecipat episcopus et quasi ejus auspiciis res gerebatur, ideo ipsius dicebatur ordinatio. Unde veteres hoc saepe habent, non differre alia re ab episcopo presbyterum, nisi quia ordinandi potestatem non habeat. *CALVIN. Instit. Rel. Chr. lib. iv. c. 4, § 15.*

times in the evening, but usually in connection with the celebration of the Lord's supper.⁵

Candidates for ordination were accustomed uniformly to observe a season of fasting and prayer preparatory to this ordinance,⁶ and to receive the sacrament.

The first and most significant act in the rite of ordination was the imposition of hands. This has been, from the beginning, an uniform and expressive rite in the consecration of one to the service of the sacred ministry; and in this, accompanied with prayer, the act of ordination essentially consisted. By many this is supposed to differ from the common imposition of hands at baptism, confirmation, and absolution. The manner of performing the ceremony has differed at different times.

About the ninth century it became customary, in the Romish church, to anoint the candidate for holy orders.

The investiture—the custom of delivering the sacred vessels, ornaments and vestments—was introduced in the seventh century. But some mention is made of it at an earlier date. The badges and insignia varied with different persons according to the nature of their office.

In the ordination of a bishop, an open Bible was laid upon his head—sometimes delivered into his hands, to indicate that he was continually to consult this for direction in duty. A ring was put upon his finger as a token of his espousal to the church, and a staff in his hand as the shepherd of the flock. The mitre was added in the tenth century, and the glove was also introduced, but at what time does not appear.

The presbyter received the sacramental cup and plate, in token of his service in administering the sacrament.

Upon the deacon, the bishop laid his right hand and delivered to him a copy of the gospels, to indicate that he was to act as the agent and organ of the bishop.

The subdeacon received an empty patin and cup, with an ewer and napkin; the reader received a copy of the Scriptures; the acolyth, a candlestick with a taper; and the ostiarii, the keys of the church.

The party ordained was signed with the sign of the cross, and, after his ordination, received the kiss of charity from the ordaining minister and his assistants.⁷

The following is the prayer which is prescribed by the Apostolical Constitutions, to be used in the ordination of a bishop.

“ O eternal and almighty Lord God, the only unbegotten and supreme, who art from eternity, before all time and all things ; thou who hast need of nothing, and art exalted far above all circumstances and events ; thou who art the only true, the only wise, the highest over all ; whose nature is inscrutable, and whose knowledge is without beginning ; thou who alone art good, and with whom no one may compare ; thou who knowest all things, before they come to pass ; thou from whom no secrets are hid, whom no one can approach unto, whom no one can command ; O thou God and Father of thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour ; thou who through time hast created all things, and who upholdest all ; thou father of mercy, and God of all consolation ; thou who dwellest in the highest, and regardest the things that are below ; thou who hast given to the church its bounds by the incarnation of thy Christ, with the testimony of the Comforter, by thine apostles, and by the bishops here present by thy grace ; thou who from the beginning, amongst the first men, didst for the good of thy people appoint priests, even Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, and Job ;—thou who didst choose thy faithful servants Abraham and the other patriarchs, Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, and Phineas, and didst appoint from among them princes and priests for the service of the covenant ; who didst make Samuel both priest and prophet, who didst not leave thy sanctuary without ministers and attendance, and didst show favor unto those whom thou didst cause to minister to thy glory ;—we beseech thee to pour out now through us, by the mediation of thy Christ, the power of thine almighty spirit, which is given through thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, and which he imparted to thine holy apostles, according to thy will, O eternal God. Grant, O thou searcher of the heart, that this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to the office of a bishop, may feed thy holy flock in thy name, and may serve thee unblameably as thine high priest, day and night ; and that he, propitiating thy countenance, may gather unto thee the number of those who shall be called, and may present the offerings of thy holy church. Grant unto him, O Lord Almighty, by thy Christ and the communication of the Holy Spirit, that he may have power to remit sins according to thy commandment, to confer orders (*διδόναι κλήρους*) according to thy appointment, and to loose every

bond (πάντα συνδεσμὸν) according to the power which thou didst grant unto thine apostles. Grant that he may please thee by meekness, purity of heart, constancy, sincerity, and a blameless conversation ; that so he may offer unto thee the pure and unbloody sacrifice which thou hast appointed by Christ in the sacrament of the new covenant, and as the offering of a sweet-smelling savor, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour, through whom be unto thee glory, honor, and adoration, in the Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.”

§ 4. REMARKS OF CHRYSOSTOM, JEROME, AND GREGORY NAZIANZEN, RELATING TO THE CHARACTER AND DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.

Bingham has inserted in his *Antiquities* a large collection of quotations from the Fathers, especially Chrysostom, Jerome, and Gregory Nazianzen, relating to the character and duties of christian ministers ; from which I make the following selection. The subject is one of more than ordinary interest ; and many of the observations of these pious writers of former times will be found to possess an uncommon degree of intrinsic weight and value. It may also be a seasonable relief to us, in the midst of this collection of testimonies from the early writers concerning the external constitution and practices of the church, to hear the evidence of the same writers concerning something of a more internal character ; to learn what was their standard of moral and spiritual excellence in the character of a christian minister, as well as to consider their institutions concerning the different orders of clergy, their appointments, the offices assigned to them, their revenues, and dress.

“Some,” says Gregory Nazianzen, “do, with unwashed hands and profane minds, press to handle the holy mysteries, and affect to be at the altar before they are fit to be initiated to any sacred service ; they look upon the holy order and function, not as designed for an example of virtue, but only as a way of supporting themselves ; not as a trust, of which they are to give an account, but in a state of absolute authority and exemption. And these men’s examples corrupt the people’s morals, faster than any cloth can imbibe a color, or a plague infect the air ; since men are more disposed to receive the tincture of vice than virtue from the example of their rulers.” In opposition to this, he declares it to be incumbent upon all spiritual

physicians, "that they should draw the picture of all manner of virtues in their own lives, and set themselves as examples to the people; that it might not be proverbially said of them, that they set about curing others, while they themselves are full of sores and ulcers." He urges, also, the necessity of purity in the life and conversation of the clergy, from the consideration of the dignity and sacredness of their office.

"A minister's office places him in the same rank and order with angels themselves; he celebrates God with archangels, transmits the church's sacrifice to the altar in heaven, and performs the priest's office with Christ himself;* he reforms the work of God's hands, and presents the image to his maker; his workmanship is for the world above; and therefore he should be exalted to a divine and heavenly nature, whose business is to be as God himself, and make others gods also." (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 1, *Apologet. de Fuga.*) And Chrysostom makes use of the same argument, "that the priesthood, though it be exercised upon earth, is occupied wholly about heavenly things; that it is the ministry of angels put by the Holy Ghost into the hands of mortal men; and therefore a priest ought to be pure and holy, as being placed in heaven itself, in the midst of those heavenly powers." (Chrysostom, *De Sacerdot.* lib. 3, c. 4.) He dwells, also, upon the dangerous influence of bad example. "Subjects commonly form their manners by the patterns of their princes. How then should a proud man be able to assuage the swelling tumors of others? or an angry ruler hope to make his people in love with moderation and meekness? Bishops are exposed, like combatants in the theatre, to the view and observation of all men; and their faults, though never so small, cannot be hid; and therefore, as their virtuous actions profit many by provoking them to the like zeal, so their vices will render others unfit to attempt or prosecute anything that is noble and good. For which reason, their souls ought to shine all over with the purest brightness, that they may both en-

* This mistaken view of the ministerial office is one of the errors of the times in which Gregory wrote. Misrepresentations concerning the real nature of the christian ministry are not peculiar to the church of Rome; they arose as early as the third and fourth centuries. But while we discard the errors of the men of those times, let us not throw aside their reverent regard for that which constitutes the real dignity and usefulness of the sacred office as a minister in holy things.

lighten and stimulate the souls of others, who have their eyes upon them. A priest should arm himself all over with purity of life, as with adamantine armour; for if he leave any part naked and unguarded, he is surrounded both with open enemies and pretended friends, who will be ready to wound and supplant him. So long as his life is all of a piece, he needs not fear their assaults; but if he be caught in a fault, though but a small one, it will be laid hold of, and improved, to the prejudice of all his former virtues. For all men are most severe judges in his case, and treat him not with any allowance for being encompassed with flesh, or as having an human nature; but expect that he should be an angel, and free from all infirmities." (*Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 14.) "He cannot, indeed, with any tolerable decency and freedom discharge his office in punishing and reproofing others, unless he himself be blameless and without rebuke." (*Ibid.* lib. v. c. 3.)

The peculiar virtues of the external life and conversation of the clergy, which these pious writers most frequently commend, are the following;—hospitality and kindness to the poor,—frugality, and a holy contempt of the world,—harmless and inoffensive discourse;—and care to avoid all suspicion of evil.—Jerome says, "It is one of the glories of a bishop to provide for the poor; but a disgrace to the sacred function, to seek only to enrich himself." (*Hieron. Ep. 2 ad Nepotian.*) Chrysostom highly extols his bishop Flavian upon account of this virtue. He says that "his house was always open to strangers, and to such as were obliged to have recourse to flight for the sake of religion; where they were received and entertained with such liberality and kindness, that his house might as properly be called 'The house of strangers,' as 'The house of Flavian.' Yea, it was so much the more his own, for being common to strangers; for whatever we possess is so much the more our property for being communicated to our poor brethren; there being no place where we may so safely lay up our treasure, as in the hands of the poor." (*Chrysos. Serm. 1 in Gen.*) On the other hand, Jerome observes, in his instruction to Nepotian, "You must avoid giving great entertainments to secular men, and especially to those who are high in office. For it is not very reputable to have the lictors and guards of a consul stand waiting at the doors of a priest of Christ, who himself was crucified and poor; nor that a judge of a province should dine more sumptuously with you, than in a palace. If it be pre-

tended that you do this only to be able to intercede with him for poor criminals ; there is no judge but will pay a greater deference and respect to a poor clergyman than to a rich one, and show greater reverence to your sanctity than to your riches. Or if he be such an one as will hear a clergyman's intercession only at his table, I should willingly be without this benefit, and rather beseech Christ for the judge himself, who can more speedily and powerfully help than any judge." (Hieron. *Ep. 2 ad Nepotian.*) Again, "The laity should rather find us to be comforters in their mournings, than companions in their feasts. That clergymen will soon be despised, who never refuses any entertainments when he is frequently invited to them." (*Ibid.*)—The virtues of the tongue were also considered of great importance in the life of a clergyman, in the times of which we are treating. Jerome gives a particular caution to ministers, against the sin of detraction and calumny, and especially against giving encouragement to evil speaking, by a patient hearing. "No slanderer," says he, "tells his story to one who is not willing to hear him. An arrow never fixes in a stone, but often recoils, and wounds him that shoots it. Therefore let the detractor be less forward and busy, by your unwillingness to hear his detraction." (Hieron. *Ep. 2 ad Nepotian.*)

The same writer recommends another virtue of the tongue to clergymen ; namely, the habit of keeping secrets, and of observing a becoming silence, especially about the affairs of public persons. "Your office," says he, "requires you to visit the sick, and thereby you become acquainted with the families of matrons and their children, and are entrusted with the secrets of noble men. You ought, therefore, to keep not only a chaste eye, but a chaste tongue. . . . You ought not to let one house know from you what may have been done in another." (*Ibid.*) Chrysostom gives some excellent advice respecting the great duty of avoiding every appearance of evil,—a duty especially incumbent upon Christian ministers. "If," says he, "the holy apostle St. Paul was afraid lest he should have been suspected of theft by the Corinthians ; and upon that account took others into the administration of their charity with himself, that no one might have the least pretence to blame him ; how much more careful should we be to cut off all occasions of sinister opinions and suspicions, however false or unreasonablc they might be, or disagreeable to our character. For none of us can be so far removed

from any sin, as St. Paul was from theft ; yet he did not think fit to contemn the suspicions of the vulgar ; he did not trust to the reputation which both his miracles, and the integrity of his life, had generally procured for him ; but, on the contrary, he imagined that such suspicions and jealousies might arise in the hearts of some men, and therefore he took care to prevent them ; not suffering them to arise at all, but timely foreseeing them and prudently forestalling them ; providing, as he says, for honest things, not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men. 'The same care, and much greater, should we take, not only to dissipate and destroy the ill opinions men may have entertained of us, but to foresee afar off from what causes they may spring, and to cut off beforehand the occasions and pretences from which they may arise. And it is much easier to do this, than to extinguish them when they are risen, which will then be very difficult, and perhaps impossible ; besides that their being raised will give great scandal and offence, and wound the conscience of many.' (Chrysost. *de Sacerdot.* lib. vi. c. 9.) Jerome in like manner, represents it as the duty of a minister to avoid all suspicions ; and to take care before hand that there should be no probable grounds for fictitious stories to the disadvantage of his moral character. (Hieron. *Ep. 2 ad Neoptian.*) But it might happen, as Bingham truly observes, that a man, after the utmost human caution and prudence that could be used, might not be able to avoid the malevolent suspicions of ill-disposed persons ; for our blessed Lord, whose innocence and conduct were both equally divine, could not in his converse with men wholly escape them. Now, in this case, the church could prescribe no other rule than that of patience and christian consolation, given by our Saviour to his apostles, " Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake ; rejoice, and be exceeding glad ; for great is your reward in heaven." (Matt. 5: 11.) " When we have done," says Augustin, " all that in justice and prudence we could, to preserve our good name, if, after that, some men will notwithstanding endeavor to blemish our reputation, and blacken our character, either by false suggestions or unreasonable suspicions, let conscience be our comfort, and even our joy, that great is our reward in heaven." (Augustin. *De Bono Viduitat.* c. 22.)

From these observations respecting the general life and conversa-

tion of the clergy, let us pass to others more immediately relating to the exercise of the duties and offices of their sacred function.

The fathers frequently insist upon the necessity of due *study and application*, in order to the right discharge of the ministerial office. For since, as Gregory Nazianzen observes, (*Orat. 1. De Fuga*.) a man could not become master of the meanest arts without the cost of much time and pains, it were absurd to think that the art of wisdom, which comprehends the knowledge of things human and divine, and comprises everything that is noble and excellent, was so light and vulgar a thing, as that a man needed no more than a wish or a will to obtain it. Some indeed, he complains, (*Ibid.*) were of this fond opinion; and, therefore, before they had well passed the time of their childhood, or knew the names of the books of the Old and New Testament, or how well to read them, if they had learnt but two or three pious words by heart, or had read a few of the Psalms of David, and put on a grave habit, which made some outward show of piety, they had the vanity to think themselves qualified for the government of the church. They then talked of nothing but the sanctification of Samuel from his cradle, and thought themselves profound scribes, great rabbies and teachers, sublime in the knowledge of divine things; and were for interpreting the Scripture, not by the letter, but after a spiritual way, propounding their own dreams and fancies, instead of the divine oracles, to the people. This, he complains, was for want of that study and labor which ought to give continual employment to those persons who take upon them the offices of the sacred function. Chrysostom pursues this matter a little further; and shows the necessity of continual labor and study in a clergyman, from the nature of the work which he has upon hand, each part of which requires great and sedulous application. For, says he, first, he ought to be qualified to minister suitable remedies to the several maladies and disorders of men's souls; the cure of which requires greater skill and labor than the cure of their bodily distempers. And this can be done only by the doctrine of the gospel; with which, therefore, it is necessary that he should be intimately acquainted. Then again, secondly, he must be able to stop the mouths of all gainsayers, Jews, gentiles, and heretics, who employ different arts and different weapons in their attacks upon the truth; and unless he exactly understands all their fallacies and sophisms, and knows the true art of making a proper defence, he will

be in danger not only of suffering each of them to make havoc of the church, but of encouraging one error while combating another. For nothing was more common, in Chrysostom's time, than for ignorant and unskilful disputants to run from one extreme to another ; as he shows in the controversies which the church had with the Marcionites and Valentinians on the one hand, and the Jews on the other, about the law of Moses ; and the dispute about the Trinity, between the Arians and the Sabellians. Now, unless a man were well skilled and exercised in the word of God, and the true art and rules of disputation, which could not be attained without continual study and labor, he concludes that " it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground, and the truth, as he ought, against so many subtle and wily opposers." He then inculcates that instruction of St. Paul to Timothy, " Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine : meditate upon these things ; give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all men." Thirdly, he shows " how difficult and laborious a work it was to make continual homilies and regular discourses to the people, who were become very severe judges of the preacher's compositions, and would not allow him to rehearse any part of another man's work, nor so much as to repeat his own upon a second occasion. Here his task was something the more difficult, because men had generally nice and delicate palates, and were inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, more for pleasure than profit. Which added to the preacher's study and labor ; who, though he was to contemn both popular applause and censure, yet was also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure, to their edification and advantage." Some persons having been ready to plead the apostle's authority for their ignorance, and even to pride themselves upon their want of learning, to this Chrysostom very properly replies, that " this was a misrepresentation of St. Paul's meaning, and was vainly urged in excuse for any man's sloth and negligence in not attaining to those necessary parts of knowledge which the clerical life required. If the utmost heights and perfections of foreign eloquence had been rigidly exacted of the clergy ;—if they had been required to speak always with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthenes, or the majesty of Thücydides, or the sublimity of Plato,—then indeed it might be pertinent to allege this testimony of the apostle. But rudeness of style, in comparison with such eloquence, may

be allowed ; provided men be otherwise qualified with knowledge, and furnished with ability to preach and dispute accurately concerning the doctrines of faith and religion, as St. Paul was ; whose talents in that kind have made him the wonder and admiration of the whole world ; and it would be unjust to accuse him of rudeness of speech, who by his discourses confounded both Jews and Greeks, and wrought many into the opinion that he was the Mercury of the gentiles. Such proofs of his power of persuasion were sufficient evidence that he had bestowed some pains upon this matter ; and therefore his authority was vainly abused to patronize ignorance and sloth, whose example was so great a reproach to them." The same writer afterwards proceeds to show, that a good life alone is not a sufficient qualification for a minister, nor ought to be regarded as any valid ground of excuse for want of knowledge and study, and the art of preaching and disputing. " Both these qualifications," says he, " are required in a priest ; he must not only do, but teach, the commands of Christ, and must guide others by his word and doctrine as well as by his practice ; each of these have their part in his office, and are necessary to assist one another, in order to complete men's edification. For otherwise, when any controversy may arise about the doctrines of religion, and Scripture may be pleaded in behalf of error ; what will a good life avail in this case ? What will it signify to have been diligent in the practice of virtue, if, after all, a man through gross ignorance and unskillfulness in the word of truth, fall into heresy, and cut himself off from the body of the church ? And I know many that have done so. But, suppose that a man should stand firm himself, and not be drawn away by the adversaries ; yet, when the plain and simple people who are under his care shall observe their leader to be baffled, and that he has nothing to say to the arguments of a subtle opponent, they will be ready to impute this not so much to the weakness of the advocate, as to the badness of his cause : and so, by one man's ignorance, a whole people will be carried headlong to utter destruction : or, at least, will be so shaken in their faith, that they will not stand firm for the future." (Chrysost. *De Sacerdot.* lib. iv. 5.) And, in like manner, Jerome observes in his *Epistle to Nepotian*, " that the plain rustic brother should not value himself upon his sanctity, and despise knowledge ; neither should the skilful and eloquent speaker measure his holiness by his tongue. For, though of two imperfections it was better to

have a holy ignorance than a vicious eloquence ; yet both qualifications were necessary to complete a priest, and he ought to have knowledge as well as sanctity to fit him for the several duties of his function." (Hieron. *Ep. 2 ad Nepotian.*)

But it was *the study of the Holy Scriptures* which was especially enjoined upon christian ministers by these pious writers. Chrysostom says, " In administering spiritual remedies to the souls of men, the word of God is instead of everything that is used in the cure of bodily distempers. It is instrument, and diet, and air ; it is instead of medicine, and fire, and knife ; if caustics and incisions are necessary, they are to be done by this ; and if this do not succeed, it were in vain to try other means. This is it which is to raise and comfort the dejected soul ; and to take down and suppress the swelling humors and presumptions of the confident. By this they are both to cut off what is superfluous, to supply what is wanting, and to do everything that is necessary to be done in the cure of souls. By this all heretics and unbelievers are to be convinced, and all the plots of Satan to be countermined : and therefore it is necessary that the ministers of God be very diligent in studying the Scriptures, that the word of Christ might dwell richly in them." (Chrysost. *De Sacerdot.* lib. iv. c. 3, 4.) Jerome commends his friend Nepotian for this, " that at all feasts it was his practice to propound something out of the Holy Scriptures, and entertain the company with some useful disquisition from it. And, next to the Scriptures, he employed his time upon the study of the best ecclesiastical authors, whom by continual reading and frequent meditations he had so treasured up in the library of his heart, that he could repeat their words on any proper occasion ; saying, thus spake Tertullian, thus Cyprian, so Lactantius, after this manner Hilary, so Minucius Felix, so Victorinus, these were the words of Arnobius, and the like." (Hieron. *Epitaph. Nepot., J. ad Heliodor.*)

We find the following observations, among many others, respecting the *public discharge of ministerial duties* :—" With what exact care," says Chrysostom, " ought he to behave himself, who goes in the name of a whole city, nay, in the name of the whole world, as their orator and ambassador, to intercede with God for the sins of all ?* But especially when he invokes the Holy Ghost, and offers

* There is great danger in the use of such language as this. Doubtless

up the tremendous sacrifice of the altar;* with what purity, with what reverence and piety, should his tongue utter forth those words; whilst the angels stand by him, and the whole order of heavenly powers cries aloud, and fills the sanctuary in honor of him who is represented as dead and lying upon the altar." Chrysost. *De Sacerdot.* lib. vi. c. 4.)

Concerning *preaching*, the following rules are laid down by Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Jerome.—First, that the preacher be careful to make choice of an useful subject. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. 1 de Fuga*), specifies some particular and leading subjects,—such as the doctrine of the world's creation, and the soul of man; the doctrine of providence, and the restoration of man; the two covenants; the first and second comings of Christ; his incarnation, sufferings, and death; the resurrection, the end of the world, and the future judgment; the different rewards of heaven and hell; together with the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, which is the principal article of the Christian faith. Such subjects as these are fit for edification, to build up men in faith and holiness, and the practice of all piety and virtue.

But then, secondly, these subjects must be treated in a suitable way; not with too much art or loftiness of style, but with great condescension to men's capacities, who must be fed with the word as they are able to bear it. This is what Gregory Nazianzen so much commends in Athanasius, when he says, "He condescended and accommodated himself to mean capacities, whilst to the acute his notions and words are more sublime," (Greg. Naz. *Orat. 21, de Laud. Athan.*) Jerome also observes upon this head, "that a preacher's discourse should always be plain, intelligible, and affecting; and rather adapted to excite men's groans and tears by a sense of their sins, than their admiration and applause by speaking to them what neither they, nor he himself perhaps, do truly understand. For they are chiefly ignorant and unlearned men who affect to be admired for their speaking above the capacities of the vulgar. A bold man often

there is a sense in which it may be rightly employed; but it must be carefully remembered that the only mediator between God and man,—the only intercessor on behalf of the church,—is the Lord Jesus Christ. Many practical errors, however, were interwoven with the Christian faith during the third and fourth centuries.

* That is, celebrates the Lord's Supper in the congregation.

interprets what he himself does not understand ; and yet he has no sooner persuaded others to they know not what, than he assumes to himself the title of learning upon it. While yet there is nothing so easy as to deceive the ignorant multitude, who are always most prone to admire what they do not understand." (Hieron, *Ep. 2 ad Nepotian.*) Chrysostom spends almost a whole book (*De Sacerdot.* lib. v.) in cautioning the christian orator against the fault of courting popular applause ; and points out the necessity of his despising both the applauses and censures of men, and all other things which might tempt him to flatter his hearers, rather than edify them. "In a word," says he, "his chief end in all his compositions should be to please God : and then, if he also gained the praise of men, he might receive it ; if not, he needed not to court it nor torment himself because it was denied him. For it would be consolation enough for all his labors, that in the application of his doctrine and eloquence he had always sought to please his God." (*De Sacerdot.* lib. v. c. 7.)

A third rule was, that preachers should carefully adapt their doctrine to the actual wants and necessities of their hearers. Chrysostom, in describing this part of a minister's duty, says, that "he should be watchful and clear-sighted, and have a thousand eyes about him, as living not for himself alone, but for a multitude of people. To live retired in a cell is the part of a monk ; but the duty of a watchman is to converse among men of all degrees and callings ; to take care of the body of Christ, the church, and have regard both to its health and beauty ; carefully observing lest any spot, or wrinkle, or other defilement, should sully its grace and comeliness. Now this obliges spiritual physicians to apply their medicines, that is, their doctrines, as the maladies of their patients chiefly require ; to be most earnest and frequent in encountering those errors and vices which are most predominant, or by which men are most in danger of being infected. (Chrysost. *De Sacerdot.* lib. iii. c. 12 ; lib. iv. c. 2, 3.)

In *private addresses* to the persons under their charge, the clergy were enjoined to exercise prudence, as well as fidelity and diligence. "Man," says Gregory Nazianzen, "is so various and uncertain a creature, that it requires great art and skill to manage him. For the tempers of men's minds differ more than the features and lineaments of their bodies ; and, as all meats and medicines are not proper for all bodies, so neither is the same treatment and discipline proper for all souls. Some are best moved by words, others

by examples ; some are of a dull and heavy temper, and so have need of the spur to stimulate them ; others, that are brisk and fiery, have more need of the curb to restrain them. Praise works best upon some, and reproof upon others, provided that each of them be ministered in a suitable and seasonable way, otherwise they do more harm than good. Some men are drawn by gentle exhortations to their duty ; others by rebukes and hard words must be driven to it. And even in this business of reproof some men are affected most with open rebuke, others with private. For some men never regard a secret reproof, who yet are easily corrected, if chastised in public : others again cannot bear a public disgrace, but grow either morose, or impudent and implacable, under it ; who, perhaps, would have hearkened to a secret admonition, and repaid their monitor with their conversion, as presuming him to have accosted them out of mere pity and love. Some men are to be so nicely watched and observed, that not the least of their faults are to be dissembled ; because they seek to hide their sins from men, and arrogate to themselves thereupon the praise of being politic and crafty : in others it is better to wink at some faults, so that seeing we will not see, and hearing we will not hear, lest by too frequent chidings we bring them to despair, and so make them cast off modesty and grow bolder in their sins. To some men we must put on an angry countenance, and seem to deplore their condition, and to despair of them as lost and pitiable wretches, when their nature so requires it : others again must be treated with meekness and humility, and be recovered to a better hope by more promising and encouraging prospects. Some men must be always conquered and never yielded to ; whilst to others it will be better to concede a little. For all men's distempers are not to be cured the same way ; but proper medicines are to be applied, as the matter itself, or occasion, or the temper of the patient will allow. And this is the most difficult part of the pastoral office, to know how to distinguish these things nicely, with an exact judgment, and with as exact a hand to administer suitable remedies to every distemper. It is a master-piece of art, which is not to be attained but by good observation, joined with experience and practice." (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 1. *de Fuga* ; *Conf. Orat.* 21, *de Laud Athan.*) In like manner, Chrysostom, speaking of the qualification of a christian minister, observes, that " he ought to be wise, as well as holy ; a man of great experience, and that understands the world ; and, be-

cause his business is with all sorts of men, he should be *ποικίλος*, one that can appear with different aspects, and act with a great variety of skill. But when I say this, I do not mean," says he, "that he should be a man of craft or servile flattery, or a dissembling hypocrite; but a man of great freedom and boldness, who knows, notwithstanding, how to condescend and accommodate himself to men's advantage, when occasion requires, and who can be mild as well as austere. For all men are not to be treated in the same way; no physician uses the same method with all his patients." (Chrysost. *De Sacerdot.* lib. iii. c. 16.)

Zeal and courage in defending the truth is an other quality which the ancients correctly represent as requisite in a christian minister. "In other cases," says Gregory Nazianzen, "there is nothing so peaceable, so moderate, as christian bishops; but in this case they cannot bear the name of moderation to betray their God by silence and sitting still; here they are exceedingly eager warriors and fighting champions, that are not to be overcome." (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 21, *De Laud. Athan.: Conf. Orat.* 20, *De Laud. Basil.*) But in speaking thus, they made it to be, at the same time, distinctly understood that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal."

Such are among the truly excellent remarks of Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Jerome, concerning the character and duties of a christian minister. These specimens of practical piety and wisdom from the writings of the Fathers, while they convey important instruction on the particular subject to which they relate, may also serve to direct our attention, in general, to the true value and use of those precious records of the early church. Let us not be unwilling to avail ourselves of the piety, learning, and experience of ancient christian teachers; nor be disposed to overlook what is really important in their writings, merely because they were subject to human infirmity, and were involved in some of those errors which gradually gathered round the church from the second century, until the days of the blessed Reformation.

§ 5. PUNISHMENT OF DELINQUENTS.*

The stern and awful sanctity of the primitive christians is peculiarly manifest in the severity of that discipline to which they sub-

* Siegel's *Allerthümer* III. Bd. 79.

jected offending members of their communion. Their system of discipline towards laymen who were subject to it, is fully developed in a subsequent part of this work, chap. xvii. But the clergy of every grade were the subjects of a discipline peculiar to their body ; and in some respects even more severe than that of private members of the church. The latter might, by suitable demonstrations of penitence, be again restored to their former standing ; but this privilege was never accorded to a degraded or excommunicated minister. If, for any offence, he once fell under ecclesiastical censure, he was excluded from the clerical order entirely and forever.

The offences for which a clergyman was liable to censure or punishment were very numerous, and continually increased as the spirit of ancient christianity degenerated and gave place to the ostentatious formalities of later times. They may, however, be comprised under the following classes : apostasy, heresy, simony, neglect of duty of any kind, especially departure from the prescribed forms of worship ; and open immorality.

Many of these offences evidently related to the peculiar trials to which the primitive Christians were subject, and to the heresies and defections which were consequent upon them. Offences of this character were visited with peculiar severity upon the clergy.

The punishments inflicted upon offending members of the clerical body during the first seven or eight centuries, may be reduced to the following heads : suspension, degradation, exclusion from the communion, imprisonment, corporal punishment, and excommunication.

1. *Suspension.* This related either to the salary of the clergyman, or to his office. Both methods of punishment were practised by the ancient church. An instance is related in the writings of Cyprian of some whose monthly wages were suspended, while they were allowed to continue in the discharge of their office. Decrees to this effect were ordained by the councils of Nice, Ephesus, and Agde.

Suspension from office was varied according to circumstances. At one time the offender was suspended from the performance of the active duties of his office, whilst he still retained his clerical rank with his brethren in the ministry.¹ At another, he was forbidden to perform some of the duties of his office, while he continued in the discharge of others ; and again, he was debarred the performance of all ministerial duties for a definite period of time.

2. *Degradation.* This punishment consisted, as its name implies,

in removing the offender from a higher to a lower grade of office. This sentence of degradation appears to have been final and irrevocable.² Bishops were in this manner transferred from a larger to a smaller or less important diocese.³ Presbyters were degraded to the order of deacons; and deacons, to that of subdeacons. This species of punishment was also inflicted upon bishops in Africa by superseding them in their expected succession to the office of archbishop or metropolitan.⁴

3. *Exclusion from the communion.* Of this there were two kinds, which were denominated *communio peregrina*, and *communio laica*. The former has sometimes been confounded with the latter, or it has been supposed to denote a communion in one kind, or communion only at the point of death, which, in the Romish church, was regarded as a kind of passport to the future world. The most probable explanation of this point, confessedly obscure, is, that the term *communio* implied not only a participation of the eucharist, but in all the rights and privileges of a member of the church. Travellers and strangers, unless they had testimonials certifying to their regular standing in the church, were presumed to be under censure, and were not allowed the privileges of full communion, though permitted to receive, if need be, a maintenance from the funds of the church. An instance is related of Chrysostom, who on a certain occasion hospitably entertained the bishop of Alexandria, who had fled from persecution to him at Constantinople; but the bishop was not allowed to partake of the eucharist, until it had been fully ascertained that no just accusation could be brought against him. Clergymen under censure were sometimes treated in this way in their own communion. They were placed in the same relations as strangers, which was denoted by the phrase *communio peregrina*.⁵ Under these circumstances they could neither officiate nor be present at the celebration of the Lord's supper, until they had given the prescribed satisfaction.

The act of communion was indeed the highest privilege of a layman; but it was a severe rebuke to one who had been elevated to the rank of the clergy to be again degraded to the condition of a layman, and to be required to communicate *as a layman* at the table of the Lord. This was a kind of mitigated excommunication. He was excluded from the body of the clergy and reduced to the condition of a humble individual. In this situation he was required to perform

certain services for that same body from which he had been expelled. This was styled *communio laica*, and the subject of this penalty was said to be delivered over to the secular arm, *curiae tradi*, in the phraseology of the ancient canonists.

4. *Imprisonment.* The custom of confining delinquent clergymen in monasteries appears to have taken its rise in the fourth and fifth centuries. At a later period it became a frequent mode of punishment.

5. *Corporal punishment.* This kind of punishment, together with the last mentioned, was inflicted only on clergy of the inferior orders.⁶ This mode of punishment was by no means uncommon in the time of Augustine. A presbyter, who had given false witness, could first be deposed from his office; and then, as a layman, might be subjected to corporal punishment. Connected with the churches in large cities, such as Constantinople, there were houses of correction, *decanica*, for administering the correction of imprisonment and of corporal punishment.

6. *Excommunication.* This was the last and highest form of ecclesiastical censure. It cut off all hope on the part of the offender from ever being again reinstated in the ministry, even if he were restored to the fellowship of the churches. None who had at any time been exposed to public censure, were restored again to their office.⁷

The above penalties appear to have been inflicted by authority of ecclesiastical councils alone, or at least to have been prescribed by them.

CHAPTER IX.

OF CHURCHES AND SACRED PLACES.

§ 1. HISTORY OF CHURCHES.

Christians in different ages have called the places where they were wont to meet together for religious worship by a great variety of names. The primitive appellation was, according to some, *ἐκκλησία*, 1 Cor. 11: 18, 20, 22. So it was used by Ignatius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, etc. To this may be added the names of

οἶκος θεοῦ, οἶκος ἐκκλησίας, *dominicum*, *Domus Dei*, etc. κυριακόν, προσερχτήριον, ναός, *templum*, etc., the Lord's house, house of the church, house of prayer, temple, etc. These names became familiar in the third and fourth centuries.

The German *kirche*, from which is derived the Scotch *kirk*, and English *church*, came into use in the eighth century. The original of the word is κυριακόν, κυριακή, the Lord's house. Churches have also been entitled μαρτύρια, in honor of the holy martyrs, and for the same reason particular churches have been called by the names of different saints and martyrs, St. Paul's, St. Peter's, etc. The following names have also, at different times, and for various reasons, been given to christian churches: *tituli*, (τιτλοι), ἀνάκτορον, τρόπαια,² σκηνή, *concilia*, *conciliabula*, *conventicula*, *casae*, σύνοδοι, μοναστήριον, κοιμητήριον, *columba*, *corpus Christi*, ναός, νῆσος, ἀποστολεῖον, προφητεῖον, and many others.

The primitive Christians were compelled to unite in the worship of God wherever they could meet without molestation,—in private houses, in the open fields, in desert and solitary places, in caves and dens of the earth.¹ In view of these circumstances, many have supposed that no sacred edifices were set apart for the worship of God in the first and second centuries. But there is satisfactory evidence of the existence of such churches in the year 202,² and that they were allowed to appropriate to themselves such places of worship, under the emperors, from A. D. 222 to 235,³ and again from 260 to 300.⁴ From this time, the evidence of the existence of christian churches becomes full and satisfactory.⁵ Dioclesian directs his rage especially against them, ordering them by his edict, A. D. 303, to be razed to the earth,⁶ of which more than forty had already been erected in Rome. Optatus mentions that in his time there were forty or more large churches in Rome.—De Schism. Donat. lib. 2. c. 4.

After the persecution of Dioclesian, under Constantine and his successors, the demolished churches were rebuilt, and such as had been closed were again opened.⁷ Pagan temples were, in some instances, converted into christian churches; but they were usually destroyed, as not suited for public worship.⁸ Churches in great numbers were erected, in a style of magnificence before unknown, in Constantinople, in Jerusalem, and throughout the cities of Palestine, and solemnly dedicated to the worship of God.⁹ This religious rite was first introduced by Constantine.¹⁰

In his zeal for building churches, Justinian I. far surpassed all others, and throughout his long reign, from A. D. 527 to 565, made this the great business of his life. But his chief care he expended in building the magnificent and colossal church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Such was the splendor of this work, that at the consecration of it he exclaimed, *Νερίνηκα σε Σολομών*, "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon." The perpendicular height, from the summit of the grand arch to the pavement of this edifice, was one hundred and eighty feet. Some idea of this great work may be obtained from the number of ministers and attendants who were appointed by the decree of the emperor for the service of this church. They were as follows: sixty presbyters, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety subdeacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five singers, one hundred door-keepers; making a retinue of five hundred and twenty-five ministers and attendants! The value of 40,000 pounds of silver was expended in ornamenting the altar and the parts adjacent. The entire cost was nearly \$5,000,000.¹¹

After the death of Justinian, the zeal for building churches greatly declined, and few of any notoriety were erected from the fifth to the eighth century. The arts of architecture, sculpture and painting, had fallen into disrepute, and the churches which were erected were of an inferior character, devoid, in a great degree, of ornament and taste.

The Byzantine, or ancient Gothic style of architecture, was introduced under Theodoric, in the beginning of the sixth century;¹² and in this and the following centuries, many churches of this order were built in Italy, Spain, France, England, and Germany. From the seventh to the twelfth century, the resources of the christian church were expended chiefly on cloisters, monasteries, and other establishments suited to the ascetic life, to which Christians of those ages generally addicted themselves.

The vast cathedrals of Europe, in the style of Modern Gothic, are the product of the middle ages, and some of them date back even to the thirteenth century. About this time ecclesiastical architecture attained to the height of its perfection. After the introduction of the pointed arch, at the beginning of this period, buildings were erected which exceeded, in size and architectural beauty, all which had hitherto been dedicated to the services of the church. The style of architecture which obtained at this time has been usu-

ally denominated Gothic, or new Gothic ; but it may more properly claim the title of German, or English. It prevailed in Germany, the Netherlands, England, and Denmark ; and from those countries it was introduced into Italy, France, and Spain. Some suppose that Saxony is the country to which its origin may be traced.

Some antiquaries regard the beautiful architecture of this period as a sudden effect produced by the invention of the pointed arch ; while others contend that it was the result of a gradual improvement in the art during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Certain, however, it is, that this style of building, after having attained its perfection more or less rapidly in the thirteenth century, prevailed almost exclusively during the fourteenth and fifteenth.

Opinions are divided also upon a question relating to the quarter from which this style was originally derived. Some persons suppose that it was brought from the Arabians or Saracens, at the time of the Crusades, or from the same people, in Spain and Sicily, at a still earlier date. And it seems likely that some of its forms, at least, may have originated in this quarter. Others refer the design to the talent and invention of one or two great masters, whom they suppose to have flourished in the early part of the century, but without being able to say who they were. While others again consider that we are indebted for the improvement to the societies of masons, which existed from a very early period, and were greatly encouraged by popes and emperors during the middle ages. They had lodges in England and on the Continent ; some place their beginning in Germany, others in France, and others in England under the Saxon kings. These architectural corporations must not be confounded with the modern freemasons.

Early in the eleventh century began the system of raising money for ecclesiastical buildings by the sale of indulgences. The example of this practice was set by Pontius, bishop of Arles, in the year 1016. According to Morinus, (*De Sacram. Pœnit.* lib. vii. c. 14, 20,) the French bishops professed, during the twelfth century, to remit a third or fourth part of penance to persons who should contribute a certain sum of money towards the building or restoring of a place of worship. In this way Mauritius, bishop of Paris, built the splendid cathedral of Notre Dame, and four abbeys ; for which, however, he incurred the censure of some of his contemporaries. In later times the example was frequently followed at Romo ; and it is well

known that the collection of Peter's pence, and the sale of indulgences in raising money for the building of St. Peter's, was one of the proximate causes of the German reformation.

§ 2. FORM, SITE, AND POSITION OF CHURCHES.

1. *Form.* The most ancient and approved form for churches was an *oblong*; sometimes with parallel sides, but more frequently elliptical, like the form of a ship. So the Apostolical Constitutions direct, lib. 2. c. 57, *πρώτον μὲν ὁ οἶκος ἔστω επιμήκης, (oblong) ὅστις ἔοικε νηϊ.* As it was common to speak of the christian community under the metaphor of a ship, so the edifice in which they worshipped was denominated *navis*, a ship, *arca*, an ark, *navis Noae*, the ark of Noah, *navicula Petri*, the boat of Peter; having an allegorical reference to the perils to which the church was exposed, and its safety in God.

Another favorite form for several ages after Constantine the Great was that of a cross, *σταυροῦ δίκην, σταυροειδῆ, σταυρωτά.* Some were also *quadrangular, octagonal, polygonal*, and sometimes, though very rarely, *circular*; this was the usual form of heathen temples, and therefore was disapproved by Christians.

2. *Site.* For the *location* of their churches the primitive Christians selected the summit of some high hill or elevated ground, unless compelled for the sake of concealment to resort to some place less conspicuous. At other times they erected their churches over the graves of martyrs and confessors. And not unfrequently for some special reason, they prepared for themselves churches and oratories *under ground*, which served both for devotional purposes, and as sepulchres for their dead.¹ In the tenth and eleventh centuries, there were many such in Germany; these were denominated *κρυπταί, cryptae.*

“During the sanguinary persecutions that assailed the primitive disciples, the myrmidons of imperial vengeance often broke in upon their worship, dispersed their assemblies, and violently dispossessed them of the “upper rooms,” in which they were wont to congregate; and in these circumstances, while some fled to the mountains and some to the deserts, multitudes took permanent refuge in the spacious cemeteries that were situated in the outskirts of the ancient cities. Amid the deep and unbroken solitude of the cata-

combs—places of abode less irksome, perhaps, from the ancient style of building, than we are apt to imagine,—they solaced and animated one another from midnight till dawn, with spiritual exhortations to constancy in the faith; and while the sword of vengeance was sheathed, and the fury of their persecutors slumbered in the night, they continued, in those undiscovered retreats, their wonted exercises of prayer and praise. About forty-three of such subterranean excavations still remain in the neighborhood of Rome alone, containing the most convincing evidences that they were employed for the ordinances of religion, as well as for concealment; and when we consider that numbers died, and deposited their bones there, some of whom had eminently distinguished themselves as martyrs in the cause of Christ, it is not difficult to imagine the strong emotions that would animate the primitive Christians for the venerable dust that surrounded them, and the intense power which religion would acquire over their minds, in places which served at once for the offices of worship and for the burial of the saints.”*

3. *Position, or aspect.* In the aspect of their churches, the ancient Christians reversed the order of the Jews, placing the altar on the East, so that in facing towards the altar in their devotions they were turned to the East, in opposition to the Jewish custom of turning towards the West in prayer. As the Jews began their day with the *setting sun*, so the followers of Christ began theirs with the *rising sun*. The eye of the Christian turned with peculiar interest to the East, whence the day-spring from on high had visited him. There the morning star of his hope fixed his admiring gaze. Thence arose the Sun of righteousness with all his heavenly influences. Thither in prayer his soul turned with kindling emotions to the altar of his God. And even in his grave, thither still he directed his slumbering eye, in quiet expectation of awaking to behold in the same direction the second appearing of his Lord, when he shall come in the clouds of heaven to gather his saints.²

§ 3. ARRANGEMENT, AND CONSTITUENT PARTS.

No established order of arrangement and division prevailed in the first three centuries. The churches of this period were rude and

* Jamieson, pp. 106, 107.

simple structures, varying in form and size according to circumstances ; but about the fourth century, great uniformity began to be observed in this respect. The body of the church was divided into *three divisions*, corresponding with the three orders among Christians ; the *clergy*, including all officers of the community, the *faithful*, or *believers*, and the *catechumens*. This arrangement also bore a resemblance to the division of the Jewish temple into the holy of holies, the sanctuary, and the court. Perhaps there was an intentional reference to both of these divisions ; for it must be remembered that there was, at this time, an increasing disposition, in the christian church, to imitate the rites of Jewish worship. The three divisions were, 1. The bema or sanctuary, a sacred enclosure around the altar appropriated to the clergy. 2. The naos or nave, occupied by the faithful, the lay members of the church. 3. The narthex, or ante-temple, the place of the penitents and catechumens. Sometimes four or five divisions are enumerated ; which arise from sub-dividing the narthex into outer and inner, and reckoning the exedrae, or outer buildings, as a portion of the church. We adhere to the threefold, or more simple division, and proceed to speak of each part in the order already described.

§ 4. OF THE BEMA, OR SANCTUARY.*

The bema, or sanctuary, the inner portion of the church which was appropriated to the clergy, was known by many different names. It was called the *chorus* or *choir*,¹ from the singing of the service by the clergy, *βῆμα* from *ἀναβαίνειν*, *to ascend*, being an elevated platform, *ἄγιον*, *ἁγίασμα*, *ἄγιον*, *ἄγιον*, *sanctum*, *sanctuarium*,² etc., because it was the sanctuary where most of the sacred rites were performed. It was also denominated *ἱερατεῖον*,³ *πρεσβυτήριον*, *διακονικόν*, *θυσιαστήριον*,⁴ *altar*, *ἄβατον*, *ἄδυτον*,⁵ *places not to be entered*. Neither laymen nor females were permitted, on any occasion, to enter it ; kings and emperors were privileged with a seat within this sacred enclosure, from whence it received the name of *ἀνάκτορον*, *royal palace*.

The platform of this portion of the church was a semi-circular or elliptical recess, with a corresponding arch overhead, and separated

* See plan of ancient churches, at the beginning.

from the nave by a railing curiously wrought in the form of net work *cancelli*, hence the name *chancel*. Within was the throne of the bishop, and subordinate seats on the right and left for the lower clergy.⁶ The bishop's throne was usually covered with a veil, and for this reason was styled *cathedra velata*.⁷ In the middle of the church stood the holy altar, or communion table, *τράπεζα ἱερὰ, μυστικὴ, πνευματικὴ, the sacred, mysterious, or spiritual table*, in such a position as to be easily encompassed on every side. On this the sacred elements were placed in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. On one side of the altar was a small table or secretary for receiving the customary oblations previous to the sacrament; and on the other stood the *σκευοφυλάκιον*, a recess into which the sacramental vessels were conveyed to be washed and replaced before being removed to the sacristy in which they were usually kept.

In process of time, this part of the church became the depository of sacred relics, and the burial place of the sainted dead.

§ 5. THE NAVE.

The nave, or main body of the church, was called by different names derived from the uses to which it was applied. It was called the oratory of the people; because there they met for religious worship, reading the Scriptures, prayer and the preaching of the word. It was also called the *place of assembly*, and the *quadrangle*, from its quadrangular form in contrast with the circular or elliptical form of the chancel.

In a central position stood the *ambo*, *βῆμα τῶν ἀναγρωστῶν, suggestum lectorum*, or reader's desk, elevated on a platform above the level of the surrounding seats. This was sometimes called *the pulpit* and *the tribunal of the church*,¹ in distinction from the *βῆμα or tribunal of the choir*. All public notices, letters missive, and documents of public interest, were also communicated from the reader's desk. The choristers and professional singers, *κανονικοὶ ψάλται*, were provided with seats on or near this desk. The seats in front and on either side were occupied by the *believers* or christian communicants.

The gospels and the epistles were *chanted* from before the altar. The sermon was also delivered by the preacher standing on the platform of the sanctuary before the altar, or on the steps leading to it.

But afterwards, when larger churches were erected, it became difficult for the preacher to make himself heard from this station. To remedy this inconvenience a platform was erected for the speaker in front of the bema, within the body of the nave, and surrounded by railings called *cancelli*, which gave to this platform the name of *chancel*. Such was the origin and appropriate signification of the term. Afterwards, it became in common with many others, the name of all that space which was allotted to the altar, and to those that ministered at the altar.

The body of the church was very early divided in separate parts, and *specific seats assigned* to the several classes into which the audience were divided.² The object of this careful division was to prevent disorder and confusion, and to invite a fuller attendance. Such an arrangement, indeed, was indispensably necessary in connection with their various classes of believers, penitents, catechumens, etc., and the services adapted to each. But between the Eastern and Western churches there has never been any uniformity in the internal arrangements of their places of worship.

The rules of the primitive churches required the separation of the sexes in the church, and this was generally observed.³ The men occupied the *left* of the altar on the south side of the church, and the women the *right*, on the north. They were separated from one another by a veil or lattice. In the Eastern churches the women and catechumens occupied the galleries above, while the men sat below. In some churches a separate apartment was also allotted to widows and virgins.

The catechumens occupied a place next to the believers, arranged in the order of their several classes. But they were required to withdraw at the summons of the deacons—*ite, catechumeni!* In the rear of the catechumens sat the penitents who had been allowed a place again within the church. In the seating of the assembly and preservation of order, the ostiarii, acolyths, subdeacons, deacons, and deaconesses all bore a part.⁴

A certain part of the church styled *σωλεία, σολία, σολέας, σολεῖον*, etc. has been the subject of much dispute; but it is generally understood to denote the seat within the chancel, which was appropriated to the emperors, kings, princes, etc.⁵

The walls of the church were surrounded by ante-chambers and recesses, for the accommodation of the assembly, for private read-

ing, meditation and prayer.⁶ There were aisles surrounding the nave, which separated it from these chambers. The nave was further separated from the sanctuary by a partition of lattice-work and a curtain which could be drawn so as to screen the sanctuary entirely from the view of the assembly.⁷ The sanctuary was usually concealed from the view of the audience except at the celebration of the Lord's supper, or when the sermon was delivered from that place.

§ 6. THE NARTHEX, OR ANTE-TEMPLE.

This was the outer division of the church within the walls. It was called *πρόναος*, *ante-temple*; *πρόπυλα*, *porticus*, *portico*, and *ναρθηξ* or *ferula*, from its oblong or dromical shape. It was an oblong section of the building extending across, and occupying the front part of the interior of the house. It was entered by three doors leading from the outer porch. From the narthex there were also three entrances. The main entrance was in the middle directly opposite the altar, and opening immediately into the nave. Two smaller doors upon each side appear to have opened into the *ἔμβολος*, or side aisles, from which the nave was entered by doors on the north and the south.

The doors consisted of two folding leaves, and after the eleventh century were often ornamented with bronze and with carved and embossed work. The several classes of worshippers entered the nave at different doors, which were called "the priest's door," "the men's door," etc.

The *vestibule* or *πρόναος*, appropriately so called, and situated without the walls, was allotted to the catechumens and penitents. Heretics and unbelievers were also allowed a place here. The council of Laodicea, c. 57, denied this privilege to heretics and schismatics. But the fourth council of Carthage, c. 84, directed that no bishop should forbid one, whether gentile, heretic, or Jew to attend the first service—*usque ad missam catechumenorum*.

The *portico* or *outer court*, *πρόπυλα*, included the halls and colonnades which constituted the outer or front part of the narthex, and was used for various purposes, analogous to those of a modern committee-room and vestry. Here also the bodies of the dead were deposited, and vigils kept around them until their interment.

The primitive Christians were accustomed to wash before enter-

ing the church as a symbol of the purity becoming that holy place. For this purpose, in process of time, the vessel or font of water which was used in this rite was introduced into the narthex or porch. Formerly it was situated without. This vessel of water was called *κρήνη*, *φιάλη*, *φοῖεον*, *κολυμβεῖον*, *λεονιόριον*, *cantharus*, *nympheum*, etc. and is often mentioned by ancient authors.¹ The use of *holy water* has been derived by some from this usage of the primitive church. This superstition began at some time subsequent to the ninth century.

The baptismal font came into use on the introduction of infant-baptism as baptisteries fell into disuse, and when the neglect of stated seasons of baptism had rendered the larger baptisteries needless.

The following extract from Jamieson is inserted as a recapitulation of the principal points of interest connected with the foregoing topics, pp. 108—111.

“The spot chosen for the site of a new church was generally an elevated piece of ground, consecrated by being the burying-place of a martyr,—the primitive Christians deeming a church built over the remains of those who were faithful unto death, a more suitable memorial of their excellencies, than a monumental pillar erected to their honor. It accordingly received their name, which was inscribed on the front of the edifice. The church was approached through a spacious area, in the middle of which was a fountain, in which every one, as he entered, washed his hands—an act intended for a significant memorial of the purity of heart that alone can constitute an acceptable worshipper. The entrance was formed by a longitudinal porch, within which kings laid down their crowns, soldiers their arms, and magistrates or judges the insignia of their office. At one end of it stood poor strangers, or such of that destitute order as, from their distress being recent and sudden, were allowed to make known their wants by asking alms of their brethren,—while on the opposite side were stationed gross offenders, who, being excommunicated, and deprived of the privilege of entering the church, implored on their bended knees, and with all the agony of remorse and the deepest affliction, the prayers and sympathies of the faithful. The interior of the building—which was often in the form of a cross, or an eight-sided figure, but most generally of an oblong shape, resembling that of a ship,—was divided into different compartments, corresponding to the different classes of hearers that composed the

primitive church. The penitents—under which term were included all offenders who had made some progress in their course of discipline,—occupied the first place on passing from the porch. Next to them were those new converts who were preparing for baptism,—while the body of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful,—widows and young women by themselves,—the men with their sons, the women with their daughters, sitting apart from each other, either on opposite sides of the church, or, as was frequently the case, the male part of the audience remained on the ground floor, while the females had a gallery appropriated for their use. At the further end, opposite the main entrance, was the pulpit, or elevated bench, from which the minister read the Scriptures and exhorted the people; and immediately behind this was the place set apart for celebrating the communion,—the consecrated elements of which were deposited on a plain moveable table, covered with a white cloth. Here and there were niches in the walls, sufficiently large to hold one or two persons, each of which was furnished with a copy of the Scriptures, for the use of those who might choose to retire in the intervals of public worship, to read and to meditate in these little recesses. Besides this provision, invaluable in those days, when books were all in manuscript and costly in price, texts of Scripture appropriate to each class of hearers were inscribed on that part of the wall that lay immediately contiguous to the place they occupied in the church, and were so selected, as to be perpetual remembrancers of the temptations incident to their age, of the duties belonging to their condition, and the motives and encouragements to steadfastness in faith and virtue. Thus, to let one example suffice, over the space assigned to the young women, was engraven in large characters this passage of Paul, 1 Cor. 7: 34: “There is difference between a wife and a virgin; the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and in spirit.” For the benefit of those who could not profit by such means of christian instruction, the custom was latterly introduced of decorating the walls of churches with pictures of the scenes and characters of sacred history. Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit,—Joseph sold by his brethren,—David encountering Goliath,—Solomon dedicating his temple, Mary and the infant Jesus,—the Saviour expiring on the cross, were delineated to the eye,—intended, like historical paintings, to keep in remembrance the persons and events they were meant to represent,

and especially to enable the illiterate to read *that* in the picture which they had not education enough to do in the book. It was towards the end of the third century when this innovation crept into the church; and although, doubtless, it sprang from a pious and well-meaning zeal for the instruction of the ignorant, yet it was an imprudent measure, productive of the worst consequences, and tending to accelerate the superstition which was then advancing with gigantic strides over the whole christian world. Up to that period, the church had kept itself pure and inviolate from the sanction of any sensible representations either of God or of man; and in the only instance recorded, prior to this date, of anything approaching to a human figure being hung up in a church, the pious father who discovered a painting of Christ on a curtain when travelling through a little village of Palestine, got admission into the sacred edifice, and tore the drapery in pieces, being horror-struck at the daring sin."

§ 7. OF THE OUTER BUILDINGS, OR EXEDRAE.

Under this name were included all the appendages belonging to the church, such as courts, side-buildings, wings, etc. together with all those separate buildings pertaining to the main edifice, which were situated in the enclosure of the church-yard. This enclosure around the church was known by various names, *περίβολος*, *στοάς*, *περιστάων*, *τετρασιῶν*, *τετράστυλον*, *ambitus*, *peristylia*, etc. The area between the wall and the church was called *atruim*, *impluvium*, *αἶθριον*, etc.

In this open space stood the demoniacs, and the weeping penitents, neither of whom were permitted to enter within the walls of the church. About the sixth century it became customary to use the *church yard* as a burial place. In some instances it was so used as early as the fourth century.

But the most important of the exedrae were the *baptisteries* which were erected adjacent to the cathedral churches, denominated for this reason, *baptismal*, and *central* churches. They must be referred to those times, when it was customary for the bishop himself to administer this ordinance only in these churches, and at stated seasons. These baptisteries are spoken of as in general use in the fourth century, from which it may be inferred that they are of high antiquity.¹ The candidates for baptism were accustomed to meet in the

baptistry to receive the instructions requisite for their reception to this ordinance, and, for this purpose, it was divided into separate apartments for the accommodation of both sexes. Meetings of the whole congregation, and of synods could also be held here, from which we may form some idea of the magnitude of these buildings. The remains of these baptisteries are still extant.

There were also several other smaller buildings situated about the church, such as the *vestry* or *repository*, *diaconicum magnum*, in which the sacred utensils,—the ornaments and robes of the clergy were deposited for safe keeping. These were entrusted to the care of the deacons and inferior clergy. It was also called *κειμηλιαρχεῖον*, *γαζοφυλάκιον*, *σκευοφυλάκιον* *vestiarium mutatorium*. Here the clergy were wont to retire for private exercises preparatory to their public performances, and for private rehearsals and examination before the bishop; from whence it was called *secretum*, or *secretarium*. It was also a general audience room, where friends and acquaintances meet to exchange their affectionate salutations and inquiries, hence called *salutatorium*, *receptorium*, audience chamber, repository.² Many are of opinion that this building was also used as a *prison house* for the confinement of delinquent clergymen. Others suppose that these ecclesiastical prisons were separate edifices, called *decanica*, but that there were such places of confinement is undeniable.³

There was another class of buildings called *pastophoria*, but the learned are not agreed respecting the use of them. According to Rosenmüller, they were a kind of guard, or watch-house. Others suppose them to have been apartments for the accommodation of the clergy.

*Libraries were at a very early period collected and kept in connection with the churches,*⁴ which were furnished, not merely with the scriptures in the original and in translations, together with the books necessary for the church service, but with commentaries, homilies, catechisms, and theological works. These libraries were of great importance, and often were very extensive. The libraries of Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople were kept in separate buildings, adjacent to the church.⁵ From the libraries of Jerusalem and Caesarea, both Eusebius and Jerome chiefly derived the materials for their writings. The library of St. Sophia contained 120,000 volumes.

Schools were very early established in connection with the churches. If no building was provided for this purpose, the schools were taught in the baptistery, and the vestry. The teachers of these schools always instructed their catechumens privately, and were never allowed to give public instructions. The sixth general council of Constantinople directs the presbyters in country towns and villages to have schools to teach all such children as were sent to them, for which they should exact no reward, nor receive anything, unless the parents of the children thought fit to make them a charitable donation by way of voluntary contribution. From all which it is apparent that the primitive Christians regarded these schools as having an intimate connection with their churches, and essential to the promotion of the same great end.

The bishops and clergy had houses allotted to them adjacent to the church, called *οἶκοι βασιλικοί*.⁶

Bathing houses are also mentioned, and public rooms, called *ἀνακαμπτήρια*, *diversoria*, lodging places, supposed by some to be a kind of inn,—by others they are regarded as a common place of resort for rest and for recreation.

Hospitals for the poor, and the sick, were also maintained in connection with the churches.

§ 8. OF TOWERS, BELLS, AND ORGANS.

Towers.—These were entirely unknown in the first seven centuries. The term *πύργος*, which occurs in the description of the ancient churches, is used, not in the usual sense of a tower, but as synonymous with the *βήμα* or *ἄμβων*, the sanctuary, or the *desk*.¹ These towers are first mentioned in the time of Charlemagne. A chapel built for him in the year 873, was provided with two towers for bells. A church of a cloister, of a date still earlier, 837, is also described as having a tower attached to it.² The same is true of the cathedral church at Mentz, A. D. 978.³

Authors are not agreed respecting the origin and use of these appendages of the church. The probable opinion is that they were erected on the first introduction of *bells*, and for the purpose of providing a convenient place for the suspension of them. Such the name implies, and so Du Cange explains the term.⁴ They were

then belfries, erected not for ornament, but for convenience merely ; and often were separate structures totally detached from the church.

The *Gothic towers* appear from the first to have been erected for ornament. They are the creation of the middle ages, when the taste of the age sought to depart as much as possible from the style of the primitive church. For further particulars, see References.⁵

*Bells.*⁶—Bells were unknown to the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans. Even if the *tintinnabula* of the Romans were bells, they were very inconsiderable in comparison with church-bells of later date. These were not in use earlier than the seventh century. The most probable opinion is that which ascribes the first introduction of them to Sabianus bishop of Rome, who succeeded Gregory the Great in the year 604.⁷ In the seventh and eighth centuries they were in common use in the churches in France. Near the close of the ninth century the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople was furnished with bells.⁸ But they have never received much favor in the East. The Arabs and Turks, especially, have always maintained a settled aversion to them.

In the place of bells, in the East, messengers were sent out to summon the people to worship.⁹ In Egypt, a trumpet was blown. The inmates of their cloisters were summoned to prayers by knocking upon their cells with a billet of wood, as is still the custom with the Nestorian Christians. The Greeks had two instruments for this purpose, which they called *σίμυατρον* and *ἀγιοσιδηριον*. [These are described by Bingham as consisting of boards, or plates of iron full of holes, which were held in the hand and struck with a mallet.]

In the West, on the contrary, the bell was considered as a sacred and indispensable appendage of a church. The following is a specimen of the inscriptions which were frequently written upon the church bell :

“ Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
Defunctos ploro, nimum [al. pestem] fugo, festaque honoro.”

The custom of consecrating and baptizing bells is a superstition of early date, perhaps as early as the eighth century ; that of naming the bells of churches, dates no further back than the tenth or eleventh century. When the enormous bells of Moscow, Vienna, Paris, Toulouse, Milan, etc. were cast, is not known. They are probably the production of the middle ages. They harmonize well with the vast cathedrals and towers of that period, so distinguished for its massive and imposing structures.

The tolling of bells at the decease of a person, and at funerals, was originally an expedient of a superstitious age, to frighten away demons that were supposed to be hovering around to prey upon the spirit of the dead or dying man. This superstition was widely extended during the dark ages. Bells were often rung with violence, also, during a tempest, to frighten away demons and avert the storms which they were supposed to raise.¹⁰

*Organs.*¹¹ The organ constituted no part of the furniture of the ancient churches. The first instance on record of its use in the church, occurred in the time of Charlemagne, who received one as a present from Constantine Michael, which was set up in the church at Aix-la-Chapelle.¹² The musicians of this city, and of Mentz, learned to play on the organ in Italy, from which it appears that they were already known in that country. We have authentic accounts of the manufacture of this instrument in Germany, as early as the tenth century.¹³ England, about the same time, distinguished herself by the manufacture of organs of colossal dimensions.

The Greek church have never favored the use of the organ in the churches, and have generally restricted it to the theatre and musical concerts. For this reason that church has uniformly been inferior to the Latin in the art of sacred music. But even in this church the organ was not received with universal favor. "Our church," says Thomas Aquinas, (A. D. 1250) "does not use musical instruments, as harps and psalteries, in the praise of God, lest she should seem to judaize." From which some have erroneously supposed that the organ was not used in any churches previous to this time.

§ 9. OF THE ALTAR.

Pagan nations were wont to erect altars in their sacred groves, on their high places, in their houses, by the way-side, and in public places. Towards such altars the primitive Christians entertained an irreconcilable aversion. When reproached with the charge of having no altars, no temples, no images, they simply replied, "Shrines and altars we have none :¹ *Delubra et aras non habemus.*" The very name of an *altar* they discarded as profane, and carefully denominated the sacramental board not an *altar*, but a TABLE, to which they applied a great variety of epithets, such as *holy, sacred, divine,*

princely, royal, immortal, awful, venerable, spiritual, emblematical, mystical, etc.

In the second and third centuries it became customary to erect tables over the graves of martyrs ; but whether it was merely an appropriate memorial of the deceased, or whether it had an allegorical meaning, is still a disputed question. Augustine, in his eulogy upon Cyprian of Carthage, says, that “ a table was erected to God on the spot where his body was buried, which was called Cyprian’s table ; that Christians there might bring their offerings in prayer where he himself was made an offering to God, and drink the blood of Christ with solemn interest where the sainted martyr so freely shed his own blood ;” and much more to the same effect.³ From this and other passages from the fathers, it would seem that they were wont to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord’s supper over the graves of martyrs. From this circumstance they were unjustly accused of paying divine honors to their saints.

But the veneration thus felt for them led to the erection of monuments to their memory within the sanctuary of the church. These monuments moreover were, in process of time, loaded with relics of saints, and became the occasions of such superstitions that it required the intervention of ecclesiastical councils to suppress them.⁴ These decrees, however, only directed the overthrow of such altars as were erected to the *memory* of saints, whilst such as actually covered their remains were suffered to stand, and were still the occasion of much superstition. Religious pilgrimages were often made to visit these sacred relics.

Such altars as stood in the open air, exposed to the action of the elements, and the depredations of men, were constructed of the most enduring materials, stone, metals, etc. and were devoid of covering. Those, on the other hand, which were overspread with ornamental coverings, were more variable in their form, materials, and workmanship, and gradually received the name of *altars*. In the Greek church, but one altar was admitted. This had a fixed position, and was consecrated to one religious use. Whenever they had occasion to use an altar *without* the church, any convenient table was selected and spread with the *consecrated covering*, called ἀντιμήνσια, or αντιμήσια.

§ 10. OF THE DOORS OF THE CHURCH.

To insure due secrecy in celebrating the mysteries of their religion, the ancient Christians constructed the doors of their churches with peculiar care. As we have already seen, they set apart, by the solemn rites of ordination, a class of men to guard the doors, and prevent the intrusion, not only of the profane, but of their own catechumens and penitents. Such was the profound secrecy in which they celebrated certain of their religious rites. In all this they imitated the Jews; and the early fathers, like the writers of the Old and New Testaments, from this usage derived abundant metaphors relating to the doors of the church, of heaven, of the kingdom, etc. Compare the following passages of Scripture, among many others: 2 Chron. 8: 14. Ps. 84: 11. 118: 19, 20. John 10: 1. 20: 19. Acts 14: 27. Rev. 22: 14, etc.

It was customary, in the earliest ages of Christianity, to post upon the doors of the church the names of all excommunicated persons. At a period somewhat later, persons intending marriage were also published in the same manner. This was also the place for posting all proclamations and decisions of the church, and public notices of every kind.

There were generally three main entrances to the churches, and these were provided with outer and inner doors, distinguished by the names *ἀμφιθύρα* and *τελευταίον θυρῶν*. The different sexes entered by different doors;¹ these were made of the choicest and most durable wood, wrought with peculiar care, and richly ornamented with arabesque, bronze, gold, or silver plate; not unfrequently they were made of solid brass or bronze. Several of this kind still remain in the different countries of Europe.²

The date of the building or dedication of the church, was usually inscribed on the doors. In addition to this there were inscriptions of various kinds, consisting of a motto, a doctrinal sentiment, a passage of Scripture, a doxology, or a prayer. A single specimen is here given, as taken from an ancient church. On the outer side of the door:

Pax tibi sit, quincunque Dei penetralia Christi
Pectore pacifico candidus ingrederis.

On the inside:

Quisquis ab aede Dei, perfectis ordine votis,
Egrederis, remea corpori; corde mane.

§ 11. OF THE PAVEMENTS AND WALLS OF THE CHURCH.

The floor of the church consisted of pavement carefully laid, or smooth marble. In large churches the narthex had a pavement of plaster; the flooring of the nave was plastering or boards; whilst the choir was adorned with mosaic. Not unfrequently there was a tessellated pavement of particolored and polished marble, constituting a rich mosaic work. A curious specimen of this ancient mosaic was found in 1805, near Salzburg, delineating the story of Theseus and Ariadne. Such decorations, in imitation of the Jewish temple, 1 Kings 6: 15—30, were used in the churches so early as the fourth century. From the seventh to the tenth century, it became customary to encumber and disfigure the nave and choir with the graves of the dead, and from that period the floors were occupied with palisades, monuments, and epitaphs; and all unity and symmetry was destroyed.

The walls and the canopy were also ornamented with inscriptions, mosaics, paintings, and bas-reliefs. The paintings were executed on wood, metals, and canvass. The bas-relief was executed in gypsum, mortar, stone, or metal, in imitation of the ornaments of the temple. Votive offerings of shields, arms, standards, and the like, were also hung upon the walls. To these the lights were attached and suspended from the canopy. Vaulted roofs are of later origin.

§ 12. OF THE WINDOWS OF THE CHURCH.

No aspersion was ever more unjust than that which charged the primitive Christians with seeking concealment and hating the light. In imitation of the temple at Jerusalem, 1 Kings 6: 4, they sought, from the beginning, to furnish their churches fully with light. It is customary to refer the first use of glass windows to the third century; but, in the opinion of many, they had an earlier origin, as is shown in the ruins of Herculaneum. In France, windows, both of colored and of cut glass, were in use in the sixth century. Venantius Fortunatus, a poet of the fifth, has a distich respecting the cathedral church at Paris, from which it would seem that *glass* windows were then in use:

Prima capit, radios *vitreis* oculata *fenestris*
Artificisque manu clausit in arce diem.

From the history of the venerable Bede, on the other hand, it would seem that these were not in use in England in the seventh century, but were introduced from France.

Pliny affirms that the art of *painting* glass was known to the Romans. If so, it must have been lost again; for no traces of the art are discoverable until the beginning of the eleventh century. It was brought to perfection in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and is justly regarded as the most finished specimen of the arts in the middle ages. After a slumber of three hundred years, it is beginning to be again revived in the nineteenth century.

The windows of churches were not only greater in number, but larger in dimensions, than those of private dwelling houses. In the Carolingian dynasty, however, the windows were small and round, and very far from affording sufficient light.

It is but justice to the ancient fathers, to remark, that they were very far from bestowing unqualified approbation upon that style of gaudy magnificence in which their churches were decorated. St. Ambrose says, "that whatever is done in purity, and with sincerity, is commendable, but that it is neither praiseworthy to rear superfluous structures, nor to neglect such as are needful,—that the priest ought especially to adorn the temple of God with becoming graces,—that it should be rendered resplendent by acts of humility and charity; in giving to the stranger according to his necessities, and as the dictates of humanity require; not by pride, self-indulgence, and personal aggrandizement, at the expense of the poor."¹ Jerome, in various passages, inveighs against the pomp and pride displayed in their churches, and in the attire of the priesthood.² Chrysostom complains of the vanity, superstition, and oppression of the poor, with which their churches were erected, though he objects not to these expenditures upon the churches in themselves considered.³ St. Bernard rebukes this extravagant folly with so much simplicity and fervor, that the reader will be interested to hear him in his own tongue. *Tali quadam arte spargitur aes, ut multiplicetur. Expenditur, ut augeatur, et effusio copiam parit. Ipso quippe visu sumptuosarum, sed mirandarum vanitatum, accenduntur homines magis ad offerendum, quam ad orandum. Sic opes opibus hauriuntur, sic pecunia pecuniam trahit: quia nescio, quo pacto, ubi amplius divitiarum cernitur, ibi offertur libentius. Auro tectis reliquiis saginantur oculi, et loculi aperiuntur. Ostenditur pulcherrima forma Sancti vel Sanc-*

tae alicujus, et eo creditur sanctior, quo *coloratior*. Currunt homines ad osculandum, invitantur ad donandum; et magis mirantur pulcra, quam venerantur sacra. Ponuntur dehinc in ecclesia *gemmatae, non coronae, sed rotae*, circumseptae lampadibus, sed non minus fulgentes *insertis lapidibus*. Cernimus et pro candelabris *arbores quasdam erectas*, multo aeris pondere, miro artificis opere fabricatas, nec magis coruscantes superpositis lucernis, quam suis gemmis. Quid, putas, in his omnibus quaeritur? poenitentium compunctio, an intuentium admiratio? O vanitas vanitatum, sed non vanior, quam insanior! Fulget ecclesia in parietibus, et in pauperibus eget. Suos lapides induit auro, et suos filios nudos deserit. De sumptibus egenorum servitur oculis divitum. Inveniunt curiosi, quo delectentur, et non inveniunt miseri, quo sustententur. Utquid saltem Sanctorum imagines non reveremur, quibus utique ipsum, quod pedibus conculcatur, *scalet pavementum*. *Saepe sputitur in ore Angeli, saepe alicujus Sanctorum facies calcibus tunditur transeuntium*. Et si non sacris his imaginibus, cur vel non parciatur *pulcris coloribus*? Cur decoras, quod mox foedandum est? Cur depingis, quod mox necesse est conculcari? Quid ibi valent venustae formae, ubi pulvere maculantur assiduo? Denique quid haec ad pauperes, ad Monachos, ad spirituales vivos? Nisi forte et hic memoratum jam poetae versiculum propheticus ille respondeatur: *Domine, dilexi decorum domus tuae, et locum habitationis gloriae tuae*. Assentio: patiamur et haec fieri in ecclesia: quia etsi noxia sunt vanis et avaris, non tamen simplicibus et devotis.—Opp. T. I. p. 545. ed. Bened.

The use of pictures of saints, martyrs, and Scripture-histories in churches, was gradually introduced about the latter end of the fourth century.

The Eustathians, Messalians, Manichaeans, and other heretics suffered their prejudices to carry them into the opposite extreme; and, by the simplicity and rudeness which they affected, promoted that ostentation in the Catholics which they so much condemned.

§ 13. OF THE VENERATION IN WHICH SACRED PLACES WERE HELD, AND THE PRIVILEGES ATTACHED TO THEM.¹

The primitive Christians like the Jews, manifested a profound veneration for the house of God, and zealously guarded it not only against the intrusion of the profane, but against secular and sacrile-

gious uses. Their own attendance upon its ordinances was marked with every demonstration of religious awe. "Let both men and women," says Clemens of Alexandria, "come to church in comely apparel, with a serious gait, with modest silence, and love unfeigned; chaste both in body and mind, so that they may be duly prepared to offer prayer to God."² "They came into the church as into the palace of the Great King. Before going into the church, they used to wash at least their hands, carrying themselves there with the most profound silence and devotion. Nay, so great was the reverence which they bore to the church, that the emperors themselves, who otherwise never went without their guard about them, when they came to go into the church, used to lay down their arms—to leave their guard behind them, and to put off their crowns."³

The churches, however, were occasionally the scenes of disorder and sacrilege; especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, during the Arian controversy. To prevent these, Honorius decreed, A. D. 398, the sentence of scourging and banishment upon any one who should enter the church and disturb the bishop or minister in the discharge of his duties. If he interrupted the religious services, or offered violence to the litany, he was to be sentenced to death by any court civil or military.⁴

The following were some of the rules by which the church was guarded from secular and sacrilegious uses. a) Neither churches nor any of their utensils or implements could be sold, mortgaged or assessed for taxes; to this rule however there were occasional exceptions. b) Churches could not be used for courts of either civil or criminal cases, nor for popular elections, or legislative assemblies, but they might be opened for the accommodation of ecclesiastical councils, and for the coronations of princes. c) No marketing, or exchanges in buying or selling of any kind was allowed in the church, much less were annual fairs permitted in the neighborhood of a church. d) No convivial assemblies were in any instance to be held in the churches. And even the *love-feasts*, the abuses of which in the Corinthian church were so severely censured by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 11: 18 seq. were not allowed in the churches. e) Neither were they to be opened for the entertainment of strangers and travellers. f) It was also an high offence to speak irreverently of the house of God, or unworthily to engage in any official act of public worship.⁵

All who entered into the church were first required to wash their hands, and for this purpose water was constantly kept in the front part of the church as has been already stated, § 6. p. 185. This rite as explained by Tertullian and others, was emblematical of that purity of heart with which the worshipper ought to engage in his public religious duties.⁶ In some of the Eastern churches, particularly in Abyssinia, it was customary also for Christians to put off their shoes on entering the church, after the example of Moses, Exodus 3: 5. Kings and princes, and military commanders reverently laid aside their badges of honor and of office on entering the church,⁷ a custom which even Julian the apostate commends as worthy of imitation.⁸ It was moreover an ancient and very general usage to kiss the threshold of the doors and the altars of the churches, as another token of reverence.⁹ Afterwards it became usual to kiss the paintings and utensils.*

Of the same general character were the numerous directions given respecting a quiet, devout and becoming demeanor in the church, in the time of religious worship, and during the celebration of the sacrament. These directions required the worshipper to appear in decent apparel, to kneel or stand in prayer, to keep the head uncovered, to fold the hands, and to refrain from gazing about. All noise and bustle, shrieking, clapping, hemming and spitting, was expressly forbidden, together with all irreverent gesticulation, reading, and mimicking; all which serves to show, how fully the christian church, at all times participated in the sentiment of the pious Israelite, "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honor dwelleth."

§ 14. OF THE CHURCHES AS A PLACE OF REFUGE.

The ancient historians and christian fathers mention many instances in which the church and the altar were made a safe place of refuge not only for Christians, but for Jews and pagans. Even by barbarous nations the church was respected as a sacred asylum. Both Jews and Gentiles had long been familiar with similar usages. The christian church therefore, like the pagan temples, and Jewish

* The rite of kissing the *pope's toe*, was probably derived from those acts of prostration and humiliation to which penitents were subjected.

cities of refuge, very naturally became a sacred retreat, which avenging justice feared to invade. This right was first established under the reign of Constantine the Great, and was confirmed and enlarged by succeeding emperors ; but the privilege was greatly abused and early became the subject of complaint, A. D. 392, as preventing the ends of justice by offering a hiding-place for every fugitive from justice. Arcadius, at the instigation of Eutropius, A. D. 397, is said to have abrogated the right within his empire.¹ The clergy were uniformly opposed to this decree of Arcadius. The council of Coletum in Africa, A. D. 449, sent a delegation to the emperor for its repeal.² Chrysostom especially distinguished himself by his zeal against it ;³ from him it appears that Arcadius *did not* repeal his law. But this was done in relation to the Western church by his brother Honorius, A. D. 414,⁴ which again was further established and enlarged by his son, Theodosius the younger, A. D. 431⁵. The privileges of this right were finally defined by Justinian, A. D. 535, to this effect,—that the sanctuary should afford no protection to murderers, adulterers, ravishers of virgins, and offenders of the like character, it being the intent of the privilege not to give protection to such criminals, but to offer an asylum to such as were exposed to violence and abuse from them. If therefore, any who were guilty of such crimes fled to the altar for refuge, they were to be immediately taken thence and punished according to law.⁶

This law of Justinian, however, was strenuously opposed by the clergy as being an invasion of their right of jurisdiction over the churches, and, owing to this cause and the barbarous character of the times, it was never generally observed. The councils of Orange A. D. 441, of Orleans A. D. 511, of Arles A. D. 541, of Maçon A. D. 586, of Rheims A. D. 630, of Toledo A. D. 681, etc., severally vindicated this right, and extended protection even to the grossest offenders ; and the less efficient sovereign acquiesced in their decisions. Charlemagne himself fully confirmed these privileges.⁷ They were now extended to the church-yard and burial-ground, and to the bishop's house ; and then again to the chapels, to crucifixes when brought by the priest to the sick ; and even to the parsonage.⁸ The right was also claimed for cloisters, though it was not often exercised. The synod of Nemours, A. D. 1284, confirmed the privilege even on public inns for strangers, and religious establishments generally. The right was also claimed for the residence of the Ro-

man cardinal, who also was the first to assume the inviolable rights of a public ambassador, *jus asyli Legatorum*. This, it is well known, has been the subject of much controversy, and as late as the last half of the eighteenth century, was asserted as an important political privilege.

To what extent the privileges above mentioned were abused is evident from the fact, that Innocent III, and Gregory IX, were compelled to make public proclamation that the church should offer no refuge to murderers and high-way robbers.⁹ And the council of Cologne decreed, A. D. 1280, that criminals should only find refuge in the church until due deliberation should be had whether they should be subjected to punishment, or receive pardon.

In the Eastern empire, the right in question was the subject of similar controversy and abuse. The famous Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the eighth century, was a zealous defender of this right. By a decree of the emperor, it was denied to murderers, robbers, and adulterers;¹⁰ but Theophilus granted this right in favor of his daughter's grave to all offenders. It is remarkable, that even the Turks recognized and respected the sacred privileges of the sanctuary. Since the reformation, these have been abrogated in all evangelical churches, and in all Catholic countries they have either been wholly abolished, or greatly modified.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE PRAYERS AND PSALMODY OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

Pythagoras is said to have recommended that prayer should be audibly expressed, to guard the suppliant from praying for those things which are not agreeable to the will of God. It was also a common sentiment of the Jews, that prayer was of no avail unless expressed *aloud in words*.¹ Christianity, on the other hand, teaches that prayer may arise acceptably from the heart, though no speech or language give it utterance. It looks wholly to the spirit of the

suppliant, and is in its nature opposed to prescribed forms and ceremonies. John 4: 24. Jude v. 20. Christ and his apostles taught, both by precept and example, the duty of prayer. And the primitive Christians, in all their assemblies, sought to excite and quicken their devotional sentiments by singing and prayer. Several examples of prayer by Jesus and his disciples are recorded, viz. Acts 1: 24. 4: 24—31. 9: 40. 12: 5. 20: 36, etc. And it is worthy of remark, that, with the exception of certain forms, such as Amen, Grace be unto you, etc., no instance occurs of the *repetition* of the same prayer. *This circumstance forbids the idea of any prescribed forms of prayer.* Even our Lord's prayer is recorded with essential variations by the evangelists Matthew (6: 9—13) and Luke (11: 1—4). Hence the inference, that the prayer is of a general character, expressing rather the subject than the form of our petitions to God.

And yet the prayers and salutations in the writings of the New Testament are the basis of all the forms which were observed by the ancient church. At the same time, it is equally evident that the church drew largely from the Old Testament, and freely adapted to their own use the doxologies, psalms, and hymns of the pious Israelites. Besides these, there are a multitude of phrases and forms of expression in the rituals which have no counterpart in the Scriptures.

Commentators generally agree that the passage 1 Tim. chap. ii., is given to explain the proper *subjects* of public prayer.² And the design and connection of this epistle favor this supposition. So Tertullian evidently understood it.³

The *psalms* and *hymns*, of which mention is made in the ancient church, are evidently none else than *prayers* mingled with ascriptions of praise to God for his goodness, designed to promote and express becoming sentiments of piety. Their songs were but joyful prayers, and as such were transferred into the church from the synagogue and temple worship of the Jews. That such was the import of their sacred music, all their most ancient doxologies, collects, and psalms abundantly show. In perfect accordance with this sentiment it was customary, in the primitive church, not to read, but to *chant* the Lord's prayer, the gospels, the epistles, their litanies, and their confessions of faith.

It was a favorite sentiment of the fathers, that the worship of heaven would be a prolonged eternal song of praise. Praise indeed

is the highest act of worship both on earth and in heaven. This was the worship of the seraphs whom Isaiah in his vision saw, (6: 1—4.) And the redeemed in heaven bring their sweetest odors with the new song which they sing to God and the Lamb. However prayer and praise may vary in form, they are essentially one ; one spirit pervades and inspires them both.

§ 2. THE UNITY AND TRINITY OF THE GODHEAD IMPLIED IN THE DEVOTIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Every prayer and every song of praise was presented by the worshipper to one God, the Maker of heaven and earth. In this, Christianity was directly opposed to the polytheism of the age, whilst it perfectly harmonized with the doctrine of the Jewish religion : — “Hear, O Israel ! the Lord our God is one God.”

At the same time, all the prayers and songs of the church were directed to the *triune God*, or distinctly implied the doctrine of the TRINITY. The church guarded itself against the charge of paganism by continually asserting that it rejected all polytheism, and that the doctrine of the trinity bore no analogy to tritheism. Indeed it is very evident, in view of all that the apostles have said, that, in worshipping the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they did not worship three Gods.

The distinction between the Jews and Christians on this point is well described by Tertullian, who says, “They believed God to be one in such a sense that it is improper to unite with Him the Son and Holy Spirit. What can the distinction be, save that under the new dispensation he is revealed to us through the Son and the Spirit, although he is still known by his own appropriate appellations, and in his own person, whilst in the former dispensation he is not revealed to us through the intervention of the Son and the Spirit.”¹ Jerome, Augustine, and Cosmus, Indicopleustes, etc., express much the same sentiments. Ever since the time of the christian apologists, dogmatists, and polemics, the strife has been to detect, in the creeds and liturgy of the Jews, in their names of the Deity, doxologies, and ascriptions of praise, implied evidence of the trinity, and to ascribe to the Jews their belief in God as existing in three persons.²

The church has also had occasion to defend herself, in the worship of the three persons of the Godhead, against numerous classes

of heretics who are known under the general name of anti-trinitarians—Patripassians, Sabellians, Gnostics, Manicheans, Arians, etc. In all these controversies, the church has sought to maintain the doctrine of the trinity in its integrity. “Our hope,” says Cyril of Jerusalem, “is in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. We teach, not the doctrine of three Gods, but, with his Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God; of necessity, our faith is undivided. We neither sunder the trinity, as do some, nor confound it, like the Sabellians. But we acknowledge with piety the Father, who sent the Son our Saviour; we acknowledge the Son, who promised to send us the Comforter from the Father; we acknowledge the Holy Ghost, who has taught us by the prophets, and who, on the day of Pentecost, descended in tongues of fire upon the apostles, in Jerusalem, the head of the church.”³

Such being the decided testimony of the church, setting forth the doctrine of the trinity as the *grand characteristic of the christian religion*, it is no matter of surprise that this doctrine is so constantly advanced under all circumstances; especially, that it is repeated in their doxologies, psalms, and hymns. They repeated the doxology at each assembly for religious worship, and at each rehearsal of the liturgy. This doxology was as follows: “To God the Father, and his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be honor and might forever and ever. Amen.”

They were so minutely careful respecting the phraseology of these forms, that it became a question, which Basil the Great discussed at length, whether the preposition *ἐν*, *in*, or *διά*, *through*, or *σύν*, *with*, should be used in connection with the Holy Spirit.⁴ From which we learn that in the fourth century the same controversies were had on this subject which were renewed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries throughout Germany, Holland, England, France, and Sweden.

So general was this recognition of the trinity in public prayer, in the fourth and fifth centuries, that merely upon the mention of the name of God, the adoration of God *in three persons*, was, of course, presupposed and implied. Nay, it may be affirmed as a general truth, that any petition addressed to *cither* of the persons of the Godhead, was directed to all. To prevent confusion of mind it was indeed decreed by the council of Carthage, A. D. 525, that the prayer should be directed to the *Father* only, but this was distinctly understood and explained to be a prayer to the three persons of the God-

head.* Similar sentiments are found abundantly in the writings of the ancients,⁵ so that it is an undeniable fact that their prayers and psalmody were indicted by zealous trinitarians. "From all which," as Bingham very justly observes, "it is evident, to a demonstration, that the three persons of the Holy Trinity were always the object of divine adoration from the first foundation of the primitive church, and that the giving of divine honor to the Son, and Holy Ghost, as God, was not the invention, or addition, of any later ages."⁶

§ 3. DIVINE WORSHIP PAID TO CHRIST.

It is a peculiar characteristic of the christian religion, that it offers divine honors to Christ. It teaches not merely that prayer should be offered *in the name of Jesus*, but directly to Him. Every prayer, and every hymn, while it honors the sacred Trinity, has also another design. It distinctly recognizes the divinity of Christ, and shows what views the christian church had of the person of the Saviour. Pliny says, A. D. 107, that "they were wont to meet together on a stated day (the Lord's day) before it was light, and sing alternately, among themselves, a hymn to Christ, as God. To sing a hymn, *carmen dicere*, may imply, either that they offered to him a sacred song, or a *prayer*; but in either case it was the offering of divine honors to him.

Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, 1: 12, says, "Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *he himself* who is our everlasting High Priest, the Son of God even Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and in truth, and in all meekness, and lenity." The

* Si qui catholici fideles hujus sacramenti nunc usque videantur ignari, deinceps scire debent, omne cujuslibet honorificentiae et sacrificii salutaris obsequium et Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, hoc est, sanctae Trinitati ab Ecclesia catholica *pariter* exhiberi. In cujus utique uno nomine manifestum est, sanctum quoque baptisma celebrari. *Neque enim praejudicium Filio vel Spiritui Sancto comparatur, dum ad Patris personam precatio ab offerente dirigitur: cujus consummatio, dum Filii et Spiritus S. complectitur nomen, ostendit, nullum esse in Trinitate discrimen.* Quia dum ad solius Patris personam sermo dirigitur, bene credentis fide tota Trinitas honoratur; et quum ad Patrem litantis destinatur intentio, sacrificii munus omni Trinitati uno eodemque offertur litantis officio. S. *Fulgent. Rusp.* ad Monimum lib. II. c. 5. edit. Basil. 1621. p. 325.

church of Smyrna, in their circular epistle respecting the death of Polycarp, say, "Neither is it possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all such as shall be saved throughout the whole world, the righteous for the ungodly; nor to worship any other besides him. For him indeed, as being the Son of God, we adore."¹

Origen against Celsus says, "All supplications, prayers, and intercessions, are to be offered up to the most high God through this High Priest, who is above all angels, who is *the living Word and God.*" He further says, "we pray also to the Word himself, and make supplication." This he vindicates at length against the charge, on the one hand, of worshipping more Gods than one; and on the other, against the imputation of worshipping him as a subordinate and created being, showing that he is one with God, and our Mediator and Intercessor with the Father. He concludes this discussion by declaring, "We worship the Father, whilst we admire and adore the Son, who is his word, and wisdom, and truth, and righteousness; and whatever else we are taught to believe of the Son of God, begotten of such a Father."²

This interesting passage fully illustrates the sentiments of the primitive church on the subject. A multitude of other passages, to the same effect, may be found in the authors quoted in the index.³

§ 4. OF THE WORSHIP OF MARTYRS, SAINTS AND ANGELS.¹

The worship of these came into use in the fourth and fifth centuries. Some few traces of such worship at earlier periods may be found, and innumerable instances of a later date. It has been a great question whether such were invoked as direct mediators with God, or not; and again, whether these invocations imply the offering of such divine honors as are paid to Christ or to God. This the Catholic writers generally deny. Their assertion is, that these invocations are not acts of *adoration*, but only a means of grace to awaken pious feeling and to aid us in rendering due worship to God. Non sancti Dei appetunt indebitas laudes sed ut rationabile fiat obsequium nostrum.² "The saints are not our *immediate intercessors* with God; but whatever they obtain for us from God, they obtain *through Christ*. We therefore invoke the saints to the end that they may do that which we also do, and which they are better able to do than

we are ; and the united prayer of both must be more influential than that of us alone. We only implore the saints to intercede with God for us, that the merits of Christ may be applied to us ; and that through him we may obtain grace and glory.”³

The evangelical church, on the other hand, contend that all worship of saints and images is idolatry. The primitive church, while they scrupulously worshipped Christ as God, rejected with abhorrence the worship of saints and of images.⁴

The history of the delusion above mentioned, is sketched by Gieseler in the following terms :

“ The notion that the prayers of the dead availed for the living was prevalent in the school of Origen even in the third century,*

* *Origines in Cant. Cant. lib. III. ed. de la Rue, T. III. p. 75*: Sed et omnes sancti, qui de hac vita decesserunt, habentes adhuc charitatem erga eos qui in hoc mundo sunt, si dicantur curam gerere salutis eorum, et juvare eos precibus suis atque interventu suo apud Deum, non erit inconveniens.—*Idem in libr. Jesu Nave hom. 16 § 5 (T. II. p. 437)*: Ego sic arbitror, quod omnes illi, qui dormierunt ante nos, patres pugnent nobiscum et adjuvent nos orationibus suis. Ita namque etiam quemdam de senioribus magistris audivi dicentem in eo loco, in quo scriptum est in *Numeris* (xxii. 4), quia *ablinget synagoga illa hanc synagogam, sicut ablinget vitulus herbam viridem in campo*. Dicebat ergo: Quare hujusmodi similitudo assumpta est, nisi quia hoc est, quod intelligendum est in hoc loco, quod synagoga Domini, quae nos praecessit in sanctis, ore et lingua consumit adversariam synagogam, i. e. orationibus et precibus adversarios nostros absumit?—*Idem. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. II. p. 479*: Jam vero si etiam extra corpus positi vel sancti, qui cum Christo sunt, agunt aliquid, et laborant pro nobis ad similitudinem Angelorum, qui salutis nostrae ministeria procurant: vel rursus peccatores etiam ipsi extra corpus positi agunt aliquid secundum propositum mentis suae, ad Angelorum nihilominus similitudinem sinistorum, cum quibus et in aeternum ignem mittendi dicuntur a Christo: *habeatur et hoc quoque inter occulta Dei, nec chartulae committenda mysterium*. Origen's follower, *Eusebius praep. Evang. XII c. 3*, begins with referring to *Plato de Legg. lib. XI* and then proceeds: *Καὶ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ δὲ τῶν Μακκαβαίων (2 Macc. 15: 14) λέγεται Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου, εἰχόμενος ὀρᾶσθαι ἰπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς φροντίδα ποιούμενος τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων. Δεῖ δὲ φησι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τοῖτοις πιστεῖειν*. Hence the custom, very early, of asking the living martyrs for their intercession after death. Thus *Euseb. de Martyr. Paluést. cap. 7*, relates that a certain Theodocia in Caesarea approached the martyrs who were awaiting death, *ἰμοῦ φιλοφρονημένη, καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἰπὲρ τοῦ μνημονεῖεν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν κύριον γενομένους παρακαλοῦσα*. On the other hand, there is as yet no trace of prayers to the dead.

but had not yet sufficient authority to influence directly the mode of honoring the martyrs.

“The more remote the times of the martyrs, the greater the adoration paid to them. The heathen converts, naturally enough, transferred to them the honors they had been used to pay their demigods, while the horror of creature-worship, which had hitherto operated as a check on the growing superstition, had been gradually dying away since the extinction of paganism. As men had long been accustomed to assemble for public worship at the graves of the martyrs, the idea of erecting churches (*μαρτύρια*, *memoria*) over them would readily occur. In Egypt the Christians began to embalm the bodies of reputed saints, and keep them in their houses. The communion with the martyrs being thus associated with the presence of their material remains, these were dug up from the graves and placed in the churches, especially under the altars; and the popular feeling having now a visible object to excite it, became more extravagant and superstitious than ever. The old opinion of the efficacy of their intercession, who had died a martyr's death, was now united with the belief that it was possible to communicate with them directly; a belief founded partly on the popular notion that departed souls always lingered around the bodies they had once inhabited, and partly on the views entertained of the glorified state of the martyrs, a sort of omnipresence being ascribed to them. These notions may be traced to Origin, and his followers were the first who apostrophized the martyrs in their sermons, and besought their intercession. But though the orators were somewhat extravagant in this respect, they were far outdone by the poets, who soon took up this theme, and could find no expressions strong enough to describe the power and the glory of the martyrs. Their relics soon began to work miracles, and to be valuable articles of trade. In proportion as men felt the need of such intercession they sought to increase the number of the intercessors. Not only those, who, on account of services rendered the church, were inscribed in the Diptycha, but the pious characters from the Old Testament, and the most distinguished of the monks, were ranked among the saints. Martyrs before unknown announced themselves in visions, others revealed the place of their burial. From the beginning of the fifth century the prayers for the saints were discontinued as unbefitting their glorified state. Christians were now but seldom called upon to address their prayers to God;

the usual mode being to pray only to some saint for his intercession. With this worship of the saints were joined many of the customs of the heathen. Men chose their patron saints, and dedicated churches to their worship. The heathen, whom the Christians used to reproach with worshipping dead men, found now ample opportunity of retort.

“Throughout the fourth century there was no peculiar preference of the Virgin Mary above other saints. The church went as yet no further than to maintain the doctrine of her perpetual virginity, to which the monastic notions of the time naturally led. The opinion that she had ever borne other children than Jesus was declared to be heresy; as for instance by Epiphanius, in the case of the *Ἀντιδιχομαχαρίται* in Arabia, A. D. 367, by Jerome in the case of Helvidius at Rome, A. D. 383, and by the Macedonian bishops in the case of Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, A. D. 391, while it was shown in what way she gave birth to our Saviour without ceasing to be a virgin. Neither did the teachers of the church in the fourth century scruple to attribute to her faults; and Epiphanius includes certain women in his catalogue of heretics, for their extravagant adoration of the Virgin. The Nestorian controversy first led men to set her above all other saints as the mother of God, *θεοτόκος*.

Though it was the general belief that the *angels* watched over men and brought their prayers to God, it was thought unallowable to worship them because of the passages Col. 2: 18. Rev. 19: 10. 22: 8, 9. Ambrose is the first who seems to recommend such a worship; and after his time we find many marks of adoration paid them; though much fewer than to the saints.”—Cunningham’s Trans. Vol. I. pp. 173—4, 282—7.

§ 5. A FILIAL AND CONFIDING SPIRIT PECULIAR TO THE PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH.

By this the christian religion is distinguished from all others. It teaches us to offer our addresses unto God *as our Father*; to come unto him, not as a servant unto his master, but as children to a parent, confident of finding audience and acceptance with him. ‘Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father.’ To the Jew, the Lord God is a being of terrible majesty, repelling eve-

ry presumptuous approach to him. To the Christian he is one of endearing kindness and condescension, inviting him to draw nigh with confidence. To the one, he appears in stern and awful sanctity; to the other, in the mild majesty of love.

§ 6. THE SIMPLICITY AND BREVITY OF THE DEVOTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

The prayers of the church were offered in language the most artless and natural. Even the most learned of the fathers, who were no strangers to the graces of diction, refused all ornamental embellishments in their addresses to the throne of grace, alleging that the kingdom of heaven consists not in word, but in power, 1 Cor. 4: 20. *Cum de rebus agitur ab ostentatione submotis quid dicatur spectandum est, non quali cum amoenitate dicatur; nec, quid aures commulceat, sed quas afferat audientibus utilitates.*¹ Their prayers were accordingly offered in the greatest simplicity, and as far as possible in the phraseology of scripture. This artlessness and elegant simplicity appears in striking contrast with the ostentation and bombast of a later date.

This contrast appears equally great also in the *brevity* of these prayers. It was a maxim in the primitive church, that many words should never be employed to express what might better be said in a few. So manifest was this excellence, that Basil, Chrysostom, and Gregory the Great, successively attempted to abridge the formularies of the church, and restore their early simplicity and brevity.²

§ 7. OF THE CATHOLIC SPIRIT OF THEIR DEVOTIONS.

The church, receiving the acknowledged truth that in every place he that feareth God and doeth righteousness is accepted of Him, restricted her devotions to no *particular tongue*. It was indeed a disputed question, at a very early period, in what language Christ and his apostles performed their devotions? Whether in the Greek, or Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic. But it was not accounted essential that the devotions of the church should be performed in the same language. Accordingly there are extant examples of prayers and of spiritual songs which were uttered in the vernacular tongue as early as the second and third centuries. Celsus indeed urged it as

a grave objection against the Christians, that they introduced into their prayers certain strange and barbarous expressions, having reference probably to such terms as Amen, Hallelujah, Hosanna, etc. To which Origen replied, that both Greeks and Romans, in prayer, spoke in their own native tongue; each, in his own dialect, offering prayer and praise to God as he is best able. And the Lord of all languages listens to each supplicant praying in his own tongue, but hears, as it were, one voice expressed by different signs, and in various sounds.¹ Similar sentiments are expressed by other writers.²

No prescribed time or place for prayer was required by the church. Nor was any rule given respecting the direction of the eye, the bending of the knees, or position of the hands. Neither was there any established form of prayer or praise for *general use*. With the single exception of the instructions given in the Apostolical Constitutions for the private use of the Lord's prayer, there is no instance of any synodical decree respecting it until the sixth and seventh centuries.³ Every church, whether national or individual, prescribed its own mode of worship. In many instances, the prayers of the church were merely submitted to the examination and approbation of the bishop. Beyond all question, the use of a liturgy and ritual was at first wholly voluntary. This subject is discussed at length by Bingham, who maintains that a liturgy, and set forms of prayer were used from the beginning, but admits that each church was at liberty to form their own liturgy, and that the prayers were probably uttered *memoriter*, and continued for one or two centuries *by tradition*, before they were committed to writing.⁴

Respecting the *number* of prayers offered in public, no general rule was given. It was customary, however, to begin and close religious service with prayer. Here, as in other things, the same simplicity was advocated by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Irenaeus, Origen, etc. But the Latin and Greek churches, in time, greatly departed from the spirit and taste of the primitive church.

§ 8. AUDIBLE AND SILENT PRAYER.

This distinction was first made in the secret discipline of the church. Silent prayer was restricted to the mental recital of the Lord's prayer, which neither the catechumens, nor the profane of any description, were allowed to repeat. Professing Christians repeated

it in the presence of such, not audibly, but silently. But at the communion, when withdrawn from such persons, they repeated it aloud, at the call of the deacon.

There was another species of silent prayer which consisted in pious ejaculations offered, by the devout Christian, on entering upon public worship. This commendable custom is still observed in many protestant churches. According to the council of Laodicea, c. 19, prayer was offered immediately after the sermon for catechumens, then for penitents. Then, after the imposition of hands, and the benediction, followed the prayers of the believers,—the first in silence; the second and third, audibly. They then exchanged the kiss of charity, during which time their offerings were brought to the altar. The assembly were then dismissed with the benediction, *Ite in pace*, go in peace.

The primitive church never chanted their prayers, as was the custom of the Jews, and still is of the Mahomedans; but reverently addressed the throne of grace in an easy, natural, and subdued tone of voice.

§ 9. OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.¹

The opinions of the learned even to the present day are greatly divided respecting the design of our Lord in giving this prayer. Three several theories have been advanced on this subject.

1. That the Lord Jesus did not give this as a prescribed form. But only to illustrate that spirit of filial love and reverence in which all prayer should be offered to God. It was given to teach the *nature* and appropriate *subjects* of prayer.

2. That it was a prescribed form, to be used, not only by his disciples, but by believers in every age and country, like the prescribed form in which baptism is to be administered.

3. That it is an epitome of the Jewish liturgy which was at that time extant. The several parts of this prayer are supposed to be the very words in which the several prayers of the Jewish service began; and that the whole was embodied by our Lord as a substitute for so many long and unmeaning prayers.

The historical facts connected with the use of the Lord's prayer, may be stated as follows.

1. It was not in use in the church in the age of the apostles. Not

the remotest hint is given in the history of the apostles that this prayer constituted any part of their religious worship. The apostle is silent on this point even in 1 Cor. xiv. where he is treating of their devotions. In the absence of written testimony, we are, indeed, directed to uncertain tradition to supply its place. But in every view of the subject the assertion that this prayer was used, either by the apostles, or their immediate successors, must be regarded as arbitrary and groundless.

Justin Martyr, the earliest of the fathers, says that the presiding officer offered prayers and thanksgivings, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, and that the people responded, Amen.² By the ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ it may be understood that he spoke in as clear and audible a voice as he could, "*totis viribus*," or, more properly, as Tertullian expresses it, *ex proprio ingenio*, according to the best of his ability.* At the same

* The following are the remarks of Lord Chancellor King on this subject: "As to these prescribed forms, there is not the least mention of them in any of the primitive writings, nor the least word or syllable tending thereunto that I can find, which is a most unaccountable silence, if ever such there were, but rather some expressions intimating the contrary: as that famous controverted place of Justin Martyr, who, describing the manner of the prayer before the celebration of the Lord's supper, says, 'that the bishop sent up prayers and praises to God with his utmost ability,' ὅση δύναμις (*Apolog.* ii. p. 92), that is, that he prayed with the best of his abilities, invention, expression, judgment, and the like. I am not ignorant that there is another sense given of ὅση δύναμις, or 'according to his ability.' But I must needs say, that I generally, if not always, found this phrase to include personal abilities. Thus, as to the explanation of Scripture, Origen writes that he would expound it, 'according to his ability,' ὅση δύναμις (*Com. in Matth.* tom. xvii. p. 487, vol. i.), and that he would comment on that Parable of the blind man that was healed near Jericho, mentioned in Luke 18: 35 (*Com. in Matth.* tom. xvi. p. 429, vol. i.) κατὰ τὸ δύνανον. And soon the Parable concerning the husbandmen (*Ibid.* tom. xvii. p. 463), κατὰ δύνανον; and on the marriage of the king's son (*Ibid.* tom. xvii. p. 474), κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν δύνανον; and that he would search out the sense of the Gospel of St. John (*Com. in Johan.* tom. i. p. 5, vol. ii.), κατὰ δύνανον. Now what doth Origen intend by his searching out the sense and expounding the meaning of the Scriptures to the utmost of his power and ability? Is it a bare reading and transcribing of other men's works, or an employment of his own abilities and studies, to find out the sense and meaning of them? Certainly every one will think the latter to be most probable."

"So as to the argumentative defence of the truth, Origen promises he would answer the calumnies of Celsus, according to his power, κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν δύνανον (*Contra Celsum*, lib. i. p. 2); and that he would defend and confirm

time Justin, in several places, seems distinctly to allude to the Lord's prayer. He speaks of God as the Father *τῶν ὀλων*,³ which is of similar import with the expression: "Our Father *in heaven*."

his arguments against Celsus, *according to his power*, ὅση δύναμις (*Ibid.* lib. i. p. 36), and demonstrate the reasonableness of the christian religion, *according to his power*, ὅση δύναμις (*Ibid.* lib. vi. p. 265), and dispute against Celsus, *according to his power*, ὅση δύναμις (*Ibid.* lib. vii. p. 332). Now, whether Origen's defending the power, consisted in a reading, or in a bare transcribing out of a book, the written arguments of other men, or in an employment of his own abilities, inventions, and expressions, is no difficult matter to determine."

"I have not found one place, wherein this phrase of ὅση δύναμις doth not comprehend personal abilities; and several scores more might I cite, where it is so to be understood, which I shall omit, and mention only one more, spoken by Origen with respect to this duty of prayer, where it must of necessity imply personal abilities, and that is in his book *De Oratione* (§ 2. p. 134), where he prescribes the method and parts of prayer, the first whereof was doxology; wherein, says he, he that prays must bless God *according to his power*, κατὰ δύναμιν; where κατὰ δύναμιν must signify the performer's abilities of judgment and expression, because it is not spoken of prescribed words, but of a prescribed method of prayer; as if any one should desire me to inform him how, or in what method, he must pray; I tell him, as Origen doth in this place, that first he must begin with an invocation of God by his titles and attributes; then he must proceed to praise God for his mercies and benefits, confessing withal his ingratitude and unfruitfulness; then beg pardon for past sins, strength against future, and conclude all, with praising God through Christ, and that he must do all this according to the utmost of his ability. What could any one imagine that I should intend by this advice of following this method to the utmost of his power, but the exerting of his own abilities, understanding, memory, invention, expression, and the like, since I direct him not to any prescribed words, but only to the observation of those general heads and parts of prayer?"

"So that the minister's praying ὅση δύναμις, or according to the utmost of his ability, imports the exerting his gifts and parts in suitable matter and apt expressions; and that the primitive prayers were so, appears yet further from a passage in Origen, who thus explains that verse in Matthew vi: *But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathens do*:—"But when we pray, let us not battologise, that is, use not vain repetitions, but theologise: but we battologise, when we do not strictly observe ourselves, or the words of prayer, which we express, when we utter those things which are filthy, either to do, speak, or think, which are vile, worthily reproveable, and alienated from the purity of the Lord." (*Ἀλλὰ προσενχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ θεολογήσωμεν βαττολογοῦμεν δὲ ὅτι μὴ μοιμοσκοποῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἀναπεμπομένους τῆς ἐνχῆς λόγους λέγομεν τὰ διεφθαρμένα ἔργα, ἢ*

Irenaeus distinctly quotes from our Lord's prayer,⁴ but gives no intimation of its being used in public worship; and Clemens Alex-

λόγους, ἢ νοήματα ταπεινὰ τυγχάνοντα καὶ ἐπίληπτα, τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότρια τοῦ κυρίου. *De Oratone*, § 10.) Surely this caution had been needless, of strictly observing the words that they uttered; and this fear had been groundless, of expressing themselves undecently, or sinfully, if they had a prayer-book to recur to; but that they had no such prayer-book appears yet more evidently from Tertullian, who, describing their public prayers, says that, looking up to heaven, they spread abroad their hands because innocent; uncovered their heads because not ashamed; and without a monitor, because they prayed from the heart. (*Illic suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus. Apolog. c. 30, p. 703*). Now, what is to be understood by praying from the heart will best appear from inquiring into what is opposed to it, viz., the praying by a monitor. Now, the praying by a monitor, as is acknowledged by all, was praying by a book; but thus Tertullian affirms the primitive Christians prayed not: We do not pray, saith he, with a monitor, reading our prayers out of a book. No, but on the contrary, we pray *de pectore*, from the heart, our own heart and soul dictating to us what is most proper and suitable to be asked, having no need of any other monitor besides."

"Hence their prayers were suited to their emergencies, and present circumstances, as Tertullian writes, that 'having premised the Lord's Prayer, we may offer up accidental requests and petitions' (*praemissa legitima et ordinaria oratione, accidentium jus est desideriorum. De Orat. p. 659*), of which occasional requests we find some instances, as in the 16th epistle of Cyprian, where that father assures Moses and Maximus, two Roman confessors, that he remembered them in his public prayers with his congregation (*Et quando in sacrificiis precem cum plurimis facimus. Epist. 16, § 1, p. 44*). And in another epistle, when he congratulates Pope Lucius upon his return from banishment, he assures him 'That he did not cease in his public prayers to bless God for so great a mercy, and to pray Him that was perfect to keep and perfect in him the glorious crown of his confession.' (*Hic quoque in sacrificiis atque in orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo—gratias agere, et orare pariter, ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atque perficiens, custodiat et perficiat in vobis confessionis vestrae gloriosam coronam. Epist. lviii. § 2, p. 163*) And so, when the Church of Carthage sent a sum of money to the bishops of Numidia for the redemption of some christian captives, they desired those bishops to 'remember them in their public prayers.' (*In mentem habeatis in orationibus vestris et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repraesentetis. Epist. lx. § 4, p. 167*.) So that their prayers could not be stinted, invariable forms, because they could add new petitions, as their occasions and circumstances did require."—KING, *Second Part of the Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church*, chap. 2, § 7.

andrinus many times alludes to it in like manner.⁵ The authority of the Apostolical Constitutions is irrelevant, as belonging to a later period.

2. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen, fully concur in testifying to the use of the Lord's prayer in the second and third centuries.

Tertullian declares it to be not only a form prescribed by Christ for all ages, but asserts that it contains the substance of all prayer, and is an epitome of the whole gospel.⁶ Cyprian repeats much the same sentiments, acknowledging Tertullian as his guide and instructor, and often explaining more fully the sentiments of that author. He calls the Lord's prayer, 'Our public and common prayer.'⁷ Origen also has a long treatise on the same subject, in which he says that this was a prescribed form containing all that the true Christian ever has occasion to pray for.⁸ Authorities, without number, to the same effect may be accumulated from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries.⁹

3. The use of the Lord's prayer in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries was restricted to the faithful only, and was denied to catechumens.¹⁰ By Chrysostom it was styled *εὐχὴ τῶν πιστῶν*, *the prayer of the faithful*.

The reason of this exclusion was, in general, that none but christian believers had the true spirit of adoption, so that they could sincerely say, 'Our Father which art in Heaven.'¹¹ Another reason was that the petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' was understood in a mystical sense, as relating to spiritual gifts, and appropriate especially to be used in the *communion* service, at which no catechumen, or profane person, was permitted, under any pretext whatever, to be present.¹²

The ancient liturgies of the Greek church connect with the Lord's prayer a doxology, which has been ascribed to Basil and to Chrysostom, recognizing the doctrine of the Trinity as implied in the prayer, "Thine is the kingdom, power, and glory, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, both now and forever, world without end." The doctrine revealed in this doxology, none but the faithful were permitted to know. The doxology which is given in Matthew, at the close of the Lord's prayer, was unknown to Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and Cyril of Jerusalem. But it was extant as early as the middle of the fourth century.¹³ Neither this doxology, nor that above mentioned is supposed by writers to have belonged to the original text.

Believers were expected to repeat this prayer *three times* daily.¹⁴ They who were baptized were also required to repeat it, together with the creed, immediately upon coming out of the water.¹⁵ It was also repeated in the celebration of the Lord's supper,¹⁶ and of marriages, funerals, ordinations, etc.

The modern custom of some Protestants, of repeating the Lord's prayer twice in the course of a sermon, has no precedent in the primitive church.

The most ancient prayers of the church which have come down to us are contained in the Apostolical Constitutions. These forms may have been in use as early as the end of the fourth century. Among these are prayers for the catechumens,¹⁷ for candidates for baptism,¹⁸ for penitents,¹⁹ for demoniacs,²⁰ prayers for them that sleep [in death],²¹ morning and evening prayers,²² and prayers to be used on the sabbath.²³

As a single example of these forms of prayer, one is inserted below, which was offered at the conclusion of the Lord's supper :

Δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ εἰλογη-
τοῦ παιδός, ὁ τῶν μετ' εὐθιότητος ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ καὶ τῶν
σιωπῶντων ἐπιστάμενος τὰς ἐντεύξεις· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι κατηξίωσας
ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων, ἃ παρέσχου ἡμῖν, εἰς πληρο-
φορίαν τῶν καλῶς ἐγνωσμένων, εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς εἰσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν
πλημμελημάτων· ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ἐπικέκληται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ
σοι προσηκειώμεθα. ὁ χωρίσας ἡμᾶς τῆς τῶν ἄσεβῶν κοινωνίας, ἔνωσον
ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν καθωσιωμένων σοι, στήριξον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῇ τοῦ
ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσει, τὰ ἀγνοούμενα ἀποκάλυψον, τὰ λείποντα
προσαναπλήρωσον, τὰ ἐγνωσμένα κράτηνον· τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀμόμους διαφύ-
λαξον ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ σου· τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατήρησον ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τοὺς ἄρ-
χοντας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, τοὺς ἄερας ἐν ἐγκρασίᾳ, τοὺς κυρπούς ἐν εὐφορίᾳ,
τὸν κόσμον ἐν παναλικῇ προνοίᾳ. τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πολεμικὰ πράττων· τὰ
πεπλανημένα ἐπίστρεψον, τὸν λαόν σου ἁγιάσον. τοὺς ἐν παρθενίᾳ δια-
τήρησον· τοὺς ἐν γάμῃ διαφύλαξον ἐν πίστει· τοὺς ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ἐνδυνά-
μωσον· τὰ νήπια ἄθρονον· τοὺς νεοτελεῖς βεβηώσω· τοὺς ἐν κατηχήσει
παίδευσον, καὶ τῆς μυσσεως ἄξιους ἀνάδειξον· καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνά-
γαγε εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν·
μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
ἀμήν.—Const. VIII. 14. 15.

§ 10. OF THE RESPONSES—AMEN, HALLELUJAH, HOSANNA,¹ etc.

These were either short ejaculations to God, or exclamations designed to enkindle the devotions of believers, or an intimation that the prayer of the speaker was heard.

1. *Amen.* This, in the phraseology of the church, is denominated *orationis signaculum*, or *devotæ concionis responsionem*,² the token for prayer—the response of the worshippers. It intimates that the prayer of the speaker is heard, and approved by him who gives this response. It is also used at the conclusion of a doxology. Rom. 9: 5. Justin Martyr is the first of the fathers who speaks of the use of this response. In speaking of the sacrament he says, that at the close of the benediction and prayer, all the assembly respond, “Amen,” which, in the Hebrew tongue is the same as, “So let it be.”³ According to Tertullian, none but the faithful were permitted to join in the response.⁴

In the celebration of the Lord’s supper especially, each communicant was required to give this response in a tone of earnest devotion.⁵ Upon the reception, both of the bread, and of the wine, each uttered a loud ‘Amen;’ and, at the close of the consecration by the priest, all joined in shouting a loud ‘AMEN.’ But the practice was discontinued after the sixth century.

At the administration of baptism also, the witnesses and sponsors uttered this response in the same manner. In the Greek church, it was customary to repeat this response as follows: ‘This servant of the Lord is baptized in the name of the Father, Amen; and of the Son, Amen; and of the Holy Ghost, Amen; both now and forever, world without end;’ to which the people responded, ‘Amen.’ This usage is still observed by the Greek church in Russia. The repetitions were given thrice, with reference to the three persons of the Trinity.

2. *Hallelujah.* This was adopted from the Jewish psalmody, particularly from those psalms (exiii—cxviii) which were sung at the passover, called the Great Hillel or Hallel. It was this that our Savior sang with his disciples at the institution of the sacrament. The word itself is an exhortation to praise God, and was so understood by Augustine, Isidorus, and others.⁶ The use of this phrase was first adopted by the church at Jerusalem,⁷ and from this was re-

ceived by other churches. But the use of it was restricted to the fifty days between Easter and Whitsunday.⁸

In the Greek church it was expressive of grief, sorrow, and penitence.⁹ In the Latin, on the contrary, it denoted a joyful spirit—love, praise, thanksgiving, etc.

3. *Hosanna*. The church, both ancient and modern, have concurred in ascribing to this word, contrary to its original import, a signification similar to that of Hallelujah. The true signification of it is, "Lord, save," Ps. 118: 25, and was so understood by Origen, Jerome, and Theophylact, in their commentaries upon Matt. 21: 15.

Eusebius gives the first instance on record of its use,¹⁰ where, at the death of a certain martyr, the multitude are said to have shouted "Hosanna to the Son of David." The use of it is prescribed in the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. 8. c. 13, in connection with a doxology to Christ. The first mention of it in religious worship is found in the Apostolical Constitutions, 8. c. 13. It occurs also in the liturgy of Chrysostom. By the ancients it was uniformly regarded as a doxology.

4. *O Lord have mercy*,—*Κίριε ἐλεησον*. There are many authorities, both sacred and profane, from which this phrase may have been adopted.¹¹ According to Augustine, Epist. 178, it was in use both in the Syriac, Armenian, and other Oriental languages. The council of Vaison, A. D. 492, can. 3, ordained that this reponse should be introduced into the morning and evening worship, and into the public religious service. Gregory the Great introduced a threefold form. 1. O Lord. 2. Lord have mercy. 3. Christ have mercy. And each it would seem was to be thrice repeated with reference to the sacred trinity.¹²

5. *Glory; Glory in the highest*. This exclamation was in use on certain festive occasions in the fifth century; In the seventh, it had come into general use.¹³ According to Meratus, the bishops alone were allowed the use of this exclamation.¹⁴

6. *The Lord be with you; Peace be with you*. The council of Braga, A. D. 561, ordained that this should be the uniform salutation both of bishops and presbyters, when addressing the people.¹⁵ The last mentioned salutation alone was in use in the Greek church. At first, this salutation was not allowed to excommunicated persons, or to penitents, or even to catechumens; but only to the faithful. Examples of the scrupulous observance of prescribed forms of salutation are cited in the index.¹⁶

7. *Let us pray ; Lift up your hearts, etc. ; oremus, δεηθῶμεν ; sursum corda.* In the ancient service of the church, it was the duty of the deacon to summon each class of worshippers separately to engage in prayer by saying, 'Let us pray.' Whether they were to pray in silence or audibly, they received a similar intimation from the deacon. This was followed by another injunction to kneel ; and at the conclusion, he also directed them to arise. There were various forms of announcing the time of prayer besides the one above mentioned, such as 'Give audience ;' 'Attend ;' 'Lift your hearts on high, pray, pray earnestly,' etc. To which the congregation replied, 'Our heart is unto the Lord,' etc.¹⁷

Cyprian is the first who distinctly mentions this mode of announcing prayer, but he speaks of it as a familiar and established usage.¹⁸ Cyril of Jerusalem says, that at this awful summons, the whole soul should be fixed upon God, and no unworthy or earthly thought should be allowed to intrude. Much more to the same effect is said by him, and by the authors quoted in the index.¹⁹ During the middle ages, this custom was perverted to the maintenance of the doctrine of transubstantiation,—the elevation of the host, etc. In the English church, it continued unchanged until the seventeenth century. In the Lutheran church a similar usage remains to the present time.

"The long prayer which, in the *missa fidelium*, the service designed for the faithful alone, usually followed the sermon, was introduced as follows. The deacon first commanded silence and attention by exclaiming, 'Let us pray ;' the officiating minister then addressed the assembly in these words: 'The peace of God be with you all ;' to which the assembly responded, 'And with thy spirit.' Then said the deacon, 'Salute ye one another with an holy kiss ;' upon which the clergy saluted the bishop, and one another ; and the laity of both sexes, saluted those of their own sex. During this time, some of the deacons, and subdeacons are occupied in preserving order. One of the latter brings water for the officiating minister to wash his hands in token of the purity of mind which is acceptable to God. The deacon then says, 'Let no catechumen, disciple, or unbeliever, or any of Caesar's party remain ; all you who have attended the first service retire ; mothers withdraw with your infant children ; let no one cherish enmity in his heart towards another ; let there be no hypocrisy in any ; let us set our hearts with fear and

trembling to bring our offerings.' These offerings are then laid up on the altar by the deacon, while the minister, with the elders, stands before it praying for himself, and with a white cloth, crossing himself upon the breast. After this he says to the assembly, 'The grace of Almighty God, the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all, Amen;' to which the people respond, 'And with thy spirit.' He then says, 'Lift up your hearts on high.' "Our heart is unto the Lord." Let us bless the Lord, says the minister. "It is meet and right." He that leads their devotions then prays at great length, and the solemn service is closed by a doxology."*

§ 11. OF THE PSALMODY OF THE CHURCH.¹

The sacred canon of the Jews consisted of the Law and the Prophets. The Psalms were a collection of sacred songs, and were used in their temple service, like our modern collections of Psalms and Hymns. The use of sacred music in religious worship was derived from the Jews, and the Psalms of the sacred Scriptures were uniformly used by the primitive Christians as songs to be sung. Some one or more lead the singing, and the whole congregation united their voices in the chorus.² Sometimes they constituted two divisions, and sung responses to each other, and at other times, it is probable that all sung in unison. Their worship was conducted by the reading of the Scriptures, and singing of the Psalms alternately.³ Certain Psalms were sung also on certain occasions. There were accordingly morning and evening Psalms, and Psalms prescribed by the bishops to be sung on the several religious festivals.⁴

It is worthy of remark, that the earliest christian fathers make no mention of Psalms and Hymns as a part of religious worship. These were classed with the *prayers* and *thanksgivings* of the church. Origen is the first author who distinctly mentions them. "We," says he, "sing hymns to God who is over all, and to his only begotten [Son] the Word and God."⁵† Eusebius also says that the Psalms and Hymns of the brethren, written at the beginning by the faithful, do set forth the praises of Christ the Word of God, and attribute di-

* Seigel, Alter. Vol. II. Art. Gebet.

† The genuineness of the last phrase, is called in question by some writers.

vinity to him.⁶ From all which, we have historical evidence that the divinity of Christ was a doctrine of the primitive church.

The circumstance that none of the Psalms and Hymns of the primitive church have come down to us, may be ascribed to various causes. They were comparatively few in number, consisting only of a few hymns to be committed to memory by the young people, and by all those who could not afford the expense of a manuscript copy. They must have been carefully destroyed in the times of persecution. They were a part of the *secret service*, which was never taught to any but believers. And the church were greatly divided in opinion respecting this part of their worship, often revising their collections of psalmody. The various sects of heretics especially, adapted their psalmody to their peculiar sentiments; and generally, the ancient psalmody was of a decidedly *doctrinal* character, subject to change from age to age, with the ever varying sentiments of the church. Like their creeds and catechisms, their psalmody also was expected to contain a summary of the christian faith. The music by which it was accompanied consisted merely of a few easy and simple melodies.

§ 12. ATTITUDE AND GESTURE IN SINGING, AND IN PRAYER.¹

1. *Standing.* In the Eastern church it was customary, as it still is with Mohammedans, Arabians, and the Parsees of Persia, to *stand* in prayer.² Many examples of this custom occur also in the Scriptures: Gen. 18: 22. 19: 27. 2 Chron. 20: 13. 1 Sam. 1: 26. Job 30: 20. Luke 18: 11, 13. Matt. 6: 5. Mark 11: 25.³ And from the writings of Basil, Chrysostom, and the Apostolical Constitutions, it would seem that this was the *usual* attitude, and not an *exception* to the general rule, as has often been asserted. To kneel in prayer, during the entire season of pentecost, was expressly forbidden.⁴ According to Origen, the eyes and the hands should be lifted up to heaven, that the body may indicate the elevation of the soul. But he allows exceptions in case of infirmity, and according to circumstances.⁵ He also insists that it is necessary for one to *kneel* when he prays for the forgiveness of his sins. But he is here speaking not of public, but of private prayer. The author of Questions and Answers to the Orthodox, which some erroneously have ascribed to Justin Martyr, asserts that the custom which is observed through the days of pente-

cost was of apostolic origin, and refers to a passage from Irenaeus, which is lost, in proof of the assertion. Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine,⁶ and Basil,⁷ also concur in sanctioning the custom of standing in prayer. And it is particularly worthy of remark, that *penitents* were denied this privilege, it being the prerogative and right only of believers and consistent professors of religion.

In singing, this was regarded as the only proper and becoming attitude.⁸

2. *Kneeling.* Abundant authority for this is also found in the Scriptures: Gen. 17: 3, 17. Num. 16: 22. Josh. 5: 14. 2 Chron. 20: 18. Luke 22: 41. Acts 7: 59, 60. 9: 40. 21: 5. Eph. 3: 14. The act of kneeling was thought peculiarly to indicate humility before God; to exhibit a sinner who had fallen away from him, and in need of divine grace and mercy. Accordingly it was uniformly required of all who had fallen under censure of the church for their offences, as an indispensable condition of their restoration to their former covenant relations. Basil denominates it the *less penance*, in distinction from *prostration*, which was called the *greater penance*.

It must indeed be admitted that it was very common both to kneel and to stand in prayer. But the assertion that kneeling was the uniform posture in prayer, in all acts of worship except on the sabbath and festive occasions, is an unwarranted assumption. The most important authorities from the fathers are given in the index.⁹

3. *Bowing the head.* This was a kind of intermediate attitude between standing and kneeling. Occasionally the inclination of the body is also mentioned. The bowing of the head was especially required in connection with intercessory prayers and the receiving of the benediction.¹⁰

4. *Prostration upon the ground.* This is occasionally mentioned, but was not required as a rule of worship. It was chiefly appropriate to deep humiliations and expressions of shame or sorrow upon some very remarkable occasion, but was not the general practice of the church.¹¹

Sitting in prayer, according to Bingham, was never allowed in the ancient church. It was universally regarded as an irreverent and heathenish posture in these devotions.

5. *The lifting up of the hands.* This was a common rite in pagan worship, but with the christian fathers it was peculiarly significant as an emblem of the cross, designed to assist them in holding

in lively remembrance Christ crucified. Occasionally the hands were clasped together in prayer.

In regard to the covering of the head, the church strictly observed the rule given by the apostle, 1 Cor. xi, requiring the men to be uncovered, and the women to wear their appropriate covering in prayer. In this their custom was directly opposed to that of both Jews and Gentiles. With them, to appear with the head covered, denoted freedom and independence. But the Christian, as the servant of the Lord, appeared *uncovered*, in token of his humility and dependence.

From the period of the second century it was customary, both in the Eastern and Western church to pray facing towards the *east*, contrary to the custom of the Jews who prayed towards the west, 1 Kings 8: 4. 2 Chron. 29: 6. Dan. 6: 10. The altars of the christian churches were situated towards the east, and the dead were buried so that the eye might be turned in the same direction. The reason for all this seems to have been derived from the ceremonies of baptism, in which they were accustomed to turn towards the west as the region of darkness, where the prince of darkness might be supposed to dwell and solemnly to renounce the devil and his works; and then to turn about to the east and enter into covenant with Christ. They might, therefore, very naturally suppose that in prayer they ought to direct themselves to God in the same manner in which they first entered into covenant with him.¹³

Of the time for prayer. Christ and his apostles give no specific instructions, but generally, to pray at all times, and in every place. But it became, in the second and third centuries, a prevalent sentiment in the church, that every Christian ought to pray *three times a day*; at the third, sixth and ninth hour, corresponding to the hours of nine, twelve and three o'clock. For the observance of these hours they had certain mystical reasons drawn from the doctrine of the *trinity*. The *third* being emblematical of the trinity, and the sixth and ninth being formed by *repetitions of three*.¹⁴ But Tertulian and Cyprian both urge the propriety of morning and evening prayer, at the rising and setting of the sun, in remembrance of the *sun of righteousness* whose absence we have so much occasion to deplore, and in whose light we must rejoice. The Apostolical Constitutions also prescribe the offering of prayers five, six, and even seven times a day.¹⁵

As a specimen of the ancient psalmody of the church, the following hymn from Ambrose is inserted, with bishop Mant's version of it.—Opp. T. II. H. 8.

Aeterna Christi munera
Et martyrum victorias,
Laudes ferentes debitas,
Laetis canamus mentibus.

Nudata pendent viscera,
Sanguis sacratus funditur,
Sed permanent inmobiles
Vitae perennis gratia.

Ecclesiarum principes,
Belli triumphales duces,
Caelestis aulae milites,
Et vera mundi lumina.

Devota sanctorum fides,
Invicta spes credentium ;
Perfecta Christi caritas,
Mundi triumphat principem.

Terrore victo saeculi
Spretisque poenis corporis,
Mortis sacrae compendio,
Vitam beatam possident.

In his paterna gloria,
In his voluntas filii,
Exsultat in his Spiritus,
Caelum repletur gaudiis.

Traduntur igni martyres,
Et bestiarum dentibus,
Arinata saevit unguis
Tortoris insani manus.

Te nunc, redemptor, quaesumus,
Ut ipsorum consortio
Jungas precantes servulos,
In sempiterna saecula. Amen.

Bishop Mant's Version.

Lord, who didst bless thy chosen band,
And forth commissioned send,
To spread thy name from land to land,
'To thee our hymns ascend.

The princes of thy church were they,
Chiefs unsubdued by fight,
Soldiers on earth of heaven's array,
The world's renewing light.

Theirs the firm faith of holy birth,
The hope that looks above,
And, trampling on the powers of earth,
Their Saviour's perfect love.

In them the heavens exulting own
 The Father's might revealed,
 Thy triumph gain'd, begotten Son,
 Thy Spirit's influence sealed.

Then to thy Father, and to Thee,
 And to thy Spirit blest,
 All praise for these thy servants be
 By all thy church address.

The most ancient hymn of the primitive church extant, is that of Clement of Alexandria, which is given below.

<i>Στόμιον πώλων ἀδαῶν,</i>	Fraenum pullorum indocilium,
<i>Πτερόν ὀρνίθων ἀπλανῶν,</i>	Penna volucrum non errantium,
<i>Οἶαξ νηπίων ἀτρειῆς,</i>	Vernus clavus infantium,
<i>Ποιμὴν ἀρνῶν βασιλικῶν ·</i>	Pastor agnorum regalium,
<i>Τοὺς σοῦς ἀφελεῖς</i>	Tuos simplices.
<i>Παῖδας ἄγειρον,</i>	Pueros congrega,
<i>Λινεῖν ἁγίως,</i>	Ad sancte landandum :
<i>Ἐγνεῖν ἀδόλως,</i>	Sincere canendum
<i>Ἀνάκοις στόμασιν</i>	Ore innoxio
<i>Παίδων ἡγήτορα Χριστόν.</i>	Christum puerorum ducem.
<i>Βασιλεῦ ἁγίων,</i>	Rex sanctorum,
<i>Λόγε πανδαμάτωρ</i>	Verbum, qui domas omnia,
<i>Πατρὸς ὑψίστου,</i>	Patris altissimi,
<i>Σοφίας πρῦτανι,</i>	Sapientiae rector,
<i>Στήριγμα πόνων</i>	Laborum sustentaculum,
<i>Αἰωνοχαρὲς,</i>	Aevo gaudens,
<i>Βροτέας γενεᾶς</i>	Humani generis
<i>Σῶτερ Ἰησοῦ,</i>	Servator Jesu,
<i>Ποιμὴν, ἀροστήρ,</i>	Pastor, arator,
<i>Οἶαξ, στόμιον,</i>	Clavus, fraenum,
<i>Πτερόν οὐράνιον</i>	Penna coelestis
<i>Παναγοῦς ποιμνης ·</i>	Sanctissimi gregis.
<i>Ἄλιεῦ μερόπων</i>	Piscator hominum,
<i>Τῶν σωζομένων,</i>	Qui salvi fiunt,
<i>Πελάγου κακίας</i>	Pelagi vitii
<i>Ἰχθῦς ἁγνοῦς</i>	Pisces castos
<i>Κύματος ἐχθροῦ</i>	Unda ex infesta

Γλυκερῆ ζωῆ δελεάζων	Dulci vita inescans.
Ἦγοῦ, προσβάτων	Sis dux, ovium
Λογικῶν ποιμῆν	Rationalium pastor :
Ἄγιε ἠγοῦ	Sancte, sis dux,
Βασιλεῦ παίδων ἀνεπάφρων.	Rex puerorum intactorum.
Ἰχνια Χριστοῦ,	Vestigia Christi,
Ὀδοῦ οὐρανια,	Vita coelestis,
Λόγος ἀέναος,	Verbum perenne,
Αἰὼν ἀπλετος,	Aevum infinitum,
Φῶς αἰδίου,	Lux aeterna,
Ἐλέους πηγῆ,	Fons misericordiae,
Ῥεκτῆρ ἀρετῆς	Operatrix virtutis,
Σεμνὴ βιοτῆ	Honesta vita,
Θεὸν ἱμνοίντων, Χριστὲ Ἰησοῦ,	Deum laudantium Christe Jesu :
Γάλα οὐράνιον	Lac coeleste
Μαστιῶν γλυκερῶν	Dulcibus uberibus
Νύμφης χαρίτων,	Nymphae Gratiarum,
Σοφίας τῆς σῆς ἐκθλιβόμενον.	Sapientiae tuae expressum,
Οἱ νηπίαχοι	Infantuli
Ἄταλοις στόμασιν	Ore tenero
Ἄιταλλόμενοι,	Enutriti,
Θηλῆς λογικῆς	Mammae rationalis
Πνεύματι δροσερῶ	Roscido spiritu
Ἐμπιπλάμενοι,	Impleti,
Αἶνον ἀφελεῖς,	Laudes simplices,
Ἄγνων ἀτρεκέις,	Hymnos veraces,
Βασιλεῦ Χριστοῦ,	Regi Christo,
Μισθοῦς ὁσίους	Mercedes sanctas
Ζωῆς διδαχῆς,	Vitae doctrinae,
Μέλπωμεν ὁμοῦ,	Canamus simul.
Μέλπωμεν ἀπλῶς,	Canamus simpliciter
Παῖδα κρατερόν	Puerum valentem,
Χορὸς εἰρήνης	Chorus pacis,
Οἱ Χριστόγονοι,	Christo geniti,
Λαὸς σώφρων,	Populus modestus,
Ψάλλομεν ὁμοῦ Θεὸν εἰρήνης.	Psallamus simul Deum pacis.

CHAPTER XI.

THE USE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.¹

§ 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The christian church at first adopted, without essential variation, the Jewish form of worship in the reading of the Scriptures, which, after the Babylonish captivity, constituted an important part of religious service. The books of Moses were divided into fifty-four sections, corresponding to the sabbaths in a year, one being allowed for their intercalated years, in which there might be fifty-four sabbaths. These sections were read successively, one on each sabbath. When a less number of sabbaths occurred in a year, two sections were read together as one on the last sabbath, so that the reading of the whole might be completed every year.

Selections were also made from the historical and prophetic books, which were denominated the Prophets. One of these selections was read every sabbath day in connection with the corresponding portion of the law. This custom originated from the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, who forbade the Jews the reading of their law on the sabbath. They accordingly selected from the prophets certain portions which they read successively, in the place of like portions of the law. And after the persecution, they continued to read both in connection. Paul, at Antioch in Pisidia, stood up to preach after the reading of the law and the prophets, Acts 13: 15.

The Psalms and other devotional parts of the Scriptures, which with the Jews constituted a *third division*, were probably not read at all on the sabbath. They were the *Psalter* of the Jewish synagogue, and were sung or chanted whenever introduced into religious worship.

Justin Martyr is the first who mentions the reading of the Gospels and of the Acts together with the Scriptures of the Old Testament.² According to this author, they were read in public assembly on the sabbath, by a reader appointed for the purpose; and after the reading, an exhortation and exposition was delivered by the minister.

Tertullian also insists upon the reading of the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament as an important part of public worship.³

Both Tertullian and Cyprian speak of the Reader, as an officer in the church, the latter of whom particularly describes the ordination of two Readers to this office.⁴

The Apostolical Constitutions enjoin the reading of the Scriptures as the most important part of public worship. And Origen and Chrysostom insist upon this as the foundation of all correct religious service.⁵ To these authorities, again, may be added those of various councils, on the same subject.⁶

As a general rule none but the books which were received as canonical were allowed to be read in public worship. The reading of other books in private was recommended for personal edification, but not, like the Scriptures, as being of divine authority.⁷ As in different provinces the church was divided in opinion respecting the true character of certain books, so they differed in regard to the propriety of permitting the same to be read in religious worship. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and the Antilegomena of the New, were chiefly the subject of dispute. The diligent perusal of the apocryphal books was recommended to catechumens, but their authority was seldom or never allowed in doctrinal discussions. These books were held in higher repute by the church in Africa than by any other.

The controversy relating to the Antilegomena, in a great measure ceased in the fourth century. The authority of the Apocalypse was, however, still controverted; and the churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and others, continued to refuse it a place in the sacred canon.⁸ Ephraim of Syria, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysius, and Leontius of Byzantium, were apparently the first to remove the prejudice against this book.⁹

No distinction was made between the books of the Old and New Testament, but both were regarded as of equal authority, and in religious worship selections from each were read in connection. On sacramental occasions, however, the Romish church, in the primitive ages of Christianity, omitted the lessons from the Old Testament and the Psalms, and confined themselves to the Gospels and the Epistles. Whilst both the Jewish and the christian sabbath continued to be observed, it was customary on the former occasion to read the Old Testament; and on the latter, the New.¹⁰

The controverted portions of Scripture above mentioned, and other religious works, were frequently read in public on certain occasions ; such as the Epistles of Peter, the Apocalypse, the Doctrines of the Apostles, the Shepherd of Hermas, the first epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, the Homilies of the celebrated fathers, Public Symbols and Rules of Faith, and Memoirs of Martyrs and Saints.¹¹

§ 2. OF THE ORDER IN WHICH THE SCRIPTURES WERE READ.

At first there was no established order for the reading of them. Before the canon of the New Testament was completed, the Law and the Prophets of the Jewish Scriptures were read according to their divisions. Afterwards the bishop appointed the lessons. Even as late as the fourth and fifth centuries, instances occur of such appointments by the bishop.¹ In all matters pertaining to the church, usage had a great influence. The traditions of the apostles, and especially usages established by them, were very carefully observed. Every innovation was regarded with jealousy proportionate to the antiquity of the usage which it would supersede.

The earliest division of the New Testament was into the Gospels and the Apostles, corresponding to the Law and the Prophets of the Jewish Scriptures. This division appears in the writings of Tertullian and Irenaeus,² and must, accordingly, have been anterior to their time. The reading was directed according to this division, one lesson from each being read alternately. Between the reading of these, Psalms were sung, or selections from the Old Testament were read. When there was nothing peculiar to direct the reading, the Scriptures were read consecutively according to their established order ; but this order was interrupted on their festivals, and other occasions.³ At Easter, the account of the resurrection was read from each of the evangelists successively.⁴ The season of Pentecost, from Easter to Whitsuntide, was set apart for the reading of the Acts of the Apostles.⁵ The Western church connected with this the reading of the Epistles and of the Apocalypse.⁶ During Lent, Genesis was read ; and, as early as the third century, the book of Job was read in Passion-Week. In a word, though we have no complete order of the lessons read, through the year, it is to be presumed that

the reading was directed by an established rule and plan, especially on all the principal festivals and solemnities of the church.

At the close of the lesson, the assembly kneeled and prayed for pardon of the sins of which they might have been guilty in the reading; saying, 'Lord have mercy upon us.' Instead of this prayer, however, other forms were frequently used; such as, 'Thus saith the Lord,' etc. The reading at the burial service, was ended with the exclamation, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.'

§ 3. MODE OF DESIGNATING THE DIVISIONS AND LESSONS.

In many manuscripts, these divisions are denoted by certain marks like the masoretic notes in the Hebrew Scriptures. These, however, are not to be regarded as of necessity the most ancient divisions, for none of the manuscripts themselves have, in the opinion of critics, a higher antiquity than the fifth and sixth centuries, and most of them are of an origin much later. But it is worthy of remark that the ancient versions, which date back to a much higher antiquity than any manuscripts now extant, and from which, almost without exception, the lessons were read are also divided in the same manner. Such for example are the divisions of the Syriac Peshito. From all which, it is probable that these divisions were made as early as the second century. According to this method, the New Testament was divided into two kinds of chapters, some longer, and some shorter. The divisions however were not uniform in the different churches, and were subject to revision from time to time.¹

To prevent misunderstanding, it was customary to refer to texts of Scripture by quoting a few words of the passage in question, or by a description of it, thus: As it is said in the parable of the sower, — or, As it is written in the passage relating to the woman that had an issue, etc.

These divisions continued to be general in the Eastern and Western churches until the thirteenth century, when cardinal Hugo de Sancto Caro introduced the chapters now in use. The divisions into *verses* first appeared in an edition of the Scriptures, published by Robert Stephens, A. D. 1551.

§ 4. OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SCRIPTURES WERE READ, AND OF OTHER EXERCISES IN CONNECTION.

Certain portions of the Scriptures, as has been already remarked, were sung, others were recited, or read. The Psalms were uniformly sung, and from the time of Gregory the Great, the same was true of the gospels, and the epistles. All other parts of the Scriptures were read; but the mode of reading was very unlike that in common use; it was indeed a recitative or chant; each syllable was uttered with a measured cadence and modulation, in a style and manner midway between that of singing and ordinary reading. In the East especially was this art of chanting greatly cultivated; and the Koran to this day is thus read.

It was a prevailing sentiment of the Oriental church, that the words of the Most High ought to be pronounced in a higher and more joyful strain than that of common conversation and reading. On this interesting point it is to be regretted that so little is known. The ancient art of chanting the Scriptures was perpetuated by tradition, and only some slight traces of it can now be observed in the Greek, Roman, and Protestant churches.

Augustine, the great rhetorician and musician of the ancient church, contends earnestly for an easy, simple, and unstudied style of psalmody, and commends highly the singing of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, which more resembled the performance of a reader than of a singer.¹ In accordance with this author, the approved style of conducting the services of the church seems to have been to conform the exercise of singing as nearly as possible to that of reading; and the reading, to that of singing. The style was much the same, both in the Jewish synagogue and the Greek church. In both, the rehearsals were so rapid, that it would be difficult to determine whether it most resembled that of singing, or of reading.

The reading was begun and closed with a set form. The reader, according to Cyprian, saluted the audience by saying, 'Peace be with you.' This prerogative was afterwards denied to the reader, as belonging exclusively to the presbyter or bishop.² Then again, it became the usual salutation at the opening of public worship, and before the sermon.

Before the meeting began, the deacon enjoined silence, and often

called aloud again, ‘*προσχωμεν, attendamus, attention!*’ Then the reader proceeded saying, ‘Thus saith the Lord in the lesson from the Old Testament, or from the gospels,’ etc., or again, ‘Beloved brethren, in the epistles it is written.’ This was said to awaken attention and veneration for the word read.³

At the close of the lesson, the people responded frequently if not uniformly, by saying, ‘Amen.’ The purport of which was, according to Alexander Halesius, ‘God grant us to continue steadfast in the faith.’ Or they said, ‘We thank thee, Lord;’ ‘We thank thee, O Christ,’—for the previous word. Such abuses finally arose from this custom, that the people were forbidden to join in the response, and the minister closed the reading of the epistles by saying, ‘Blessed be God;’ and that of the evangelists by saying, ‘Glory be to thee, O Lord.’⁴

Whenever the deacon, presbyter, or bishop performed the office of reader, he introduced the service by a form which was, substantially, the same as that which is still observed in the Episcopal service.

At first the reading was performed from the *ambo*, a pulpit or desk, prepared for the purpose; afterwards the reading was from the *pulpit*, with the exception of that of the gospels and the epistles which, out of reverence for these parts of Scripture, were rehearsed near the *altar*; the former on the *right hand*, and the latter on the *left*, of the altar. It was the duty of the *subdeacon* to read or chant the epistles; and of the *deacon* to rehearse the gospels.

The reader was at all times required to stand, in the discharge of his office; the people preserved the same attitude in the rehearsal of the Psalms, and the reading of the lessons from the gospels and the epistles at the celebration of their festivals. Cyprian represents this to have been, on all occasions, the custom in Africa. The Apostolical Constitutions recommend both the clergy and the people to stand in the reading of the *gospels*.⁵ Augustine urges all who are lame, or afflicted with any infirmity, so that they cannot conveniently stand, to sit and reverently listen to the word of God.⁶ But it was a general rule of the ancient church, which has at all times been observed, and still is to some extent, that the hearers sat during the ordinary reading of the Scriptures, and arose when the gospels were recited. If in the delivery of a sermon the preacher introduced a passage from the gospels, the assembly immediately

arose ; which was the frequent occasion of much noise and confusion. The reason for this usage in relation to the gospels is given by Chrysostom as follows: “ If the letters of a king are read in the theatre with great silence, much more ought we to compose ourselves, and reverently to arise and listen when the letters, not of an earthly king, but of the Lord of angels, are read to us.”⁷

Jerome is the first who mentions the custom of burning lighted candles in the Eastern church, though not in the Western, when the gospels were read.⁸ But all antiquity offers no other authority for this senseless superstition.

§ 5. OF THE PSALTER.

The use of the psalter as a system of psalmody is an imitation of the synagogue and temple service. The usage is of great antiquity, and very general, both in the ancient and modern church. But the psalter also partook very much of the character of a symbolical book, and constituted an essential part of the liturgy of the church. It contains appropriate lessons for reading, and religious formularies, suited to the capacities of the youth and of the people generally. These, the clergy were required to commit to memory, and to explain.¹ Such indeed was the consideration in which it was held, that it was styled the Bible in miniature, a manual of all sacred things, and a representative of the sacred Scriptures.² Even in the dark ages, when men were denied the use of the Bible, the psalter was allowed to the laity generally.³

The psalms were very early introduced as a constituent part of religious worship, and were variously numbered and divided ; sometimes into five books, corresponding to the books of Moses ; and again they were arranged in different classes according to their character, as Hallelujah, Baptismal, Penitential Psalms, and many others.

§ 6. OF THE PERICOPAE.

It has been before remarked that particular lessons were set apart from the gospels and epistles to be read on certain sabbaths and special festive occasions. The custom was derived from the Jews, who were accustomed to read different portions of their Scriptures on

their several festivals.¹ These specific selections from the writings of the New Testament were denominated Pericopae. When these selections were first made, is a question on which the learned are greatly divided. Some contending that they are of apostolic origin ; others, that they originated in the fourth century ; and others again, date them back no farther than the eighth century. For a discussion of these several theories, the reader is referred to the author, and the authorities quoted by him.

[One end to be answered by making these extracts, was no doubt to assist those who had not free access to the Scriptures in learning the substance of what the Scriptures teach. Nothing in the history of the primitive Christians is more worthy of admiration than their profound reverence for the word of God, their diligence in reading the sacred Scriptures, and their surprising familiarity with truths of revelation. “ At a time when the copies of the sacred volume were all in manuscript, and very scarce,—being so dear as to be beyond the reach of many to purchase, and when multitudes of those who had been converted to Christianity were unacquainted with the first elements of reading, the great majority of them were conversant with the phraseology and the matter of the Word of life, to a degree that may well put Christians of later days to shame. Those of the men who could read, never went abroad without carrying a Bible in their pockets—while the women wore it hanging about their necks, and by frequently refreshing their memories by private perusal, and drawing little groups of anxious listeners around them, they acquired so familiar an acquaintance with the lively oracles, that there were few who could not repeat those passages that contained anything remarkable respecting the doctrines of their faith, or the precepts of their duty. Nay, there were many who had made the rare and enviable attainment of being able to say the entire Scriptures by heart. One person is mentioned among the martyrs in Palestine, so well instructed in the sacred writings, that, when occasion offered, he could, from memory, repeat passages in any part of the Scripture as exactly as if he had unfolded the book and read them ; a second, being unacquainted with letters, used to invite friends and christian strangers to his house to read to him, by which means, he acquired an extensive knowledge of the sacred oracles : and another may be mentioned, of whom the description is so extraordinary, that we shall give it in the words of the historian, Eusebius, who knew him : ‘ When-

ever he willed, he brought forth, as from a repository of science, and rehearsed either the law of Moses, or the prophets, or the historical, evangelical, and apostolical parts of Scripture. Indeed, I was struck with admiration when I first beheld him standing amidst a considerable multitude, and reciting certain portions of holy writ. As long as I could only hear his voice, I supposed that he was reading; but when I came close up to him, I discovered that, employing only the eyes of his mind, he uttered the divine oracles like some prophet.'—Every day it was the practice for each individual to commit a portion of Scripture to memory, and for the members of a family to repeat it to each other in the evening. So much was this custom regarded as part of the ordinary business of the day, that they had a set time appointed for conning the daily lesson—an hour which, though every individual fixed it as suited his private convenience, was held so precious and sacred, that no secular duties, however urgent, were allowed to infringe upon it; and while some, who had their time at their own disposal, laid their memories under larger contributions, and never relaxed their efforts, till they had completed the daily task they had imposed on themselves, others were obliged to content themselves with such shorter passages as they could learn during the intervals of labor, and amid the distractions of other cares. By all classes, however, it was considered so great an advantage—so desirable an attainment to have the memory richly stored with the records of salvation—that while in the lapse of time many ancient practices became obsolete, and others more suited to the taste of succeeding ages were adopted into the Church, this excellent custom still maintained its place among the venerable observances inherited from primitive times; and the pious Christians of the first centuries would have regarded it as a sin of omission, for which they had occasion expressly to supplicate for pardon in their evening devotions, if they were conscious of having allowed a day to pass without having added some new pearls from the Scriptures, to the sacred treasures their memory had previously amassed."

To aid those who could not read, pictures of Scripture scenes were also hung upon the walls. In the idolatrous devotion with which popish superstition bows down before the images and paintings of the sainted dead, the intelligent reader will easily discover only a perversion of the pure intents for which primitive piety first introduced them into the ancient churches.—Tr.]

CHAPTER XII.

OF HOMILIES.

§ 1. GENERAL REMARKS, NAMES, ETC.

Every religious discourse, almost without exception, was based on some text, or distinctly related to some passage of Scripture. It aimed at nothing more than to explain and enforce the same. In the Latin church, instances frequently occur of sermons without any text, but they had reference distinctly to the scripture lesson which had just been read, which is sometimes cited, and at others, is passed over in silence. But in either case the discourse is a paraphrase or explanation of the passage in question. A sermon, according to the idea of the ancient church, may be defined to be a *rhetorical discourse upon some passage of Scripture, having for its object the spiritual edification of the hearers*. It is an exposition and application of *Scripture*, not merely a religious discourse designed for the instruction of the audience.

This discourse was called by different names, as *λόγος*, an *oration*, *ὁμιλία*, a *homily*. The latter implies a more familiar discourse than the former. When the deacon officiated in the place of the bishop, his discourse was frequently denominated *κήρυγμα*. It was also styled *διδασκαλία*, *ἐξηγήσεις*, *ἐκθέσεις*, etc. In the Latin church it was styled *tractatus*, *disputatio*, *allocutio*.

The modern divisions and parts of a sermon, such as the introduction, the proposition, the illustration and application, were totally unknown, *in form*, to the ancient fathers. The strife then was, as Gregory Nazianzen justly observes, not about *terms*, but *doctrines*.

Mosheim asserts that the sermon was not at first a necessary part of religious worship. In answer to this absurd hypothesis it must be admitted that the discourses of Christ and his apostles were not indeed homilies like those of Chrysostom and Augustine, but they resemble these much more than they do the catechetical instructions of Cyril and Gregory Nazianzen, to say nothing of our Lord's sermon on the mount, which may truly be regarded as a pattern for a

formal discourse. The same may also be said of most of the discourses of Peter and Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

We may also, with propriety, refer to all those passages which relate to the usage of Jewish worship in their synagogues, according to which that portion of Scripture which had been read was made the subject of discourse. Luke 4: 16. Matt. 4: 23. 13: 54. Acts 13: 15—27. 15: 21. 2 Cor. 3: 15, etc. From all which it appears that a discourse based on the Scriptures was an essential part of the worship of the Jews. The first instance of this on record is in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah. The homilies of the christian church were only an imitation of these discourses in the synagogue, from which they were derived.¹ The discourses of the apostles were either based on some specific portions of Scripture, or else they were an abstract of sacred history. Instances of the former class are found in Acts 1: 15. 2: 14—36. Of the latter, Acts 7: 2—53. 17: 22—31. Acts xxii. and xxiii.

For further illustration we may refer to 2 Tim. 3: 14—17, and to the miraculous gift of *prophesying*, i. e. of teaching which are mentioned in 1 Cor. 12: 28, 29. Eph. 4: 11. The churches, to whom the apostles addressed their epistles, were required to have them read in public, accompanied, no doubt, with suitable explanations and applications, Col. 4: 16. 1 Thess. 5: 27. 2 Pet. 3: 15, 16.

Justin Martyr expressly asserts, that “certain selections from the *prophets* and *memoirs* of the apostles were not only read, but *explained* and *enforced*.” By the prophets and memoirs, he evidently means the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. “After the reading is ended the minister of the assembly (the bishop) makes an address in which he admonishes and exhorts the people to imitate the virtues which it enjoins.”²

So also Tertullian, in the second century. “We come together to acquaint ourselves with the sacred Scriptures, and to hear what, according to the circumstances of the present time, may be applicable to us either now, or at any future time. At least we establish our faith—we encourage our hope, we assure our confidence, and, by the injunctions of the divine word, we make its life-giving power efficacious to our hearts. We admonish and reprove one another, and give ourselves up to the teachings of the divine word. And this word of God has the greater weight because it is believed by all to reflect the image of God.”³ Who can doubt that this extract de-

scribes the office of the preacher as an essential part of public worship.

This duty is also specified in the Apostolical Constitutions. "When the gospel is read, let all the elders and deacons and the whole assembly, stand in silence. Afterwards, let the elders, one by one, but not all of them, exhort the people ; and lastly, let the bishop as the master, address them."⁴ Again, they speak of the bishop as "the preacher of the word of God," and as preaching to the people the things pertaining to their salvation⁵

Again the notes of Peter's addresses to the people which Clemens Romanus has left, are proof positive to the point in dispute, provided they are genuine ;⁶ but they are confessedly of doubtful authority. Enough, however, has been said to show that a sermon or homiletic address was, in the first and second centuries, a part of public worship. In regard to this point at a later period, there can be no question.

§ 2. BY WHOM THE HOMILIES WERE DELIVERED.

Justin Martyr informs us, that after the reading, *the president* of the assembly, *ὁ πρεσβυτέρως*, meaning the bishop, makes an application of the word, *ρουθεισιαν ποιῆται*, and exhorts to an imitation of the virtues which it inculcates.¹ This passage distinctly ascribes to the bishop the duty of explaining and applying the Scriptures which were read. And the same is manifest from the whole history of the ancient church. To preach, or as Ambrose expresses it, *to teach the people*, was, uniformly, the bishop's duty. The case of Ambrose himself is a clear illustration of this duty. He was promoted from a civil office to that of bishop, without having even been baptized as a catechumen, and, in view of his unpreparedness, sought in vain to excuse himself from the discharge of this part of his duties, alleging that he had need himself to learn, instead of teaching others. But, as he himself confesses, he was obliged to begin to teach, before he had himself been a learner.²

The distinction between *ruling* and *teaching* elders resulted simply from the circumstance that, in those trying times, men were sometimes required to manage the concerns of the church who yet were not qualified to act as preachers ; and a competent teacher was not always suited to direct the affairs of the church. But the office

of a *ruling elder* who did not teach, was uniformly regarded as an exception to a general rule,—as an extraordinary provision for a peculiar emergency, whilst the office of preaching was accounted the most honorable and important part of the bishop's duties. "Far from this seat," says Chrysostom, "let him be removed who knows not how to teach sound doctrine as he ought."³ The neglect of this duty is, by the apostolical canons, c. 58, to be punished with suspension and removal from office.

There is indeed no case on record, of a bishop who was removed for his inability to teach; but there are many in which the bishops were disregarded and neglected for this cause. Such was the case of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus, bishop of Constantinople.⁴ On the contrary, they who excelled in this duty were held in the highest consideration, as Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Augustine, etc.

The deacon and even the presbyter officiated only as *substitutes* of the bishop in case of his absence or inability, from sickness or other causes. Both Augustine and Chrysostom preached for their bishops in this capacity.⁵ In such cases the *bishop* was held responsible for what was said by his substitute, of which we have a striking instance in the history of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople.

From all this we are not, however, to conclude that the right to preach was restricted *under all circumstances*, to the bishops alone. For how, in that case, were the churches which had no bishop to be supplied with the preaching of the word of God? In all such cases the presbyter occupied the place, and discharged the duties of the bishop; and in his absence, or failure, the deacon supplied his place; *not, however, by delivering an original discourse*, but by reading one from the fathers. The Apostolical Canons, c. 58, require the bishop, or the *presbyter*, to deliver the sermon, and exact upon both the same penalty for neglect of duty.

In times of persecution *presbyters* and *deacons* were entrusted with the office of preaching. Still, the *deacon* was regarded only as an assistant, like a licentiate or candidate for the sacred office.

Laymen who had not received ordination were not allowed to preach, but there are instances on record, notwithstanding, of such permission being granted to them under certain circumstances.⁶

But the apostolic rule forbidding a woman to teach, was most cautiously observed.⁷ The Montanists are, indeed, an exception to this

remark, but Tertullian, himself one of this sect, complains of this abuse.⁹ The fourth council of Carthage forbid both the laity and women to teach in public. "Let no laymen teach in the presence of the clergy," c. 98. "Let no women, however learned or pious, presume to teach the other sex in public assembly," c. 99.

§ 3. OF THE FREQUENCY OF SERMONS.

It has already been stated that the sermon consisted originally in an explanation and application of the scripture lesson which had just been read. Sermons were therefore, as a general rule, as frequent as the reading of the Scriptures. If, in any instance, a sermon was delivered without any foregoing lesson from the Scriptures, it was an exception to the general rule. In some cases, several sermons were delivered by different speakers in succession at the same meeting. At other times, several were delivered by the same speaker on the same day.¹ Sermons were an appropriate part of every form of public worship, but they were especially designed for the catechumen; and for this reason were a part of the services designed for them.² The frequency with which they were delivered varied greatly in different countries and dioceses. They were expected of course on the sabbath, frequently on Saturday; i. e. both on the Jewish and christian sabbath, especially whilst both days were observed in connection. A sermon was also essential to a due celebration of the festivals of the church. During the fifty festive days from Easter to Whitsunday, a sermon from the Acts of the Apostles was delivered each day, in the Oriental churches; and also on each day of Lent. Afterwards they became less frequent, but were still delivered on fast days. On other occasions they were delivered in the afternoon. A sermon was also delivered at some time during the middle of the week; usually on Friday. Instances also occur in the writings of the fathers, of sermons for the forenoon and for afternoon.³ But it does not appear to have been a uniform arrangement. No better evidence of the consideration in which this part of religious worship was held can be given, than the fact that Julian the apostate, in his endeavors to restore idolatry, recommended the pagan priests to imitate the christian preachers by delivering similar discourses.

§ 4. THE LENGTH OF TIME ALLOTTED FOR THE DELIVERY OF THE SERMON.

This does not appear to have been determined by any canon, or rule of custom. It appears rather to have been regulated by times and circumstances. They were, however, much shorter in the Latin than in the Greek church. Some conjecture as to the length of time may be formed from the circumstance that more than one was delivered in succession; and yet it is remarkable that some of the longest sermons which remain to us, were delivered in churches where this custom prevailed. Some of Chrysostom's must have occupied two hours in the delivery, although this was the usual time for the whole service, as Chrysostom himself asserts.¹ Bingham is of opinion that the sermons of the fathers could not have been an hour in length; most of the sermons of the Latin fathers, according to him, could not have occupied one half hour, and many not ten minutes.²

Like the ancient orators, the preacher is supposed to have spoken by an hour-glass, a water-clock, or a sand-glass.

§ 5. OF THE POSITION OF THE SPEAKER.

In many countries the speaker habitually occupied an elevated desk in the *body* of the house, which was also used for the reading, and for various exercises. In other places this was used by the speaker occasionally, but not habitually. Chrysostom and Augustine were accustomed to speak from this place, that they might more easily be heard by the immense multitudes that thronged to listen to them.

The custom originally was, for the preacher to speak either from the bishop's seat, or from before the altar and behind the lattice that separated the sanctuary or shrine from the body of the house; but most frequently from the former place, which, as Augustine says, was an elevated throne, that from it the bishop might watch his flock, as the vintager does his vineyard from his watch-tower.

At a later period, when the care of the church became more cumbersome, and the bishops began to neglect or omit the duty of preaching, the deacons became the moderators of the assembly, and

the preacher occupied the desk of the reader. This position was, of necessity, allotted to the preacher in the vast Gothic cathedrals which were erected in the middle ages.

Sermons were frequently delivered in other places besides the church; but this was an exception to the general rule. The eulogies of the martyrs were usually delivered in the *exedrae*, baptisteries, cemeteries, etc. The monks frequently preached from the trees, and the top of a post or pillar.

§ 6. ATTITUDE OF THE SPEAKER, MODE OF DELIVERY, DEPARTMENT OF THE AUDIENCE, ETC.

In the primitive church it was customary for the speaker to sit, and for the audience to stand. As in attending to the reading of the Scriptures they stood, in token of reverence for the word of God, so in listening to the sermon, in which it was explained and enforced, for the same reason they preserved a similar attitude. To this, however, there were exceptions, and the usage was different in different places. In Africa the custom above mentioned was observed with great care. Augustine insists often upon it, and rebukes every departure from it except in cases of infirmity, which rendered it inconvenient for the hearer to preserve this attitude. At one time he apologizes for the inconvenient length of his sermon, especially in as much as he is permitted *to sit*, while they are required *to stand*.

The hearers of Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom preserved the same posture. It is related even of Constantine the Great, that he did not resume his seat during a long sermon by Eusebius, and that all the assembly followed his example.¹ From all which it is fairly inferred that this was the prevailing custom. Compare Luke 2: 46. 4: 20. 5: 3. John 8: 2. Matt. 5: 1, etc.

The hearers, it would seem, were accustomed to take great liberties in regard to their attendance upon public worship, and often demeaned themselves very unworthily. At one time, they would absent themselves from the service except during the sermon—an irregularity against which Chrysostom inveighs with great spirit.² At other times, they treated even the preaching with great indifference and neglect,³ complaining bitterly of long sermons, and even left the house while the preacher was yet speaking. To prevent this, the doors were ordered to be fastened after the reading and before the

sermon,⁴ as is still the custom in Sweden. The fourth council of Carthage, c. 24, forbade this contempt of the preacher under pain of excommunication.

Another impropriety of which Chrysostom complains with his accustomed spirit, is that of disturbing the preacher by needless noise and frivolous conversation : — the loquacity of the women, and the wantonness of the young people, are among his subjects of complaint. Similar complaints are made by others, particularly by preachers in the large cities, Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, etc.

The indecent custom was also introduced into the ancient church of applauding the speaker by acclamations, by clapping, waving of handkerchiefs, and other similar customs, which disgraced the ancient theatres, as they still do the modern. A multitude of examples may be found in the references ;⁵ but the custom was severely censured.⁶

The ancient Christians had also the custom of taking notes and writing out at length the sermons which they heard. To this laudable custom we owe many of the sermons of the fathers, which have come down to us. It was not, however, a universal practice.⁷ Sermons in which the hearer took little interest, he was not careful to retain in this manner. Some preachers refused to have their sermons preserved in this imperfect manner. Origen allowed no notes to be taken of his sermons until he was sixty years of age.⁸

§ 7. OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SERMON.

In the middle ages it became customary for the preacher to draw his topics of discourse from Aristotle ; but this strange custom has not the least authority from the practice of the early fathers. Not only did the Bible furnish them their text and subject of discourse, but, as has been already observed, they confined themselves strictly to the duty of expounding the sacred Scriptures. “ To the word and the testimony,” says Augustine, “ for I perform the office not merely of a *preacher*, but of a *reader* also ; so that this my discourse may be supported by the authority of the sacred word. If my recollection fails me, far be it from me to build upon the sand by human reasoning. Hear, therefore, the gospel according to John : “ Verily, verily, I say unto you,” etc.¹

Nothing like the modern division of a sermon into separate heads was formally practised by the ancients. This mode of division was borrowed from the schoolmen. But the ancient fathers confined themselves strictly to their text, and contented themselves with the explication of it, or quickly returned to it again, if at any time they allowed themselves in a digression.

It was a fundamental principle with them that the truths of Christianity possessed their own intrinsic force, and needed not the aid of eloquence or of art. It was also their usual custom to speak *extempore*. And for this twofold reason their sermons were generally devoid of ornament. The ability to speak extemporaneously as occasion might require, and without previous study, was indispensable to an acceptable discharge of the duties of a preacher. His popularity was proportionate to his success in this art of speaking. For this reason the fathers were influenced to cultivate this art with so much success, that even as late as the fourth and fifth centuries, they fancied themselves to be assisted by the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. "I could not have spoken thus *by myself*," says Chrysostom, "but God, foreseeing the result, τὰ μέλλοντα προειδότης, dictated those words." Augustine and Gregory the Great also express similar sentiments.² At the same time it is sufficiently evident that they did not so rely upon the aid of the Spirit as to excuse themselves from careful study, and from preparation according to the best of their ability. They expected his aid rather as a blessing upon their labors and studies, and in answer to their prayers.

Whether the fathers spoke wholly without notes, it is not so easy to determine. No general rule prevailed on this point. Many examples may be found in which the sermons of celebrated preachers *were read*—in some cases indeed by the deacon, (on whom it devolved to conduct the meeting in the absence of the regular preacher,) but in others, they were either read or dictated by the author himself. Augustine, in one of his sermons, complains that he is embarrassed by *his notes*, and entreats the audience to aid him by their prayers: 'Quoniam video disputationes graphio, ceraque ligari, et nequaquam sumus idonei lectitare, adjuvate me ipsum, quaeso, intercessu vestro.'³ Gregory the Great also complains of the difficulty of speaking from his notes, and of inattention and want of interest on the part of his hearers, and for these reasons resolves to speak

without notes, *contrary to his usual custom*. The prevailing mode of speaking, however, was evidently without notes.

The speaker usually began with a short invocation to God for his aid, and closed his discourse with a benediction : Peace be with you, or something to that effect.⁴ Every address, says Optatus, is made to begin and end with God.⁵ But long and formal prayers, such as in modern times precede and follow the sermon, were not offered in that connection. To every sermon whether in the Greek, Syriac, or Latin church, there was affixed the customary doxology : To God through Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord who lives and reigns with him, world without end. Amen. We subjoin, as quoted by Bingham from Ferrarius, the prayer which St. Ambrose was wont to offer for himself before rising to address the assembly.

“ I beseech thee, O Lord, and earnestly entreat thee, give me an humble knowledge which may edify. Give me a meek and prudent eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt itself upon its own worth and endowments above its brethren. Put into my mouth, I beseech thee, the word of consolation, and edification, and exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those that are good to go on to greater perfection, and reduce those that walk perversely to the rule of thy righteousness, both by my word, and by my example. Let the words which thou givest to thy servant, be as the sharpest darts, and burning arrows which may penetrate and inflame the minds of my hearers to thy fear and love.”⁶

§ 8. OF THE SUBJECTS OF DISCOURSE BY THE FATHERS.

It is very justly remarked by Bingham, that their topics of discourse were of a grave and serious character. Their object was to instruct, to edify and to improve the hearer. The leading subjects of their discourses are described by Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom. “ To me it seems,” says Gregory, “ to require no ordinary qualifications of mind rightly to divide the word of truth,—to give to every one a portion in due measure, and discreetly to discourse of the great doctrines of our faith ; to treat of the universe of worlds—of matter and of mind—of the soul and of intelligent beings, good and bad—to treat of a superintending and ruling Providence, controlling with unerring wisdom all things, both those that are within, and those that are above human comprehension—to treat of the first

formation and of the restoration of man, of the two covenants, and of the types of the Old and antitypes of the New Testament—of Christ's first and second coming, of his incarnation and passion, of the resurrection, and of the end of the world, of the day of judgment, of the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the wicked; and, above all, of the blessed Trinity, which is the principal article of the christian faith."¹

In like manner Chrysostom in reminding his hearers of the leading topics of religious discourse which all who frequent the house of God expect and demand, enumerates the following: "The nature of the soul, of the body, of immortality, of the kingdom of heaven, of hell and of future punishment—of the long-suffering of God, of repentance, baptism, and the pardon of sin—of the creation of the world above, and the world below—of the nature of men and of angels—evil spirits and of the wiles of Satan—of the constitution of christian society, of the true faith, and deadly heresies. With these and many other such like subjects must the christian minister be acquainted, and be prepared to speak on them as occasion may require."

The following extract comprising a brief recapitulation of some of the leading facts in relation to the devotions of the primitive Christians in social and public worship, may be acceptable to the common reader.

"Under a conviction that social meetings held at the commencement and at the close of every day, would prove an admirable preparation for the duties and trials of ordinary life, they adopted the practice of having morning and evening service daily in the church. The hours were fixed so as not to interfere with the routine of ordinary business. Long before daylight, they assembled and opened their meeting with the 63d Psalm, the exordium of which, 'O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee,' as well as the whole strain of that pious effusion, made it an appropriate commencement of the duties of every day. They then united in prayer, the burden of which was a supplication for the divine blessing and favor on the members of the household of faith, and for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. This was followed by the reading of a short and appropriate passage of Scripture, after which they sang the 90th Psalm, so pathetically descriptive of the frailty and uncertainty of life, and then embodied their sentiments on this subject in a second prayer, in

which they expressed their sense of dependence on the care of the Almighty, and their gratitude for their common preservation during the previous night. Another portion of the Divine Word being read, the whole service—scarcely, if ever, exceeding the limits of an hour—was brought to a close by the singing of the 51st Psalm, and a corresponding prayer, in both of which they implored the divine mercy to pardon the sins of their past life, and the divine grace to help them amid the exigencies of their future course.

“The evening service was conducted on the same plan as that of the antelucan meeting, only diversified, of course, by a set of psalms, and a strain of devotional sentiments appropriate to the change of time and circumstances. It began with the 141st Psalm, and a prayer, in which, like the corresponding one in the morning oblation, the divine love was supplicated on the brethren, an extract from the Gospels or Epistles was read, and after this, as the evening meeting generally took place at the time of lighting candles, they sung a hymn in which they gave thanks both for natural and spiritual light, and then prayed a second time for a continuance of the bounty and grace of the Lord. Such were the pious habits of the primitive Christians, that not content with the devotions of the family and the closet, they attended duly as the season returned, the celebration of morning and evening service in the church. Nor was it only the more devout and zealous of them that pursued this daily routine of religious observances. The place of worship was thronged with all ranks of the faithful as much during the morning and evening service, as during that of the Sabbath, and they would have afforded good reason to suspect the sincerity of their religious profession, who should in those days of christian simplicity and devotedness, have confined themselves to the hebdomadal ordinance of the sanctuary. Persons who from sickness, or travelling, or confinement in prison, were prevented from enjoying the privilege of repairing to the assembly of their brethren, carefully observed in private those hours of daily prayer; and men, whose time was engrossed during the day with the labors of the field or the shop—with the speculations of commerce, or the offices of civil and judicial stations, ‘rose early before day, and never engaged in any of their most necessary and ordinary worldly business, before they had consecrated the first-fruits of all their actions and labors to God, by going to church, and presenting themselves in the divine presence.’

“ But the principal season of public worship among the primitive Christians was the first day of the week. From the time of the apostles, it was customary for the disciples of Christ, both in town and country, to meet in some common accessible place on the return of that day ; and while on other occasions, such as those we have described, it was left to every one to frequent the assemblies of the brethren as inclination dictated or convenience allowed, the sanction of apostolic example at once elevated attendance on the religious meetings of that period to the rank of a sacred duty, and an invaluable privilege. The high and holy character the Christians of the primitive age attached to it, is sufficiently indicated by their styling it the Lord's Day ; and, from the glorious event of which it was the stated memorial, they hailed it as a weekly festival, on which no other sentiment was becoming or lawful but that of unbounded spiritual joy. Hence fasting, which was so frequently practised in the ancient church, and was allowable on every other day, was strictly prohibited on this ; and even the most rigid of the primitive Christians, who sought to aim at more than ordinary heights of virtue by the practice of austerity and mortification, laid aside their habitual aspect of sorrow, as inconsistent with the joyful feelings that season inspired. With one accord they dedicated it to the worship of their exalted Redeemer, and to meditation on things pertaining to the common salvation ; and the spiritual views with which they entered on its observance, the congenial tempers with which all repaired to the place of assembly, the common desire that animated every bosom to seek the Lord there, if haply they might find him, and to hold fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, was at once an evidence and a means of the high-toned piety that distinguished them. Early on the Saturday, it was their practice to accomplish the duties of their household, and fulfil the necessary demands of their business, so that no secular care might disturb the enjoyment of the sacred day, or impede the current of their spiritual affections ; and severe indeed was the indisposition, remote the situation, imperious the cause, that detained any from the scenes and occupations the first day of the week brought along with it. So long as heathenism retained the ascendant, and the disciples of the new and rival religion were at the mercy of their pagan masters, it was only during the night, or early in the morning, they could enjoy the privileges of the christian Sabbath ; nor could they observe any regular order in their service, at

a time when the voice of psalms was liable to betray the secret assembly,—and the ruthless soldier often dispersed the brethren in the middle of their devotions, or compelled them to leave a glowing exhortation unfinished. But the moment the sword of persecution was sheathed, and the religion of Jesus enjoyed the tolerant smiles of a heathen, or the paternal auspices of a Christian emperor, the Christians resumed their much valued assemblies on the Lord's day,—established a certain order in the routine of their service, suited to the constitution and circumstances of the primitive church; and such was the happy understanding among the brethren everywhere, that, with some trifling variations required in particular places, a beautiful uniformity in worship and discipline may be said to have prevailed in all parts of the christian world.

“ Viewing the Lord's day as a spiritual festivity, a season on which their souls were specially to magnify the Lord, and their spirits to rejoice in God their Saviour, they introduced the services of the day with psalmody, which was followed by select portions of the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Epistles; the intervals between which were occupied by the faithful in private devotions. The men prayed with their heads bare, and the women were veiled, as became the modesty of their sex, both standing—a posture deemed the most decent, and suited to their exalted notions of the weekly solemnity—with their eyes lifted up to heaven, and their hands extended in the form of a cross, the better to keep them in remembrance of Him, whose death had opened up the way of access to the divine presence. The reading of the sacred volume constituted an important and indispensable part of the observance; and the more effectually to impress it on the memories of the audience, the lessons were always short, and of frequent recurrence. Besides the Scriptures, they were accustomed to read aloud several other books for the edification and interest of the people—such as treatises on the illustration of christian morals, by some pastor of eminent reputation and piety, or letters from foreign churches, containing an account of the state and progress of the gospel. This part of the service,—most necessary and valuable at a time when a large proportion of every congregation were unacquainted with letters, was performed at first by the presiding minister, but was afterwards devolved on an officer appointed for that object, who, when proceeding to the discharge of his duty, if it related to any part of the history of Jesus, exclaimed

aloud to the people, 'Stand up—the gospels are going to be read;' and then always commenced with, 'Thus saith the Lord.' They assumed this attitude, not only from a conviction that it was the most respectful posture in which to listen to the counsels of the King of kings, but with a view to keep alive the attention of the people—an object which, in some churches, was sought to be gained by the minister stopping in the middle of a scriptural quotation, and leaving the people to finish it aloud.* The discourses, founded for the most part on the last portion of Scripture that was read, were short, plain, and extemporary exhortations,—designed chiefly to stir up the minds of the brethren by way of remembrance, and always prefaced by the salutation, 'Peace be unto you.' As they were very short—sometimes not extending to more than eight or ten minutes' duration,—several of them were delivered at a diet, and the preacher was usually the pastor of the place, though he sometimes, at his discretion, invited a stranger, or one of his brethren, known to possess the talent of public speaking, to address the assembly. The close of the sermon by himself, which was always the last of the series, was the signal for the public prayers to commence. Previous to this solemn part of the service, however, a crier commanded infidels of any description that might be present to withdraw, and the doors being closed and guarded, the pastor proceeded to pronounce a prayer, the burden of which was made to bear a special reference to the circumstances of the various classes who, in the primitive church, were not admitted to a full participation in the privileges of the faithful. First of all, he prayed in the name of the whole company of believers, for the catechumens—young persons, or recent converts from heathenism, who were passing through a preparatory course of instruction in the doctrines and duties of Christianity,—that their understandings might be enlightened—their hearts receive the truth in the love of it—and that they might be led to cultivate those holy habits of heart and life, by which they might adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour. Next he prayed for the penitents, who were undergoing the discipline of the church, that they might receive deep and permanent impressions of the exceeding sinfulness of sin,—that they might be filled with godly sorrow, and might have grace, during the

* Augustine, for instance, having introduced in one of his sermons these words of Paul—*The end of the commandment is charity*,—stopped; and the whole people immediately cried out—*out of a pure heart*.

appointed term of their probation, to bring forth fruits meet for repentance. In like manner, he made appropriate supplications for other descriptions of persons, each of whom left the church when the class to which he belonged had been commended to the God of all grace; and then the brethren, reduced by these successive departures to an approved company of the faithful, proceeded to the holy service of communion.*—Jamieson, pp. 115—121.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTIONS.¹

No very clear distinction can be drawn between the homilies and catechetical lessons of the fathers. The terms are applied interchangeably, in some instances, to the same productions. The catechetical lessons were familiar instructions given to candidates for baptism, or to persons who had just received that ordinance; and varied very much according to the age, character, and circumstances of the catechumens. Sometimes they were of a doctrinal, and at others of a popular character; and again, they were adapted more especially to the young; just as the instructions of the missionary are necessarily qualified by the circumstances of the people to whom he goes, or the particular class whom he may chance to address. But in either case they are strictly catechetical.

The nature of these instructions in the ancient church was greatly modified by the general introduction of infant baptism, in conse-

* In the East, where multitudes of the Christians were Jews, who still retained a passionate attachment to the law of Moses, Saturday was long observed as a day of public worship, though not regarded by the Christians in the same light and of the same character with the first day of the week.—Wednesday and Friday began, at an early period, to be held as weekly fasts, which never terminated till three in the afternoon. A number of public festivals were also introduced, in commemoration of the birth, ascension, and other events in the life of Christ,—some of which, Easter, for instance, can boast of a most venerable antiquity, and of universal observance.—See Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. iii. p. 236; and Nelson's *Festivals*.

quence of the corresponding change of the relations and institutions which attended this change in the ordinance.

The catechetical discourses of Cyril of Jerusalem, contain the most ancient and authentic summary of the doctrines of primitive Christianity. These the catechumens were expected to commit to memory and habitually to study as a compend of the Scriptures, and a substitute for them, to such as had not a Bible. Such was also the nature and interest of all subsequent formularies of this kind. They have a close analogy to the ancient symbols of the church, and were in many respects the same.

The principal points of catechetical instruction, even when no catechism in form was used, was :

1. *The Decalogue.* The fathers in the church unitedly agreed in regarding this as essentially a summary of the Old Testament, and obligatory upon Christians. They were accordingly diligently taught this compend of the moral law. Pliny, in his famous epistle, has clearly declared how faithfully the primitive Christians observed this law, and the same is known from many authorities.²

Many of the fathers disagreed in the division of the law of the two tables, some making ten, others seven, etc. In regard to their different views, see references.³

2. *The Symbols, or Confessions of Faith,* particularly that which is styled the Apostles' Creed. In relation to these which have been the subject of so much discussion, it may be sufficient briefly to remark, that from the earliest organization of the church, some confession and rule of faith must evidently have been necessary.⁴ This rule of faith must have been derived from the teaching, either oral or written, of the apostles; and may have been earlier than the writings of the New Testament in their present form. Luke 1: 1—4. Gal. 1: 11. As the preaching of the apostles preceded their written instructions, so an oral confession may have preceded a written one, comprising an epitome of the gospel.⁵ From such a source may have sprung the great variety of forms which were known previous to the council of Nice. The various creeds and symbols which have been framed since that period, are only so many modifications of the apostles' creed.* For a notice of these creeds see reference.⁶

* The most ancient creed extant is that of Irenaeus. This venerable document is here inserted for the gratification of the curious inquirer.

“ The church, though it be dispersed over all the world, from one end of

3. *The Lord's Prayer* comprised a part of the catechetical instructions. This was used in baptism, and, after Gregory the Great, at the sacrament of the Lord's supper. It was regarded as a summary of the proper topics of prayer.

4. While the secret mysteries of the church were continued, instructions respecting the sacrament could not have been publicly given. But from the time when the introduction of infant baptism changed the style of catechetical instructions, they must have included the subjects of baptism, absolution, and the Lord's supper.

the earth to the other, has received from the apostles and their disciples the belief in one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, the sea, and all things in them: and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation: and in the Holy Ghost, who preached by the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advent (*τὰς ἐλπίσεις*, adventum, Int. vet.), nativity of a virgin, passion, resurrection from the dead, and bodily ascension into heaven of the flesh of his beloved Son Christ Jesus our Lord, and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father, to restore (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*, ad recapitulanda universa, Int. vet.) all things, and raise the flesh of all mankind; that, according to the will of the invisible Father, every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in the earth, and things under the earth, to Jesus Christ, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King; and that every tongue should confess to him; and that he may exercise just judgment upon all, and may send spiritual wickednesses, and the transgressing and apostate angels, with all ungodly, unrighteous, lawless, and blaspheming men, into everlasting fire; but having granted life to all righteous and holy men, that keep his commandments, and persevere in his love, some from the beginning, others after repentance, on these he may bestow the gift of immortality, and invest them with eternal glory."

The famous Nicene creed, first framed in the year 325, and completed A. D. 381, is given in the liturgy of the Episcopal church.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF BAPTISM.¹

§ 1. NAMES BY WHICH THE ORDINANCE IS DESIGNATED.

The term Baptism, is derived from the Greek βάπτω, from which is formed βαπτίζω, with its derivations βαπτισμός and βάπτισμα, *baptism*. The primary signification of the original is to dip, plunge, immerse; the obvious import of the noun is *immersion*. For a discussion of this point, more full and satisfactory than our author has given, the reader is referred to an article by Prof. Stuart, in *Bib. Repos.* April, 1833.

The term λουτρόν, *washing*, is used figuratively to denote that purification or sanctification which is implied in the profession of those who are received by baptism into the church of Christ. It is equivalent to the washing of regeneration, and the receiving of the Holy Ghost, Tit. 3: 5. This phraseology was familiar to the ancient fathers.²

Baptism is also denominated by them the *water*,—and a *fountain*, from whence, according to Bingham, is derived the English, *font*,—*an anointing*, *a seal*, or *sign*, etc. It is also styled *an illuminating* or *enlightening ordinance*, *the light of the mind*, *of the eye*, etc., sometimes with reference to that inward illumination and sanctification which was supposed to attend that ordinance, and sometimes, with reference to the instructions by which the candidates for this ordinance were enlightened in a knowledge of the christian religion.

With reference to the secrecy in which, in the early ages of the church, it was administered as a sacred mystery, it was styled μυστήριον, *a mystery*. A multitude of other names occur in the writings of the fathers, such as *grace*, *pardon*, *death of sin*, *philactery*, *regeneration*, *adoption*, *access to God*, *way of life*, *eternal life*, etc. These terms are more or less defined and explained, in the authorities to whom reference is had in the index.³

§ 2. HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The learned of every age have generally regarded baptism as an independent institution, distinct, alike from the washings and consecrations by water, so common among the pagan nations, and from the ceremonial purifications and proselyte baptisms of the Jews. Neither have they accounted it the same as the baptism of John. Even those who have contended for the identity of the two institutions, have still concurred with others in regarding baptism as a separate, and independent ordinance.

But the opinions of authors are greatly divided in regard to *the time when* this ordinance was instituted by our Lord. It might seem, from the account given by Matthew and Mark, to have been instituted when he gave his final commission to his disciples just before his ascension. Such was the opinion of Chrysostom, Leo the Great, Theophylact, and others. But this supposition is contradicted by John, 3: 22. 4: 1, 2., from whom we learn that Christ, by his disciples, had already baptized many, before his death. Augustine supposed Christ to have instituted this ordinance when he himself was baptized in Jordan; and that the three persons of the Godhead, were there distinctly represented; the Father, by the voice from heaven, the Son, in the person of Christ Jesus, and the Holy Ghost, by the form of the dove descending from heaven.¹ Others, without good reason, refer the time of instituting it to the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus; and others again, to the time when he commissioned the twelve to go forth preaching repentance, and the approach of the kingdom of heaven, Matt. 10: 7. But this supposition is contradicted by the fact that these same truths had been before preached, and that those who duly regarded this ministry, received John's baptism, Matt. 4: 17. 3: 1, 2. Luke 7: 29.

On this subject, the truth seems to be that our Lord, on entering upon his ministry, permitted the continuance of John's baptism as harmonizing well with his own designs. The import of the rite was the same, whether administered by John himself, or by the disciples of Jesus. In either case, it implied the profession of repentance, and a consecration to the kingdom of heaven. To this baptism, none but Jews were admitted; to whom the ministry of John was wholly restricted. Our Lord did indeed, at a later period, declare

that he had other sheep, not of that fold, which must also be gathered ; but his disciples understood not the import of that declaration, until after his ascension ; and, even then, were slow to yield their national prejudices so far as to receive the gentiles to participate, in common with the Jews, in the privileges of the gospel.

The introduction of *christian baptism*, strictly so called, was immediately consequent upon our Lord's ascension ; and the most important commission for receiving it, as an universal ordinance of the church, is given by its divine author in Matt. 28: 19, " Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Those who had been baptized by John, now received christian baptism ; which was regarded by the fathers rather as a renewal of the ordinance, than as a distinct right. It differed from the former, in that it was administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This was the *sacramentum plenum*, the plenary baptism of Ambrose and Cyprian.

Baptism was uniformly administered as a *public* ordinance, even to the end of the second century. In no instance, on record in the New Testament, was it administered privately as a secret rite. Nor is there an intimation to this effect given by the earliest authorities. The apostolic fathers indeed give no instruction respecting the *mode* of administering this rite. Justin Martyr distinctly intimates that the ordinance was administered in the presence of the assembly. From the third century it became one of the secret mysteries of the church. Such it continued to be, until the middle of the fifth century, when Christianity became so prevalent, and the practice of infant baptism so general, that the instances of adult baptism were comparatively rare. But during that period of time it was administered privately, in the presence of believers only ; and the candidates, without respect to age, or sex, were divested of all covering in order to be baptized, and in this state, received the ordinance.³

It was customary for adults immediately after baptism to receive the sacrament. This usage gave rise to the custom of administering the sacrament also to children at their baptism, a superstition which continued in the Western churches until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in the Eastern, remains unto this day.⁴

Certain religious sects, contrary to the established usage of the church, were accustomed to *re-baptize* ; others again contended

that it must be *thrice* administered, to be valid. Such was the custom of the Marcionites and Valentinians.

The Novatians maintained that those who had apostatized from the faith, on being restored to the church ought to be baptized anew; having lost, by their apostasy, the benefit of their former baptism. Against this Tertullian and Cyprian earnestly contended, alleging that the validity of the ordinance, once rightly administered, could never be annulled;⁵ subsequent writers also concur with them in this opinion.

Baptism by heretics was early regarded as null and void. Clemens of Alexandria declared it strange and uncongenial, ἴδιος ἀλλότριον. Tertullian classed heretics with idolaters, and declared their baptism of no effect; unless rightly administered, it was no baptism. *Cum baptismum rite non habeant, omnino non habent.*⁶ Cyprian also agreed with him, and generally the churches of Africa, together with that of Caesarea and Alexandria. These required that their converts from heretical sects should be re-baptized, limiting themselves, however, to those sects who differed most widely from the true church. The churches of Rome, and France, and of some parts of Asia, on the other hand, received such to their communion by prayer and the imposition of hands, with the exception of such as disowned the Catholic church, and of those who were not baptized in the names of the Trinity. Baptism in the name of the Trinity, even by heretics, was considered valid, except some who were expressly named.⁷ The council of Nice proceeded on the same principle. The efficacy of the rite depended upon the divine power accompanying it, not upon the character of him who administered it. For a further discussion of this point, see references.⁸

§ 3. INFANT BAPTISM.¹

The general introduction of the rite of infant baptism, has so far changed the regulations of the church concerning the qualifications of candidates, and their admission, that what was formerly the rule in this respect, has become the exception. The institutions of the church during the first five centuries, concerning the requisite preparations for baptism, and all the laws and rules that existed during that period, relating to the acceptance or rejection of candidates, necessarily fell into disuse when the baptism of infants began not

only to be permitted, but enjoined as a duty ; and almost universally observed. The old rule which prescribed caution in the admission of candidates, and a careful preparation for the rite, was, after the sixth century, applicable, for the most part, only to Jewish, heathen and other proselytes. The discipline which was formerly requisite, preparatory to baptism, now followed this rite as a needful qualification for communion.

Christian baptism has from the beginning been characterized for the universality of its application. Proselyte baptism was administered only to pagan nations. John's baptism was restricted solely to the Jews ; but christian baptism is open alike to all. Proselyte baptism included the children with the parents ; John's baptism excluded both children and the female sex. Christian baptism excludes no nation, or sex, or age. Comp. Matt. 28: 19, 20. Gal. 3: 28. 1 Cor. 12: 13, together with the authorities of Irenaeus, Cyprian, and Tertullian, quoted below. From all which, it appears evident beyond a doubt, that the ancient church understood that christian baptism was designed for all, *πάντες, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, in the fullest sense of the term,—that no nation, or class, or sex, or age was excluded. Of course it was understood to be universal in the highest degree.

In his views respecting infant baptism as above expressed, Augusti, it is well known, differs from many of his learned contemporaries in Germany. In common with all who observe this rite, and maintain the doctrine of infant baptism, the learned in Germany generally admit, indeed, the authenticity of the historical testimony on which our author relies. They admit that infant baptism was an usage of the primitive church as early as the time of Cyprian, Tertullian, or even of Irenaeus ; but they refuse to follow us in the conclusion that this ordinance must have been instituted by the authority, and supported by the example of the apostles. They either deny that the baptism of infant children was authorized by Christ and his apostles, or they content themselves with stating the historical facts in relation to the subject—giving the earliest evidence of the rite in question, without advancing any theory whatever respecting the origin of this ordinance.

For the gratification of the common reader, the views of some of the learned German scholars on this vexed question in theology are given below.

Baumgarten-Crusius supposes that infant baptism was not incon-

sistent with the views of the primitive church. But he finds no satisfactory evidence of the practice of the rite in the first two centuries. He admits that it was practised in the time of Cyprian, and of Tertullian, and that in the fourth century it had become general.—Dogmengeschichte II. Th. III. Abschn. S. 1208—9.

Hahn contents himself with the “assertion that there is no clear example of infant baptism to be found either in the Scriptures or during the first hundred and fifty years of the christian era.” He makes no comment upon the examples on record, nor does he inform us what he receives as a *clear example*. But he justifies infant baptism as a useful institution, which ought to be retained.—Christlichen Glaubens, § 123. S. 557.

De Wette, in commenting upon 1 Cor. 7: 14, allows that in the time of the apostles children were not baptized, but alleges this same passage as scriptural authority for receiving them to this ordinance.—Geschichte der Kindertaufe. Th. Stud. u. Kr. 1830. S. 671.

Neander also agrees with De Wette on this point, Geschichte des Pflanzung, p. 141.

According to Rheinwald, p. 41, “traces of infant baptism appear in the Western church after the middle of the second century, i. e. within about fifty years of the apostolic age; and, towards the end of this century, it becomes the subject of controversy in Proconsular Africa. Though its necessity was asserted in Africa and Egypt, in the beginning of the third, it was, even to the end of the fourth century, by no means universally observed—least of all in the Eastern church; and finally became a general ecclesiastical institution in the age of Augustine.”—Archæologie, § 111. S. 313. vgl. Tafel I. Kirchliche Sitte.

Gieseler simply says that in the first period of his history, from A. D. 117 to 193, “the baptism of infants was not a universal custom; and was sometimes expressly discountenanced.” For his authority he quotes Tertullian, De Baptismo, c. 18, as given in the sequel. Kirchengeschichte, § 52. S. 175.

Siegel maintains that infant baptism is of apostolical authority.—Handbuch der Christlich-Kirchen Alterthümen, Bd. IV. 476.

Neander concludes, from the late appearance of any express mention of infant baptism, and the long continued opposition to it, that it was not of apostolical origin, Geschichte der ch. Kirche durch die Apostel. I. Bd. 140. Again he says, “the ordinance was not estab-

lished by Christ, and cannot be *proved* to have been instituted by the apostles.”—K. Gesch. B. 11. Abth. 11. S. 549.

Such, then, are the views of some of the most distinguished German scholars of the present day. But enough. Authority is not argument, nor is an ostentatious parade of names of any avail either to establish truth or refute error. These authors themselves generally admit the validity of the testimony of the early fathers; nor does it appear that, with all their research directed even by German diligence and scholarship, they have essentially varied the historical argument drawn from original sources in favor of infant baptism. Those authorities have long been familiar to the public, and they are very briefly brought together in this place as a concise exhibition of the historical evidence in favor of the theory that this ordinance was instituted by divine authority, and as such was observed by the primitive and apostolic church.

We will begin with Augustine, born A. D. 354, at which time the general prevalence of infant baptism is conceded by all. Passages without number might be cited from this father to show that the observance of this ordinance was an established usage of the church. The rite itself he declares to be *an apostolical tradition*, and by no means to be lightly esteemed. “The custom of our mother-church, in baptizing little children, is by no means to be disregarded, nor accounted as in any measure superfluous. Neither, indeed, is it to be regarded as any other than an apostolical tradition.”* This he also declares to be the practice of the *whole church*, not instituted by councils, but always observed, “quod universa tenet ecclesia nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum.”

Omitting other authorities, we go back into the third century. In the time of Cyprian there arose in Africa a question whether a child might be baptized *before the eighth day, or not*. Fidus, a country bishop, referred the inquiry to a council of sixty-six bishops, convened under Cyprian, A. D. 253, for their opinion. To this inquiry they reply at length, delivering it as their unanimous opinion that baptism may, with propriety, be administered at any time *previous to the eighth day*. No question was raised on the point whether children ought to be baptized *at all* or not. In this they were unani-

* Consuetudo tamen matris ecclesiae, in baptizandis parvulis nequaquam spernenda est, neque ullo modo superflua disputanda; nec omnino credenda, nisi apostolica esse traditio.—*De Genesi ad Literam*, lib. 10.

mously agreed. This passage is quoted by Rheinwald,² to show that the church in Africa, in the third century, maintained the absolute necessity of infant baptism. It is given in the note below.*

The authority of Origen brings us still nearer to the age of the apostles. This eminent father was born in Egypt of christian parents, A. D. 185, and was himself baptized at an early age, if not in childhood, or in infancy, as many suppose. He resided in Alexandria, in Cappadocia, and in Palestine. He travelled in Italy, Greece, and Arabia, and must have been in correspondence with the churches in every country. He is equally distinguished for his great learning, his piety, and his love of truth. He is therefore an unexceptionable and competent witness in this matter. What is his testimony? It is, "that little children are baptized agreeably to the usage of the church; that *the church received it as a tradition from*

* Quantum vero ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem, quo nati sint, constitutos baptizari non oportere et considerandam esse legem circumcisionis antiquae, ut intra octavum diem eum, qui natus est, baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares; longe alium in concilio nostro omnibus visum est. — Universi judicavimus, nulli homini nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam. Nam cum Dominus in evangelio suo dicat: filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare, quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. — Nam Deus ut personam non accipit, sic nec aetatem, cum se omnibus ad coelestis gratiae consecutionem aequalitate librata praebeat patrem. Nam et quod vestigium infantis in primis partus sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat exosculari, nec hoc putamus ad coelestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere. Scriptum est enim: omnia munda sunt mundis. Nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat osculari; quando in osculo infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato et recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id, quod Deus fecit, amplectimur. — Ceterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiae posset, magis adultos et proventus, et majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus et in Deum multum ante peccantibus, cum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, et a baptismo atque a gratia nemo prohibetur, quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquae prima nativitate contraxit, qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur, non propria, sed aliena peccata. — *Cyprian ep. 59 ad Fidum.*

the apostles, that baptism should be administered to children.”* Origen lived within a century of the apostolic age, and, according to Eusebius, lib. 6. c. 19, received this tradition from his own pious ancestry, who, of the second or third generation from him, must have been contemporary with the apostles themselves. This explicit testimony of Origen, in connection with that of Augustine of the universal practice of the church, is, in the opinion of the paedobaptists, strong evidence that infant baptism is an ordinance established by the authority of the apostles.

We come next to Tertullian. He objects strongly to the *hasty administration* of baptism to children, and inveighs against the superstition of the age in this respect in such a manner as to show, beyond dispute, the prevalence of the custom in his days. “According to the condition, disposition, and age of each, the delay of baptism is peculiarly advantageous, especially in the case of little children, *parvulos*. Why should the godfathers [of these baptized children] be brought into danger? For they may fail by death to fulfil their promises, or through the perverseness of the child. Our Lord indeed says, ‘Forbid them not to come unto me.’ Let them come then when of adult age. Let them come when they can learn; when they are taught *why* they come. Let them become Christians when they shall have learned Christ. Why hastens that innocent age to the forgiveness of sins [by baptism]? In worldly things men observe greater caution, so that he is intrusted with divine things, to whom those of earth are not confided.”†

* Addi his etiam potest, ut requiratur quid causae sit, cum baptismum ecclesiae pro remissione peccatorum detur *secundum ecclesiae observantiam etiam parvulis dari baptismum*. Homil. 8. in Levit. Opp. T. VI. p. 137. ed. Olerth.

Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare. Sciebant enim illi, quibus mysteriorum secreta commissa sunt divinatorum, quia essent in omnibus genuinae sordes peccati, quae per aquam et spiritum ablui deberent: propter quas etiam corpus ipsum corpus peccati nominatur.—In *Rom. L. V. c. 9*.

† Pro cujusque personae conditione ac dispositione, etiam aetate, cunctatio baptismi utilior est; praecipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est, sponsos etiam periculo ingeri? Quia et ipsi, per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, et proventu malae indolis, falli. Ait quidem Dominus, “Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire.” Veniant ergo, dum adolescent. Veniant, dum discunt; dum, quo veniant, docentur. Fiant christiani quum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum? Cautius agitur in secularibus; ut cui substantia terrena non creditur, divina credatur.—*De Baptismo*, c. 18.

Whatever were the particular views of Tertullian on other religious subjects, he is sufficiently explicit in opposing infant baptism as a *prevailing custom*. He flourished some years before Origen, and in less than one hundred years of the apostolic age. Within this brief period it appears, therefore, that the rite of infant baptism is observed with such superstitious care as to call forth from him these severe animadversions—and that too, without any intimation that his own church is peculiar in their observance of this rite, or that there was any example in favor of the correction for which he pleads. Indeed, it deserves particular notice that Tertullian neither refers to the authority of Scripture, nor to the usage of the church in *opposition to the baptism of infant children*. Is it possible that this father of tradition could have overlooked so important a point had there been any authority, usage, or tradition, in favor of his own peculiar views?

Next in order, and at an age still nearer to the apostles lived Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons. By some he is believed to have been born before the death of John the Evangelist, others, perhaps with greater probability, assign this event to a period somewhat later. It is however agreed that he lived, in early life, in Asia Minor, and enjoyed the friendship, and received the instructions of Polycarp, the disciple of John. He therefore received apostolical instructions through the tradition of a single individual, the venerable martyr, Polycarp. What then does he say in relation to the subject before us?—That Christ “came to save all persons through himself—all, I say, who through him *are regenerated unto God*; infants, and little ones, and children, and youth, and the aged. Therefore, he passed through the several stages of life, being made an infant for infants, that he might sanctify infants; and for little ones a little one, to sanctify them of that age.”*

The relevancy of this celebrated passage turns wholly on the meaning of the phrase—*regenerated unto God*. If in this expression, the author has reference to *baptism*, nothing can be plainer than that the passage relates to infant baptism. It is indeed a vexed passage.

* Omnes venit per semetipsum salvare, omnes inquam, qui, per eum, *renascuntur in Deum*; infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et juvenes, et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit aetatem; et infantibus, infans factus, sanctificans infantes; in parvulis, parvulus; sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes aetatem.—Lib. 2. c. 39. (Lib. 2. c. 22. § 4.)

But it has been shown by writers on this subject, that this form of expression, *renascuntur in Deum*, regenerated unto God, was familiar to Irenaeus, and to the fathers generally, as denoting baptism. Irenaeus himself, in referring to our Lord's commission to his disciples, says: "When he gave his disciples this commission of *regenerating unto God*, he said unto them, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,'" Lib. 3. c. 19. Here the commission of *regenerating unto God*, is supposed to relate to the act of *baptizing*. Baptism, according to the *usus loquendi* of the age, was regeneration. This Neander himself admits in commenting on the above passage from Irenaeus, which he receives as valid and incontrovertible proof of the practice of infant baptism at this early age. Rheinwald also concurs with him in opinion. Neander's opinion, as already stated, is, that the ordinance was not instituted by Christ; neither can it be proved to have been instituted by the apostles. Not *proved* indeed by positive testimony. And yet, within the space of one century, it is, for aught that appears to the contrary, in general practice as an authorized usage of the church. When was it introduced if not by the apostles? And by whose *authority*, if not by *theirs*? To these important inquiries all history is silent, assigning no time for its first introduction, nor revealing the least excitement, controversy, or opposition to an innovation so remarkable as this must have been if it was obtruded upon the churches without the authority of the apostles. How, especially, could this have been effected in that age which adhered so strictly, even in the smallest things, to ancient usage, (see p. 230, § 2), and which was so near to the apostles that their usages and instructions must have been distinctly known by tradition? Or how could the change have been effected in so short a space of time? Hath a nation changed their gods in a day? Have they in a day changed any cherished institution? Far from it. Their traditional usages are a fair record of their former institutions. We have received by *tradition* and *usage*, aside from all historical records, the sentiments and practice of our pilgrim forefathers, in relation to baptism; whilst the dissent of Roger Williams is recorded in the institutions of another church, in lineaments more lasting than the perishable records of the historian, and yet Tertullian, Origen, and Irenaeus were removed from the apostolic age but about half the distance at which we stand from that of our forefathers.

There is yet one argument that is strictly historical, and may, with propriety, be mentioned in this place. It is drawn from the practice of household-baptism, as related in the Scriptures. This argument rests not merely upon the inquiry whether, in the instances recorded in the New Testament, there were children belonging to those particular households. But upon these examples which evidently authorize the administration of the ordinance to *families collectively*. The repeated and familiar mention of household-baptism, implies that it was a common usage to administer the ordinance to whole families, or households collectively. Now if this is an usage authorized by the example of the apostle, it is a valid argument for infant baptism. Children usually constitute a part of a household; and baptism *by households*, of necessity, implies infant baptism.

The authority of Justin Martyr is relied on by many. In his second apology, written about A. D. 160, he says, “There are many persons of both sexes, some sixty, some seventy, and some eighty years old, who were made disciples to Christ in their childhood, αἱ, ἐκ παιδῶν ἐμαθῆντι ἐύθησαν τῷ χριστιῶ.³ Some, or all of these, were baptized in the age of the apostles, and several considerations are urged from this author himself, to show that the phrase *ἐκ παιδῶν* relates strictly to children in their infancy. It would, indeed, be the appropriate and natural expression if such were his meaning, but it is also applicable to children and youth of a greater age.

Other authorities are sometimes drawn from the Shepherd of Hermas,⁴ and Clemens Romanus;⁵ but these are too equivocal, and involved in too much uncertainty, to be relied on in an argument of this kind. *Tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.*

The foregoing are the most important historical authorities in favor of infant baptism, as an usage of the primitive church. They have long been before the public. They have been a thousand times summoned and marshalled for the onset, and a thousand times contested, and still the conflict continues as undecided as ever. There they are, however, on the records of history, unchallenged, unimpeached, and there they will be forever—the unhappy subject of controversy and division to kindred in Christ who, else, had been one in sentiment and in name, as they still are in all other essential points of faith and practice.

From a very early period, extravagant notions were entertained of the supernatural power and efficacy of baptism. It was supposed

to be a virtual regeneration—the death of sin, and the imprinting of an indelible character upon the soul. Still its moral tendency was not forgotten ; but it was regarded by the church as an important means of moral discipline. Accordingly the general rule of baptizing all applicants was practically subject to certain limitations and exceptions. Such as the following :

1. It was enacted that none but the *living* should be baptized—a law which intimates that this ordinance was sometimes administered to the dead. Such indeed was the custom of the church in Africa in the fourth century, as appears from the decrees of their councils in which it is forbidden.⁶ It appears also to have been the practice of some of the Cataphrygians or Montanists.⁷

2. The vicarious baptism of the living for the dead may also be mentioned in this place. Several religious sects, particularly the Marcionites, practised this rite, alleging for their authority a misconstruction of the apostle's language in 1 Cor. 15: 29. But the custom is severely censured by Tertullian,⁸ and by Chrysostom,⁹ who describes the ceremony as a ridiculous theatrical farce. Epiphanius,¹⁰ Theodoret, and others understand the passage in question from 1 Cor. 15: 29, to relate to the practice of baptizing catechumens who might be near to death, before the completion of their term of probation and preparation.

3. The offspring of untimely and monstrous births appear not to have been the subjects of baptism in the ancient church. Such baptisms began in the thirteenth century to be the subject of discussion in ecclesiastical councils.¹¹

4. It was a disputed point in the ancient church, whether or not demoniaics and maniacs were proper subjects of baptism. The rule in these cases seems to have been that such persons should not receive baptism until they were healed of their malady, although they were permitted, in the meantime, to attend at the preaching of the word, and at public prayers under the superintendence of the exorcists ; and were ranked in the first class of catechumens. Cyprian supposed that evil spirits were expelled by baptism ;¹² but he appears not to have authorized the administration of the ordinance to such, except in case of sickness, or of great bodily weakness. Persons in the near approach of death were, in almost all cases, permitted to receive this ordinance.¹³ These energumens were, however, in some instances permitted to partake of the Lord's supper.

And this circumstance affords the strongest proof that they were sometimes baptized.¹⁴

5. Baptism administered in cases of extreme sickness, without the consent or consciousness of the patient, was considered valid ; and yet such persons, as a rebuke to them for delaying their duty in this respect, if they recovered, were not usually eligible to the highest offices of the church.¹⁵

6. The deaf and dumb were received to this ordinance, provided they gave credible evidence of their faith.¹⁶

7. In the sixth and seventh centuries it became customary to compel many Jews and pagans to receive baptism ; and some instances occur of compulsory baptism of a date still earlier ; but such instances of violence were not authorized by the church.¹⁷ In general, the free will and consent of the individual was required as a condition of his baptism. In the case of infants the request of their parents was regarded as their own until they arrived to years of discretion, when they were expected to acknowledge it as their own by confirmation.

8. Baptism was administered whenever a reasonable doubt existed as to its having been administered.¹⁸

9. Not only were the openly immoral excluded from baptism, but generally all who were engaged in any immoral and unlawful pursuits, such as those who ministered to idolatry by manufacturing images or other articles for purposes of superstition,¹⁹ stage-players,²⁰ gladiators, wrestlers, and all who were addicted to theatrical exhibitions ;²¹ astrologers, diviners, conjurers, fortune-tellers, dancing-masters, strolling minstrels, etc.²²

The reason for all these prohibitions lay in the immoral and idolatrous tendency of the practices to which these persons were addicted. Many of these practices were immoral and scandalous even among the heathen. Tertullian observes, " that they who professed these arts were noted with infamy, degraded and denied many privileges, driven from court, from pleading, from the senate, from the order of knighthood, and all other honors in the Roman city and commonwealth. (*De Spectac.* c. 22.) Which is also confirmed by St. Austin, who says, that no actor was ever allowed to enjoy the freedom, or any other honorable privilege of a citizen of Rome. (*De Civ. Dei.* lib. ii. c. 14.) Therefore since this was so infamous and scandalous a trade even among the heathen, it is no wonder that the

church would admit none of this calling to baptism, without obliging them first to bid adieu to so ignominious a profession. To have done otherwise, would have been to expose herself to reproach, and to have given occasion to the adversary to blaspheme; if men of such lewd and profligate practices had been admitted to the privileges of the church, who were excluded from the liberties of the city and the honors of the commonwealth. The learned Hieronymus Mercurialis, in his discourse *De Arte Gymnastica*, (lib. i. cap. 3. p. 12,) observes, that ‘the several sorts of heathen games and plays were instituted upon a religious account, in honor of the gods; and men thought they were doing a grateful thing to them, whilst they were engaged in such exercises.’”

With good reason, therefore, the church refused to admit any of this calling to baptism, unless they first bade adieu to their ignominious pursuits. To have done otherwise would have exposed her to reproach, and given occasion to the adversary to blaspheme. The ancient fathers were particularly severe in their invectives against theatrical exhibitions. They declared it incompatible with the piety and the purity of christian life, either to engage in them as an actor, or to attend them as a spectator. Tertullian in speaking of a christian woman who returned from the theatre possessed with a devil, makes the unclean spirit, on being asked how he dared presume to make such an attempt upon a believer, reply—“that he had a good right to her, because he found her upon his own ground.”²³

The profane custom of baptizing bells, etc. is a superstition that was unknown to the primitive church. It is first mentioned with censure in the Capitulars of Charlemagne in the eighth century, and became prevalent in the latter centuries.

§ 4. MINISTERS OF BAPTISM.

Great importance has ever been attached to this ordinance as the initiatory rite of admission to the church. But the duty of administering the ordinance does not appear to have been restricted to any officer of the church. John the Baptist himself baptized them that came to him. But our Lord baptized none but his disciples. John 4: 2. There is indeed a tradition that our Saviour baptized St. Peter,—that Peter baptized Andrew, James and John; and that these disciples administered the rite to others.¹ To this tradition Roman

Catholic writers attach much importance, but it rests on no good foundation.

In some instances recorded in the New Testament, baptism was administered under the sanction, and by the immediate order of the apostles. But it is remarkable that the apostles themselves are in no instance related to have administered baptism. No intimation is given that Peter assisted in baptizing the three thousand, nor is it probable that the ordinance could have been administered to them by himself alone. Acts 2: 41. He only *commanded* Cornelius and his family to be baptized. Acts 10: 48. Paul in 1 Cor. 1: 12—17, and Peter in Acts 10: 36—48, evidently describes the administration of baptism as a subordinate office, compared with that of preaching peace by Jesus Christ.

On the whole, we learn from the New Testament the following particulars:—1. Our Lord himself did not baptize, but he intrusted his apostles and disciples with the administration of this rite. 2. The apostles, though they sometimes administered baptism themselves, usually committed this office to others. 3. It cannot be determined whether other persons, either ministers or laymen, were allowed to baptize without a special commission. 4. Phillip, the deacon, baptized in Samaria men and women, Simon Magus, and the Ethiopian eunuch, although no mention is made of any peculiar commission for this purpose. This he appears to have received at his consecration to his office as related Acts 6: 3—7.

Justin Martyr, in his description of this ordinance, says nothing of the person by whom it was administered. But in speaking of the Lord's supper in the same connection, he ascribes both the administration of that ordinance and the exposition of the Scriptures to the president of the brethren; from which the supposition would seem not altogether improbable that baptism was not administered by the presiding officer of the church.

We have, however, good evidence that after the second century the bishop was regarded as the regular minister of baptism. Even Ignatius declares that it is not lawful either to baptize or to administer the Lord's supper without the bishop, *χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*, an expression which implies the necessity of the bishop's authority.² Tertullian says expressly that "the bishop has the power of administering baptism; and next in order the presbyters and deacons, though not without the sanction of the bishop, that thus the order and peace

of the church may be preserved.”* He adds, that under other circumstances the laity may exercise this right; but advises that it should be done with reverence and modesty, and only in cases of necessity. Women are utterly forbidden by him to exercise this right. The Apostolical Constitutions accords this right to bishops and presbyters, the deacons assisting them; but denies the right to readers and singers, and other inferior officers of the church.⁴ It is worthy of remark that here bishops and presbyters are placed on an equality, whilst deacons are made subordinate.

The sentiments of the Eastern church were coincident with those of the Western in relation to the ministers of baptism.

The officiating minister, as well as the candidate, was expected to prepare himself for performing this service by fasting, prayer, and, sometimes, washing of the hands; ⁵ and to be clothed in white.⁶

Lay-baptism was undoubtedly treated as valid, by the laws and usages of the ancient church. It is equally certain, however, that it was never authorized as a general rule, but only admitted as an exception, in cases of emergency.

§ 5. TIMES OF BAPTISM.

The time of administering the rite was subject to various changes from age to age, of which the most important are given below, in their chronological order.

1. In the apostolic age the administration of this ordinance was subject to no limitations either of time or place. Acts 2: 4. 8: 38. 9: 18. 10: 47. 16: 33.

2. The account of Justin Martyr gives no definite information on this point; but it would seem from this author that baptism was regarded as a public and solemn act, suitable to be performed in any assembly convened for religious worship. Tertullian, however, speaks of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide* as the most appropriate seasons for administering this rite, and appeals, not to tradition, but to arguments of his own, in confirmation of his opinion.² Other writers refer to apostolical tradition, and an ancient rule of the church.³

3. In the sixth century, the whole period between the Passover

* *Baptismum dandi habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; de hinc presbyteri et deaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate propter ecclesiasticorum honorum; quo salvo, salva pax est.*³

and Pentecost, and Easter and Whitsuntide above mentioned, were established by several councils as the regular times for baptism, cases of necessity only being excepted.⁴ The ordinance, however, was usually administered, by common consent, not by any authority of the church, during the night preceding these great festivals. Easter-eve, or the night preceding the great sabbath, was considered the most sacred of all seasons. And this period, while our Lord lay entombed in his grave, and just before his resurrection, was regarded as most appropriate for this solemn ordinance, which was supposed to be deliverance from the power of sin and consecration to newness of life.⁵ Comp. Rom. 6: 3.

The illuminations on this night, which are mentioned by several writers, had special reference to the spiritual illumination supposed to be imparted by this ordinance, which was denominated *φῶτισμα*, *φωτισμός*, *φωτιστήριον*, *illumination*, as has been already mentioned in § 1. For similar reasons baptism, which was considered peculiarly the sacrament of the Holy Ghost, was regarded as appropriate on the day of Pentecost, Whitsuntide, commemorative of the descent of the Holy Spirit.

4. To the festivals above mentioned, that of Epiphany was early added as a third baptismal season; the day on which our Lord received baptism being regarded as peculiarly suited to the celebration of this ordinance. It appears probable, however, from a sermon of Chrysostom on this festival,⁶ that this was not observed as a baptismal season by the churches of Antioch and Constantinople. Gregory Nazianzen, on the other hand, appears to have been acquainted with the custom of baptizing on this day. It was also observed in the churches of Jerusalem and of Africa. In Italy and France it was discountenanced.

The churches of France and Spain were accustomed to baptize at Christmas, and on the festivals of the apostles and martyrs.

The observance of these days was not considered by the churches as essential to the validity of baptism, or as an institution of Christ or his apostles, but as a becoming and useful regulation. "Every day is the Lord's," says Tertullian, "every hour, every season, is proper for baptism."⁷

From the tenth century the observance of stated seasons for baptism fell into disuse, though a preference still remained for the ancient seasons. Children were required to be baptized within a month from their birth, at eight days of age, or as soon as possible.

The church at different times manifested a superstitious regard for different hours of the day, choosing sometimes the hours of our Saviour's agony on the cross; at another, the hours from six to twelve; and at another, from three until six in the afternoon. These in times fell into disuse. In protestant churches, no particular hour or day is observed for the celebration of baptism. It is, for the most part, administered on the sabbath, during divine worship, and in the presence of the congregation. If upon another day of the week, it is to be attended with appropriate religious solemnities.

§ 6. PLACE OF BAPTISM.

All the requisite information in regard to the appropriate place for administering this ordinance, may be arranged under three distinct periods of history. 1. The first ages of Christianity. 2. The space of time during which baptisteries detached from the churches were provided for this purpose. 3. The period after the disuse of baptisteries, and of stated seasons for baptism.

First period. No intimation is given in the New Testament that any place was set apart for the administration of baptism. John and the disciples of Jesus baptized in Jordan, John 3: 22. Baptism was also administered in other streams of water, Acts 7: 36, 37. 16: 1—16, and in private houses, Acts 9: 18. 10: 47, 48. 16: 30—34. Where the three thousand on the day of Pentecost were baptized is uncertain.

The same freedom of choice was also allowed in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles. Justin Martyr says that the candidates were led out to some place where there was water,² and Clement of Rome speaks of a river, a fountain, or the sea, as a suitable place, according to circumstances, for the performance of this rite.³ Tertullian says that "it was immaterial where a person was baptized, whether in the sea, or in standing or running water, in fountain, lake, or river."⁴

Second period. The first baptistery, or place appropriated for baptism, of which any mention is made, occurs in the history of the fourth century, and this was prepared in a private house.⁵ Eusebius probably speaks of similar baptisteries, though under another name.⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the baptisteries in his day as divided into two parts, outer and inner.⁷ In the former part, prepa-

ration was made for baptism; in the latter, it was administered. Ambrose speaks of a similar division;⁸ and Augustine of a part appropriated to women.⁹ These baptisteries became general in the fifth and sixth centuries. They were sometimes so spacious that ecclesiastical councils were held in them. Some idea of their size may be formed, when we recollect that in some places, as Antioch, no less than three thousand persons of both sexes received baptism in a single night. The laws both of church and state required that baptism should be administered only in these places.

The common name of these edifices was *βαπτιστήριον*. It is also called *φωτιστήριον*, *aula baptismatis*, *κολυμβήθρα*, or *piscina*, *the font*, etc.

Each diocese had, usually, but one baptistery. The number, however, was sometimes increased. But a preference was uniformly given to the cathedral baptistery. This was styled the *mother church*, inasmuch as the children were there born by baptism.¹⁰

Third period. In process of time these baptisteries became greatly multiplied and were united to parish churches, or rather, were themselves constituted such. The precise period of time when this change took place cannot be determined. In general, it was after the prevalence of infant-baptism, when baptismal fonts only were necessary, when stated seasons of baptism were discontinued, and the right of administering the ordinance was conceded to the clergy indiscriminately.

§ 7. ELEMENT FOR BAPTISM.

The church with great uniformity has maintained that water is the only appropriate element for baptism. But several of the fathers very early advanced notions respecting the actual presence of the Spirit in the water, strikingly analogous to the modern doctrine of transubstantiation, and sought out many fanciful reasons, why water should be used as the emblem of the Spirit. This water acquired in their opinion, as it would seem, a spiritual virtue, derived from the real presence of the Spirit residing in the water.¹ In case of necessity, baptism with wine was allowed, but not in the earliest ages of the church. The schoolmen wearied themselves with vain discussions respecting the validity of baptism with wine, and milk, and brandy, and almost every conceivable element.

The baptismal water was exorcised, and consecrated by religious rites, and by prayer, before it was used in baptism.²

§ 8. MODE AND FORM OF BAPTISM.¹

To this head belong, 1. The manner in which the candidate for baptism received the appointed element, *water*. 2. The ceremonies observed by the officiating persons in administering the ordinance. In regard to both of these points, considerable difference of opinion and usage prevailed in the ancient church, from a very early period; nor are the Eastern and Western churches, to this day, agreed in this matter. This difference, however, has uniformly been treated as of less importance by the latter, than by the former church.

1. *Immersion or dipping*. In the primitive church, this was undeniably the common mode of baptism. The utmost that can be said of *sprinkling* in that early period is that it was, in case of necessity, permitted as an exception to a general rule. This fact is so well established that it were needless to adduce authorities in proof of it. The reader will be directed to them by reference to the index of authorities;² but there are some points in connection with this rite which require particular attention.

It is a great mistake to suppose that baptism by immersion was discontinued when infant baptism became prevalent. This was as early as the sixth century; but the practice of immersion continued until the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Indeed it has never been formally abandoned; but is still the mode of administering infant baptism in the Greek church.

Trine immersion was early practised in the church. The sacramentary of Gregory the Great directs that the person to be baptized should be immersed at the mention of each of the persons of the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.³ Tertullian says, "We receive the water of baptism not merely once, but three times, at the mention of each of the persons of the Holy Trinity;"⁴ and again, "We are plunged thrice in the water of baptism." Basil the Great,⁵ Jerome,⁶ and Ambrose,⁷ believed this custom to have been introduced by the apostles, though no authority for this supposition is found in the New Testament. Other of the fathers supposed the practice of trine immersion to refer not to the three persons in the Godhead, but to the three great events, which completed the work of our redemption,—the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ.⁸

Single immersion was at times considered valid. This decision was given by Gregory the Great, in a controversy with the Arians in Spain, who maintained that trine immersion denoted *three gradations* in the Godhead. Gregory, on the contrary, declared baptism by single immersion to be valid, and aptly significant of the *unity* of the Deity.⁹ This division was afterwards confirmed by the council of Toledo.¹⁰

In the early centuries, all persons who received baptism were completely undressed, without distinction of age or sex ;¹¹ this circumstance was thought to be emblematical of the putting off of the old man, and the putting on of the new,—the putting away of the defilements of the flesh, etc. A sense of decency at length prevailed against this unaccountable superstition, and it was by degrees discontinued.

2. *Aspersion or Sprinkling.* After the lapse of several centuries this form of baptism gradually took the place of immersion without any established rule of the church, or formal renunciation of the rite of immersion. The form was not esteemed essential to the validity of the ordinance.

The Eastern church however, in direct opposition to these views, has uniformly retained the form of immersion as indispensable to the validity of the ordinance, and repeated the rite whenever they have received to their communion persons who had been previously baptized in another manner.¹²

In defence of the usage of the Western church, the following considerations are offered.

1. The primary signification of the word cannot be of great importance, inasmuch as the rite itself is typical, and therefore derives its importance, not from the literal import of the phrase, but from the significancy and design of the ordinance.

2. Though no instance of baptism by sprinkling is mentioned in the New Testament, yet there are several cases in which it is hardly possible that it could have been administered by immersion, Acts 10: 47, 48. 16: 32, 33. 2: 41.

3. In cases of emergency, baptism by aspersion was allowed at a period of high antiquity. Cyprian especially says, that this was legitimate baptism when thus administered to *the sick*. When performed in faith on the part of the minister and the subject, he main-

tains that the whole is done with due fidelity, and agreeably to the majesty of the divine character.*

This form was also admitted when the baptismal font was too small for the administration of the rite by immersion;¹⁴ and, generally, considerations of convenience, and of health and climate are mentioned as having influence in regard to the form of administering the ordinance.†

Aspersions did not become general in the West until the thirteenth century, though it appears to have been introduced some time before that period. Thomas Aquinas says: it is safer to baptize by immersion, because this is the general practice. *Tutius est baptizare per modum immersionis, quia hoc habet communis usus.*¹⁷

Form of Words used at Baptism.

From the time of Justin Martyr and the Apostolical Constitutions the liturgical books of all religious denominations have retained one and the same form of words; though they may have disagreed in their explanation of the form, they have still retained it unaltered. Even those who deny the doctrine of the Trinity, retain the same form; so that Augustine says: it were easier to find heretics who do not baptize at all, than any who do not use this form of words in their baptism;¹⁸ namely, 'I baptize thee, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

It is remarkable that the earliest fathers, with respect to this baptismal formulary, do not appeal to tradition as in many other things relating to baptism; but to the words prescribed by Christ himself. To them Justin Martyr evidently refers, though he does not mention

* Unde apparet adspersionem quoque aquae instar salutaris lavacri obtinere, et quando haec in ecclesia fierent ubi sit et accipientis et dantis, fides integra, stare omnia; et consummari ac perfici posse magistate Domini et fidei veritate.¹³

† Notandum non solum, mergendo virum etiam desuper fundendo, multos baptizatos fuisse, et adhuc posse ita baptizari si necessitas sit. Sicut in passione S. Laurentii quendam, urceo allato, legimus baptizatum. Hoc etiam solet venire quum prorectorum granditas corporum in minoribus vasis hominem tingi non patitur.¹⁵ Quare cum in ecclesia, praesertim locis septentrionalibus propter aeris frigiditatem teneris infantibus aqua lotis facile nocituram, adspersio, vel potius adfusio aquae usitata sit; ideo haec baptismi forma retinenda nec propter vitium adiaphoriae lites cum ecclesiae scandalo movendae.¹⁶

them as a prescribed form.¹⁹ Tertullian represents it as a definite and prescribed formulary: *Lex tingendi imposita et forma præs-scripta*.²⁰; so also Cyprian.²¹ The Apostolical Constitutions and canons require the use of this form, under severe penalties.²²

Instead of *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, into the name, the phrase in Acts 2: 38, is *ἐπι τὸ ὄνομα*, and in Acts 10: 48, *ἐν τὸ ὄνομα* in the name. The same phraseology is familiar with the earliest of the fathers, as Tertullian, and Ambrose, and Cyprian.²³ It is also the rendering of the vulgate; but it is uncertain whether the original gave occasion for this latter usage, or whether it was designed to be an interpretation of the original *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*.

It was an ancient practice to omit the word *ὄνομα*; but the omission was not supposed to vary the significance of the formulary, both being used indiscriminately by Jerome and Tertullian.

Baptism in the name of *Christ alone*, was regarded as valid, but was discountenanced as an irregularity.²⁴

In the Greek church baptism is administered in the *third* person instead of the first, that is to say, the officiating minister, instead of saying "I baptize thee," uses the form "This person is baptized," etc.

§ 9. RITES CONNECTED WITH BAPTISM.

a) *Ceremonies before Baptism.*

1. *Catechetical instruction.* A solemn preparation was always required before the baptism of adults in the ancient church. This preparation consisted, in part, in a course of instruction in the leading doctrines and mysterious rights of their religion; and partly in certain prescribed exercises immediately preceding the administration of the sacred rite. The religious instructions were the same that have been already detailed in treating of catechumens, and need not be repeated in this place. They are given at length in the Apostolical Constitutions, the Catechism of Cyril of Jerusalem, the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of the Pseudo-Dionysius, and the works of Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine.

2. *Covenant or vow.* A subscription to the creed was required at baptism, accompanied with a seal. The whole transaction was regarded as a most solemn covenant on the part of the person baptized, by which he publicly, and with many impressive formalities, re-

nounced the world, the flesh, and the devil, and gave himself up to Christ, to be his forever, covenanting henceforth to live in conformity with these obligations. To this covenant they thus set their hand and seal. By the Greeks this was styled *σφραγίς*, and the like; by the Latins, *foedus, pactum, votum*, etc., a seal, a promise, a covenant, a vow. St. Ambrose calls it a promise, a caution, an hand-writing, or bond, given to God, and registered in the court of heaven, because it is made before his ministers, and the angels who are witnesses to it. Many others speak of it in terms of similar import.

3. *Exorcism.*² This was another preliminary of baptism, derived, as it would seem, from the miraculous powers exercised by the apostles in healing demoniacs, and from the words of Paul in delivering over to Satan offending members of the Church, 1 Cor. 5: 3—5, and 1 Tim. 1: 20. The notions which the Jews entertained of themselves as a peculiar people, holy and consecrated unto God, together with the similar ideas of the putting away of sin and Satan by Christians on their conversion to God, had apparently much influence in giving rise to the superstitious exorcisms of the ancient church.

The historical facts in relation to baptismal exorcisms appear to be as follows: 1. In the first century there appears no trace of any renunciation of the Devil in baptism. 2. In the second and third centuries, this practice was in use, as appears from the testimonies of Tertullian and Cyprian, as well as from later writers who appeal to tradition. 3. In the fourth century the fathers speak of exorcism, not as being absolutely necessary, nor as being enjoined in the Scriptures, but highly beneficial, inasmuch as without it children born of christian parents would not be free from the influence of evil spirits.³

Cyril of Jerusalem is the first writer who makes mention of the form of exorcism. By him it is detailed somewhat at length. The ceremonies connected with it, were, with the exception of circumstantial variations, the following:

1. Preliminary fasting, prayers and genuflections. These, however, may be regarded as general preliminaries to baptism.
2. Imposition of hands upon the head of the candidate who stood with his head bowed down in a submissive posture.⁴
3. Putting off the shoes and clothing, with the exception of an under garment.⁵

4. Facing the candidate to the west, which was the symbol of darkness, as the east was of light.⁶ In the Eastern church he was required to thrust out his hand towards the west, as if in the act of pushing away an object in that direction. This was a token of his abhorrence of Satan and his works, and his determination to resist and repel them.

5. A renunciation of Satan and his works thus, "I renounce Satan and his works, and his pomps and his services, and all things that are his."⁷ This or a similar form was thrice repeated.

6. The exorcist then breathed upon the candidate either once, or three times, and adjured the unclean spirit in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to come out of him.⁸

This form of adjuration seems not to have been in use until the fourth century; and these several formalities were apparently introduced gradually and at different times. The whole ceremony was at first confined to the renunciation of "the Devil and his works" on the part of the person about to be baptized.

4. *Signing with the sign of the cross.* To this the ancients attached great importance and ascribed to it a wonderful efficacy. It was, moreover, the sign and seal of faith, the surrendry of the candidate up to Christ, and the solemn indication that he had passed from a state of sin to a state of grace. It was given after the ceremony of exorcism, and immediately before baptism, the officiating person saying, "Receive thou the sign of the cross upon thy forehead and on thy heart."⁹

5. *Unction or anointing with oil.* There were two anointings, one before and one after baptism. The latter was called by way of distinction, *chrism*. The former immediately followed the signing of the cross. Nothing was known of this ceremony until the third or fourth century; neither are writers agreed respecting the significance of the rite. Cyril of Jerusalem says, "Men were anointed from head to foot with this consecrated oil, and this made them *partakers of the true olive tree—Jesus Christ.*" Others refer it to the ancient custom of anointing wrestlers for the combat. Others suppose that it assimilated to Christ the *anointed* of the Lord; others again, that it symbolized the anointing of the Spirit.¹⁰

6. *Use of salt, and milk, and honey.* These were generally administered to the candidate, as emblems, as it would seem, of spiritual things, with reference to the frequent mention of these things in

the Scriptures. The explanations, however, are somewhat confused and unsatisfactory. The emblems of milk and honey were used as early as the third and fourth centuries—that of salt was introduced at a later period.

(b) *Ceremonies after Baptism.*

1. *The kiss of peace.* This is mentioned as being usual on this occasion as late as the fifth century.¹¹ But there is no evidence of the custom at a later period. It was given both to infants and adults. It appears to have been superseded by the simple salutation, *Pax tecum!* Peace be with you! but at what time is unknown.

2. *Chrism.* This anointing is still in use in the East. In the Western church it has been transferred to the rites of confirmation at a later period after baptism.¹²

3. *Clothing in white apparel.* These garments were worn as emblems of purity, the putting away of former defilements, etc. Thus the young disciple was arrayed in the white robes, in which saints and angels appear in heaven. This practice was in common use in the fourth century. The dress was worn by the newly baptized from Easter-eve until the Sunday after, which was from this circumstance called *Dominica in albis*—the Sunday in white, Whitsunday, Whitsuntide. These garments were made usually of white linen, but sometimes of more costly materials, and were worn by the person who baptized, as well as by the subjects of baptism.¹³

4. *The burning of lighted tapers.* These were placed in the hands of the baptized, if adults; if they were infants, in the hands of the sponsors. These tapers were emblematical of the illuminating power of this ordinance.¹⁴

5. *The washing of the feet.* This was a favorite ceremony in some countries, at various times.¹⁵

6. *The giving of presents, the wearing of garlands and wreaths of flowers, public thanksgivings, singing of hymns, and baptismal festivals,* are all mentioned as festivities and rites connected with this ordinance.

The following extract may be interesting to the reader, as presenting a popular view of the attending rites of baptism which have been detailed above.

“The rite of baptism was originally administered in a very simple manner—the apostles and their contemporaries contenting themselves with an appropriate prayer, and the subsequent application of

the element of water. At an early period, however, a variety of ceremonies was introduced, with the pious, though mistaken view, of conveying a deeper and more solemn impression of the ordinance, and affording, by each of them, a sensible representation of the grand truths and spiritual blessings of which it is significant. The baptismal season having arrived, those catechumens who were ripe for baptism, and who were then called competentes, or elect, were brought to the baptistery, at the entrance of which they stopped, and then mounting an elevated platform, where they could be seen and heard by the whole congregation of the faithful, each, with an audible voice, renounced the devil and all his works. The manner in which he did this, was by standing with his face towards the west, and with some bodily gesture, expressive of the greatest abhorrence, declaring his resolution to abandon the service of Satan, and all the sinful works and pleasures of which he is the patron and author. This renunciation being thrice repeated, the candidate elect turned towards the east—the region of natural light, and therefore fit emblem of the Sun of Righteousness,—made three times a solemn promise and engagement to become the servant of Christ, and submit to all his laws. After this he repeated the Creed deliberately, clause by clause, in answer to appropriate questions of the minister, as the profession of his faith. It was deemed an indispensable part of the ceremony, that this confession should be made audibly, and before many witnesses; and in those rare and unfortunate instances, where the applicants for baptism possessed not the power of oral communication, this duty was performed through the kind offices of a friend, who, testifying their desire to receive the ordinance, acted as their substitute. In ancient history, an anecdote is told of an African negro slave, who, after having passed satisfactorily through the state of catechumen, and been entered on the lists for baptism, suddenly fell into a violent fever, which deprived him of the faculty of speech. Having recovered his health, but not the use of his tongue, on the approach of the baptismal season, his master bore public testimony to his principles, and the christian consistency of his conduct, in consequence of which he was baptized, along with the class of catechumens to which he belonged. The profession of faith being ended, and a prayer being offered, that as much of the element as should be employed might be sanctified, and that all who were about to be baptized might receive, along with the outward sign, the

inward invisible grace, the minister breathed on them, symbolically conveying to them the influences of the Holy Spirit,—an act which, in later times, was followed by anointing them with oil, to indicate that they were ready, like the wrestlers in the ancient games, to fight the fight of faith. The preliminary ceremonies were brought to a close by his tracing on the foreheads of all the sign of the cross—an observance which, as was formerly remarked, was frequently used on the most common as well as sacred occasions by the primitive Christians,—and to which they attached a purely christian meaning, that of living by faith on the Son of God. All things being prepared, and the person about to be baptized having stripped off his garments, the minister took each by the hand, and plunged him thrice under the water, pronouncing each time the name of the three persons in the Godhead. The newly baptized having come out of the water, was immediately dressed by some attendants in a pure white garment, which signified, that having put off his old corrupt nature, and his former bad principles and practices, he had become a new man. A very remarkable example of this ceremony occurs in the history of the celebrated Chrysostom. The conspirators who had combined to ruin that great and good man in Constantinople, resolved on striking the first blow on the eve of an annual festival, at the hour when they knew he would be alone in his vestry, preparing for his duty to the candidates for baptism. By mistake, they did not arrive till he had begun the service in the church. Heated with wine, and goaded on by their malignant passions, they burst into the midst of the assembly, most of whom were young persons, in the act of making the usual profession of their faith, and some of whom had already entered the waters of the baptistery. The whole congregation were struck with consternation. The catechumens fled away naked and wounded to the neighbouring woods, fields, or any places that promised them shelter from the massacre that was perpetrating in the city. And next morning, as soon as it had dawned, an immense meadow was seen covered all over with white,—on examining which, it was found to be filled with catechumens who had been baptized the night before, and who were then, according to custom, dressed in their white garments, amounting in number to three thousand. Those white garments, after being worn a week, were thrown aside, and deposited in the antechamber of the church, where, with the name of the owner inscribed on each, they

were carefully preserved as memorials of baptism, ready to be produced against them in the event of their violating its vows. A memorable instance of this use of them occurs in the history of the primitive age. A Carthaginian, who had long been connected with the christian church of his native city, at length apostatized, and joining the ranks of its enemies, became one of the most violent persecutors of all who named the name of Christ. Through the influence of friends, he was elevated to a high civil station, the powers of which he prostituted to the cruel and bloody purpose of persecuting his former friends. Among those who were dragged to his tribunal, was a deacon, once an intimate friend of his own, and who had been present at his baptism. On being put to the rack, he produced the white garments of the apostate, and in words that went to the heart of all the by-standers, solemnly declared that these would testify against his unrighteousness at the last day.

Immediately after the baptism, the new-made members, in their snow-white dress, took their place among the body of the faithful, each of whom that was near, welcomed them as brethren with the kiss of peace; and, as being admitted into the family of God, whose adopted children alone are entitled to address Him as "Our Father," they were permitted, for the first time, publicly to use the Lord's Prayer and to partake of the communion."—Jamieson, p. 142.

§ 10. OF SPONSORS—WITNESSES AND SURETIES.

Certain persons were required to be present at the baptism both of children and adults, as witnesses to the transaction, and as sureties for the fulfilment of the promises and engagements then made by those who received baptism.

1. *Their names or appellations.* These persons were first known by the name of *sponsors*. Tertullian uses this term; but he uses it only with reference to infant baptism, and supposes it to refer both to the reply, *responsum*, which they gave in behalf of the subject who was unable to speak for himself; and to a promise and obligation, on their part, which they assumed in behalf of the baptized for his fulfilment of the duties implied in this ordinance.¹ Augustine seems to limit the duty of sponsors to the response or answer.² They were called *fidejussores*, *fidedictores*, sureties; names found in Augustine and borrowed from Roman law.³ *Ἀνάδοχοι*, corresponding to the

Latin *offerentes* and *susceptores*, so called with reference to the assistance rendered to the candidates at their baptism. This service is described by Dionysius the Areopagite.⁴ Chrysostom uses the word in the sense of *sureties*,⁵ which is authorized by classical authority.⁶

Μάρτυρες, *testes*, witnesses, a term unknown to the ancients, but familiar in later times.

Πατέρες, *μητέρες*, or *παιτέρες*, *μητέρες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου φωτισματος*, *compadres*, *commatres*, *propadres*, *promatres*, *patrini*, *matrini*, godfathers, and godmothers; *patres spirituales*, or *lustrici*, spiritual fathers, etc.

2. *Origin of this office.* It has no foundation either in example or precept drawn from the Scriptures. No mention is made of the presence of any as *witnesses* in performing the rite of circumcision, nor in administering household baptism. Neither do the sacred writers ever draw a parallel between circumcision and baptism.

It was probably derived from the customs of Roman law, by which a covenant or contract was witnessed and ratified with great care. Many of the early Christians previous to their conversion had been conversant with Roman jurisprudence; and it may, very naturally, be supposed that, in ratifying the solemn covenant of baptism, they would require witnesses; and adopt, as far as practicable, the same formalities with which they had been conversant in civil transactions.

The common tradition is that sponsors were first appointed by Hyginus or Iginus, a Roman bishop, about the year 154. The office was in full operation in the fourth and fifth centuries. A time of oppression and persecution is likely to have given rise to an institution the design of which was to give additional security and attestation to the profession of the christian religion. Men who made their baptismal vows in the presence of witnesses would not be so likely to deny their relations to the church as they would if no proof of their profession could be adduced. On the other hand, such sponsors might be equally useful in preventing the introduction of unworthy members into the church, when the profession of religion began to be desired as the means of preferment and emolument.

Another probable supposition is, that the office in question took its rise from the necessity of having some one to respond in the behalf of infants, the sick, the deaf, and all who were incapable of replying to the interrogatories which were made at baptism. Slaves were

not received to baptism without the the consent of their masters, who in such cases became their sponsors or godfathers.

Two or three of these witnesses were probably required, and their names, as we learn from Dionysius, were entered in the baptismal register with that of the baptized person.⁷

3. *Duties of the Sponsors.* Their duties were, to serve as witnesses of the transaction, and to act as sureties for the baptized persons by exercising a religious supervision over them. The precise nature and extent of this supervision is involved in much uncertainty, and appears to have varied at different times. Augustine requires the godfathers and godmothers to hold in remembrance their spiritual children, and affectionately to watch over them; to preserve their morals uncorrupted; to guard them from licentiousness; to restrain them from profane and wanton speech, from pride, envy and hatred, and from indulging in any magical arts; to preserve them from adopting heretical opinions; to secure their habitual attendance upon religious worship, and a profitable hearing of the word; to accustom them to acts of hospitality, to live peaceably with all men, and to render due honor to their parents, and to the priesthood.⁸

The sponsors did not become chargeable with the maintenance and education of such persons, by assuming this guardianship of their christian character.

4. *Persons who are allowed to act as sponsors.* On this head a diversity of opinion prevails; but it will be sufficient for the present purpose to mention the principal rules and customs which prevailed in the church in relation to this subject.

1. The sponsor must himself be a baptised person in regular communion with the church. 2. He must be of adult age, and of sound mind. 3. He must be acquainted with the fundamental truths of Christianity. He must know the creed, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the leading doctrines of faith and practice, and must duly qualify himself for his duties.¹¹ 4. Monks and nuns were, in the early periods of the church, thought to be peculiarly qualified, by their sanctity of character, for this office;¹² but they were excluded from it in the sixth century.¹³ 5. Parents were disqualified for the office of sponsor to their own children in the ninth century;¹⁴ but this order has never been generally enforced.

The number of sponsors was at first one. This number was afterwards increased to two, three and four; and then again, dimin-

ished to one, or two at the most. They were usually required to be of the same sex as those whose guardianship they assumed. If there were three sponsors, two were of the same sex as their spiritual ward, and one of the other. And this is the prevailing custom at the present day.

§11. OF NAMES GIVEN AT BAPTISM.¹

The naming of a child has been esteemed a transaction of peculiar interest by all people, and under every form of religion. The onomatology of different nations opens an important field of investigation to the philologist, the historian, and the theological inquirer, for the illustration of national peculiarities. Jews, Mohammedans and Christians, all indicate the common origin of their religion by the similarity of their names, drawn from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Daniel, Job, Tobias, Sarah, Miriam, Rebecca, Hannah, Susanna, etc.

The Jews derive many names from those who have been distinguished among the Levites and Pharisees, as Levi, Aaron, Phineas, Ezra, Nehemiah, etc.

Christian nations, on the contrary, derive their names from the christian virtues, Grace, Faith, Temperance, etc.; also from the martyrs and apostles—Stephen, Peter, Paul, Polycarp, Matthew, Ursula, Clara, etc. Again, they compound names expressive of reverence and affection for God and for Christ, as Gottlieb, Gottlob, Theophilus, Christlieb, etc., *Beloved of God*, *God-loving*, etc.

The modern practice of giving the names at baptism probably originated with infant baptism. It may have been derived from the rites of circumcision. No mention, however, is made of this practice either in the New Testament or in the early ecclesiastical writers. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Constantine, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, etc. retained the same names after baptism which they had previously borne. But there are not wanting instances of a change of name at baptism, about the same period of time. Stephanus the bishop in baptizing two young people, Adria and Paulina, changed their names, giving the former the name of Neo, and the latter that of Maria.² Nemesius, after baptism by the same person, retained his original name, whilst his daughter was

called by a new name, Lucilla. Eudokia, wife of Theodosius the emperor, received that name at her baptism.³ Balsamus, on being asked his name, said, "*My surname is Balsamus, but my spiritual name, which I received at baptism, is Peter.*"

Whilst the system of catechetical instruction preliminary to baptism continued, the name seemed to have been designated some time before the administration of that rite; as appears from the custom, often mentioned by writers of that period, of entering the names of candidates in the baptismal register.⁴

The name was assumed by the individual himself, if of adult age. Either the parents, or sponsors conferred the names upon a child at his baptism. The right belonged, appropriately, to the parents. The minister by whom the rite was administered had, also, the right of refusing the names proposed, if it appeared to him to be objectionable.

CHAPTER XV.

OF CONFIRMATION.¹

§ 1. WHETHER DERIVED FROM APOSTOLIC USAGE.

The controversy between the Catholics and Protestants relating to the rites of confirmation, has turned on the inquiry, whether they are authorizd by the example of the apostles. On this subject it is worthy of remark, that the apostles generally conferred imposition of hands only upon *baptized* persons, as in the case of the converted Samaritans, Acts 8: 12—17, and the disciples of Ephesus, Acts 19: 5, 6. These instances, however, have reference to the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, Acts 8: 18, 19. Nothing is said of the laying on of hands in the baptism of the three thousand, or of Lydia, and the jailor, with their households. The doctrine of the laying on of hands is mentioned in Hebrews 6: 2, immediately after that of baptism; but there is no intimation that the two transactions were connected. This imposition of hands, on the contrary, is supposed to relate to that practised in healing the sick, or in ordination.

Neither can the unction, *χρίσμα*, of which we read, 1 John 2: 27. 2 Cor. 1: 21, be referred to the rite of confirmation. It might have related, either to a spiritual anointing, or to the royal and priestly dignity of Christians, 1 Pet. 2: 9, or to the communication of miraculous gifts.

The sealing of Christians mentioned in Eph. 1: 13. 4: 30. 2 Cor. 1: 22, denotes, not their confirmation, but their conscious assurance of divine favor.

No authentic reference to confirmation is recorded in the earliest ecclesiastical writers. The authority of Dionysius is unworthy of confidence, and the imparting of the *seal of the Lord*, as quoted by Eusebius,² evidently relates to baptism.

§ 2. CONFIRMATION IN CONNECTION WITH BAPTISM.

Tertullian informs us, that the ceremonies of unction, and the imposition of hands, followed in immediate succession after baptism, together with the sacrament of the Lord's supper.³ The imposition of hands in immediate connection with baptism, is also implied in several passages in Cyprian;⁴ in one of which he speaks of it as a *sacrament*, *sacramentum*, but he evidently uses the term with reference to the *rite*, or ceremony.

To cite passages from later writers in proof of the connection between baptism and confirmation would be quite superfluous.⁵ The baptism of adults being regarded as a solemn compact or covenant, confirmation might very naturally be expected to follow as *the seal* by which the covenant was ratified. For this reason, perhaps, it was administered, not by the baptizing priest or deacon, but *by the bishop*.

At the stated baptismal seasons the bishop was chiefly occupied with the rites of confirmation; but he sometimes administered also the rites of baptism and unction. When this ordinance was administered in the absence of the bishop, confirmation was solemnized at some convenient season afterward, either by the bishop, or by his representative. Accordingly confirmation was, at times, delayed for several years after baptism, especially in large dioceses; which were seldom visited, either on account of their great extent, or of the indolence and negligence of the bishop.

Even after the general introduction of infant baptism, confirma-

tion immediately succeeded baptism. In the Oriental churches, baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's supper, are administered in immediate succession; which is strong evidence that such was the ancient custom.⁶

The permanent separation of the rites of confirmation from those of baptism cannot probably be assigned to an earlier date than the thirteenth century.

§ 3. MINISTERS OF CONFIRMATION, ETC.

Agreeably to the example of the ancient church, and of general usage, the bishop is the appropriate minister of confirmation. In defence of this custom, Chrysostom and Augustine refer to the case of the Samaritan converts, who were *baptized* by Phillip, but received the imposition of hands from an apostle,⁷ Acts 8: 12—17. Several canons deny to the other orders of the clergy, the right of consecrating;⁸ but presbyters were, in certain cases, authorized to administer the rite; such as the absence of the bishop, or, in his presence by express permission,—on the conversion of a heretic, if he was nigh unto death and the bishop were absent. Deacons exercised the same prerogatives until absolutely forbidden by the council of Toledo, A. D. 400.

In the Latin church, after the separation of baptism from confirmation, a series of preliminary religious exercises was requisite for this rite, similar to those which had been previously required for baptism.

Names given in baptism were sometimes changed at confirmation. This, however, was merely an occasional practice of the later centuries.

Sponsors, or god-fathers, or god-mothers, were also required as in baptism formerly. These might be the same as the baptismal sponsors, or others might be substituted in their place.

A separate edifice for solemnizing this rite was in some instances provided, called *consignatorium*, *albatorum*, and *chrismarium*. After the disuse of baptisteries, both baptism and confirmation were administered in the church, and usually at the altar.

§ 4. ADMINISTRATION OF THE RITE OF CONFIRMATION.

Four principal ceremonies were employed in the rites of confirmation, namely ; imposition of hands, unction, with the chrism, sign of the cross, and prayer.

1. *Imposition of hands.* This rite is derived from the New Testament : it was used in various religious solemnities, and is still retained in the christian church. For an account of the different opinions which were entertained respecting this rite ; and of the mode of administering it, see references in the index.⁹

2. *Unction.* This, as has been already remarked, was denominated chrism, in distinction from the unction which was administered before baptism. Origen and Tertullian speak expressly of this rite. In the Apostolical Constitutions it is styled the confirmation of our confession, and the seal of the covenants. A prayer is also given, which was offered on the occasion.¹⁰ Cyril of Jerusalem gives full instructions respecting the administration of chrism.¹¹ From his time it came into general use in the church.

The material used for this chrism was usually olive-oil. Sometimes perfumed ointment, compounded of various ingredients, was used. The chrism was consecrated by prayer, exorcism, and insufflation. It was applied, in the Eastern church, to various parts of the body, to the forehead, ears, nose, eyes, breast, etc. In the Western church it appears to have been applied only to the forehead.

3. *Sign of the cross.* This was affixed by applying the chrism in such a manner as to represent a cross. This was thought to be a very important and expressive emblem, the sealing rite, which gave to confirmation the name of *σφραγίς, a seal.*¹²

4. *Prayer and mode of confirmation.* In the Greek church one uniform mode of confirmation has been observed from the beginning, as follows : “ The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost. Amen.” Besides this implied prayer, one more at length is supposed to have been offered. In the Latin church, the form has varied at different times. The most ancient form ran thus : “ The seal of Christ to eternal life.” The modern form, in the Roman Catholic church, is as follows. “ Signo te signo crucis, et confirmo te chrismate salutis in nomine Pa † tris et Fi † li, et Spiritus † Sancti. Amen.”

Other formalities were : the salutation, "Peace be with you;" a slight blow upon the cheek, to admonish the candidate of the duty of patience under injuries ; unbinding of the band upon the forehead ; prayer and singing ; the benediction of the bishop, together with a short exhortation from him.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

§ 1. NAMES OR APPELLATIONS OF THIS SACRAMENT.

Men of all religious denominations have, generally, concurred in regarding the sacrament of the Lord's supper as the most solemn rite of christian worship, the grand characteristic of the religion of Christ. For a full understanding of the doctrines and usages connected with this institution, a knowledge of the various names by which it has been distinguished is indispensable. A full knowledge of these, with all their relations to the times and places in which they were used, would almost furnish a history of the sacrament itself. These names are exceedingly numerous ; and, although retaining a general similarity of meaning, yet each has been chosen out of regard to some peculiar views relating to the doctrine of the sacrament, or from a preference for some peculiar mode of administration.

1. The term, *the Lord's supper*, δείπνον κυριακόν, *sacra coena*, *coena Domini*, has an historical reference to the institution of the rite by our Lord, on the night in which he was betrayed, Matt. 26: 20, 31. 1 Cor. 11: 23. Some have erroneously maintained that the passage in 1 Cor. 11: 23 relates, not strictly to the participation of the sacramental elements, but to the feast which accompanied the distribution of these elements. But it has been abundantly shown that the early christian writers understood and used the term according to the explanation given above.¹

2. *The table of the Lord*, τράπεζα κυρίου, *mensa Dei*, denotes much the same as the Lord's supper, a festival instituted by the Lord. Tertullian styles it *convivium Dominicum*.² The context of

1 Cor. 10: 21 forbids the supposition that a common table was used for this purpose. The apostle uses the term *τράπεζα κυρίου* as synonymous with *θυσιαστήριον*, an altar. We are constrained, therefore, to believe that a table was set apart for this sacred purpose, like that of the shew-bread, a *mensa mystica*, a table sacred to the purpose of celebrating the Lord's supper.

3. The following scriptural expressions are also employed in a sense partly literal and partly figurative, to denote the sacrament: *bread*,—*the breaking of bread*, Acts 2: 42. 20: 7 comp. 27: 35. Luke 24: 35—*the eating of bread*, John 6: 23—*the Lord's body*, or *his flesh*, John 6: 53—*the cup of the Lord*, 1 Cor. 10: 21—*the cup of the New Testament*, Luke 22: 20. 1 Cor. 10: 21 — *blood*. The custom of *breaking* the bread, and of administering but one element, has been derived from the foregoing passages.

4. *The new testament in my blood*, Luke 22: 20. 1 Cor. 11: 25. It has, however, been disputed whether this phrase can, with propriety, be applied to the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

5. *Communion*, *κοινωνία*, *communio*. This is by far the most common appellation of the solemnity in question. It has been current in all ages, and among all parties. It has been used, both in a doctrinal and mystical sense; and in an historical and ecclesiastical signification.

In a doctrinal sense, it has been supposed to represent our reconciliation to God, and our union with him. Others have supposed it to represent our union and fellowship with Christ. This participation with him, according to some, is through his presence in the elements. Others understand by it the union of believers *in spirit*, with their spiritual head; and others, again, the union of believers among themselves in the bonds of christian love.

In an historical and ecclesiastical sense, communion denotes a participation in all the mysteries of the christian religion, and, of course, church-fellowship, with all its rites and privileges. Hence the term *excommunication*.

In a liturgical sense it denotes, sometimes the partaking of the sacrament, and sometimes the administration of it.

6. *Agaræ*, *ἀγάπαι*, or *ἀγάπη*, *love-feast*, *feast of heaven*. The expression in Jude 12. 2 Pet. 2: 13, may refer either to the Lord's supper, or to the festival accompanying it.

7. *Eucharist*, *εὐχαριστία*, a very ancient and general appellation,

founded on the scriptural expression *εὐχαριστήσας*, Matt. 26: 27. Mark 14: 23. Luke 22: 19. 1 Cor. 11: 24. The name *eucharist*, thanks-giving, was applied to this ordinance, because gratitude for the divine mercy and grace is the chief requisite in those who partake of it.⁴

8. *Εὐλογία*, *celebratio laudis*, *benedictio*, thanksgiving, synonymous with the preceding, Matt. 26: 26. Mark 14: 22. 1 Cor. 10: 16. After the fifth century, this became the name for the consecrated bread which was set apart for the poor, and for the ministers of the church.

9. *Προσφορά*, *oblatio*, *oblation*. The literal signification of this word is, a sacrificial offering, corresponding to the Hebrew *מִנְחָה*, and the Syriac *corban*. It finally became synonymous with *זֶבֶח*, *θυσία*, *a sacrifice*. It is applied to the elements used in celebrating the Lord's supper. The later Greek writers used the word *ἀναφορά*, in a moral, rather than a literal sense, in allusion to the customary exhortation, *sursum corda!* "Lift up your hearts." The leading idea of the Latin, *offertorium*, is a voluntary offering; but it appears to have been applied especially to the consecrated bread.⁵

10. *Θυσία*, *sacrifice*. This term is, with great propriety, used by early christian writers to denote the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, once offered for the sins of the world.⁶ Other epithets of a similar import are *sacrificium spirituale*, *sanctum*, *mysticum*, *rationalis*, etc, but more frequently, *θυσία ἀναιμάτου*, the *bloodless sacrifice*. After the seventh century, it began to be used to designate the *mass*, which was offered in the Roman Catholic church for the dead, and accordingly fell into disuse with the evangelical church.

11. *Μυστήριον*, *mysterium*, *mystery*. This, coupled with the adjectives, *φρικιόν φρικῶδες*, *φρικωδέστατον*, etc., *awful*, *tremendous*, is familiar phraseology with Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen; but they seem to use it with reference to the ritual, rather than to any implied doctrine. The Lord's supper, as the last and most solemn rite of the secret discipline, was styled by Pseudo-Dionysius, *τελετὴν τελετῶν*,⁷ *perfection of perfections*. The name *μυστήριον*, which this ordinance received from its connection with the secret discipline, became the favorite phrase for setting forth the wonderful presence of the body and blood of Christ, which finally ended in the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁸

12. *Μυσταγωγία*, used by Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodoret, with

special reference to the secret discipline. After the termination of that system, it appears not to have been used by evangelical writers.

13. *Σύναξις*, i. e. *συναγωγή*, *congregatio*, *coetus*, *conventus sacer*, a solemn assembly. This phrase is of similar import with that of communion, with the additional idea of a solemn and public transaction. It indicates that this, in the primitive church, was the most important and solemn act of public worship.

14. *Ἱεροουργία*, *operatio sacra*, sacred ministrations. Supposed to have been derived from the expression, *ministering the gospel of God*, Rom. 15: 16; and used in the same general and figurative sense.

15. *Λειτουργία*, *public service*, *liturgy*. This, and its kindred terms, as used in the New Testament, relates to the service of the priesthood; and was, probably, used in the same sense by Chrysostom and Theodoret, etc. It became, however, the practice, both in the Eastern and Western churches, to apply this epithet to the sacrament of the Lord's supper. But in the Roman Catholic church, it finally gave place to the name *mass*.

16. *Mass*. This word has undergone a change from its simple origin and meaning, to another, more entirely different in use and signification than any other. Passing by various theories respecting the origin of this word which have been advanced and refuted, it will be sufficient briefly to set forth its true etymology.

The word is undoubtedly derived from the Latin *missa*, which stands for *missio*, or *dimissio populi*, with direct reference to the ancient mode of dismissing the people at the close of religious worship. From being a participle, it has become a noun substantive, for *missio* like *remissa, ae*, for *remissio*, or *offensa, ae*, for *offensio*.

By the secret discipline of the ancient church, none but believers were permitted to be present at the celebration of the Lord's supper. During a certain portion of religious worship all were allowed, indiscriminately, to attend. At the close of this part of the service, the catechumens and unbelievers of every description, were dismissed by the deacon who said, *Ite! missa est sc. ecclesia*, Depart! the assembly is dismissed. From this custom the religious service, which had just been concluded, was called *missa catechumenorum*, the service of the catechumens. Then followed the *missa fidelium*, the service of the faithful, or of believers. Hence the change from *missa* to *mass*, the latter being only a slight modification of the former word.

Protestants have uniformly rejected this term with abhorrence, because of the abuses which, under this name, have been connected with the sacrament, both in ancient and modern times, whilst they have protested against the charge of a want of regard for the real *missa* or *mass* of the primitive church.

The above is a brief summary of the author's remarks on the subject of mass. The reader is referred to various authorities in the index.⁹

17. *Sacramentum altaris*, sacrament of the altar. This phrase is used in common by the Greek, Roman, and Lutheran churches. But the reformed church reject the phrase, because of their aversion to the word *altar*.

But, without the addition of the word *altar*, that of *sacrament* alone has, very generally, been used to denote the ordinance in question, this being the principal rite of religious worship; and, by way of emphasis, denominated *thé sacrament*.

18. Besides the foregoing appellations in common use, and having a peculiar signification, there are many others of less frequent occurrence, and more general character, the knowledge of which may be of importance as conveying ideas respecting the nature, signifi-
cancy, dignity, and efficacy of the ordinance which they describe.

The most of these are derived from relations of the bread and the wine; the body and blood of Christ. In this point of view the holy sacrament is represented as *spiritual nourishment, the life and strength of the soul*, etc. The terms *body* and *blood, food* and *drink, bread* and *wine*, were at first used in the same sense. Afterwards, in consequence of the prevailing custom of administering only one element, these terms were separated, and the ordinance was denoted by the appellations of *body, food, bread, or blood, drink, wine*, etc. The following are some of the expressions in question.

1. *Corpus Christi*, body of Christ.
2. *Cibus Dei, s. Domini*, food of God or the Lord.
3. *Cibus coelestis*, heavenly food.
4. *Cibus angelorum*, angels' food.
5. *Cibus viatorum, mortalium, aegrotorum*, food of travellers, mortals, the sick, etc.

6. *Manna coelestis*, heavenly manna.

7. *Panis supersubstantialis*, equivalent to living bread or bread indeed. The expression "our daily bread," in our Lord's prayer, was applied to the consecrated bread. Hence the expression above.

8. *Panis Dei, s. Domini*, bread of God.

9. *Panis vitæ*, bread of life.

10. *Panis coelestis*, heavenly bread.

11. *Εφόδιον, viaticum*, provisions for a journey. It was an ancient custom to administer the sacrament to the sick in the last stages of life, and also to put the sacred elements in the coffin of the deceased. Hence the appellation above. Death was, to the ancient Christian, a journey from this to the eternal world, and the sacrament furnished the needful provisions for that journey. But the custom of administering the sacrament to the dying, was finally abandoned.

12. *Μετέληψις, participation, communion*, i. e. with saints or with Christ, etc.

13. *Ἀπόβαζον, ἀπόβαζον τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς, pledge, pledge of eternal life*, 2 Cor. 1: 22. 5: 6, and Eph. 1: 14.

14. *Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, medicamentum, medicina corporis et mentis, purgatorium, amuletum*, and other phrases, expressive of medicinal properties for the soul.

15. *Sacramentum pacis*, the reconciling ordinance, a favorite expression of Chrysostom.

16. The terms applied to baptism were often transferred to the Lord's supper, such as *ἱεραουργία, μυστήριον*, already mentioned; *το φως, ἡ ζωὴ, ἡ σωτηρία, ἡ ἐλπίς, ὁ καθαρισμὸς, ἡ ὑποθέσις τῆς πατρῴσιας, light, life, salvation, hope, purification, access to the Father by Christ, with assurance of adoption.**

* The following sentence in *Costeri Institut. Chr.* lib. i. c. 6, consists of extracts from various writers, chiefly from Bernhard of Clairvaux:—Eucharistia est medicina aegrotis, perigrinantibus via; debiles confortat, valentes delectat, languorem sanat, sanitatem servat; fit homo mansuetior ad correctionem, potentior ad laborem, ardentior ad amorem, sagacior ad cautelam, ad obedientiam promptior, ad gratiarum cautiones devotior; hic dimittuntur peccata quotidiana, expelluntur potestates Satanae, dantur vires ad ipsum etiam martyrium subeundum; minuitur in minimis peccatis sensus, in gravioribus tollitur omnino consensus, denique afferuntur omnia bona; quia homo communicans in id transit, quod sumit.—The following expressions are from the language of the Council of Trent (*Conc. Trident.* Sess. xiii. p. 77—86, ed. Lugd. 1677—8):—Eucharistia est symbolum unitatis et caritatis, qua Christus omnes Christianos inter se conjunctos et copulatos esse voluit.—Symbolum rei sacrae, et invisibilis gratiae forma visibilis.—Spiritualis animarum cibus.—Panis angelorum.—Animae vita, perpetua sanitas mentis.—Antidotum liberans a culpis et peccatis.—Pignus futurae gloriae.

The holy sacrament, from the eleventh century, became the ordeal for proving the guilt or innocence of persons suspected, or accused of crimes; and, throughout the nations of Europe, was also employed as the means of ratifying an oath, asseveration, or execration. The names of the holy sacrament are familiar in the dialect of the profane in every language. Even a celebrated christian queen, in her paroxisms of rage, was accustomed to swear by the blood of God!

§ 2. SCRIPTURAL ACCOUNT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.¹

The evangelists who record the institution of the Lord's supper give it no peculiar name or title. St. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians styles it *the Lord's supper*, *the table of the Lord*, and *the communion*, 11: 20. 10: 21. 10: 16. No other distinctive appellation appears to have been given to it in the Scriptures.

Our Saviour instituted this ordinance in connection with the passover, and authorized his disciples to celebrate it in this connection. But it was evidently observed as a separate and independent ordinance in the times of the apostles and with their sanction. The apostle Paul in 1 Cor. xi. makes no mention of the passover, but speaks of the communion as a customary rite: "*As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show the Lord's death until he come.*"

This sacrament, however, was probably celebrated annually in connection with the passover by the converts from the Jews, who, as Epiphanius has shown,² continued for many years to observe this Jewish festival; and, even in the christian church generally, it was celebrated with peculiar solemnity, at the festival of Easter, which corresponded to this passover.

From the circumstance that it was instituted in connection with the passover, appears to have been derived the custom of celebrating it, not as a separate and independent religious ordinance, but as one of the common rites of public worship, and as the conclusion of the service.

It may appear, at first thought, singular that John, the beloved disciple, the bosom friend of our Lord, who with Peter made ready the passover, entirely omits to mention the Lord's supper. It should, however, be recollected that John's gospel was evidently in-

tended to be supplementary to the others, and that his own narrative clearly shows that it was intentionally omitted.

The account given by St. Paul is of special importance to us ; for it not only harmonizes with the narrations of the apostles and confirms them, but it shows that the Lord's supper is an established ordinance in the church, and designed for perpetual observance. He severely rebukes the disorders and abuses which the Corinthians had introduced, relates the original institution in conformity with the narrative given by Luke, and assures them that he shall set the whole in order when he comes.

The question has been raised whether Christ himself partook of the sacrament ? To this the narrative offers no satisfactory reply. The opinions of the Church have been greatly divided on this point. Chrysostom³ and Augustine⁴ maintain the affirmative. This opinion is rendered highly probable from the circumstance that he carefully observed all the Mosaic ordinances, and received baptism at the hands of John, because thus it became him to fulfil all righteousness. In conformity with the same spirit it is hardly credible that he would have omitted a rite so significant as the one under consideration. The advocates of the doctrine of transubstantiation strenuously maintain the contrary opinion.

Another inquiry, which has divided the opinions of ecclesiastical writers, has been raised respecting the presence of Judas the traitor. Did he partake of the sacrament ? The Apostolical Constitutions affirm that he was not present at the celebration of the Lord's supper. The advocates of this opinion rely chiefly on John 13: 30—He then having received the sop, went immediately out. They of the contrary opinion appeal to Luke 22: 11—And when the hour was come he sat down and the *twelve apostles* with him. In delivering the cup our Lord said also, Drink ye *all* of it. The prevailing sentiment in the church has been that the traitor did partake of the sacred elements in company with the other disciples.⁵

The bread used on this occasion was doubtless the *unleavened* bread which was provided for the passover. No stress, however, is laid on the nature or kind of bread ; but on the *breaking* of the bread *in token of the body of Christ broken for us*.

The wine was, with equal probability, the common wine of the country, of a dark red color, and was received without mixture with water. The significancy of the distribution of the cup, however,

consisted not in the *quality* or *color* of the wine, but in its being *poured out* in token of the *blood of Christ shed for the remission of sins*.

The eucharist appears to have been celebrated at first in the evening, with reference, no doubt, to the time of its original institution. But no directions are given on this head. See 1 Cor. 10: 23. Acts 20: 7.

§ 3. TESTIMONY OF PAGAN WRITERS.

Notwithstanding all the care of the primitive Christians to conceal this sacred ordinance from their enemies, it was known, and the celebration of it was prohibited¹ by Roman magistrates, as appears from Pliny's Letter. Lucian of Samosata speaks of our Lord as the great magician *who instituted new mysteries*. Celsus, with reference to this sacred festival, as appears from Origen, also severely censures the Christians against whom he wrote,² for holding certain secret assemblies, and celebrating unauthorized rites. The frequent charges alleged against them of sensuality, and incest, of offering human sacrifices, and of celebrating horrible orgies in secret, evidently relate to the same ordinance. See references³ for a fuller view of this subject.

§ 4. TESTIMONY OF THE APOSTOLICAL FATHERS.

Neither Barnabas, nor Polycarp, nor Clement of Rome make any mention of the Lord's supper. This omission is the more remarkable in the latter, inasmuch as he wrote a long epistle to the Corinthians, whom the apostle so severely censures for their abuse of this ordinance. Ignatius is the only one of the apostolical fathers whose writings have any reference to the subject before us, and these passages from his epistles, even if their genuineness be admitted, are of little importance. In his epistle to the Ephesians, c. 4, he speaks of the breaking of one bread, the medicine of immortality. In his epistle to the Philadelphians, c. 5, with evident allusion to Eph. 4: 2—7, he speaks of one faith, one preaching, one *eucharist*—one *loaf*, or *bread* broken for all. There is another passage in his epistle to the Smyrniotes, c. 8, which is of a more doubtful authority than either of the foregoing.

It is even more remarkable that most of the early apologists for Christianity, such as Minucius Felix, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, and Arnobius do not make any mention of the sacrament, the most sacred ordinance of the christian religion. Justin Martyr, happily for us, has given two descriptions of this ordinance in nearly the same words, Apol. I. c. 61—67, the one probably relating to the celebration immediately after baptism—the other, to the ordinary administration of the sacrament, on the Lord's day, in connection with the agapae. "On Sunday we all assemble in one place," he says again, "both those who live in the city and they who dwell in the country, and the writings of apostles and prophets are read so long as the time permits. When the reader stops, the president of the assembly makes an address in which he recapitulates the glorious things that have been read, and exhorts the people to follow them. Then we all stand up together and pray. After prayer, bread, wine and water are brought in. The president of the meeting again prays according to his ability, and gives thanks, to which the people respond, Amen. After this, the bread, wine and water are distributed to those present, and the deacons carry portions to such as are necessarily detained from the meeting. Those who are able and willing, contribute what they please in money, which is given to the president of the meeting, and is appropriated to the support of widows and orphans, the sick, the poor, and whomsoever is necessitous."

It appears from an examination of both passages, that the consecration of the elements was made in the name of the three persons of the Godhead. He speaks of a "thanksgiving to the Father of the universe, through or in the name of his Son, and the Holy Ghost."

The dialogue with Trypho the Jew, usually ascribed to Justin, speaks of the "offering of the bread of thanksgiving, and of the cup of thanksgiving;" and of the "eucharistic meal of bread and wine;" of the "dry and liquid food with which Christians commemorate the sufferings once endured by the Son of God;" but gives no additional information respecting the celebration of the ordinance.

Irenaeus, in his controversial writings, brought into use the words *προσφορά*, and *θυσία*, which Justin Martyr had introduced; his writings, however, are chiefly of a controversial character, and accordingly have little reference to the ritual of the church; he contends

that the eucharist should be regarded *as a sacrifice*, in opposition to the Gnostics, who contended that all sacrifices had ceased. Irenaeus however distinguished this from the Jewish sacrifices, as of a higher and nobler character;¹ he appears to have been acquainted with the doctrine of the symbolical presence of Christ in the elements, and with the mixing of wine with water.²

Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, offer much important matter in regard to the *doctrine* of the eucharist, but very little relating to the rites of its celebration. The former speaks of the two-fold nature of the blood of Christ, *bodily* and *spiritual*, and of the mixing the wine with water.³ The latter is the first to commend the reverential custom of the church in guarding every particle of the consecrated bread from falling to the ground. "You who frequent our sacred mysteries know that when you receive the body of the Lord, you take care with all due caution and veneration that not even the smallest particle of the consecrated gift should fall to the ground and be wasted. If, through inattention, any part thus fall, you justly account yourselves guilty. If then, with good reason you use so much caution in preserving his body, how can you esteem it a lighter sin to slight the word of God than to neglect his body."⁴

From Tertullian we learn, that this ordinance was celebrated before daylight in the morning, "*antelucanis coeditibus*," and received only at the hands of the presiding minister, "*nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium sumimus*." He also intimates that the sacred elements were strictly guarded from waste and accident; but expressly declares that all these usages are observed from tradition, and the force of custom, without any scriptural authority whatever.⁵

Cyprian treats at length of the types of the Lord's supper in the Old Testament, and of the elements; and censures severely the practice of administering *water* instead of wine. Certain sects at that time maintained that the use of wine, even at the sacrament, was sinful. It further appears from his writings, that the eucharist was administered *daily*,—that it was offered to children and on one occasion, was administered by a female enthusiast,—that the sacred elements were sent to the absent communicants,—and that the consecrated bread was carried by the communicants from the table of the Lord. According to the same author, they also received the sacred elements in communion from the officiating minister into their own hands.⁶

But the most important information in our possession respecting the point under consideration, is derived from the Apostolical Constitutions. This is the oldest liturgical document now extant in the church, and is evidently the basis of the formularies and liturgies both of the Eastern and Western churches.⁷ Brief descriptions of the eucharist, and of the *agapae*, are found in different parts of this work ;⁸ and full descriptions of the liturgies and formularies connected with this service ;⁹ from which the following particulars are collected.

a) The *agapae* are distinguished from the eucharist.

b) The ordinance was celebrated with profound secrecy as a sacred mystery ; catechumens, penitents, and unbelievers of every description, being excluded with the greatest caution, and the doors carefully guarded.

All believers in good and regular standing were expected to partake of the elements.

c) The sexes were separated.

d) The ordinance was administered in the usual time of public worship, in the morning, and in the ordinary place of assembly. No intimation is given of a celebration by night.

e) The consecration of the elements was performed by the chief-priest, *ἀρχιερεὺς*, this term is sometimes used as synonymous with that of bishop ; but even if we do not admit the identity of presbyters and bishops, and of teaching and ruling bishops, we must still admit that the presbyter was permitted, at times, to consecrate the elements, especially in the absence of the bishop.

f) The consecrating minister offered a prayer in his own behalf, as well as more general petitions ; and then distributed the bread himself. The cup was distributed by the deacons.

g) Mention is made of a splendid robe for the minister, and of his making the sign of the cross upon his forehead.

h) The elements were presented simply in these words : “ The body of Christ ; the blood of Christ, the cup of life ;” to which the communicant simply responded, “ Amen !” The brevity of this form is strikingly contrasted with the prolonged prayers, and formalities of the other parts of this service.

i) During the service, the 34th Psalm was sung. The 42d and 139th came into use at a later period. The attention of the assem-

bly was called for with the usual form, ἄνω τὸν νοῦν,—ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον,—*sursum corda, habemus ad Dominum*.

k) The three elements, bread, wine, and water, are mentioned; the two last being mixed in the same vessel. The bread was *broken* for distribution, and the fragments carefully preserved.

l) The communicants were required sometimes to stand erect; and sometimes to kneel, and with the head inclining forward to receive the blessing.

§ 5. TIMES OF CELEBRATION.

Under this head two points of inquiry arise. 1. At what hour or part of the day. 2. How often, and on what particular occasions, was the Lord's supper celebrated? In regard to these particulars, there appears to have been no uniformity of practice or harmony of views in the primitive church. A brief summary of the usages of the church at different times is however given below.

1. *The time of day.* This solemnity was originally instituted in the evening or at night, Matt. 26: 20. 1 Cor. 11: 23, and on some occasions was celebrated by night by the apostles; and probably at other times of the day also, Acts 2: 46. 1 Cor. 16: 2.

Nothing definite can be determined from Justin Martyr respecting the time of celebrating the sacrament.

At a later period mention is made by Ambrose,¹ and Augustine,² of the celebration of it by night on certain occasions, and as an exception to the general rule. It was afterwards administered in the *morning* even on the occasions mentioned by them.

Tertullian speaks of the celebration of it on *Easter eve*.³ This, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was the most solemn period for the celebration, both of baptism, and of the Lord's supper; and was observed as such even in the ninth century.⁴ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was transferred to the evening, and then to the afternoon of the day before Easter, and afterwards, to the morning of the same day.

The celebration on Christmas eve continued until a late period. To this ancient custom of celebrating the eucharist by night is to be traced the modern custom of burning lighted tapers on such occasions.⁵

The Roman laws forbade assemblies by night, even for religious

worship. For this reason, probably, the early Christians selected the last hours of the night, towards morning, for holding their religious meetings. This was neither a forbidden nor a suspicious hour, and yet it was sufficient to satisfy their views of the necessity of celebrating the eucharist by night. Other reasons were afterwards sought out, drawn from scriptural representations of Christ, as the Sun of righteousness, Dayspring from on high, Light of the world, etc. Nine o'clock in the morning became the canonical hour as early as the fifth century. And it was settled that the sacrament should be celebrated on Sundays and high festivals at this hour, and at twelve o'clock on other occasions.

2. *Times and Seasons.* In the primitive church, it was an universal custom to administer this ordinance on Thursday in Easter week, that being the day of its original institution. In commemoration of this, some contended that the ordinance ought to be restricted to an annual celebration on this day; but the prevailing sentiment of the church was in favor of frequent communion, as a means of quickening them in the christian life; and in conformity with what they believed to be the injunction of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 11: 26.

Whatever theories may exist respecting the original institution of the christian sabbath, it is an established historical truth that it was observed very early in the *second century*; and that the *sacrament was usually celebrated on that day*. This was doubtless the *status dies*, the fixed, appointed day of Pliny.⁶ It is distinctly mentioned in the epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians, p. 57. The genuineness of the passage has indeed been called in question, and the controversy is still unsettled. The observance of the day may be clearly shown from Tertullian.⁷ Justin Martyr says, "We all meet together on Sunday;" and the reason assigned is, that this is the first day of the week, when in the beginning light was created, and when also our Lord Jesus Christ, arose from the dead.⁸ It was called also *dies panis*—*the day of bread*, with evident allusion to the celebration of the sacrament on that day. The weekly celebration of the sacrament was strongly recommended at the reformation, but no positive enactment was made to that effect.

But we must not suppose that the celebration of this ordinance in the ancient church was restricted to any particular or appointed season. On the contrary, it was observed to a considerable extent *daily* in the primitive church, and probably by the apostles them-

selves, Acts 2: 42, 46. Irenaeus says, "It is the will of the Lord that we should make our offering at his altar frequently, and without intermission, *sic et ideo nos quoque offerre Dominus vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione.*"⁹ Express testimonies to this effect, of a date somewhat later, are cited in the index.¹⁰

The celebration of this rite immediately after the baptism of adults, on the eve of Easter, and of Whitsuntide, has been already mentioned. And also on Christmas eve. It was after the discontinuance of the stated times for baptism and of the festive vigils preceding, that the communion was transferred to the morning, as has been already mentioned.

§ 6. PLACE OF CELEBRATION.¹

The sacrament was instituted in a private house, and the "breaking of bread" by the apostles, Acts 2: 46. 20: 7, 8, was in the private houses of believers. But the Corinthians, it appears, had a place distinct from their own houses, set apart for the celebration of this rite and of public worship, 1 Cor. 11: 20.

In times of persecution, the Lord's supper was administered wherever it could be done with secrecy and safety, in secret places, in dens and caves of the earth, in the wilderness, and desert fields, etc. But it was a rule from the beginning that, as far as practicable, this ordinance should be solemnized in the public assembly, and in the customary place of public worship. The *consecration* of the elements, especially, was at times regarded as an act to be performed only in public; as appears from the custom of sending the consecrated elements to the sick, and to the poor or infirm who might be absent. The consecration in private houses was expressly forbidden by the council of Laodicea, c. 58.

The communion table, or *altar*, was common as early as the second century. This, styled *θυσιαστήριον*, was at first made of wood, hence the expression *ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ ξύλου*. Altars wrought from stone became common in the time of Constantine, and in the Western church were required by ecclesiastical authority in the beginning of the sixth century.²

The custom of covering the altar with white linen was very ancient. Optatus is the first writer who expressly mentions this practice.³ Allusions are also made to it by several other authors.⁴

§ 7. MINISTERS OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.¹

As in baptism, so in the administration of this ordinance, a deviation from the general rule in cases of necessity was authorized by common consent. The following remarks must be regarded as exhibiting only the prevailing principles and usages in relation to this subject, without regard to the occasional exceptions and minor points of controversy.

Nothing is said in the New Testament respecting the person whose prerogative it is to administer this sacrament. Our Lord himself administered it at the time of its institution; and the probability is that the apostles, afterwards, performed the same office, Acts 20: 7. 2: 42, 46. 1 Cor. 10: 14 seq. 11: 23 seq.

According to the earliest documents of the second and third centuries, it was the appropriate office of the bishop or president of the assembly to administer the eucharist. Justin Martyr's account of this rite is, that the president, *ὁ προσετιως τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, pronounced the form of prayer and praise over the elements, and the deacons distributed them among the communicants who were present, and conveyed them to such as were absent.² According to Ignatius, the ordinance could not be administered without the presence of the bishop.³ In the Apostolical Constitutions, the administration of this ordinance is ascribed, at one time, to the chief priest, *ἀρχιερεὺς*; at another, to the bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*.⁴ He is directed to stand before the altar with the presbyters and deacons, and to perform the office of consecration. The same is required by Cyril of Jerusalem, and by Dionysius.⁵

It was a rule, of long continuance, that a presbyter should not consecrate the elements in the presence of the bishop. In the presence of several bishops this service devolved upon the senior officer, or upon some one specially designated for this purpose.

It was also the duty of the bishop during the seventh and eighth centuries. But in the middle ages the bishops seldom officiated at this service. Their neglect of this duty is ascribable, perhaps, to their increasing cares and duties, and the extent of their dioceses; but especially to the pride of office; which did not comport with the discharge of the ordinary duties of religion, an opinion that presents a striking contrast to the pious zeal of the bishops of

the first centuries, in presiding and officiating at the table of the Lord.⁶

In general it was a rule of the primitive church that the bishop consecrated the elements, assisted sometimes by the presbyter.⁷ The presbyter distributed the bread, and the deacon presented the cup.⁸ In the absence of the bishop, the service of the consecration was performed by the presbyter, and both elements were distributed by the deacons. In the performance of this service the deacons acted simply as the assistants of the bishop or presbyter. They not unfrequently assumed the prerogative of consecrating the elements; but this practice was expressly forbidden by repeated acts of ecclesiastical councils.⁹

It early became a custom, in the primitive church, for the minister to prepare himself for his solemn office at the table of the Lord by appropriate religious duties. Confession and private prayer were afterwards required. Fasting and abstinence from sensual indulgences were likewise enjoined.* It was also an ancient custom for the clergy to wash their hands before administering the elements.¹¹

§ 8. OF THE COMMUNICANTS.¹

Under this head three things require particular notice. 1. The persons who were admitted to the communion of the Lord's supper. 2. Their preparation for this ordinance. 3. Their deportment in the participation of it.

1. *Persons admitted to the holy communion.* It appears from the Apostolical Constitutions,² that, after the doors had been carefully closed and a guard set, the deacon made a public proclamation of the different classes of persons who were not permitted to be present on the occasion. These were the first and second classes of catechumens, the *κατηχούμενοι* and *ἀκροούμενοι*—the unbelievers, Jews and pagans, and reputed heretics and separatists of every descrip-

* Sacerdos Syrus eam noctem, quae liturgiam praecedet, vigilando in ecclesia, aut secretario ducit insomnem, orationibus et sacrae lectioni vacans, ne per somnium ludibrio aliquo contaminetur. Si uxorem habet, abstinere ab illa debet per dies aliquot; jejunasse etiam praecedente vespera, et saltem vino et omni liquore, quo caput tentari, potest abstinuisse. Similem consuetudinem in ecclesia per noctandi antequam liturgia celebretur vigere apud Nestorianos. Mesopotamianos testati sunt, qui Bagdado saepe huc venerunt sacerdotes.—*Renaudot. Lit. Orient. T. p. 49.*

tion. The penitents and energumens are not here mentioned, but it appears from other sources that they were not permitted to be present at the Lord's table. None indeed but believers in full communion with the church were permitted to be present. All such, originally, partook of the sacrament. Neither in the New Testament, nor by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, or any of the earliest christian writers, is any intimation given of a selection of communicants. All persons present communicated; and, according to Justin, the sacred elements were even sent by the hands of the deacons to absent members of the church, who might be sick, or otherwise prevented from coming to the table of the Lord. According to the rule of St. Ambrose, *omnes christiani, omni dominica, debent offerre*, "all Christians ought, on every Lord's day, to partake of the Lord's supper." Such as came to church without receiving the sacrament, are repeatedly threatened with excommunication for this irregularity.³ But such cases of absence must have become customary in the fourth and fifth centuries, as appears from the severity with which this delinquency is rebuked by Chrysostom and others.⁴

In the sixth century, persons of this description, who did not wish to receive the sacrament, withdrew before the solemnity began, but not until they had received the blessing of the minister.⁵ This was virtually sanctioning the custom of absenting one's self from the communion, and gave rise to the distinction, among the members of the church, of *communicants* and *non-communicants*, a distinction unknown in the primitive church.

From this it afterwards became customary for the presbyters to keep consecrated bread, called *eulogia*, to offer to such persons as chose to partake of it instead of uniting in regular communion with the church. To this substitute for full communion it is easy to refer the origin of *private masses*, and of communion *in one kind*. This perversion of the ordinance became common in the thirteenth century. To the same origin, no doubt, is to be traced the idea of a half-way covenant, which has at times prevailed in the church. They that received the eulogia in the place of the sacrament, were called *half-way communicants*.

Agreeably to all the laws and customs of the church, baptism constituted membership with the church. All baptized persons were legitimately numbered among the communicants, as members of the church. Accordingly the sacrament immediately followed the ordi-

nance of baptism, that the members thus received might come at once into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of christian fellowship. But in all these instances the baptized person is of necessity supposed to have been of adult age, capable of exercising faith, according to the injunction, "Believe and be baptized."

After the general introduction of infant baptism, the sacrament continued to be administered to all who had been baptized, whether infants or adults. The reason assigned by Cyprian and others for this practice was, "that age was no impediment; that the grace of God, bestowed upon the subjects of baptism, was given without measure and without any limitation as to age."⁶ Augustine strongly advocates this practice,⁷ and for authority appeals to John 6: 53, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you.*

The custom of infant communion continued for several centuries. It is mentioned in the third council of Tours, A. D. 813, and even the council of Trent, A. D. 1545, only decreed that it should not be considered essential to salvation. It is still scrupulously observed by the Greek church.⁸

The African church were accustomed to administer the eucharist to the dead, as has been already mentioned; and, in some instances, even to bury with them some of the consecrated elements. But the latter custom seems not to have prevailed to any considerable degree, and the former was severely condemned.⁹ The consecrated elements were frequently conveyed to such as were sick or in prison; but they were seldom consecrated in a private house.¹⁰

2. *Preparation of the Communicants.* The several preliminary rites of baptism which have been already detailed, were regarded as a due preparation both for that ordinance, and for the sacrament which immediately followed. But, for every subsequent return to the table of the Lord, a special and solemn preparation was required of each communicant. The ordinance was regarded with the deepest religious awe, which none could duly approach without self-examination, and a tender christian spirit, coupled with a holy life.

The following rites especially, were observed preparatory to the communion of the Lord's supper.

1. *Self examination, and confession of sin before God, as taught in 1 Cor. 11: 28.*

2. *Absolution, or a removal of ecclesiastical censures and penal-*

ties. No one who was the subject of discipline could come to the Lord's supper until he had first been restored to full and regular standing with the church.

3. *Fasting, humiliation, and abstinence from sensual pleasures*, in much the same manner as was required of the officiating minister.¹¹ See page 308.

4. *The communicants wore a peculiar apparel suited to the occasion*. This was probably white raiment similar to that which was put on after baptism, though no specific law was given on this subject. The women wore veils, usually white, called *Dominicalia*.¹²

5. *Communicants of both sexes were accustomed to wash their hands*, previously to receiving the sacred elements. This was not a ceremonial purification, but a rite dictated by a sense of propriety, *quiddam secundum se conveniens*.¹³

The following extracts from Chrysostom are given to exhibit the elevated sentiments of piety which according to that venerable father should pervade our breasts at the table of the Lord.

“When thou sittest down to a common table, remember that spiritual table, and call to mind that supper of the Lord. Consider what words thy mouth hath spoken, words worthy of such a table, what things thy mouth hath touched or tasted, what meat it has fed upon. Dost thou think it no harm with that mouth to speak evil of and revile thy brother? How canst thou call him brother? If he is not thy brother, how couldst thou say ‘Our Father?’—for that implies more persons than one. Consider with whom thou stoodest in the time of the holy mysteries; with cherubim and seraphim. But the cherubim use no reviling. Their mouth is filled with one office, glorifying and praising God. How then canst thou say with them, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy,’ who usest thy mouth to reviling? Tell me, if there was a royal vessel, always filled with royal dainties, and set apart only for this use, and one of the servants should use it for mean purposes, would he afterwards dare to place it, filled with that which is vile and refuse, among the other vessels appointed for royal use? No, certainly. Yet this is the very case of railing and reviling. You say at the holy table, ‘Our Father,’ and then immediately add, ‘which art in heaven.’ This word raises you up, and gives wings to your soul, and shows that you have a Father in heaven. Therefore do nothing, speak nothing, of earthly things. He hath placed you in the order of spirits above, and appointed you

a station in that choir. Why then do you draw yourself downward? You stand by the royal throne, and do you revile your brother? How are you not afraid lest the king should take it as an affront offered to himself? If a servant beats or reviles another in our presence, who are but his fellow-servants, though he does it justly, we rebuke him for it. And dare you stand before the royal throne, and revile your brother? See you not these holy vessels? Are they not always appropriated to one peculiar use? Dares any one put them to any other? But you are more holy than these vessels, yea, much more holy. Why then do you pollute and defile yourself? You stand in heaven, and do you still use railing? You converse with angels, and do you yet revile? You are admitted to the Lord's holy kiss, and do you yet revile? God hath honored and adorned your mouth so many ways, by angelical hymns, by food, not angelical, but super-angelical, by his own kisses, and by his own embraces, and do you after all these revile? Do not, I beseech you. Let that which is the cause of so many evils be far from the soul of a Christian." (*Hom. 14 in Ep. ad Ephes.*)—"Be grateful to thy benefactor by an excellent conversation; consider the greatness of the sacrifice, and let that engage thee to adorn every member of thy body. Consider what thou takest in thy hand, and never after endure to strike any man; do not disgrace that hand by the sin of fighting and quarrelling, which has been honored with the reception of so great a gift. Consider what thou takest in thy hand, and keep thy hand free from all robbery and injustice. Think again, how thou not only receivest it in thy hand, but puttest it to thy mouth; and keep thy tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious speech, from blasphemy and perjury, and all words of the like nature. For it is a most pernicious thing that the tongue, which ministers in such tremendous mysteries, and is dyed with the purple of such precious blood, and made a golden sword, should be put to the vile practice of railing and reviling, and scurrilous and abusive language. Regard with veneration the honor wherewith God has honored it; and do not debase it to such mean offices of sin. Consider again, that, after thy hand and thy tongue, thy heart receives that tremendous mystery:—then never devise any fraud or deceit against thy neighbor, but keep thy mind pure from all malicious designs. And after the same manner guard thy eyes and thy ears." (*Hom. 21 ad Pop. Antioch.*)

3. *Acts and deportment of the communicants at the Lord's table.*

1. They were required to bring certain oblations or presents of bread and wine. The bread was enveloped in a white linen cloth called *fano*, and the wine was contained in a vessel called *ama* or *amula*. These offerings were brought to the altar after the deacon had said, 'Let us pray,' and while the assembly were engaged in singing a charity-hymn appropriate to the occasion.¹⁴ The whole ceremony is minutely related in the note below.* The custom was abolished in the twelfth century.

2. The communicants *stood* during the administration of the sacrament, with their faces towards the East.¹⁵ "Stantes oramus, quod est signum resurrectionis. Unde etiam omnibus diebus Dominicis id ad altare observatur, et Hallelujah canitur, quod significat actionem nostram futuram non esse nisi laudare Deum."—Augustine, Ep. 191. ad Jan. c. 15.

3. The clergy, according to their ranks respectively, first received the elements; then the men, and lastly the women.¹⁶ They advanced to the table two by two. After the fourth century, none but the clergy were usually permitted to come within the railing and to approach the altar.¹⁷

4. The communicants received the elements sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling; but never sitting. They took the bread and cup in their hands, and repeated after the minister the sacramental formulary, concluding with a loud 'Amen,' to signify that they believed themselves to be partakers of the body and blood of Christ.¹⁸ The men received the elements with uncovered hands, previously washed; the women used a part of the dominical as a napkin, with which to handle them. From the ninth century, the bread, instead of being delivered into the hands of the communicants, was placed in their mouths, to prevent its being sacrilegiously carried home. Their scrupulous care to prevent the least morsel from being wasted

* "Egregium sane remotae antiquitatis pignus ac vestigium ad haec usque tempora servatum. Nimirum alit eadem Ecclesia decem senes laicos, totidemque anus, quorum munus est, quibusdam solemnibus sacris interesse. *Honesto ac antiquo vestium genere* utuntur, et cum tempus Offertorii poscit, ex iis duo mares *fanonibus*, hoc est, mappis candidis involuti accedunt ad *gradus Presbyterii*, et dextra *oblatus*, sinistra *amulus cum vino* tenent, quae sacerdos illuc ab altari una cum ministris descendens, et duo argentea vasa deaurata deferens suscipit. Idem subinde peragunt et foeminae duae anili aetate venerandae."—*Muratorii Antiq. Ital.* T. IV.

has been already mentioned. It is worthy of notice, that the Nestorians still exercise the same caution to prevent the waste of any particle of the sacred elements.

At the close of the communion the people all knelt down and received the blessing of the priest,¹⁹ after which he dismissed them, saying, 'Depart in peace.'

The practice of kneeling during the consecration and distribution of the elements, was introduced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and became general at a period still later.²⁰

§ 9. OF THE ELEMENTS.¹

a) *Of the Bread.*

1. *Quality of the bread.* The question whether *leavened* or *unleavened* bread should be used in the sacrament, has been the subject of a spirited dispute between the Greek and Latin churches. The former contended for the use of leavened, the latter of unleavened bread. Without attempting to follow our author through his protracted discussion of this question; suffice it to say, as the result of his investigation, that no rule was given by our Lord on this subject. It is even uncertain whether he used the unleavened bread of the passover or common bread at the institution of the supper.

The early christian writers make no mention of the use of unleavened bread in celebrating the Lord's supper.

The bread for the sacrament was supplied from the oblations which the communicants presented at the commencement of the solemnity, and was, probably, the same as that which was in common use.

From the seventh century, the church at Rome used unleavened bread; and the church at Constantinople continued the use of common fermented bread, but the *controversy* between the two churches on the subject originated with Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 1053.

Protestants regard the quality of the bread as of no importance. For the most part they discontinued, at the reformation, the use of unleavened bread. But the Lutherans still continue it.*

* Panis sit fermentatus, an azymus; vinum rubrum, an album, nihil refert. Fermentatum et vulgarem panem fuisse ante tempus Alexandri Romani

2. *Form of the bread.* The eucharistic bread in the church of Rome is styled the *host*, *hostia*. It consists of cakes of meal and water, made small, circular, and thin like wafers, by which name it is frequently called. These wafers have been known by various names, as *panes eucharistici*, *sacramentales*, *orbiculares*, *tesselati*, *reticulati*, *placentae* or *biculares*, *nebula*, and *spuma panis*, *crustula farracea*, *coronae*, *panes numularii*, *denaria sacramentorum*, etc. By the enemies of religion it has also been stigmatized with various opprobrious epithets.

The host seems to have been used in the form above mentioned since the rise of the controversy with the Greek church in 1053.

The use of these thin cakes is discarded by most of the reformed churches; but retained by the Lutherans.

b) *Of the Wine.*¹

1. *Color of the wine.* The common wine of Palestine is of a red or dark color. Such was the wine which our Saviour used at the sacrament, as it would seem both from the nature of the case and

Episcopi, narrant historiae: qui primus azymo pane delectatus est; qua ratione, non video, nisi ut plebis oculos novo spectaculo in admirationem traheret magis, quam ut animos proba religione institueret. Omnes objuro, qui vel levi aliquo pietatis studio tanguntur, annon evidenter perspiciant, et quanto praeclarius Dei gloria hic resplendeat, et quanto affluentior spiritualis consolationis suavitas ad fideles transeat, quam in istis frigidis et histrionicis nugis, quae nullum alium usum afferunt, nisi ut stupentis populi sensum fallunt. Calvin. *Inst. Chr. Rel.* lib. iv. c. 17, § 43.—Panis azymus ne sit an fermentatus, non magnopere putamus laborandum. Beza. *Ep.* 12, *ad Anglic. Eccl. Patres.*—Odiosa excitata est contentio super materia coenae dominicae, contententibus his, pane azymo, aliis vero fermentato esse utendum. Atqui apud veteres quandam de his nullae movebantur rixae. Nam ecclesiae pro libertate sua utebantur utroque. Videtur quidem Dominus in prima illa coena usus esse pane azymo, in mensa ex veteri more celebrandi Paschatis relicto, unde non paucae ecclesiae infermentato pane usae sunt, quae tamen fermentato pane utentes, non damnabant haereseos. Bullinger. *ap. Gerhard. Loc. Theol.* x.—Fermentati aequae ac azymi panis in Eucharistia liber usus est, dum modo ne alteruter ceu necessarius et nullo casu mutabilis praescribatur. Uterque analogiam quandam fundit: ille nutritionis plenioris; hic sinceritatis et sanctitatis, ad quam Eucharistia obligat, majoris. Nostrae ecclesiae usum azymi a Zuinglio, externorum ejusmodi plane incurioso et interiorum atque spiritualium tenacissimo, retentum, ceu fractioni et distributioni opportuniorem, ut mutarent, hactenus induci non potuerunt, novandi periculum metuentes. Heidegger. *Corp. Theol. Christ. Loc.* xxv. § 78.

§ 10. CONSECRATION OF THE ELEMENTS.

The consecration of the elements was at a very early period performed with great formality, and with a set form of words and prayer, which were the subject of frequent discussion in different churches. It would be foreign to the design of this work to enumerate the various controversies that have prevailed on this subject. In general, the church has agreed that the elements should be set apart to a sacramental use by prayer. The words given in the original institution were uniformly included in the consecrating prayer. Some contended that a personal invocation of the Holy Spirit was essential to a due consecration of the elements. But all agreed in supplicating the graces of the Spirit to sanctify these gifts to them, and to make them partakers of the body and blood of Christ, i. e. of the benefits of his death. Several of the authors who have treated of this general subject are enumerated in the index.¹

Elevation of the host. As early, perhaps, as the third or fourth century, it became customary in the Eastern church to exhibit the consecrated elements to the people, to excite their veneration for the sacred mysteries of the sacrament. In the middle ages the host became the subject of adoration, under the notion that the elements, by transubstantiation, became the body and blood of Christ. This theological dogma was introduced into Gaul in the twelfth century, and into Germany in the thirteenth.²

§ 11. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ELEMENTS.¹

Both the bread and the wine were universally administered to the clergy and laity alike until about the twelfth century, when the cup began, in the Western church, gradually to be withdrawn from the laity, on account of the disorders to which the use of it had given rise.* The Greek retains substantially the ancient custom. Protestants universally concur in administering both elements.

* Certum est, omnes passim clericos et laicos viros et mulieres, sub utraque specie sacra mysteria antiquitus sumsisse, cum solemnibus eorum celebrationibus aderant et offerbant et de oblatis participabant. Extra sacrificium vero et extra ecclesiam semper et ubique communio sub una specie in usu fuit. Primæ parti assertionis consentiunt omnes, tam catholici quam secta-

The strictest order was observed in distributing the elements to the different ranks of people. The clergy first received them, and the others in a regular succession.* This rule is disregarded by protestants, with the exception of the English episcopal church.

The communicants received the elements at the altar. The council of Laodicea, however, admitted only the clergy to the altar.² The laity, and communicants of the other sex, from this time, usually received the elements from without the chancel.

rii; nec eam negare potest, qui vel levissima rerum ecclesiasticarum notitia imbutus sit. Semper enim et ubique ab ecclesiae primordiis usque ad saeculum XII sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles; coepitque paulatim ejus saeculi initio usus calicis obsolescere, plerisque episcopis eum populo intercidentibus ob periculum irreverentiae et effusionis, quod inevitabile erat aucta fidelium multitudine, in qua deesse non poterant minus cauti et attenti et parum religiosi. . . Paulatim introducta est communicatio sub sola specie panis, posteaquam intolerandi abusus religiosos antistites ad abrogandum communem calicis usum induxerunt. Moribus enim immutatis leges quoque mutandae sunt, quae aliquando utiles atque optimaefuerunt. Haec autem mutatio facta est primum a diversis episcopis in suis ecclesiis, deinde a Synodo Constantiensi canonica sanctione pro omnibus stabilita. *Bona Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 18, § 1. — Ab ecclesiae exordio ad saeculum usque XII eucharistiam etiam laicis sub utraque specie in publico solennique eucharistiae ministerio fuisse ministratam (etsi non semper et necessario), nullus est inter catholicos qui ignorat, si vel levissima rerum ecclesiasticarum notitia sit imbutus. Verum crescente indies fidelium numero, cum sanguis non raro a populo minus cauto et parum religioso fuerit effusus, primum introducta fuit consuetudo, ut ope tubuli vel fistulae cujusdam sumeretur, quae fundo calicis, teste Lindano, quandoque fuit ferruminata, ne ob incultioris populi rusticitatem tam facile effundi posset. Ast cum et haec praxis sua haberet incommoda, coeperunt sacerdotes populo panem eucharisticam pretioso sanguine intinctum distribuere: qui mos saeculo XI et XII multis ecclesiis fuit familiaris. Verum cum illum reprobarint ecclesiae aliae, nec inconvenientiis satis iretur obviam, calicis usus saec. XIII semper semperque minui, et tandem saec. XIV fere generaliter obsolescere coepit, donec saec. XV post extortam Hussitarum haeresin calix publico ecclesiae decreto Laicis omnibus fuerit sublatus. *Krazer de Liturg.* p. 567.

* Ordo communionis hic erat, ut primo quidem Celebrans seipsum communicaret, deinde Episcopos, si qui aderant, vel Presbyteros simul cum eo synaxin agentes: tum Diaconos, Subdiaconos et Clericos, Monachos, Diaconissas et sacras Virgines; novissime populum adjuvantibus Presbyteris, primum viros, postea mulieres. Idem in calicis distributione servabatur, nisi quod Presbyteri per se illum sumebant, Diaconi a Presbyteris, reliqui a Diaconis, ut ex Ordine Romano et ex Graecorum Euchologio constat. *Bona Rer. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 17, p. 858.

It is remarkable that the primitive Christians used no established form in presenting the elements. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as they were so careful in regard to their baptismal formulary; and is to be accounted for only from the fact, that the form of the original institution was introduced into the consecrating prayer.

The earliest form of which we have any record was also the most simple and concise. In presenting the elements respectively, the presiding elder said: "The body of Christ; the blood of Christ; the cup of life." To which the communicant replied, "Amén."³ This response was, in time, omitted by the laity, and only repeated by the clergy; but it is not known at what time this change took place.

Under Gregory the Great, and subsequently, the forms following were in use: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve you unto eternal life." "The body and the blood of the Lamb of God, which is given to you for the remission of sins." "May the body and the blood of the Lamb of God be to you the salvation of soul and body." "May the body and the blood of the Lamb of God avail you to the remission of sins, and to life eternal."⁴

When the bread was dipped in the wine, the form of distribution ran thus: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, dipped in his blood, preserve your soul unto everlasting life."⁵

The Syriac and Greek churches had also each their own peculiar forms. But the protestant churches have, with great propriety, restored the original and significant form: "Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you," etc.

Abuses connected with the celebration of this ordinance very early crept into the church.⁶ To correct these the bread and wine were, at one time, mingled together; at another, the wine was withheld, and the bread only administered; and again, the elements were presented to the lips, instead of being delivered into the hands. The protestant churches, generally, have returned to the ancient mode of presenting the bread and wine singly into the hands of each communicant.

The custom of the Greek church was to receive the sacrament standing, and such at first was probably the usage of the Western church.

The most important rites connected with the celebration of this ordinance, as detailed above, are brought together in the following extract.

“ However much they altered in different places, and at different periods, the times of celebrating this sacred ordinance, they never varied except, perhaps, in some trifling circumstances, in the mode of observance. The peculiar service of the faithful was commonly introduced by a private and silent prayer, which was followed by a general supplication for the church and the whole family of mankind, and then each of the brethren came forward to contribute a free-will offering, according to his ability, to the treasury of the church,—the wealthy always being careful to bring part of theirs in articles of bread and wine. Out of this collection both the sacramental elements were furnished,—the one consisting, from the first, of the common bread that was in use in the country, and the other of wine diluted with water, according to the universal practice of the ancients. Preliminary to the distribution of these, two ceremonies were always observed with the greatest punctuality,—the one emblematical of the purity that became the ordinance, the other of the love that should reign among all the disciples of Christ. The deacons brought a basin of water, in which the presiding ministers washed their hands in presence, and on behalf, of the whole congregation,—a practice founded on the words of the Psalmist,—“ I will wash my hands in innocence, and so I will compass thine altar;” and then on a given signal, the assembled brethren, in token of their mutual amity and good will, proceeded to give each other a holy kiss, ministers saluting ministers, the men their fellow-men, and the women the female disciples that stood beside them. At this stage of the service, another prayer of a general nature was offered, at the conclusion of which the minister, addressing the people, said, “ Peace be unto you,” to which they responded in one voice, “ and with thy spirit.” Pausing a little, he said, “ Lift up your hearts to God,” to which they replied, “ We lift them up unto God;” and then, after another brief interval of silence, he proceeded, “ Let us give thanks to God,” to which they returned the ready answer, “ It is meet and just so to do.” These preliminary exhortations being completed, the minister offered up what was called the great thanksgiving for all blessings, both temporal and spiritual, especially for the unspeakable love of God as manifested in the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and for that holy ordinance in which, in gracious adaptation to the nature of man, He is evidently set forth as crucified and slain; concluding with an earnest desire, that in-

tending communicants might participate in all the benefits it was designed to impart, to which all the people said aloud, "Amen." As the communicants were about to advance to the place appropriated for communion,—for up to that time it was unoccupied,—the minister exclaimed, "Holy things to holy persons,"—a form of expression equivalent to a practical prohibition of all who were unholy; and the invitation to communicants was given by the singing of some appropriate Psalms, such as the passage in the 34th,—“O taste and see that God is good,” and the 133d, beginning, “Behold! how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!” The elements having been consecrated by a prayer, which consisted chiefly of the words of the institution, the minister took up the bread, and breaking it, in memorial of Christ’s body being broken, distributed it to his assisting brethren beside him, and in like manner the cup, both of which were carried round by the deacons to the communicants in order; and while they presented them in this simple form, “the body of Christ,” “the blood of Christ,” each communicant, on receiving them, devoutly said, “Amen.” The manner in which they received the element, was by taking it in the right hand, and placing the left underneath to prevent any of it from falling. The act of communion being finished, a thanksgiving hymn was sung, and an appropriate prayer offered, after which the brethren again gave each other the salutation of a holy kiss, and having received the blessing of their pastor, were exhorted to “Go in peace.”

“Such was the manner in which the holy rite of the supper was usually celebrated among the primitive Christians. But we shall have exhibited a very imperfect view of their manners in this respect, unless we take into consideration some peculiarities, which, while they were professedly founded on a literal interpretation of the words of Scripture, gave rise to customs that have been almost universally exploded by every succeeding age of the Church. According to their ideas, the feast of communion, implying a fellowship in spirit and feeling, might be celebrated by persons who were absent, as well as those who were present at the solemnity; and accordingly, they were in the habit of sending, by the hands of the deacons, portions of the sacred elements to their brethren, who, from sickness or imprisonment, were unable to attend. Such causes of absence as these, which arose from the unavoidable dispensations of Providence, ought not, in their opinion, to deprive any of the comfort and privi-

lege of communicating ; and as numbers of those who were ranked in this class, were martyrs, confessors of the truth, and devoted followers of the Saviour, they considered it would have been the height of cruelty to withhold from such honored characters the means of participating with their brethren in an act of communion that was essentially spiritual. Frequently did they transmit, therefore, to the sick-beds or the dungeons of their brethren, fragments of the bread that had been consecrated in the church ; or, where that could not be procured, the minister consecrated it on the spot :—nay, so far were they carried by their benevolent desire to extend the benefits of this sacred ordinance to all who were anxious to partake of it, that they scrupled not to send it to penitents when in a dying state, though they would not, in other circumstances, have been deemed qualified, according to the established rules of the Church. A memorable example of this is furnished in the case of Serapion, a Christian of whose faith and sincerity no doubt was entertained, till, on the outbreak of a violent persecution, he fell from his profession. Returning to his first love, he long and importunately solicited in vain a restoration to the privilege of communion. Being overtaken, at length, by a severe indisposition, which brought him in four days to the verge of the grave, he despatched a messenger to one of the neighboring ministers, with an earnest request that he would come and give him the consolations of the sacrament. The minister was prevented by sickness from going in person, but perceiving the urgency of the case, he sent a portion of the consecrated bread by the hands of the messenger, who administered it to the dying penitent.

“ Another peculiarity of theirs—arising from an impression of the absolute necessity of this ordinance to salvation,—was their admission of persons to partake of it of all ages, and in every variety of circumstance. Provided only that they had received the initiatory rite of baptism, the primitive Christians scrupled not to administer the other christian sacrament to all, without exception, even though they might be altogether unconscious of the service in which they were made to engage. Hence the custom of giving the communion to infants—a custom which, for many ages, prevailed in the ancient Church ; and as persons of that tender age were unable to eat the bread, the practise early came into use of dipping it in wine, and pressing a drop or two from the moistened sop into the mouth of the babe. Hence, also, the custom of administering it to the sick in the

delirium of a fever, or in such circumstances of bodily weakness that they were incapable of communicating their own wishes,—which, however, if the attendant nurse testified had been previously and anxiously expressed, were gratified by a participation of the sacred rite, just as if they had been in the full possession of bodily and mental health. Hence, also, the custom of many religious persons carrying home a portion of the consecrated bread from the church to their own homes, and reserving it for future use among their most precious and valuable treasures. In a chest appropriated to the purpose this sacred deposit was laid, and when no opportunity was afforded of attending the morning service, every time they rose from bed, and before engaging in any worldly business, they were accustomed to consecrate the day by the solemn act of participating of the sacrament; or, when a christian stranger came to their houses for their hospitality, ere ever he tasted of the viands that were produced for their refreshment, the morsel of the consecrated bread was broken between them, and their social intercourse hallowed by the preliminary rite of communion. Customs like these, which savored so strongly of superstition, could have originated only in a profound feeling of reverence for the ordinance, and in an impression of its supposed indispensable necessity to the well-being of the soul in a future world.”—Jamieson, pp. 125—130.

§ 12. ACCOMPANYING RITES.

1. *Psalmody in connection with the Sacrament.* The Apostolical Constitutions prescribe the 34th Psalm to be sung on this occasion; certain parts being supposed peculiarly appropriate.¹ ‘I will bless the Lord at all times.’ ‘O taste and see that the Lord is good.’ Certain other psalms were also in use in different churches, particularly the 42d, 43d, 45th, 133d, 139th, and 145th Psalms.² These were sung during the distribution. Besides these, it was customary to begin and to conclude the whole ceremony with some solemn form of praise and thanksgiving, in which the whole body of the communicants joined. These were selected, for the most part, from the book of Psalms; but they varied in different times and places.

2. *Of the kiss of charity.*³ This form of salutation, as a token of christian affection, appears to have been an apostolic custom, Rom. 16: 16. 1 Cor. 16: 20. 2 Cor. 13: 12. 1 Thess. 5: 26. 1 Pet. 5: 14,

and was perpetuated for many centuries. It was appropriately one of the rites of the sacramental service. But was observed on common occasions of public worship. It was omitted on Good Friday, in remembrance of the traitorous kiss of Judas Iscariot.

The different sexes, however, were not permitted to interchange this salutation one with another. Many other precautions were also used to prevent abuses which might be expected to arise out of this practice.⁴ It was for the enemies of Christianity the occasion of abundant reproach; but it was still continued through the eighth and ninth centuries, even to the thirteenth, when it appears to have ceased.

The following passage from the nineteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea is worthy of remark on other accounts, as well as for its prescription concerning this token of christian charity and concord. "After the bishops' sermons (*μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων*), let a prayer for the catechumens be first pronounced. When the catechumens have left the church, let the prayer for the penitents (*τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ*) be said. After these have received imposition of hands (*προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα*), and have retired, let the three prayers of the faithful (*τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς τρεῖς*) be offered; the first in silence (*διὰ σιωπῆς*), but the second and third aloud (*διὰ προσφωνήσεως*.) Then let the kiss be given, (*τὴν εἰρήνην*, i. e. the kiss of peace.) When the presbyters have given this kiss to the bishop, let the laity exchange it among themselves. Hereupon let the holy sacrifice be accomplished. But it is permitted to the clergy (*τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς*) alone, to approach the altar, and communicate there." All this proceeds upon the system of secret instruction.

3. *Incense and the sign of the cross.* The use of incense in connection with the sacrament was unknown in the church until the time of Gregory the Great, in the latter part of the sixth century. After this period it became prevalent in the churches.

The signing of the cross has a higher antiquity. It is spoken of by Basil,⁵ Chrysostom,⁶ and Augustine,⁷ and is distinctly mentioned in the Apostolical Constitutions⁸ as a part of the sacramental service.

This superstition is abolished in the Protestant churches.

§ 13. AGAPAE, OR FEASTS OF CHARITY.

These feasts were usually celebrated in connection with the Lord's supper; but not as a necessary part of it. From their connection with this ordinance, the following account of them is inserted as compiled by Riddle from Augusti and Siegel.

The history of the common meals or feasts in the church, called agapae (*ἀγάπαι*, more frequently than in the singular *ἡ ἀγάπη*), is in many respects obscure. It appears that they were not independent rites, but always connected with some act or office of public worship. When they were celebrated in connection with the Lord's supper, they seem to have taken place before the administration of that sacrament, in conformity with the circumstances of the original institution, which took place "after supper," 1 Cor. 11: 25. This arrangement is supposed to have led to the disorders which St. Paul so sharply reprov'd in the Corinthian church; and the inconvenience of it becoming generally manifest, it was soon made the practice of the church to celebrate the Lord's supper first, and even to dispense with attendance at the feast which followed, although all Christians were required to contribute provisions for it, according to their ability.¹

But, even under these altered circumstances, the love-feasts were frequently attended with intemperance, and other serious disorders, which form subjects of grave complaint in the writings of the Fathers.² This may perhaps be reckoned among the causes of the change in the time of celebrating the Lord's supper, already mentioned, from the evening to the early part of the morning. And hence it was, that afterwards the holding of agapae within the churches was forbidden.³ And by this regulation the agapae became entirely distinct from the eucharist, which continued to be publicly celebrated in the church.

It cannot be exactly determined at what period the agapae were entirely abolished.

1. *Origin of the Name and of the custom.* The Greek word agape, *ἀγάπη*, which signifies love or charity, is used in ecclesiastical antiquities to denote a certain feast, of which all members of the church of whatever rank or condition, partook together; intended to denote and cherish those dispositions of brotherly love and affec-

tion which the gospel prescribes to the disciples of Jesus. In the New Testament the word occurs only once in this sense of *feast of charity* or *love-feast*, namely in the Epistle of St. Jude, verse 12, and there it is found in the plural number; but the observance itself is alluded to in the sacred records, under other names, as *meat, tables*, Acts 2: 46. 6: 2. The word was retained by ecclesiastical writers, but not to the exclusion of other significant appellations; e. g. *συμπόσια, banquets*; *κοινὰ τράπεζαι, public tables*; *κοινὰ ἐστιασμοί, public feasts*; *δεῖπνα κοινά, public suppers*. This use of the term *Ἀγάπη* is not found in the writings of any profane authors before the christian era; but it occurs in the works of Plutarch and Celsus, who doubtless borrowed it from the Christians.

It is certain that the feast of charity was celebrated in the earliest period of the christian church; see Acts 2: 46. 6: 2. 1 Cor. 11: 16—34. Some writers suppose that this custom had its remote origin in the practice of the heathen; while others regard it as derived from the Jewish synagogue. But it is perhaps still more probable that it originated simply in the circumstances of our Lord's last supper with his disciples; or that, at all events, it is to be attributed entirely to the genius of a religion which is eminently a bond of brotherly union and concord among its sincere professors.

2. *Mode of Celebration.* In the earliest accounts which have come down to us, we find that the bishop or presbyter presided at these feasts.⁴ It does not appear whether the food was dressed in the place appointed for the celebration of the feast, or was previously prepared by individual members of the church at their own homes; but perhaps either of these plans was adopted indifferently, according to circumstances. Before eating, the guests washed their hands; and a public prayer was offered up. A portion of Scripture was then read, and the president proposed some questions upon it, which were answered by the persons present. After this, any accounts which had been received respecting the affairs of other churches were recited; for, at that time, such accounts were regularly transmitted from one community to another, by means of which all Christians became acquainted with the history and condition of the whole body, and were thus enabled to sympathize with, and in many cases to assist, each other. Letters from bishops and other eminent members of the church, together with the Acts of the Martyrs, were also recited on this occasion. And hymns or psalms were sung.⁵

At the close of the feast, money was also collected for the benefit of widows and orphans, the poor, prisoners, and persons who had suffered shipwreck. Before the meeting broke up, all the members of the church embraced each other, in token of mutual brotherly-love; and the whole ceremony was concluded with a philanthropic prayer.⁶

As the number of Christians increased, various deviations from the original practice of celebration occurred; which called for the censure of the governors of the Church.⁷ In consequence of these irregularities, it was appointed that the president should deliver to each guest his portion separately, and that the larger portions should be distributed among the presbyters, deacons, and other officers of the church.

While the church was exposed to persecution, these feasts were not only conducted with regularity and good order, but were made subservient to christian edification, and to the promotion of brotherly love and of that kind of concord and union which was specially demanded by the circumstances of the times.⁸ None but full members of the church were allowed to be present; catechumens, penitents, Jews, and heathens, being carefully excluded.⁹ A custom of admitting baptized children, which was introduced at an early period, was afterwards abandoned as inconvenient.¹⁰

The following description of christian intercourse in their love-feasts is also from Tertullian, *Apol.* 39. "They sit not down at table till prayers have been offered to God. They eat as much as the hunger of each one requires, and drink only so much as is necessary to health and cheerfulness. Being thus satisfied, they are mindful that the evening is to be spent in prayer. They enter into conversation with the continued reflection that God is hearing them. After their hands are washed and lights are brought in, each one is invited to sing something before the company to the praise of God, whether it be borrowed from the holy Scripture, or as his own heart may dictate to him. Then it is seen how much he has drunken. With prayer the interview is closed."

3. *Time and place of Celebration.*—*Time of day.* These feasts, as well as all Christian assemblies, were held, at first, whenever and wherever opportunity would permit, consistently with safety. The passages of the New Testament which refer to the agapae afford no intimation of the time of day in which they were celebrated, unless indeed we regard Acts 20: 7, as supplying some information

on this point. From Tertullian it would appear that they were held in the night; for he calls them *coenae* and *coenulae*, in contradistinction to *prandia*; and this writer gives us to understand that lights were required in the place in which the feast was made. But it is probable that this nocturnal celebration was more a matter of necessity than of choice.

According to the account of Pliny in his letter to Trajan, it would seem that in his time (in Bithynia, at least) these feasts were held in the day-time.¹¹

On the whole, it may be concluded that the nature of the case did not permit the uniform observance of any fixed hour or time of day in the celebration of this feast, during the earliest period of the church, while it was exposed to persecution.

Day of the week. These feasts were ordinarily held on the first day of the week, or Sunday; but the celebration does not appear to have been exclusively confined to that day.¹²

Place of meeting. At first, the agapae were celebrated in private houses, or in other retired places, in which the Christians met for the purpose of religious worship. After the erection of churches, these feasts were held within their walls; until, abuses having occurred which rendered the observance inconsistent with the sanctity of such places, this practice was forbidden. In the middle of the fourth century, the Council of Laodicea enacted "that agapae should not be celebrated in churches;" a prohibition which was repeated by the Council of Carthage, in the year 391; and was afterwards strictly enjoined during the sixth and seventh centuries.¹³ By the efforts of Gregory of Neocaesarea, Chrysostom, and others, a custom was generally established of holding the agapae only under trees, or some other shelter, in the neighborhood of the churches; and from that time the clergy and other principal members of the church were recommended to withdraw from them altogether.

In the early church, it was usual to celebrate agapae on the festivals of martyrs, *agapae natalitiae*, at their tombs; a practice to which reference is made in the epistle of the church of Smyrna, concerning the martyrdom of Polycarp.¹⁴

These feasts were sometimes celebrated on a smaller scale, at marriages, *agapae connubiales*, and funerals, *agapae funerales*.

4. *Abolition of the custom.* The celebration of the agapae was frequently made a subject of calumny and misrepresentation by the

enemies of the christian faith, even during the earliest and best ages of the church. In reply to these groundless attacks, the conduct of the Christians of those times was successfully vindicated by Tertulian, Minucius Felix, Origen, and others. But real disorders having afterwards arisen, and having proceeded to considerable lengths, it became necessary to abolish the practice altogether; and this task was eventually effected, but not without the application of various means, and only after a considerable lapse of time.

§ 14. SACRAMENTAL UTENSILS.

Our Lord, at the institution of the sacrament, without doubt used the cup which was in common use among the Jews on festive occasions—simple and plain like the rude vessels of those days. A large silver goblet was in use at Jerusalem in the seventh century, which was said to be the identical cup that our Lord used on that occasion. At a period still later, the inhabitants of Valencia in Spain, also claimed, with equal probability, to be in possession of the identical cup which was presented by Christ to his disciples at that time.

The cup which was used by the primitive church was of no prescribed form, nor of any uniform material. It was made of wood, horn, glass, or marble, according to circumstances. But, at a very early period, it began to be wrought with great care, and to be made of the most costly materials, such as silver and gold, set with precious stones. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, the use of vessels made of horn, wood, glass, lead, tin, etc. was forbidden, and each church was required to have, at least, one cup and plate of silver.

Two cups were generally used, one exclusively by the clergy, the other, of larger dimensions, by the laity. These had handles attached to their sides. The sacramental cup of the Armenian church is said to contain two separate apartments, in one of which the wine is contained, and in the other the bread. And similar vessels seem to have been in use in the christian church previous to the eighth century. They then began to be made with a pipe attached to them, like the spout of a tea-pot, and the wine was received from the vessel by suction. These spouts were called *fistulae eucharistae*, *pagillares*, *arundines*, *cannae*, *canales*, *pipae*. These pipes were used to

prevent the waste of any drop of the consecrated wine in the distribution of it. Such cups are still in use in some Lutheran churches.

The cup was at an early period ornamented with inscriptions and pictorial representations.

The platter for the distribution of the bread was, at first, a basket made of osier. Like the cup, it has from time to time been made of glass, marble, silver, and gold, varying in form, size, and style of execution, corresponding with that of the cup.

The pomp and superstition of catholic worship have added many other articles to the sacramental vessels, which are enumerated by Siegel, from whom the above is extracted.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

§ 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The discipline of the ancient church, although derived from the Mosaic economy, was an original and peculiar institution, growing out of the peculiar circumstances of the early Christians; and fully illustrates their views of the stern and awful sanctity of the christian character. It has an immediate relation to the rites of baptism, and the Lord's supper; and should be studied in connection with them. In establishing this discipline, the church had respect only to the benefit of the offending member. Like an affectionate parent, she sought not simply to punish, but to correct. Like a good physician, her design was not the infliction of pain, but restoration to health. This system of discipline is distinguished especially for that protracted and severe probation to which an offending member of the church was subjected, as the only condition of his re-admission to the communion and fellowship of the church. This disciplinary treatment, which was known by the general name of *penance*, exacted of the offender many acts of humiliation, self-denial, and personal mortification, indicative of sincere repentance, and promising amendment and a consistent life in future. The institution of pen-

ance may, therefore, be regarded as the most important part of the discipline of the church.

The subject may, with propriety, be introduced by the following remarks.

1. Penance was required only of actual members of the church, who had become such by receiving baptism and the Lord's supper. No Jew or pagan could do penance; nor even a catechumen, because he was not strictly a member of the church.

2. Penance was not a *civil*, but an *ecclesiastical* penalty. It affected, not his relations to the state, but to the church exclusively.

3. Penance was entirely a voluntary duty; instead of being an unwelcome requisition, it was granted as a favor, and cheerfully sought. In this, perhaps, it was distinguished from all other forms of punishment.

4. In the ancient church, public penance was usually allowed but once. If, at any time, a repetition of the same was permitted to the same individual, it was an exception to the general rule.

5. The nature and duration of the penance was varied according to the aggravations of the offence committed. Every general rule on this point was subject to many exceptions, according to circumstances.

6. In many cases, the performance of penance was required through the whole term of the penitent's life; but the severity of this sentence was frequently mitigated.

7. The penitents were divided into several classes, differing according to time and place; but in the primitive church, they were carefully distinguished from each other.

8. The fulfilment of the prescribed penance, restored the offender to his former standing with the church; except in the case of the clergy, whose restoration was not complete and full.

9. The penance was often excessive, and injurious, in its tendency to the interests of the church; and, as exercised in the earliest centuries, was open to censure; but on the whole, it was productive of great good. In times of persecution and declension, especially, it was admirably instrumental in sustaining in the church, the spirit and power of religion.

A careful examination of this subject will require us to consider separately, the following points.

I. The origin and antiquity of penance.

II. Its subjects; or, the offences for which it was imposed.

- III. The different classes of penitents.
- IV. The duties of penitents, and the discipline imposed upon them, or the different kinds and degrees of penance.
- V. The restoration or re-admission of penitents into the church.

§ 2. THE ORIGIN OF PENANCE.

Penance in the christian church is an imitation of the discipline of the Jewish synagogue; or rather, it is a continuation of the same institution. Excommunication in the christian church is essentially the same as expulsion from the synagogue of the Jews, and the penances of the offender, required for his restoration to his former condition, were not materially different in the Jewish and christian churches. The principal point of distinction consisted in this, that the sentence of excommunication affected the civil relations of the offender under the Jewish economy; but in the christian church, it affected only his relations to that body. Neither the spirit of the primitive institutions of the church, nor its situation, or constitution in the first three centuries, was at all compatible with the intermingling or confounding of civil and religious privileges or penalties.

The act of excommunication was at first an exclusion of the offender from the Lord's supper, and from the *agapae*. The term itself implies separation from the communion. The practice was derived from the injunction of the apostle, 1 Cor. 5: 11. 'With such an one no not to eat.' From the context, and from 1 Cor. 10: 16—18. 11: 20—34., it clearly appears that the apostle refers, not to common meals, and the ordinary intercourse of life, but to these religious festivals.

Examples of penitence or repentance occur in the Old Testament; neither are there wanting instances, not merely of individuals but of a whole city or people, performing certain acts of penance,—fasting, mourning, etc., Nehem. ix. and Jonah iii. But these acts of humiliation were essentially different, in their relations to individuals, from christian penance.

We have, however, in the New Testament, an instance of the excommunication of an offending member, and of his restoration to the fellowship of the church by penance, agreeably to the authority of Paul, 1 Cor. 5: 1—8. 2 Cor. 2: 5—11. This sentence of exclusion from the church was pronounced *by the assembled body*, and in the

name of the Lord Jesus Christ. By this sentence, the offender was separated from the people of the Lord, with whom he had been joined by baptism, and was reduced to his former condition as a heathen man, subject to the power of Satan, and of evil spirits. This is perhaps the true import of delivering such an one up to Satan.

A similar act of excommunication is described briefly in 1 Cor. 16: 22. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema maranatha." The *μαρὰν ἀθά* corresponds, in sense, with the Hebrew *מָרָה*, and denotes a thing devoted to utter destruction. It is only the Syro-Chaldaic *מָרָה מְרָנָה* expressed in the Greek character, and means, "The Lord cometh." The whole sentence implies that the church leaves the subject of it to the Lord, who cometh to execute judgment upon him. All that the apostle requires of the Corinthians is, that they should exclude him from their communion and fellowship; so that he should no longer be regarded as one of their body. He pronounces no further judgment upon the offender, but leaves him to the judgment of God. "What have I to do to judge them that are without?" 5: 12, i. e. those who are not Christians, to which class the excommunicated person would belong. "Do not ye judge them that are within?" i. e. full members of the church. But them that are without God judgeth; or rather *will judge*, *κρινεῖ*, as the reading should be. It appears from 2 Cor. 2: 1—11, that the church had not restored such to the privileges of communion, but were willing to do so; and that the apostle very gladly authorized the measure.

On these important passages it is worthy of remark :

1. That the excommunication of the offender is, by the authority of the apostle, *the act of the whole church*.
2. This exclusion is called a "punishment," *ἐπιτιμία*, but it is carefully distinguished from a civil penalty, and from a judicial punishment by God.
3. No mention is made of any act of penance, either in kind or in duration, as the condition on which the excommunicated person was re-admitted to the church; but the silence of the apostle on this subject is not proof that such penance was not required. Especially is it worthy of remark that *satisfactory evidence of sorrow*, *λύπη*, on the part of the transgressor, for the sin committed, was the condition of his restoration to the church.

The history of the primitive church for the first three centuries, is more full on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline, than on any other. The apostolical fathers very frequently treat of it, and not only speak of penitence as a moral quality, and as a religious duty, but they also treat of penance as a part of church discipline. Tertullian, especially, recognizes this distinction; and says, that penitence ought not only to be felt in the mind, but to be manifested by some external act, *non sola conscientia proferatur, sed aliquo etiam actu administretur*.²

The Shepherd of Hermas treats expressly of this subject. This work, according to the most approved opinion of the learned, is not indeed the production of that Hermas who is mentioned by the apostle, Rom. 16: 14, but of some author of the second century.³ And yet it was held in such consideration by the early fathers as to be entitled to respect. Tertullian describes it as almost divine, *fere scriptura*; and as such, it was publicly read in connection with the Scriptures. The leading topic of this book is repentance and the forgiveness of sin. Mention is made of an angel of penitence, whose office it is to lead Christians, who have fallen into sin, to repentance, and to aid and strengthen them in this exercise.⁴ This angel teaches Hermas that true penitence is appropriately found in baptism; but that still opportunity for repentance is given to those who, after baptism, have been drawn into sin by the wiles of Satan, but this only *once, Unam poenitentiam habet*. It is, however, declared, that this repentance remains not to bold and presumptuous sinners, but only to those whose future repentance and reformation God had foreseen.^{5*}

Tertullian wrote an entire treatise on the subject of penitence, *De Poenitentia*, from which, and from many other passages in his writings, the conclusion is fairly derived that there was, in the second century, a complete system of discipline and penance extant in the church. This discipline he describes as consisting in exhortations, and censures, and *tokens of divine displeasure*. "For," he adds, "it is a consideration of great moment, that, if any one so offends as to be excluded from all intercourse, communion, and fellowship with the saints, it is seen and known of God, and deeply affects the offender in the future judgment." It is also worthy of consid-

* Or if, as some suppose, these works were written by Tertullian after he became a Montanist, we must consider this as one of those points on which he was known to differ from the majority of that sect.

eration that the author guards against a thoughtless and presumptuous continuance in sin, by according to transgressors the grace of repentance *but once* after baptism, and even this, he in another place denies to fornicators and adulterers.⁶ *

Cyprian of Carthage defends the same general principles, against the Novatians, who denied to the fallen christian professor the grace of God and the hope of eternal salvation, and accordingly refused him the benefit of penance and readmission to the church. His sentiments are fully developed in the note below, and in many of his writings.⁷ †

* *Ibidem* etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et iudicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii praeiudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii, relegetur.—Tertull. *Apologet.* c. 39.—Haec igitur venena ejus providens Deus, clausa licet ignoscen-
tia janua, et intinctionis sera obstructa, aliquid adhuc permisit patere. Collocavit in vestibulo *poenitentiam secundam*, quae pulsantibus patefaciat: sed jam *semel*, quia jam secundo. Sed amplius nunquam, quia proxime frustra. Non enim et hoc semel satis est? *De poenit.* c. 7. — Hujus igitur Poenitentiae secundae et unius, quanto in arto negotium est, tanto operosior probatio, ut non sola conscientia proferatur, sed aliquo etiam actu administretur. Is actus, qui magis vocabulo Graeco exprimitur et frequentatur, *exomologesis* (ἐξομολόγησις) est, qua delictum Domino nostrum confitemur: non quidem ut ignaro, sed quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione poenitentiae nascitur, poenitentia Deus mitigatur. Itaque *exomologesis* prosternandi et humiliificandi hominis disciplina est, conversationem, injungens misericordiae illicem; de ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat, sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, animum moeroribus dejicere, illa, quae peccavit, tristi tractatione mutare. Ceterum pastum et potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet, sed animae causa. Plerumque vero jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lacrymari et mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum tuum, presbyteris advolvi, et aris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suae injungere. Haec omnia *exomologesis*, ut poenitentiam commendat, ut de periculi timore Dominum honoret, ut in peccatorem ipsa pronuntians pro Dei indignatione fungatur, et temporali afflictione aeterna supplicia, non dicam, frustetur, sed expungat.—*Ibid.* c. 9.

† Ne igitur ore nostro, quo pacem negamus, quo duritiam magis humanae credulitatis, quam divinae et paternae pietatis opponimus, oves nobis commissae a Domino reposcantur: placuit nobis, *Sancto Spiritu suggerente, et Domino per visiones multas et manifestas admonente*, quia hostis imminere praenuntiatur et ostenditur, colligere intra castra milites Christi, exanimatis singulorum causis, pacem lapsis dare, imo pugnaturis arma suggerere; quod credimus vobis quoque paternae misericordiae contemplatione placiturum.

This system of church discipline existed at an early period in the Eastern churches, as well as in the Western. Clement of Alexandria teaches, from the Shepherd of Hermas, that penitence can be experienced but once after baptism; and that all subsequent appearance of repentance is not repentance.⁸ Origen appears to have entertained the same sentiments. *Semel tantum, idque raro, penitentia concedebatur*, was, according to Dupin, his doctrine.⁹

A prayer for penitents is given in the Apostolical Constitutions, which, together with the acts of several councils in the beginning of the fourth century, in connection with the foregoing testimonies, clearly prove the existence of an established system of church discipline as early as the second and third centuries. The prayer for the penitents, in the Apostolical Constitutions, is given in the note below.*

Quod si de collegis aliquis exstiterit, qui urgente certamine pacem fratribus et sororibus non putat dandum, reddet ille rationem in die iudicii Domino, vel importunae censurae, vel inhumanae duritiae suae.—Cyprian, *Ep.* 54 *ad Cornelium, de pace lapsis danda.*

* *Εὐξασθε οἱ ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ. ἔκτενωσ ἅντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν παρακαλέσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ φιλοκτίρωμων Θεὸς ὑποδέξῃ αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν μετανοίας, προσδέξῃται αὐτῶν τὴν παλινοδίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, καὶ συντριψῇ τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, καὶ λυτρώσῃται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ ἐξέλῃται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀθιμίτου λόγου, καὶ πάσης ἀτόπου πράξεως, καὶ πορηῶς ἐνοίας· συγχωρήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, τὰ τε ἐκούσια, καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν χειρόγραφον, καὶ ἐγγράφηται αὐτοὺς ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς· καθαρῇ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐνώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσας εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ποιήνην, ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσκει τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν. Ὅτι τις κωνχίσειται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν; ἢ τις παρήρησιάζεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας; ἅντες γὰρ ἐσμεν ἐν ἐπιτιμίῳις. Ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέστερον δεηθῶμεν, ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι, ὅπως ἀποστραφέντες πᾶν ἔργον ἀθιμίτον, προσοικειωθῶσι πάσῃ πράξει ἀγαθῇ, ἵνα ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἧ τὰχος εὐμενῶς προσδεξιόμενος αὐτῶν τὰς λιτὰς, ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἀγαλλίαισιν τοῦ σωτηρίου, καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηκέτι σαλευθῶσι· κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν, καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων· ἵνα ἄξιοι ἀποφανθέντες τῆς υἰοθεσίας, τύχωσι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. Ἔτι ἐκτενωσ ἅντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰπωμεν· κύριε ἐλέησον, σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ*

§ 3. SUBJECTS OF PENANCE, OR THE OFFENCES FOR WHICH IT WAS IMPOSED.

Penance related only to such as had been excluded from the communion of the church. Its immediate object was, not the forgiveness of the offender by the Lord God, but *his reconciliation with the church*. It could, therefore, relate only to open and scandalous offences. *De occultis non judicat ecclesia*—the church takes no cognizance of secret sins—was an ancient maxim of the church. The early Fathers say expressly, that the church offers pardon only for offences committed against her. The forgiveness of all sin she refers to God himself. *Omnia autem, says Cyprian, Ep. 55, remissimus Deo omnipotenti, in cujus potestate sunt omnia reservata.** Such are

Θεός, καὶ ἀνάστησον τῇ ἐλέει σου. Ἀναστάντες τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, κλίνετε καὶ εἰλογέσθε. Ἐπειχέσθω οἶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοιαύδε. Παντοκράτορ Θεέ αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστη καὶ πρῦτανι τῶν πάντων· ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κόσμον κόσμον ἀναδείξας διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νόμον δούς αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον καὶ γραπτόν, πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐνθέσμως, ὡς λογικόν· καὶ ἁμαρτόντι ὑποθήκην δούς πρὸς μετάνοιαν τὴν σαντοῦ ἀγαθότητα· ἐπίδε ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκλιότας σοι ἀσχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὅτι οὐ βούλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, ὥστε ἀποστρέψαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρῆς, καὶ ζῆν. Ὁ Νινευϊτῶν προσδεξάμενος τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὁ θέλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν· ὁ τὸν υἱὸν προσδεξάμενος, τὴν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀσώτως, πατρικοῖς σπλάγχνοις, διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν πρόσδεξαι τῶν ἰκειῶν σου τὴν μετάνοισιν· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅς οὐκ ἁμαρτήσεται σοι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, κύριε, κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται; ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἰλασμός ἐστι· καὶ ἀποκαταίστησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ προτιέῳ ἀξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

* Nos, in quantum nobis et videre et judicare conceditur, faciem singulorum videmus, cor scrutari et mentem perspicere non possumus. De his judicat occultorum scrutator et cognitor cito venturus, et de arcanis cordis atque abditis judicaturus. Obesse autem mali bonis non debent, sed magis mali a bonis adjuvari. *Id Ep. 55.*—Qua ex causa necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et praepositi in unum conveniamus ad disponenda ea, quae curae nostrae commissa sunt, ut si qua graviora sunt,

the concurring sentiments of most of the early writers on this subject. It was reserved for a later age to confound these important distinctions, and to arrogate to the church the prerogative of forgiving sins.

Various synonymous expressions occur in the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, to denote this mode of discipline, all of which are in accordance with the representations given above of penance, such as *disciplina*, *orandi disciplina*, *patientiae disciplina*, *deifica disciplina*, *satisfactio*, *satisfacere*, etc. The last mentioned terms imply a demand made by the church, on conditions imposed in order to a restoration to that body. Hence also the frequent expression, *poenitentia canonica*, *canones poenitentiales*—penitential exercises required by authority of councils and bishops.

In the ancient phraseology of the church, the *lapsed*, who, after professing Christianity had abjured their faith, were included among the proper subjects of penance. The term was frequently applied in a wider sense, but in this restricted sense the lapsed were divided into several classes. 1. The *Libellatici*—those who received from a Roman magistrate a warrant for their security, *libellum securitatis*, or *pacis*, certifying that they were not Christians, or that they were not required to sacrifice to the gods.¹ 2. The *Sacrificati*, including all those who had sacrificed to heathen gods, whether by constraint or voluntary.² 3. *Traditores*. This term came into use about forty years after the death of Cyprian, and was employed to denote those who had delivered up copies of the sacred Scriptures, church records, or any other property of the church.³ These were chargeable with different degrees of guilt according to the nature of their offence. They who had been guilty of murder and adultery were sometimes included under this class.

§ 4. DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PENITENTS.

Neither Tertullian nor Cyprian make any mention of different classes of penitents. It is therefore to be presumed that this dis-

communi consilio dirigantur, lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacram salutare a Diabolo vulneratis per poenitentiam medela quaeratur: non quasi a nobis remissione in peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur.—Firmilian, *Ep. ad Cyprian.*, *Ep. Cypri.* 75.

tion into several classes was made at a later period. They are first mentioned in the equivocal epistle of Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocaesarea, from A. D. 244 to A. D. 270. This classification was fully known in the fourth century,¹ and probably was first established in the latter part of the third century, or beginning of the fourth.

The penitents were divided into four classes or degrees, as follows :

1. *Προσκλαίοντες*, *flentes*, mourners, or weepers. These were rather candidates for penance, than actual penitents. They were wont to lie prostrate in the porch of the church. Sometimes they knelt or stood, entreating the faithful and the clergy to intercede for them for their forgiveness and reconciliation. Tertullian says, "they were accustomed to fall down at the presbyter's feet, and kneel to the friends of God and entreat all the brethren to intercede for them."² These were probably called *χειμάζοντες*, *hiemantes*, because they remained in the open air, not being permitted, on any occasion, to enter within the sacred enclosure of the church. Others suppose that demoniacs were designated by this name, from the convulsions to which they were subject.

2. *Ἀκροαμένοι*, *audientes*, hearers. These were permitted to enter within the doors, and to take their station in the narthex, or lowest part of the house, where they were allowed to hear the reading of the Scriptures and the exposition of them, but were denied the privilege of joining in the prayers of the church. Basil and others prescribe three years as the term of their continuance in this order.³ They were regarded as sustaining the same relations to the church as the first class of catechumens, and were known by the same name. They were distinguished however from the catechumens, by not being permitted to receive the imposition of hands.⁴

3. *Υποπίπτοντες*, *Γονυκλίνοντες*, *substrati*, or *genuflectentes*, prostrators, kneelers. These were much the same as the third class of catechumens, who also bore the same name. They were permitted to remain at public prayer, but only in a kneeling posture. The catechumens took precedence of them in attendance upon prayers, and sooner passed into a higher grade. In this class of penitents they continued three, and sometimes even seven years.⁵

4. *Συνιστάμενοι*, *consistentes*, by-standers. This class take their name from their being permitted to *stand* with believers, and to join

with them in prayer, but not to partake of the communion with them.⁶ Whether they were permitted to remain as spectators of the sacramental service is uncertain. They continued in this class for the space of two years.

Some have supposed, but without sufficient reason, that there was a fifth class of penitents. The truth rather is that the distinction between these classes was not uniformly observed. In the time of Cyprian, the bishop had not, indeed, authority officially to regulate the rules of penance; still he exercised a controlling influence in these matters. But by later ecclesiastical rules, the bishop was authorized to abridge or extend the time allotted for penance. The council of Ancyra especially accorded to the bishop a discretionary power in this respect, and particularly directs him charitably to consider the deportment of the offender, both before and after entering upon a course of penance, and grant him a dispensation accordingly.* This is the true origin of that practice which subsequently led to such enormous abuses—the *granting indulgences*.

The *Indulgentia paschalis*, so called, has a special reference to the penitents, and to their stations in the early church.

§ 5. OF THE DUTIES OF PENITENTS, AND THE DISCIPLINE IMPOSED UPON THEM; OR THE DIFFERENT KINDS AND DEGREES OF PENANCE.

Penance, as has been already observed, was wholly a *voluntary act*, on the part of those who were subject to it. The church not only would not *enforce* it, but they refused even to urge, or invite any to submit to this discipline. It was to be *sought* as a favor, not *inflicted* as a penalty. But the offending person had no authority, or permission, to prescribe his own duties as a penitent. When once he had resolved to seek the forgiveness and reconciliation of the church, it was, exclusively, the prerogative of that body, to prescribe the conditions on which this was to be effected. No one could even be received as a candidate for penance, without permission first obtained of the bishop or presiding elder.

* Τούς δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς δοκιμάσαντας φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι, ἢ πλείονα προστιθέναι χρόνον πρὸ πάντων δὲ καὶ ὁ προύγων βίος, καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐξεταζέσθω καὶ οὕτως ἢ φιλανθρωπία ἐπιμετρεῖσθω. *Conc. Ancyr. c. 5.* This rule was established also by *Constitut. Carolin. I. vii. c. 294.*

The duties required of penitents, consisted essentially in the following particulars :

1. Penitents of the first three classes were required to *kneel in worship*, whilst the faithful were permitted to stand.

2. All were required to make known their penitential sorrow by an open and public confession of their sin. This confession was to be made, not before the bishop or the priesthood, but *in the presence of the whole church*, with sighs, and tears, and lamentations. These expressions of grief they were to renew and continue, so long as they remained in the first, or lowest class of penitents, entreating, at the same time, in their behalf, the prayers and intercessions of the faithful. Some idea of the nature of these demonstrations of penitence may be formed from a record of them contained in the works of Cyprian.¹ Almost all the canons lay much stress upon the sighs, and tears, accompanying these effusions.

3. Throughout the whole term of penance, all expressions of joy were to be restrained, and all ornaments of dress to be laid aside. The penitents were required, literally, to wear sackcloth, and to cover their heads with ashes.* Nor were these acts of humiliation restricted to Ash Wednesday merely, when especially they were required.

4. The men were required to cut short their hair, and to shave their beards, in token of sorrow. The women were to appear with dishevelled hair, and wearing a peculiar kind of veil.²

5. During the whole term of penance, bathing, feasting, and sen-

* "Ὡστε ἕωθεν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ ἐνδυσόμενον σάκκον, καὶ σποδὸν καταπασόμενον μετὰ πολλῆς σποδιῆς, καὶ δακρύων προσπειεῖν. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 23.—Quis hoc crederet, ut saccum indueret, ut errorem publice fateretur, et tota urbe spectante Romana, ante diem paschæ in Basilica Laterani staret in ordine poenitentium? Hieron. *Ep.* 30, *Epit. Fab.*—De ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat, sacco et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare. Tertull. *De Poenit.* c. 9.—Totum corpus incuria maceretur, cinere adpersum, et opertum cilicia. Ambros. *ad Virgin. Lapsam* c. 8.—Agite poenitentiam plenam, dolentis ac lamentantis animi probate moestitiam. . . . Orare importet impensius, et rogare, diem luctu transigere, vigiliis noctes ac fletibus ducere, tempus omne lacrimosis lamentationibus occupare, stratos solo adhaerere, in cinere et cilicio et sordibus volutari, post indumentum Christi perditum nullum jam velle vestitum, post diaboli cibum malle jejunium, justis operibus incumbere, quibus peccata purgantur, elemosynis frequenter insistere, quibus a morte animae liberantur. Cyprian. *De Lapsis.*

sual gratifications, allowable at other times, were prohibited. In the spirit of these regulations, marriage was also forbidden.³

6. Besides these restrictions and rules of a negative character, there were certain positive requirements with which the penitents were expected to comply.

a) They were obliged to be present, and to perform their part at *every religious assembly*, whether public or private,—a regulation which neither believers nor catechumens were required to observe.⁴

b) They were expected to abound in deeds of charity and benevolence, particularly in alms-giving to the poor.

c) Especially were they to perform the duties of the *parabolani*, in giving attendance upon the sick, and in taking care of them. These offices of kindness they were expected particularly to bestow upon such as were affected with contagious diseases.

d) It was also their duty to assist at the burial of the dead. The regulations last mentioned are supposed to have been peculiar to the church of Africa.⁵

These duties and regulations collectively, were sometimes included under the general term *ἔξομολόγησις*, *confession*. By this, was understood not only *words*, but *works*; both, in connection, being the appropriate means of manifesting sorrow for sin, and the purpose of amendment.

§ 6. RE-ADMISSION OF PENITENTS INTO THE CHURCH.

The re-admission of penitents into the church was the subject of frequent controversy with the early fathers, and ancient religious sects. Some contended that those who had once been excluded from the church for their crimes, ought never again to be received again to her fellowship and communion. But the church generally, were disposed to exercise a more charitable and forgiving spirit.

The following general principles prevailed in the ancient church, in regard to the restoration of excommunicated members to their former standing.

1. There was no established term of time for the continuance of penance. The several grades each extended through three, seven, and even ten years; but the whole was varied according to circumstances, or at the discretion of the bishop.¹ The abuse and perversion of this privilege led the way to the sale of *indulgences* in the Roman Catholic church.

2. Sincere and unfeigned penitence was, alone, considered legitimate and satisfactory. It was called *poenitentia legitima, plena, justa*, when attended, both in public and in private, with lamentations, and with tears, and every demonstration of sincere penitential sorrow for sin. This was regarded more than the amount of time spent, under the discipline of penance.²

3. In case of extreme sickness, and in prospect of death, the excommunicated person might be forgiven and restored by the bishop, or by a presbyter or deacon, by virtue of authority delegated to him for this purpose. But in case of the recovery of the sick person, the whole prescribed course of penitence was usually required of him.³

4. When one of the clergy fell under ecclesiastical censure he was forever incapacitated from returning to the discharge of his official duties, even though restored to the communion of the church. A layman also, who had once been the subject of discipline in the church, was ineligible to any clerical office.⁴

In regard to the mode of receiving again the returning penitent, it may be remarked,

1. That the restoration was not only a public act, but a part of public worship. For this public absolution the obvious reason was assigned, that the restitution made by the offender, was in this way made as public, as the act of excommunication; and that the salutary influence of the discipline might be felt by the whole body of the church.

2. The same bishop, under whom the penitent had been excluded from the church, or his successor, was the only appropriate organ of restoring him to the fellowship of the church.⁵ This rule was so strictly enforced that the bishop, who should violate it, was liable to severe censure, or to be removed from office for the offence.⁶ To prevent any mistake, the names of excommunicated persons were publicly enrolled, and a list of their names sent to the neighboring dioceses.⁷ These regulations were severally observed in order that the church, who witnessed the offence, might also receive the full influence of the discipline with which it was visited.

3. The restoration usually took place on passion week, which was from this circumstance denominated *hebdomas indulgentiae*; or at some time appointed by the bishop. The transaction was performed *in the church*, when the people were assembled for religious worship; and for the most part immediately before the administration

of the Lord's supper. The individual, kneeling before the bishop in the attitude and garb of a penitent, and before the altar, or the reading desk, (*the ambo*,) was re-admitted by him with prayer and the imposition of hands.⁸ The latter rite, especially, was regarded as the significant and principal token of admission to the communion of the church. The *chrism* was also administered to heretics, but no other class of offenders.

4. No established form of absolution is recorded, but from analogy it might be presumed that some such was in use. Nothing like the modern method of absolving in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was known to the ancient church.⁹ The whole rite was frequently denominated "dare pacem," from which it is fairly presumed, that some such phraseology was included in the form of absolution.

5. The fifty-first Psalm was usually sung on this occasion, but not as a necessary part of the service.¹⁰

6. The sacrament was immediately administered as a token that the penitent was re-instated in all his former privileges, the disqualification for the clerical office only excepted.

§ 6. PRIVATE PENANCE.¹

"Properly speaking, public penance is such as relates to notorious offences, and is performed only before the church; private penance relates to sins confessed only to a priest, for which satisfaction is privately performed. It is private penance, thus closely connected with the practice of auricular confession, which has been exalted to the rank of a sacrament in the church of Rome.

No precedent or other authority in favor of this practice can be found in the New Testament. James, (5: 16,) relates to a *mutual* confession of sins; and demands no more confession of the people to a priest, than of a priest to the people. Roman Catholic writers, abandoning this passage, contend, however, that auricular confession is founded upon Scripture, inasmuch as it is a natural and necessary accompaniment of the power of forgiving sins, which they suppose to have been vested in the apostles, Matt. 18: 18. 16: 19. John 20: 23. Such is the position maintained by the council of Trent, (Sess. xiv. c. 3—6); the unsoundness of which has been, however, abundantly proved.

“ The more acute and judicious controversialists on the Romish side betake themselves to the authority of the fathers in this matter ; claiming Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and others, as bearing witness to the existence of private confession in their days. But it is found, upon examination, that the *ἐξομολόγησις*, or confessio, to which they allude, is quite another thing,—such, in fact, as has been already described ; a point which is fully conceded by a celebrated Roman Catholic antiquarian, Gabriel Albaspinæus. (*Observat. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 26.) The truth is, that the ancient writers speak of *ἐξομολόγησις* only in the sense of confession of sin to Almighty God, or as denoting public penance ; the whole exercise, in the latter case, being denominated from its introductory part. Concerning the former kind of confession, the fathers teach expressly that it is to be made only to God, and not by any means to man, whether the whole church or individual ministers, Basil. M. in Ps. 37: 8. Chrysost. *Hom.* 31 in *Ep. ad Hebr.* It is wholly unconnected with anything in the shape of satisfaction or penalty ; its only necessary accompaniment being repentance or contrition, with purpose of amendment. The other kind of confession related, as has been already explained, to those open or notorious offences, on account of which a member of the church had been excluded from her communion ; and it was required as a preparatory step in order to a restoration to ecclesiastical privileges. And together with this, we may rank the public confession of previous sins which was required as one of the preliminaries of baptism ; allusion to which is made by some of the earliest ecclesiastical writers.

“ During the Decian persecution, the number of penitents being very large, the bishop deemed it expedient to appoint certain presbyters to the especial office of receiving their confessions preparatory to public penance ; it having been already recommended, as a wholesome practice, that persons suffering under any perplexities of mind or troubles of conscience, should have recourse to some wise and skilful pastor for their guidance and satisfaction. The establishment of this office of penitentiary presbyters is related by Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. v. c. 19, and Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 16 ; from whom we learn also that it was never admitted by the Novatians ; that it was abolished at Constantinople, by Nectorius the bishop, in the reign of Theodosius ; and that this example was followed by almost all the bishops of the East, in whose churches the office was

accordingly discontinued ; but that it continued in use in the Western churches, and chiefly at Rome, to prepare men for the public penance of the church. The appointment of these penitentiary priests may be regarded as having led the way to the institution of confessors, in the modern acceptation of the term. But those officers were by no means identical, and ought not to be confounded with each other. The office of the penitentiary priests ‘ was not to receive private confessions in prejudice to the public discipline ; much less to grant absolution privately upon bare confession before any penance was performed ; which was a practice altogether unknown to the ancient church ;—but it was to facilitate and promote the exercise of public discipline, by acquainting men what sins the laws of the church required to be expiated by public penance, and how they were to behave themselves in the performance of it ; and only to appoint private penance for such private crimes as were not proper to be brought upon the public stage, either for fear of doing harm to the penitent himself, or giving scandal to the church.’ Bingham, *Antiq.* b. xviii. c. 3, § 11. The confession of sins was indeed private ; but it was destined to be made public in order to the performance of penance. The private or auricular confession of later centuries is quite different from the confession made to those penitentiary presbyters. Confession was not made to them, with a view of obtaining forgiveness from God ; but in order to procure restoration to the former privileges of the offended church. It was considered indeed useful and necessary to seek for both kinds of forgiveness at the same time ; but no christian minister claimed the power of pronouncing pardon in the name of God. See Schroeck, *Kirchensgeschichte*, iv. 318—321.

“ The regular establishment of the system of private confession and absolution is usually ascribed to Leo the Great, who represented not merely any particular penitentiary priests, but every priest, as possessing the power and authority to receive confession, to act as an intercessor with God on behalf of the penitent, and to declare forgiveness of sins in the name of God. But even the system introduced by this pontiff differed from that which has prevailed since the thirteenth century in the Roman church, inasmuch as the confession of sins was left to every one’s own conscience, and penance was still regarded as an entirely voluntary act, which no one could be compelled to perform ; nor was the priest supposed to possess in

himself any (delegated) power of forgiving sins. And subsequently to the age of Leo, it was considered as a matter quite at the option of an offender either to confess his sins to a priest, or to God alone.”

§ 7. RECAPITULATION.

For the purpose of illustrating to the common reader the views of the ancient church respecting this interesting and important subject, together with the motives which led to the observance of this system of discipline as detailed above, a recapitulation is inserted in the words of the popular author of whose labors we have taken occasion frequently to avail ourselves in the progress of this work.*

1. *Severity of discipline.* Widely as society, among the primitive Christians, was pervaded with the leaven of a pure and exalted morality, and well adapted as were the means they took to preserve that high standard of piety and virtue, their history bears melancholy evidence, that no precautions are sufficient to protect the purest associations of men from the intrusion of the unworthy. Even in the earliest age of the church, when the number of the disciples was small, and the apostles themselves presided over the interests of the infant body, the rules of christian propriety were frequently violated, and the most odious forms of hypocrisy and vice were found lurking under the cloak of a religious profession; and it is not surprising, therefore, that as Christianity enlarged her boundaries, and saw multitudes flocking to her standard in every region of the world, the number of delinquents proportionally increased. While some who had embraced the cause of Jesus from low and selfish considerations, and others who had brought over to the new religion a lingering attachment to the habits of the old, were often found acting in a manner that disgraced the christian name, or betrayed a spirit at variance with the requirements of the gospel, a more numerous class were driven, through weakness, or the fears of persecution, to apostatise from the faith, and defile themselves again with the profane rites of idolatry; and no description of offenders—not even those who were guilty of the grossest immoralities,—appeared in the eyes of the primitive church to have more degraded themselves, and to be covered with a darker shade of guilt, than those who, from a cowardly apprehension of torture and death, relapsed into the abomina-

* Jamieson, pp. 147—159.

tions of heathenism. From various causes, then, partly arising from the peculiar circumstances of the times, partly traceable to the general corruption of human nature, the primitive Christians were ever and anon distressed with the discovery of offences committed by some of their body against the name or the principles of Jesus ; and accordingly, one branch of their manners that presents itself pre-eminently to our notice, throughout the whole of their history, is the mode of treatment they observed towards their erring or fallen brethren.

That treatment was characterised by a rigor and an impartiality to which the discipline of succeeding ages has seldom furnished a parallel ; and indeed it is not wonderful, that they who adopted such extraordinary means to prevent the introduction of vicious or unworthy men into the church, should have been equally anxious for the stern and unsparing exclusion of all who were afterwards found wanting in the requisite qualities of faith and holiness. Whatever other faults the primitive Christians fell into at different periods, at no time did they lay themselves open to the imputation of laxity. On the contrary, so much did a severe and inflexible virtue regulate the terms of membership, during the whole period within which they flourished, that no sin, whether of that scandalous description that outrages every feeling of decency, or of that milder character that implies only an inconsistency with the spirit of the gospel, was allowed to pass, without receiving a due measure of censure or condemnation. Each successive age, though it added in many other respects to the religious observances of the preceding, transmitted the ancient discipline of the church unimpaired to posterity, and endeavored to preserve the christian society as a sacred enclosure, within whose precincts nothing unclean or unholy was permitted to enter or continue.

2. *Tenderness and sorrow for the offender.* But however firm and vigorous the hand with which they wielded the reins of discipline, they always tempered the infliction with the affectionate spirit of christian love, and combined unqualified detestation of the sin with lively pity and concern for the sinner. While, in executing that painful duty, they knew no man after the flesh,—would have addressed the language of reproof,—or passed the sentence of a long exile from the community of the faithful on their dearest earthly friend, if he deserved it,—they mourned over the fall of an erring

disciple as much as if they had been suffering a personal or family bereavement. The day on which such a doom was sealed, was a season of universal and bitter lamentation. The aged considered themselves as having lost a son or a daughter—the young, as having been severed from a brother or sister. Every one felt that a tie had been broken, and that an event had occurred which could be considered in no other light than as a dire and wide-spread calamity. Before, however, they allowed matters to reach that painful extremity, they never failed to resort to every means, in private, of reproving and admonishing the brother whom they saw to be in fault; and it was not till after they had tried all the arts of persuasion, and their repeated efforts had proved unavailing, that they brought the case under the notice of the church, and subjected the offender to that severe and impartial ordeal which few but the most daring and incorrigible had the hardihood to abide. It is scarcely possible for us, who live in a state of society so different, to conceive the tremendous effect of a sentence which cut off an obstinate offender from all connection with the church, and which, being solemnly pronounced in the name of God, seemed to anticipate the award of the judgment day. Looking upon the fallen disciple from that moment as an enemy of Christ and a servant of the devil, the brethren avoided his presence as they would have fled from plague or pestilence. They were forbid to admit him to their house, to sit with him at table, or to render him any of the ordinary offices of life,—and the man who should have been detected in his company, would have run the hazard of bringing his own character into suspicion, and of being thought a guilty partner of the other's sins.

3. *Tremendous effects of excommunication.* Few, but those in whom long habits of secret wickedness had almost obliterated every religious feeling, could remain long undisturbed and tranquil in a state which, considered as forsaken by God as well as by man, was attended with such a tremendous load of present misery,—and which imagination associated with the terrors of a dark and unknown futurity. The hearts even of the most hardened, if they bore up for a while, through their corrupt nature, and the love of their sinful practices, soon felt this unnatural boldness give way, and becoming alive to all the wretchedness of an excommunicated state,—the unhappy sinners, like persons standing on the brink of despair, placed themselves again at the gate of the church, and implored, in the

most importunate and abject manner, to be delivered from a condition which was more dreadful than death itself. From day to day they repaired to the cloisters, or the roofless area of the church,—for no nearer were they allowed to approach it,—and there they stood, in the most humble and penitent attitude, with downcast looks, and tears in their eyes, and smiting on their breasts; or threw themselves on the ground at the feet of the faithful, as they entered to worship, begging an interest in their sympathies and their prayers,—confessing their sins, and crying out that they were as salt which had lost its savor, fit only to be trodden under foot. For weeks and months they often continued in this grovelling state, receiving from the passengers nothing but the silent expressions of their pity. Not a word was spoken, in the way either of encouragement or exhortation; for during these humiliating stations at the gate, the offenders were considered rather as candidates for penance than as actually penitents. When at last they had waited a sufficient length of time in this state of affliction, and the silent observers of their conduct were satisfied that their outward demonstrations of sorrow proceeded from a humble and contrite spirit, the rulers of the church admitted them within the walls, and gave them the privilege of remaining to hear the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon. The appointed time for their continuance among the hearers being completed, they were advanced to the third order of penitents, whose privilege it was to wait until that part of the service when the prayers for particular classes were offered up, and to hear the petitions which the minister, with his hands on their heads, and themselves on their bended knees, addressed to God on their behalf, for his mercy to pardon and his grace to help them. In due time they were allowed to be present at the celebration of the communion, and the edifying services that accompanied it; after witnessing which, and offering, at the same time, satisfactory proofs of that godly sorrow which is unto salvation, the term of penance ended.

4. *Duration of banishment from the church.* The duration of this unhappy banishment from the peace and communion of the church lasted for no fixed time, but was prolonged or shortened according to the nature of the crime, and the promising character of the offender. The ordinary term was from two to five years. But in some cases of gross and aggravated sin, the sentence of excommunication extended to ten, twenty, and thirty years; and even in some cases,

though rarely, to the very close of life. During the whole progress of their probation, the penitents appeared in sackcloth and ashes,—the men were obliged to cut off their hair, and the women to veil themselves, in token of sorrow. They were debarred from all the usual comforts and amusements of life, and obliged to observe frequent seasons of fasting,—an exercise which, in the ancient church, especially among the Christians of the East, was deemed an indispensable concomitant of prayer.

5. *Solemn manner of restoring offenders.* On the day appointed for their deliverance from this humiliating condition, they came into the church in a penitential garb of sackcloth, and with a trembling voice and copious tears, took their station on an elevated platform, where, in presence of the assembled congregation, they made a public confession of their sins, and throwing themselves down on the ground, they besought them to forgive the scandal and reproach they had brought on the christian name, and to give them the benefit and comfort of their intercessory prayers. The brethren, moved with the liveliest emotions, at beholding one, to whom they had often given the kiss of peace, in so distressing a situation, fell on their knees along with him, and the minister, in the same attitude of prostration, laying his hands on the head of the penitent, supplicated, with solemn fervor, the divine compassion on him, and then raising him, placed him in the ranks of the faithful at the table of the communion.

This severe and protracted discipline, through which offenders, in the primitive church, were required to pass,—though several outward ceremonies usually entered as elements into the observance, was reckoned essentially a discipline of the mind; and it was as different from the bodily mortification, in which the votaries of Papal Rome comprise the whole duty of penitents, as the life-giving spirit is from the senseless form. Two grand and important objects were contemplated in its appointment,—the one to check every sin in the bud, and prevent the contagion of an evil example; for so jealous were the good and holy Christians of primitive times, of the least dishonor being done to their heavenly Master, or the smallest reproach being cast on his cause, that they lost no time in excluding from their society every one who refused compliance with the precepts of the gospel, or was not adorned with the fruits of its genuine and consistent disciples:—the other was to afford penitents sufficient

time to prove the sincerity of their sorrow, and to satisfy the church of their well-founded claims to enjoy its clemency and be restored to its privileges. It was the more necessary to adopt those measures of precaution, that in the days of primitive Christianity, multitudes, who from the ranks of idolatry came over to Christianity, retained a strong predilection for their early indulgences and habits, and were the occasion, by their vices and their crimes, of doing injury to the cause they embraced, to an extent of which we can scarcely form any idea. Accordingly, those who, under the pressure of severe sickness, or in the immediate prospect of death, were absolved and admitted to peace and communion, were, in the event of their recovery, required to place themselves again in that stage of their discipline at which they had arrived when arrested by their indisposition, and to complete the course in due order, as if no interruption had occurred; while, on the other hand, the sins of some were considered as of so black a hue, and involving such enormous guilt, that a life-time appearing far too short a time to enable them to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, they were doomed by a law, as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, to live and die under the ban of the church. In regard to those cases where penitents, in the progress of their trials, relapsed into sin, they were degraded to a lower rank, and obliged to enter on the task of probation anew,—an obligation, however, which, in such circumstances, was at once a punishment, and a favor granted to them as an act of grace, in the spirit of christian tenderness,—disposed to forbear a little longer with their weakness. But when a person who had gone through the routine of penitential observances, and was restored to the privileges of full communion, repeated his crime, or was convicted of another, the opportunity of again placing himself in the order of penitents was inflexibly denied, and no importunities or tears on his part,—no influence nor intercession on that of others, could open the gates of the church, which thenceforth were for ever shut against him.

6. *Impartiality of this discipline—story of Theodosius.* Nor was the discipline of the primitive church less distinguished for its impartiality than its rigor. Never was it known that the shield of protection was thrown over the head of a relative or a friend; never did a timid or time-serving policy lead its rulers to shrink from visiting with merited punishment the perpetrator of wickedness in high places. Let the offender be who or what he might,—whether old or

young, a male member of the community, or one belonging to the gentler sex ; whether invested with the sacred office, or moving in the humbler sphere of an ordinary brother ; whether a poor mechanic, or a christian prince,—all were equally amenable to the laws ; all were doomed indiscriminately to abide the consequences of violating them ; all required to submit to the same tedious and searching ordeal, as the indispensable terms of their restoration to christian society. The following historical anecdote, out of many similar ones that might be adduced, affords so interesting and remarkable a proof, with how steady and equal a hand the reins of ancient discipline were wielded, that we are confident our readers will excuse its insertion. The emperor Theodosius, who flourished about the year 370, was a prince whose character was adorned with many virtues, and who added to the other excellent qualities that distinguished him,—a firm and sincere attachment to the gospel of Christ. As the best of men, however, have their besetting sins, and their inherent faults, Theodosius inherited the infirmity of a keen and impetuous temper, which, on several occasions, hurried him to the inconsiderate adoption of measures which he afterwards found cause bitterly to lament. The most memorable of these occasions was the affair of Thessalonica. In that city of Macedonia, some enactments of the emperor had given so great and universal dissatisfaction to the inhabitants, that they assembled in an uproar, threatening to set the imperial orders at defiance, and sufficiently indicating their determined spirit of resistance by an attack upon the garrison, which was signalized by the massacre of the commanding officer, and several of the soldiery. The intelligence of this untoward event so incensed Theodosius, that he forthwith issued his mandate for reducing the whole city to ashes ; and the bloody edict would have been carried into prompt execution by the military, who participated in the feelings of their monarch, and breathed revenge for the loss of their slaughtered comrades, had not some christian bishops, by their powerful and importunate intercession, prevailed on the emperor reluctantly to recal his orders. The prime minister, however, was implacable, and by his incessant representations to his imperial master, that so ill-timed clemency would produce the greatest detriment to the public service, and weaken the hands of government especially in the provinces, succeeded in inducing Theodosius to reissue his command for exterminating the Thessalonians

with fire and sword. Seldom have the annals of history been stained with so foul a deed of perfidy and baseness. Proclamation having been made, that on a set day, the civil authorities would treat the populace to an exhibition of their favorite games, a vast concourse assembled, and the moment all eyes were rivetted to the spot, expecting the spectacle to commence, bands of soldiers rushed furiously from all quarters on the defenceless crowd, slaughtering all without distinction of age, sex, or condition. So dreadful was the massacre, that within three hours, 7000 people were stretched lifeless on the ground. Meanwhile a messenger had been posting night and day from the palace with a commission to stop the proceedings, the emperor having no sooner consented to the massacre than he relented; but the deputy did not arrive till the unfortunate Thessalonica had become a city of the dead, and Theodosius had to sustain in the eyes of God and man the guilt of such unparalleled cruelty. Not long after, circumstances occurred that rendered it necessary for the emperor to repair to Milan, when the celebrated Ambrose, bishop of the place, wrote him a letter, in which he severely reproached him for his base and horrible treatment of the Thessalonians. Nothing is known of the reception given to this letter, or of any further correspondence that may have passed between them on the subject, till, on the Lord's day, the emperor proceeding to public worship, Ambrose met him at the gates of the church, and peremptorily refused to admit him. This proceeding of Ambrose, extraordinary as it may appear to us, could not have been surprising nor unexpected to his sovereign, who was well aware that the austere discipline of the times doomed offenders of every description to wait in the arca or the porticoes of the church, and beg the forgiveness and the prayers of the faithful, ere they were permitted to reach the lowest station of the penitents. Self-love, however, or a secret pride in his exalted station, might perhaps have led Theodosius to hope that the ordinary severity of the church would be relaxed in his favor,—more especially, as the act imputed to him as a crime was justified by many urgent considerations of state policy; and under this delusion, he made for the church, never dreaming, it would seem, that whatever demur the minister of Christ might make, he would have the boldness to arrest the progress of an emperor in presence of his courtiers, and of the whole congregation. But the fear of man was never known to have made Ambrose flinch from his duty; and,

heedless of every consideration, but that of fidelity to the cause and the honor of his heavenly Master, he planted himself on the threshold of the church, and vowed, that neither bribes nor menaces would induce him to admit, into the temple of the God of peace, a royal criminal, red with the blood of thousands, who were his brethren,—all of them by the ties of a common nature,—many of them by the bonds of a common faith. Theodosius, thus suddenly put on his self-defence, took refuge in the history of David, who was also a sovereign; and who, though he had combined the guilt of adultery with that of murder, was yet pardoned and restored to favor by God himself, on the confession of his sins. “You have resembled David in his crime,” replied the inflexible Ambrose, “resemble him also in his repentance.” Self-convicted and abashed, the emperor abandoned all further attempts; and, returning to his palace, during eight months continued in a state of excommunication from christian fellowship, bearing all the ignominy, and stooping to all the humiliating acts required of those who underwent the discipline of the church. As the first annual season of communion approached, the anxiety of the emperor to participate in the holy rite became extreme. Often, in the paroxysms of his grief, did he say to the counsellor, who had advised the Draconic edict against the Thessalonians, “Servants and beggars have liberty to join in worship and communion, but to me the church doors, and consequently the gates of heaven, are closed; for so the Lord hath decreed, ‘Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.’” At length it was agreed between the prince and his favorite, that the latter should seek an interview with Ambrose, and endeavor to gain him over to employ a privilege of his order,—that of abridging, in certain circumstances, the period appointed for the duration of church discipline. The eagerness of his royal master could not wait his return, and, meeting him on his way, he was greeted with the unwelcome intelligence, that the faithful bishop considered it a violation of his duty, to remit any part of the just censures of the church; and that nothing but submission to the shame and degradation of a public confession of his sins could accomplish the object which was dearest to the heart of the royal penitent. On an appointed day, accordingly, Theodosius appeared in the church of Milan, clothed in sackcloth; and, acknowledging the heinousness of his offence, the just sentence by which he forfeited the communion of the faithful, and

the profound sorrow he now felt for having authorized so gross an outrage on the laws of heaven, and the rights of humanity, was received, with the unanimous consent of the whole congregation, once more into the bosom of christian society. Nothing can afford a better test of the simplicity and godly sincerity of the christian emperor, than his readiness to assume, in presence of his people, an attitude so humiliating. How deep must have been his repentance towards God,—how strong his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ,—and how many plausible reasons of personal honor and public expediency must he have had to encounter, ere he could bring himself, in face of a crowded assembly, to say, as he entered, “My soul cleaveth unto the dust; quicken thou me, according to thy word;” and ere he could throw himself prostrate on the ground, to implore the pardon of God and the forgiveness of his fellow men! And if this extraordinary history affords an illustrious example of genuine repentance, it exhibits, in no less memorable a light, the strictness and impartiality of primitive discipline. What minister would have dared to impose,—what prince would have submitted to undergo, a course of public penitence, so humiliating and so painful, if it had not been the established practice of the church to let no offenders escape with impunity.

§ 8. OF COUNCILS.*

Origin of ecclesiastical councils. Roman Catholic writers derive their authority for ecclesiastical councils from the example of the church at Jerusalem, as recorded in Acts xv. They regard that as the first ecclesiastical council; and from the deliberations and decisions of that body, they deduce the several conclusions following.

1. That the appropriate mode of settling questions relating to religious subjects is by council.

2. That the laity should be excluded from such councils; and yet the *whole church* took part in the deliberations at Jerusalem, Acts 15: 22, 23.

3. That the duty devolves upon the successor of St. Peter to preside in such councils.

4. That the results of such councils are to be communicated throughout the churches.

* From Siegel's Handbuch, vol. IV. pp. 406—425.

5. From the expression, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," Acts 15: 28, they infer the infallibility of these decrees of councils.

6. From the authoritative command of this council, they assert the duty of unreserved submission to the synodical decrees.

In answer to these arrogant pretensions it is sufficient to say, that no council is known to have been held for near one hundred and fifty years after this time. They then began to be held in Greece and Asia Minor. But they were only *provincial synods*, local and limited in their jurisdiction; though bishops and presbyters of other provinces were allowed to have a seat in them. These councils made no appeal whatever to divine authority or apostolic usage in vindication of their right of jurisdiction over the churches. They were composed only of the clergy, of whom merely the bishops are distinctly mentioned. They deliberated respecting the important affairs of the church, *altiora quaeque*; and prepared themselves for the public deliberations by watching and fasting. All this is fairly inferred from the incidental mention of these councils by Tertullian, who is the earliest writer that takes notice of them, *De Jejuniis*, c. 13, written near the end of the second century. The passage is given in the note below.*

About the middle of the third century, Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea, wrote to Cyprian an epistle in which he takes occasion to say that "the bishop, and elders annually assembled to deliberate upon ecclesiastical matters committed to their charge, that the most important of these might be adjusted by mutual consultation," which confirms the account of Tertullian relative to this subject.

An ecclesiastical council may be defined to be a synod, composed of *a number of representatives from several independent christian communities, convened together to deliberate and decide upon matters relating to the welfare of the church.*

* *Aguntur praeter ea per Graecias illa certis in locis concilia ex universis ecclesiis, per quae et altiora quaeque in commune tractantur et ipsa representatio totius nominis christiani magna celebratione veneratur. Et hoc quam dignum fide auspicante congregari undique ad Christum? Vide quam bonum et jucundum habitare fratres in unum! Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus coenas. Conventus autem isti stationibus prius et jejunationibus operari, dolere cum dolentibus et ita demum congaudere gaudentibus norunt.*

Such councils began to be held in Asia Minor, and the neighboring province of Thrace, towards the latter part of the second century; particularly from the year 160, to 173.² We know not indeed the particular reasons for which these councils were held, but we have every reason to suppose that the occasions were wholly incidental and temporary. As soon as any connection began to be formed between different independent churches, they might naturally be expected to form associations of this kind, to deliberate upon their common interests. Such a confederation was first formed among those very churches which were the first to unite in council.

The clergy, again, who were most in harmony with one another might be expected soonest to form associations for mutual deliberation; and such harmony of views it is well known prevailed especially among the clergy of those provinces. In such communities, where all had severally a right to bear a part in such deliberations, the council must, of necessity, have been composed of *representatives* from each. It is impossible that all could have convened collectively in council; as the representatives of their respective churches, the bishops and presbyters would of course be chiefly selected.

In this manner, what was at first done by common consent would, in time, become an established usage, and a right confirmed by common consent. The deacons may have remained at home, or they might have attended in council as members themselves of the clergy, or as amanuenses of the bishops. No mention is made of them in the accounts of these early councils. It is therefore to be presumed that their attendance or non-attendance was a matter of no special interest.

Such being the state of things, the crafty bishops would easily have seen that, by constant and uniform attendance in council, they acquired increasing consideration and respect. Such councils being frequently held, the primate, or metropolitan bishop would of course have the prerogative of convening and presiding over them.

The political form of government which prevailed in the Grecian states, no doubt had an influence in shaping the administration of their ecclesiastical affairs. The famous council of the Amphycitions were accustomed to assemble semi-annually from all the Grecian states. Something like this, we may easily suppose, would have obtained in the administration of their church government. In the absence of direct historical testimony to this effect, it is at least

remarkable that both the council of Nice, and the Apostolical Constitutions direct that ecclesiastical councils be held *semi-annually*, and at the same seasons of the year when the Amphyctionic council were wont to convene.³ The council of Nice only conformed to the established usage in settling upon these stated seasons for the convening of their body. This circumstance would show, beyond doubt, the influence of their political institutions in their ecclesiastical affairs, did not the letter of Firmilian above quoted, speak of their councils as being held annually, *per singulos annos*.

These councils of the Grecian states must, for a considerable length of time, have been circumscribed within very narrow limits. Tertullian knew nothing of them. Towards the beginning of the third century they began to be better known. The controversy between the Eastern and Western church relating to Easter, threw the whole christian world, with the exception perhaps of Africa, into commotion, and brought them together in opposing councils. Such councils were now held at Caesarea, or Aelia, and at Rome; in Pontus, and France; in proconsular Asia, in Mesopotamia, and probably in Achaia. Within the third century, councils began also to be held in Africa.

But without pursuing the history of these councils further, we will confine our attention to the following inquires relating to them.

1. What was the extent of their jurisdiction? 2. What was their peculiar organization? 3. Who were appropriately the constituent members of them?

1. *What was the extent of their jurisdiction?* At first they were, without doubt, *provincial synods*. This conclusion is fully implied from the fact, that nothing is said relating to this subject. Had their jurisdiction extended beyond the limits of their own provinces, it must have been mentioned. The synods of Asia Minor must be understood, therefore, to have been restricted to their own provincial limits; such as that of Hierapolis in Phrygia, which was chiefly inhabited by the Montanists. Those of Anchiolus were probably limited in their jurisdiction to Thrace, but if not, they were only an exception to the prevailing custom. The councils which were held in many places respecting the controversy on the subject of Easter, were assuredly provincial synods. Such were also the synods which were held in Arabia in the third century, A. D. 243 and 246. The same is true also of the synod of Rome held by Cornelius in the

year 251; and of the synod of Antioch, A. D. 252 against the Novatians, and again at Rome, A. D. 260. Three provincial synods were also held at Antioch, from the year 264 to 269, against Paul of Samosata. Still it is not to be presumed that all these were organized on precisely the same principles; the clergy from neighboring provinces may have had a seat and a voice in some of them. Men of great weight of character, and whose counsels were highly respected, were particularly desired to attend from other places, and the convening of the council was, at times, delayed in order to secure their attendance. Origen, in this capacity, attended the council in Arabia, and, by his learning and talents, settled the point in dispute to the satisfaction of the council. The bishops of Antioch also were so much embarrassed by the learning of Paul of Samosata, whom they would convict of heresy, that they invited the attendance of certain bishops from the Grecian provinces in Asia, including Palestine and Egypt. The metropolitan of Alexandria excused himself by reason of his great age;⁴ but many bishops from those provinces attended the council,—Firmilian from Cappadocia, Gregory and Athenodorus from Pontus, Helenus of Tarsus, Nicomas of Iconium; and the archbishops Hymenaeus of Jerusalem, and Theotecnus of Caesarea, together with the bishop Maximus, from Arabia. Paul, however, by his talents withstood them all; and the council dispersed without gaining any advantage over him.⁵ Foreigners, in like manner, attended both the second and third councils which were held for the same purpose. In the last council, a presbyter, Malchion, bore a conspicuous part, and was the principal agent in putting an end to the discussion.

About the same period of time other councils were held which were sometimes more and at others less than provincial synods. The council of Iconium, A. D. 235, consisted of bishops from Phrygia, Galatia, Cilicia, and other neighboring provinces. Another council was also held in opposition to this in a neighboring town, Synnada, of which we know only that it had little or no influence against the first at Iconium. But this is sufficient to show that no established system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at this time prevailed, even in the states of Greece, where such councils were first held.

In Africa, there was much less of system in these matters than in the Grecian states. Cyprian informs that he thought it necessary to convene a council of many of the clergy, to deliberate respecting

the common good, in which council many topics were proposed and discussed. But he adds, "I am aware that some will never change their minds, nor give over a cherished purpose; but however harmonious their colleagues may be, they will persist in the support of their own peculiar views. Under these circumstances it is not my business to attempt, by constraint, to give laws to any one; but, in the administration of the church, to leave to every one to the freedom of his own choice who must answer unto God for his conduct."

Ep. 72.

The first ecclesiastical council of Africa cannot be said to have been either provincial or general. Under Galba this country had been divided into *three* provinces. Constantine divided it into *six*. And yet it appears from Cyprian, Ep. 45, that the former division of Galba was still observed in the organization of the council, and that one even of these provinces was not represented; but for what reason does not appear. All, however, by common consent appear to have accorded to Cyprian at Carthage the right of convening a general council at his pleasure. This is the more probable from the fact that in the year 255, several bishops who apparently composed a provincial synod, appealed to him for the settlement of certain subjects of discussion among them.

The other councils in Africa were, for the most part, provincial in their character. Such was the council which was held before the time of Cyprian, the date of which is not distinctly known. So also were the councils held by Cyprian in the years 249, 251, 252, 255 and 256.

From all which it appears, that most of the councils which were held in Africa were limited in their jurisdiction, and provincial in their character. Some, however, were more general; and such was generally the character of the councils which were held in that country after the third century.

2. *What was the appropriate organization of the regular provincial synods?* In general, the ecclesiastic within the province, whether bishop, metropolitan, or patriarch, presided in these councils. The popular character of these assemblies would indeed have permitted any one to be elevated to the office of moderator. But the gradations of the priesthood, and the jealousy of the several orders were such that none but he that was highest in official rank could have been placed in the chair to the mutual satisfaction of all

classes. The presbyters would have claimed precedence of the deacons, the bishops of the presbyters; and so on until none should be found to dispute the claim with the highest dignitary of the province. The greatest number of the members of the council would also come from the diocese of the highest functionary, which circumstance would give him the strongest party in the election. And there are many other ways in which this seat might have been secured to him.

The results or decrees, of the councils were usually published in the name of the moderator. There are some instances in which the names of the attending bishops accompany the decree. Such, however, was not the usual custom. The metropolitans were jealous of their rights, and strove earnestly for a controlling influence in the councils. For the same reason they insisted that the result should be published under the sanction of their authority, and in their name. They usually had the address to cause their own opinions to prevail; and few had the independence to dispute them. Thus the metropolitan of Alexandria had the influence to cause his synod to banish Origen, A. D. 230. Cornelius effected the excommunication of three bishops at Rome, A. D. 251, in the same arbitrary manner. By such strides did the principal ecclesiastics advance their spiritual hierarchy; and so tamely did the subordinate members of their councils suffer the most esteemed men in the church to suffer unjustly under this spiritual despotism. The councils were merely the organ of the metropolitan to execute his arbitrary decrees.

3. *Who were appropriately members of these councils?* This inquiry is involved in much darkness and uncertainty. There is however satisfactory evidence that bishops and presbyters were entitled to bear a part in the deliberations of these assemblies. The letter of Firmilian, in the middle of the third century, makes distinct mention of presbyters, *seniores*. Origen, as a presbyter, attended the council of Arabia; and Malchion acted in the same capacity in the three councils of Antioch. Besides, there were very many churches under the care of presbyters, which, if represented at all in council as they evidently were, must send presbyters as their delegates.

Whether the *laity* were permitted to take a part in the deliberations of these councils as constituent members of them is an interesting and important inquiry. This is discussed at length by Walch, p. 121. He is clearly of opinion that the laity of the place where

the council was held had this right. Others are of opinion that, in the absence of their bishops, laymen of the province where the council was held were delegated to attend in their place. And yet it seems most probable that the laity *did not enjoy the right of acting as members of these councils*. One may indeed presume that, as representatives of the churches to which they belonged, they would be entitled to a place in the council ; but on this point history is silent. Had they exercised this right, it must have been a circumstance of such interest to the clergy that we can hardly suppose that it would have been passed over in silence, especially in the earliest periods of the history of ecclesiastical councils. Party spirit would, at times, have appeared among them, and their influence manifested itself on one side or the other. It seems, therefore, that care was taken that the deliberations of the council should not be disturbed by the presence of the laity.

The councils were usually held in the churches, or in buildings adjacent, and belonging to them ; and were open to the attendance of any as spectators.

A scribe or recorder is first mentioned as having attended the second council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata. They are also mentioned by Eusebius, 7. 29. Such clerks became common in the fourth century, who recorded at length the discussions and debates of the council.

We close this view of the early ecclesiastical councils by recapitulating the conclusions to which it has conducted us.

These councils were not formed after the model of that at Jerusalem which is described in Acts xv ; but took their origin and character from the peculiar circumstances of the church in those primitive times.

They were first held in the Grecian states ; and the political organization of these states probably had much influence in the formation of their peculiar constitution and organization.

They were convened at the call of the metropolitan, who also acted as the presiding officer of the assembly, and exercised a controlling influence over their deliberations and decisions.

The several orders of the clergy, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were regular members of these councils ; but the laity were not entitled to a seat in them.

They were unknown in Africa in the time of Tertullian ; but soon

after his death they became common, not only in Africa, but also in Spain, France, and Italy. Their organization, however, was less regular and systematic than in the Grecian states.

Both in the Eastern and Western churches they were, for the most part, merely provincial synods. Ecumenical councils were of a later date under the christian emperors.

The practical effect of these councils, from the beginning, was to give increasing consideration and influence to the clergy; which continually increased until it finally ended in the full establishment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.*

* For the sake of illustrating the manner in which these ancient councils were held, we have transcribed the following record of the third council of Carthage, held A. D. 256; or rather it is but an abstract of the debates of that council, for it was attended by no less than eighty-seven bishops, who were convened to decide whether or not baptism administered by heretics should be regarded as valid. It is found in Cyprian's Works, p. 329, ed. Baluz.

Cum in unum Carthagine convenissent Kalendis episcopi plurimi ex provincia Africa, Numidia et Mauritania, cum presbyteris et diaconis *præsentem etiam plebis maxima parte* et lectæ essent literæ Jubajani a Cyprianum factæ, item Cypriani ad Jubajanum rescriptæ de hæreticis baptizandis, quidque postmodum Cypriano Jubajanus idem rescripserit, Cyprianus dixit: Audistis collegæ dilectissimi, quid mihi Jubanus Coepiscopus noster scripserit, consulens *mediocritatem nostram* de illicito et profano Hæreticorum baptismo, et quid ego ei rescripserem, censens scilicet, quod semel atque iterum et sæpe censuimus hæreticos ad ecclesiam venientes ecclesia baptismo baptizari et sanctificari oportere. Item lectæ sint nobis et alia Jubajani literæ, quibus pro sua sincera et religiosa devotione ad epistolam nostram rescribens non tantum consensit, sed etiam instructum se esse confessus, gratias egit. Superest, ut de hac re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoves. Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse constituit, aut tryannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tumque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare. Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et praeponendi nos in ecclesiae suæ gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi. *Caecilius a Billa* dixit: Ego unum baptisma in ecclesia solum scio et extra ecclesiam nullum. Hic erit unum, ubi spes vera et fides vera.

Castus a Sicca dixit: Qui contempta veritate præsumit consuetudinem sequi, et circa fratres invidus est et malignus, *quibus veritas revelatur*, aut circa Deum ingratus, *cujus inspiratione ecclesia ejus instruitur*.

Zosimus a Tarassa dixit: Revelatione facta veritatis cedat error veri-

After the conversion of Constantine, the councils of the church fell under the influence of the Byzantine emperors; and at a still later period they submitted to the presidency and dictation of the bishop of Rome.

The celebrated council of Nicaea, A. D. 325, is distinguished as having been the first which pronounced a decision respecting a christian doctrine, or article of religious faith; as well as the first over which a temporal prince presided. It is also usually reckoned as the first general council; but it was, in fact, a council of only the Oriental church; the Spanish bishop Hosius, and two Roman presbyters, were the only ecclesiastics from the West by whom it was attended. All the particulars respecting this remarkable and important council are given by the authors who are mentioned in the index.⁶

The number of oecumenical or general councils is variously reckoned by different churches.

The orthodox Greek church enumerates seven, namely :

tati, quia et Petrus, qui prius circumcidebat, cessit Paulo veritatem prae-
dicanti.

Pudencianus a Cucculi dixit: Novitas episcopatus effecit fratres dilectissimi, ut sustinerem, quid majores judicarent. Num haereses nihil habere nec posse manifestum est. Atque ita, si qui ex eis venerint baptizari, acquissime statutum est.

Item alius *Lucius ab Avizia* dixit: Secundum motum animi mei et Spiritus Sancti, cum sit unus Deus, et unus Christus, et una Spes, et unus Spiritus, et una ecclesia, unum debet esse baptisma.

Victor ab Octavo dixit: Quod et ipsi scitis non olim sum episcopus constitutus et ideo expectabam praecessorum consilium. Hoc itaque existimo ut, quicumque ex haeresi venerint, baptizentur.

Natilis ab Oëa dixit: Tam ego praesens, quam Pompejus Sabratensis, quam etiam Dioga Leptimagnensis, qui mihi mandaverunt, corpore quidem absentes, spiritu praesentes, censemus, quod et collegae nostri, quod haeretici communicationem habere non possunt nisi ecclesiastico baptismo baptizati fuerint. — Non oportet episcopos, qui vocantur ad Synodum, negligere. — Sed abire et docere et doceri ad eccorrectionem ecclesiae et reliquorum. Si quis autem neglexerit, is se ipsum accusabit, praeterquam si propter intemperiam et aegritudinem non venerit.)

Cyprianus Carthagine dixit: Meam sententiam plenissime exprimit epistola, quae ad Jubajanum, collegam nostrum scripta est, haereticos secundum evangelium et apostolicam contestationem et adversarios Christi et antichristos appellatos, quando ad ecclesiam venerint, unico ecclesiae baptismo baptizandos esse, ut possint fieri de adversariis amici et de antichristis christiani.

	A. D.
The First of Nicaea	325
The First of Constantinople	381
Ephesus	431
Chalcedon	451
The Second of Constantinople	553
The Third of Constantinople	680
The Second of Nicaea	787

The church of Rome recognizes eighteen general councils, sanctioned by the pope, of which the council of Trent is the last. But Romish writers are not quite agreed upon this subject. A list set up in the Vatican, by command of Sixtus V, enumerates the following :

	A. D.
The First of Nicaea	325
The First of Constantinople	381
The First of Ephesus	431
Chalcedon	451
The Second of Constantinople	553
The Third of Constantinople	680
The Second of Nicaea	787
The Fourth of Constantinople	869
The First Lateran	1122
The Second Lateran	1139
The Third Lateran	1179
The Fourth Lateran	1215
The First of Lyons	1245
The Second of Lyons	1274
Vienne	1311
Florence	1439
The Fifth Lateran	1512
Trent	1545

It appears from this list that the councils of Pisa, A. D. 1409, of Constance, A. D. 1414, and of Basle, A. D. 1431, which are commonly regarded as general councils, are not recognized as such at Rome.

Protestants, for the most part, recognize four general councils, namely :

	A. D.
Nicaea	325
Constantinople	381
Ephesus	431
Chalcedon	451

Some receive also :

The Second of Constantinople	553
The Third of Constantinople	680

CHAPTER XVIII.

DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.

This interesting portion of Christian Antiquities is passed in silence, by Augusti, Rheinwald and Siegel. But it is indispensable in order to form a just estimate of the character of the primitive Christians, and of the true spirit of their religion.

The following compilations are accordingly made from Jamieson, to whom frequent reference has been made in the progress of this work ; and from an article by Prof. Stowe in the *Biblical Repository* for July, 1840. These representations, however, should be understood as relating to the earliest periods of the church, antecedent to the sad declensions which soon overshadowed the cloudless light in which Christianity arose upon the world.

§ I. OF THEIR MODE OF LIFE.

Among the primitive disciples, Christianity made no essential difference in their relations to society and the external world, more than it does among their followers in the present day. Apart from the faith they had embraced, and the altered estimate it led them to form of the scenes and the pleasures of the world, their new views occasioned no change in their rank, their profession, or their outward circumstances in life. In general, they lived like other men around

them—speaking the same language, partaking of the same fare, observing the same intervals of labor and repose, and in everything that was honorable, pure, and of good report, conforming to the rules and the habits which custom had established. The mechanic wrought at his trade, the husbandman prosecuted the labors of the field, the merchant repaired to his shop, the soldier continued in the ranks,—men went, from day to day, and from place to place, obeying the calls of business and friendship as before ; and instead of separating from their former acquaintances, or withdrawing into solitude from the avocations to which they had been bred, and by which they lived, they gave no symptoms, in any of these respects, of a change of habits, except that, being furnished with higher motives, they attended with an activity, a diligence, and fidelity greater than ever, to all the claims of society and the offices of life. In the earliest times, indeed, when persecutions were frequent and severe, there were many Christians, male and female, married and unmarried, who, justly persuaded that nothing should come in competition with their fidelity to Christ, and fearing, at the same time, their own inability to remain steadfast and immoveable amid the fiery trials by which they were assailed, resolved on abandoning for a time their place and possessions in the world, and fleeing to distant mountains and inaccessible deserts, where they spent their time in the service of God, and continued, at a distance from temptations to apostasy, the exercises of meditation and prayer. But when peace was restored, and the profession of Christianity was no longer proscribed and dangerous, this measure of prudence was no longer resorted to,—those who had found it expedient, for the preservation of their christian fidelity, to take such a step, quitted their temporary retirement : and although there were some who having come, through habit, to prefer a solitary life, remained in their adopted habitations in the wilderness, the great majority of these voluntary exiles returned to the circle of their families and friends, and mingled as before in the wonted scenes and activities of life. Indeed, it was no part of the creed of the primitive Christians, that on embracing the religion of Jesus, they were required to give up all concern in the secular business, or to become dead to the comforts and innocent enjoyments of the world.

* “ We are no Brahmins,” says Tertullian, *Apol. c. 42*, “ we are no Hindoo Fakiers, we are not eremites or hermits, who flee from life.

We are well aware of the obligations we owe to God, our Creator and Lord. We reject the enjoyment of none of his gifts; we seek only to preserve the requisite moderation, and to avoid abuses. We do not live in this world without participating in your markets, your baths, your public houses, your workshops, your auctions, and everything which pertains to the commerce of life. We engage with you in navigation, in military service, in agriculture, in trade. We engage with you in manufactures, and devote our labor to your benefit."

§ 2. OF THEIR DRESS AND FURNITURE.

Nothing may appear more purely a matter of indifference, than the choice of the fashion and color of dress; and yet, in the circumstances of the primitive Christians, articles of that nature did acquire such an importance in their eyes, that they gradually fell into a style of clothing peculiar to themselves. Not that they affected any singularities in their personal appearance—for their habiliments were made and worn in the ordinary fashion of the time and place,—and Christians, whether they were found in the high, the middle, or the lower ranks, were accustomed to equip themselves in a manner suitable to the decencies of the state or profession to which they belonged. But, looking to the moral influence of dress, desirous of avoiding everything that might minister to vanity, or lead the wearer to forget, in attending to the outward man, the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, they studiously rejected all finery as unbecoming the humility of their character, and confined themselves to a suit of apparel, remarkable not so much for the plainness of the material, as for the absence of all superfluous ornament. Everything gaudy or sumptuous, that partook of the costly stuffs, or the crimsoned dyes that suited the luxurious taste of the times, was discountenanced by the spiritually minded followers of Christ; and, though many of them were entitled by birth or otherwise to appear in the flowing folds of the graceful toga, yet, even that favorite garb, while it was retained for the valuable privileges it conferred, was looked upon as too gay and splendid for ordinary use, and was by most, if not by all Christians, laid aside for the common pallium or cloak, to which the preference was given on account of the air of greater modesty and gravity that was supposed to belong to it. Moreover, among the Christians of the

East, the custom early prevailed of wearing garments of no other color than white,—in order that they might carry about with them a perpetual memorial of the purity of character that became their profession ; and there were others in various parts of the world, who thought it their duty to carry the imitation of Christ to the extent of wearing the meanest and most common attire of one in the form of a servant. But neither of these extravagances met with very general countenance ; and the greater part contented themselves with a dress, free from all approach to gaudiness and pomp, betraying no symptoms of an anxious and elaborate decoration of the person, and conspicuous only for its neat and cleanly appearance.

The same simplicity and plainness reigned throughout the domestic establishment of the Christians. Most of the primitive disciples, indeed, were in circumstances that offered no temptations to indulge in the splendor or variety of ornamental furniture. Their inventory of goods embraced only a few simple articles of use, which their personal and family wants required, and it may be supposed, therefore, that there was nothing remarkable in the absence from their houses, of all traces of pomp and elegance, which they neither possessed the means, nor entertained the hope of acquiring. But even those of their number, who were persons of rank and opulence, amply provided with resources to gratify a taste for ornament, chose to content themselves with such things as were recommended by their utility rather than their elegance, and calculated to answer the purposes of necessity and comfort, rather than to gratify the lust of the eye and the pride of life. Seats and cabinets, finished with the costly veneering of tortoise-shell, and couches ornamented with the rich embroideries of Babylon ;—vessels of gold and silver, the numberless statues and other graceful accompaniments, of all sizes and forms, which adorned the chambers, the porticoes, and gardens of the rich, and indicated the epicurean taste that distinguished the age, disappeared from the houses of the Christians as inconsistent with a humble and mortified life ; and however refined and exquisite the taste which, through education and the habits of society, any of them had acquired, they learned to subject it to the higher principle of denying themselves to everything that tended too much to captivate the senses, and increase their love to a world, the fashion whereof they thought was soon to pass away. This indiscriminate rejection of the elegancies of life, has frequently exposed the memory of the primitive

Christians to the sneer of the infidel, and the unmeasured indignation of the enthusiastic admirer of the arts; and, perhaps, in some instances, there may be a foundation for the charge, that they manifested an uncalled-for severity in their too great and unqualified contempt of pleasures, which become sinful only when indulged to a criminal excess. But to a people on whose minds the doctrines of Christianity had burst with all the force and vividness of a new and important discovery, and among whom the impression almost universally prevailed, that the years of the world were about to close, it was natural to regard with jealousy and treat with neglect all the forms of earthly pomp and beauty, that tended to supplant their desires for the objects and glories of that better world on which their hearts were fixed. Although the indifference and superiority to the world which Christianity requires, lies solely in the state and affections of the mind, and this spiritual habit may be cultivated in the most opposite circumstances of affluence or poverty, it was natural that the Christians, in the first ardor of their faith and hope, should overlook this distinction, and consider that their safety consisted in the complete abandonment of luxuries and pleasures, the thought of which was so ready to come in competition with concern for their souls.

§ 3. OF THEIR DIET AND MODE OF TAKING THEIR MEALS.

The tables of the primitive Christians were distinguished by the greatest frugality and temperance. Their grand principle was to eat and drink in order to satisfy the cravings of nature, and invigorate their bodies for a renewal of their necessary labors; and while, on the one hand, they knew nothing of the austere and painful abstinence, which after-ages of ignorance and superstition came to practise and extol as highly meritorious, they were equally careful, on the other hand, to check the indulgence of a nice and fastidious taste in the gratification of the palate. There was nothing, indeed, which they seem to have been more solicitous to avoid than any imitation of the excessive luxury and epicurean habits of their contemporaries; and justly accounting all excess, whether in eating or in drinking, as incompatible with the maintenance of purity, and attention to spiritual duties, they inflexibly adhered to the rule of abstaining from everything that tended to inflame the passions, or to engen-

der any hawking after the pleasures of sense. On no species of food did they lay an interdict, except on things strangled, and on blood, according to the council of the apostles, which, for many ages, continued in force among the Christians,—and such high seasoned viands as were heating to the frame. Those of the East, indeed, who, living in a warmer climate, were always distinguished by their habits of austerity and abstinence beyond Christians in other places, preferred the flesh of fish or fowl to the grosser and more succulent flesh of quadrupeds. Many of them even lived wholly on a diet consisting of preparations of milk, or of vegetables, or such light fruit as figs and dates. Wine was freely admitted to the tables of the primitive Christians—their notions of propriety, however, forbidding the use of it to women and young people. But even by the other sex it was drunk sparingly; and though chiefly the weak wine of the country, was always, according to the practice of the ancients, diluted with water. To have continued long indulging in such a luxury, or to have been discovered smelling the flavor of the wine-cup,—to have made sumptuous preparations for the table,—to have betrayed much anxiety about the cookery, or produced a great variety of viands and spicery at their entertainments, would, in those early days of Christianity, have brought discredit, if not ruin, on the religious character of the individual. And yet there were no austerities then in vogue among the Christians. Looking upon all the creatures of God as good for food, they deemed themselves at perfect liberty to make use of them as suited their convenience and their taste, at such times and in such a measure as temper, constitution, or age, required; and they never dreamed of imposing any limits to the enjoyment of the comforts of life, beyond what reason and religion prescribed. But justly accounting an ill regulated and luxurious appetite as the source of innumerable evils, and placing their highest ambition and pleasure in the attainment of spiritual excellence, they practised the greatest abstemiousness, confining themselves to the plainest and simplest fare; in many instances taking only one meal, in none more than two a-day, and then never carrying their indulgence in the pleasures of the table further than that temperate use of them which was necessary to repair the bodily vigor, and which left the mind free and ready, as occasion offered, to engage in prayer or other exercises of religion. The object they proposed to themselves by the practice of such singular moderation

was that of mortifying the senses, and enabling them to wield with a firmer hand the reins of discipline over the motions and appetites of their corrupt nature ; and that they entertained not the most distant idea of making a vain and Pharisaic parade of their abstinence, or were accustomed to regard it in no other light than as simply a means of promoting the great end of their moral and religious improvement, is evident from the following, out of innumerable anecdotes, by which we might illustrate this branch of their customs. Among the martyrs that fell during the violent persecution of the Christians at Lyons, was a young man of the name of Alcibiades, distinguished for the exalted piety of his character, and who had for years accustomed himself to a small and sordid diet. When thrown into the dungeons, he continued the same habits of living, which, though long custom had rendered them easy to himself, gave offence, it seems, to several of his fellow-prisoners, who found it impossible to conform to his standard of abstinence. At length one of the confessors, undertaking seriously to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of refusing to enjoy the gifts of a bountiful Providence, and thereby creating jealousy in the minds of others, Alcibiades listened in a christian spirit to the friendly admonition, and from that moment, laying aside all singularity, indiscriminately partook of whatever was provided for himself and his brethren in distress. Thus admirably did the primitive Christians observe the golden mean, by avoiding equally the extremes of sordid penury and luxurious gratification of the senses. Their frugal diet acquired a relish from their previous labors ; and while they never denied to themselves any of the good things of life, as far as was consistent with the ends of sobriety and religion, they considered it their duty always to keep within the bounds of that "temperance which is a fruit of the Spirit."

The manner in which they conducted their repasts was itself an effectual preservative of temperance, while, at the same time, it was eminently characteristic of the piety and spirituality of the primitive age.—When dinner had been served, and the family had taken their seats at the table, the master of the household, with a grave and solemn voice, and in a prayer of considerable length, acknowledged their dependence on the care of their common Father, expressed their gratitude for the past tokens of his bounty, and invoked him to bless, for their health and comfort, the provisions of which

they were about to partake. During the progress of the meal, some member of the family in houses of the lower class, or some hired reader, in those of the richer orders, entertained the company with select portions of the Scriptures; for so strong and insatiable was their appetite for spiritual food, that they could not rest satisfied and happy without providing suitable refreshment for the soul at the same time that they were enjoying the comforts of the body. The viands being removed, the family circle was drawn more closely together, —for now were unfolded, and put into the hands of all, the precious scrolls in which, in those days, the Scriptures were written. Previous to this, however, each was expected to put himself in an attitude of becoming reverence; the hands were carefully washed, that not a stain might fall on the Sacred Volume, and, while the men remained with their heads bare, the women covered themselves with a veil, as a token of respect for the Book of God. The head of the family then read aloud a few passages, both from the Old and the New Testament, accompanying them with some plain and simple admonitions of his own, or recalling to the memory of his audience the public exhortations which, on the preceding Sabbath, had been founded on them in the church; or he taught the younger branches of the house to repeat after him the beautiful prayer which was dictated by the lips of the Saviour; and told them, in simple phrase, of the love which God bears to the young, and of the blessedness of remembering their Creator in the days of their youth. These readings and exhortations were always short, and diversified, at intervals, by sacred music,—of which the primitive Christians were passionately fond. Sometimes one, distinguished by taste and talents for spiritual songs, sung some favorite piece of sacred melody; at other times, the shrill voices of the women and the children were blended in full chorus with the deeper tones of the men,—till, as the hour set apart for refreshment drew towards a close, the venerable parent, whose look and attitude called for momentary silence, gave thanks to the Giver of all good, for the enjoyment of their natural and spiritual comforts, and prayed that his presence and his blessing might be with them during the succeeding period of labor and duty. Thus, among the primitive Christians, their ordinary refreshments were sanctified with the Word of God and with prayer; and thus were the words of eternal truth interwoven, in the most agreeable and captivating manner, with the habits and the pleasures of every-day life.

§ 4. OF THEIR DAILY DEVOTIONS.

Instead of consuming their leisure hours in vacant idleness, or deriving their chief amusement from boisterous merriment, the recital of tales of superstition, or the chanting of the profane songs of the heathen, they passed their hours of repose in rational and enlivening pursuits, found pleasure in enlarging their religious knowledge, and entertainment in songs that were dedicated to the praise of God. These formed their pastime in private, and their favorite recreations at their family and friendly meetings. With their minds full of the inspiring influence of these, they returned with fresh ardor to their scenes of toil ; and to gratify their taste by a renewal of these, they longed for release from labor, far more than to appease their appetite with the provisions of the table. So far were these sacred occupations from being regarded as mere matters of routine by the primitive Christians,—so much were the sentiments and the melody of the sacred songs engraven on their memories and dear to their hearts, that after they had left the family group and repaired to their respective employments, they were wont to cheer themselves in private, amid the various processes of labor, with repeating the songs of Zion. Young women sitting at their distaff, and matrons going about the duties of their household, were constantly humming some spiritual airs. And Jerome relates of the place where he lived, that one could not go into the field without hearing the ploughman at his hallelujahs, the mower at his hymns, and the vine-dresser singing the Psalms of David.

But it was not merely at noon, and in time of their meals, that the primitive Christians read the Word of God and sang praises to his name. At an early hour in the morning the family was assembled, when a portion of Scripture was read from the Old Testament, which was followed by a hymn and a prayer, in which thanks were offered up to the Almighty for preserving them during the silent watches of the night, and for his goodness in permitting them to meet in health of body and soundness of mind ; and, at the same time, his grace was implored to defend them amid the dangers and temptations of the day,—to make them faithful to every duty, and enable them, in all respects, to walk worthy of their christian vocation. During the day, they had, like the Jews, stated seasons, at the third, sixth, and

ninth hours, corresponding respectively to nine, twelve, and three o'clock, according to our computation, when those who had command of their time, were wont to retire for a little to engage in the exercises of devotion. In the evening, before retiring to rest, the family again assembled, when the same form of worship was observed as in the morning, with this difference, that the service was considerably protracted beyond the period which could be conveniently allotted to it in the commencement of the day. Besides all these frequent observances, they were in the habit of rising at midnight to engage in prayer and the singing of Psalms,—a practice of venerable antiquity, and which, as Dr. Cave justly supposes, “took its origin from the first times of persecution, when not daring to meet together in the day, they were forced to keep their religious assemblies in the night.”

While the Christians, in their family capacity, observed these periodical seasons of devotion, they laid hold of many opportunities, both stated and occasional, of praying in private. In addition to the secret supplications which every morning and evening they addressed to the throne of grace, they were accustomed, on every proper and convenient occasion, to begin and terminate all their actions with prayer,—either audible or silent, according to circumstances. On receiving any personal or domestic token of the divine goodness, when engaged in any important undertaking, such as sowing their seed, or reaping their harvest,—laying the foundation of a house or taking possession of it,—placing a web in the loom, or putting on a new suit of clothes,—entering on a journey, or going into a bath,—forming a new relation, or parting with a friend,—mingling with company,—at the beginning or closing of a letter,—they indulged in the aspirations of prayer: and so much did they familiarize themselves with its spirit and its sentiments, that they seemed to have cultivated the habit of constant mental intercourse with their heavenly Father. Prayer, indeed, was the grand element that pervaded the life of the primitive Christians; for that spiritual exercise, being not so much a separate and formal act, as a habit and frame of mind, and consisting of all the various elements of praise and thankfulness, confidence and hope, obedience and love, so these principles of a new nature, being established in their minds, and diffusing a sanctified influence over the whole tenor of their walk and conversation, gave vigor to their faith, stability to their vir-

tue, and fed, like a perpetual spring, all the streams of christian activity and excellence, for which they were so remarkable.

The epistle to Diognetus, written early in the second century,* contains the following description of Christians: "They are not distinguished from other men by their place of residence, their language or manners. Though they live in cities of the Greeks and barbarians, each where his lot is cast, and in clothing, food, and mode of life, follow the customs of their country, yet they are distinguished by a wonderful and universally astonishing walk and conversation. They dwell in their own native land, but as foreigners; they take part in everything as citizens, they endure everything as foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and their native country as a foreign land. They live in the flesh but not after the flesh. They dwell on the earth, but they live in heaven; they obey the existing laws, but by their life elevate themselves above the laws. They love all men, and are persecuted, misunderstood, and condemned by all. They are slain and made alive; they are poor and make many rich; they suffer want in everything and possess abundance in everything; they are cursed and they bless. In one word, what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. As the soul is diffused through all the members of the body, so the Christians are spread through all the cities of the world. The soul indeed dwells in the body, but it is not of the body; so Christians dwell in the world, but they are not of the world. The invisible soul is shut up in the visible body; and so men know Christians as inhabitants of the world, but their life is hid with Christ in God. The flesh hates and fights the soul, though the soul does no injury to the flesh, but only prevents its giving itself up to its lusts; so also the world hates Christians; they do it no harm, but only set themselves against its lusts. The soul loves its hating flesh, and so Christians love those by whom they are hated. The soul is shut up in the body, and yet it is that by which the body is held together; and Christians are held to their post in the world, and it is they who hold the world together. The immortal soul dwells in the mortal body, and Christians dwell as strangers in the corruptible world, and await the unchangeable life in heaven. So important a part has God entrusted to them, which they dare not forsake."

* Neander, K. G. I.—By Professor Stowe.

§ 5. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN.

There is not among the many interesting traits of christian character with which the history of the early Christians abounds, one that stands out more frequently in beautiful and prominent relief, than the tender solicitude and the winning arts which they employed to imbue the susceptible minds of the young with the knowledge and the faith of the Scripture. While they were fondled on the knee, and still watched by the careful eyes of their nurse, the first words they were taught to lisp and articulate were the sacred names of God and the Saviour. And the whole range of nursery knowledge and amusement was comprised in narratives and pictures, illustrating episodes in the life of the holy child, or parables the most simple and interesting in the ministry of Christ. As their minds expanded, they were taught, along with the grand doctrines of Scripture, which, according to the approved fashion of those days, were rendered familiar by apposite similitudes from nature, the Proverbs of Solomon, and those passages of the sacred volume which relate particularly to the economy of life.

Religion, in short, was the grand basis of education, the only subject which, during the first years of life, they allowed their children to be taught; and in order to present it to their minds with the greater attractions, and entwine it with their earliest and purest associations, they adopted the happy expedient of wedding it to the graces of poetry, and rendering it more memorable by the melody of numbers. From the earliest period of christian antiquity, there were authors who, like Watts in modern times, "condescended to lay aside the scholar, the philosopher, and the wit, to write little poems of devotion, adapted to the wants and capacities of children," and these, set to well-known and favorite airs, borrowed from the profaner songs of the heathen, were sung by the Christians at their family concerts, which enlivened their meals, and by which alone the still and peaceful tranquility of their homes was ever broken. Ere long, their children were taught common, and frequently shorthand writing, in lines taken from the Psalms, or in words of sententious brevity, in which the leading doctrines of the gospel were stated; and at a later period, when the progress of toleration allowed christian seminaries to be erected, the school books in use con-

sisted chiefly of passages of the Bible versified, and of the poetical pieces which illustrated or enforced the great subjects of faith and duty. The most celebrated of these were compositions of the two Apollinares, grammarians of high reputation in Syria—the elder of whom, in imitation of Homer, wrote the *Antiquities of the Jews* in heroic verse, down to the reign of Saul, while the first of the sacred story he described in such metrical forms as corresponded to the verses of the Greek Tragedians, and the lyrical ballads of Pindar. The department undertaken by his son, was that of reducing the history of the evangelists and the epistles of Paul into the form and style of Plato's dialogues; and with so much taste and elegance were both of these works compiled, that on their first appearance they took their place among the most esteemed productions of the Fathers. Besides these, there was a collection of miscellaneous poems on sacred subjects, and in all sorts of verse, by the famous Gregory Nazianzen, in very extensive circulation. By means of these, and of many other evangelical books which have long ago become the prey of time, the christian youth were introduced to the elements of pure and undefiled religion, and their taste for knowledge and the beauties of learning created and formed by works in which salvation was held up as the one thing needful, and no achievements described, no characters lauded, but such as were adorned with the fruits of righteousness. Thus did the pious care of the primitive Christians intermingle religion with all the pursuits and recreations of the young, and never allow them to engage in the study of science, or to plunge into the business of the world, until they had been first taught to view everything in the spirit and by the principles of the Word of God.

§ 6. SIGN OF THE CROSS.

There was no feature of their private manners more remarkable, than the frequency with which they made use of the sign of the cross. With minds filled as theirs were, with lively faith in the grand doctrine of redemption, and making it, as they did almost every moment, the subject of their meditations, and the theme of their gratitude, it is not wonderful, that they should have devised some concise mode of recalling it to their memories, or of expressing to each other by some mutual token, the principles and hopes they held

in common. Accordingly, the sign of the cross naturally suggested itself as an appropriate emblem, and so early was its introduction among the daily observances of the Christians, that the most ancient of the Fathers, whose writings have descended to our times, speak of it as in their days a venerable practice, which, though it would be in vain to seek any scriptural authority for its use, tradition had authorized, and faith observed. Although, however, we have no authentic account of its introduction, we can guess at its origin. It was a beautiful custom of those who lived while the ministry of Christ was recent, and who were suddenly brought from the depths of despair at his death, to indescribable joy at his resurrection, to break off in the middle of conversation, and salute one another with the words, "Christ is risen." The practice was peculiar to the contemporaries of the Saviour; and it is not improbable, that when time, by removing them farther from that spirit-stirring event, had brought the interesting custom into disuse, his followers, in the next age, sought to substitute in its place that, which in every variety of time and circumstance, forms the chief subject of interest in the history and religion of Jesus, and on which, as the grand foundation, the whole superstructure of christian doctrine rests. Accordingly, the cross was used by the primitive Christians as an epitome of all that is most interesting and important in their faith; and its sign, where the word could not be conveniently nor safely uttered, represented their reliance on that event which is at once the most ignominious and the most glorious part of Christianity. It was used by them at all times, and to consecrate the most common actions of life—when rising out of bed, or retiring to rest—when sitting at table, lighting a lamp, or dressing themselves—on every occasion, as they wished the influence of religion to pervade the whole course of their life, they made the sign of the cross the visible emblem of their faith. The mode in which this was done was various: The most common was by drawing the hand rapidly across the forehead, or by merely tracing the sign in air; in some cases, it was worn close to the bosom, in gold, silver, or bronze medals, suspended by a concealed chain from the neck; in others, it was engraven on the arms or some other part of the body by a colored drawing, made by pricking the skin with a needle, and borne as a perpetual memorial of the love of Christ. In times of persecution, it served as the watchword of the christian party. Hastily described by the finger, it was the

secret but well-known signal by which Christians recognized each other in the presence of their heathen enemies ; by which the persecuted sought an asylum, or strangers threw themselves on the hospitality of their brethren ; and nothing appeared to the pagan observer more strange and inexplicable, than the ready and open-hearted manner in which, by this concerted means, foreign Christians were received by those whom they had never previously seen or heard of,—were welcomed into their homes, and entertained with the kindness usually bestowed only on relations and friends. Moreover, to the sacred form of the cross were ascribed peculiar powers of protecting from evil ; and hence it was frequently resorted to as a secret talisman, to disarm the vengeance of a frowning magistrate, or counteract the odious presence and example of an offerer of sacrifice. It was the only outward means of defending themselves, which the martyrs were wont to employ, when summoned to the Roman tribunals on account of their faith. It was by signing himself with the cross, that Origen, when compelled to stand at the threshold of the temple of Serapis, and give palm-branches, as the Egyptian priests were in the habit of doing, to them that went to perform the sacred rites of the idol, fortified his courage, and stood uncontaminated amid the concourse of profane idolaters. But, perhaps, the most remarkable instance on record of the use of this sign by the primitive Christians, and of the sense they entertained of its potent virtues, occurs in the reign of Diocletian, when that timorous and superstitious prince, in his anxiety to ascertain the events of his Eastern campaign, slew a number of victims, that, from their livers, the augurs might prognosticate the fortunes of the war. During the course of the sacrifice, some christian officers, who were officially present, put the immortal sign on their foreheads, and forthwith, as the historian relates, the rites were disturbed. The priests, ignorant of the cause, searched in vain for the usual marks on the entrails of the beasts. Once and again the sacrifice was repeated with a similar result, when, at length, the chief of the soothsayers observing a Christian signing himself with the cross, exclaimed, “ It is the presence of profane persons that has interrupted the rites.” Thus common was the use, and thus high the reputed efficacy of this sign among the primitive Christians. But it was not in the outward form, but solely in the divine qualities of Him whose name and merits it symbolized, that the believers of the first ages conceived its charm

and its virtues to reside. It was used by them “merely as a mode of expressing, by means perceptible to the senses, the purely christian idea, that all the actions of Christians, as well as the whole course of their life, must be sanctified by faith in the crucified Redeemer, and by dependance upon him, and that this faith is the most powerful means of conquering all evil, and preserving oneself against it. It was not till after times, that men began to confound the idea and the token which represented it, and that they attributed the effects of faith in the crucified Redeemer, to the outward signs to which they ascribed a supernatural and preservative power.”

§ 7. THEIR DEPARTMENT IN THE BUSINESS AND RECREATIONS OF LIFE.

As we have already seen, Christians mingled in the ordinary business of life; they were engaged in the various occupations and trades of the people around them; and in all the forms of business they were intimately associated with their heathen neighbors. But they were careful, not only to preserve a scrupulous honesty in all their dealings, they would immediately abandon trade or profession, however lucrative it might be, or however necessary to the support of their families, if it were seen that the occupation was in any respect an immoral one, or that it encouraged their heathen neighbors in the practice of sin, or was in any way inconsistent with the precepts of Christianity. In an age when all the forms and business of society were so closely connected with pagan idolatry, when so many arts and trades centered in the idol worship, and lived on the vices of men, vast multitudes of Christians must have been thrown out of employment and reduced to extreme poverty, by the conscientious abandonment of trades, the only ones which they could practise, and on which their livelihood depended. They must find some other mode of living, or consent even to pauperism, rather than violate the precepts of the religion they professed. The church undertook the support of such men and their families, rather than let them continue in a doubtful calling; and they were willing to be poor and live like paupers, rather than neglect the slightest admonitions of conscience. On this point Tertullian gives ample directions. If those are converted who were makers of idols, they must pursue some other branch of their trade, repair houses, plaster walls, line

cisterns, coat columns. He who can carve a Mercury can put together a chest of drawers; there are few temples to be built, but many houses; few Mercuries to be gilded, but many sandals and slippers. If schoolmasters, they must even relinquish their calling rather than teach the adventures of the heathen gods, consecrate the first payment of each scholar to Minerva, or keep holidays in honor of Flora. If cattle merchants, they are to buy for the shambles but not for the altar. If hucksters, they are at least not to deal in incense.

In an African church a stage actor was converted to Christianity, and having no other means of living, he instructed boys for the stage. Cyprian (Epist. 61) wrote that this must not be tolerated. "If he is poor and needy, let him come among the rest who are supported by the church, and let him be content with a poorer and more innocent maintenance. But he must not imagine that he deserves wages for ceasing from sin, for in this he is doing service not to us but to himself. Seek, then, by all means in your power, to turn him from this bad and disgraceful life, to the way of innocence and hope of eternal life; and that he be content with a more sparing, but yet a more wholesome diet, which the church will provide for him. And if your church is not able to do this, send him to us, and we will provide him with necessary food and clothing; that he may not teach others who are out of the church destructive things, but may himself within the church learn the things which pertain to salvation."

All dissipating amusements were strictly prohibited, and the Christian was exhorted on all occasions to demean himself with a gravity and sobriety becoming a soldier of Jesus Christ and a priest of the most high God. From most of the amusements of their heathen neighbors they conscientiously abstained; and the weak and the vain who suffered themselves to be betrayed into them, were promptly and severely rebuked.

"The christian lady (says Tertullian, de Cult. II. 11,) visits not the heathen plays, and the noisy amusements of their feast days, but she goes out to visit the sick, to partake of the sacrament, or to hear the word of God."

It seems that some weaker brethren and sisters could scarcely relinquish the amusements and gratifications to which they had been accustomed in early life, and endeavored to justify themselves, as Christians now do who are fond of the same irregularities. They

said that the gifts of God were good and might be used for our lawful pleasure, that plays and dances were nowhere expressly forbidden in Scripture, that it was right to dance, for David danced before the ark ; that it could not be wrong to visit chariot races and horse races, for Elijah went to heaven in a chariot and with horses of fire, and the apostle Paul drew many of his illustrations from the race-course and the circus.

Respecting such subterfuges, Tertullian exclaims : “ O how wise does human folly deem itself in arguing, especially when it fears to love some worldly pleasure. Everything is indeed the gift of God, but we must consider to what end the things of God are given, and use them in accordance with their original design, or we commit sin. True, we nowhere find in Scripture an express verbal prohibition of theatres and plays ; but we find there the general principles of which this prohibition is the necessary consequence.”

In respect to the argument from Paul’s illustrations, he remarks : “ It were better they had never known the Scriptures than to pervert, to the defence of vice, those words and examples which were given to excite us to evangelical virtue ; for these things are written to raise our zeal the higher for useful things, since the heathen manifest so great zeal for things of no use. Tell me, what should be our desire, other than that of the apostle, to depart and be with Christ ? There is thy joy whither thy desire tends. Art thou so ungrateful as to overlook or be dissatisfied with the many and great joys which the Lord hath already given thee ? For what is more joyful than reconciliation with God, thy Father and Lord, than the revelation of the truth, the escaping from error, the forgiveness of so many sins ? What greater joy than the declining of the vain joys of the world, than the true freedom, the pure conscience, the innocent life, the fearlessness of death ? * * * These are the amusements, these are the plays of the Christian, which men cannot pay for with money. And what kind of joy is that which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived ?” (Neander K. § I. 447—50.)

§ 8. THEIR MUTUAL LOVE AND CONCORD.

Among the various features in the character of the primitive Christians, there is none that so eminently claims our admiration as their mutual love. All the details transmitted to us of their social

intercourse, and of their public conduct, bespeak the lively operation of this christian spirit. And when we read of the delightful harmony and concord that reigned in their assemblies, their ready disposition to render to every one his due,—the high condescending to those of low degree,—the poor giving the tribute of their respect to those whom Providence had placed in a more exalted station,—and all vying, with amiable rivalry, to promote each other's happiness and welfare, we perceive the strong grounds of the proverbial observation of the heathen, "Behold how these Christians love one another!" Not only when they were small in numbers, and, meeting together almost daily, were well known to each other, did this admirable affection prevail among them, but, how widely soever they might be separated, the ardor of their love suffered no diminution; and, forgetting every other distinction in that of being the followers and friends of the Saviour, they sympathized in each other's joys and sorrows. Whatever blessing one of their number had received, was a subject of lively gratitude to all; and whatever calamity had befallen a single member, spread a gloom over the whole community. Bound to each other by ties infinitely holier and dearer than any that belong to the world, they looked upon themselves as members of the same common family. Every time that they met, either in their own houses or in their public assemblies, they interchanged the kiss, as a badge of fellowship, and token of the warmest affection. Though totally unconnected by ties of consanguinity, they addressed each other, according to their respective age and sex, by the name of father, mother, brother, sister. Though naturally separated by distinction of rank and diversity of color, nothing could cool the ardor or prevent the reciprocities of their mutual love. The knowledge of the simple fact, that any one was a follower of Jesus, changed him at once from a stranger into a friend; creating a union between them not to be described by the cold selfish friendship of the world; and to them belongs the peculiar distinction of realizing a state of society which many philosophers had often delighted to picture to their fancy, and wished for in vain,—the idea of a community united by no other bond than the golden chain of universal love.

§ 9. OF THEIR BENEVOLENCE.

1. *Their care of the poor.* One very remarkable way in which this love manifested itself, was in the care they took of their poorer brethren. Among them, as in every association of men, the needy and destitute were found. The duty of providing for these was not left to the gratuities of private individuals, whose situation gave them opportunities of ascertaining, and whose benevolence prompted them to relieve, their necessities. It devolved on the whole community of believers, who regarded it not as a burden, but a privilege, to minister to the wants of those who bore the image of Christ; and by their unwearied attentions to the discharge of this labor of love, they made the light of their liberality and benevolence so shine, as to command the admiration even of the cold and selfish heathens around them. As duly as the Sabbath returned, and as soon as they had brought their sacred duties to a close, the lists of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the orphans, were produced for consideration; and, as if each had been hastening to bring forth the fruits of faith, and to prove the sincerity of that love they had just professed to their Saviour by the abundance of their liberality to his people, they set themselves to the grateful task, with a zeal and enthusiasm, whose fresh and unabated vigor betrayed no symptoms of their having already been engaged in a lengthened service. The custom was for every one in turn to bring under public notice the case of a brother or sister, of whose necessitous circumstances he had any knowledge, and forthwith a donation was ordered out of the funds of the church, which the voluntary contributions of the faithful supplied. No strong or heart-stirring appeals were necessary to reach the hidden source of their sympathies; no cold calculations of prudence regulated the distribution of their public alms; no fears of doubtful propriety suggested delay for the consideration of the claim; no petty jealousies as to the preference of one recommendation to another were allowed to freeze the genial current of their charity. By whomsoever the case was recommended, or in whatever circumstances the claim was made, the hand of benevolence had answered the call almost before the heart found words to express its sympathy, and with a unanimity surpassed only by their boundless love, they dealt out their supplies from the treasury of the church, when-

ever there was an object to receive, or a known necessity to require it. Where the poor in one place were numerous, and the brethren were unable from their limited means to afford them adequate support, they applied to some richer church in the neighborhood, and never was it known in those days of active benevolence, that the appeal was fruitlessly made, or coldly received. Though they had poor of their own to maintain, neighboring and foreign churches were always ready to transmit contributions in aid of the Christians in distant parts, and many and splendid are the instances on record of ministers and people, on intelligence of any pressing emergency, hastening with their treasures for the relief of those whom they had never seen, but with whom they were united by the strong ties of the same faith and hopes. Thus, when a multitude of christian men and women in Numidia had been taken captive by a horde of neighboring barbarians, and when the churches to which they belonged were unable to raise the sum demanded for their ransom, they sent deputies to the church that was planted in the metropolis of North Africa, and no sooner had Cyprian, who then was at the head of it, heard a statement of the distressing case, than he commenced a subscription in behalf of the unfortunate slaves, and never relaxed his indefatigable efforts, till he had collected a sum equal to nearly \$4000, which he forwarded to the Numidian churches, together with a letter full of christian sympathy and tenderness.

2. *Their attentions to the sick.* But the primitive Christians were not content with conveying their eleemosynary aid through the public channels of the church. To them it appeared a sacred duty to countenance the poor with their presence and their purse in their own homes, where they could make more minute inquiries into their wants, and tender them the comforts of christian sympathy and counsel, which, by the brethren both of high and low degree, were more highly prized than even the open-handed benevolence that ministered to their temporal necessities. This pious office was more especially delegated to the female members of the community, as it was thought, both from the delicate nature of the embassy, and from the jealous spirit of ancient society, they possessed facilities of access to the domestic privacy of all classes, denied to their brethren of the other sex. And exemplary was the prudence and fidelity with which they discharged their trust. Every moment they could spare from the prior claims of their own household, the christian

matrons devoted to those errands of mercy ; and while they listened to the widow's tale of other days, and her traits of the friend who had gone to his rest,—or saw the aged in their hut of poverty, bending under the weight of years,—or sat by the bedside of the afflicted, and those that were ready to die,—or found, as was frequently the case, the helpless babe, which the frigid heart of a pagan mother had exposed and forsaken in the lonely path, they provided for the wants of each, and administered appropriate comforts both for the body and the soul. But these were light and easy attentions compared with the duties which their charitable mission frequently imposed on them. In those days there were no public institutions for the reception of the poor, and for the medical treatment of the diseased, and as there were few or none among the heathen in private life, who ever thought of entering the abodes of poverty and sickness, and helping their neighbors,—such was the cold and unfeeling selfishness of the heathen world,—the Christians were never without objects, in every form of human wretchedness, towards whom their benevolence was required. Indeed it is almost incredible to what offices the ardor of their christian spirit led them to condescend. They, though all of them were women moving amid the comforts of domestic life, and some of them ladies of the highest rank never inured to any kind of labor, scrupled not to perform the meanest and most servile offices, that usually devolved on the lowest menial. Not only did they sit by the bedside of the sick, conversing with and comforting them, but with their own hands prepared their victuals, and fed them—administered cordials and medicine—brought them changes of clothing—made their beds—dressed the most repulsive and putrefying ulcers—exposed themselves to the contagion of malignant distempers—swaddled the bodies of the dead, and, in short, acted in the character at once of the physician, the nurse, and the ambassador of God. Their purse and their experience were always ready, and the most exhausting and dangerous services were freely rendered by these christian women. In process of time, however, as the christian society extended its limits, and the victims of poverty and sickness became proportionally more numerous, the voluntary services of the matrons were found inadequate to overtake the immense field, and hence, besides the deacons and deaconesses who, at a very early period of the church, were appointed to superintend the interests of the poor, a

new class of office-bearers arose, under the name of *Parabolani*, whose province it was to visit and wait on the sick in malignant and pestilential diseases. These, whose number became afterwards very great—Alexandria alone, in the time of Theodosius, boasting of six hundred,—took charge of the sick and the dying, under circumstances in which, while it was most desirable they should have every attention paid to them, prudence forbade mothers and mistresses of families to repair to them ; and thus, while the heathen allowed their poor and their sick to pine in wretchedness and to die before their eyes, uncared for, there was not in the first ages a solitary individual of the christian poor, who did not enjoy all the comforts of a temporal and spiritual nature that his situation required.

It was not, however, only to the poor of their own churches that the benevolence of the primitive Christians showed itself. Never, perhaps, was the clear and lively principle of their character more strikingly exemplified than in the appearance of any of those calamities—famine or pestilence—with which the ancient world was so frequently visited. In the accounts that have reached us of those terrible catastrophes, mention is invariably made of a sad corruption of morals accompanying them,—the heathen became desperate and reckless amid the fearful ravages made in their ranks, their sensibilities were deadened, and a most unnatural and cold-blooded indifference shown to the claims of their nearest relatives and friends. In the midst of all these disorders, the benevolence of the Christians exhibited an extraordinary contrast to the unfeeling selfishness of their heathen neighbors. Thus, for instance, during the plague that so long and severely afflicted Carthage in the time of Cyprian, he and the rest of the Christians were indefatigable in their exertions for the relief of the afflicted ; and while the heathen abandoned the sick and dying to their fate,—while the highways were strewed with corpses which no one had the courage or the public spirit to bury, and the hardened survivors were intent only on pilfering the clothes and the chests of the dead, the Christians were constantly facing the danger, busy on the streets or in the houses, distributing money or articles of food and clothing, and doing all in their power to alleviate the pangs of the sufferers, and soothe the last moments of the dying. Nor was their benevolence confined to the sick members of their own community,—they extended their attentions indiscriminately to all ; and, while the heathen stood aloof and careless,

parents deserting their children, and children trampling on the unburied corpses of their parents, the Christians were assiduously employed in the pious labor of interring them,—the rich contributing their money, and the poor their labor, to clear the houses and the streets from the effluvia of the mouldering relics of mortality, and adopt the most prudent precautions to free the city from the further ravages of the pestilence.

In like manner, when the Roman empire, especially that part of it that lay in the east, was overtaken, in the reign of Gallienus, by the simultaneous calamities of plague, famine, and earthquake, the calm fortitude and unswerving resignation of the Christians,—their indefatigable benevolence towards all who were seized by the dreaded sickness, and the kind sympathising attentions they bestowed on them, at the risk of their own lives, were very strikingly exemplified in Alexandria, the chief seat of the disasters. In a letter of Dionysius, who was then pastor of the church in that city, a most impressive account is given, of which we subjoin a translation:—That pestilence appeared to the heathen as the most dreadful of all things,—as that which left them no hope; not so, however, did it seem to us, but only a peculiar and practical trial. The greater part of our people, in the abundance of their brotherly love, did not spare themselves; and, mutually attending to each other, they cheerfully visited the sick without fear, and ministered to them for the sake of Christ. Many of them died, after their care had restored others from the plague to health. The best among our brethren, priests and deacons, and some who were celebrated among the laity, died in this manner; and such a death, the fruit of great piety and strong faith, is hardly inferior to martyrdom. Many who took the bodies of their christian brethren into their hands and bosoms, closed their mouth and eyes, and buried them with every attention, soon followed them in death. But with the heathen matters stood quite differently; at the first symptom of sickness, they drove a man from their society, they tore themselves away from their dearest connections, they threw the half dead into the streets, and left thousands unburied,—endeavoring by all the means in their power to escape contagion, which, notwithstanding all their contrivances, it was very difficult for them to accomplish.

3. *Their charities to those who were persecuted for righteousness' sake.* The benevolence of the primitive Christians being thus readi-

ly, and on all occasions exerted in the cause of suffering humanity, it need not surprise us that the most frequent and distinguished objects of it were the sufferers for righteousness' sake. Many of these were immured in prisons, and no sooner did Fame spread abroad the sad intelligence that one of them was lying in the dungeons of a city, than the Christians of the place flocked in crowds to the doors of the cell, begging admission. Patiently did they bear the caprice and rebuffs of the surly guards and jailors; anxiously did they resort to every means of conciliation, by persuasions, entreaties, and bribes;—often, when all proved fruitless, did they lie for days and nights together outside the walls of a dungeon, praying for the deliverance or for the happy and triumphant exit of the imprisoned confessor. If admitted, as they sometimes were, these Christians, most of whom were always women, carried with them beds, materials of food, clothing, and fuel,—they kissed their chains, washed their feet, and rendered them all the most tender and endearing offices they could think of. Witness the well known case of the impostor Peregrinus. This person, who lived in the second century, had been obliged to flee from his native country, Armenia, on account of some great crime, and having settled in Judea, became acquainted with the principles of the Gospel, appeared an illustrious penitent, and made public profession of the faith. His fame as a Christian spread far and wide, and when his religious tenets brought him the distinction of imprisonment, the Christians, deeply afflicted at his fate, made extraordinary efforts to procure his release. These, however, proving unsuccessful, they strove to mitigate the evils of confinement by loading him with every attention. At break of day, numbers of old women, widows, and orphans, were seen surrounding the walls of the prison, their hands filled with every delicacy, and even with large sums of money, which the liberality of foreign Christians had sent to them for their support.

But many of the sufferers for the cause of religion, instead of being thrown into prison, were sent to labor, like slaves, in distant and unwholesome mines. Thither the benevolence of their brethren followed them, and never were contributions more frequently and liberally made by the Christians, than when they were destined for the relief of the mutilated martyrs, who labored amid the darkness and noxious vapors of these subterranean dungeons. Nay, many even undertook long and toilsome pilgrimages, in order to comfort and

support those victims of oppression with their christian sympathy ; and, in the performance of these pious journeys, encountered perils, amid which, nothing but benevolence of the purest and most exalted character could have preserved their resolution firm and unshaken. A party of Christians, for instance, set out from Egypt in the depth of winter, to visit their brethren in the mines of Cilicia. Some of them, when the object of their journey became public, were arrested on their arrival at Cesarea, and had their eyes pulled out, and their feet dislocated. Others shared a worse fate at Ascalon, being burnt or beheaded. Various companies, who successively went from different quarters, on the benevolent errand of expressing their sympathy with the interesting miners, prosecuted their undertaking amid similar dangers. But nothing could repress the ardent wish to pour the balm of consolation into the hearts of men, who were suffering the worst species of slavery for the sake of the truth. And highly were those honored who lived to tell the tale that they had seen the martyrs in the mines,—to describe how they toiled, and wrought, and bore the chain,—and to carry, above all, the glad tidings of the fortitude, the patience, resignation, and christian joy with which they endured their hard lot.

4. *Their love for the souls of men.* This was another manifestation of the benevolence of the primitive Christians, that deserves a particular notice. It was a remarkable feature of their character, and though inseparable from the anxiety they displayed on every occasion to promote the best interests of men, it yet occupied exclusively the minds of some of them, and gave rise to exertions which nothing but interests of eternal moment could have originated. Not to speak of those who dedicated themselves to the preaching of the Gospel, there were many in private life, who expended everything they could spare from the bare support of life on the purchase of Bibles, and on every suitable occasion, distributed them to the poor,—a gift, the value of which cannot be estimated, without taking into consideration the scarcity and the immense price which in those days a single copy of the Scriptures cost. But besides this excellent species of charity, which many of the wealthier Christians devised for themselves, there were others, who voluntarily submitted to the most extraordinary sacrifices, with the generous view of bringing men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. One man, for instance, is recorded to have sold himself into

the family of a heathen actor, and continued for years cheerfully performing the most servile offices, till having been the honored instrument of converting the husband and wife, and whole family to Christianity, he received from the grateful converts the reward of his liberty. And not long after, during a visit to Sparta, the same individual learning that the governor of that city had fallen into dangerous errors, offered himself again as a slave, and continued for two years in that humble and ignominious situation, when his zealous efforts for the conversion of his master being crowned with fresh success, he was treated no longer as a servant, but a brother beloved in the Lord.

Time would fail us "to enumerate all the various channels through which the benevolence of the primitive Christians flowed. Some dedicated themselves to the task of searching out desolate orphans, helpless widows, unfortunate tradesmen, and heathen foundlings—in those times the most numerous class of unfortunates. Some carried their charity so far as to sit on the highways, or hire persons whose office was to perambulate the fields, for the purpose of directing wanderers, and especially benighted travellers, into the way; while others delighted to lead the blind, to succor the bruised, and to carry home such as were lame, maimed, and unable to walk.

Various were the sources whence the Christians drew the ample means necessary to enable them to prosecute so extensive a system of benevolence. The most steady and available fund was the common treasury of the church, which was supplied every Sabbath by the voluntary contributions of the faithful, and out of which there was a weekly distribution of alms to multitudes of widows, orphans, and old people, who were stated pensioners on her bounty. In cases of great or public calamity, fasts were appointed, which by the saving effected in the daily expenses of all, even of the poor, were an approved and certain means of raising an extraordinary collection, and when that was found insufficient to meet the emergency, it not unfrequently happened that the pastors sold or melted the gold and silver plate that had been presented to their churches for sacred purposes. Many persons too, were in the habit of observing in private, quarterly, monthly, or weekly fasts, on which occasions, they either took little food or none at all, and transmitted the amount of their daily expenditure to the funds of the church, while others voluntarily bound themselves to set aside a tenth part of their income for the

use of the poor, and placed it, in like manner, in the church's treasury. Besides, there were many wealthy individuals who, on their conversion to Christianity, from a spirit of ardent gratitude to the Saviour, sold their estates, and betaking themselves to manual labor or to the preaching of the Word, devoted the price of their property to benevolent purposes. Others, who gave up their patrimony to objects of christian benevolence, chose to retain the management in their own hands ; as for example, a rich merchant who with part of his money built a spacious house, and with the rest of it entertained all strangers travelling in his neighborhood, took charge of the sick, supported the aged and infirm, gave stated alms to the poor, and on every Saturday and Sabbath caused several tables to be furnished for the refreshment of all who needed his bounty.

§ 10. THEIR HOSPITALITY AND MODE OF SALUTATION.

It is impossible to speak in terms of less admiration of the hospitality exercised in that age towards christian strangers. The followers of Christ, how widely soever they were scattered throughout the world, were then united as one great family, and agreeing, as they did, in the happiest spirit of concord, to regard any local varieties of custom as matters of indifference, kept up a constant and friendly correspondence with all the branches of the church universal, so that whenever any of them went abroad, either on their own private affairs, or on missions connected with the state and progress of religion, they were received with open arms by the Christians of the place as brethren. Go under whatever name they might, and travel to the remotest places, among people of foreign manners and an unknown tongue, the pilgrims of the faith were sure, whenever they met with a Christian, to find a friend, whose house would be thrown open for their reception, whose table would be spread for their entertainment, and who would welcome them with a warmer heart and a kindlier smile, than they were often met with by their kinsmen and acquaintance at home. In the eyes of the unconverted, it seemed an inexplicable mystery, that men, who, as Jews, had felt a contempt for all other people, and, as Gentiles, would not enjoy the hearth in common with strangers, should be on terms of the closest friendship with Christians, indiscriminately of every color and of every name ; and they looked upon it as accomplished by some se-

cret token,—the watchword of a deep and wide-spread conspiracy, —when they saw the hand of fellowship given, and the rites of hospitality performed by such people to foreigners, whose person and character had been previously unknown to them. The heathen knew nothing of those inward feelings, that brotherly love, that fellowship of the Spirit, which created between the Christians spiritual ties, independent alike of the natural and political boundaries of the earth, and one manifestation of which was their pleasure and their readiness to open their doors, and render every hospitable attention to those of the same faith from all quarters of the world. The way was for a traveller, on arriving at any town, to seek out the church, in or about which liberal accommodation was always provided, both for the temporal and spiritual comforts of the wayfaring man. But it was seldom that the burden of lodging him was allowed to be borne by the common funds of the church,—for no sooner was the news of his arrival spread abroad, than the members vied with each other, which should have the privilege of entertaining the christian stranger at their homes; and whatever was his rank or calling, he soon found himself domiciled with brethren, whose circumstances were similar to his own. A minister was entertained by one of his own order; a mechanic by one of the same craft or station; and even the poorest would have been readier, and have counted it a greater honor, to share his hut and his crust with a disciple like himself, than to have sat at table with the emperor of Rome. In course of time, however, this generous and open-hearted hospitality was abused. Persons unworthy to enjoy it—spies and impostors, under the assumed name of Christians,—introduced themselves to the brethren in distant places, and by misrepresenting afterwards what had been told them in the unsuspecting confidence of brotherhood, and circulating calumnies prejudicial both to individuals and to the body of Christians at large, threatened to bring on the church a variety of evils,—not the least of which would have been, that of putting an end to the ancient kindly intercourse with christian strangers, had not a plan been happily devised, and introduced into universal practice, by which travellers were known at once to be good men and true. The plan was this: every one on setting out on a journey, was furnished by the minister of the church to which he belonged with a letter of credence to the spiritual rulers of the place where he meant to sojourn, the presentation of which having satis-

fied them as to his christian character, was instantly followed by a welcome invitation to partake of the hospitality of the church or the brethren. To prevent forgeries, these letters were folded in a particular form, which procured them the name of *literae formatae*, besides containing some secret marks within, by which the Christians of foreign parts knew them to be genuine. By these testimonials, slightly varied in external appearance according to their several purposes,—such, for instance, as their certifying the bearer's claim merely to the common entertainment of Christians, or his right to participate in all the privileges of the church, or his being sent on some embassy pertaining to the common faith, Christians were admitted to the fellowship of their brethren in all parts of the world,—were treated by the family that received them as one of themselves, had their feet washed by the wife on their first arrival, and at their departure were anxiously and tenderly committed to the divine care, in a prayer by the master of the house. This last was a never-failing part of the hospitality of the times; and to have betrayed any symptoms of preferring the temporal good cheer of the friendly host to his parting benediction, would have been a death-blow to the further credit of the stranger.

In the general intercourse of society, the primitive Christians, acting according to the rules of Scripture, were careful to render to all their dues; honor to whom honor is due, tribute to whom tribute, and to practise everything that is just, honest, and of good report. Their salutations to one another were made by imprinting on each other's cheek a kiss,—the token of love—the emblem of brotherhood; and this, except in times of trouble and persecution, when they hastily recognised each other by the secret sign of the cross, was the constant, and the only form observed by Christians when they met together. It was practised in their private houses, at their public meetings, and, indeed, on all suitable occasions, though it was considered better and more prudent to dispense with it on the public streets, to avoid giving unnecessary offence to their heathen fellow-citizens. Whenever they met their pastor, they were accustomed, from the earliest times, to bow their heads to receive his blessing,—a ceremony which, in later times, when increased respect was paid to the clerical order, was accompanied with kissing his hands and embracing his feet.

§ 11. THEIR PATIENCE UNDER INJURIES.

Let the reader place himself, by an effort of imagination, in the state of society in which the Christians lived ; let him figure to his mind an humble, unobtrusive, and peaceable, but somewhat peculiar class of people, surrounded on all sides by multitudes knowing little or nothing of them or their principles, and from the little they knew, feeling a sovereign contempt for both, which the heathen were allowed with impunity to take every opportunity of expressing, by jostling them on the streets—pointing to them with the finger of ridicule—addressing them by cant terms of reproach, and persecuting them by a thousand petty annoyances in every-day life, and he will form some idea of the severe ordeal to which the patience of the primitive Christians was daily subjected. But inured as they were to calumny and reproach, and taught to expect these as the inheritance in this life of all who will live godly in Christ Jesus, they bore them with meekness, and sought deliverance from the malice of their enemies by no other weapons than that of exemplifying the excellence of their principles by the dignified and holy propriety of their lives. Their property, their liberty, and even their lives, they freely surrendered, rather than lose that peace of mind which they found in the performance of christian duty, or suffer those principles to be violated, which they valued more highly than their dearest possessions. Some of them, indeed, from a mistaken interpretation of several passages of Scripture, carried their views of christian obedience so far, as when smote upon the one cheek, to turn the other, and when robbed of their coat, to give the cloak also. But the great majority of them more wisely considering these as proverbial forms of speech designed to inculcate a general spirit of patience and forbearance, scrupled not to defend themselves from violence and rapine whenever assailed ; to avail themselves of the protection and redress of their wrongs, which the laws of their country afforded, and to assert, as Paul did before them, when occasion required, the rights of citizenship against the arbitrary procedure of the magistrates themselves. In matters of dispute, however, between one another, the Christians seldom or never resorted to the tribunals of the heathen deputies, but were in the habit of submitting their subjects of contention to the arbitration of some of their christian brethren.

ren. From the earliest times, this office of arbiter was, by common consent, devolved on the pastors of the church ; and hence, as the degree of respect and veneration in which the sacred order was held increased rather than diminished in the succeeding centuries, and as such unbounded confidence was placed in their christian wisdom and impartiality, that all parties were disposed cheerfully to acquiesce in the awards of the spiritual judges,—one constant source of employment to the bishops of the primitive church was the determination of secular causes referred to them by the members of their flock. Ambrose and Augustine have both left it upon record, that they devoted the early part of every day to hearing and considering the disputed points on which they were requested to sit in judgment. Such being the popular influence of the christian ministers ; and the good effects of the prudence, mildness, and integrity, that characterized their arbitrations being so manifest, the power was legally conferred on them, after the establishment of Christianity, of deciding all secular and other causes, with the exception of criminal cases alone, which, as more immediately affecting the peace and tranquility of the state, the emperors reserved to themselves and their deputies.

We close this rapid sketch of the social manners of the primitive Christians, with the high tribute paid to their public and civic virtues by two of their contemporaries, whose exalted rank and strong predilections for heathenism give a weight to their testimony which none of the christian apologists, however faithful and honest, possess. The emperor Julian, in a letter to Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, among other things relating to the Christians, takes occasion to dwell upon it as a well known fact, that the Christians were preëminent in their attentions to the sick, the infirm, and the aged,—in their hospitality to strangers, in their peaceable deportment to others, and their pious care of the dead ; and presses home on his illustrious correspondent, that there was no hope of paganism regaining the ascendancy, except by its adherents, especially the priests, imitating the virtues of the Christians, in abstaining from the theatre, the tavern, and all scandalous pursuits and pleasures,—in a diligent attention to business, charity to the indigent, and a hospitable entertainment of the friendless and the stranger. The emperor Severus passed, perhaps, a higher eulogy than even this of Julian, on the social manners of the Christians. Observing the excellence of their con-

duct, as citizens, soldiers, and servants, and their fidelity in every department of public and private life, he inquired into their principles; and having been informed that one grand rule of theirs was, "Not to do to others what they would not have done to themselves," he was so charmed with it, that at all public executions he ordered it to be proclaimed aloud by a herald, and caused it to be inscribed, in legible characters, on the walls of his palace, and on all public buildings, that in every street, and on every occasion, his subjects might not be without so excellent a monitor to regulate their social manners.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF MARRIAGE.¹

§ 1. OF CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE.

The laws of christian marriage seem, at first view, to be derived from the Mosaic regulations on this subject, and yet it is remarkable that, until the sixth or seventh century, the marriages of the early Christians were regulated rather by the Roman than by the Mosaic laws. But all this was only the natural result of the peculiar circumstances under which the christian community was formed. Converts from the Jews might be expected to adhere to the Jewish rites, whilst those from the Gentiles would conform to the Roman laws and customs. For this reason the marriages of the christian church were of a mixed character, in which the influence of the Roman law was, at first, predominant. By this law, as well as by the law of Christ, polygamy was strictly forbidden.² In many other respects, it was also so far conformed to the law of God, that many of the early fathers scrupled not to borrow from it some of the most important marriage ceremonies; and objected to the adoption of heathen customs, in this respect, only so far as they militated against the spirit of Christianity.³

Much controversy prevailed in the ancient church on the subject of *second* marriages, particularly with the Novatians and Montanists, who denounced such marriages as unlawful. This opinion was also

upheld by many councils.⁴ A concession in favor of second marriages was afterwards made to the laity, but refused to the clergy.⁵ The law of celibacy finally rendered this rule nugatory with respect to the priesthood.

The celibacy of the clergy was gradually established. It was at first partially adopted in compliance with the advice of zealous leaders of the church, who judged it expedient, or supposed it to tend to the promotion of piety; afterwards it was represented as a moral duty, and was enforced by the decrees of councils; and at last it was enjoined and established by the papal authority of Hildebrand in the eleventh century. The constrained celibacy of the clergy, therefore, does not come within the range of christian antiquities; and the whole question belongs rather to a history of the opinions and doctrines of the church, than to a survey of its institutions and practices.

The state claimed the right of regulating the laws of marriage; the church at the same time possessing a subordinate or concurrent jurisdiction. This concurrence, however, was chiefly of a negative and passive character, and was the occasion of continual discord between church and state. For the first five centuries the church had no farther concern with the laws of marriage than to *censure* them, as occasion required, and to restrict the observance of them, by her discipline and authority. The laws of the state and the regulations of the church, on this subject, were first made to harmonize under the emperor Justinian. Under the dynasty of Charles, the sanction of the church was fully established while the law still originated with the state.⁶ In the middle ages, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, the church possessed a preponderating influence in these matters; but even then, her claim to an exclusive jurisdiction was neither asserted nor allowed. To assert this prerogative was regarded as a direct attack upon the state.⁷ In protestant states it is regarded as a civil institution, established in conformity with the law of God, and appropriately solemnized by the rites of religion.

The regulations in relation to *prohibited marriages* were, in the lapse of time, gradually assimilated to the law of Moses; but these have never been strictly observed in the christian church. The canonists have very carefully specified the several degrees of consanguinity and affinity within which marriage could not lawfully be contracted. They were thirteen in number, whilst under the Mo-

saic economy they were seventeen, or according to others nineteen. The prohibited grades, in the ancient church, are comprised in the following lines :

Nata, soror, neptis, matertera fratris et uxor
 Et patru conjux, mater, privigna, noverca
 Uxorisque soror, privigni nata, nurusque
 Atque soror patris ; conjungi lege vetantur.

Whether it is lawful to marry a brother's wife, or a wife's sister, was a question much controverted in the church. The general sense of the church was against such connections, as appears from the dispensation which was made in such cases in favor of the clergy. This point has been discussed at length by Schlegel.⁸

Mixed marriages between the Jews and Gentiles were strictly prohibited by the law of Moses. This prohibition is not repeated in the New Testament in regard to the marriage of Christians with idolaters. The apostle Paul, however, decidedly objects to such connections as inexpedient, 1 Cor. vii. 2 Cor. 6: 14—18. The early fathers denounced them as dangerous and immoral ;⁹ and they were, at a later period, positively prohibited by the decrees of councils and the laws of the empire.¹⁰ By these regulations it was unlawful for Christians to marry either Jews, pagans, Mohammedans or heretics.¹¹ If, however, such marriages had already been contracted, they appear not to have been annulled upon the conversion of either party to Christianity. There are indeed examples of the violation of these rules, as in the case of Monica, the mother of Augustine, and Clotildis, the wife of Clovis, both of whom were instrumental in the conversion of their husbands.¹²

§ 2. OF DIVORCE.

On this subject it is sufficient to say that the church, with few exceptions, has uniformly adhered to the rules laid down by our Lord and his apostles, Mark 10: 2, 12. Luke 16: 18. Matt. 5: 31, 32. 19: 2—10. 1 Cor. 7: 10, 11. Rom. 7: 2, 3. But under the term adultery the primitive church included idolatry and apostasy from the Christian faith,¹ to which may be added witchcraft and other magical arts. The laws of Constantine, Honorius, Theodosius the younger, Valentinian the Third, Anastasius, and Justinian, also favor this construction.² The canonists enumerate twelve causes of divorce,

which are also regarded as suitable reasons for not assuming the marriage vow, *impedimenta quae matrimonium contrahendum impediunt et contractum dirimunt*. The same causes which are a bar to assuming the marriage covenant dissolve it. These causes are set forth in the following lines :

Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen,
Cultus disparitas, vis, ordo, ligamen, honestas,
Si sis adfinis ; si forte coire nequibus (al negabis)

The reader is directed, in the index, to a full explanation of these terms.³

The *error* relates to a mistake in regard to the parties, as in the case of Leah and Rachel, *conditio* to the marriage of freemen with those who are in bondage, *cognatio* to prohibit degrees of consanguinity, *votum* and *ordo* relate to the marriage of monastics, *ligamen* to cases of bigamy, *honestas* to prohibited connections between persons already related by marriage.

§ 3. MARRIAGE RITES AND CEREMONIES.

It was a rule of the primitive church that the parties who were about to be united in marriage, both male and female, should signify their intentions to their pastor, that the connection might be formed with his approbation. The church were expected, in this manner, not only to take cognizance of the proposed marriage, but to determine whether it was duly authorized by the principles of the christian religion. The marriage was indeed valid *in law* without this ecclesiastical sanction ; but it was open to censure from the church, and was followed by the imposition of penance, or the sentence of excommunication.*

This notice originally answered the purpose of a public proclamation in the church. No satisfactory indication of the modern cus-

* *Πρόπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμοῦσαις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιῆσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ Κύριον, καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν.* Ignat. *Ep. ad Polycarp.* ii. 5.—Unde sufficimus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, Angeli renuntiant, pater rato habet? Nam nec in teris filii sine consensu patrum rite et juste nubent. Tertull. *ad Uxor.* lb. ii. c. 8, 9.—Occultae conjunctiones, id est, non prius apud ecclesiam professae, juxta moechiam et fornicationem judicari periclitantur. Tertull. *De Pudicit.* c. 4.²

tom of publishing the banns appears in the history of the church until the twelfth century, when it was required by the authority of ecclesiastical councils.³ According to the rules of the Romish church, this publishment should be made on three market days. In some countries the banns were published three times; in others, twice; and in others, once. The intentions of marriage were sometimes posted upon the doors or other parts of the church; sometimes published at the close of the sermon or before singing. The word *banns*, according to Du Cange, means a public notice or proclamation.

It is worthy of notice that no distinct account of the mode of solemnizing marriage, nor any prescribed form for this purpose is found in any of the early ecclesiastical writers, although they have many allusions to particular marriage rites and ceremonies. It appears that the propriety or necessity of religious exercises in solemnizing the marriage covenant, was not recognized by the *civil law* until the ninth century; but that such religious rites were required by the *church* as early as the second century.*

The rites of marriage in the ancient Greek church were essentially three: the sponsalia—the *espousals*, the investing with a crown, and the laying off of the crown.

1. The ceremony of the *espousals* was as follows: the priest, after crossing himself three times upon the breast, presents the bridal pair, standing in the body of the house, each with a lighted wax candle, and then proceeds to the altar, where he offers incense from a cruciformed censer, after which the larger collect is sung with the responses and doxologies.

Then follows the ceremony of presenting the ring. With a golden ring the priest makes a sign of the cross upon the head of the bridegroom, and then places it upon a finger of his right hand, thrice repeating these words: "This servant of the Lord espouses this handmaid of the Lord, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, both now and forever, world without end, Amen." In like manner, and with the same form of words, he presents the

* Cum ipsum conjugium velamine sacerdotali et benedictione sanctificari oporteat, quomodo potest conjugium dici ubi non est fidei concordia? *Ambros.*, *Ep.* 70.—Etiam si nostrae absolutae sit potestatis quamlibet puellam in conjugium tradere, tradi a nobis Christianam nisi Christiano non posse. *Augustin.*, *Ep.* 234, *ad Rusticum*. — Δέον—ἱερέας καλεῖν; καὶ δεῖ ἐγγύων εὐλογῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τοῦ συνοικεσίου συστήγγειν κ τ λ.⁴

bride a silver ring. The grooms-man then changes the rings, whilst the priest, in a long prayer, sets forth the import of the rings. After which the whole is closed with a prescribed form of prayer. These espousals usually took place some time previous to the consummation of the marriage. According to some authorities two years usually intervened between the espousals and the marriage.

2. *The act of crowning the parties* was appropriately the initiatory rite in solemnizing the marriage covenant. The preliminaries of this were the same as those of the espousals, with the exception that in this instance the 128th psalm was sung with the responses and doxologies. After this a discourse was delivered setting forth the importance and responsibilities of the marriage relation. Then various interrogations, relating to the marriage covenant and the unmarried state, were presented: next followed the larger collects, varied according to circumstances; after which a long prayer was offered, in three parts, each of which was announced in the customary form by the deacon, *τοῦ κυρίου δεήθωμεν*. After this, the priest sets the nuptial crowns, which have been lying on the altar, first upon the head of the bridegroom and then upon that of the bride, saying, "This servant of the Lord hereby crowns this handmaid of the Lord, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen." This ceremony is followed by prayers, doxologies, and the reading of the Scriptures, particularly Eph. 5: 20—33 and John 2: 1—11, and the alternate prayers of the priest and the deacon. The whole is concluded by the assembly, repeating the Lord's prayer with the customary responses; and the usual form of benediction.

During these solemnities the priest presents to the newly married couple a glass of wine, of which each drinks three times, and then the glass is immediately broken, to denote the transitory nature of all earthly things.

The minister then joins the hands of the parties, and leads them three times around in a circle, whilst the whole assembly unite in singing a nuptial song, the grooms-man meanwhile accompanying the married couple with his hands resting upon their heads, which are still adorned with the crown.

3. *The laying off of the crown*. Upon the eighth day, the married pair present themselves again in the church, when the minister, with appropriate prayer, lays off the nuptial crown, and dismisses

them with his benediction, offered in a prescribed form of words. This ceremony however was not uniformly observed.

In all these rites the reader will observe a studied analogy to those of baptism.

The second and third marriage was solemnized in much the same manner, the ceremonies being abridged, and the prayer of penance substituted in the place of the nuptial prayer. The church thus treated these as just occasions for discipline, and refused altogether to sanction a fourth marriage, but regarded it as a criminal offence.

§ 4. REMARKS UPON THE MARRIAGE RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

In the works of early ecclesiastical writers, especially in those of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Augustine, Jerome, Basil, and Chrysostom, we find many allusions to particular rites and ceremonies, but no entire, or general account of them. In the former part of the seventh century, a writer attempted to enumerate the marriage ceremonies which the church had recognized as innocent and convenient, or symbolical.¹ We possess also an official account of the ceremonies used in the Roman church, A. D. 860, from the pen of the pope Nicolas I.*

* *Morem quem sancta Romana suscepit antiquitas et hactenus in hujusmodi conjunctionibus tenet ecclesia, vobis monstrare studebimus. Nostrates siquidem tam mares quam feminae non ligaturam auream, vel argenteam, aut ex quolibet metallo compositam, quando nuptialia foedera contrahunt, in capite deferunt. Sed post sponsalia, quae futurarum sunt nuptiarum promissa foedera, quaecunque consensu eorum, qui haec contrahunt, et eorum, in quorum potestate sunt, celebrantur, et postquam arrhis sponsam sibi sponsus per digitum fidei a se annulo insignitum desponderit, dotemque utriusque placitam sponsus ei cum scripto pactum hoc continente coram invitatis ab utroque parte tradiderit; aut mox, aut apto tempore, ne videlicet ante tempus lege definitum tale quid fieri praesumatur, ambo ad nuptialia foedera perducuntur. Et primum in ecclesia Domini cum oblationibus, quas offerre debent Deo per sacerdotis manum, statuuntur, sicque demum benedictionem et velamen coeleste suscipiunt. . . . Verumtamen velamen illud non suscipit, qui ad secundas nuptias migrat. Post haec autem de ecclesia egressi coronas in capitibus gestant quae in ecclesia ipsa sunt solitae reservari. Et ita festis nuptialibus celebratis ad ducendam individuam vitam Domino disponente de cetero diriguntur. . . . Tanta solet arctare quosdam rerum inopia, ut ad haec praeparanda nullum his suffragetur auxilium: ac per hoc*

To proceed however with our general remarks. 1. The office of grooms-man, or attendant of the bridegroom, is of high antiquity ; common alike to the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. He is designated by the names *παρόνυμφος, νυμφαγωγός, νυμφευτής*, etc. He had various duties to perform in connection with the nuptial contract and dowry, such as the following,—to accompany the parties to the church at their marriage,—to act as sponsor for them in their vows,—to assist in the marriage ceremonies,—to accompany them to the house of the bridegroom,—to preside over, and direct the festivities of the occasion, etc.²

2. The use of the ring, in the rites both of espousal and of marriage is very ancient. It is mentioned both by Tertullian,³ and Clement of Alexandria ;⁴ the latter of whom says, “ It was given her not as an ornament, but as a seal, to signify the woman’s duty in preserving the goods of her husband, because the care of the house belongs to her.” Isidorus Hispalensis says, “ that it was presented by the husband either as a pledge of mutual affection, or rather as a token of the union of their hearts in love.”⁵

3. The crowning of the married pair with garlands, was a marriage rite peculiar to many nations professing different forms of religion. Tertullian inveighs against it with all the zeal of a gloomy Montanist ;⁶ but it is spoken of with approbation by the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, from whom it appears that the friends and attendants of the bridal pair were adorned in the same manner.⁷ These chaplets were usually made of myrtle, olive, amaranth, rosemary, and evergreens intermingled with cypress and vervain. The *crown*, appropriately so called, was made of olive, myrtle, and rosemary, variegated with flowers, and sometimes with gold and silver, pearls, precious stones, etc. These crowns were constructed in the form of a pyramid, or tower.

Both the bride, and the bridegroom were crowned in this manner, together with the grooms-man, and the brides-maid. The bride fre-

sufficiat, secundum leges, solus eorum consensus, de quorum conjunctionibus agitur. Qui consensus, si solus in nuptiis forte defuerit, cetera omnia etiam cum ipso coitu celebrata frustantur. . . . Haec sunt praeter alia, quae ad memoriam non occurrunt, pacta conjugiorum solemnia. Peccatum autem esse, si haec cuncta in nuptiali foedere non interveniant, non dicimus, quemadmodum Graecos vos adstruere dicitis.—Nicol. *I. Respons. ad Consulta Bulgar.* c. 3.

quently appeared in church thus attired on the day when proclamation of the bans was made.

Chaplets were not worn by the parties in case of second marriage, nor by those who had been guilty of impropriety before marriage.

In the Greek church the chaplets were imposed by the officiating minister at the altar. In the Western church it was customary for the parties to present themselves thus attired.

4. The wearing of a veil by the bride, was borrowed from the Romans.* It was also conformable to the example of Rebecca, Gen. xxiv.

From this marriage rite arose the custom of *taking the veil* in the Catholic church. By this act, the nun devotes herself to perpetual virginity as the spouse of Christ, the bridegroom of the church.

5. It appears to have been customary also to spread a robe over the bridegroom and bride,⁸ called *vitta nuptialis, pallium jugale*, etc., and made of a mixture of white and red colors.†

6. Torches and lamps were in use on such occasions both among the Jews and pagan nations.⁹ No mention is made of them in the church previous to the time of Constantine, though they may have been in use at an earlier date.

7. All the marriage rites and ceremonies indicate that the day was observed as a festive occasion, while measures were carefully taken to guard against all excesses and improprieties of conduct. These festivities were celebrated by nuptial processions, going out to meet the bridegroom and conducting him home,—by nuptial songs, and music,¹⁰ and marriage feasts. These festivals are frequently the subject of bitter animadversion by the fathers, especially

* Tertull. *De Veland. Virg.* lib. xvii. c. 11.—The velamen nuptiale, of which Ambrose (*Ep.* 70) says, “Conjugium velamine sacerdotali sanctificari oportet,” is usually regarded as “signum pudoris et verecundiae.” According to Isidor. Hispal. (*De Off. Eccl.* ii. c. 19) it is rather “signum humilitatis et subjectionis erga maritum.” He says, *Feminae, dum maritantur, velantur, ut noverint per hoc se viris esse subjectas et humiles.*

† Quid nubentes post benedictionem vitta invicem quasi uno vinculo copulantur, videlicet ideo fit, ne compagem conjugalis unitatis disrumpant. Ac eadem vitta candido purpureoque colore permiscetur; candor quippe est ad munditiam vitæ, purpura ad sanguinis posteritatem adhibetur, ut hoc signo et continentia et lex continendi ab utrisque ad tempus admoneantur, et post hoc reddendum debitum non negetur.—Isidor. Hispal. *de Off. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 19.

by Chrysostom,¹¹ and often called for the interposition of the authority of the church. It appears, however, that the efforts of the church were, not to abolish these convivial entertainments and festivities, but to restrain them within the bounds of decency and good order.¹² The clergy were expected to refrain from attending them.^{13*}

8. In connection with these festivities, it was customary to distribute alms to the poor, and instead of the old Roman custom of scattering about nuts, to throw out pieces of money to the children, and to the poor.

CHAPTER XX.

FUNERAL RITES AND CEREMONIES.¹

§ 1. TREATMENT OF THE DEAD.

The early Christians were distinguished by their care for the dead, and their sympathy with the afflicted. Their funeral solemnities they celebrated with gravity and propriety, with the intent of showing due respect for the deceased, and of administering consolation to survivors. These funeral services were performed as a public religious duty.² This is one of the three points for which they were commended by the apostate Julian.³

The christian church manifested, from the beginning, a decided preference for the custom of *burying* the dead,⁴ for which they had the example of Jews, Gen. 3: 9. 23: 19. Deut. 24: 6. Matt. 19: 28, etc. But the custom of *burning* the dead at that time prevailed throughout the Roman empire, to which they were zealously oppos-

* Presbyteri, diaconi, sub-diaconia vel deinceps, quibus ducendi uxores licentia modo non est etiam aliarum nuptiarum evitent convivia, nec his coetibus miscantur ubi amatoria canuntur et turpia, aut obsceni motus corporum choreis et saltationibus efferuntur, ne auditus et obtuitus sacris ministeriis deputati turpium spectaculorum atque verborum contagione polluantur.—Conil. Agath, c. 39.

ed.* They had at first, no separate burying places; nor would their circumstances admit of any such design. The public burial places, according to both Jewish and Roman laws, were on the outside of cities,⁵ Matt. 26: 60. Luke 7: 12. John 11: 30. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries an open space around the church was appropriated for the burial of princes, bishops, and other clergy, and afterwards of those who died in the communion of the church. This, like everything which was appropriated to the service of the church, was formally consecrated. The first instance of this kind occurred in the sixth century.⁶ In the ninth century began the custom of interring the dead within the walls of the church.

Burial places were styled *κοιμητήρια*, *places of repose, cemeteries*, denoting hereby, not only that the dead rest from their earthly labors and sorrows; but pointing out the hope of a future resurrection.⁷ The grave yard was also styled the *Lord's ground*, because it enjoyed the immunities of the church, or more properly perhaps, because of the sacred communion which those who sleep in the Lord were supposed to hold with him.

The church did not approve of the custom of interring the dead

* The Romans, in ancient times, used to bury their dead. The dictator Cornelius Sylla is supposed to have been the first among them whose corpse was burnt, and that was done in compliance with his own desire. Afterwards this practice became general, especially among the higher orders; and continued to prevail until the fourth century of the Christian era. Cic. *De Legg.* ii. c. 25; Virg. *Æn.* vi. 177;—Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. c. 54, “*ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti, terra condiebantur;*”—conf. Plutarch. *Vit. Numae*; Stobaei, *Serm.* 122; Macrob. *Saturn.* vii. c. 7; *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit 6, leg. 6.—The first Roman emperor whose corpse was interred was Commodus, as we learn from Xiphilinus. The early Christians protested against the custom of burning the bodies of the dead, and advocated inhumation,—a practice which was always observed in the christian church.—*Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis; sed Deo, elementorum custodi, reservatur. Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.* Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* c. 34.—Ego magis ridebo vulgus, tunc quoque cum ipsos defunctos atrocissime exurit, quos post modum gulosissime nutrit, iisdem ignibus et promerens et offendens. O pietatem de crudelitate ludentem! Tertull. *De Resurr.* c. 1. Conf. Tertull. *De Anima*, c. 51; Lactant. *Instit. Div.* lib. vi. c. 12; Orig. *contr. Cels.* lib. viii.; Augustin. *De Civ. Dei*, lib. i. c. 13; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 4. c. 16; v. 1.

in family graves and private sepulchres. It was supposed to be invidious, and encourage the pride of distinction.

Like the Greeks and Romans, Christians erected monuments and marked them with inscriptions, *τίτοις, titulis*, in memory of their friends.⁸ Their luxury and extravagance in these matters are severely censured by Basil the Great, Chrysostom and others. *Frustra struunt homines pretiosa sepulcra, quasi ea animae, nec solius corporis, receptacula essent.* Ambrose *De Bono Mortis*.

The funeral solemnities of the Romans were held by night.⁹ Those of Christians, on the other hand, were solemnized by day, but with lighted tapers. In times of persecution, the Christians were often compelled to bury their dead by night, and with all possible secrecy. But under Constantine and his sons, christian funerals were attended by day, and, at times, with great pomp. Probably they enacted laws on this subject in favor of christian burials, for the apostate Julian was compelled to issue a positive decree to restore the nocturnal celebration of funeral rites.*

The Jews, and the Eastern nations generally were accustomed to bury very soon after death. The nature of the climate might direct to this custom; but the principal reason probably was, that by the speedy removal of the corpse, they might avoid ceremonial pollution. The custom of the Greeks and Romans corresponded in this respect with that of the Oriental nations. The early Christians also conformed to the custom of the country, in the early removal of the corpse, but they utterly discarded the idea that any ceremonial pollution could be contracted by contact with the dead. On the contrary, they fearlessly exposed themselves to contagion by their faithful offices to those who had died of malignant diseases as well as by administering to their necessities in sickness.¹⁰ The corpse, after being removed from the house, was usually kept for a day or more in the church, and from this originally arose the custom of keeping

* *Effferri cognovimus cadavera mortuorum per confertam populi frequentiam et per maximam insistentium densitatem: quod quidem oculos hominum infaustis infestat adspectibus. Qui enim dies est bene auspiciatus a funere? aut quomodo ad Deos et templa venietur? Ideoque quoniam et dolor in exsequiis secretum amat, et diem functis nihil interest, utrum per noctes an per dies efferantur, liberari convenit totius populi adspectus, ut dolor esse in funeribus, non pompa exequiarum, nec ostentatio videatur.* *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit 17, l. 5.

vigils for the dead.¹¹ The funeral was sometimes delayed for several days.

§ 2. AFFECTION FOR THE DYING.

The greatest attention was bestowed by the early Christians upon the dying, and the highest respect entertained for their final counsels, instructions, and prayers. Their exhortations to surviving friends,¹ and their prayers in their behalf, were treasured up with pious care.² Their will in regard to the disposal of their effects, and the appropriation of them for objects of charity and benevolence, were religiously observed.³ The sign of the cross was administered to them.⁴ The bishop and the several orders of the clergy, as well as relatives and friends, sought to offer them consolation. Prayers were offered in the church for them.⁵ Friends pressed around them to give, and receive the parting kiss, and the last embrace.⁶ To such as were restored to christian fellowship in their dying moments, the sacrament was administered. This was afterwards united with the ceremony of extreme unction.

Friends and relatives closed the eyes and mouth of the dying⁷—a becoming rite which all nations have observed. But to the early Christians this was an emblem of the peaceful slumber of the deceased, from which he was expected to awake at the resurrection of the just.⁸ The body was then washed and clothed in a garment usually of white linen, but sometimes made of more costly materials and ornamented with gold, precious stones, etc.⁹ The corpse was laid out in its best attire; and in addition to these rites it was frequently anointed and embalmed.

Christians, contrary to the custom of the Jews, deposited the body in a coffin. This custom they observed in common with many heathen nations. The corpse was exposed to view for some time before interment either at home, or in the streets, or more frequently in the church.¹⁰ During this time it was attended by the nearest relatives and friends, whose duty it was to perform these last offices of affection for the dead. The wailings of mourning women were, on no account, allowed as was customary among the Jews and many pagan nations. Such lamentations were exceedingly incongruous to the Christian who regarded death as no loss, but unspeakable gain.

The office of sexton was of very early date, and held in high repute, as an honorable occupation.

§ 3. FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES.

The body was borne on a bier in solemn procession to the burial place, and followed by the relatives and friends of the deceased as mourners, among whom the clergy and some others were reckoned. Besides these many others, as spectators, joined in the procession. These processions were sometimes so thronged as to occasion serious accidents, and even the loss of life.¹ It was the duty of the acolyths to conduct the procession. The bier was borne sometimes on the shoulder, and sometimes by the hands. The nearest relations or persons of rank and distinction were the bearers. Even the bishops and clergy often officiated in this capacity.

The tolling of bells at funerals was introduced in the eighth and ninth centuries. This office is expressed in the following distich, which was inscribed upon the church bell :

Laudo Deum verum ; plebem voco ; congresso clerum,
Defunctos ploro ; nimum fugo ; festaque honoro.

Previous to the use of bells the trumpet and wooden clappers were used for similar purposes.

Palms and olive branches were carried in funeral processions for the first time in the fourth century, in imitation of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The cypress was rejected because it was a symbol of mourning. The carrying of burning lamps and tapers was earlier and more general. This was a festive representation of the triumph of the deceased over death, and of his union with Christ, as in the festival of the Lamb in the Apocalypse.² The Christians repudiated the custom of crowning the corpse and the coffin with garlands, as savoring of idolatry.³ But it was usual with them to strew flowers upon the grave.⁴

Psalms and hymns were sung while the corpse was kept, while it was carried in procession, and around the grave. Notices of this custom are found in several authors.⁵ These anthems were altogether of a joyful character. But Bingham has well remarked that "we cannot expect to find much of this in the first ages, while the Christians were in a state of persecution ; but as soon as their peaceable times were come, we find it in every writer. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vi. c. 30) gives this direction, that

they should carry forth their dead with singing, if they were faithful. 'For precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' and again it is said, 'Return to thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee. And the memory of the just shall be blessed : and the souls of the just are in the hand of the Lord.' These, probably, were some of the versicles which made up their psalmody on such occasions. For Chrysostom, speaking of this matter, not only tells us the reason of their psalmody, but also what particular psalms or portions of them they made use of for this solemnity. 'What mean our hymns ?' says he ; ' do we not glorify God and give him thanks, that he hath crowned him that is departed, that he hath delivered him from trouble, that he hath set him free from all fear ? Consider what thou singest at that time ; Turn again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded thee. And again, I will fear no evil, because thou art with me. And again, Thou art my refuge from the affliction which compasseth me about. Consider what these psalms mean. If thou believest the things which thou sayest to be true, why dost thou weep and lament, and make a mere pageantry and mock of thy singing ? If thou believest them not to be true, why dost thou play the hypocrite, so much as to sing ?' (Chrysost. *Hom. 4 in Hebr.*) He speaks this against those who used excessive mourning at funerals, showing them the incongruity of that with this psalmody of the church." (Book xxiii. c. 3.)

Funeral prayers also constituted an appropriate part of the burial-service of the dead.

Funeral orations, *λόγοι ἐπιθήδαιοι, ἐπιτάφια*, were also delivered, commemorative of the deceased. Several of these are still extant, as that of Eusebius at the funeral of Constantine ; those of Ambrose on the deaths of Theodosius and Valentinian, and of his own brother Satyrus ; those of Gregory, and of Nazianzum upon his father, his brother Caesarius, and his sister Gorgonia.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered at funerals and often at the grave itself.⁶ By this rite, it was intimated that the communion of saints was still perpetuated between the living and the dead. It was a favorite idea that both still continued members of the same mystical body one and the same on earth and in heaven. This mode of celebrating the supper was also an honorable testimony to the faith of the deceased, and of his consistent christian profession in life. The Roman Catholic superstition of offerings and

masses for the dead took its rise from this ancient usage of the church. Some time previous to the sixth and seventh centuries, it became customary to administer the elements to the dead—to deposit a portion of the elements in the coffin—to give a parting kiss of charity, and to conclude the funeral solemnities with an entertainment similar to the agapae. Of these usages the first mentioned were speedily abolished,⁷ and the last was gradually discontinued.

It was universally customary with Christians to deposit the corpse in the grave, as in modern times, facing the east; and in the same attitude as at the present day. The reasons for this are given in the following extract: *Christiani solent sepelire. 1. Supinos, quia mors nostra proprie non est mors, sed brevis quidam somnus. 2. Vultu ad coelum converso, quia solo in coelo spes nostra fundata est. 3. Versus orientem, argumento sperandae et exoptandae resurrectionis.*⁸

The burial service was concluded, like all other religious solemnities, with the Lord's prayer and the benediction.

§ 4. MOURNERS.

Death was regarded by the early Christians not as an afflictive but joyful event. All immoderate grief or mourning was accordingly inconsistent, in their view, with christian faith and hope.* For this reason they severely reprov'd the Jewish and Roman custom of hiring women to make lamentations for the dead.¹ It must not be supposed, however, that they either condemned the exercise of natural affection, or affected a stoical indifference. On the contrary, there are many passages of ancient authors in which the right and power of nature in this respect are recognized, and a becoming sorrow, occasioned by the death of friends, is justified, both on principles of reason, and by reference to examples in Scripture.†

* *Fratres nostri non lugendi accensione Dominica de saeculo liberati, cum sciamus, non eos omitti, sed praemitti, reedentes praecedere, ut proficiscentes et navigantes, desiderari eos debere, non plangi; nec accipiendas heic atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumentu alba jam sunserint: occasionem non dandam esse gentilibus, ut nos merito et jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum dicimus ut extinctos et perditos lugeamus, et fidem, quam sermone et voce deprimimus, cordis et pectoris testimonio reprobemur.—Cyprian, De Mortal. Omnibus Christianis prohibitum defunctos flere.—Concil Tulct. 111.*

† *Non omnis infidelitatis aut infirmitatis est fletus; alius est naturae do-*

In conformity with their views of death, Christians also utterly discarded the Jewish badges of mourning—sackcloth and ashes, and garments rent. Some of the fathers severely censure the Roman custom of wearing black.² Augustine especially is peculiarly severe on this point. “Why,” says he, “should we disfigure ourselves with black, unless we would imitate unbelieving nations, not only in their wailing for the dead, but also in their mourning apparel! Be assured these are foreign and unlawful usages; but if lawful, they are not becoming.”³ Black however was, from the beginning, the customary mourning habit in the Greek church, and the use of it soon became general.

No precise rules were made respecting the duration of mourning for the dead. This matter was left to custom and the feeling of the parties concerned. “The heathen had a custom of repeating their mourning on the third, seventh, and ninth day, which was particularly called the *Novendiale*; and some added the twentieth, thirti-

lor, alia est tristitia in diffidentia, et plurimum refert, desiderare, quod habueris, et lugere, quod amiseris . . . Fecerunt et fletum magnum sui, cum Patriarchae sepelirentur. Lacrymae ergo pietatis indices, non illices sunt doloris. Lacrymatus sum ergo, fateor, et ego, sed lacrymatus est et Dominus; ille alienum, ego fratrem.—*Ambros. Orat. in obit. Fratris.* — Quorum nos vita propter amicitiae solatia delectabat, unde fieri potest, ut eorum mors nullam nobis ingerat moestitudinem? Quam qui prohibet, prohibeat, si potest, amica, colloquia, interdicit amicalem societatem, vel interdicit adfectum omnium humanarum necessitudinum, vincula mentis inmiti stupore dirumpat, aut sic eis utendum esse censeat, ut nulla ex eis animum dulcedo perfundat. Quod si fieri nullo modo potest, etiam hoc, quo pacto futurum est, ut ejus nobis amara mors non sit, cujus dulcis est vita? Hinc enim est luctus quidem [al. quidam] humano corde quasi vulnus aut ulcus, cui sanando adhibentur officiosae consolationes. Non enim propterea non est, quod sanetur; quoniam quanto est animus melior, tanto in eo citius faciliusque sanatur.—*Augustin. De Civ. Dei*, lib. xix. c. 8. — Premebam oculos ejus [sc. matris], et confluebat in praecordia mea moestitudo ingens, et transflebat in lacrimas, ibidemque oculi mei violento animi imperio resorbant fontem suum usque ad siccitatem, et in tali luctamine valde male mihi erat. Tum vero ubi efflavit extremum spiritum, puer Adeodatus exclamavit in plancitum, atque ab omnibus nobis coërcitus tacuit. Hoc modo etiam meum quiddam puerile, quod labebatur in fletus, juvenili voce cordis coërceretur et tacebat. Neque enim decere arbitrabamur, funus illud questibus lacrimosis genitibusque celebrare, quia his plerumque solet deplorari quaedam miseria morientium, aut quasi omnimoda extinctio. At illa nec misere moriebatur, nec omnino moriebatur.—*Augustin. Confess.* lib. ix. c. 12. — *Conf. Chrysost. Hom. 29, De Dormient. ; Hom. 61, in Johann.*

eth, and fortieth, not without a superstitious opinion of those particular days, wherein they used to sacrifice to their manes with milk, and wine, and garlands, and flowers, as the Roman antiquities inform us. Something of this superstition, abating the sacrifice, was still remaining among the ignorant Christians in St. Austin's time; for he speaks of some who observed a novendial in relation to their dead (*Quaest. 127 in Gen.*) which he thinks they ought to be forbidden, because it was only an heathen custom. He does not seem to intimate that they kept it exactly as the heathen did; but rather that they were superstitious in their observation of nine days of mourning, which was without example in Scripture. There was another way of continuing the funeral offices for three days together, which was allowed among Christians, because it had nothing in it but the same worship of God repeated. Then Euodius writing to St. Austin (*Euodii, Ep. 258 inter Ep. August.*) and giving him an account of the funeral of a very pious young man, who had been his votary, says that he had given him honorable obsequies, worthy of so great a soul: for he continued to sing hymns to God for three days together at his grave, and on the third day offered the sacraments of redemption. The author of the *Constitutions* (*Const. Apost. lib. viii. c. 42*) takes notice of the repetition of the funeral office on the third day, and the ninth day, and the fortieth day, giving peculiar reasons for each of them:—'Let the third day be observed for the dead with psalms, and lessons, and prayers, because Christ on the third day rose again from the dead; and let the ninth day be observed in remembrance of the living and the dead; and also the fortieth day, according to the ancient manner of the Israelites mourning for Moses forty days; and finally let the anniversary day be observed in commemoration of the deceased.'

“On the anniversary days of commemorating the dead, they were used to make a common feast or entertainment, inviting both the clergy and people, but especially the poor and needy, the widows and orphans, that it might not only be a memorial of rest to the dead, but an odor of sweet smell to themselves in the sight of God, as the author under the name of Origen words it. St. Chrysostom says (*Chrysost. Hom. 47 in 1 Ep. ad Cor.*) that they were more tenacious of this custom, than they were of some others of greater importance.—But this often degenerated into great abuses. (*Aug. de Moribus Eccles. c. 34; Ep. 64 ad Aurelium.*)”—*Bingham, Antiq. book 23, chap. 3.*

§ 5. PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

Our author appears to have omitted this peculiarity of the early Christians. But it is discussed at length by Riddle, who has brought many authorities to illustrate the sentiments and practice of the fathers on this subject, some of which are given below, with the result of his investigation of this subject.

Tertullian (died, 220), in his treatise on the *Soldier's Chaplet*, speaks of prayer for the dead as a custom of the church at the time of his writing that treatise, which was probably not long after the year 200: "We make anniversary oblations for the dead, for their birthdays," meaning, the days of their death.* In another of his works the same author says, that it was the practice of a widow to pray for the soul of her deceased husband, desiring on his behalf *present refreshment or rest, and a part in the first resurrection*; and offering annually an oblation for him on the day of his falling asleep, i. e. his death. And elsewhere he represents a bereaved husband as praying for the soul of his deceased wife, and offering annual oblations for her.†

Origen (d. 254) tells us, that Christians in his time "thought it right and useful to make mention of the saints in their public prayers, and to improve themselves by the commemoration of their worthies.‡

Cyprian (d. 258) affirms, that in his time it was the practice of Christians to offer oblations and sacrifices of commemoration for martyrs, on the anniversary days of their martyrdom, with thanksgiving; and he refers also to the oblations and supplications, or deprecatory prayers, on behalf of other departed members of the

* Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.—*Tertull. De Corona Militis*, c. 3.

† Pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus—*Id. De Monogamia*, c. 10. — Jam repete apud Deum pro cujus spiritu postules, pro qua oblationes annuas reddas.—*Exhort. ad Castit.* c. 11. — *Tertullian* held that every little offence of the faithful would be punished by delaying their resurrection. Modicum quodque delictum mora resurrectionis luendum.—*De Anima*, c. 53.

‡ Meminisse sanctorum sive in collectis solennibus, sive pro eo ut ex recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum et conveniens videtur.—*Orig. lib. ix. in Rom.* 12.

church.* In another place Cyprian says, "When we have departed hence, there is no place left for repentance, and no effect of satisfaction."†

Arnobius, in his treatise against the heathen, written probably about the year 305, speaking of the prayers offered after the consecration of the elements in the Lord's supper, says that Christians prayed for pardon and peace, on behalf of the living and the dead.‡

Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), reports the prayer made after consecration of the elements at the holy communion, in these words:—"We offer this sacrifice in memory of all those who have fallen asleep before us, first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God by their prayers and intercessions may receive our supplications; and then we pray for our holy fathers and bishops, and all that have fallen asleep before us, believing that it is a great advantage to their souls to be prayed for, whilst the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar." (*Catech. Mystag.* 5, n. 6.)

The same writer furnishes evidence, that in his time many persons doubted the efficacy of prayer, as a means of procuring benefit to the dead. "I know many," he observes in the same book, "who say, what profit does the soul receive that goes out of this world, either with sins, or without sins, if you make mention of it in prayer?"

Gregory of Nazianzum (d. 390), prayed, that God would receive the soul of his brother Caesarius. (*Greg. Naz. Orat.* 10.) Archbishop Usher quotes the following passage from this father, in testimony of his dissent from the opinion that the dead could be profited by the prayers of the living: "Then in vain shall one go about to relieve those that lament. Here men may have a remedy, but after-

* *Celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum Cypr. Ep. 37, al. 22, ad Clerum.* — *Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.—Ep. 34, al. 39.* — *Non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur.—Ep. 66, al. 1.*

† *Quando isthinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam locus poenitentiae est, nullus satisfactionis effectus.—Cypr. ad Demetrium, § 16.*

‡ *Cur inmaniter conventicula nostra dirui meruerint? In quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur, magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vinctione.—Arnob. Adv. Gentes, lib. iv.*

wards there is nothing but bonds, or all things are fast bound." (Greg. Naz. in *Carm. de Rebus Suis.*) It may be observed, that this passage proves only that Gregory esteemed prayer of no avail to those who may die in sin.

In the writings of *Ambrose* (d. 397), we meet with prayers of that father, on behalf of the deceased Theodosius and Valentinian, and his own brother; and we find him giving instructions to a Christian not to weep for a deceased sister, but to make prayers and oblations for her. (*Ambros. De Obitu Theodosii; De Obit. Valentin.; De Obitu Fratris; Ep. 8, ad Faust.*) The same author affirms, in another place, that "death is a haven of rest, and makes not our condition worse; but according as it finds every man, so it reserves him to the judgment that is to come." (*De Bono Mortis, c. 4.*)

Aërius appears to have been the first who publicly protested against the practice of praying for the dead; which he did upon the ground of the uselessness of such prayers to those who were the subjects of them. His objections were met by *Epiphanius*, (d. 403,) who maintained (*Haeres. 75*), first, that prayer for the dead was useful, as testifying the faith and hope of the living, inasmuch as it showed their belief that the departed were still in being, and living with the Lord; and secondly, as a further argument, that "the prayer which is made for them does profit, although it do not cut off all their sins; yet, forasmuch as whilst we are in the world we oftentimes slip, both unwillingly and with our will, it serves to signify that which is more perfect. For we make," continues he, "a memorial both for the just and for sinners; for sinners, entreating the mercy of God; for the just, (both the fathers and patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists, and martyrs, and confessors; bishops also, and authorities, and the whole order,) that we may serve our Lord Jesus Christ from the rank of all other men, by the honor that we do unto him, and that we may yield worship unto him."

Chrysostom (d. 407,) speaking of the death of the wicked, says, "They are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers, and supplications, and alms, and oblations. For these things were not designed in vain, neither is it without reason that we make mention of those that are deceased in the holy mysteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is slain to take away the sins of the world; but that some consolation may hence arise to them. Neither is it in

vain that he who stands at the altar, when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cries, 'We offer unto thee for all those that are asleep in Christ, and all that make commemorations for them.' For if there were no commemorations made for them, these things would not be said. Let us not therefore grow weary in giving them our assistance, and offering prayers for them."

Jerome (d. 420) says, "While we are in this present world we may be able to help one another, either by our prayers or by our councils; but when we shall come before the judgment seat of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can entreat for any one, but every one must bear his own burden." (*Lib. iii. Comment. in Galat. c. 6.*)

On the whole, therefore, it appears, that from the time of Tertullian, at least, and probably from a still earlier date, the church was accustomed to offer prayers for the dead. Many teachers of the church during the third and fourth centuries sanctioned this superstitious practice; some of them encouraging a belief that the prayers of the living were a means of procuring certain imaginary benefits for those who had died in sin, as well as for those who had departed in the faith; but others affirming that the dead could derive no benefit from the prayers of survivors. So that while it was the erroneous opinion that prayers and oblations ought to be made for the dead, and was the received and universal doctrine of the church, it was yet a question among christian doctors, on which they were allowed to differ, whether the dead received any profit from such prayers. The entire abandonment of a custom so much at variance with divine truth was reserved for that brighter period in the history of the church, in which "the Bible, the Bible alone," began (perhaps for the first time since the commencement of the second century) to be recognized as the sole depositary of the principles of our religion, and the only unerring guide of christian practice.

When the prayers of the early church were offered on behalf of persons supposed to have died in the faith, who were regarded as about to enter into happiness, Christians were understood to beseech God that he would receive those persons to himself;—they gave thanks for their deliverance out of this sinful world;—they petitioned for the divine forgiveness of all remains of sin and imperfection in the departed;—they intended to offer a tribute of respect and affection to the deceased, and to testify their own belief of the immor-

tality of the soul and a future life ;—and they sought to procure for their departed friends the blessings of an early share in the millennial reign of Christ upon earth (which was confidently expected by the early Christians),—as well as favor at the day of judgment, (when they supposed that *all men* would pass through a fire of purgation,)—and an augmentation of their reward and glory in the state of final blessedness.

It is certain also, that prayers were offered for those who had died in sin, in the hope of mitigating their sufferings, or rendering their condemnation more tolerable. (Chrysost. *Hom. 3, in Phil.* ; Conf. *Hom. 21, in Act.* ; *Hom. 32, in Matt.* ; August. *Enchirid, ad Laurent. c. 110* ; Paulin. *Ep. 19* ; Athanas. *Qaest. ad Antioch. ix. 34* ; Prudent. *Cathemerin. Carm. 5, De Cereo Paschali.*)

§ 6. OF THE CEMETERIES OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

By far the greater number of the primitive Christians were buried in subterranean sepulchres. As, during the first three hundred years the sword of persecution was constantly impending over their heads, and dear-bought experience taught them, that their only safety lay either in withdrawing to uninhabited deserts, or sheltering themselves in inaccessible hiding holes, multitudes who preferred the latter alternative, died, and were interred in their places of retreat. These served at once as their home and their burying place ; and, as it was natural that they should wish to have the bodies of their departed brethren conveyed to the same peaceful and inviolable sanctuaries, it became, first from necessity, and afterwards from choice, the approved and invariable practice of the Christians to deposit their dead in deep and obscure caverns. These, owing to the vast multitudes who fell simultaneously in times of persecution, and to whom, except in some few cases, the rites of burial were not refused, evidently required to be of no ordinary magnitude ; and accordingly,—at what time is uncertain, but at an early period,—the charity of some wealthy friends of their body put them in possession of cemeteries which remained ever after the common property of the believers. Among the monuments of christian antiquity, none are more singular than these abodes of the dead ; and one feels at a loss whether most to admire their prodigious extent, the laborious industry that provided them, or the interesting recollections with which

they are associated. Like the Moorish caves in Spain, they were generally excavated at the base of a lonely hill, and the entrance so carefully concealed that no aperture appeared, and no traces were discernible—except by an experienced eye—of the ground having been penetrated, and of the vast dungeons that had been hollowed underneath. The descent was made by a ladder, the foot of which stood in a broad and spacious pathway, which extended like a street along the whole length of the place. This principal entrance opened, at intervals into smaller passages, which again led into a variety of chambers; and on either side of them were several rows of niches, pierced in the wall, serving as catacombs, and filled with coffins. The chambers were painted, for the most part like the churches, with passages of history from the Old and New Testaments. In the centre of the largest street was an open square, large and commodious as a market-place, in which those who took refuge there, in those troublous times, were wont to congregate for worship; and the comfort of which, as a place of abode, was greatly promoted by the liberal use which the Christians made of spices and perfumes on their dead. In the more distant of these cemeteries, whose remoteness rendered them less liable to be disturbed, there were small apertures left in the surface of the ground, through which a dim twilight was admitted; but the others, where these were closed, were absolutely dark, and except by the aid of lights, impassable; so that, on any sudden surprise, the refugees had only to extinguish their lamps to insure their safety from the invasion of their enemies. The depth of these vaults was sometimes so great, that two or three stories were ranged one above another; and the whole aspect conveyed the impression of a city under ground.

Many of them, however, never came to the knowledge of the enemy; and one was only discovered about three miles from Rome, so late as the end of the sixteenth century, the size and various apartments of which excited universal astonishment. Numbers still remain, bearing the names of their respective founders, and affording, by their inscriptions, and the monuments of antiquity found in them, the most satisfactory proofs of their having been used as hiding-places by the Christians. From their habit of courting the obscurity of the catacombs, the Christians obtained, from their heathen contemporaries, the name of the “Light-hating People;” and to their religious familiarity with these abodes of the dead, the

reflecting reader will be disposed to trace that *general* desire for martyrdom which, in the second and third centuries, astonished the authorities of Rome, and crowded the tribunals of all the provinces. Strange as that insensibility to suffering and death may seem, its origin is naturally to be imputed to the strong influence of place, operating on the minds of men who, by daily contact with the venerable remains of their ancestors, had overcome the instinctive dread of dissolution, and in whom vivid impressions of religion, and the hope of immortal glory, together with the extraordinary estimation in which the memory of the martyrs was held, had created a passionate longing for similar honors.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF SACRED SEASONS. FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

§ 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.¹

The primitive church were not careful to prescribe a specific time or place for the celebration of their religious festivals. The apostles and their immediate successors proceeded on the principle that these should be observed at stated times, which might still be varied as circumstances should direct. These seasons were regarded as *sacred*, not for any peculiar sanctity belonging to the day, or hour, in which they were solemnized, in itself considered, but merely as being set apart from a common to a religious use.² Some however have maintained, that these festive days should be observed as *holy time*.³

The reckoning of chronology by the *christian era* was introduced in the sixth century by Dionysius, a Roman abbot, and in the seventh and eighth centuries, was denominated *the Dionysian era*.⁴ Previous to the introduction of this system of chronology, time was reckoned, by the Jews from the creation of the world, by the Romans from the founding of Rome, or by consulships, or by the reign of their emperors. The calendar was revised by Julius Caesar forty-five years before Christ, and the year made to begin on the first of

January instead of the first of March. The Dionysian era began A. D. 531, but it has since been subject to certain modifications, of which the most important are the correction of the epact, and the reduction from the 25th of March to the 25th of December.

It is not distinctly known when the reckoning of time by an *ecclesiastical* year began in the church. The Jews had a civil year which dated from the creation of the world, and began on the first day of the month Tisri, corresponding to the first half of September and styled $\text{רִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׂרִי}$. Their ecclesiastical or *religious* year having the same name began on the first of the month Nisan, corresponding with the latter part of March. The passover followed immediately, and all their festivals were reckoned from this date.⁵ From the authorities quoted in the above reference, it is probable that the ecclesiastical year in the christian church was adopted from the Jewish, and corresponded with it. In the fifth century the feast of the *annunciation*, March 25th, which also has an intimate relation to the 25th of December, was accounted the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, corresponding very nearly with the religious reckoning of the Jews. This became a fixed point for the church from which to date all their festivals, or as Chrysostom expresses it, it was *πρώτη καὶ ἕλιξ τῶν εορτῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. This feast, according to the council of Toletum, X. c. 1, was to be held on the 18th of December, on the last sabbath of Christmas, as in Milan; or on the 5th or 6th of January, as in the Ethiopian and Armenian churches respectively. In France it was observed on the 25th of March as late as the sixteenth century, and in England even down to the eighteenth century.

The Western church generally may very naturally be supposed to date their ecclesiastical year from the advent of Christ, in imitation of the church at Rome. Between the seventh and ninth centuries this festival was extended to include *six* sabbath days. This number was afterwards reduced.

The Eastern church, like the Western, celebrated the Advent for a series of days, but differed entirely from that church in the reckoning of their religious year. This they began from the feast on the erection of the cross, *crouch-mas-day*, Sept. 14th.⁶

This mode of reckoning time, by *ecclesiastical* and *civil* years must have caused much confusion and inconvenience. And some important reasons must have led to the adoption of a system of chro-

nology so complicated and inconvenient. The primitive church were probably influenced in their adherence to this arrangement by their desire to embrace in their sacred seasons all the leading incidents of our Saviour's life. The Julian reckoning of time from the first of January they rejected because of its relation to pagan chronology. For many centuries this day was stigmatized by them as a day for fasting and penance, or as a day fit only to be observed by fools and hypochondriacs, the observance of which was forbidden by various ecclesiastical councils in the sixth and seventh centuries.⁷

The names of months and weeks, and the consequent division of time by them, the church in general derived from the Roman calendar. But they rejected the names of January and February as being associated with paganism. For the same reason they rejected the reckoning by Calends, Nones, and Ides. They divided the year into fifty-two weeks, and gave to each a specific name as *hebdomas magna, hebdomas authentica, muta, poenosa, luctuoso, crucis, indulgentiae, paschalis, pentecostalis, trinitatis*, etc. They uniformly began the week on *Sunday*, which they styled the *Lord's day*, κυριακή ἡμέρα, and the weeks which followed were denominated, Advent, Epiphany, etc. They manifested the same zealous opposition to paganism by rejecting the Roman names of the days of the week, Monday, Tuesday, *dies Lunae, Martis*, etc. each being named after some pagan god. Some ascetics retained Sunday, *dies Solis*, but only in a *mystical sense* relating to the sun of righteousness. But the names of the others they uniformly refused, and substituted in their place the appellations *Feria prima, secunda*, etc. for Monday, Tuesday, etc.*

The festivals of the church are divided into the following classes: *weekly* and *annual*; *moveable* and *immoveable*, i. e. fixed to a certain day of the month on which they always occur; *higher, middle* and *lower*; *universal* and *particular*; *ancient* and *modern*; *civil* and *ecclesiastical*; *secular* and *religious*. Even as early as the second

* It is a little singular that our names of the days of the week had an origin similar to that which was so obnoxious to the primitive church, as may be seen by observing their Saxon derivation. *Sunnadaeg*, Sun's day; *Monandaeg*, Moon's day; *Tuesdaeg*, day of Tuscio, i. e. Mars; *Wodensdaeg*, day of Woden, or Odin, a northern deity; *Torsdaeg*, day of Thor, a deity answering to Jupiter; *Frydaeg*, day of Frigga, the Venus of the North; *Saeterdaeg*, day of Sacter, i. e. Saturn.⁸—Tr.

century the birth day of the emperor was celebrated in the church as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. Under Constantine the Great, these secular festivals became very numerous.⁹ It is worthy of remark that by the *nativity*, τὰ γενέθλια, the church generally denoted not the natural *birth* but the *death* of the person commemorated by the festival, the deceased being supposed *at death to be born to a new and nobler state of being*. The nativity however of our Lord, of John the Baptist, and of the Virgin Mary, is to be understood in its appropriate and obvious signification.

All their religious festivals were observed by the *primitive church* as a *voluntary act*, and never as an imperative duty. Their sentiments on this subject are fully expressed by Socrates,¹⁰ and recapitulated by Nicephorus.¹¹ “Neither Paul nor the evangelists imposed any yoke of bondage upon those who received instruction from them; but they submitted the observance of the passover and of other festivals to the option of all.—So that neither the Lord Jesus, nor his apostles gave any law respecting these observances to enforce them by penalties and threatenings, as were the laws of Moses upon the Jews.” For similar sentiments of the fathers see references.¹² There were, however, some who very early maintained a different opinion; and in the fourth century various decrees of ecclesiastical councils were passed enjoining the observance of feast-days as a duty.¹³ But even then, these duties were required rather as a rule of *christian practice*, than as a doctrinal precept.

The number of religious festivals was at first small. The most ancient rubrics mention only those of the Passion, of Easter, and of Whitsunday, commemorative of the death and resurrection of Christ, and the descent of the Holy Spirit. Christmas was not observed as a sacred religious festival until the fourth century, when it became customary to observe saints' days; among which, this was the most sacred. The earliest authorities on this point, are Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome, as quoted above. From the council of Trent we learn that, for the first four hundred years, the festivals of the church were, 1. The Lord's day; 2. that of the Passion; 3. of the Resurrection; 4. the Ascension; 5. Pentecost; 6. the Nativity and Baptism of Christ.¹⁴ For later acts of councils, see references.¹⁵

The *object and end* proposed in observing those sacred seasons, was to call to mind the benefits of the christian dispensation,—to excite Christians to holy living,—to offer thanks for providential

mercies ; and to aid in the cultivation of the christian graces. These graces the primitive Christians sought particularly to cultivate on such occasions. Freed from worldly cares, that they might devote themselves to the duties of religion, they joyfully celebrated their religious festivals. So carefully were they conscientiously to guard against all improper indulgences, and idolatrous customs on those days, that they sought the interposition of the civil authority to protect them in the quiet observance of them, and to prohibit the vain amusements and recreations which were inconsistent with the solemnities of the occasion.

It is an interesting characteristic of the discourses which were delivered on these occasions, that they related to the most important topics of religion ; all the benefits of Christianity, and the whole sacred history were set forth ; the incarnation, the life and death of our Lord, and all the mysteries of the sacred Trinity, were particularly the topics of discourse. Even the Sabbath day, according to Eusebius, had a three-fold origin, *τρεις ἀρχαίς ἔχουσα*, emblematical of the sacred Trinity. So the three great feasts were supposed to embrace the three great principles of the christian religion, and were organized in accordance with the belief in a triune God. For the same reason, it became customary at a later period to celebrate each festival for *three days* only. Epiphanius, in one of his discourses on such an occasion, dwells upon the incarnation of Christ, God manifest in the flesh ; on his death, and baptism by water and the Holy Ghost ; the fall of Adam, and his restoration to eternal life ; the heavenly state, etc. In the references, the reader is directed to this and other discourses of the fathers on these festivals.¹⁶

It is particularly striking to observe how differently christian and pagan festivals were celebrated. Philo the Jew mentions the following, as common scandals which occur at such idolatrous festivals, —negligence, indolence, carousing, surfeiting, noisy mirth, sensuality, convivial meetings at unseasonable hours, the gratification of particular lusts, inordinate excess, intemperance, self-inflicted ignominy ; sleeping on the day which invites peculiar watchfulness, in a word, every unnatural excess. Every virtue is derided, everything praiseworthy is condemned, and every unworthy deed commended.¹⁷ Gregory Nazianzen, on the contrary, earnestly remonstrates against the celebration of Epiphany by ornamental decorations, music, or sweet odors, or any voluptuous enjoyment. Extravagant expendi-

tures in dress, feasting and carousing, and wanton excesses of every kind be condemnns. "Let us leave all such," he adds, "to the Gentiles and their gods, who, themselves devoted to every sensual pleasure, are fitly worshipped in the same way. But we who worship the incarnate Word, if we find pleasure in anything, let it be in meditating upon the divine law, and especially, in the recital of those things which harmonize with the present occasion."¹⁸

Constantine the Great enacted particular laws for the due observance of those days,¹⁹ which were again revised both by the elder and younger Theodosius.²⁰ By those laws all theatrical exhibitions were forbidden, except on secular festivals commemorative of the birth or coronation of the emperor. Neither were they allowed in the interval between Easter and Whitsunday.²¹ Courts of justice were also suspended on most of those days, and civil persecutions prohibited.²² Among the positive duties required on such occasions were deeds of mercy and charity, attendance on public worship, not only of the house of worship, but of private dwellings, and the wearing of suitable apparel. The rich were to send presents of food to the poor, and prayers were to be offered by the congregation not *kneeling*, but standing. If any master proposed to manumit his slaves, this was also required to be done on those days.²³

Since the fourth century, it has been customary to celebrate joyful festivals by decorations with evergreens, by strewing of flowers, illuminations, and the burning of incense.

It is uncertain whether the love feasts of the primitive church were a part of the sacrament or not. That they were celebrated in connection, is sufficiently evident.²⁴ At first they preceded the sacramental season, and were an ordinance introductory to this. It was afterwards made to follow that season. In the fourth century these feasts became the occasion of such excesses that the intervention of ecclesiastical councils was required to correct them. They were subsequently prohibited altogether, and discontinued in the sixth or seventh century.²⁵ See chap. XVI. § 13.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper was celebrated on all religious festivals, as the most important of the festivities of the occasion.

§ 2. OF THE SABBATH.

The primitive church observed both the Jewish and the christian sabbath. The Jewish converts considered the abrogation of the cere-

monial law, and of the sabbath, to relate only to their exemption from its burdensome rites ; and religiously observed the day as holy. Converts from paganism, on the contrary, contemplated Christianity as a dispensation altogether new, and the religion of the Jews as totally abrogated. The resurrection of Christ was to them a fixed point, the beginning of this new dispensation, the new *passover* from bondage to freedom, from death to life. This great event they refused to commemorate on the same day which the Jews observed for another end, and for this purpose they selected the first day of the week. The import of the christian sabbath they accounted more significant and important than that of the Jewish. The one commemorated the *completion* of the work of creation ; the other, the *beginning* of a nobler work by the great Creator himself, who was light and life to all.

The silence of the writers of the New Testament relative to the christian sabbath, is no matter of surprise. It is in strict accordance with that law of liberty which is the basis of the christian dispensation. But there are various passages which evidently refer to this institution. The divine Word, by whom all things were made, is styled *Light* and *Life*, with evident reference to the work of creation. To this we may add Acts 20: 7. 1 Cor. 16: 2. Mark 16: 2, 9. John 20: 19, 26, and especially Rev. 1: 10.

The author of the epistle of St. Barnabas introduces the Lord as saying, ‘The sabbaths which you now keep are not acceptable to me ; but those which I have made, when, resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day, that is, the beginning of the other world.’ “For which cause,” he adds, “we observe the eighth day with gladness, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and, having manifested himself to his disciples, ascended into heaven.”²

Justin Martyr, who lived in the fore part of the second century, says that they, Christians, neither celebrated the Jewish festivals, nor observed their sabbaths, nor practised circumcision.³ In another place he says that they, both those who lived in the city and they who lived in the country, were all accustomed to meet on the day which is denominated Sunday, for the reading of the Scriptures, prayer, exhortation, and communion. See chap. XVI. § 4. The assembly meet on *Sunday*, because this is the first day on which God, having changed the darkness, and the elements, τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ἕλην τροπῆσας, created the world : and because Jesus our Lord on this day arose from the dead.

Pliny asserts that *they*, the Christians, were wont to meet on a certain day, *stato die*, and sing hymns to Christ as God.⁵

Ignatius, in the first century, exhorts the Magnesians, c. 9, no longer to *sabbatize*, i. e. *observe the Jewish sabbaths*, but to keep the Lord's day. Other authorities are quoted from Tertullian,⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus,⁷ and Cyprian,⁸ from all which it must be admitted that the observance of the Christian sabbath had already become universal in the second century, as a usage enforced by common consent and the authority of tradition, agreeably to the declaration of Augustine.⁹

Athanasius, however, in the beginning of the third century, expressly declared that the Lord changed the sabbath into the Lord's day, and adds, "We observe the Lord's day because of the resurrection."¹⁰

The account which Eusebius gives of this subject is, that the Logos, the Word, in the New Testament, transferred the sabbath of the Lord God unto this day, i. e. to the christian sabbath, as the true image of divine rest, and the first day of light, when the Saviour, bursting the bars of death, completed a work more excellent than that of the six days of creation, and entered the gates of heaven, to enjoy his glorious rest. "This day," he observes, "Christians throughout the world celebrate, in strict obedience to the spiritual law. Like the Jews they offer the morning and evening sacrifice, with incense of sweeter odor;" referring to their confessions, supplications, and prayers, and the melody of their psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. The day, he also says, was universally observed as strictly as the Jewish sabbath, whilst all feasting, drunkenness, and recreation, was rebuked as a profanation of the sacred day.—*Comment. in Ps. 91.*

The Jewish Christians, while they observed the seventh day as the sabbath, did not omit the *first* day in commemoration of the resurrection. This would probably have been a forfeiture of the christian name. But the exhortations which were given against *judaizing* and *sabbatizing*, are directed apparently against an undue care in keeping the Jewish sabbath.¹¹ This was uniformly censured as prejudicial to the freedom of christian worship; but no specific limitations were set to those things which might be done consistently with christian liberty and a good conscience in celebration of the Jewish sabbath. Neither did the decrees of councils and of emperors, relating to the observance of *Sunday*, interfere with the usages

relating to the Jewish sabbath.¹² It was even styled by Gregory Nazianzen the *kindred of the christian sabbath*.¹³ Both were observed as joyful festivals, on which it was forbidden to fast, with the exception of Easter eve, commemorative of that night when our Lord lay entombed in the sepulchre.

The rules relating to the observance of Saturday, or the Jewish sabbath, were chiefly of a negative and prohibitory character. Fasting and kneeling in prayer were forbidden, as on the sabbath. Labor was not prohibited, which is the more remarkable inasmuch as it was suspended even on other festivals.¹⁵ Neander erroneously asserts that the communion was administered on this day.¹⁶ But public worship was held, and the mysteries celebrated, as on the Lord's day. To this remark, however, the church at Rome and Alexandria are an exception. It was at a later period observed as an evening festival preparatory to the Lord's day, and was solemnized by *vespers* and *vigils*. This is the true import of the religious observance of Saturday. It was *preparatory* to the Lord's day, designed to lead on and rightly introduce this great day of our Lord. But the Roman and the Oriental churches differed essentially in their observance of the day. The former kept it as a *fast*,¹⁷ the latter as a *festival*.¹⁸

The Lord's day, however, was uniformly regarded as more sacred than Saturday. And after the fourth century was thus honored not only in the church, but also in the state. Ignatius says that all who loved the Lord kept the Lord's day as the queen of days, a reviving, life-giving day, best of all our days. Such epithets abound in the ancient homilies of the fathers. But the appropriate name of the day was the *Lord's day*. The name of *Sunday*, *die solis*, was rejected, because of its relation to idolatry; and when at length it was received into use, it was only in a *metaphorical* sense, in relation to Christ as the Light of the World and the Sun of Righteousness.¹⁹ It is also worthy of note that the first day was very generally called the *eighth* day.

The heretical sects of the day are severely censured by the fathers for their disregard of the sabbath. And yet it does not appear that any one absolutely neglected the day. It would seem rather that they were less scrupulous in the two cardinal points by which, in the view of the primitive Christians, the day was desecrated—*fasting*, and *kneeling in prayer*. To fast in token of sorrow on this *glad* day,

and to kneel whilst commemorating the day when our Lord *arose*, was a violent impropriety, which failed not to awaken the sore displeasure of the church, and call forth the anathemas of her councils. It is not distinctly known whether these sects allowed labor to be performed on the Lord's day or not.

§ 3. GENERAL VIEW OF THE SACRED SEASONS, AND OF THE PERIOD OF THE THREE GREAT FESTIVALS.

The most ancient of all the festivals of the church is that of *Easter*, in memory of our Lord's resurrection. The high antiquity and importance of this festival is sufficiently evident from the fact that the ecclesiastical year began with it, and that originally it was commemorative both of the *death* and *resurrection* of our Lord. It is known in the oldest writings extant as *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, *feast of the resurrection*.

After this, the most ancient feast is that of *Whitsunday*, commemorative of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. It is really a continuation and conclusion of the festival above mentioned. The entire period of seven weeks between Easter and Whitsunday was one continued festival, styled the Pentecost, during which time it was not allowed either to kneel in prayer or to fast. The present Whitsunday is probably of no higher antiquity than the Ascension feast, which some writers, confounding the feast with the fact which it commemorates, assert to be of apostolic origin. It was coeval with the *martyr feasts*, in honor of saints, of which we have no knowledge earlier than the second, third, and fourth centuries.

The earliest of these festivals of which we have any record is that in memory of Polycarp, as related by Eusebius, who copies the epistle, sent by the church over which Polycarp presided, to the sister churches. In this epistle it is said, "The Lord grant that we may, with joy and gladness, celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have heretofore undergone and been victorious in this glorious conflict, and also for the instruction and preparation of such as shall hereafter be exercised therein."¹ The Greek church, as early as the fourth century, celebrated the feast of All Saints.

The institution of *Christmas* as a festival was at a period subsequent to that above mentioned, and dates no farther back than the

fourth century. After the introduction of this feast, which became the occasion of many others, the festivals of the church began to be reduced to system and method, not in the order of antiquity, but according to their design and end ; so that towards the end of the fourth century the sacred seasons were arranged in three great cycles, setting forth in chronological order the leading incidents of our Saviour's life. The three high feasts were thus intended specifically to comprehend and to honor the most momentous events of the same. .

These festivals were also preceded by preparatory fasts. Before Christmas and Easter, both the Latin and Greek churches agreed in keeping the advent and quadragesimal fasts, though they differed in regard to the time during which these ought to continue. The entire period between Easter and Whitsunday was a continued festival, in which it was unlawful to fast, but even this did not prevent the Greek church from observing a short fast before this day. The following extract from Chrysostom will illustrate the views of the fathers on this subject. "In six days God executed all his work, and rested on the seventh. So in these last days the divine Logos who, to save that which was lost, in mercy became flesh, appointed festivals corresponding to the days of the creation. The first is the nativity in the flesh ; the second, epiphany ; the third, the day of his passion ; the fourth, the day of his glorious resurrection ; the fifth, his reception into heaven ; the sixth, the descent of the Holy Ghost ; the seventh, the great day of general resurrection, which has no succession nor end. For that is an eternal festival, or perpetual sabbath, and rest for the people of God, to be celebrated with great joy and gladness, by those that shall be heirs of such things as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man,—which God has prepared for them that love him."² The last mentioned is, evidently, not a feast of the church, but the same as the eternal sabbath, and the heavenly hallelujah, of which the writers of that day so frequently speak.

The Greek church, according to the annalist Michael Glycas, observed six principal feasts ; first, the birth ; second, the baptism ; third, the death ; fourth, the resurrection ; fifth, the ascension of Christ, and sixth, the descent of the Holy Ghost. These had a mystical relation to the six days of creation, and were emblematical of the new creation by Christ. Two of these were uniformly celebrated in connection, constituting a *threefold* division.

§ 4. OF CHRISTMAS, THE FESTIVAL OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.¹

This festival begins with the advent on the last of November, and continues until epiphany, January 6th. But both the Latin and Greek church, since the latter end of the fourth century have agreed in observing the 25th of December more particularly. The advent is preliminary and preparatory to this, and the epiphany closes this sacred festival in honor of the incarnate Saviour. Many, misled by the term *ἄφιξις*, *advent*, as it occurs in the earliest of the fathers, have supposed that the advent, as a festival, was of apostolic origin; whereas the first authentic mention is in the council of Mascon, c. 3, A. D. 582.

In regard to the nativity, it appears from an oration of Chrysostom on this occasion, in the year 386, that this festival had been introduced *ten years* before, for the first time, into Antioch and Syria, and that others claimed for it a high antiquity, asserting that it was known from Thrace even unto Spain.² Epiphany was observed at an earlier period; his entrance upon his public ministry being an event of greater interest than that of his birth, Clemens Alexandrinus censures those who seek too anxiously the Saviour's birth.³

Epiphanius affirms that the birth of Christ occurred on the 6th of January,⁴ which again Jerome denies.⁵

Augustine recommends a suitable *remembrance* of the day, but does not honor it as a solemn festival. He expressly asserts that the church, by common consent, held it on the 25th of December.⁶ Indeed it may be confidently affirmed that in the third century, and the first half of the fourth, the church were not agreed, either in regard to the time, or reasons for observing this festival; and that the Eastern and Western churches differed totally in their manner of celebrating it. About the end of the fourth century, it was finally agreed that Christmas and Epiphany should be observed as two distinct festivals, the one, on the 25th of December; the other, on the 6th of January.⁷ From that time, this arrangement has been very generally observed.*

* The following passage from Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromat.* l. i. p. 340, ab. 249, is almost the only genuine passage of an Ante-Nicene writer which can be supposed to allude to any festival commemorative of the advent of our Lord. After giving a list of the Roman emperors till the death of Com-

The reason for celebrating *Christmas eve* with so much solemnity was, that though neither the day nor the year of our Saviour's birth was known, it was received as an acknowledged truth that he was born *in the night*.⁸ Accordingly whilst other vigils had fallen into disuse, or been exchanged for evening vespers, this was extended to continue through the whole night. But these watchings finally were discontinued, and instead of them, three services were read on that day.

When the representatives of Adam and Eve on Christmas eve was first introduced is not known. It had a mysterial relation to the first and second Adam, and was a device of the fourth or fifth century.⁹

modus, A. D. 192, and stating what years of certain emperors the Saviour was either born, or baptized, or crucified, he says: "There are some who *over curiously* assign not only the year, but the *day* also of our Saviour's nativity, which they say was in the 28th year of Augustus, on the 25th of Pachon, (20th of May). And the followers of Basilides observe also the day of his *baptism* as a festival, spending the whole previous night in reading; and they say it was on the 15th year of Tiberias Caesar, on the 15th of Tybi, (10th of January), but some say it was on the 11th, (6th) of that month. Among those who nicely calculate the time of his *passion*, some say it was on the 16th year of Tiberias Caesar, the 23th of Phemenoth, (22d of March); others say, the 25th of Pharmuthi, (21st of April); and others, that it was on the 19th of Pharmuthi, (15th of April), that the Saviour suffered. Nay, some of them say that he was born in Pharmuthi, the 24th or 25th day, (April 20th or 21st)."

The reasons for observing the 25th of December in commemoration of our Lord's advent, may have been various. Some may have honestly believed this to be the true day of his nativity, and others may have felt it desirable to have a christian festival at some other season of the year than the fifty or sixty days immediately succeeding the vernal equinox, into which all the older festivals were clustered. The designation of this day was first made about the middle of the fourth century.

From the first institution of this festival many of the western nations seem to have transferred to it many of the follies which prevailed in the pagan festivals at the same season, such as adorning fantastically the churches, mingling puppet-shows and dramas with worship, universal feasting and merry-making, Christmas visits and salutations, Christmas presents and jocular-ity, and Christmas revelry and drunkenness. Christmas holidays have borne so close a resemblance, whenever they have been observed, to the Roman Saturnalia, Sigillaria, etc., and to the Juel feast of the Goths, as to afford strong presumption of an unhappy alliance between them from the first. See Murdock's Mosheim, second ed. pp. 279, 280, from which the above note is taken.—TR.

The death of the martyr Stephen was commemorated December 26th. The event evidently occurred in August, A. D. 36. But after the pretended discovery of his relics, it was commemorated on the 6th or 7th of January, and then again, was changed to December 26th as above mentioned.

On the third of the Christmas festivals, was St. John's day ; and the fourth was celebrated in memory of the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem by Herod, styled *Innocent's day*. Authorities are given in the index to show that the entire interval between Christmas and Epiphany was observed as a continued festival.¹⁰

To show in what consideration this festival, commemorative of our Lord's nativity was held by the ancient church, a brief extract from Chrysostom is here inserted. After asserting that this is more venerable than any other relating to Christ, inasmuch as all others depended upon his incarnation, he adds : " But we do not give this festival the preference merely on this account ; but because the transaction on this day was, of all others, the most stupendous. For that Christ when once man should die, was a thing of course. But that when he was God he should be willing to become *a man*, is beyond measure wonderful, and astonishing. Transported with this thought St. Paul in rapture exclaims, ' Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh.' For this reason chiefly I love and venerate this day, and commend it to your consideration that I may make you partakers of the same sentiments. I therefore pray and beseech you, Come with all diligence and alacrity, every man first purifying his own house, to see our Lord wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger ! Tremendous thought ! Oh sight of wonder !"¹¹ " I am not now astonished," exclaims another, " at the creation of the world, at the heavens, at the earth, at the succession of days and seasons ; but I wonder to see God enclosed in the womb of a virgin, the Omnipotent lain in a manger, the eternal Word clothed with flesh !"¹²

§ 5. EASTER, OR THE FESTIVAL WHICH COMMEMORATES THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.

This great event is a cardinal point in the christian system on which depend our faith and hope. So important was the doctrine of Christ's resurrection in the view of the primitive church that, not

only was an annual festival set apart to commemorate it ; but the Lord's day was made a weekly memorial of the same event. This festival was therefore celebrated with great solemnity. It was styled by Gregory Nazianzen, *the king of days, the festival of festivals* ; excelling all others as far as the sun outshines the stars.

Unlike the Christmas festival, this was a *moveable feast*. However the ancients might differ respecting the time for celebrating Christmas whether in December, April, May, August, or September, all agreed that it should be held uniformly on some given day. But this festival was restricted to no prescribed day ; a circumstance which gave rise to great contentions, by which the church was sorely agitated and divided for several centuries.

This festival, like that of Christmas, was preceded by a season of fasting. This fast at first continued forty hours, corresponding to Friday and Saturday before Easter, and comprising the period during which our Saviour lay in the grave. It was moreover in the beginning a *voluntary fast*. But it became in process of time a prescribed and necessary duty, not only for penitents and catechumens, but for all believers to observe this fast for their own spiritual improvement. In the fifth and sixth centuries, the fast was extended to *thirty-six days*. The four additional days which complete the season of *Lent* were added either in the sixth century by Gregory the Great, or in the eighth by Gregory II. This fast, styled the *carnival*, from *caro vale*,¹ began with Ash Wednesday and ended with the Saturday before Easter. That day was observed with great solemnity, and was denominated the Great Sabbath.

The entire week before Easter, beginning with Palm Sunday, was kept as holy time ; but the fifth, sixth, and seventh, were regarded as peculiarly sacred above the other days of this week. The week was denominated the *great week* and *passion week*.

The fifth day, called Maundy Thursday, *dies mandati*, was a communion day, *dies mysteriorum, eucharistiae, panis, indulgentiae*, etc. And, for a long time after the ancient love-feasts were discontinued, this day was observed as a *feast of love*. With these ceremonies was also joined that of washing the feet by catechumens and candidates for baptism. The creed was also publicly rehearsed by them on this day, and pardon was extended to the penitent, hence called *dies indulgentiae*.

The sixth day of passion week is *Good Friday*, from the *good*

derived from the death of Christ. The day was observed as a strict fast. The customary acclamations and doxologies were omitted, and nothing but the most plaintive strains of music, such as *αὐγὰς ἐλεησον*, etc. was allowed. No bell was rung on this occasion. None bowed the knee in prayer, because thus the Jews reviled Jesus, Matt. 27: 29. Neither did any present the kiss of charity, for Judas betrayed his Lord with a kiss. The sacramental elements were not consecrated, the altars were divested of their ornaments and the gospel of John was read, because he was a faithful and true witness of our Lord's passion.

The seventh day of this week, the Great Sabbath, as it was called, was observed with rigorous precision as a day of fasting. Religious worship was celebrated *by night*, and the vigils of the night were continued until cock-crowing, the hour when the Lord was supposed to have arisen. At this instant the stillness of these midnight vigils was suddenly interrupted by the joyful acclamation, The Lord is risen, the Lord is risen! the Lord is risen indeed!

This day was particularly set apart for administering the ordinance of baptism, with a reference to the *baptism* wherewith Christ was at this time baptized, and for the consecration of the holy water. The Scripture lessons for this day were various selections from the prophets.

The day of Easter was celebrated with every demonstration of joy as a second jubilee. In connection with appropriate devotional exercises, it was customary to celebrate the day by deeds of charity and mercy—by granting liberty to the captive, freedom to the slave, and pardon to the criminals. Charities were dispensed to the needy. Courts of justice were suspended. Each participated in the general joy and felt his bosom swell with the “wide wish of benevolence.”

The week following Easter was observed as a continuation of the festival. The time was spent in reading the Scriptures, celebrating the mysteries and other appropriate exercises. During this time they who had been baptized at Easter appeared arrayed *in white*, in token of that purity of life to which they were bound by their baptismal vows. On the sabbath following, they laid aside their garments of white, and after this became integral members of the church. The day was called *White Sunday* from their appearing in white for the last time. It was also denominated the Octave of Easter, New Lord's day, etc.

§ 6. PENTECOST OR WHITSUNDAY.

This season has reference to the ascension of our Lord and the commencement of the christian church by the descent of the Holy Ghost. The foregoing high feasts comprise the great events of his earthly existence. This sets forth his exaltation at the right hand of God, where he fulfilled his promise of sending the Holy Spirit, the Comforter; and, as the invisible head of the church on earth, he continued still to govern it by his miraculous agency. Herein was manifested the first display of his heavenly grace; so that though he dwelt no more with us, he was still, as during his abode on earth, full of grace and truth.

The feast in question is based on historical and doctrinal truth, which, like those facts on which the other great feasts rely, is substantiated by historical evidence. The ascension of our Lord is an historical fact; and this festival is based on the most important circumstance connected with that fact—the effusion of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost.

Both the Greek and Latin churches agree in beginning this sacred festival with the Ascension Feast, and end it with Pentecost. The Greek church admit of no Trinity Feast within this sacred season, but in the place of it celebrate the feast of All Saints and Martyrs. The former can claim no higher antiquity than the ninth century, and probably was not fully established until the fourteenth. But there was very early a feast day of the Apostles, in the Western church, which afterwards became the feast day of Philip and James. This was in all probability the origin of the modern Whitsunday, being much earlier than that of All Saints, instituted A. D. 834, or, according to others, 751, or 610.

The Ascension feast was established in the fourth century as one of the great festivals; but it may have been celebrated, notwithstanding, at a period still earlier. Nor need it appear surprising that two events were commemorated by one festive season. For the same is true of the Jewish festival, which included the feast of first-fruits and of the promulgation of the law, Ex. 23: 16. Lev. 23: 14—21. Num. 28: 26. Indeed this festival, in many respects, bears a very close analogy to that of the Jews; and evidently is little else than a modification of it. The converts of that day, when the Holy Ghost descended, were the *first-fruits* of the Spirit. Jerome elegantly con-

trasts this with the giving of the law on Sinai: "Utraque facta est quinquagesimo die, a Paschate; illo, in Sina; haec, in Sion. Ibi terrae motu contremuit mons; hic, domus apostolorum. Ibi, inter flammam ignium et micantia fulgura, turbo ventorum, et fragor tonitruorum personuit; hic, cum ignearum visione linguarum, sonitus pariter de coelo, tanquam spiritus vehementis advenit. Ibi, clangor buccinae, legis verba perstrepuerunt; hic, tuba evangelica Apostolorum ore intonuit."¹

The feast has been celebrated at different times for one day, for seven days, and again for three.² The religious solemnities of this occasion were very much the same as on the other great festivals. It was one of the three baptismal seasons,³ and derives the name of Whitsunday or white-Sunday from the circumstance that so many were clad in white on this day at their baptism. Homilies were delivered as on the other festivals, and the sacrament administered.⁴

As an instance of the extravagant folly of popish superstition, it may not be impertinent to add that the Catholics were accustomed to throw down fire from the arches above, to denote the cloven tongues. Flowers of various hues were scattered, in token of the various tongues and gifts of the Spirit. And doves were let loose to flutter about the church as an emblem of the Spirit's presence.⁵

§ 7. FESTIVALS IN HONOR OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

No instance of divine honor paid to Mary is recorded of an earlier date than the fifth century. Cyril of Alexandria and Proklus of Constantinople were the first to pay these honors to her. Festivals to her memory began to be held about the year 431,² but were not generally observed until the sixth century. From this time until the sixteenth century they were general in all the Western churches, though differing in number and in rank, in the several countries of Europe.³ The Greek church observe only three great festivals of this description.

The following is a brief enumeration of the principal festivals in question.

1. The festival of the Purification. Candlemas, Feb. 2, instituted in the sixth century.⁴

2. Of the Annunciation, popularly styled Lady Day, March 25, an early festival, styled by St. Bernhard, *radix omnium festorum*.⁵

3. Of the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, instituted by Urban VI, 1389.⁶

4. Of the Assumption of Mary into heaven, Aug. 15, early instituted.⁷ Mary was the tutelary divinity of France; and for this reason this day was observed with peculiar care. It was also the birth day of Napoleon, and accordingly was observed under his dynasty as the great festival of the nation.

5. Of the Nativity of Mary, Sept. 8, instituted in the Eastern church in the seventh century; in the Western, in the eleventh or twelfth.⁸

6. Of the naming of Mary. A. D. 1513.

7. Of Conception. This feast, according to Bellarmin, was not necessarily dependent upon the question so fiercely discussed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respecting the immaculate conception.⁹

§ 8. FESTIVALS IN MEMORY OF THE MARTYRS.

These festive occasions are often styled the *birth days* of the martyrs, *μαρτύρων γενέθλια*, *natililia*. They never relate, however, to their *natural birth*, but to *their death*, at which they were born to a new and nobler life above. *Nemo, ante obitum, beatus*, was an established maxim of the church. "When you hear of the birth day of a saint," says Peter Chrysologus, think not that it relates to his carnal birth on earth, but to the day when he was born from earth to heaven, from toil to rest, from labor to repose, from trials to joys unfading and eternal; from earthly vanities to a crown of glory.²

The earliest festival of this kind was that of Polycarp. Another which was observed with great solemnity, was the feast of the Maccabees, founded on the heroic death of the mother and her seven sons.³ These festivals were preceded by vigils, and celebrated around the graves of the martyrs, where their lives were read, and eulogies pronounced, the sacrament administered, and public entertainments given gratuitously by the rich. But these entertainments became, in time, the occasion of shameful excesses, and were suppressed. It is worthy of note that the fathers indignantly repel the charge of paying religious honors to the martyrs, and assert that they only celebrate these festivals to provoke the living to emulate the deeds of the sainted dead, and to follow after those who, through faith and patience, inherited the promises.⁴

§ 9. OF ST. JOHN'S DAY.

This commemorates the *birth* of the Baptist, as Christmas does that of Christ. Both are veiled in equal uncertainty, but the former is known to have preceded the latter by six months, and is accordingly held June 24. Thus the sun of the Old Testament is made to set at the summer solstice, and that of the New Testament to rise in the winter solstice.¹ In the year 506, it was received among the great feasts, like Easter, Christmas, and other festivals; and was celebrated with equal solemnity, and in much the same manner.²

§ 10. OF THE APOSTLES' DAYS.

The reasons for observing these were the same as for observing the martyr feasts; nor is there any instance of the appointment of such a day for any apostle or evangelist who was known not to have suffered martyrdom. The Apostolical Constitutions, VIII. c. 33, make mention of the apostles' feast, and direct that slaves shall be exempt from labor on that day, which intimates that it was regarded as one of the great feasts. But none of the apostles is specified, neither is the time of observing it mentioned. The idea of a general feast of this character was often entertained, though the festival was but inconstantly observed. The Oriental church celebrated it immediately after Whitsunday, and in connection with it; but the churches generally were not agreed either in regard to the day, or the persons who should be honored by it. At one time Peter's and Paul's day is mentioned;² at another, that of Philip and James;³ then the twelve collectively.⁴ But separate festivals were, in time, prescribed for all together with the evangelists Mark and Luke.

Festivals were, in process of time, established also in great numbers for the *saints* of distinction, though they died not as martyrs. The Eastern church was the first to appoint such festivals. In the Western church they were regarded most from the time of Charlemagne to Gregory VIII.⁵

The right of canonizing saints originally belonged to the bishops, but the privilege was restricted by councils.⁶ The first instance of canonization by the pope occurred A. D. 995. The privilege continued to be exercised occasionally until the twelfth century, when it began to be boldly asserted and defended.

The feasts of All Saints, Nov. 1, and of All Souls, Nov. 2, were instituted, the former in the seventh and the latter in the tenth century.

A farther sketch of the endless festivals of the Catholics would be inconsistent with the design of this work. Suffice it to say that they fill up the entire year in the Roman Calendar, so that there is not a day which is not dedicated to the memory of one or more of their saints. For a further account of the festivals of the church, the reader is referred to the 3d vol. of Augusti's original Work.

It appears that the earliest professors of the christian faith were disposed conscientiously to abstain from public religious ceremonies, and were more than content to be even destitute of temples, altars, priests, and sacred pomp or show. They received in its literal and broadest meaning the precept of our Saviour, that his disciples should worship God in spirit and in truth; and they thought that they had discovered, in the overthrow of the Jewish polity and the destruction of the temple, an intimation of the Divine will that religious worship should be no longer limited by time and place. The Jewish Christians, indeed, continued to evince an attachment to places, times, and seasons; but the early Gentile converts regarded temples and altars as remnants or indications of heathen superstition,—an opinion which is strongly developed, for example, in the Apologies of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Tertullian, and even in the writings of Origen (*contra Celsum*, lib. viii.)

In course of time, however, when Christianity was protected, and even adopted, by the state, and opportunity was thus given of establishing public forms and ceremonies of worship without fear of danger, and when it seemed expedient to recommend it to the favor of half-converted pagans by outward pomp and circumstance, it was thought to be at once safe and seasonable to increase the number of sacred solemnities, both ordinary and extraordinary, to restore many parts of the Jewish ritual, and even to incorporate into the system of christian worship various rites and ceremonies from the customs of the declining pagan superstition. And it is to this period of church history, and to these mistaken principles of polity, that we may chiefly refer the origin of stations, processions, and pilgrimages. But to speak of these in detail would carry us too far out of the department of Christian Antiquities into the region of ecclesiastical superstition and folly.

§ 11. OF FASTS.

a) *Practice of the Early Christians.* The doctrine and practice of our Lord and his apostles respecting fasting may be thus described. Our Saviour neglected the observance of those stated Jewish fasts which had been superadded to the Mosaic law, and introduced especially after the captivity, to which the Pharisees paid scrupulous attention, Matt. 11: 18, 19; and he represented such observances as inconsistent with the genius of his religion, Matt. 9: 14—18; and parallel passages, Mark 2: 15—22. Luke 5: 33—39. The practice of voluntary and occasional fasting he neither prohibited nor enjoined; he spoke of it, however, as being not unsuitable on certain occasions, nor without its use in certain cases, Matt. 9: 15. 17: 21; he fasted himself on a great and solemn occasion, Matt. 4: 2; and he warned his disciples against all ostentatious and hypocritical observances of this kind, Matt. 6: 16—18. The doctrine of the apostles on this subject was to the same purport, neither commanding the practice of fasting, nor denouncing it as unlawful, unless either the observance or omission should involve a breach of some moral and christian duty, Rom. 14: 14—22. Col. 2: 16—23. 1 Tim. 4: 3—5. In practice, the apostles joined fasting with prayer, on solemn occasions, Acts 13: 2, 3. 14: 23.

It does not appear that much value was attached to the practice of fasting, in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles. In the *Shepherd of Hermas* it is spoken of in disparaging terms. "Nothing is done, nothing is gained, for virtue by bodily abstinence; rather so fast, that you do no wrong, and harbor no evil passion in your heart." It appears rather singular that we find so little notice taken of fasting by the writers of the first centuries, if we take into account the spirit of the times, and especially the doctrines of Montanus, the tenets of the new Platonic school, and the progress of Gnosticism, which taught that matter was essentially evil. But it seems that the observance of fasts was introduced into the church slowly and by degrees. We learn from Justin Martyr that fasting was joined with prayer, at Ephesus, in the administration of baptism; which is worthy of being remarked as an early addition to the original institution. In the second century, in the time of Victor and Irenaeus, it had become usual to fast before Easter; and Clement of

Alexandria speaks of weekly fasts. Tertullian, a Montanist, in his treatise *De Jejunio*, complains heavily of the little attention paid by the Catholic church to the practice of fasting; and hereby gives us to understand that, in his days, a large portion of orthodox Christians exercised that liberty of judgment which had been sanctioned by the apostles. Origen, in his voluminous writings, adverts to the subject only once; namely, in his tenth homily on Leviticus. And here he speaks in accordance with the apostolical doctrine. It appears, however, from his observations, that at Alexandria Wednesdays and Fridays were then observed as fast days; on the ground that our Lord was betrayed on a Wednesday, and crucified on a Friday. The custom of the church at the end of the fourth century may be collected from the following passage of Epiphanius: "In the whole christian church the following fast days, throughout the year, are regularly observed. On Wednesdays and Fridays we fast until the ninth hour (i. e. three o'clock in the afternoon); except during the interval of fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide, in which it is usual neither to kneel nor fast at all. Besides this, there is no fasting on the Epiphany or Nativity, if those days should fall on a Wednesday or Friday. But those persons who especially devote themselves to religious exercises (the monks) fast also at other times when they please, except on Sundays and during the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide. It is also the practice of the church to observe the forty days' fast before the sacred week. But on Sundays there is no fasting, even during the last mentioned period. (*Comp. Doctr. de fide.*)" But even at this late date there was no universal agreement in the practice of the church in this matter, neither had fasts been established by law. The custom, so far as it existed, had been silently introduced into the church, and its observance was altogether voluntary. This fasting consisted, at first, in abstinence from food until three o'clock in the afternoon. A custom was afterwards introduced, probably by the Montanists, affecting the kind of food to be taken, which was limited to bread, salt, and water.

b) *Practice of Later Times.* But fasting, after a time, ceased to be a voluntary exercise. By the second canon of the council of Orleans, A. D. 541, it was decreed that any one who should neglect to observe the stated times of abstinence should be treated as an offender against the laws of the church. The eighth council of Toledo,

in the seventh century, (can. 9,) condemns any who should eat flesh during the fast before Easter, and says that such offenders deserve to be forbidden the use of it throughout the year. In the eighth century, fasting began to be regarded as a meritorious work; and the breach of the observance, at the stated seasons, subjected the offender to excommunication. In later times, some persons who ate flesh during the appointed seasons of abstinence were punished with the loss of their teeth (Baronius, *Annal. ad. an.* 1018.)

Afterwards, however, these severities were, to a certain extent, relaxed. Instead of the former limitation of diet on fast days to bread, salt, and water, permission was given for the use of all kinds of food, except flesh, eggs, cheese, and wine. Then eggs, cheese, and wine were allowed, flesh only being prohibited; an indulgence which was censured by the Greek church, and led to a quarrel between it and the western. In the thirteenth century, a cold collation in the evening of fast days was permitted.

CHAPTER XXII.

SACRED SEASONS OF THE PURITANS.

THE subject of the Fasts and Thanksgivings of New England is an interesting and neglected portion of the history of our puritan forefathers, which the author has great pleasure in presenting to the reader, from the hand of a distinguished antiquary and historian, the Rev. Joseph B. Felt of Boston; who, with his accustomed diligence and patient research has investigated this portion of our ecclesiastical history, and has very kindly embodied the result of his inquiries in the following treatise for this work.

Fasts and Thanksgivings of New England, with additional Remarks on such days in other parts of the United States.

1. *Preliminary Remarks.* Natural religion, as enlightened by original revelation however deteriorated, has long instructed man,

that he has sins enough for humility and mercies enough for gratitude. Hence it is, that ancient as well as modern nations, the history of whose worship has come down to our day, have had their seasons for giving expression to such affections of the soul. Hence, also, the wisdom of God in requiring this service from his once favored people. In accordance with such example, the primitive Christians adopted days, commemorative of events, as full of interest to them, as others had been to the Jews. These days were so far increased by the Catholic church and so far observed by the Episcopal church of England, as to meet, for the most part, with the disapprobation of Dissenters. Among the last denomination, who sought for greater simplicity in the forms of worship, was the celebrated John Robinson. His church in Leyden believed with him, that no other holy days should be observed, except sabbaths and occasional fasts and thanksgivings. The portion of his flock, who resolved to forsake Europe and make their home in America, for the sake of purer society and the spread of the gospel,* had several seasons of fasting and prayer, as preparatory to so important an enterprise, within a few months, before they sailed for South Hampton. So disposed, they would sooner have thought of parting with all their worldly substance, than of omitting duties of public thanks and humiliation before their Maker. The same times, which they hallowed in their European pilgrimage, were engraved too deeply on the calendar of their sacred occasions, to be thus forgotten in their more perilous, needy and changeful pilgrimage in this country. Hence, with their hopes and fears, their purposes and piety, they brought hither the observance of fasts and thanksgivings.

2. *Reasons for such days.* As well known to those who have investigated the history of the planters at Plymouth, they had reasons for preferring these days to similar ones of the Episcopal order. They discountenanced the rubric, clerical robes and bands, marriage with a ring, baptism by the sign of a cross, and such particulars—enjoined by canonical rules of England—because adopted from the Papal forms, and fitted to turn back the liberty of Protestantism to the bondage of Romish hierarchy. So, for a like cause, they cast off the confinement of holy seasons except sabbath, to particular days and months of each successive year. Their arguments for such an alteration had much force to their perception,

* Prince's New England Chronology, pp. 66, 69, 70.

when they saw how much the high church party, in their native land, leaned towards Papacy, and how bitter were their prejudices against those who were non-conformists, but who earnestly sought for greater purity in doctrine and more simplicity in ceremonies. As an additional weight in the scale of their judgment, they had not forgotten, that adherence to Romish rules was one of the chief means, under the reign of Mary, which contributed to the relapse of Protestantism to Papacy. They were not so far unacquainted with human nature, as to be ignorant, that it possessed a principle which is wrought on by the association of appearances, and which, when having repudiated error, and still retaining its forms, is far more likely to fall back upon it, than if having altogether renounced both one and the other. Their reason for deviation from established custom, as now in view, was much stronger in their time than it was subsequently, when Congregationalism had risen from its infancy and numerous depressions to the stature and energy of manhood, so as to have little fear of an inroad upon its privileges. They well knew, that the fasts and thanksgivings of the conformists were designed, like their own, to improve the moral affections and keep man within the salutary restraints of duty; and that the effects of these seasons, when properly observed by any sect, were of so desirable a kind.—Hence it was that serious Episcopalians considered the distinction which the Puritans made, relative to this subject, as more the result of needless fear than of real cause.

Thomas Lechford, a respectable lawyer, who resided several years in Massachusetts and returned to England in 1641,—made the subsequent remark on our ecclesiastical usages.* “There are dayes of fasting, thanksgiving and prayers upon occasions, but no holy dayes,† except Sunday. And why not set fasting dayes and times, and set feasts,—as well as set Synods in the Reformed Churches? And why not holy dayes as well as the fifth of November, and dayes of Purim among the Jews?” This author hereby seems to imply, that there could be no more harm in complying with the prescribed religious seasons of Episcopacy,—than there was

* News from New England in 3d Ser. Vol. III. p. 79 of Mass. Hist. Coll.

† Lechford here appears to mean those holy days, that were kept in the established church. The Puritans so far held their fasts and thanksgivings holy, as to require, by penal enactments, that they should be spent with the sacredness of the sabbath.

in keeping similar days, appointed by Presbyterian synods, as those of Geneva,—or in the Jewish observance of the stated Feast of Lots, or in obedience to the law of king James, which required every fifth of November to be spent, as a national thanksgiving for the discovery of the gunpowder plot.* But had the primitive settlers of our soil met this argument, they would probably have replied in the following train of thought: We have no serious objections to these occasions. The synods of Reformers were calculated to keep them from papal hierarchy. The commemoration of deliverance from the powder plot was fitted for a like effect. The celebration of the Jews' being preserved from the machinations of Haman, guarded them against idolatry. The fixedness of these seasons was suited to produce opposite results from the fixedness which belongs to most of the holy days kept by the established church;—and, therefore, we do not reject the former as exerting a bad influence,—while we do the latter for such a tendency.

3. *Continuance.* With views of this sort in relation to fasts and thanksgivings, the colonists of Plymouth felt obligated to continue them in their newly adopted residence,—as suited to benefit them and their posterity. In a purpose so consistent with their profession, and expectations of help mainly from the hand of Omnipotence, they were not altogether without fear of having their liberty in this, as well as other respects, interrupted. The powerful exertions of bishop Laud and his friends to crush all innovations on the ritual of Episcopacy, in British America, reached them in various ways. The settlement at Weymouth, in 1622, was intended as one check to their religious freedom. The party formed at Plymouth, in 1624,—under the Rev. John Lyford, and sustained by the leading members of the company for this colony in London, had a like object. Still the Puritans, amid their perplexities, held fast to their creed with its practice. They excluded Mr. Lyford and his followers, who resorted to Gloucester the same year. At this location, there appear to have been persons of various persuasions, who probably observed fasts and feasts either at set dates, or as occasion suggested. The first occupants of Naumkeag, afterwards Salem, in 1626, with Roger Conant at their head, were the adherents of Mr. Lyford. They, of course, did not fully come into the ways of Plymouth. When Governor Endicott reached Salem, in 1628, though he may not have en-

* In 1665.

tirely separated from the conformists, yet he believed in the ecclesiastical order, taught by John Robinson. In a letter of his to Governor Bradford, dated May 11, 1629, he remarked on a conversation, which he had recently held with Dr. Samuel Fuller. His words were, "I rejoice much, that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same, which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord, in mercy, revealed himself unto me, being far from the common report, that hath been spread of you, touching that particular." Of course, the author of this passage was ready to harmonize with the inhabitants of Plymouth, as to the observance of fasts and thanksgivings. Succeeding emigrants to Salem, in 1629, were the Rev. Messrs. Higginson, Skelton, and others, who were of the class, called in England church puritans, and who still cleaved to the Episcopal denomination when embarking from their native shores. In their farewell address on so trying an exigency, they said, "We do not go to New England as Separatists from the church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions of it;—but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America." Here is an intimation, that they intended to cast off such forms,—as to holy days,—which, they thought, did not accord with the simplicity of the gospel. So inclined, they kept several fasts on their passage,* and, when reaching Salem, they were prepared to fall in with the views of Governor Endicott. As evidence of such a disposition, they, as members of his council decided, that it was best for John and Samuel Brown to leave the settlement, because they set up Episcopal worship. These two gentlemen charged such authorities with being separatists, and asserted, that as for themselves, they would "hold fast the forms of the church established by law." Subsequent emigrants to Massachusetts, for the most part, seconded the practice of the Salem colonists.

The planters of Connecticut carried thither, in 1635, similar conformity. So it was with those of Saybrook in the same year.

The first settlers of Providence, under Roger Williams, in 1636, and of Rhode Island, under John Clark, in 1638, differed as is well

* Hutchinson's Collections of papers. Journal of Rev. Francis Higginson, pp. 37, 39, 41, 46.

known, from the rest of New England so far, as to withhold from civil rulers the power of law to enforce any occasional religious seasons.* Still such rulers were at liberty to recommend fasts and thanksgivings.

New Haven, while a separate colony from Connecticut, followed the course of Massachusetts, as to these days. "Soon after they arrived (in 1638) at Quinnipiack, in the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they entered into what they termed a plantation covenant."† The first records of their government, for about sixteen years, however, make no mention of fasts and thanksgivings.‡ But their laws prove beyond a doubt, that these days were kept from their first organization, as a distinct colony.§

We now look at Maine. Various, unsuccessful attempts were made to settle this part of our country, then extending only to the Kennebeck river, at an early period. Its chief proprietor, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, being an Episcopalian, naturally selected rulers for it of his own persuasion, who promoted the cause of the national church. Hence it was, that this colony, for the most part, did not adopt the Congregational forms. Thomas Jenner, a dissenting minister, in a letter of 1641, addressed to Governor Winthrop, observed, that while preaching at Saco, he had "not troubled the people with church discipline." He also stated, that he had advanced his opinion against "papal practices." These, as he subjoined, "I saw the people here were superstitiously addicted to." For such a step, he was charged by Mr. Vines, an inhabitant of that town, with striking "at the church of England."|| This shows how very little Congregational customs were then tolerated in one of the few settlements of Maine. So it was at Falmouth, occupied in 1628, where a church of conformists was soon established; and at York, colonized in 1630, where its proprietor apparently purposed to have a bishop's diocese. From the wane of the royal cause in England, and the death of Charles I, in 1648, the sway of the national church diminished in this section of British America. At length, proposals began to be made by the people of Maine, in 1651, to come under the

* Letter from Hon. William Staples.

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Vol. 1. p. 97.

‡ Letter from Prof. James L. Kingsley.

§ New Haven Colony Laws, p. 33.

|| Hutchinson's Collection of papers, pp. 111, 112.

jurisdiction of Massachusetts, as a means of preserving social order among them, and even their very existence. The next year, a majority of the inhabitants there assumed a like relation; and thence, religious observances of dissenters prevailed among them.

From Maine we turn to New Hampshire. This colony was, at first, under Episcopal control. Dover and Portsmouth, both settled in 1623, appear to have been so influenced. The latter place soon had a church of conformists. But the occupation of Exeter by John Wheelwright and company, and of Hampton by Stephen Batchelor and associates, in 1638, introduced the Puritan forms there, as they had been at Dover in 1633, and were subsequently at Portsmouth about 1641. So that New Hampshire, as to the part claimed by Massachusetts, and also, to the other part not so claimed, had thrown off, by the last date, Episcopal conformity and adopted the Congregational order. Such a change was accelerated by the distractions of England, and the consequent temporary invalidation of Mason's claims. When New Hampshire resumed the powers of a colony, in 1679,* they retained their prevailing attachment to the fasts and thanksgivings of the non-conformists. When their Assembly were about to meet in 1680, a public fast was observed to ask for a blessing on their proceedings. At the same time, however, while their charter allowed freedom of conscience to all Protestant denominations, it particularly required, that encouragement should be given to Episcopalians.†

The stamp, thus put on the public sentiment of the preceding portions of New England, has never been effaced. Though the most of them have been changed from colonies to independent states, they still preserve the religious customs of their fathers.

No relinquishment of fasts and thanksgivings was made in Vermont or in Maine, when they assumed State privileges. With regard to the former of these two States,‡ they began to observe such days in 1778, and have not since faltered in so doing.

4. *Mode of their appointment.* In Plymouth colony this was done by the civil authority.§ The practice there was embodied in a law

* Belknap's New Hampshire, Vol. 1. p. 177.

† Farmer's Belknap, p. 88.

‡ Letter from Hon. Charles K. Williams.

§ Winslow's Relation in Mass. Hist. Collections, 1st Ser. Vol. VIII. p. 275.

of 1637—"that it be in the power of the governor and assistants to command solemn daies of humiliation by fasting; and also for thanksgiving as occasion shall be offered."* When deputies became a part of the General Court, they sometimes acted with the other branch of government in the designation of these seasons. Such times were also proposed and observed by the churches, either singly or collectively, as circumstances seemed to indicate. They were so continued by church and state in Plymouth colony till the arrival of the second charter of Massachusetts in 1692, when the former was incorporated with the latter colony.

The mode of Plymouth, as just described, did not materially differ from that of Massachusetts. Here, with respect to a fast at the choice of ministers for the Salem church in 1629, Mr. Gott informs us, that it was ordered by governor Endicott.† While the General Court was solely composed of magistrates till 1634, the governor, as their head and through their advice, did exercise like power. Subsequent to this, until the arrival of the second charter in 1692, he did not entirely lay aside such a practice. Besides, the council in their own name, even while there were chief magistrates, issued proclamations. The first printed document of this class, in the Massachusetts archives, is of the following tenor.‡ "At a Council held at Boston September 8th, 1670. The council taking into their serious consideration the low estate of the churches of God throughout the world, and the increase of sin and evil amongst ourselves, God's hand following us for the same. Do, therefore, appoint the two and twentieth of this instant September, to be a day of public humiliation throughout this jurisdiction, and do commend the same to the several churches, elders, ministers and people, solemnly to keep it accordingly; hereby prohibiting all servile work on that day.

By the Council,

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secret.*"

The term Council, as used here and elsewhere, included the name of the governor. In the same collection is a manuscript proclamation for thanksgiving in 1671, and similar papers for two fasts of 1675 and 1677, issued by such a body. The first printed proclamation for a thanksgiving to be found in the like depository, is of April

* MS. Plymouth Colony Records.

† Letter from Mr. Charles Gott to governor Bradford.

‡ Massachusetts Archives. Ecclesiastical, Vol. I. p. 17.

23, 1691, and is headed, "By the Governor and Council."* But, however, fasts and thanksgivings were appointed in Massachusetts singly by the council, and also, by the governor through their advice, down to the year last named; still days of this description were more frequently ordered in the name of the General Court. As well known there was a suspension of this custom on the part of our colonial authorities in New England, under the presidency of Sir Edmund Andros, from 1686 to 1689. He, being zealous to promote the observances of the national church, had no disposition to order those of the Puritans. While the rulers, chosen by the people of Massachusetts were in power, they allowed the church to keep as many fasts and thanksgivings as they chose. Accordingly we find among their laws one of the succeeding tenor, passed in 1641. "Every church of Christ hath freedom to celebrate dayes of fasting and prayer and of thanksgiving, according to the word of God."† This was a confirmation of previous custom which, as before, has ever since remained in New England.

With respect to this subject, as in the hands of the legislature, they continued some variation in the proclamations under the second charter. These documents were issued in the name of governor, council and representatives, as in 1693; of his Excellency and council, as in 1700; and of governor by advice of council, as in 1733. The last mode of phraseology was that, which was generally adopted after 1700, and so continued till the adoption of the constitution in 1780. But whatever variation of this kind existed, the representatives always claimed the right of having a concern in the appointment of fasts and thanksgivings. So inclined, they did not find their whole course smooth in relation to these seasons.

In 1696 they were severely reproved by the council for interference with them about the particular date, when such an occasion should be kept. This difference did not call in question the propriety of the house to request the governor that he would designate seasons of this sort by consent of the council. In 1721, the representatives moved for a joint committee of this body and of themselves, to prepare a proclamation for a fast. The council declined such a proposition, because they deemed it an anticipation of the

* Mass. Archives. Ecclesiastical, Vol. II. p. 57.

† Massachusetts laws revised in 1649, and printed at Cambridge, 1660, p. 25.

governor's right.* But "he willing to conform to the house so far as would consist with maintaining his right of issuing proclamations, mentioned in the proclamation which he soon after published, that the appointment was by advice of council and upon motion from the house of Representatives. But the house refused to meet him, and declared they had never made any such motion, and ordered that no members of the house should carry any proclamations to their towns for the present. The day was, however, observed as usual, except that one of the representatives (William Clark) of Boston would not attend public worship, but opened his warehouse as upon other days." The difficulty here described, arose from the purpose of the house to unite with the council to prepare such a document independently of the governor, though to be published in his name.

The author, whose language on this topic has been just quoted, relates that, as stated by the board, the attempt of the representatives to participate in the composition of the order in question, was unprecedented. But there is a mistake on this point. For, it had been no uncommon thing for the house to draw up proclamations for fasts and thanksgivings and forward them to the council and governor for their approbation. Nor were these papers rejected as being improper. The chief magistrate, Samuel Shute, with whom the preceding difficulty took place, in his protest against Massachusetts before parliament in 1723, which well nigh caused the nullification of our charter, charged the house with undue interference in the appointments of fasts and thanksgivings. On this subject, Doctor Douglass stated in 1749, that such days "ever since governor Shute's complaints, have been appointed by the governor and council, at the desire of the house of representatives."† The practice, here mentioned, lasted till 1779. The next year it was discontinued. From this time, when the senate was formed, and, in most respects, assumed the previous duties of the council, fasts and thanksgivings have been recommended by the chief magistrate with advice of council.

As the genius of ecclesiastical and political usages of Massachusetts pervaded those of New Haven and Connecticut, the mode of designating fasts and thanksgivings in the two latter colonies, was essentially the same as that in the former. Relative to more modern

* Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. 3d ed. Vol. II. p. 223.

† Douglass' History of America, Vol. I. p. 495.

practice of Connecticut, we have the ensuing account. "The present mode is by the governor alone. This has been the practice since May, 1833. Before that time, the governor designated the day; but previous to the adoption of the constitution in 1818, which abolished the October session of the general assembly, the governor submitted his proclamation to the two houses of that body, and had their approbation. Between 1818 and 1833, the practice was the same, as it is now from the necessity of the case, because the general assembly was not in session at or near the time of issuing the proclamation."*

Concerning the appointment of fasts and thanksgivings in Rhode Island, we have the subsequent passage. These days "were, in the earlier times of the state, occasionally recommended by the legislature. In 1789 commenced the annual thanksgiving in this state. The subject was introduced into the General Assembly by the late Judge Bicknell, then a representative from the town of Barrington, in pursuance of instructions from his constituents. Since then, a day has been set apart every year for that purpose, except only in 1801. Resolutions are generally introduced into the legislature at their session in October, recommending 'to the good people' of the state, to observe a certain day, as a day of public thanksgiving and praise, and requesting the governor to issue his proclamation of the resolutions so passed. Public fasts have never been recommended by our legislature at any stated seasons. I believe fasts and thanksgivings are and have been long held by advice of clerical bodies and individual churches."†

In relation to New Hampshire, we present the following: "Our records as far back as 1698, show the appointment of fasts and thanksgivings by the governor with advice of his council." No doubt the representatives claimed and exercised the privilege of proposing such seasons to the chief magistrate. "I find from 1776, that a committee of the assembly was generally appointed to prepare a form for a proclamation, which would be adopted by the assembly and concurred in by the council, and receive the signature of the governor, then called president."‡ Since New Hampshire adopted

* Letter from Hon. Thomas Day.

† Letter from Hon. William Staples.

‡ Letter from Josiah Stevens, Jr. Esq. Secretary of State.

their constitution in 1792, their fasts and thanksgivings have been appointed as in Massachusetts.

Concerning the mode under consideration, as practised in Vermont, we have the subsequent information. "Previous to the adoption of any constitution, and while the powers of government were exercised by a council of safety, they appointed a day of thanksgiving by resolution. After the first constitution, the general assembly in March 1778, appointed a day of fasting and adopted a form of proclamation, and in October of the same year, they appointed a day of thanksgiving, and requested the governor to issue his proclamation therefor. There have been no resolutions of the general assembly in relation to fasts since 1778, but they have been appointed by the executive; the proclamation has been issued by the governor, by and with the advice of the council. Resolutions for the appointment of days of thanksgiving, are annually passed by the legislature, and, for nearly fifty years, the form has been to request the governor to appoint a day of thanksgiving, fixing the day."*

5. *Penalties.* Another topic, connected with the fasts and thanksgivings of New England, are the penalties for not duly observing them.

As the magistrates of Plymouth colony *ordered* such days in 1623, and were empowered by law so to do, in 1637, it is implied that a penalty was affixed there to the violation of them, at a very early period. In 1650,† every person neglecting public worship, is required to pay 10s. or be publicly whipped. As this worship appears to have included that of fasts, thanksgivings and lectures, a corresponding inference may be drawn as to the fine of not keeping them. In 1682, "it is enacted that none shall presume to attend servile worke, or labour, or attend any such sports on such dayes, as are or shalbe appointed by the Court for humiliation by fasting and prayer, or for publicke Thanksgiving, on penalty of — shillings." The sum here omitted was probably 10s. The law, just described, continued in force till the annexation of Plymouth with Massachusetts.

As the rulers of Massachusetts colony had authority to command the observance of fasts and thanksgivings, they had like power to enforce the keeping of them.

* Letter from Hon. Charles K. Williams.

† Plymouth Colony Laws.

In 1646,* the ensuing law was passed. "Whereas the ministry of the word is established according to the order of the gospel throughout this jurisdiction, every person shall duely resort and attend thereunto, respectively on the Lord's dayes and upon such public fast dayes and dayes of thanksgiving, as are to be generally observed by appointment of authority." This law required, that each individual, unnecessarily absent from such public meetings, should be fined 5s. It will be perceived here, that the penalty for neglecting public worship on fasts and thanksgivings, was equal to that of neglecting like service on the sabbath. With such a regulation Edward Randolph found fault, in his statement to the royal council, in 1676.† His words were, "Whoever shall observe Christmasse day‡ or the like festivity, by forbearing to labour, feasting or other way, shall pay 5s. ; and whosoever shall not resort to their meetings upon the Lord's day and such days of fasting and thanksgiving as shall be appointed by authority, shall pay 5s. No days, commanded by the lawes of England, to be observed or regarded." How long such a fine was strictly imposed, cannot be particularly told at this late day. It was evidently in force, however, till 1680, because the proclamations, for fasts and thanksgivings to this year, commanded them not to be desecrated with "servile labour." Since the adoption of the Constitution in Massachusetts, all fines, as well as legislation, about these religious occasions, have therein ceased.

During the separate jurisdiction of New Haven, they laid a fine of 5s. for each omission to attend worship on fast and thanksgiving days, as well as on the sabbath.§

With regard to fines, now in view, Connecticut pursued the course of the Bay colony. In 1650, they adopted the law on this subject previously enacted by Massachusetts. A penalty, for the violation

* Laws of Massachusetts, edition of 1660.

† Hutchinson's Collections of papers, p. 482.

‡ The act against the keeping of Christmas in Massachusetts, was passed in 1659, when there was some prospect, that Charles II. would be brought to his father's throne. This act was repealed in 1682. It is probable, that, from the last date, the annual celebration of November 5th, so far as it had declined in New England, was revived and continued to be observed by processions of boys and young men, and bonfires, before the revolution of 1775. Since then, till forty years past, this was kept up by bonfires, and is now, to a very limited extent, in Rhode Island.

§ New Haven Laws, p. 38.

of fasts and thanksgivings, was continued longer there, than in any other part of New England. In 1791* it was enacted, that there should be an abstinence from servile labour and recreation, on these occasions, works of necessity and mercy excepted, on penalty of not above two dollars nor less than one. This rule, as is readily perceived, did not tally with that of 1650, so as to demand attendance on worship. It also made an exception as to public posts^a and stages, anciently unknown in our country. Prohibitions[†] of the kind under consideration, were repealed in 1833. From this year, fasts and thanksgivings have been *recommended* by the executive, and not ordered as formerly.

Relative to New Hampshire,[‡] their proclamations for such seasons, before the adoption of their present constitution, contained clauses like the following: "All servile work and recreation are forbidden;" but subsequently, instead of commanding, they advised to the observance of these days. Hence, there is implicit evidence, that fines were required there by law for an infringement on fasts and thanksgivings prior to 1792, but not afterwards.

Respecting Rhode Island, they appear to have had no fines for the non-observance of these religious occasions, nor have Vermont and Maine since they became states.

6. *Periodical Observance.* A question, not unfrequently asked, is, When did fasts and thanksgivings, in New England, become periodical? By the term periodical, as here applied, we understand

* Laws of Connecticut, edition of 1796, p. 83.

† In reference to such prohibitions, there was a singular occurrence, which may have produced a legal question of no small interest and concern. It was in the town of Colchester, under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. It is thus described by the original record. "Att a legal Town meeting, held in Colchester October 29, 1705, it was voted, that whereas there was a Thanksgiving appointed to be held on the first Thursday of November, and our present circumstances being such, it cannot with conveniency be attended on that day, it is therefore voted and agreed by the inhabitants aforesaid, concluding the thing will not be otherways than well resented (or favorably received), that the second Thursday of November aforesaid shall be set apart for that service." Long and accredited tradition has uniformly related, that this suspension of a week was to afford the Trader of the place an opportunity to replenish his exhausted articles of sweetening, and particularly that of molasses,—so that his customers might not forego the indulgence of their taste for pumpkin pies and other similar dainties.

‡ Letter from Josiah Stevens Jr. secretary of the state of New Hampshire.

the following : When did fasts begin to be appointed or kept in the spring of every successive year, by order of the legislature ; and thanksgiving, in like manner, in the fall ? For an answer to these inquiries we must not rely altogether, as some have, on what are called the General Court Records, now extant. There is but a solitary minute, and this relative to land, on such records of Plymouth colony, for the first three years. After this, till near the close of their separate jurisdiction, the designation of their fasts and thanksgivings was seldom placed with their legislative transactions. It is matter of fact, that such days were appointed by their public authorities, as have no mention made of them among the proceedings of these rulers. No legislative records of Massachusetts, before the arrival of governor Winthrop in 1630, are known to have been preserved. Those of them which succeed, fail to notice a number of fasts and thanksgivings, the observance of which was enjoined by the civil government. Similar facts apply to Connecticut and New Haven. Only three of each sort of these days are found on the books of the Connecticut general assembly before 1650. The Journals of New Haven make not even a reference to such religious occasions, as before stated, for about sixteen of their first years. But other sources of information prove, that there was no real deficiency of this kind. The printed Laws of New Haven show that fasts and thanksgivings were common with them, from their very commencement as a colony, and had all the conservative restriction of the sabbath. Who could reasonably suppose, that for such periods, so deficient in being recorded as to fasts and thanksgivings, New England would consent to deprive themselves of these interesting seasons ? No person, correctly acquainted with their views, desires, habits, and condition. And yet, were we reduced to the necessity of relying altogether for testimony, in the present case, on their general court Journals, we should conclude, that they did thus forget their obligations to God and to some of their best influences and interests.

But here the inquiry may be made, Why were the registers of their legislative doings so at fault ? Several causes for this may be assigned. The appointment of these days was so in accordance with the opinions, wishes, and practice of the whole country, there was no call for a special record to be made of them among the transactions of the legislature. If a parallel case of this kind be

asked for, it may be found in the total omission of noticing such an appointment, on the records of Massachusetts General Court, since the adoption of their Constitution in 1780. Another cause was, that after deputies or representatives in Plymouth and Massachusetts made a part of their legislatures, they were, oftentimes, not in session so as to unite with the assistants or council in ordering fasts and thanksgivings; and, therefore, a record failed to be made of such an act more frequently than would otherwise have been. Besides, when the representatives were in session seasonably enough to participate in this act, they sometimes left it to the direction of the assistants. In omissions of this sort, we should naturally think, that the periodical fasts and thanksgivings would be more frequently unnoticed on the records, because generally known and expected, than those of more special occasions at other parts of the year. If the query is put, whether these omissions were all, which are either suspected or known, we reply in the negative. There must have been, for instance, particular orders for the emission of one-penny pieces of the Pine-Tree money and of the Good-Samaritan shillings, at an early period, from the Massachusetts mint. But no orders of this class are visible on the Journals of General Court. In view of the preceding considerations, we are justified in not restricting the number of fasts and thanksgivings, publicly ordered by our ancient authorities, to the numerical notices of them on the pages of their legislative proceedings. Indeed, the great probability is, that many more of such seasons were so appointed in the first periods of New England, than at present, though this position is not confirmed by the records of their legislatures. An opinion of this kind is favored by the fact, that, in some years, wherein these days are mentioned by such records, two or three of each kind were kept in the course of one year. As instances on this point, Massachusetts Journals give two fasts in 1639, and three in 1664; two thanksgivings in 1633, and two in 1637. These were distinct from those often observed by the churches either individually or collectively. A disposition, so manifested, must have been cherished and indulged from the remarkable trials and deliverances, experienced by our fathers in their early history, as well as from their deep feeling of dependance on God and of their obligations to him. It would be absurd to conjecture, that the pilgrims would keep so many of these seasons in one year, and then neglect them altogether for several successive years, in which they are not once alluded to by their legislative Journals,

when there were similar calls for a like observance every year. They were a people chargeable with no such inconsistency as here implied; not eaten up of zeal for a dutiful and salutary custom at one period, and then entirely neglectful of it at another. Hence, we have a confirmation of the statement, that we should not make up our minds solely on the existing legislative records of New England, as to the number and dates of their fasts and thanksgivings.

Even from the foregoing considerations, it would not be paradoxical to venture the opinion, that such religious seasons have been periodical from the founding of New England. Here the question occurs, to what extent do legislative Journals and other coincident proof confirm such a position? By the Connecticut records of General Court,* it appears that periodical thanksgivings, as well as fasts, began to be designated in 1650. In all reasonable probability, Massachusetts would not come short in this respect; for they were looked to rather as an example, than otherwise. The records of the latter colony, so far as preserved, show, that thanksgivings were appointed in the fall of 1633, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1654, 1656, 1659, 1662, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1669, 1670, 1672, 1673, 1676, 1677, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1684, etc. Besides these festival days, the representatives left the matter of ordering one in 1648 to the council; and a paper shows, that the latter body did designate another in 1671, of which no mention is known to have been made elsewhere. It may be proper to state, that there were other thanksgivings, during the same period, ordered at dates different from those of such days, as just now enumerated.

With regard to fasts, designated by the Massachusetts authorities in this time, though they were more in number, as contained on legislative records, than thanksgivings, yet there were less of them, as periodical, than of these festivals. But the nature of the case, the propriety of confessing human unworthiness and interceding for divine blessing on the labors of the field, the pursuits of the sea, and other avocations of community in the vernal season, and the deep religious impression of our fathers, that they ought not to omit such an obligation, force upon our minds the inference, that fasts would be even more likely to be appointed for the spring, than thanksgivings in the fall. It is very probable, that, if the regular journal of the assistants or council had been preserved, it would have supplied a

* Extracts from Connecticut Records by Hon. Thomas Day.

large part of the vacancies, as to such holy days, which appear in the foregoing statements and remarks. For this assertion, we have the subsequent fact. From the fire of 1747, when all the minutes of the council for many previous years, except a few of general import, were destroyed, to 1765, there are notices of seventeen periodical appointments of thanksgivings, as well as the same number of periodical fasts, on the journals of this branch of the legislature, while the records of the general court contain only about five of such appointments of each kind. The reasons, so advanced to account for deficiencies of this sort in Massachusetts, would apply to similar deficiencies in the rest of New England jurisdictions. At this point, we may ask what should be our decision on the question before us? We perceive, that we ought not to depend altogether, for a reply, on the General Court records of New England now extant. We perceive from the journals of Connecticut, that fasts and thanksgivings were periodical there, and from the same authority and concurrent reasons, were very probably so in other of its adjacent colonies, by 1650. And even if Connecticut journals did not afford such testimony, there are other considerations, which forbid the surrender of this inference. As to the periodical order in view, before the year just named, we are left to judge from the character and condition of our ancestors as well as from their recorded practice. This practice, so far as notice of it has come down to our knowledge, implies nothing contrary to such order, but from the manner in which it is mentioned, and the fact, that, in several instances, no notice was taken of it, when actually existing, on the registers of legislation, strongly intimates, that this order commenced at the beginning of New England.

A single glance at the character and condition of the primitive colonists, instantly suggests, that the Puritans would almost as soon think of neglecting to cultivate the ground and still look for a harvest, as to omit a public fast in the spring, and to gather in the abundance of their fields and still expect to be fed, as to omit the appointment of a thanksgiving in the autumn. This appears to be a legitimate conclusion under all the circumstances of the case. Hence, may we not reasonably make up our minds, that fasts and thanksgivings have been periodical from the first colonization of New England?

Nor is this inference invalidated by the objection, that it involves an implication contrary to the cause, for which our fathers

declined conformity with the established holy days of the Episcopal church. The truth is, had they kept their fasts and thanksgivings a single day before or after Passion week and Christmas, it would have broken up the associations of mind, which was the object of their alteration. But in allowing them the sweep of several weeks for such days, they had ample scope to rid themselves of the charge of making a distinction without any difference.

7. *Observance by other states.* We have now reached the point, where notice should be taken of fasts and thanksgivings in other parts of the United States. It is well known, that, in such portions, as were under Episcopal discipline, these days were kept there, for a long period, according to the prescribed form of the English established church. The Lent and Christmas of those parts of our country were to them, as the periodical fasts and thanksgivings of the Puritans. Their other similar seasons were to them, in some respects, like the additional ones of Congregationalists. As a matter of general concernment to all the British American colonies, they were, as previously expressed, required by the law of England, passed 1606, to keep an annual thanksgiving on the fifth of November to commemorate the discovery of the gunpowder plot. It was subsequently enacted by the parliament, that there should be a fast for the death of Charles I, and, also, a thanksgiving for the birth and accession of Charles II to the throne, every successive year. While these laws were complied with in our Episcopal colonies, they seem to have been neglected, as to their religious observance, by the non-conformists of New England. In the year 1661, the legislature of Virginia incorporated the two last enactments with their laws.* Besides, when any great victory was obtained by England, or any joyful event transpired in her favor, orders were received thence by the colonists of our country, till the revolution of our independence, to keep thanksgivings, which was accordingly and punctually done.

In addition, fasts and thanksgivings, ordered by provincial and national Congresses, have been observed throughout the Union.

Having thus cleared our way of these more general particulars, we will now look at individual sections of our republic. In none of these have the periodical fasts of New England ever been appointed by public authorities.† Such occasions have been observed by vari-

* Laws of Virginia, p. 4.

† Since the above was written, the Executive of New York State has designated a general Fast for the present month of April, 1841.

ous denominations of dissenters therein, whenever the exigencies of the temporal and spiritual condition of themselves, or neighborhood, or country seemed to require. Other denominations, who conform with the rituals of their respective churches, have had their holy days in the spring and winter and other established seasons.

As to annual thanksgivings, like those of New England, the only States, which are known by the writer to have had them appointed by their chief magistrates, are New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Ohio and Indiana. They have been observed in New Jersey for not less than a half century.* They began to be appointed by De Witt Clinton of New York in 1819, and have been so continued till the present year.† For ten years they have been kept in Michigan ;‡ for six years in Ohio, and for three or four in Indiana.§ In these States, we are credibly informed, that thanksgiving is less and Christmas more observed, in proportion to the population, than in New England. As a substitute for thanksgiving in the States, which do not keep it, are Christmas and other similar seasons. The manner of observing these, as described by Lucian Minor, Esq. relative to Virginia, has a particular application to nearly all such States. His language is: “ Christmas, a four days’ holiday, maintains here its old English character of festivity, being the nearest resemblance to your November thanksgiving. Those four days and one day each at Easter and Whitsuntide, are the only stated holidays amongst us, and these are enjoyed by all colors and conditions, who choose, but mostly by all of the slaves.”

Having thus travelled over the diversified course of our inquiry, we are reminded of the long continued customs, which originated in religious opinions of various shades and tendencies. Whatever be the forms or times of worship associated with these customs, so sacred a service—if dutifully performed—is alike beneficial in promoting humility for our sinful deficiencies, and gratitude for our numerous mercies ; in exalting the mind to God while an inhabitant of earth, and the soul to heaven, when disenthralled from its clayey tenement. Blessed indeed are they, who so commune with Him in public, as to be partakers of his sanctifying presence in private, and, hereafter, to be filled with His fullness forever.

* Letter from Rev. Dr. Hillyer. † Letter from J. C. Spencer, Esq. Secretary of the State of N. Y. ‡ Letter from Rev. I. M. Wead. § Letter from Rev. J. H. Perkins. — These four letters were written in 1840.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The history of the ancient religious sects of the East, opens an interesting and important field of inquiry, in investigating the rites and customs and discipline of the primitive church. These religious sects, severally, separated themselves at a very early period from the established church; and, in the deep seclusion and sleepless jealousy of Eastern bigotry, they have preserved their ancient religious rites unchanged through the lapse of ages. These their religious rites, therefore, carry us back to a high antiquity, and, with some circumstantial variations, disclose to us the usages and customs of the ancient church.

It would be interesting and instructive, for this reason, to compare the antiquities of some of the most ancient of these religious sects, such as the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Jacobites, the Copts, etc. The author has taken measures to obtain from our missionaries a brief statement of the religious rites of several of these sects, and has the pleasure of laying before the reader one such abstract respecting the Armenian church, from the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, missionary at Constantinople. This communication from him cannot fail to be alike interesting both to the antiquarian and the Christian.

Origin and Progress of the Armenian Church.

Among the sovereigns of the East, at the time of Christ, was one by the name of Abgar, or Abgarus, the seat of whose government was at Edessa in Mesopotamia. He is called by Tacitus (AN. L. 12. c. 12) king of the Arabs, though in the Armenian Chronicles he is placed among the Armenian kings, of the dynasty of the Arsacidae. It is said that this king was converted to Christianity merely by hearing of the wonderful works of Christ, and that he sent a special messenger with a letter to invite Christ to come to his court, where he promised him rest and protection from his enemies. To this request Christ replied that it was impossible for him to come in person, but that after his ascension, he would send one of his disciples, in his place. Eusebius and others relate that our Saviour took a handker-

chief and pressing it upon his face, an exact likeness of himself was miraculously impressed upon it, which he sent to Abgar as a mark of favor.

Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, states that our Saviour sent to king Abgar his own likeness, but makes no allusion to the manner in which it was procured.

This last writer also declares, that after the death of Christ the apostle Thomas, in obedience to the command of the Saviour, and agreeably to his promise, sent Thaddeus, one of the seventy, to Edessa, who healed the king of an incurable disease under which he had been suffering for seven years, and afterwards, baptized him in the name of Christ. Many other miracles are said to have been performed by Thaddeus, and "the whole city," says Moses, "was baptized."

This is the Armenian account of the beginning of their church, and Eusebius bears his testimony to the same facts in every important particular.

The immediate successors of Abgar, however, apostatized from the christian faith, and by their persecutions Christianity was almost exterminated from the country. It would appear, however, that individual Christians and perhaps small bodies of them, were found in the Armenian territories up to the time of Dertad (Diridates) 2d, A. D. 259, during whose reign Christianity was revived, through the instrumentality of Gregory, and it has ever since been the religion of the Armenian people.

Gregory, called also Loosavorich, the *Enlightener*, was an Armenian of royal descent, who having been brought up in Cesarea, was there educated in the christian religion.

Having become connected with the king's suite, and refusing to unite in his idolatrous worship, he was grievously tortured, and kept in close confinement in a cave for many years. Being at length delivered, he was instrumental in the conversion of the king, and many of the nobles. He afterwards repaired to Cesarea, where he was ordained bishop, by Leonties, bishop of Cesarea, and returning to Armenia Proper, he baptised the king and multitudes of the people. In short, the nation now became Christian, though some of its chiefs soon afterwards apostatized, and through their means the king of Persia was enabled, for a while, to carry on a persecution against the religion of the cross. At subsequent periods in the Armenian an-

nals we read of the most violent and deadful persecutions of the Armenian Christians, by the pagan and Mohammedan kings of Persia, as political changes placed the former under the power of the latter.

In the year 406, the Armenian alphabet was invented, and in 411, the Bible was translated into the Armenian language from the Septuagint.

In the year 491, a synod of Armenian bishops rejected the decisions of the council of Chalcedon, by which act they cut themselves off from the charity and communion of the other branches of the christian church, and they are to this day denominated schismatics and heretics by both the Greeks and the Papists.

As to the progress of the Armenian church in after ages, little indeed can be said, unless we follow the examples of their own historians, and quote as evidences of her prosperity, the number of churches and convents erected, the great increase of religious feast and fast days, and of ceremonies in general, and the astonishing miracles performed by worldly and graceless monks. The people were left in almost total ignorance, while the ecclesiastics were continually embroiled in disputes with the Greeks on points of little importance, or waging intestine wars of ambition with each other, each striving for the highest place. As might be expected, every species of irreligion was rife under such influences.

The only redeeming trait was the unflinching resoluteness with which property, liberty, and life were frequently sacrificed to the Magian and Mohammedan persecutors of the Armenian church.

2. *Church officers and government.* The Armenians are at present scattered among different nations, and subject to different political governments, by which their ecclesiastical polity is somewhat modified. Originally the church was placed under one head, styled catholicos, who usually held his seat at the imperial residence. Subsequently several different catholicoses were created by parties rising up in different parts of the country, and taking advantage of the disturbed state of public affairs. At present there are three catholicoses, one at Echmiadzin (which is the greatest), one at Aghtamar, in the Lake Van, and one at Sis, in the ancient province of Cilicia.

The catholicos is the spiritual head of the church, or of that particular portion of it over which his jurisdiction extends. He only can ordain bishops, and consecrate the sacred oil which is used in various ceremonies of the church.

The Armenians at Constantinople, with all those in Turkey in Europe, and in Asia Minor, and Armenia Proper, were formerly under the jurisdiction of the catholicos of Echmiadzin ; but since that see has fallen within the possessions of Russia, the Armenians in those parts of Turkey mentioned, have been ostensibly without any spiritual head ; although there is still a secret connection between them and Echmiadzin and several vartabeds have lately gone to the latter place to be ordained bishops.

There are two patriarchs, it is true, one at Constantinople and the other at Jerusalem ; but both these offices were established by Mohammedan authorities for their own convenience, and as neither of them has the power of ordaining bishops, they may be considered as only themselves holding the rank of bishops, ecclesiastically, though clothed with high political authority by the Turks.

The Armenian patriarch at Constantinople has the power of imprisoning and scourging at pleasure, members of his own flock, and until recently he could easily procure their banishment, from the Turkish authorities, whenever he pleased. The late charter given by the Sultan to his subjects will, however, if carried into effect, prevent him from doing this except on a regular trial before the Turkish courts.

It will be understood from what has been said that the form of government of the Armenian church is Episcopal. There are *nine* different grades of the Armenian clergy, all of which are set apart to their respective offices by the laying on of hands. Four of these are below the order of deacon, and are called *porters, readers, exorcists, and candle-lighters*. After these come the subdeacons, the deacons, then the priests, then the bishops, and last of all the catholicos. All below the bishop are ordained by the bishop, and he by the catholicos only. The catholicos is ordained by a council of bishops.

There is a class of ecclesiastics, called vartabeds, which may be considered as collateral with the order of priests. The difference between them is simply this : The priests are married, and in fact no man can be ordained priest, unless, at the time of his ordination, he has a wife. The vartabeds never marry, and have taken upon them the vow of perpetual celibacy. The priests always remain priests, and can never rise to the rank of bishop. The vartabeds may become bishops, and in fact, all the bishops are taken from that order, and are bound to celibacy. The vartabeds are the preachers,

(strictly speaking) but the priests never preach. The vartabeds live not among the people, but in convents where there are convents, or if not, they live by themselves within the church enclosures. The priests live in the midst of their flocks, and go in and out among them freely. In case the wife of a priest dies, he is not permitted to marry again, and he may then if he chooses become a vartabed.

There are also several subdivisions of grade among the vartabeds, each of which has its particular ordination service. One of these, called by way of distinction, *The supreme order of Vartabed*, is now practically unknown; though according to the rules of the church it should exist. The individual who fills this office, may be either a vartabed or a bishop. If the former, he may be ordained to it by a bishop; but if the latter, he must be set apart to this high dignity by the catholicos himself. He is considered by way of eminence as an apostolical preacher; and his labors are to be *among the heathen* alone. The spirit of missions is dead in the Armenian church; and therefore, they have no further employment for such a class of men.

3. *Doctrines.* The chief point of separation between the Armenians on the one side, and the Greeks and the papists on the other, is, that while the latter believe in two natures and one person of Christ, the former believe that the humanity and divinity of Christ were so united as to form but *one nature*; and hence, they are called *Monophysites*.

Another point on which they are charged with heresy by the papists, is, that they adhere to the notion that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only; and in this the Greeks join them, though the papists say, that He proceeds from the Father and the Son. In other respects, the Greeks and Armenians have very nearly the same religious opinions; though they differ somewhat in their forms and modes of worship. For instance, the Greeks make the sign of the cross with three fingers, in token of their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity—while the Armenians use two fingers, and the Jacobites one.

The Armenians hold to seven sacraments like the Latins, although baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction, are all performed at the same time—and the forms of prayer for confirmation and extreme unction are perfectly intermingled, which leads one to sup-

pose, that in fact, the latter sacrament does not exist among them, except in name; and that this they have borrowed from the papists.

Infants are baptized both by triple immersion, and pouring water three times upon the head,—the former being done as their books assert,—in reference to Christ's having been three days in the grave,—and probably suggested by the phrase,—*buried with him in baptism*.

The latter ceremony they derive from the tradition that when Christ was baptized, he stood in the midst of Jordan, and John poured water from his hand three times, upon his head. In all their pictures of this scene, such is the representation of the mode of our Saviour's baptism. Converted Jews, or Mohammedans, though adults are baptized in the same manner.

The Armenians acknowledge sprinkling as a lawful mode of baptism,—for they receive from other churches, those that have merely been sprinkled, without re-baptizing them.

They believe firmly in transubstantiation,—and worship the consecrated elements as God.

Unleavened bread is used in the Sacrament, and the broken pieces of bread are dipped in undiluted wine, and thus given to the people.

The latter however do not handle it, but receive it into their mouths from the hands of the priest. They suppose it has in itself a sanctifying and saving power. The Greeks in this sacrament use leavened bread, and wine mixed with water.

The Armenians discard the popish doctrine of purgatory, but yet most inconsistently they pray for the dead.

They hold to confession of sins to the priests, who impose penances and grant absolution, though without money, and they give no indulgences.

They pray through the mediation of the Virgin Mary, and other saints. The belief that Mary was always a virgin, is a point of very high importance with them; and they consider the thought of her having given birth to children after the birth of Christ, as in the highest degree derogatory to her character, and impious.

They regard baptism and regeneration as the same thing, and have no conception of any spiritual change; and they know little of any other terms of salvation than penance, the Lord's supper, fasting, and good works in general.

The Armenians are strictly Trinitarians in their views, holding firmly to the supreme divinity of Christ, and the doctrine of atonement for sin ; though their views on the latter subject, as well as in regard to faith and repentance, are somewhat obscure. They say that Christ died to atone for original sin, and that actual sin is to be washed away by penances,—which in their view is repentance. Penances are prescribed by the priests, and sometimes consist in an offering of money to the church, a pilgrimage, or more commonly in repeating certain prayers, or reading the whole book of Psalms, a specified number of times. Faith in Christ seems to mean but little more than believing in the mystery of transubstantiation.

A. Forms of worship, festivals, etc. The Armenian churches are opened regularly twice every day morning and evening for prayers, and mass is performed every day in all the city churches, though in the country less frequently, according to the size of the church and the number of priests. It occupies sometimes six hours and more, for its completion. It consists in chanting, and reading prayers and portions of the Scriptures and responses by the people. The officiating priest or bishop is richly dressed, as are the deacons and singers. Small bells are rung and incense is burned, and various other ceremonies are performed which contribute to please and awe the people. At the ordinary morning and evening prayers the people kneel and cross themselves in rapid succession a number of times while the priests are chanting the prayers. These prostrations are made frequently before a picture of the Virgin or other saint. In the more recently constructed Armenian churches, however, pictures are almost wholly excluded. In some parts of the country also, instead of repeating the ceremony of prostrating themselves as above described, they simply kneel and thus remain quietly until the prayer is finished. This seems to have been the ancient custom of the Armenian church, and a change has taken place in the churches around the Levant, probably through the influence of the Greeks.

The scriptures and prayers are read in the ancient Armenian tongue, which is understood but by very few among the people—and if understood, would hardly be intelligible, the tones of voice are so drawling and unnatural. Preaching is rare among the Armenians, and is only performed by the bishops and vartabeds, and generally only on particular feast days. The priests are never expected to preach, their business being to read prayers and say mass.

Though the apocryphal books are bound up with the others in the Armenian Bible, yet they are considered as uncanonical, and are never read in the churches.

There are at least fourteen great feast days in the course of the year on which all ordinary labor is suspended, and the day is observed more strictly than the sabbath. Besides these there are numerous other feasts and fasts, more numerous even than the days of the year; so that, in some instances, several are appointed to the same day. Besides the occasional fasts, such as a fast of forty days before Easter, and another of six days before Christmas, etc., they have two weekly fasts, the one on Wednesday and the other on Friday. The Armenians have 165 days in the year appointed for fasting. They do not properly fast, however, since they are permitted to eat plentifully of all kinds of vegetable food except the vegetable oils—and a fast with them is merely abstaining from animal food.

Among the Armenians, girls are often married at the age of twelve or thirteen, the other sex rarely until they are from twenty-five to thirty. The marriage contract is made by the parents or guardians, and the parties are not expected to see one another until after they are husband and wife. The ceremonies of marriage occupy three days—during which time there are constant festivities either at the house of the bridegroom or bride, or both. The bride is last carried to the house of the bridegroom in procession of carriages or carts drawn by oxen, the ceremony of marriage being performed sometimes at the house and sometimes at church. The expenses of the dowry and the marriage festivities come upon the bridegroom, and they are usually quite large. Marriage is considered as one of the sacraments, and there is properly no divorce after the tie is once made. The laws of the Armenians are more strict than those of Moses in regard to the degrees of consanguinity within which persons may marry.

When a person dies, several of the female friends of the family are usually present, who make a loud outcry, so as to be heard at some distance from the house. The funeral takes place on the same day. The body is dressed as when alive, and placed in an open bier which is ornamented with flowers, natural or artificial, and thus carried to the grave-yard. An irregular procession of the friends is formed, headed by priests and singers, with lighted candles if the wind will permit, and a plaintive funeral dirge is chanted

as they pass along the streets. Candles are always carried, even although the funeral should be at mid-day, though sometimes they cannot be lighted. Female friends never accompany the procession to the grave. At the grave prayers are read, and the body, without coffin, is committed to the earth. The ordinary garments are first removed, and the body closely wound up by a long piece of cloth, and thus placed in the grave and covered with earth. If he be an ecclesiastic, a stone is placed on each side of the head, and another over the top to prevent the earth from coming in immediate contact with the head, which has been anointed with holy oil. After the grave of an ecclesiastic has been filled up another hillock of the same dimensions and appearance is raised by its side in order to prevent the body from being stolen. The temptation to this crime in the case of an ecclesiastic is, that as it is a sacred body, having been anointed, it may be in demand for relics. Mourning garments are never worn by the males among the Armenians; but the females at Constantinople dress in black. In the case of an ecclesiastic, prayers are read at the house every evening after the burial until Saturday. If the death takes place on Saturday they are read only on that evening. If it be a layman, they are read only once on the evening of the burial, and once on the following Saturday evening. The friends also occasionally call for the priest to say prayers over the grave; but this in Constantinople is without rule, and they do it whenever they please. In some parts of Armenia proper they have the following customs on the subject: After the burial the officiating priest reads prayers over the grave once a day for eight days if the deceased is an ecclesiastic, and for three days if a layman, and also on the 8th, 15th, and 40th days after the decease, and at the end of one year.

The present state of the Armenian church is one of deep interest. Enlightened views in regard to the truths of the Scriptures are extensively spread among them, particularly in Constantinople and in some of the adjacent cities, and it is evident that at least a portion of the church is on the eve of a reform. They are an enterprising and talented people, and evidently possess the elements of a solid and noble character. With a truly regenerated nature, they promise to be most important instruments in the hands of God, in spreading the light of true Christianity over the East.

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1. J. H. Krause de Catechetis primitivæ ecclesiæ. Lips. 1704. 4.
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2. Euseb. h. e. 6. c. 3. H. E. T. Guerike De schola quæ Alexandræ floruit. catechetica.

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1. E. A. Tromnan, Dissert. de Hermeneutis. vet. ecclesiae Altitorf. 1747. 4.

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1. Euseb. h. e. lib. vi. c. 26 : Socrat. h. e. lib. vi. c. 5—7. c. 2 : Sozomen h. e. lib. vii. c. 41—48. c. 27.
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10. Euseb. h. e. lib. x. c. 3.
11. Gibbon's Rome, vol. iii. p. 42. N. Y. ed.
12. Muratori, Scriptor. rer. Italie, tom. i. P. 2. p. 576: Manso's Geschichte des Ostgothischen Reichs in Italien, S. 137, 167, 396.

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3. Chrysost. Hom. iii. in 2 Thess. p. 381.
4. S. Gavanti Thesaur. tom. i. p. 90—94.
5. Lib. ii. c. 57.
6. Serm. xxvi. ex. L. tom. viii. p. 174: Selvaggii. Antiq. chn. instit. lib. ii. p. 1.
7. Chrysost. Hom. i. in Matt. p. 13.
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§ 5. *Of the Psalter*.

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§ 1. *General Remarks, Names, etc.* p. 239.

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2. Apol. i. c. 67. p. 222. ed. Oberth.
3. Apologet. adr. gent. c. 39.
4. Lib. ii. c. 57. Comp. S. Coteler. a. a. O. n. 1 : J. L. Selvaggi Antiq. chr. institut. lib. ii. p. 1.
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6. S. Patr. Aopst. ed. Cot. edit. Amstelod. 1724. f. tom. 1. p. 621 seq.

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1. Apolog. c. 67. ed. Oberth. p. 222 : Rufin. hist. eccl. lib. . . c. 2. Paulini Vita.
2. Ambrose, Theodor. h. e. iv. c. 67.
3. Hom. x. in 1 ep. ad Tim. p. 464.
4. Sozomen. hist. eccl. lib. viii. c. 27.
5. Populii Vita Agust. c. 5 : Chrystost. Hom. in 2 Tit. x. in 1 Tim. iii.
6. Concil. Vasens. ii. c. 2. A. D. 529 : S. Gregor. M. Praefat. ad lib. xl. Hom. in Evangel. ad Secund. und Jo. Diaconi Vit. : Gregor. M. lib. ii. c. 18 : Euseb. e. h. lib. vi. c. 19 : Euseb. Vit. Constit. lib. iv. c. 29—34.
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2. Bingham. Vol. vi. p. 513.

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2. Hom. iii. de incomprehens. tom. viii. p. 407 : Hom. iii. in 1 Thess. p. 381.
3. Gregr. Naz. Orat. 2 : Opp. tom. i. ed. Colon. p. 46 : Caesarius Arelatensis. Hom. xii.
4. Cyprian de Vit. Caesarii, c. 12.

5. Ferrarius de concion. Rit. p. 287 seq.: Bingham, Vol. vi. pp. 525, 526.
6. Euseb. h. e. lib. vii. c. 30: Chrysost. Hom. xxx. in Acts Apost.: Gregor. Naz. Orat. 32. p. 510: Augustin. Hom. L.: Serm. 25. Serm. de Temp. 45: Doctr. chr. vi. 21—26.
7. Socrat. h. e. lib. c. 4: Sozomen. h. e. lib. viii. c. 27: Gregor. Naz. Orat. 32. p. 528.
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3. Serm. 6. De Sanctis.
4. Chrysost. Hom. 4, 11, 12, 13, 20: 3d. in. Ep. ad Coloss.: Apost. Constit. lib. viii. c. 5.
5. Optat. Milevit. de Schism. Don. lib. iii. fin. 7.
6. Bingham. Vol. vi. p. 490.
7. Gregor. Naz. Orat. I. De Fuga. p. 15.
8. Hom. de Bapt. Chr. tom. i. p. 276. ed. Tr.

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2. De Bapt. Chr. tom. i. p. 276.

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2. Tertull. Apol. c. 2: De Anima, c. 37: Adv. Marc. v. c. 14: De Pudicit. c. 4: Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. c. 16: Iren. adv. haeres. iv. c. 3, 10, 26, 31: Orig. Hom. viii. in Exod. etc.
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CHAPTER XIV.

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3. Cyrill. Hieros. *Catech.* Algst. 2. Ambrose Chrysost. *Hom.* 6. in *Coloss.* *Serm.* 10.
4. Comp. Petr. Zornii, *Historia Eucharistiae Infantum*. Chr. E. Weismann, *De praepestera Eucharistiae reductione*.
5. Tertull. *De Bap.* c. 15. Cyprian *Ep.* 7, 3. ad Jubaj. *de unitate eccl.* p. 112.
6. *De Baptism.* c. 15. comp. *De Praescript.* Haer. c. 14. c. 37. *De Pudicit.* c. 19, 40.
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8. Optatus Milevit *De schismat. Donat.* lib. i. c. ii. c. 10. v. c. 3, 7, 8 : Augustin *De Bap. contr. Donat.* lib. iv. c. 19. 1. c. 3. Fulgentius Rusp. *De Fide*, c. 29.

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3. Apol. 2. pp. 62, 94. Dial. c. Tryph. pp. 315, 262.
4. Lib. i. vision. 3. c. 3. lib. iii. Simil. 9. n. 16.
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6. Concil. Carthag. 3. c. 5. Decret. cod. eccl. Afric. c. 18.
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8. Adv. Maricon lib. v. c. 10. 9. Hom. 40. in Cor.
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11. Concil. Colon. A. D. 1281. c. 4: Conc. Laod. A. D. 1287. c. 2: Conc. Turin. A. D. 1310, c. 114.
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13. Const. apost. lib. viii. c. 32: Conc. Illiber. c. 37, 29: Araus. I. c. 15, etc.
14. Timoth. Alex. Respons. c. 3: Cassian. Collat. lib. vii. c. 30.
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16. Bingham, bk. ii. c. 5. § 2.
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18. Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 6. Leo. M. Ep. 90, 92: ad Rustic. Gregor. II. Ep. 1. ad Bonif.
19. Const. apost. lib. viii. c. 32. Tertull. De Idolat. c. 2: De Spectac. c. 22: adv. Hermog. c. 7.
20. Conc. Illiber. c. 62: Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 35: Cyprian Ep. 61: Augustin De Civ. Dei. II. 14.
21. Conc. Arelat. 1. c. 4: Hieron. Vit. Hilar. c. 13.
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23. Bingham, bk. ii. c. 5. § 6, 9.

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2. Ep. ad Smyr. 3. De Bapt. c. 17.
4. Lib. iii. c. 2. Comp. also Jerome Dial: adv. Lucif. c. 4. Synod.

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5. Justin Martyr, apol. 1. c. 67. 6. Hieron. advr. Pelag. lib. i.

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1. Tertull. De Bapt. c. 3, 4, 5: Ambros. De Initiat. mystar. c. 4: De Sacr. lib. iii. c. 11: Cyprian De Bapt. chr. c. 4: Basil M. in Ps. 23: Gregor. Naz. Orat. 40: Chrysost. Hom. 35. in John 5. Hom. in Acts: Augustin Ep. 23. ad Bonif. Tract. ii. in John: Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. 3. c. 5: Joh. Dramas. De Fide. orth. lib. 2. c. 9.
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§ 8. *Mode and Form of Baptism*, p. 275.

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 9. Gregor. Mag. Ep. lib. i. ep. 41. 10. Conc. Toletan. 4. c. 5.
 11. Ambros. Ser. 20: Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. 2, 2: Chrysostom Hom. 6. Ep. ad Coloss. Ep. 1. ad Innocent: Athanas. Ep. ad Orthodox Comp. Vass. De Bapt. Dissputat.
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 22. Apost. Const. lib. iii. c. 16. Canon. c. 49: Comp. Bingham, bk. ii. c. 3.
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 4. Augustin. De Fide, ad Catechumen. 2. 1.
 5. Chryst. Hom. ad Baptiz.: Concil. Constant. Sub. Menn. act. 5.
 6. Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. Mystag. i. § 2: Pseudo Dionys. De Hierarch. Eccl. c. 2: Gregor. Naz. Orat. 40: Ambrose, De Initiat. c. 2: De Myster. c. 3: Hieron. in Amos 6: 14.
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 10. Pseudo Ambrosius. De Sacram. lib. i. c. 2: Justin Respons. ad Orthodox. Quaest. 137: Apost. Constit. lib. ii. c. 22.

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3. Augustin. Serm. 116: De Tem. tom. x. p. 304: Epist. 23 ad Bonif.
4. De Hier. Eccl. c. 2. 5. Hom. in Ps.
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10. Augustin. 116. De Temp. tom. x. p. 852.
 11. Dionys. Areop. Hierarch. eccl. c. 2.
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§ 11. *Names given at Baptism*, p. 287.

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 4. Cyril. Hieros. *Procatech. and Catech.* 3: Gregor. Nyss. *Orat. in eos. qui differ. Bapt.*: Augustin. *Confess. lib.* ix.

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3. Concil. Lateran. ii. A. D. 1139. c. 51 : iv. A. D. 1215. c. 12.
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 7. Chrysostom. Hom. 81.
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 10. Euseb. h. e. lib. vii. c. 22.
 11. Franzen. Antiquit. funer. 1713. 8. p. 96—111.

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3. Micrologus, c. 55: Durândus, 7, 10.
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5. Alcuinus, De div. offic. p. 87.
6. Karle de Gr. Capitul. ii. A. D. 805. c. 17.

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A. D.	A. D.
215 Africa, under Agrippinus.	465 Rome under Hilary.
240 Africa, under Donatus.	494 Rome, under Gelasius.
251 } Africa, several under Cyprian.	499 Rome, under Symmachus.
to } Africa, several under Cyprian.	506 Agde.
256 } Africa, several under Cyprian.	511 Orleans 1.
265 Antioch 1.	516 Tarragona.
269 Antioch 2.	517 Epone.
313 Rome, against the Donatists.	524 Lerida.
313 Elvira, (al. 305, al. 324.)	529 Orange 2.
314 Ancyra, in Galatia.	529 Vaison 2.
314 Arles 1.	531 Toledo 2.
315 Neocaesarea.	533 Orleans 2.
324 Gangra, in Paphlagonia.	538 Orleans 3.
325 Nicaea 1, (Gen. 1.)	553 Constantinople 2, (Gen. 5.)
344 Sardica.	561 Braga 1.
348 Carthage 1.	567 Tours 2.
359 Ariminum, or Rimini.	572 Braga 3.
361 Laodicea.	578 Auxerre.
362 Alexandria.	581 Maçon 1.
381 Aquileia.	585 Maçon 2.
381 Constantinople 1, (Gen. 2.)	589 Narbonne.
381 Saragossa.	589 Toledo 3.
390 Carthage 2.	590 Seville 1.
393 Hippo.	619 Seville 2.
397 Carthage 3.	633 Toledo 4.
399 Carthage 4.	636 Toledo 5.
400 Toledo 1.	638 Toledo 6.
401 Carthage 5.	646 Toledo 7.
402 Turin.	653 Toledo 8.
402 Milevi 1.	655 Toledo 9.
416 Milevi 2.	656 Toledo 10.
419 Carthage 6.	670 Autun.
419 Carthage 7.	675 Toledo 11.
431 Ephesus, (Gen. 3.)	680 Constantinople 3, (Gen. 6.)
441 Orange 1.	681 Toledo 12.
442 Vaison 1.	692 Constantinople, Trullan.
451 Chalcedon, (Gen. 4.)	787 Nicaea 2, (Gen. 7.)
452 Arles 2.	788 Aix la Chapelle.
455 Arles 3.	815 Mentz.
461 Tours 1.	869 Constantinople 4, (Gen. 8.)

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20	Tiberius, d. 37.	
30	Caligula, d. 48.	
40	Claudius, d. 54.	
50	Nero, d. 68.	
60	Galba, d. 69.	Peter and Paul, martyrs at Rome.
70	Vespasian, d. 79.	
	Titus, d. 81.	
80	Domitian, d. 96.	Shepherd, of Hermas. Clement, bishop of Rome.
90	Nerva, d. 98.	
	Trajan, d. 117.	
100		Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, d. 116.
110	Hadrian, d. 138.	Papias, B. of Hierapolis in Phrygia.
120		Justin Martyr, d. 165.
130		The Gnostics Marcion and Basilides. Cornelius, Bp. of Antioch.
	Antoninus Pius, d. 161.	Polycarp, Bp. of Smyrna, d. 167.
140		Montanus—The Montanists. Anicet, Bp. of Rome. Hegesippus, ecclesiastical historian. Celsus, Against the Christian religion.
150		Soter, Bp. of Rome. Claudius Apollinarius, Bp. of Hierapolis. Melito, Bp. of Sardis. Bardesanes, the Gnostic.
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70. Common care for the poor.—Contributions to other churches.—Church officers carry on their former occupations.—The Ebionites use unleavened bread in the supper.—Choice to church-offices usually by church-officers and the churches
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100. Reading of the New Testament Scriptures in the churches.
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160. First appearance of buildings appropriated to public worship.—Polycarp has a conference with Anicetus on the disagreement respecting the passover.—Images and pictures in the houses of Christians.—Weekly or monthly collections in the meetings for public worship, for the poor and the sick.—Special fasts for the benefit of those in distress.—The use of the sign of the cross in all the actions and events of life.—Transfer of the ordinances of the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday.
170. Catechists.—Contest about the passover in Asia Minor.—Deaconesses, who are widows above sixty years old, receive the usual ordination.—In the Lord's supper the common bread, and wine mingled with water, were used.—Images of Christ among the heretics.—The deaconesses are consulted in the celebration of marriage. The bride and bridegroom partake of the Lord's supper with each other.—Abrenunciatio at baptism and trine immersion.—More definite form given to the confessions made at baptism.—Easter eve and Whitsuntide favorite times for administering baptism in the whole church.—Celebration of Easter night by vigils.—Festival of fifteen days from Easter to Whitsuntide.—Catholic epistle of Dionysius of Corinth.

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.</i>
180	Commodus, d. 192.	Pantaenus, Catechist in Alexandria. Tertullian at Carthage, d. 220.
190	Pertinax, d. 193. Septimius Severus, d. 211.	Victor, Bp. of Rome, d. 202. Clemens, Catechist in Alexandria. Caius, presbyter in Rome. Polycrates, Bp. of Ephesus.
200		Zephyrinus, Bp. of Rome, d. 218. 203. Origen, Catechist in Alexandria.
210	Caracalla, d. 217. Macrimus, d. 218. Heliogabulus, d. 222.	Demetrius, B. of Alexandria, d. 232.
220	Alexander Severus, d. 235.	223. Origen ordained presbyter at Caesarea.
230	Maximus the Thracian, d. 238.	Hippolitus, bishop. Origen flees to Caesarea in Palestine. 233. Heraclius, Bp. of Alexandria. Julius Africanus.
240	Gordianus III. d. 244. Phillip, the Arabian, d. 249. Decius Trajanus, d. 251.	Dionysius, head of the catechetical school in Alexandria. Minucius Felix, a lawyer in Rome. 244. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bp. of Neo-Caesarea, d. 270. Dionysius, B. of Alexandria, d. 265. 248. Cyprian, B. of Carthage, d. 258.
250	Trebonianus Gallus I. d. 253. Gallus Volusianus, d. 253.	Fabian, Bp. of Rome, d. 251. Cornelius, Bp. of Rome, d. 252. Novatian. Lucius, Bp. of Rome. Stephanus, Bp. of Rome, 253—257.

Historical Events.

180. The christian custom of *burying* the dead. Church festival in commemoration of the dead immediately after death and on its anniversaries.—Among the Catholics the division of the form of worship into two parts is the universal custom.—Tertullian opposed to infant baptism.—The heretics on their entrance into the Catholic church are, in Asia Minor and North Africa, again baptized; in Rome, they are treated as penitents.—In the oriental church divine service on the sabbath, and no fasts.—In the Romish church and other places of the West, fasts on the sabbath.—Attempts to determine the day of Christ's birth. Perhaps a celebration of it in Egypt (?).—In the churches an altar and pulpit (pulpitum, suggestus).—The office of readers.—The performance of particular penances by the penitents.
190. Images of Christ among the heathen.—Symbolical rites in baptism.—Anointing after baptism.—Use of milk and honey.—Kiss of peace.—The laying on of hands as a concluding act, regarded as particularly important.—Contest between the Christians of Asia Minor and of Rome respecting the celebration of the passover.—197. Victor of Rome withdraws from the fellowship of the Christians of Asia Minor.—The college of the presbyters still exists in subordinate connection with the bishop.
200. Public discussions upon the baptism of heretics in North Africa.—Communion in private houses in North Africa.—The birth day of the martyrs celebrated.—A house of public worship in Edessa.
210. Introduction of Old Testament ideas of a particular priesthood into the christian church.—The clergy, as a body, called *κληρος*, *κληρικοί*, *ordo*, in distinction from the *λαος*, *plebs. laici*.—The catechumens divided into classes by Origen.
220. Choice of bishop by the provincial bishops in connection with the adjacent churches.—The symbol of baptism, the rite of baptism, the Lord's prayer, and some church songs kept concealed from the catechumens.
230. Origen gave theological instruction in Cesarea in Palestine.—Hippolytus writes upon the disagreement of the East and West in respect to sabbatical fasts, and the contest about the passover.—Composed a *canon paschalis*.—Opposers of infant baptism in Egypt.—Candidates for baptism exorcised. Consecration of the water.—Houses of public worship become more frequent.—The clergy are not permitted to become guardians, or to engage in any worldly business.—The churches provide for the support of their clergy.—Comparison of the christian clergy with the Jewish priests. *Episcopus* = *Summus sacerdos*, *Presbyteri* = *Sacerdotes*, *Diaconi* or *Clerici* (generally) = *Levitae*.
240. Infant communion in Africa, afterwards also in the East.—Clinic baptism.—The laying of hands on the newly baptized begins to be regarded as the appropriate act of none but the bishop.—The communion is extended to the sick and dying.—Frequent and large church-edifices.—Provincial synods common in Africa and proconsular Asia. The whole body of the clergy and the people participate in them.—Contests of the bishops and presbyters in Rome and Africa.—Subdeacons. *Acolyths*. *Exorcists*. *Ostarii*.—*Doctores audentium* in Africa.—Cyprian consults with the presbyters upon the affairs of the church. Sometimes the advice of the whole church is asked.
250. Easter sabbath a common fast day in the church.—*Libelli pacis* numerously distributed by the confessors.—The people take part in the elections to the church offices, particularly in the election of bishops and presbyters.—The bishop nominates the lower clergy.—Pope, title of illustrious bishops.—Synods in respect to penitents in Asia Minor.—Triumph of the Episcopal over the Presbyterian system.

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.</i>
250	Valerian, d. 260.	Firmilianus, Bp. of Caesarea in Capadocia, d. 269. 254. Origen d. — Sixtus II. Bp. of Rome, d. 258.
260	Gallienus, d. 268.	Dionysius, Bp. of Rome, d. 270. Sabellius. Paul of Samosata, Bp. of Antioch, 265—269.
	Claudius Gothicus, d. 270.	
270	Aurelianus, d. 275.	Commodianus. Felix, Bp. of Rome, d. 275. Mani, d. 277.
	Tacitus, d. 276.	Eutychianus, Bp. of Rome, d. 283.
	Aurelius Probus, d. 282.	Methodius, Bp. of Tyre.
280		
	Aurelius Carus, regent with Carinus, d. 283.	Pierius and Theognostus in Alexandria.
	Numerianus, d. 284.	Caius, Bp. of Rome, d. 296.
	Diocletian with Maximian, from 286 to 305, regents for the emperors Galerius and Constantine Chlorus.	
290		Pamphilus, Pres. in Caesarea. Marcellinus, Bp. of Rome, d. 304. Lucian and Dorotheus, Pres. in Antioch.
300		Peter, Bp. of Alexandria, d. 311. Marcellus, Bp. of Rome, d. 309.
	306. Constantius Chlorus, d. Constantine, Maxentius, Maximianus, Galerius, Severus, and Maximin, rulers.	Arnobius, orator in Sicca.
	307. Severus d. succeeded by Licinius.	Eusebius, Bp. of Rome, 311. Melchiades, Bp. of Rome, d. 314.
310	Maximian, d. 311. Galerius d. 312. Maxentius d. 313. Maximinus d.	Lactantius. Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria. Sylvester, Bp. of Rome, d. 335.
320	Licinius, d. 324.	Arius in Alexandria, d. 336. Eusebius, Bp. of Caesarea in Palestine, d. 340.
	Constantine sole emperor, d. 337.	Eusebius, Bp. of Nicomedia. Eustathius, Bp. Antioch. Alexander, Bp. of Constantinople. Athanasius, Bp. of Alexandria, d. 373.
330	Constantine II. d. 340. Constantius, d. 361. Constans, d. 350.	Juvenus. Marcus, Bp. of Rome, d. 336. Julius I. Bp. Rome, d. 352. Macarius, Sen. et Jun.

Historical Events.

- 250 Gregory Thaumaturgus permits banquets to be introduced into the festivals in honor of the martyrs.—252. Infant baptism at the council of Carthage declared to be necessary. Anointing at baptism required by Cyprian.—253. Stephen of Rome withdraws fellowship from the Christians of Asia Minor on account of the baptism of heretics.—Two councils in North Africa confirm the old African principles upon the subject of the baptism of heretics; on this account Stephen excommunicates the North Africans.—The African synod in the autumn of 256, declare in favor of the customs of the African church.
260. The practice of cheering the preacher during the delivery of his sermon.—The Lord's supper has become more complicated and splendid.
270. Fixed formularies for the administration of this rite are formed.—Catalogues of the members of the church and of Christians that have died are kept.
280. Infant baptism common among the Persian Christians.
290. Pamphilus establishes a theological school in Caesarea.—The church year begins with Easter festival.—Attempt to introduce images into the churches.
300. Peculiar dress of the clergy.—Beginning of sacred hermeneuticks.—The beginnings of the school of Antioch.—305. The council of Elvira forbids images in churches.—The splendid church in Nicomedia destroyed.—The council at Elvira enjoins sabbatical fasts, censures the irregularities in the keeping of vigils, and limits the festival of Whitsuntide to one day.—In the Romish church the beginning of an eighty-four years' Easter cycle.—The council at Elvira determines the duration of the catechumenate.—The practice of sending consecrated bread as a sign of church fellowship.—The subterranean vaults in Rome (catacombs) used for christian burial places.—Christian emblems, pictures, carving on the coffins, and funeral lamps in the niches of the walls.
310. The council at Arles gives laws respecting the baptism of heretics.—Churches are solemnly dedicated to the worship of God.—The order of rural bishops in most places suppressed.—Regular division of the penitents into classes.—Easter cycle of nineteen years; perhaps established by Eusebius of Caesarea.—Church in Tyre built by Paulinus.
320. Establishment of the canonical age for bishops and of seven as the number of Deacons.—Exclusion of such as had received clinic baptism from the rank of clergy.—Ecumenical synods.—Laws against taking those who have been penitents and neophytes into church offices.—Fixed regulations respecting the number and time of the provincial synods.—Altars mostly of wood.—Constantine and his mother very active in building churches in Asia and Europe.—The church of St. Sophia built.—Several Basilicae are granted to the Christians.—321. (in March and June) Decrees of Constantine in respect to the observance of Sunday. His orders respecting the army. Law for the religious observance of Friday.—325. The Nicene council ordains a uniform celebration of the passover for the churches, and commits to the Alexandrians the calculation of Easter.—Celebration of a festival of the Ascension.—Four classes of catechumens.—Arius, a writer of sacred songs.—In the public worship, particular prayers for catechumens, energumens, and penitents.
330. Arch-presbyters. Arch-deacons. Favorite division of churches into three parts—ante-temple, nave, and bema or sanctuary.—At the feast of Epiphany the celebration of the passover is announced. The oriental eighth of Whitsuntide a general martyr festival.—Supplications for the repose of the souls of the dead.—The pretended discovery of the cross in the Holy Land promoted the superstition about the use of the sign of the cross.

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.</i>
340		Julius Firm. Maternus. Gregorius, bp. of Alexandria. 342. Macedonius, bp. of Constantinople. Eusebius, bp. of Emesa, d. 360. Leontius, bp. of Antioch. Hilarius, bp. of Pictavium, d. 368.
350		Liberius, bp. of Rome, 352—55 and 58—66. Felix, bp. of Rome, 355—58. Cyrill, bp. of Jerusalem, d. 386. Zeno, bp. of Verona. Hilary, Dea. Luciferit.
360	361. Constantius, d. Julian the Apostate, d. 363. Jovian, d. 364. Valentinian I. in the West, d. 375. Valens in the East, d. 378.	Aeries, Presb. in Sebaste. Ephraem the Syrian, dea. of Edessa, d. 378. Hieronymus Stridon, d. 420. Rufinus of Aquileia, d. 410. Epiphanius, bp. of Constantia, d. 403. Damasus, bp. of Rome, d. 384.
370	Gratian, d. 383. Valentinian II. d. 392. Theodosius in the East.	Optatus, bp. of Mileri. Basil, bp. of Caesarea in Cappadocia, d. 379. Gregory bp. of Nyssa, d. after 394. Martin, bp. of Tours, d. after 400. Amphiloehius, bp. of Iconium, d. after 394. Diodorus, bp. of Tarsus, d. about 390. Ambrose, bp. of Milan, d. 397. Philastrius, bp. of Brixia. Gregory Nazianzen, bp. of Constantinople, d. 391.

Historical Events.

340. Bishops and emperors exert an important influence upon church elections.—341. Decision upon the rights of provincial synods. New restrictions upon the country bishops.—344. Decision upon the passage of the bishop through the different grades of the clergy. The installation of country bishops prohibited.—Images in many oriental churches.—341. Decision in Antioch upon the celebration of the passover.—Festival of the Maccabees in Syria.—Anniversary festival in commemoration of the dedication of churches.—Celebration of the festival of the birth of Christ in Rome (on the 25th of December).—The ceremonies before and at baptism have become complicated. Anointing before and after baptism. The changing of the name at baptism is practised. The delaying of baptism a somewhat general fault particularly of the oriental churches.
350. Church singers. In the East the emperors are allowed to go into the bema.—Aerius urges to a reformation of life in the church, and is particularly opposed to distinction of rank in the church.—In Gangra Sunday fasts prohibited.—The heathen calends of January kept among the Christians as a fast day.—Responsive singing introduced by the monks into the church of Antioch.—Hilarius of Pictavium a writer of hymns.—Liturgies are written (?). Preparatory exorcism on the days previous to baptism by Cyrill of Jerusalem.—Aerius attacked the false notion of the efficacy of prayers for the dead.—A special burial service.—Solemnization of funerals. *Λογοὶ ἐπιταφιοὶ*, particularly in the East.
360. Itinerant presbyters appointed in the place of country bishops.—Theological school at Edessa.—The teaching of heathen literature in christian schools forbidden by Julian. He establishes a christian institution afterwards among the heathen.—The office of *œconomus* (steward of the church).—Benevolent institutions of every kind proceeding from the church, in the cities and in the country, particularly in the East.—Western churches begin to lose their importance.—Altars built of stone.—Church laws for the celebration of Sunday, the sabbath and the quadregesima.—Julian celebrates Epiphany in Vienna. Martyr-festivals, with vigils, very frequent. Dies stationum (stationary days) continue to be kept in Egypt, Asia Minor, Constantinople, and in other places.—Imperial pardons granted at Easter.—Council of Laodicea forbids the singing of Apocryphal psalms in the churches, and the holding of love-feasts in the churches.—Basilius, a promoter of responsive singing in the churches.—Ephraem composes church hymns.—The practice of carrying consecrated bread as though it possessed magical powers.—The composition of little doxologies by the anti-Arians is opposed in Cappadocia.—The office of *copiatae*.—The practice of crowning newly married people with wreaths, of veiling the bride, etc. retained.—The council of Laodicea forbids improper usages at weddings, and the celebration of marriage in the time of the quadregesimal fasts.
370. Heathen temples are converted into christian churches.—During the great week in Cappadocia daily morning and evening service.—A local festival in Alexandria in commemoration of the earthquakes.—Epiphany the time for baptism in the East.—Basil of Caesarea a zealous liturgist.—Ambrose transfers responsive singing to the churches of the West, composes hymns for the church, and does away the love feasts.—The chapels of the martyrs are used for burying places in Cappadocia.—Christian family vaults.

A. D.	Roman Emperors.	Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.
380		<p>Didymus, president of the catechetical school at Alexandria, d. 395. Jovian, monk in Rome. Apollinaris, bp. of Laodicea. Siricius, bp. of Rome, d. 398. Theophilus, bp. of Alexandria, d. 412. Johannes Chrysostom. 386. Pres. in Antioch. 398. Bp. of Constantinople, d. 407. Asterius, bp. of Amasia. Severianus, bp. of Gabala, d. after 408.</p>
390	392. Theodosius sole emperor. d. 395.	<p>Augustine, bp. of Hippo, d. 430. Theodorus, bp. of Mopsvestia, d. 429. Palladius the Younger, bp. of Aspona, d. before 431. Severus Endelechius. Gaudentius, bp. of Brixia. Anastasius I. bp. of Rome, d. 402. Sulpitius Severus, Presb. d. 420.</p>
	DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE.	
	<i>Western Rom. Empire.</i>	<i>Eastern Rom. Empire.</i>
400	Honorius, d. 423.	<p>Arcadius, d. 408. Empress Eudocia.</p>
	Theodosius II. d. 450.	<p>Paulinus, bp. of Nola, d. 431. Innocent I. bp. of Rome, d. 417. Atticus, bp. of Constantinople. Prudentius.</p>
410	414. Pulcheria Augusta.	<p>Nilus the monk. Pelagius and Caelestius. Joannes Cassianus, d. after 432. Cyril, bp. of Alexandria, d. 444. Isidorus of Pelusium, d. about 440. Zosimus, bp. of Rome, d. 418.</p>

Historical Events.

380. Church *ἐκδιζοι*.—Christian poor-houses and hospitals in Italy.—The office of penitentiary presbyter abolished.—The Lateran and St. Peter's church in Rome.—Epiphanius opposed to having images in churches.—Baptisteries in or near the church.—386. Renewed order of the emperor in relation to the celebration of Sunday.—Disagreement of Rome and Alexandria as to the celebration of Easter.—Different practice in the oriental churches in respect to sabbath fasts. The Romish church warmly defends her own usage in respect to it.—386. The festival of Christ's birth celebrated in Syria on the 25th of December.—Decree of the Anti-Priscillians against partaking of the Lord's supper out of the church.—Complaints against theatrical singing in the church.—381. Decree of the ecumenical council respecting those that re-baptized heretics.—More fixed regulations respecting church reading.—Siricius of Rome forbids baptism in Epiphany.—Images of the cross very frequent.—Images of Christ are still opposed.—In the Romish church even in espousals the blessing of the priest was necessary.—Theodosius revived the Roman law that burying places should be without the city.
390. Missions are promoted by Chrysostom.—A mission institute at Constantinople for the Goths.—398. State laws respecting the choice of monks to clerical offices, and respecting the appointment of country clergy.—Decrees of the western church in relation to the trial of the clergy.—392 (and 389). Laws of the empire to suspend ordinary business eight days before and eight days after Easter.—393. Evening communion on *Dies viridium*.—In Antioch, on Good Friday, meetings for divine service in the churches of the martyrs.—The Donatists oppose the festival of Epiphany.—The birth day of Christ as determined at Rome, generally adopted in the West.—The birth of John Baptist celebrated on the 24th of June.—Heathen usages in the celebration of festivals.—393. The reading of uncanonical books, salutation by the reader, and the distribution of the eucharist to the dead forbidden.—The bishops alone confer confirmation.—In Rome no heretic may be re-baptized.—Repasts for the poor take the place of the old love feasts.—The custom of employing mourning-women is introduced into the church.—Alms are distributed in memory of the dead.—Images are allowed in the East.
- 400.—407. Defensors of the church established.—408. Laws of the emperor for the establishment of Episcopal jurisdiction.—409. Laws giving the bishops the oversight of the prisons.—Paulinus is active in building churches in Nola and Fundi.—401. Request of the Africans to the emperor to restrain public amusements on Sunday.—Vigilantius opposes the vigils.—Celebration of the death of Theodosius in Constantinople.—Innocent of Rome establishes the sabbatical fast by a law of the church.—Celebration of the anniversary of the ordination of bishops.—Family communion continues in many churches of the East and West.—Practice of vicarious baptism among the pseudo-Marcionites in Syria.—A pretended hymn of Christ among the Priscillianists.—The burial of the dead the common custom.—Bishops interred in the churches.—Feasts at the graves of the dead, with many abuses accompanying.
410. 416. Office of the parabolani in Constantinople.—418. Increase of the parabolani to 600.—Paulinus favors the use of images in churches and baptisteries, particularly for the instruction of the country people.—In the East complaints of there being too many images in the churches.—Representation of the sign of the cross in churches.—Inscriptions in and upon churches.—Contest in North Africa about the sabbatical fast.

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.</i>
410		Boniface I. bp. of Rome, d. 422. Possidius, bp. of Calama.
420	Valentinian III. d. 455.	Synesius, bp. of Ptolemais. Philostorgius, ecclesiastical writer. Coelestinus I. bp. of Rome, d. 432. Vincentius of Lirinum, d. before 440. Nestorius, bp. of Constantinople, d. about 440. [457. Theodoret, bp. of Cyrus, in Syria, d.
N. B. The church history of Socrates extends from 306 to 439 (continued by Theodoret to 526); that of Sozomen from 323 to 423; that of Philostorgius, an Arian bishop, from 300 to 425; that of Theodoret from 325 to 429; that of Evagrius continuator of Socrates and Theodoret from 431 to 593.		
430		John, bp. of Antioch. Proclus, bp. of Constantinople, d. 446. Hilary, bp. of Arles, d. 449. Sixtus III. bp. of Rome, d. 440. Peter Chrysolpgus, bp. of Ravenna, d. 458.
440		Barsumas, bp. of Nisibis, to 489. Ibas, bp. of Edessa, to 457. Leo I. bp. of Rome, d. 461. Salvianus, presb. in Massilia. Socrates the historian. Sozomen the historian. Dioscurus, bp. of Alexandria. Proterius, bp. of Alexandria. Flavian, bp. of Constantinople.
450	Pulcheria, d. 453. Ricimer, d. 472. Marcian, died 457. 457. Leo I. the Thracian.	Symeon Stylites, d. 460. Paschasinus, bp. of Lilybaeum. Maximus, bp. of Turin. Mamertus, bp. of Vienna. Gennadius, bp. of Constantinople. Timotheus Aelurus, bp. of Alexandria.
460	Anthemius.	Arnobius the Younger. Hilary, bp. of Rome, d. 468. Timotheus, bp. of Alexandria. Simplicius, bp. of Rome, d. 483. Peter the Fuller.
470	474. Leo II. soon succeeded by his father Zeno. 475. Romulus Augustus. The Western empire is divided into several new states.	Sidonius Apollinaris, bp. of Clermont. Faustus of Rnegium, d. after 490. Acacius, bp. of Constantinople. Petrus the monk, bp. of Alexandria. Victor, bp. of Vita. Gennadius, presb. of Masillon, d. after 493.
480	476. Odoaster, k. of Italy and Noricum. 481. Clovis, I. d. 511.	Vigilius, bp. of Tapsus. Macedonius, bp. of Constantinople. Felix III. bp. of Rome, d. 492. Flavian, bp. of Antioch. Gelasius, I. bp. of Rome, d. 496. Anastasius II. bp. of Rome, d. 498. Avitus, bp. of Vienna.

Historical Events.

410. Cyrill improves the Easter-table of Theophilus.—Celebration of the Festum Stephani in North Africa; (Still earlier in the interior of Italy.)—In the oriental churches candles are lighted while the Gospels are read.—Theodosius II. diminishes the number of the *copiatae*.
420. In the East the people still take part in the church elections.—Votive offerings in the churches, particularly in the chapels of the martyrs.—425. Theatrical exhibitions on Sunday and on the high church festivals forbidden by the emperor.—In Egypt a separate celebration of the festival of Christ's birth.—Celebration of the feast of annunciation.
430. Office of the *Apocrisarii*.—The celebration of the Quadragesimal fasts is still different in different ecclesiastical provinces.—No definite laws for the keeping of fasts yet fixed.—Prostration of the people on the exhibition of the elements of the supper (?)
440. 441. The appointment of deaconesses forbidden in the West.—Crosses upon the altar.—Altars richly ornamented.—Councils are held in the baptisteries.—Contentions about the Easter festival of the year 444.—The Romans take the side of the Alexandrians.—Festum cathedrae Petri in the Romish church.—Remains of heathen customs which became mingled in the Roman celebration of Christ's birth.—New contest about the calculation of Easter.—Leo of Rome yields to the Alexandrians.—Infant Baptism a common church ordinance.—The Trisagion Hymn is altered.
450. 451. The office of *oconomus* established by law.—The bishops have the spiritual oversight of the cloisters.—Church *Lectionarii* in the Gallic churches.
460. Canon Paschalis of Victorius Aquilanus introduced into Rome in 465.—Leo allows penitents the privilege of private confession previous to their being received again into the church.—461. Council of Tours decrees that the bread be dipped in wine in the communion of the sick. Burial places in churches, particularly in those of the martyrs, are considered as peculiarly holy.—469. The edict of 425 respecting the observance of Sunday made more strict.
470. Peter Fullo makes an addition to the Trisagion.—The North African church holds strictly to a particular form of prayer.—Parents sponsors for their own children.—Rogation days instituted at Vienna.
480. 489. Destruction of the theological school at Edessa.—The festival of Peter and Paul celebrated at Constantinople with new splendor.—Gelasius of Rome active in behalf of liturgies.

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.</i>
490	491. Anastasius emperor until 518.	Symmachus, bp. of Rome, d. 514. Boethius, d. 525. Epiphanius the hist'n of the church. Theodorus, historian of the church.
500		Dionysius the Small. Caesarius, bp. of Arles, d. 542. Hormisdas bp. of Rome, d. 523.
510		Philoxenus, bp. of Hierapolis. Fulgentius, bp. of Ruspe, d. 533. Procopius of Gaza.
	518. Justin I. to 527.	John of Cappadocia, bp. of Constantinople, d. 520: Epiphanius, bp. of Constantinople.
520	526. Atalaric, k. of the Ostrogoths. 527. Justinian to 565.	John I. bp. of Rome, d. 526. Felix IV. bp. of Rome, d. 530. Boniface II. bp. of Rome, d. 532. John II. bp. of Rome, d. 535.
530	534. Theodat k. of Ostrogs. 536. Vitiges, k. of Ostrogs.	Agapet I. bp. of Rome, d. 536. Anthimus, bp. of Constantinople. Silverius, bp. of Rome. Vigilius, bp. of Rome, d. 555. Fulgentius, dea. at Carthage, d. before 551.
540	Totila, k. of Ostrog. Empress Theodora.	Cosmas Indicopleustes. Aurelius Cassiodorus, d. after 562. Primasius, bp. of Adrumetum. Facundus, bp. of Hermiane, d. about 570. Junilius, African bp.
550	552. Tejas, k. of Ostrog. 558. Chlotar, k. of France.	Pelagius I. bp. of Rome, d. 560. Procopius of Caesarea. John III. bp. of Rome, d. 573. John Philoponus, d. after 610.
560	565. Justin II. to 578. 578. Tiber II.	Joannes Scholasticus, bp. of Const. d. 578.
570		Benedict I. bp. of Rome, d. 578. Pelagius II. bp. of Rome, d. 590. Evagrius, the historian. Joannes Jejunator, bp. of Const.
580	582. Mauritius.	Leander, bp. of Hispalis. Gregory I. bp. of Rome, d. 604.
590		Augustinus, in Britain. Cyriacus, bp. of Constantinople. Isidorus, bp. of Hispalis, d. 636.

Historical Events.

490. A special office instituted in Constantinople for enrolling the catechumens in the church books.—Council of Agde orders, that on Palm-Sunday the catechumens shall publicly repeat the creed.—Consecration of altars.
500. Romish bishops bear, by way of eminence, the title of pope.—Church ordinance respecting lay communion.—The division of divine service into two parts begins gradually to disappear.—Legends respecting images of Christ not made with hands.—Celebration of Christmas eve. Ordinance respecting the celebration of Rogation days in Gaul.
510. In the Gallic and Romish churches frequent participation of Christians in the heathen celebration of New Year.—Decree of the council of Gironne respecting Rogations.—Easter-table of Dionysius Exiguus.—In the Gallic and Romish church the ecclesiastical year begins at Christmas.—517. In the West, prohibitions of the appointment of deaconesses repeated.
520. The Benedictines have the charge of the education of youth.—Hundred deacons in Constantinople.—524. Council of Valencia, passes a decree in relation to the reading of the gospels.—The *Te Deum* appears in the rule of the Benedictines.—527. The calculation of Dionysius respecting Easter adopted at Rome.—Great activity in building churches in the East, particularly in Constantinople. 529. In the West a decree for the education of the clergy.—Church order in respect to the oversight of prisons by the bishops.—In Palestine a combined celebration of the baptism and birth of Christ at Epiphany festival, continues.
530. Order in relation to the city church in Constantinople.—Rebuilding of the church of St. Sophia.—538. Laws for the celebration of Sunday passed at the synod in Orleans.—Prohibition of marriage between baptized persons and their sponsors.
540. Order of the emperor respecting the installation of the clergy, and the evidence to be given by them of their agreement with the faith of the church.—Consecration of the sites of churches.—Canon of Victorius continues in Gaul.
550. Theological school at Nisibis flourishes.
560. Arch-subdeacons.—562. Dedication of the church of St. Sophia.—Institution of a three days' fast in the Gallic church for the time of the celebration of the festival of the calends.—Prohibition of abuses in the Festum Cathedrae Petri.—The council of Braga forbids tombs in the inner area of churches, and the use of the burial service at the interment of suicides.
570. In the church of St. Sophia, a vault for the prince.—Council of Braga forbids the practice of dipping bread in wine at the supper.—A *festum circumcisionis* on the first day of January.—572. A law in the West concerning the visitation of the districts of the bishops.
- 580.—585. A church order respecting the care of widows and orphans.—The council of Mascon enjoins the continuation of Easter festival to the *pascha clausum*.—The formula of distribution in the Romish church becomes longer.—A single immersion in baptism in the Spanish church.—The council of Toledo requires the recitation of the creed in the liturgy of the supper.—The calculation of Easter according to Dionysius adopted in Spain.—The Romish quadragesima = 36 days.
590. The Romish church active in missions.—Gregory allows to the Anglo-Saxons the celebration of festivals with banquets, and establishes the *litania septiformis*.—The Alexandrian calculation of Easter found in Gaul.—Contentions of Augustine with the ancient Britons about their reckoning of Easter.

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Roman Emperors.</i>	<i>Bishops, Eccl. Officers and Writers.</i>
	602. Phocas.	Sabinian, bp. of Rome, d. 606.
610	Chlotar II. k. of France.	Thomas, bp. of Constantinople.
	610. Heraclius.	Boniface III. bp. of Rome, d. 607.
		Boniface IV. bp. of Rome, d. 615.
620		Sergius, bp. of Constantinople.
630		Deusededit, bp. of Rome, d. 618.
		Boniface V. bp. of Rome, d. 625.
		Honorius I. bp. of Rome, d. 638.
		Sophronius, bp. of Jerusalem.
		Pyrrhus, bp. of Constantinople.
640	Constantine III.	Severinus, bp. of Rome, d. 640.
	Heraclionas.	John IV. bp. of Rome, d. 642.
	Constans II.	Theodore, bp. of Rome, d. 649.
		Martin I. bp. of Rome, d. 655.
650	655. Clovis II.	Eugenius I. bp. of Rome, d. 657.
	656. Chlotar III.	Vitalian I. bp. of Rome, d. 672.
		Thomas, bp. of Constantinople.
		John, bp. of Constantinople.
660		Theodore, bp. of Canterbury.
	668. Constantine IV.	Constantine, bp. of Constantinople.
		Adeodatus, bp. of Rome, d. 676.
670		Donus I. bp. of Rome, d. 678.
680	Pepin.	Agatho, bp. of Rome, d. 682.
		Leo II. bp. of Rome, d. 683.
690	685. Justinian II.	Benedict II. bp. of Rome, d. 685.
		John V. bp. of Rome, d. 686.
		Sonon, bp. of Rome, d. 687.
	695. Leontius.	Sergius I. bp. of Rome, d. 701.
700		The venerable Bede, d. 735.

Historical Events.

590. Gregory I. improves the church singing, establishes a school for singers, gives a new form to the liturgy of the supper, is opposed to the worship of images, but not to their use in the churches.
600. The Roman Pantheon becomes a christian church.—Continuation of the Easter table of Dionysius Exiguus.—Leander and Isidor active for the liturgy in the Spanish church.
610. Feast of All Saints in the Romish church.
620. Bells are found in the West.—*Festum apparitionis .St. Michaelis* in Rome.—Monks and clergy not permitted to become sponsors.
630. First appearance of the bishop's Baculus and Annulus.—Council of Toledo enjoins fasts on the day of Christ's death; prescribes concerning the consecration of wax candles for Easter.—Prescription of the council of Toledo respecting church hymns.—The oriental church-teachers seek to justify scientifically the worship of images.
640. Deaconesses continue in the oriental church.—Feast of the transfiguration of Christ in the oriental church.
- 650.—656. *Festum annuntiationis* on the 25th of March instituted in Toledo.—Remains of the old custom of the *προσφοραι* in the supper in the Greek church.
670. Heathen customs mingle themselves in the festivals of the Virgin.—Unleavened bread commonly used in the supper.
- 692.—Council of Trullan forbids the reception of emoluments for the administration of the sacraments.—Council of Trullan against symbolical representations of Christ, and against crosses upon the floor of churches.—Council of Trullan requires the keeping of the sabbath as a fast; brings to remembrance the after-celebration of Easter; forbids the *missa præsancificat* on the day of the annunciation to Mary; condemns the remains of the heathen celebration of the calends, and the customs of St. John's day; gives orders upon the spiritual relation between the baptized person and the sponsors; upon the *λειτουργια των προηγιασμενων*, and confirms the decision of 381 respecting heretics.

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