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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php

THE
CHURCHMAN

JULY, 1897.

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

IN the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, there were two agencies in the field, which may be distinguished as Celtic and Roman. In the term Celtic, which more particularly refers to the British and Irish Churches, is included that of the West and East Franks, comprehending the Gallican Church of the period. This inclusion is justified on the ground that the greatest intimacy prevailed between these Churches, and mutual help was frequently given.¹

The Celtic and Roman agencies, though identical in their teaching with regard to the essential articles of the Christian Faith, differed in their respective uses and traditions. These differences receive their explanation from the generally accepted fact that the Celtic Church was founded by missionaries from the East. They were, besides, so marked as to excite the surprise of Augustine, when he came through Gaul to our shores, and drew from him a letter of inquiry to Pope Gregory the Great, why, seeing the faith was one and the same, customs should be so many and different.²

The agency of the Celtic Church in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons has not received the credit to which it is fairly entitled. The shadow of the great name of Rome has eclipsed its devotion and missionary zeal. But the work of Aidan, Finan, Cedd, Chad, Colman, and many others, had much to do in building up the English Church and impressing upon it fidelity to primitive tradition, and a spirit of independence. Any view of the Anglo-Saxon Church which omits to take

¹ *Vide* "The Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland," by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs.

² Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," book ii., c. 27.

into account the important factor of Celtic influence must necessarily be very imperfect.

It is remarkable how lightly the labours of Bishop Luithard, at the Court of Ethelbert of Kent, have been considered. For about twenty years this good Bishop and his assistants ministered in the old Christian Church of St. Martin at Canterbury, and under the patronage of Queen Bertha it is reasonable to infer that some progress had been made in familiarizing the people of that part of Kent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Luithard's labours were most probably the moving cause of Augustine's mission. "From the epistles of St. Gregory," writes Dr. Lingard, "it appears that these and similar causes had awakened a desire of religious knowledge among the inhabitants of Kent, and that application for instruction had been made to the prelates of the Franks."¹

Augustine, therefore, cannot be regarded as the founder of the Anglo-Saxon Church. All that can be truly said is, that he built on another's foundation, and forged the first link of the chain connecting directly Canterbury and Rome.²

When Augustine came to these shores, and for centuries afterwards, scholastic definitions of sacred mysteries and enumerations of the Sacraments were unknown. The books presented to him for his missionary work, viz., a Bible in two volumes, two Psalters, two books of the Gospels, apocryphal Lives of the Apostles, Lives of Martyrs, and expositions of certain Epistles and Gospels, show the nature of the message of God's missioners in those days. The Canterbury Book in the library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which supplies this list, closes the brief catalogue with the expressive words, "*Hæ sunt primitiæ librorum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*" In the face of this primitive library, in the absence of confusing theological tomes, no difficulty will be found in showing and proving that the Anglo-Saxons were taught to look upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the same light as those English Churchmen in post-Reformation times, who were, and

¹ Lingard, "Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church," vol. i., p. 23.

² "*Certe enim ecclesiam apud Anglos non fundavit Augustinus ille a Gregorio missus, ut vestri insolenter et frequenter, sed falso gloriantur. Ante Augustini huc adventum 'erat inter Anglos prope Cantuariensem civitatem Ecclesia.' In 'ea Ethelberti Regina, ipsa tum Christiana pie atque assidue Christum colere, fidem Christi inviolatam servare ac profiteri solita. Episcopus etiam ei aderat Luidbardus' (Bede, 'Hist.,' lib. i., c. 25, 26) qui Christi Evangelium ac fidem publice annunciebat. . . . Et Regina Bertha et episcopus ille, ambo a Gallia erant 'et fidem Christianam e Gallia ad Anglo felici omine adduxerant' "* (Dr. Crackanthorpe, "*Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,*" 1625, c. v., pp. 21-26).

are, content to be guided by the inspired rule of faith and primitive tradition.

At the close of the sixth century, the celebration of this Sacrament was regarded as the chief act of worship of Christian people. It was so in the centuries preceding, and the tradition has come down to our own time. As regards the Anglican Church, Bede narrates what the custom was. In the epistle of Ceolfride to Naitan, King of the Picts, he says, "All Christian Churches throughout the whole world (which, all joined together, make but one Catholic Church), should prepare bread and wine for the mystery of the flesh and precious blood of that immaculate Lamb, which took away the sins of the world; and when all lessons, prayers, rites, and ceremonies used in the solemn feast of Easter were done, should offer the same to God the Father in hope of their redemption to come."

This extract also describes one of the names of this Sacrament commonly prevalent amongst Christian teachers, viz., "The mystery or sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ."

It was also described as "the celebration of the most sacred mysteries"; "the celestial and mysterious sacrifice"; "the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ"; "the memorial of Christ's great passion," in addition to the older names of the Lord's Supper and Eucharist.¹

From the time of St. Ambrose—at the close of the fourth century—*Missa*, first used by that Father, and applied to every assembly for public worship,² evening as well as morning, became in time the brief and popular word for this holy service; but when Augustine came to Kent, the phrase "Sacrifice of the Mass" was not yet fashioned in the Western Church.³

In the vulgar tongue the religious service, in which the Holy Communion was celebrated and administered, was called the *Mass*, but the Sacrament itself was known as *the housel* down to the times of the Reformation.

I. The Holy Eucharist was considered by the Anglo-Saxons as one of *two* special ordinances, standing apart in importance from all other observances of the Christian religion—so much so that we are justified in saying that, if a little English child were asked in those days, "How many Sacraments hath Christ

¹ Vide Lingard's "Anglo-Saxon Church," vol. i., p. 290.

² Vide Bingham, "Antiq.," etc., lib. xii.

³ Vide Fulke's "Answers." *Missa* was first used by the Greeks in the "Tactics" of the Emperor Leo VI.—886 A.D. to 911 A.D. (vide Bingham, lib. xii., sec. 4).

ordained in His Church?" he might have answered, as our Catechism now puts it, "Two only." Bede, for instance, speaks of Baptism and the Eucharist as the very foundations of the Church.¹ In an Anglo-Saxon translation of a Homily of Bishop Lupus, now in the Bodleian Library, we read: "Two things are, through God's might, so great and important, that never can any man therein injure or diminish anything—Baptism and Eucharist hallowing."

Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, may fairly be cited as a witness upon this point, not only because of the well-known intimacy that existed between the Churches of his country and that of ours, but also from the fact that he had been a pupil of the Englishman Alcuin, who was the friend and tutor of Charles the Great. He says: "The Sacraments are Baptism and Chrism, and the Body and Blood."²

II. The Anglo-Saxons were taught to believe that the elements in the Lord's Supper after consecration constituted and remained a Sacrament—that is to say, a pledge and figure of the thing signified.

In touching upon this point, clearness and precision in the use of words are most necessary. Much of the confusion and controversy which has arisen regarding this Divine institution may be traced to the ambiguous use of terms. The word *sacrament* is used in *three* senses. It sometimes refers to the elements alone, sometimes to the thing signified, sometimes to the ordinance as a whole. It is accordingly difficult to understand what a writer or speaker means when he employs the word in a general sense. Archbishop Cranmer, in his able and learned work upon "The Lord's Supper," found it necessary to preface his book with an explanation of this word.³

¹ "Sicut enim ex latere Adam dormientis rata est Eva, ita ex latere Christi dormientis in cruce exierunt sacramenta, sanguis scilicet, et aqua, ex quibus constituta est Ecclesia" (Beda, In Ps. xli.).

² "Sunt autem sacramenta, Baptismum et Chrisma, Corpus et Sanguis, quæ ob id sacramenta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium rerum, virtus divina secretius salutem eorundem sacramentorum operatur, unde et a secretis virtutibus, vel a sacris, sacramenta dicuntur" (R. Maur., "De Institutione Clericorum," lib. i., c. 24).

³ "This word 'sacrament' I do sometimes use (as it is many times taken among writers and holy doctors) for the sacramental bread, water, or wine, as when they say that *sacramentum est sacræ rei signum*. But when I use to speak sometimes (as the old authors do) that Christ is in the Sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter—that is to say, not of Christ's carnal presence in the outward Sacrament, but sometimes of His sacramental presence. And sometimes by this word 'sacrament' I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the Sacraments, either of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper; and so the old writers many times do say that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine (which be only the outward visible Sacraments), but

It ought, therefore, to be clearly understood that the elements become the visible part of the Sacrament when they are consecrated; and that a Sacrament consists of two parts—the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace, or, as theologians put it, *sacramentum* and *res sacramenti*. The two parts, though connected, are distinct.¹

Now, it is reasonable to assume that Augustine taught at Canterbury the Eucharistic doctrine of his patron, Pope Gregory the Great. This pontiff revised the service book of the Roman Church, “taking away many things, changing a few, and adding several others,”² and produced what is known as the “Sacramentary of St. Gregory.” In that Sacramentary the following prayer found a place: “We, taking the pledge of eternal life, humbly implore that, sustained by Apostolical favours, we may apprehend by evident perception what we partake of in a figure in the Sacrament.”³

In the opinion of Gregory, the consecrated elements were a “pledge” and an “image,” or figure; and that Augustine did not advance upon this, the teaching of the centuries following his mission affords ample testimony. The same word “pledge” (*pignus*) is used by our Venerable Bede, who flourished about a century later, and it is found very commonly in the writings of the Gallican Church at this period. Bede's words are very striking: “Of [whom both now in the Sacraments of His flesh and blood the Church receives the pledge of life, and in the future will be blessed with the sight of His presence.”⁴

Before proceeding further, it is interesting to see how the word “pledge” was understood at this time. Bertram, the Corbie brother, supplies an explanation. “A pledge,” says

that in the due ministration of the Sacrament, according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and His Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same” (Cranmer, “On the Lord's Supper,” pref., Parker Society).

¹ There is a tendency among certain modern controversialists to divide a Sacrament into three parts—*sacramentum*, *res sacramenti*, and *virtus sacramenti*. Such a division is a manifest contradiction of the Church Catechism.

² Lingard, “Anglo-Saxon Church,” vol. i., p. 290, edit. 1845.

³ “*Pignus æternæ vitæ capientes, humiliter imploramus, ut apostolicis fulti patrociniis, quod imagine contingimus sacramenti, manifesta perceptione sumamus*” (Soames, Bampton Lectures, p. 395). This prayer has long lost its place in the printed Sacramentaries of St. Gregory, and in all other offices of the Roman Church. The omission is suggestive. “The Book of Bertram,” A.D. 840, has a similar prayer; probably it is a copy of St. Gregory's (sec. lxxxv.).

⁴ “*Cujus et nunc sacramentis carnis et sanguinis pignus vitæ accipit (ecclesia) et in futuro præsentis beatificabitur aspectu*” (Beda, In Prov., lib. i., c. 3, Opera, edit. Colon., 1688, tom. iv., c. 645).

he, "is instead of that for which it is given; an image is the image of that thing of which it bears the resemblance, for they signify those things of which they are signs, but they do not in reality exhibit them. Since this is the case, it appears that the body and blood are the pledge and image of something future, so that that which is now exhibited under a similitude shall hereafter be openly revealed."¹

Bede shows the general teaching of his day in his exposition of St. Luke, chap. xxii., where he says: "In the room of the flesh and blood of the lamb, Christ substituted the Sacrament of His body and blood in the figure of bread and wine."² This venerable teacher was evidently a student and an admirer of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, for he frequently quoted their writings in his own commentaries, and often without any reference to the source from which he obtained them. One short illustration of his use of St. Augustine may be seen in his exposition of Ps. iii.: "At the most holy Supper, in which He gave to His disciples the figure of His most sacred body and blood."³ It is manifest, therefore, from these illustrations (many more might be adduced) that in the first part of the eighth century the belief of the Anglo-Saxon Church was that the consecrated elements retained their characters of a pledge and figure.

A few decades later bring us to the times of Charles the Great, at whose Court our countryman Alcuin, the pupil of the Divinity School at York, held so high a place. The famous *Caroline Books*, generally attributed to Alcuin, repeatedly designate the term *sacramentum* as a *figure*, or *sacred sign*, in accordance with St. Augustine's definition.⁴ Consistently with this expression, the King wrote to Alcuin: "The Lord, when supping with His disciples, broke the bread, and similarly gave the cup to them in the figure of His body and blood, and so left to us a great Sacrament for our benefit."⁵ The prevalence of this teaching at this period is further seen from the writings of Christian Druthmar and Sedulius, both contemporary members of the religious house at Corbie, and both connected, more or less directly, with our

¹ "The Book of Bertram," clxxxvi.

² "Pro agni carne vel sanguine suæ carnis sanguinisque sacramentum in panis ac vini figura substituens," etc.

³ Augustine's words are: "Cum adhibuit ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit" (Ps. iii.).

⁴ Soames, *Bamp. Lect.*, p. 411. "Sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum" (Aug., "De Civ. Dei," lib. x., c. 5).

⁵ "Dominus, cœnando cum discipulis, panem fregit, et calicem pariter dedit eis in figuram corporis et sanguinis sui, nobisque profiturum magnum exhibuit sacramentum" (Carolus Magnus, "De ratione Septuages. ad Alcuinam": in "Alcuini Opera," c. 1150).

island Church.¹ Druthmar is said to have been a pupil of the Venerable Bede, by which is probably meant that he was an admirer and student of the monk of Jarrow's works; and Sedulius is described as a Hibernian Scot.²

Druthmar comments upon the Gospel of St. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, thus: "He gave to His disciples the Sacrament of His body for the remission of sins and maintenance of charity, in order that they, mindful of that fact, should always do *in a figure* this which would remind them of what He was about to do for them." And he proceeds to compare our Lord's action on this occasion to that of a person who, going on a journey, leaves to his beloved friends a bond of affection that they should not forget him.³

Sedulius also expresses himself in much the same manner as his fellow-monk Druthmar. Commenting upon 1 Cor. xi., he compares the memorial of the Lord's Supper to the pledge (*pignus*) left by a parting friend, in order to be reminded, as often as he shall see it, of the kindness and friendship of the giver.⁴ In further proof of the prevalent belief of the ninth century upon this point, John Scot (Erigena), tutor to King Alfred's children, adds his testimony. His book on the

¹ Corbie was situated in that part of France—Picardy—which was the highway of communication between Britain and the Continent.

² Vide Moreri, "Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique."

³ "*Deditque discipulis suis, et ait, accipite et comedite. hoc est corpus meum. Dedit discipulis suis sacramentum corporis sui in remissionem peccatorum, et conservationem charitatis, ut memores illius facti, semper hoc in figura facerent, quod pro eis acturus erat non oblivisceretur. Hoc est corpus meum, id est in sacramento. Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit, et dedit illis, dicens. Quia inter omnes vitæ alimonias cibus panis et vinum valent ad confirmandam et recreandam nostram infirmitatem, recte per hæc duo ministerium sui sacramenti confirmare placuit. Vinum namque et lætificat, et sanguinem auget. Et idcirco non inconvenienter sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur, quoniam quicquid nobis ab ipso venit lætificat lætitia vera, et auget omne bonum nostrum. Sicut denique si aliquis peregre proficiscens dilectoribus suis quoddam vinculum dilectionis relinquit, eo tenore ut omni die hæc agant, ut illius non obliviscantur: ita Deus præcepit agi a nobis, transferens spiritualiter corpus in panem, vinum in sanguinem, ut per hæc duo memoremus quæ fecit pro nobis de corpore et sanguine suo, et non simus ingrati tam amantissimæ charitati."* (In Matt. Evang., fol. 84, edit. 1514.)

Certain Roman Catholic critics of eminence have charged Protestants with corrupting Druthmar's text, but the accusation has been successfully refuted. It is worth observing, however, that such a charge is a proof that Druthmar's teaching was heretical in the opinion of these critics. For a full account of this criticism, vide "Eucharistic Worship in the English Church," p. 281, etc.; Haughton and Co., London.

⁴ "Suam memoriam nobis relinquit, quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat, ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias recordari" (In 1 Cor. xi.; Migne's "Patrologia," tom. ciii., c. 151).

Sacrament was condemned by the Synod of Vercelli under Leo IX., 1050 A.D.¹

For the teaching of the English Church in the century preceding the Norman Conquest, the evidence obtained from the Homilies of Ælfric is conclusive.² The following brief extract from his Homily for Easter is sufficient: "Why, then, is that holy housel called Christ's body or His blood, if it be not truly that it is called? Truly, the loaf and the wine, which by the mass of the priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to human understanding, and another thing they call within to believing minds. Without they be seen loaf and wine both in figure and taste; and they be truly after their hallowing Christ's body and His blood through ghostly mystery. . . . This mystery is a pledge and a figure; Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically until that become to the truth itself, and then is this pledge ended."³

III. The Anglo-Saxons were taught to believe that Christ's body and blood were truly and really—"verily and indeed"—present in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper sacramentally, spiritually, not carnally. The doctrine of a local presence in the elements was unknown to them.

The extracts already given in support of the previous heading might suffice for this assertion, but it is more satisfactory to produce direct proofs upon this matter.

Pope Gregory the Great, from his treatment of the Eutychian heretics, must have held the opinion of the Fathers, especially of that great favourite St. Augustine, that the presence of bodies is limited by space, and if these limits be taken away, "bodies will be nowhere, and because they will be nowhere, they have no being."⁴

¹ *Vide* Soames, Bamp. Lect., p. 417; and Brogden's "Catholic Safeguards," vol. ii., p. 450.

² There were two Ælfrics: one, Archbishop of Canterbury, died 1006 A.D.; the other, Archbishop of York, died 1051 A.D. (*vide* Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. i.; and Thorpe's "Preface to Homilies," Ælfric Society, vol. i.).

³ Soames, Bamp. Lect., p. 428; Usher's Works, vol. iii., p. 87. Roman Catholic writers, as Dr. Lingard and Dr. Rock, have tried each in his own way to dispose of Ælfric's testimony. The former is unwilling to accept him as "a faithful expositor of the faith of the Anglo-Saxon Christians" ("Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church," ii. 460); but he is answered by the fact that the Homilies received the approbation of Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, and were sanctioned by him for use in the pulpits of England (*vide* Soames, "Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times," p. 424). Dr. Rock ("Church of our Fathers," vol. i., p. 24) puts a gloss on Ælfric's words, which another quotation on the same page clearly shows to be untenable (*vide* "Eucharistic Worship in the English Church," pp. 125-127, published by Houghton and Co.).

⁴ "Spatia locorum tolle corporibus nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt" ("Aug. ad Dardanum," epis. 187).

"The body of the Lord," says St. Augustine, arguing against the Manichæan heretics, "in which He rose, must be in one place; His truth is spread abroad everywhere."¹ Consistently with the latter quotation, St. Gregory, commenting upon St. Matt. xxviii. 6, says: "He (Christ) is not here, it is said, by the presence of His flesh, and yet He will be absent nowhere by the presence of His Majesty."² "If," says Bishop Morton, "St. Gregory, once Bishop of Rome, had believed that Christ's body is whole in every least indivisible part of the Host, he would never have condemned the Eutychian heretic for believing the body of Christ to have been brought into such a subtilty that it cannot be felt. But a greater subtilty there cannot be than for a divisible body to be enclosed in every least invisible point. Show us this doctrine taught by any Catholic doctor in the Church, within the compass of twelve hundred years after Christ, and then shall we conceive better of your cause."³

It may therefore be fairly assumed that the Italian missionaries of 597 A.D. agreed with the opinion of their patron at Rome on the question of a corporeal presence. The following post-Communion prayer, found in one of the Anglo-Saxon offices still extant, and preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is testimony regarding the kind of doctrine taught by those Christian teachers: "Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that we may behold face to face, and enjoy truly and really in heaven, Him whom we see enigmatically, and under another species, by Whom we are sacramentally fed on earth."

This prayer distinctly expresses a belief in an "enigmatical" or mystical presence of Christ, not, however, in the sense of corporeal. The *sacramental feeding on earth* is contrasted with the *true and real enjoyment of Christ in heaven*. Such words would be entirely out of place in the mouth of anyone

¹ "Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit uno loco esse oportet: veritas ejus ubique diffusa est" (In Joan Evang., c. vii., Tract XXX. It is interesting to observe that this passage was found so damaging to the mediæval doctrine of the Real Presence, that "oportet" in the text was changed to "potest" (*vide* "Eucharistic Worship," etc., p. 144).

² "Non est hic, dicitur, per præsentiam carnis, qui tamen nusquam deerit per præsentiam majestatis" (Hom. XXI., Benec edit.).

³ "On the Eucharist," book iv., chap. viii. Most probably St. Gregory's commentary is based upon St. Augustine's words: "Secundum præsentiam majestatis semper habemus Christum: secundum præsentiam carnis, recte dictum est discipulis me autem non semper habebitis. Habuit enim illum Ecclesia secundum præsentiam carnis paucis diebus: modo fide tenet, oculis non videt" (In Joan Evang., Tract 50).

who believed that there was any other presence in the Lord's Supper than a *spiritual* one.¹

Explicit statements may be cited from writers of this period which cannot in any way be reconciled with the doctrine of a Real Presence locally in the elements. Bede, echoing the words of St. Augustine, says: "Christ, after a sort, was carried in His own hands."

The same old writer's references to our Lord's human nature and His human body are inconsistent with this mediæval doctrine. Thus: "For because He Himself is God and man, He was taken up into heaven in the human nature which He had taken upon Him on earth. He remains with the saints on earth in the Divinity which fills equally heaven and earth."² Again: "He, who was then in the world in bodily presence, is now present everywhere in the world in His Divine presence."³ Similar passages might be adduced.⁴

Christian Druthmar also says: "He was speaking of the presence of His body; because He was about to withdraw from them. For, in the presence of His divinity, He is with all His chosen ones, as He Himself said to His disciples after His resurrection, Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."⁵

In the time of Druthmar, the idea of a local corporeal

¹ Soames, Bamp. Lect., p. 418. This prayer may be compared with another post-Communion prayer in the Sarum Missal, used on the Vigil of the Ascension: "Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that by this Sacrament, which we have received, our devout affections may thither ascend, where Jesus Christ our Lord is with Thee in substance of our nature." Here most undoubtedly is the tradition of the earlier Catholic faith, that our blessed Lord in any corporeal sense is not to be found upon the altar, since He is "in substance of our nature" in heaven, where "our affections should ascend."

² "Quia enim ipse Deus et homo est, assumptus est in cælum humanitate quam de terra susceperat. manet cum sanctis in terra divinitate quæ terram pariter implet et cælum" (Hom. Æstiv. de tempore Fer., 6 Pasch.).

³ "Qui tunc corporali præsentia fuit in mundo, nunc divinâ præsentia præsens est ubique in mundo" (In Joan., c. 9).

⁴ "Non semper in terris corporaliter mansurus, sed per humanitatem quam assumpsi jam sum ascensus in cælum" (Hom. Æstiv. de temp. Domin. Jubilate).

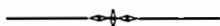
"Post resurrectionem ascendens in cælum eos corporaliter deseruit, quibus tamen divinæ præsentia majestatis numquam abfuit" (Hom. Æstiv. de temp. in Fest. Pentecostes).

"Habemus paraclitum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, quem etsi corporaliter videre nequimus, ea tamen quæ in corpore gessit et docuit in Evangeliiis scripta tenemus" (*ibid.*).

⁵ "De presentia corporis loquebatur: quia recessurus erat ab eis. Nam præsentia divinitatis adest omnibus electis suis, sicut ipse post resurrectionem suis discipulis dixit. Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem sæculi" ("Expositio in Passionem Dominicam").

presence in this Sacrament began to find expression amongst certain Continental teachers; but the opinion received general condemnation. Rabanus Maurus, who was regarded as the greatest divine of his age,¹ wrote in opposition to such teachers. He speaks of such persons as holding erroneous doctrine, and states that such an opinion was of recent origin. This latter assertion is of importance. He says that he had exerted himself to the utmost in a particular writing to expose the error of such a doctrine. His work, addressed to Heribold, principal chaplain to Charles the Bald, has, however, like the writings of many others who tried to oppose the introduction of novelties into the creed of the Church Catholic, been lost. The record of the work and its purpose has fortunately come down to us, thus: "For certain persons lately, not thinking rightly of the very Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, have said, This is the very body and blood of the Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which the Lord suffered upon the cross, and rose again from the grave. . . . To this error we, writing to the Abbot Egilone, have shown, as well as we could, what must be truly believed concerning the body itself."²

D. MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

ART. II.—THE AUGUSTINIAN DOCTRINE OF GRACE AND THE WILL.

THE sack of Rome by Alaric and his Goths³ closes a chapter in the world's history. For the time being men were too much stunned to realize what it meant. But there was an exception. At the opening of his "City of God"—that majestic treatise which is not merely the "epitaph of the ancient civilization,"⁴ but the epic of the Church militant and triumphant—St. Augustine glories in the unprecedented fact that,

¹ *Vide* Moreri, "Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique".

² "Nam quidam nuper, de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non rite sentientes, dixerunt: Hoc iusum corpus et sanguinem Domini, quod de Maria Virgine natum est, et in quo Dominus passus est in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro: . . . cui errori, quantum potuimus, ad Egilonem abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quod vere credendum sit aperuimus." Soames, Bamp. Lect., p. 417. *Vide* "The Romish Mass and the English Church," p. 66, published by Mackintosh, London.

³ August, 410.

⁴ J. W. Mackail, "Hist. of Lat. Lit.," p. 276.