

**THE EUCHARISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF
JOHN COSIN
AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE
1662 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER**

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Introduction

A hundred years after the inception of the English Reformation, the English Church was experiencing the establishment achieved during the reign of Elizabeth I. At this time a group of people called the Caroline Divines were contributing to the furtherance of the Church's doctrinal and liturgical life. One of the early of these divines is John Cosin.

In reading John Cosin I could see that he was very much in agreement with the Angelic Doctor and even with other modern theologians, such as Schillebeeckx, who have written about the Eucharist. This started to give shape to the present research.

In the last five hundred years or so it seems that a debate about the Eucharist has always preceded the promulgation of new liturgies. One is not mistaken to say that liturgies written by Reformed Churches and by the Council of Trent were done so in order to reflect the Eucharistic doctrine. The same happens in our own days. It seems that Eucharistic debate originated in France immediately after the Second World War and percolated to the realm of general discussion between the 1950s and 60s.¹ In the late 60s Vatican II promulgated its new liturgy, as did the Anglican Church with its Series I, II and III etc., the Eucharist being debated in the background.²

In the first chapter of this work I will outline the life of Cosin in order to present an idea of the context in which he lived and the events to which he reacted. His faithfulness to the values he held dearly led him into exile. Some hold that there he upheld the banished Anglican Church during the Protectorate. In fact he earned the title: "the Atlas of the Protestant Religion".³ I will try to point out the events and characters that inspired and shaped him. To achieve this I will use the writings of Cosin, the works of

¹PIET SCHOONENBERG, "Transubstantiation: How far is this Doctrine Historically Determined?", in HANS KÜNG (ed.), *Concilium*, Vol. 4 n. 3, April 1967.

²For example see The Windsor Statement, 1971.

³THOMAS FULLER, *The Worthies of England*, London, 1662, 295.

Hoffman⁴ and Osmond⁵ who studied John Cosin very carefully and add to their work by visiting other sources like Johnson.⁶

At the time of Cosin the Eucharist was still central to all religious debate; the doctrine about it was the test of orthodoxy itself. Cosin engaged in this debate on different levels, with the Romans, with Continental reformed theologians and within his own communion. In the second chapter, I will illustrate how John Cosin tackled this debate that preceded the promulgation of the Prayer Book of 1662. I will do so by looking closely at Cosin's major works on the topic. To achieve this I will use his "A Collection of Private Devotions; in practice of the Ancient Church, called the Hours of Prayer". This is a book of hourly devotions published by Cosin in 1627. I will make use of the edition of Stanwood and O'Connor⁷ and the one published in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (LACT), "Cosin's Works", Volume II. I will also use his Declaration on the Eucharist published in 1647 and his work "*Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*", (known also as: The History of Popish Transubstantiation), published posthumously in London in 1675. In doing this I aim to attain a clear description of Cosin's understanding of the Eucharist and show that it is the same doctrine upheld by the Fathers of the Church and developed by Tradition. Cosin's contribution to this debate is fundamental as he points in the right direction toward the positive doctrine of Real Presence that the Church of England holds, as is illustrated in its Liturgical Books and in the writings of its major exponents. In this process, I will attempt to point out the contemporary relevance of his work by comparing his writing to some modern theologians.

The teaching of Cosin about the Eucharist is Catholic in the sense that it belongs to the whole Church down through the ages; it is in unison with the Ancient Church but even with modern writers. At his time what he said was so distinctive that it provoked the anger not only of those who did not belong to his communion, like the Romans in France, but even those who belonged to the Church of England, like Peter Smart and other Puritan divines. Other secondary sources will be used to better illustrate the work of Cosin on this front. One might say without fear of error that Cosin left no available stone unturned in order to illustrate with precision what the Church believes about the Eucharist.

In the third chapter, I will point out the liturgical contribution of Cosin. He is considered by many to be a liturgist, and quite rightly so; he dedicated many hours to the study of the Book of Common Prayer and wrote copious suggestions about how a proper revision might shape a future Prayer Book. His liturgical expertise secured for him membership of the Savoy Conference and in fact for some time he was its secretary. Cosin was familiar with many different rites and liturgies. He knew the Sarum rite, the Roman rite and the rites of the Reformation, but above all else he knew the Prayer Book, that of 1549 being his model and source of inspiration. The Prayer Book of 1549 is more faithful to the Eucharistic understanding of the Church as understood by Cosin. In this work I point out his liturgical suggestions for 1662 - what he was successful in securing, and what he was not. I will focus mainly on the Communion

⁴ JOHN GREGORY HOFFMAN, *John Cosin, 1595-1672: Bishop of Durham and Champion of the Caroline Church*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA, 1977.

⁵ PERCY H OSMOND, *A Life of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham 1660-1672*, A. R. Mowbray, Oxford, 1913.

⁶ MARGOT JOHNSON, *John Cosin, Papers presented to a Conference to celebrate the 400th Anniversary of his birth*, Thurnstone Ventures, Durham, 1997.

⁷ PG STANWOOD AND DANIEL O'CONNOR, *John Cosin: A Collection of Private Devotions*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1967.

Office. The resources used are the three series of annotations on the Prayer Book as found in the fifth volume of Cosin's work in the Library of Anglo Catholic Theology (LACT) and the so-called Durham Book as edited by G. Cuming. This chapter will point out as well that many suggestions by Cosin not taken up in 1662 found their way in subsequent liturgical revisions, some of them in the new liturgies of the Church of England called Common Worship.⁸ It is wise to keep in mind that no single man since Thomas Cranmer has exercised such an influence on the English Liturgy.⁹

In the last chapter, I try to outline where Cosin's Eucharistic beliefs stand in the mosaic of the general ecclesiastical debate about the Eucharist. I will try to point out what he has in common with central eucharistic doctrine, and how in fact he is in line with the Church Fathers, Aquinas, and the modern consensus. This will demonstrate that Cosin was not simply an innovator or a reactionary against Puritanism, but that he went to great lengths to find the best available and when he found the hidden gem, hidden by endless controversies, he proclaimed it strongly to his generation leaving strong echoes in our own time and a fine example to subsequent generations.

Chapter 1

John Cosin: His life and its context

In this chapter I intend to offer a brief biography of Bishop Cosin and to point out some of the formative events that helped shape his thought and his work. His life is the result of the reactions he had with his everyday experiences and to fully understand him one has to see the context of his time, the turbulent time following the English Reformation and the Elizabethan settlement. In his times, doctrine was refined and rubrics codified in order to understand the recently established Church. The contacts he had and the context in which he lived made him a key player in all this.

John Cosin was born on St. Andrew's day, 30th November 1595, in Norwich.¹⁰ He was the eldest surviving son to Giles Cosin, a tradesman of Norwich, and Elizabeth Remington of Remington Castle.¹¹ John had six sisters,¹² and two brothers, of one of whom, Pet [sic], nothing is known other than the baptismal record.¹³ The Norwich of his childhood was a hotbed of Puritanism. The diocese produced a considerable number of martyrs during the Marian reaction.¹⁴ Norwich had an absentee bishop, a non-resident chapter and a cathedral building almost reduced to ruins. In 1609, from among its thirty-one churches,¹⁵ two churches in Norwich had no sacred vessels for the administration of Holy Communion and six had no surplice.¹⁶ From 1610 until 1614 he attended the Norwich Grammar School, near to the

⁸ Authorised for use on Advent Sunday 2000.

⁹ GEOFFREY J CUMING, *The Durham Book, Being The First Draft of The Revision Of The Book Of Common Prayer in 1661*, Oxford University Press, London, 1961, xv and STANWOOD AND O'CONNOR, xx.

¹⁰ JOHNSON, 7.

¹¹ HOFFMAN, 1.

¹² OSMOND, 3.

¹³ JOHNSON, 8.

¹⁴ HOFFMAN, 2.

¹⁵ NIGEL KERR (ed.), *Sir John Betjeman's Guide to English Parish Churches*, HarperCollins Publishers, London, 1993, 384.

¹⁶ OSMOND, 4.

Cathedral. His master was Richard Briggs.¹⁷ The school had a very good reputation and Archbishop Matthew Parker had been a pupil there.¹⁸ Most probably Cosin made use of Norwich's public library.¹⁹ At the time the number of pupils was a little under a hundred. The school provided for the intellectually fit and required some intellectual preparation and prosperity on the part of the students' families. Scholars were required to attend for five and a half days a week from dawn till evening. Daily prayers, instruction in the Catechism and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, and regular church attendance were mandatory.²⁰

When Cosin was thirteen, his father died and left him several houses, which he gave up for his mother reserving twenty pounds for his maintenance in Cambridge. Norwich Grammar School was, for many, a stepping-stone to Gonville and Caius College in Cambridge. Between 1559 and 1678 three hundred and ninety five students went to Caius through the Norwich Grammar School.²¹ Cosin was admitted as a scholar to Caius on the 25th March 1610. At the time, the Master of Caius was William Brantwaite. A fellow of Caius, William Barrett, was the first man to feel the wrath of the Puritan attack against the emerging Arminian party.

One can say that at Norwich Cosin was exposed to Puritanism and had received a lot of emphasis at school on the Prayer Book, the Catechism and the Articles. On the other hand, at Cambridge he found three different currents in the Church. Those who were still in some sense attached to the idea of having a Church as it was before the reformation but without the Pope, those who wanted the Church to conform to Geneva, and those who wanted the Church to be a Middle Way. These three currents seem to have been present in the Church of England since the time of the English Reformation. The traditionalist current, believing that the Church had to be Catholic but without the Pope, had Bishop Stephen Gardiner as its main exponent. The other current was deeply influenced by the continental reformers and wanted to fashion the English Church on the principles of that reformation. These developed into the 'Puritans' of Cosin's time. However, others wanted the English Church to be unique and a sort of Middle Way (*Via Media*) between these two trends. As early as 1535 the English Church was already claimed to be a *Via Media*. Thomas Starkey in his 'An Exhortation to the People', wrote that the right path lies somewhere between those who: "stiffly stick in the old ceremonies and rites of the Church...and on the other side, the arrogance of those who indiscriminately deny all pious customs, and will accept nothing but Scripture – and Scripture interpreted after their own fancy..."²² Five years later, in 1540, Thomas Cromwell in his speech at the reopening of Parliament called the nation to pursue a middle path between Romish superstition and licentious heresy.²³ The need of such language existed, as already by the 1520s there was a group of religious reformists with inclinations towards the continental reformations and many others (the vast majority of the population up to the 1540s) still wanting to pursue the traditional way.²⁴

¹⁷ JOHNSON, 10.

¹⁸ OSMOND, 4.

¹⁹ HOFFMAN, 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

²² As quoted in AG DICKENS, *The English Reformation*, BT Batsford Ltd., London, 1964, 179.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ DIARMAID MACCULLOCH, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1996, 2-3.

The reign of Elizabeth I is seen as the reign during which the Church was established. However, the different currents or trends remained and one could say were becoming stronger. On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, James VI of Scotland was invited to unite the two crowns of Scotland and England. He became James I of England. Although Scottish Presbyterians brought him up, on reaching manhood he reacted against their religion, though perhaps for reasons that were more political than religious.²⁵ On his way south from Scotland, the Puritans presented him with the ‘Millenary Petition’ said to have been subscribed by a thousand puritan clergy.²⁶ The king listened to their demands but referred them to a conference that was held at Hampton Court in the winter of 1604. In this conference the bishops agreed to reform abuses.²⁷ Five Puritans²⁸ debated with the bishops, but their debate was brought, to an end by the king’s warning that if the Puritans did not conform he would ‘harry them out of the land.’²⁹ The royal decisions were announced and the Puritans promised to obey them. The positive results of the conference were a list of points that several committees of the bishops and privy councillors were to put into execution, and later, in 1611, the Authorised Version of the Bible.³⁰ It is interesting to note that the debate between Bishop Richard Bancroft and Edward Reynolds was in fact the reappearance of the old tension between a *Via Media* (Bancroft) and a Calvinistic Church (Reynolds).³¹ At Cambridge Cosin was exposed to these various trends and one will not be mistaken to say that there he made up his mind on which trend best represented the reformation of the English Church. The emerging party was the one to be labelled as Arminian, with a high doctrine of the Sacraments and a stress on codified liturgy – in everything faithful to the Church of the Fathers. Cosin took up that vision and dedicated his life to it.

The university education on offer to John Cosin was characterised with logical formalities, the overpowering authority of Aristotle and dialectical systematisation. In Caius logic, rhetoric and ethics were taught. Theology was still primarily Scholastic and the primary reference for all studies.³² College life was very disciplined. The usual day would start at 5.00 a.m. in Chapel, followed by breakfast and private study with the tutor. Dinner was held at noon in the Hall as soon as Lectures and Disputations were over. Dinner was followed by some more Disputations and free time. The day came to a close with Evening Prayer, supper and early bed.³³ At college, Cosin developed a warm friendship with Oliver Naylor and Eleazar Duncan, later his colleague in Durham.³⁴ Both Bishop John Overall and Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, both of the ‘Arminian’ school, took notice of John Cosin and offered to take him up without interfering with his studies. On the advice of his tutor he entered the service of Bishop Overall as his secretary and librarian.³⁵ This was a fateful decision as he shared Overall’s considerable liturgical

²⁵ EDWARD H SYMONDS, *What happened at the English Reformation?*, Church Union, London, n.d., 55.

²⁶ JOHN RH MOORMAN, *A History of the Church in England*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1953, 233.

²⁷ OLLARD SL, CROSSE GORDON, BOND MORRIS F (eds.), *A Dictionary of English Church History*, Mowbray, London, Oxford, New York, 1948, 266.

²⁸ These were: Reynolds, Spark, Chaderton, John Knewstubs and Feilde.

²⁹ OLLARD, 266.

³⁰ OLLARD, 266.

³¹ *Ibid.*, under “Hampton Court Conference”.

³² HOFFMAN, 5-7.

³³ JOHNSON, 11.

³⁴ OSMOND, 5-6.

³⁵ JOHNSON, 13.

interests.³⁶ For the rest of his life he called Bishop Overall as “My dear Lord and Master”. In 1617, Cosin obtained his M.A. In 1619, he was admitted as a Fellow Commoner and in May of that same year, after the death of Bishop Overall, he became the domestic chaplain to Bishop Neile of Durham this starting his long connection with that See.³⁷ In these same years, it is most probable that he was made deacon and ordained priest by Bishop Overall or by Bishop Richard Neile.³⁸ As domestic chaplain to Bishop Neile he spent a lot of time in Durham House, the Bishop of Durham’s residence in London. The Puritans regarded Durham House, which because of the scholarly men in it was known as Durham College, as a house that preached Arminianism and practised popery. Here Cosin associated with men of high Anglican views, Bishop Neile himself being an early patron of William Laud. Here, too, Cosin met his life-long friend Richard Montague. In 1626, Francis White was consecrated as bishop of Carlisle in the chapel of Durham House. Cosin preached at length in praise of the Episcopal office, a sermon that aroused great anger in Puritan circles.³⁹ As a result of his work with Bishop Overall and his stay in Durham house John Cosin came to be deeply interested in the Liturgy of the English Church. Like all his friends he used the Prayer Book of 1604 but took the line that the ideal Prayer Book was that of 1549 and that the doctrine of the Church of England is truly Catholic and Reformed.

In 1624, Bishop Neile appointed Cosin as Master of Greatham Hospital in County Durham. Cosin exchanged it immediately for the benefice of St. Peter’s Elwick, near Hartlepool.⁴⁰ It appears that he never lived in Elwick but appointed a curate to look after the Parish under his supervision.⁴¹ On 4th December 1624, he was installed as tenth prebendary in the Cathedral Church of Durham, and so began his official connection with the foundation on which he was to leave so deep an impression. He was not yet thirty years of age and must have been the youngest member of the chapter.⁴² For the coronation of King Charles I, which took place on the 2nd February 1625, he was appointed as Master of Ceremonies. It is for this service that he translated into English the *Veni Creator Spiritus* which was later included in the Ordinal of 1662.⁴³ To the King he had a strong devotion and his loyalty to the crown never wavered even in the most difficult times of the Commonwealth.

In September 1625, Cosin became the Archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire. Cosin’s most important work was his 1627 visitation. In the articles of visitation, which still survive, Cosin inquired into corruption in presentations of benefices, the nature of ordinations and the educational level of the clergy. He inquired into their conformity to the Laudian practices such as the daily recitation of the whole service, the use of the surplice, baptism in the font, the sign of the cross in baptism, frequent catechising and communion and a strict obedience and adherence to the Canons and Rubrics.⁴⁴ All this is evidence of

³⁶ KENNETH STEVENSON, *Covenant of Grace Renewed, A vision of the Eucharist in the seventeenth century*, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1994, 87.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ JOHNSON, 13-5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁰ OSMOND, 15.

⁴¹ JOHNSON, 16.

⁴² OSMOND, 17.

⁴³ JOHNSON, 18.

⁴⁴ COSIN, II, 2-16. As an Archdeacon within the York diocese, Cosin was involved in a dispute at Leeds. A local clothier and pious man, John Harrison, built a church to provide for the ever-growing parish of Leeds. A long controversy developed between him and Richard Neile, now Archbishop of York, about the legal status of the Parish and about who would appoint the

the dedication he had towards Laudian values. In June 1626, Cosin was presented to the living of Brancepeth in Durham by Charles I. Cosin was extremely active and involved in Brancepeth, which for a time he even considered the church that could be his last resting place. After the Restoration he embellished the church with fine woodwork in the style later known as Cosin woodwork.⁴⁵

On the 15th August 1626 he married Frances Blackiston, daughter of Marmaduke Blackiston of Newton Hall. From this marriage he had seven children. Of the three boys, two died in infancy and the one who survived was John. John defected to Rome and was ordained as a Roman priest on the 24th February 1657; his father never got over his son's defection.⁴⁶ The four daughters were Mary (who was the comfort of Cosin's old age), Elizabeth (who married four times), Frances and Anne.⁴⁷ A year after his marriage he was requested by the King to compile an Anglican version of the Book of Hours used by the Roman Catholic ladies-in-waiting of Queen Henrietta Maria. This he did and named it 'A Book of Private Devotions'. This book will be discussed later on in this work.

Cosin devoted a large amount of time to work in Durham Cathedral. His guiding principle here, as in all other churches under his care and as in all his liturgical studies, was the beauty of holiness, only the best may be used in the worship of God. In his work at Durham Cathedral, he found a strong ally in his old friend from Caius, Eleazar Duncan, who was installed Prebendary in 1628. However, he had people who did not share his views on the changes that he was introducing. Without doubt, the major attacks on him came from another Prebendary of the same Chapter, Peter Smart. The wooden table used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which was placed by the East wall when not in use and lengthways in the middle of the choir for the service, was replaced by a stone altar at the East end of the choir by Dean Richard Hunt. Although it was built before the arrival of John Cosin, he was accused of responsibility for its use.⁴⁸ In 1627, possibly at Cosin's suggestion, vestments were re-introduced in the Cathedral services.⁴⁹ He was also responsible for the large and impressive patrimony of Sacred Music that he left in the Cathedral.⁵⁰ On the 7th July 1628, Peter Smart preached his sermon against Cosin and his innovations. This sermon was the spark of one of the most celebrated disputes within the English Church in the early seventeenth century. This controversy was resolved in 1640, twelve years later,⁵¹ although one might also say that Cosin was rehabilitated when chosen to be the bishop of Durham. Smart, in his sermon, listed among the accusations against him and his allies the stone altar, the vestments, the putting up of fifty angels around the quire, the use of 220 candles and 16 torches for Candlemas, the introduction of hideous music⁵² and the bowing down before the altar. The Dean and Chapter felt that such profane scurrility had

Vicar. Both sides wanted its patronage. Cosin was involved in the negotiations and an agreement was reached. The Archbishop consecrated the church of St. John's Briggate in September 1634, and Cosin preached at the service. See: *Ibid.*, 83. In the nineteenth century a window depicting John Cosin preaching at the Consecration Service was installed. This church has many examples of what is known as Cosin's woodwork. See: JOHNSON, 64.

⁴⁵ HOFFMAN, 60-77. Unfortunately, the church of St. Brandon in Brancepeth was destroyed by fire early in the morning of the 16th September 1998. See: www.brancepethchurch.org/frstpage.htm as on 3rd April 2000.

⁴⁶ JOHNSON, 64.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁸ HOFFMAN, 111-2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 108ff.

⁵¹ JOHNSON, 126.

⁵² Cosin was following the Injunctions of 1552.

gone far enough and immediately after the sermon they took legal action against Smart. Within a few hours Smart was suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiae*⁵³ and his stall was soon sequestered. As soon as this occurred, Cosin's action, except as defendant, ended, and he cannot be blamed for the subsequent misfortunes of Smart.⁵⁴

In 1633, Charles I stopped in Durham whilst making royal progress to Scotland. The splendid services held in the Cathedral Church in the King's presence were organised by Cosin. On Bishop Neile's recommendation he was sworn in as one of the King's Chaplains-in-Ordinary, as a token of appreciation for his hard work.⁵⁵ The King visited Durham once more in 1637.

In 1635, Cosin was appointed Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge. There he worked both for the advancement of the library and for the advancement of his notion of the beauty of holiness in the chapel. He had serious accusations made against him later because of the improvements he was responsible for in the chapel.⁵⁶ In 1639, Cosin was made Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. After the second Bishops' War broke out in August 1640 his Durham income suffered badly. Due to this, Charles I appointed him as Dean of Peterborough, an appointment he took up on 7th November 1640.⁵⁷

On 13th April 1640, Parliament met and Peter Smart presented a petition for an enquiry into his wrongs. Smart's objections fell into three main categories: 1. the Arminians' alleged misdoings, which he attacked in the sermon; 2. the treatment he received after preaching the sermon; and 3. Cosin's purported denial of the royal supremacy.⁵⁸ In spite of how Cosin justly defended himself, he was imprisoned and after a few days released on bail. Later he was condemned by Parliament and declared unfit and unworthy to hold office in universities or any ecclesiastical preferment. Cosin was deprived from Dean of Peterborough.⁵⁹ Smart was restored to his Durham prebend and the vicarage of St. Andrew's Aycliffe.⁶⁰

On Annunciation day 1642, John lost his wife, Frances, during childbirth. While the child, Anne, was being baptised, the mother lay in the same building on a bier, to be carried to her grave.⁶¹ Frances is buried in the north choir aisle of Peterborough Cathedral.⁶²

On 13th March 1643, the Earl of Manchester ejected Cosin from the Mastership of Peterhouse. At the same time he was ordered to go to Paris and serve as an Anglican minister to the growing community of exiles.⁶³ Sometime between late August 1643 and May 1644, he said goodbye to his motherless family of five and left the country.⁶⁴ Cosin was the royal chaplain to the Anglicans in the court of Henrietta Maria, where Anglicans were much more numerous than Romans. He was given quarters at the Louvre together with a room to serve as chapel; he was given an income and the freedom to minister to his flock. Later, however, Henrietta Maria was asked by the Queen Regent to dismiss Cosin, and so she did. She

⁵³ HOFFMAN, 132.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 112ff.

⁵⁵ OSMOND, 60.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁸ HOFFMAN, 128.

⁵⁹ STEVENSON, 86.

⁶⁰ JOHNSON, 29.

⁶¹ OSMOND, 103

⁶² *Ibid.*, 104.

⁶³ HOFFMAN, 212.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

arranged for services to be held in the residence of the English Ambassador, Sir Richard Browne (1605-83), who was to play an important part in keeping the Church of England alive among the Paris exiles. Cosin officiated in the Chapel at the English Embassy.⁶⁵ King Charles I was martyred on the 30th January 1649. Cosin's pension was withdrawn immediately and he was placed under great pressure to join the Roman Church. When bribes did not work he was threatened with assassination.⁶⁶ In Paris, Cosin suffered from different things: from ill health, from a cataract, from lack of money and from his only son defecting to Rome.⁶⁷ During his exile he wrote his famous *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*, which will be discussed later in this work. He also wrote 'A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture',⁶⁸ a lengthy treatise against the inclusion of the so-called Apocrypha in the Canon of the Scriptures. This work was published in 1657 and reprinted in 1672 and 1683. In Paris, Cosin met Jean Durel and Daniel Brevint, both Jersey Huguenots. He not only preached but also presented them when both were ordained as deacons and priests by Bishop Thomas Sydserff of Galloway in Sir Richard Browne's chapel on Trinity Sunday, 25th June 1651.⁶⁹ Cosin and Brevint differ in their backgrounds, but a link remained in that after the exile Brevint followed Cosin's footsteps in a prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral and the living of Brancepeth while Cosin was Bishop. Durel maintained a strong admiration for Cosin; it was he who published posthumously Cosin's work on Transubstantiation.⁷⁰ Cosin's condition in Paris was getting worse and he had a grave financial crisis. He was contemplating selling the books of his library, but the death of Cromwell and the Restoration saved him. On 19th June 1660, John Cosin arrived in Cambridge; the long exile was over.⁷¹ His daughters in England must have been impoverished; the Lord Protector granted twenty shillings a week from 20th October 1657 for Mary's upkeep and the support of her sisters.⁷²

Back in the Cathedral of Peterborough Cosin restored worship according to the Book of Common Prayer. He opened negotiations for the restoration of his livings in County Durham and for his Archdeaconry. It was suggested that he should become Dean of Durham, but he was appointed as Bishop of Durham in 1660. On the 2nd December he was consecrated in Westminster Abbey. Due to the privilege of the Bishops of Durham he stood on the right hand side of Charles II at his Coronation service.⁷³ In August 1661, Cosin took possession of his diocese.⁷⁴ Immediately, he started to administer confirmation and receive duly instructed men into holy orders.⁷⁵ He preached in various churches of the diocese and at St. Nicholas' church in Newcastle he had between three to four thousand auditors.⁷⁶ One of the major contributions to his diocese was the visitations he conducted in 1662, 1665 and 1668.

⁶⁵ JOHNSON, 34.

⁶⁶ HOFFMAN, 220.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 221.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 229.

⁶⁹ STEVENSON, 85-6.

⁷⁰ COSIN, IV, 5-9.

⁷¹ HOFFMAN, 256.

⁷² JOHNSON, 36.

⁷³ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁴ HOFFMAN, 308. Since 1396, the Bishops of Durham, before being enthroned in their Cathedral Church walk across the River Tees from the Bridge that lies between Croft and Hurworth. Half way through they are presented by the falchion, which, according to legend, was the sword used to slay a dragon that harmed the local people. This custom is still maintained.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 311ff.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Cosin restored the Bishop's Manor House at Darlington.⁷⁷ He also restored Auckland Castle in Bishop Auckland. He remodelled the Great Hall as the new chapel of the Castle and not only provided for the church but also took provisions for it to be his final resting place. He consecrated the church on 29th June 1665.⁷⁸ He restored Durham Castle and undertook various restoration works and commissioned new works for Durham Cathedral. He founded almshouses at Durham and Bishop Auckland and founded the library of Durham that today still bears his name.⁷⁹ Cosin's work in the Savoy Conference and in the formation of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer is related in detail later on in this work.

Cosin found the winter in Durham too hard for his failing health. He suffered increasingly from 'the stone'. For this reason he rented a house in Pall Mall, London, and went to live there. Although in great pain he still ventured out to church against medical advice. He used to say that: "when his body was unfit to serve and honour God, 'twas fit to go to the dust from whence it came."⁸⁰ His last day on earth was the 15th January 1672. After blessing his children and those around him he received Holy Communion. He was distressed as he could not kneel and therefore declared: "Lord, I bow the knee of my heart."⁸¹ After receiving Communion under both kinds he frequently repeated the prayer: "Lord Jesus come quickly."⁸² His last act was the elevation of his hand, his last word was "Lord!"⁸³

Cosin's wish was to be buried in Auckland Castle, but January was not the time to do travelling due to bad weather and bad roads. His body was embalmed and placed in a lead coffin.⁸⁴ On 19th April 1672 the funeral procession left his house at Pall Mall to the end of Gray's Inn where it proceeded to Durham. His body arrived in Durham on Saturday 27th April and was left in the Cathedral till Monday 29th April whence it was taken to the Chapel in Bishop Auckland.⁸⁵ There, an Evening Service was held in which Isaac Basire preached the sermon and the Bishop of Bristol officiated.⁸⁶

In his will Cosin left money to the poor of his hospitals, the poor who attended his funeral and other charitable donations among which were three hundred pounds towards the redemption of the Christian slaves in Algiers. He remembered all his friends, and to those dead he honoured their memory by erecting monuments. All his buildings in Durham were bequeathed to his successors.⁸⁷ A statement of faith was prefixed to the bishop's will. In it he declared that the thought of death was always before him, asked forgiveness for his sins and thanked God for "faithful and virtuous parents." He stated his faithfulness to the Church of England and forgiving his enemies he appealed to God to cleanse him from sin: "that at the last hour of my life, which I daily look for, I may be carried by His holy Angels into

⁷⁷ This Episcopal residence stood next to the Collegiate Church of St. Cuthbert in Darlington. Its last use was as a workhouse and was demolished by the Victorians. The Civic Centre now occupies the site of the house.

⁷⁸ JOHNSON, 46.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 46-52.

⁸⁰ HOFFMAN, 358.

⁸¹ OSMOND, 300.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ HOFFMAN, 359.

⁸⁴ JOHNSON, 54.

⁸⁵ OSMOND, 303.

⁸⁶ HOFFMAN, 360.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Abraham's bosom, and, being placed in the fellowship of his saints and elect, may enjoy eternal felicity."⁸⁸

Chapter 2

John Cosin: his understanding of the Eucharist

In this chapter I intend to outline Cosin's eucharistic understanding by revisiting his main work on the eucharistic doctrine, the treatise *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*.⁸⁹ In this work he outlines the reformed eucharistic understanding as opposed to that of the Roman Church, which can be easily summed up in the term 'transubstantiation', as codified and promulgated by the Council of Trent.⁹⁰ Moreover, the eucharistic understanding of John Cosin can be also traced in many of his works, sermons, in his liturgical ideas⁹¹ and the style of church furnishings that he introduced or encouraged. His 'A Collection of Private Devotions'⁹² and his 'Declaration on the Eucharist'⁹³ will be used to illustrate what Cosin believed on the matter. I suggest that it is important to study Cosin's work on this subject as he represents one of the early Laudians who passionately held to his beliefs, who also passionately believed that the Church of England is in full communion with the Church of the Fathers and stands against the corruptions of Rome and Geneva. Furthermore, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter 3 of this work, his beliefs had a bearing on the final result of the 1662 Prayer Book which formed and sustained the Church of England for many years and on subsequent liturgical revisions.

2.1. The 'A Collection of Private Devotions; in practice of the Ancient Church, called the Hours of Prayer.'

This work belongs to an old tradition of Christian devotion, and the provision it makes for the observance of the canonical hours associates it with an older and more universal tradition.⁹⁴ Professor H. Boone Porter claims that since its publication it has been the classical English order for the Canonical Hours, and that it has a unique place in the Anglican tradition. Boone Porter holds that next to the versions of the Prayer Book itself it has been the most important liturgical compilation since the Reformation.⁹⁵ Daniel O'Connor maintains that it is a little masterpiece, while Kenneth Stevenson

⁸⁸ COSIN, *IV*, 521ff.

⁸⁹ COSIN, *IV*, 1ff.

⁹⁰ Cosin never recognised this as a council and called it the Synod of Trent.

⁹¹ This is to be discussed in chapter 3.

⁹² COSIN, *II*, 83ff.

⁹³ THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SURTEES SOCIETY, *The Correspondence of John Cosin*, Vol. 52, part I, London, 1869, 233ff. called from hence, Correspondence II.

⁹⁴ H.C. WHITE, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, Madison, Wisconsin, n.d., 151, Chapters III and IV.

⁹⁵ H. BOONE PORTER, *Cosin's Hours of Prayer: A Liturgical Review*, in *Theology* 56 (1953), 54-8.

suggests that this work emerged as an important supplement to the Prayer Book.⁹⁶ This book was based on a publication called *Orarium*, a Latin version of the official Primer, which appeared in 1560.⁹⁷ This devotional book was published in 1627. (It is in this publication that appears the famous version of the ‘*Veni Creator Spiritus*’ - ‘Come Holy Ghost our souls inspire still in use today.) The Private Devotions, a real example in Cosin’s works of gunpowder wrapped up in cotton wool,⁹⁸ brought forth scathing criticism from Henry Brown and a ferocious attack by William Prynne. More recently, it has been criticised in an article by Bryan D. Spinks, where he concludes that Cosin’s collection was not in line with the mainstream Church of England of the time and therefore not representative of genuine Anglicanism.⁹⁹ Although this work is not formed in accordance with the Calvinist tradition and language of piety,¹⁰⁰ it is steeped in the Laudian tradition and in the belief of the Real Presence in the Eucharist,¹⁰¹ it is faithful to the Church of the Fathers and the first councils, and it is therefore representative of genuine Anglicanism. Calvinism is not the measure of true Anglicanism. In compiling the Collection, Cosin went beyond 1549 and provided an integral and homogeneous private complement to the common prayer of the Church.¹⁰² Some hold that it was first published for the benefit of the Protestant ladies at the court of the queen of Charles I, Henrietta Maria. Her Roman Catholic ladies used their breviaries in the royal antechambers, and Cosin’s work was intended to be “as like to their pocket offices as he could, with regard to the ancient forms before popery”.¹⁰³ Others hold that it was published for the Countess of Denbigh.¹⁰⁴ This Collection of Private Devotions was held in high esteem by the High Churchmen but fiercely attacked by the Puritans. If the Collection is compared with Puritan books of piety one will find that the difference lies not in doctrinal content, but in devotional atmosphere. The eccentric Puritan Prynne was scandalised because Cosin seized upon the more conservative parts of the Prayer Book and lifted them into prominence. Prynne was jarred by the word ‘devotion’, disliked the phrase ‘Ancient Church’, the assumption that pictures and images were lawful, and the open opportunity for private confession. Cosin claimed authority from the early years of Queen Elizabeth. Prynne declared that in those years the popish relics had not been so fully cleansed as afterwards, and that Cosin was wrongfully attempting to “rack and screw them to our agéd and noontide seasons of the Gospel”.¹⁰⁵ When comparing what Prynne was putting forward with the sources of Anglicanism one cannot but conclude that Prynne

⁹⁶ JOHNSON, 194 and 214.

⁹⁷ GEOFFREY CUMING, *The Anglicanism of John Cosin, The Durham Cathedral Lecture 1975*, published by the Dean and Chapter of Durham. now CUMING AJC)

⁹⁸ STEVENSON, 91.

⁹⁹ BRYAN D SPYNKS, What was wrong with Mr Cosin’s Couzening Devotions? Deconstructing an Episode in Seventeenth-Century Anglican ‘Liturgical Hagiography’, in *Worship* (July 2000), 308-29.

¹⁰⁰ CHADWICK OWEN, *The Reformation, The Pelican History of the Church* 3, England, 1964, 227.

¹⁰¹ STANWOOD AND O’CONNOR, xxxi.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, xxxiii.

¹⁰³ CHADWICK, 227.

¹⁰⁴ JULIAN DAVIES, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church, Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, 24.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

was very innovative and not in line with the Prayer Book. In the Preface, Cosin argues that those who say that the Church of England has "...cast behinde us the Blessed Sacraments of Christs Catholicke Church: that these men doe little else but betray their owne infirmities, and have more violence and wil, than reason or judgement for what they say...".¹⁰⁶

John Cosin always emphasised the importance of frequent attendance at the Eucharist and went to great lengths to demonstrate that the Prayer Book intended frequent celebrations. He always pointed out the need of frequent reception of Communion. In fact, when discussing the Precepts of the Church, Cosin lists as the fifth precept the following: "To receive the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ with frequent devotion, and three times a yeere at least, of which times Easter to be alwaies one."¹⁰⁷ This contrasts with the Roman precept of receiving communion once a year, at least at Easter time,¹⁰⁸ and the Independents receiving weekly and the Presbyterians every quarter.¹⁰⁹ Cosin, in line with the Prayer Book, suggests confession before receiving communion for better preparation and to quieten disturbed consciences.¹¹⁰

In the latter part of the Collection, there is a group of four sets of prayers for use concerning the Eucharist.¹¹¹ This part is called "Devout prayers that may be used before and after receiving of Christ's Holy Sacrament, his blessed Body and Blood".¹¹² That the soul should focus on God before, during and after the celebration of the Eucharist is shown by the meticulous preparation that Cosin offers. The Sacred Scriptures provide for him a rich collection from which to pick the best heavenly aspirations for the proper disposition of the faithful. This part starts with verses from Psalms, Psalm 51 and verses from scriptures to recite upon entering the church and when prostrating in front of the Altar.¹¹³ Following this there is a scriptural verse to be said during the consecration: "I believe; Lord, help my unbelief." Cosin is quite clear in calling the words of Institution an act of Consecration; this implies that he believes that the change in the bread and wine happens at this moment. This is corroborated by the verse itself. It is an affirmation of faith ('I believe') that this simple bread and wine is now the Body and Blood of our Lord. Given that it is difficult to acknowledge this as it deceives the senses and can be only grasped by the eyes of faith, he attaches to the act of faith a short but powerful prayer: "Lord, help my unbelief."¹¹⁴ Immediately after follows a hymn. Undoubtedly when Cosin was composing this he had in mind the *Lauda Sion* written by Thomas Aquinas as the sequence for the Mass of *Corpus Christi*. Cosin's hymn is made up of three stanzas. The first two are almost unchanged¹¹⁵ from the writing of the Angelic Doctor

¹⁰⁶ STANWOOD AND O'CONNOR, 13-4.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁰⁸ DECREES, *op. cit.*, 698, n.9.

¹⁰⁹ A J MACDONALD (ed.), *The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion*, W. Heffer & Sons Limited, Cambridge, 1930, 274.

¹¹⁰ STANWOOD AND O'CONNOR, 54.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 227-34 and 352-4.

¹¹² COSIN, *II*, 269-77.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 271-2.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹¹⁵ In fact the best literal translation I have come across.

but the third shows a heavy re-handling by Cosin in its first three verses. This is done in order not to leave any room for any interpretation that would be very close to that of transubstantiation as defined by Trent, but to be closer with Cosin's and the Prayer Book's understanding of the eucharistic doctrine.

Laudis thema specialis,
panis vivus et vitalis
hodie proponitur.
Quem in sacrae mensa coenae,
turbae fratrum duodenae
datum non ambigitur

A Speciall Theme of Praise is read,
True living and life giving Bread
Is now to be exhibited:
Within the Supper of the Lord
To twelve Disciples at his bord,
As doubtlesse 'twas delivered.

Quod in coena Christus gessit,
faciendum hoc expressit
in sui memoriam.
Docti sacris institutis,
panem, vinum in salutis
consecramus hostiam.

What at Supper Christ performed
To be done he straightly charged
For his eternall memorie.
Guided by his sacred orders
Heavenly food upon our Altars
For our souls we sanctifie.

Dogma datur christianis,
quod in carnem transit panis,
et vinum in sanguinem.
Quod non capis, quod non vides,
animosa firmat fides,
praeter rerum ordinem

Christians are by Faith assured
That by Faith Christ is received
Flesh and bloud most precious.
What no duller sense conceiveth
Firme and grounded Faith beleeveth;
In strange effects not curious."¹¹⁶

This section ends with three prayers. The first one confirms the knowledge that Cosin had of Aquinas, as it is the one written by Aquinas himself as a collect for both the Mass and the Office of *Corpus Christi*.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ STANWOOD AND O'CONNOR, 229.

¹¹⁷ INNOCENZO TAURISANO, *La vita e l'epoca di San Tommaso d'Aquino*, Edizioni Studio Domenicano, Bologna, Italia, 1991, 185.

The second and third prayers are both inspired by the Book of Common Prayer, but the Cosin flavour added to them is outstanding. The second prayer professes that those engaged in the Eucharist are celebrating the memorial of Christ's Passion and Sacrifice, and that whilst doing so those present shall receive the remission of sins, and therefore be partakers in the Paschal Mystery.¹¹⁸ Cosin clearly expresses the celebration of the Eucharist as bringing about forgiveness of sins, since it is a memorial of the redeeming events. Through liturgical prayers Cosin demonstrates the teaching of the Church that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice the sacrifice offered brings about the remission of sins as it makes actual the redemptive or Paschal events. The third prayer asks God to receive "this our bounden duty and service", and that the prayers and supplications of the faithful accompanied by the remembrance of the passion may by the ministry of the angels be taken into "thy heavenly Tabernacle". This is a clear allusion to the *Canon Missæ* of the Missal promulgated by Pius V, ("...*jube hæc perfèrri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altàre tuum, in conspèctu divínæ majestátis tuæ...*") and to more ancient liturgies such as the Canon of the Mass of Sarum Missal ("...to be carried by the hands of Thy Holy Angel to Thy Altar...")¹¹⁹ The prayer ends by a call upon God for remission of sins.¹²⁰ Many phrases of these two prayers are from the Prayer of Oblation in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, which prayer he wished to see restored in its 1549 position.¹²¹ These prayers illustrate the high view of the Eucharist that Cosin had. It is a sacrifice, acceptable to God, that brings forgiveness of sin. The last prayer also demonstrates that for Cosin the Eucharist puts aside the veil that separates earth from heaven, since the celebration is done in unison with heaven having the angels ministering between God and the offering. Five verses called by Cosin 'Heavenly Aspirations' are to be recited before receiving communion. Some are taken from the Scriptures and others from liturgical sources; he introduces two out of the three invocations of the *Agnus Dei* and the last aspiration makes clear that the bread and wine are indeed Christ's Body and Blood: "Grant me gracious Lord, so to eate the flesh of thy deare Sonne, and to drinke his blood, that my sinfull body may bee made cleane by his Body, and my soule washed through his most precious Blood."¹²² The words of distribution of 1549 were to be used by the faithful when receiving communion as an addition to those said by the priest.¹²³ This then became the custom in the prayer book of 1662.

Four prayers are to be recited after receiving the 'blessed Sacrament'. The first shows how much Hooker was widely used and known by Cosin, as it is his most famous statement on the Eucharist with an addition by Cosin. The statement by Hooker goes: "Oh my God, Thou art true, Oh my soul, thou art happy!" The one by Cosin says: "Oh, my God, Thou art true and holy! Oh, my soul, thou art blessed and happy!"¹²⁴ The second and third prayers are taken from scripture while the third opens with verses from

¹¹⁸ COSIN, *II*, 274.

¹¹⁹ A HARFORD PEARSON., *The Sarum Missal*, The Church Printing Company, London, 1884, 312.

¹²⁰ COSIN, *II*, 274.

¹²¹ STANWOOD AND O'CONNOR, 354.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 231.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 354.

¹²⁴ COSIN, *II*, 275.

the Angelic Hymn, ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo*’ and ends in thanksgiving for having received Christ’s sacred Body and Blood.¹²⁵

From the private devotions one can deduce the following points about Cosin.

- It shows his ideal of the sanctification of time, and of spiritual preparation/thanksgiving for the celebration of the sacraments. The notion of saying the Office (sanctification of time) by the laity belongs very much to the spirit of the Reformation; the work that the monks reserved for themselves is now taken back by the whole Church.
- His belief that the Eucharist, celebrated by Christ for the first time on Maundy Thursday, exhibits the same Christ in every celebration as the ‘True living and life giving bread.’
- His belief that the Eucharistic words and actions sanctify the elements and are done in obedience to the order given by Christ.
- His belief that faith reassures us that in communion the ‘...flesh and blood most precious of Christ...’ is received.
- His belief that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice participating in the heavenly liturgy.
- That he knew and made use of Aquinas.

2.2. The Declaration on the Eucharist.

In chapter one mention was made of Cosin’s exile in France. During this period the Jesuits published a pamphlet called ‘Transubstantiation Maintained’ (1647).¹²⁶ As an answer to this, Cosin wrote a thirteen chaptered Declaration¹²⁷ in the same year and in his own handwriting, beautifully written and apparently prepared for the press.¹²⁸ This tract served as a basis for the *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis* which will be discussed later on. The title of this work runs:

A Declaration of the Ancient Catholic Faith and Doctrine of the Fathers, concerning the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament: showing that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation (as it was set forth by Pope Innocent the Third, in his pretended Council of Lateran, and afterwards by Pope Pius the 4th, [sic] in the end of the Late Council of Trent) was not the Faith or Doctrine of the Catholic Church in any age before them. And an answer to the pretended authorities of the twelve hundred and twenty Fathers produced for the upholding of his opinion who entitled his writing “Transubstantiation Maintained”.
M.D.C. XLVII.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹²⁶ COSIN, *IV*, v.

¹²⁷ *Correspondence*, I, 233.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 233. It is vital to note that Cosin is putting to question the interpretation of transubstantiation as put forward by Lateran and Trent. He never mentions Aquinas of whom he makes free use. Cosin seems to grasp that Aquinas and the Aquinas used by his disciples the Thomists and used by Trent are not the same. Thomas Aquinas put to his world questions that touched the spirit of the West and stimulated it to push enquiry to its utmost, in making his contemporaries and successors think in a deeper metaphysical way. In doing this, Thomas did not necessarily win them over to his own doctrinal positions. By 1346, Aristotle was known as the Philosopher, and Christian Theologians were to follow him as the ‘Aristotle not contrary to

In chapter one Cosin outlines the difference between the Reformed Church and the Roman Church on the belief of what happens during the Eucharistic consecration. In doing this Cosin outlines in simple terms what the Church of England believes on the matter, namely that the Church,

...confesse the Body and Bloud of our Lord to be truly given and taken in that Holy Sacrament after an heavenly and spirituall manner; and that the Earthly Elements, after they be once consecrate for that heavenly purpose, are now changed from their owne simple condition, and exalted from their common nature to the dignitie of sublime, holy, and Divine mysteries of our religion...¹³⁰

In the second chapter Cosin visits the first age of the Church. He opens this chapter by quoting Tertullian in that which is the most ancient, the truest doctrine.¹³¹ Therefore Cosin visits what is expressed in Scriptures, he outlines that Christ took the bread and the cup and gave them as His body and His blood, this demonstrates: ‘Wherin the veritie of the elements still remaining, and the veritie of His Bodie and Bloud, therewithall given, are most manifestly expressed.’¹³² In scripture as well, when the disciples drank the cup, Christ refers to it as the fruit of the vine¹³³, meaning that while the Blood of Christ in this Sacrament was truly exhibited, yet the wine remained in substance although altered in condition.¹³⁴ Cosin quotes Paul: “For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death until he comes.”¹³⁵ He quotes as well from Scotus, Ockham, Bellarmino, D’Ailly, Biel, de vio Caejtan, Roffen, Melchior Cano and de Allacio, all Roman authors, who agree with what he is expounding in this part.¹³⁶

Next Cosin considers the opinions of Church Fathers of the Second century. He starts with St. Ignatius Martyr showing that he still calls bread that which was distributed after consecration.¹³⁷ Cosin demonstrates how Justin Martyr, Iranaeus of Lyons and Clement of Alexandria are in agreement with Ignatius.¹³⁸ Cosin then visits Tertullian, Origen and St. Cyprian¹³⁹ to continue to offer proof in favour of the eucharistic doctrine held by the reformed Church of England as against the later teaching of Rome. With Tertullian, Cosin holds that the ‘figure cannot be the verity itselfe, equall to it in all things.’¹⁴⁰ Discussing Origen and his Eucharistic beliefs, Cosin argues:

the faith.’ By 1370, because of this new direction, the Thomistic school itself was opposing Thomas, or purifying Thomism of Thomas. (ETIENNE GILSON, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1955, 471.)

One of the leading figures in this new Thomism was the Dominican Cardinal Cajetan himself. This was the kind of Thomism available at Trent - an Aristotelian Scholasticism rather than the contribution of Aquinas himself. (Ibid., and SCHILLEBEECKX, 55.)

¹³⁰ Ibid., 233-4.

¹³¹ TERTULLIAN, “On Prescription Against Heretics”, Chapters XXXI and XXXV, in ALEXANDER ROBERTS AND JAMES DONALDSON, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, X Vols., Vol. III, Hendrickson, Massachusetts, USA, 1999.

¹³² *Correspondence*, I, 235.

¹³³ Mk. 14:25.

¹³⁴ *Correspondence*, I, 235.

¹³⁵ I Cor. 11: 26.

¹³⁶ *Correspondence*, I, 235-7.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 237.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 237-9.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 239ff.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 240.

I believe that this doctrine of the ancient Church, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation will never stand together. And though divers endeavours have bin made to reconcile them, yet it will not be; for Origen doth here expressly distinguish the True and Immortal Body of Christ from His typicall and symbolicall Body, making the holy Sacrament to consist of them both; the one materiall, and the other spirituall: the materiall belonging to the belly, and the spirituall part to the soule...bread and wine then are the symbols, and the Body and Bloud of Christ being the things signified, the one is not transubstantiated into the other by the doctrine of Origen.¹⁴¹

Cosin's insistence is to be faithful to what the Church of the Fathers taught. He holds that grace does not destroy nature and that in the elements is truly present what is signified if there is no element then there is no sacrament. In fact, Cosin quotes Cyprian: "The Bloud of Christ cannot be express'd in the chalice, when there is no wine..."¹⁴² Cosin concludes the fourth chapter by saying that in reality many things do change, but it is their nature that changes and not their essence or substance. He gives the example of the first transgression of the first parents, quoting Augustine saying that through the fall, 'the nature of man was changed', but not the substance.¹⁴³ Sometimes it is trees that change their nature but they do not change their substance.¹⁴⁴ Cosin continues that as these things change their nature so also the eucharistic elements are changed:

not that it loseth its former substance and essence, or the substantiall properties and conditions that it had before; but that it receiveth a new supernaturall condition, and a new superadded dignitie, which it had not before, to become the mysticall symbole, and the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body. And this change in Bread is wrought only by the Almighty power of His Word, because He only can adde and give unto it this dignity, power, and efficacie, that is, that it may be not only a signe, but also an efficacious instrument of exhibiting Christ's Body, and conferring grace to the faithfull. For as He alone can conferre grace, and give us His owne Body by His Omnipotent power, so He alone can ordaine a Sacrament, and by the same Almighty power designe the element of Bread to such a sacred, mysticall, and celestiall use.¹⁴⁵

There are two notable things here. The first part of the argument presented by Cosin "not that it loseth its former substance and essence, or the substantiall properties and conditions that it had before; but that it receiveth a new ... condition" is very near to what Pannenberg describes in less complex and more modern terms.

Looking closely at Cosin's Eucharistic understanding here, one may distinguish between the words 'conditions' and 'condition'. The plural form refers to what makes bread bread, the elements in

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 240-1.

¹⁴² Ibid., 241.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 244.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

themselves, whilst the singular form denotes the meaning of the bread: ‘...conditions that it had before; but ... it receiveth a new ... condition...’. One could say that Cosin is implying what was later summed up in the terms ‘transfinalisation’ or ‘transignification’. Pannenberg explains that transignification involves a change of meaning that does not alter the identity of a thing. Cosin himself borrows from Damascene and uses the word ‘transmutation’.¹⁴⁶ This is not the transmutation as understood by Trent’s transubstantiation. Rather using the simile given by Pannenberg, it is the transmutation of a piece of paper on which we write a personal note to someone: how it is no longer just a piece of paper like others, but a letter. Pannenberg adds that transignification is an interpretation of the thought of transubstantiation rather than an alternative to it!¹⁴⁷

The second point is an echo of Augustine. Although Cosin treats Augustine later on in this work, he does not explicitly refer to Augustine’s axiom which is so implicit in the first part of his argument: ‘this change in Bread is wrought only by the Almighty power of His Word’. This is almost identical to Augustine’s “*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*”. Like Augustine, Cosin is here saying but now together with Cyprian, as it were that to have the sacrament you need two ingredients: the Word, spoken by Christ or those acting in the person of Christ, and the element – here the bread and wine. This implies that if the element in some way is missing, like being consumed or transubstantiated or annihilated then there is no sacrament left. It means as well that the change happens through a word that gives or brings about the significance intended by Christ and the Church. Cosin agrees with Eustachius, Bishop of Antioch, “that by the Bread and Wine are set forth the antitypes or countersigns of His corporall Flesh and Bloud.” Therefore, Cosin concludes, if after consecration the elements are antitypes or countersigns of Christ’s body and blood, they are not transubstantiated...which, nevertheless are (the elements) really but sacramentally the body and blood of the Lord.¹⁴⁸ He demonstrates how Ephraim, Basil and Macarius, both in liturgical compositions and theology, are of the same opinion.¹⁴⁹

Cosin engages in the analogy produced by Cyril of Jerusalem between the Eucharist and the Chrism. Cyril says:

As the bread of the Eucharist, after invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more common or simple Bread, but the Body of Christ, so this holy ointment after it is hallowed, is no more simple or common ointment, but the chrisme, or gift of Christ, which by His Divine Power, through descent of the Holy Ghost is efficacious; and though the Body be anointyed with ointment, yet the soule is sanctified with the Holy and life-giving spirit.¹⁵⁰

From this Cosin deduces that:

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 269

¹⁴⁷ PANNENBERG WOLFHART, *Systematic Theology*, III Vols., T&T Clarke Ltd., Edinburgh, 1998, III, 300-1.

¹⁴⁸ *Correspondence*, I, , 247.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 247-8.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 248-9.

1. the ointment is not transubstantiated into the Spirit of Christ, but whilst keeping the same substance of ointment, it changes in

condition, virtue and efficacie, is not now bare and simple ointment, but the gift and grace of Christ; so the Bread of the Eucharist, when it is consecrated, remaining the same Bread in substance that it was before, is not, for all that, called Bread only, or common and bare Bread, but is now, (being chang'd and made a Holy Sacrament) the Body of Christ.¹⁵¹

2. As the ointment is not essentially and formally the Grace and the Spirit of Christ, but the 'symbol and type of it';¹⁵² so it is with the elements they are not formally, properly and essentially the Body and Blood of Christ, but the symbol, type and sacrament of them.
3. As the ointment is no 'naked signe of grace' but by the divine power of Christ efficacious and operative of what it signifies (i.e. more then mere signs), so the bread and wine are not bare and naked signs of the Body and Blood of the Lord but efficacious and operative instruments to exhibit and confer what they signify. Christ's Body and Blood are given under the types and not accidents of bread and wine.¹⁵³

Cosin quotes the sermon on Baptism of Saint Gregory of Nyssa. In this sermon Gregory explains the sanctification of the water of baptism by equating it to an altar, the eucharistic elements and a priest. Gregory explains that after the prayer the water of the font is made holy it is no common water but a divine bath (*lavacre*) working admirable effects. This happens just as the normal stone of an altar, after dedication, becomes a holy table and an immaculate altar; or as the bread and wine after consecration is the body of Christ; or as a normal man after ordination is transformed into a prelate of Holy Mysteries. Cosin concludes the citation by saying:

Here is a cleere place to shew what manner of change was made in the Bread of the Eucharist by the words of consecration: no change of the substance, as not of the altar-stone, nor of a man exalted to the dignitie of priesthood, nor of the water consecrated for Baptisme. There is no transubstantiation in any of them all.¹⁵⁴

Discussing the works of Ambrose, Cosin says that if the bread and wine are what they be and change into another thing, then it is clear that they do not change their being, nor are they transubstantiated, but they are sacramentally changed exhibiting and conveying Christ's flesh and blood.¹⁵⁵ Cosin reports the words of John Chrysostom that the eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 249.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 250.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 251.

blood is not to be taken in a carnal and corporal sense but in a mystical and spiritual one and that although after consecration the bread is known as the body of Christ, the nature of the bread is still present.¹⁵⁶ Cosin remarks:

It was the endeavour of St. Chrysostome and other the ancient Fathers, (as it is our likewise,) to teach the people that they ought not to fix their thoughts upon the outward symbols of the Sacrament, but that in them they should set their hearts upon the Body and Bloud of Christ, there presented to them. For without this the whole effect and fruit of the Sacrament is lost.¹⁵⁷

Discussing Augustine of Hippo, Cosin quotes his general rule on sacraments that they are not to be regarded as the things that they are (conditions), but as the things that they signify (condition). Then he remarks:

that is, not to respect their matter, but their signification, and the truth which they represent; not their naturall condition, but their sacred employment, not what they are in themselves, ... but that which they are by grace and consecration.¹⁵⁸

When discussing Cyril of Alexandria, it seems that Cosin is remembering those who accuse the English Church of holding that after the consecration the elements are ‘bare and naked signs’. He may also have in mind some of the continental reformers who, as well, were trying to attract the English Church in taking such a line. Cosin refutes these and says that the elements are efficacious instruments, not bare and naked signs, to convey to us the Body and Blood of Christ.¹⁵⁹ He elucidates upon Prosper’s explanation on the nature of the elements and the thing signified by using the analogy with the two natures of Christ. Cosin writes: “In Christ there be two Natures or substances, the Divine, and the humane; in the Sacrament likewise there are two substances, the outward Element, and the inward Body and Bloud of Christ.”¹⁶⁰ Taking the whole paragraph in question it seems that Cosin is interchanging the words ‘substance’ and ‘species’. Cosin holds that the species are not the accidents, but the very essence of the element, therefore the substance itself.¹⁶¹ It is a pity that Cosin does not explain himself in a clearer way. Bishop Theodoret, used by Cosin in his work, gives further light when he says that Christ did not change the nature of the elements but he was adding grace to nature.¹⁶² Cosin declares that the faith of the Church Catholic, as expounded by Theodoret for the East and Gelasius for the West in their arguments against heretics, was always clear: “That the Sacrament consisted of an heavenly and a terrene part,...an union of the signe and the thing signified, word and element so united together, as are the two natures of

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 252.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 253.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 255.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 257.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 258.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., 259.

Christ.”¹⁶³ And this is what the reformed Church has to proclaim, standing with the Fathers against Rome and Geneva. As we have seen above, the Eucharistic Mystery is explained in terms parallel to the two natures of Christ. Now, following the Fathers, Cosin appeals to the Incarnation. When discussing the Council of Constantinople,¹⁶⁴ he says:

...they confesse (as wee do) the reall presence of Christ together with the reall essence or substance of the Bread and Wine, yet they denie Transubstantiation in the Sacrament no lesse then S. Athanasius denied it in the Incarnation, That the Word was made Flesh, ‘not by conversion of the Godhead into man, but by taking of the manhood into God’, as he expresseth the mysterie in his Symbole received by the Church: which, applied to the Eucharist, That the Bread and Wine are made the Body and Bloud of Christ not by conversion of their essence, or ceasing substantially to be what they were before, but by change and advancement of their common condition, in ceasing to be bare bread and wine, and becoming Divine and sacred mysteries of His Body and Bloud, is the Summarie of that decree and doctrine of the 338 Fathers set forth in this Councell.¹⁶⁵

When treating on Paschasius Radbertus, he concludes:

The truth is, that his opinion was, that Christ assumed them (the elements) in the Eucharist, and united them to His Flesh, which makes for the doctrine of Consubstantiation, defended by some of the Lutherans, but for the doctrine of Transubstantiation it makes never a whit.¹⁶⁶

So was Cosin more of a Lutheran holding to the doctrine of Consubstantiation? Actually not, for Cosin distances himself from this doctrine. In the eleventh chapter of this work, he discusses a sermon written by Aelfrick and received by eighteen bishops of the English Church. In it there is pointed out the parallels between the corruptible elements of bread and wine and the incorruptible reality of the body and blood of Christ, not corporally but spiritually:

...in the Holy Eucharist, that which we see is bread, and a corruptible body; but that which wee see spiritually and understand is life, and giveth immortality,...by nature bread is corruptible; by the Power of God they are truly the Body and Bloud of Christ...¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Ibid., 261.

¹⁶⁴ It seems that Cosin is here referring to the council of 338 bishops held at Hiereia and St. Mary of Blachernae in 754, commonly called the Synod of Hiereia or Hieria. This Iconoclastic Synod was condemned by the II Ecumenical Council of Nicea in 787. However in the decrees of this Ecumenical Council there is strong condemnation to the Iconoclastic sanctions but nothing to condemn its other teachings, like those about the Eucharist quoted here by Cosin. For the Canons of Nicea II see: NORMAN P TANNER., (Ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, London, Washington, 1990, II.Vols., Vol. I, 133-156.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 268.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 270.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 273

So while the species, the bread remains, the substance or the understanding of bread is changed. Cosin concludes:

Certainly we have not departed from our forefathers in mainteyning that Catholick doctrine now, which they then taught and delivered to the people, as from their forefathers they had received it.¹⁶⁸

It seems at first glance that this is just a polemical work, which indeed it is.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Cosin is using his wide and deep knowledge of the Fathers, their works and subsequent editions in a masterly way, with the view to establish that the English Church is in line with the tradition inherited from the universal Church throughout the ages. He argues against Trent for proclaiming that the bread and wine do not exist any more after consecration, holding that grace does not destroy nature, but transforms and elevates it. After all, Aquinas himself wrote that the substance of bread is changed not annihilated.¹⁷⁰ It is not surprising that recent debates between Anglican and Roman Catholic representatives have found common acceptance of the term transubstantiation, albeit in a footnote of a 1971 document.¹⁷¹ However it is difficult to see today why the issue was so hair-splitting in Cosin's time. Indeed one might say that what Cosin arrived at was what the man in the street held, as some still do,¹⁷² and not necessarily what the powers to be of the Church were saying. One has to keep in mind that this is the era of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, when the academic theological debates were taken into the streets and politicised, every faction desperate to score points on the other. Some, if not many, processions, devotional and theological works, huge and artistic reliquaries, monstrances, statues, churches etc... were not done out of devotion but simply as a response to the enemy. But this subject really mattered, the Eucharist was the test of orthodoxy and Cosin did not shy away from it.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid..

¹⁶⁹ A work to bring 1220 Fathers against the author of *Transubstantiation Mainteyned*. [sic]

¹⁷⁰ Summa Theologiæ (now S. Th.), III, q. 75, art. 3.

¹⁷¹ "The word transubstantiation is commonly used in the Roman Catholic Church to indicate that God acting in the eucharist effects a change in the inner reality of the elements. The term should be seen as affirming the fact of Christ's presence and of the mysterious and radical change which takes place. In contemporary Roman Catholic theology it is not understood as explaining how the change takes place." ANGLICAN/ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION, *The Windsor Statement: Agreed Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine*, Windsor, 1971, footnote n. 2.

¹⁷² The patristic teaching and practice of the Eucharist could be described as both symbolical and realistic. This dual understanding disintegrated in the age of the Carolingians. From that time onwards symbol and reality were seen as opposed to each other. The symbol was understood as merely a pointer to something else. The reality was what could be seized hold of, what was physical or corporal. This view is evident in Amalarius of Metz (ninth century) and in the opponents of Berengar (eleventh century). See: PIET SCHOONENBERG, *Transubstantiation: How far is this Doctrine Historically Determined?*, in HANS KÜNG (ed.), *Concilium*, Vol. 4 n. 3, April 1967, 41. This notion flourished in a popular devotion that fed on stories about bleeding hosts and apparitions in the host. This common misinterpretation survives even today.

2.3. “*Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*”.

The ‘History of Popish Transubstantiation’ was published posthumously in London in 1675 and edited by none other than Jean Durel¹⁷³ who together with Daniel Brevint¹⁷⁴, both Jersey Huguenots, were presented by Cosin to be ordained as deacons and priests on the same day by Bishop Thomas Sydserrf of Galloway in Sir Richard Browne’s chapel on Trinity Sunday, 25th June 1651, Cosin also giving the sermon. The following year an English translation of the work by Luke De Beaulieu appeared. This is a revision of the pamphlet that served as a springboard. It was dedicated to Charles II, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.¹⁷⁵

Some hold that the Cosin after the exile was significantly different from the Cosin before it. It is quite normal for people to sharpen and focus their thoughts as years pass by and especially in the light of difficult experiences such as an exile. Still, this work shows that he did not change in his fundamental beliefs. He holds Christ’s words of institution to be infallible. The Flesh and Blood of Christ are given to us in the consecrated elements.¹⁷⁶ The elements of the Eucharist are not changed in substance or reduced to nothing but are consecrated by the words of institution, which communicate the Body and Blood of Christ.¹⁷⁷ He writes that the elements do not become a carnal presence but a sacramental and mystic way of presence.¹⁷⁸ He argues that this was always considered by the Church to be a Sacrament; it gives to the sign what it signifies.¹⁷⁹

It is very interesting to note that in his concept of sacrament, Cosin is in line with both Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas. Augustine defines a sacrament as “...the sacred sign of the invisible sacrifice.”¹⁸⁰ Aquinas defines it as “a sensible¹⁸¹ sign¹⁸² of a sacred thing¹⁸³ which signifies the effect of the sacrament.”¹⁸⁴ John Cosin defines it thus: “A sacrament gives to the sign the name of the thing signified. The properties and effects of what the sacrament signifies is given to the sign.”¹⁸⁵ It is clear that

¹⁷³ Jean Durell was the executor of Cosin’s last will and a personal friend. He was present at Cosin’s death and wrote an account of it. *Correspondence*, II, xxxvii.

¹⁷⁴ Daniel Brevint was Prebend of the 10th stall of Durham and a successor to Cosin at Brancepeth. *Correspondence*, II, p. 26, n. +

¹⁷⁵ COSIN, IV, 3.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-6.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 16. In our own times this point is picked up again by Max Thurian when he writes ‘their chemical nature (bread and wine), certainly, still remains the same, but behind this chemical nature the true and new substantial reality of this bread and wine must be recognised by faith; the body and the blood of Christ’. MAX THURIAN, *Our Faith: Basic Christian Belief*, Mowbray, London and Oxford, n.d. , 114..

¹⁷⁸ COSIN, IV, 16. Again, Max Thurian explains that ‘God takes ordinary bread and wine, and makes them the body and blood of Christ, the sacramental signs of his real presence... as Christ is present sacramentally, in a way that is a mystery.’ THURIAN, 113.

¹⁷⁹ COSIN, IV, 16-7. Cosin is in line with what Pannenberg has to say about a sacrament when he writes that ‘what is signified is there in the sign as an indication of its presence’ PANNENBERG, III, 300. And that ‘sign and thing are together, as when the sign indicates the presence of the thing signified’. *Ibid.*, 299 and same page note 639.

¹⁸⁰ ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. X, chapter 5.

¹⁸¹ S.Th., III, q. 60, art. 4.

¹⁸² S.Th., III, q. 60, art. 1.

¹⁸³ S.Th., III, q. 60, art. 2.

¹⁸⁴ S.Th., III, q. 60, art. 3.

¹⁸⁵ COSIN, IV, 156.

he is not repeating the Carolingian mistake of opposing the sign to what it signifies.¹⁸⁶ Rooted in the fine Anglican tradition¹⁸⁷ he follows the patristic teaching and practice of the Eucharist.¹⁸⁸ Whilst doing this he does not fall in the trap that unfortunately many are falling in today - that of iconising a single period in the history of theology and proclaiming it as mandatory for the whole Church or as the rule of orthodoxy. Cosin draws from the Fathers but also uses as developments in theology; he makes ample use of the scholastics and of theologians of the Reformation. He seeks truth not only from one single period, but he looks everywhere and respects all the sources in which it subsists. In this respect his thought does display development, in that after the exile he uses sources other than the Fathers and first councils of the Church.

It seems that Cosin hints at a eucharistic spirituality. He says that it was not the intention of Christ to teach about the elements and their substance but to use them to feed the faithful mystically and sacramentally. This will bring about the real union between the faithful and Christ in a way that they abide in each other.¹⁸⁹ The souls and not the stomachs of the faithful are fed on the real Body and Blood given by the elements.¹⁹⁰ As reformed Christians, he writes, and in accordance with the ancient Catholic Church, the way in which Christ is present in the elements is left to the power and wisdom of our Lord, and in yielding a full and unfeigned assent to His words. This is a sacrament and one needs to allow faith and trust to work.¹⁹¹ Cosin holds that if the Roman Church left the matter about the Eucharist like without explanations but only in believing it, there would be more peace and unity now.¹⁹² He knew that the eucharistic doctrine of the reformation was a reaction against the line taken by Rome, and it could be argued that Rome's view was a reaction to Berengar that in Trent grew out of proportion in its opposition to the reformation. The reformers' reaction went too far when the consecrated elements were regarded as simply nude and bare signs, only exhibiting the presence of Christ figuratively. Trent went too far as its interpretation of Aquinas almost produced notions of a physical presence which it was Aquinas' intention to eliminate when he wrote about this sacrament.¹⁹³ In contrast to this, Cosin wants to establish as his main argument that the Reformed Churches believe in the Real Presence of Christ in the elements.¹⁹⁴ By

¹⁸⁶ The patristic teaching and practice of the Eucharist could be described as both symbolical and realistic. This dual understanding disintegrated in the age of the Carolingians. From that time onwards symbol and reality were seen as opposed to each other. The symbol was understood as merely a pointer to something else. The reality was what could be seized hold of, what was physical. This view is evident in Amalarius of Metz (ninth century) and in the opponents of Berengar (eleventh century). SEE: PIET SCHOONENBERG, *op.cit.*, 42.

¹⁸⁷ HR MCADOO, *The structure of Caroline Moral Theology*, Longmans, Grace and Co., London, New York, Toronto, 1949, 14 n. 2.

¹⁸⁸ HANS KUNG AND EDWARD SCHILLEBEECKX (eds.) *Concilium*, 4, n.3, (Apr. 67), 41.

¹⁸⁹ COSIN, *IV*, 17.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17-8. Cf. Note on stercoranism above 2.1.1.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ EDWARD SCHILLEBEECKX, *The Eucharist*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1977, 1-2. Devotional books of the time of Trent and later indicate to a physical presence, to quote just one example there was a tendency to call the reserved elements as Jesus, the Divine prisoner of love.

¹⁹⁴ COSIN, *IV*, 18-9. See as well the similar position of Luther in PANNENBERG, *III*, 293ff. Luther might differ from Cosin in so far as Luther holds some form of spatial presence of Christ in the Eucharistic bread. However, because this is a moot pointing Lutheran scholarship, it could be that Cosin and Luther are closer to each other. Cf. PANNENBERG, *III*, 297, note 632.

law and canon defined¹⁹⁵ the teaching of the Church of England is that in the Blessed Sacrament the Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten.¹⁹⁶ Cosin demonstrates how this is well grounded in the Book of Common Prayer, showing the reformation trend of defining doctrine from liturgical sources and therefore writing liturgical sources in the light of explaining doctrine. And this is what he engages in in his writings and liturgical suggestions, to uphold the doctrine of the Church and to guarantee its faithful understanding through the liturgical sources, Liturgy and Doctrine in harmony. Cosin demonstrates the Church of England doctrine on the Eucharist by quoting the Prayer of Humble Access, the Prayer of Consecration, the Words of Distribution, the Prayer of Thanksgiving ending with the angelic hymn.¹⁹⁷ Cosin upholds this by quoting Bishop Jewel, that to the faithful is truly given the Body and Blood of Our Lord.¹⁹⁸ Cosin reasserts in the Catholic and Reformed Church the axiom '*lex orandi Ecclesiae respondet perenni legi credendi*'. He quotes the works of Dr. Poinet, Bishop of Winchester, to show that the 'Holy Eucharist is not only the figure, but also contains in itself the truth, nature and substance, of the Body of our Blessed Saviour.'¹⁹⁹ Cosin makes his own the arguments used by Poinet in using the terms 'truth', 'nature' and 'substance'. All this led Cosin's debate to a Christological/Incarnational level, in the sense that although there is a difference between the Body of Christ in its natural form of a human body and that mystic Body present in the sacrament, it is beyond doubt that no other body is given to the faithful in the sacrament, than that which was "by Christ given to death for their redemption."²⁰⁰ Once more, Cosin, in line with the Church Fathers, is never tired of warning his readers that the consecrated elements should be adored by faith, but not searched by reason, and quotes Thomas Bilson, Lancelot Andrewes, Isaac Casaubon, Richard Hooker, John Buckeridge Bishop of Rochester, Bishop Montague, James Ussher of Armagh, Bishop Francis White of Ely, William Laud and John Overall to support his claims.²⁰¹ In this work Cosin mentions the Roman Catholic Italian Archbishop of Spalato, Marco Antonio de Dominis.²⁰² In a book published in England, here quoted by Cosin, the Archbishop states that for a thousand years the true Church believed in the Real Presence. However, he adds that 'as to the particular manner how that precious Body and Blood is offered and given by that mysterious sacrament, the Church did humbly and religiously acknowledge her ignorance'.²⁰³

After this, there follows a long list of public confessions from the Reformed Churches with a transcription of their Eucharistic Doctrine. In Cosin's own words this is done to show

¹⁹⁵ Canons 1571 - "Of Preaching".

¹⁹⁶ Articles of Religion, 1562.

¹⁹⁷ COSIN, *IV*, 19-21.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21-2.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 22. Max Thurian took up this line of thought again almost three hundred years after Cosin's death. MAX THURIAN, *L'Eucharistie*, n.pub., Neuchatel, 1959, 268-9.

²⁰¹ COSIN, *IV*, 22-6.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 27-8. See: The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, under: de Dominis

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 29.

how injuriously protestant divines are calumniated by others unacquainted with their opinions, as though by these words, spiritually and sacramentally, they did not acknowledge a true and well-understood real presence and communication of the Body and Blood of Christ in the blessed Sacrament; whereas, on the contrary, they do professedly own it in terms as express as any can be used.²⁰⁴

He tries to brief his readers about the Roman position and the fidelity of the reformed Churches to the ancient catholic Church. He goes on to say that the real presence and the sacramental eating of the Body and Blood of Christ have nothing to do with our faith in it.²⁰⁵ Here he is taking a clear position against receptionism. The role of faith is not in bringing about the real presence but to apprehend it in the elements.²⁰⁶ ‘By the wonderful power of the Holy Ghost, we do invisibly receive the substance of Christ’s Body and Blood, as much as if we should eat and drink both visibly.’²⁰⁷ The body and blood of Christ are joined to the elements and the faithful should receive them in faith and in humility admire this sacred mystery, which the tongue cannot explain nor the heart conceive.²⁰⁸ Cosin tries to outline the difference between papal transubstantiation and the Protestant understanding of the real presence in the elements.²⁰⁹ Cosin says that ‘by virtue of the words and the blessing of Christ, the condition, use and office of the bread is wholly changed...’²¹⁰ He refutes the argument for Tridentine transubstantiation as happening through the omnipotence of God by quoting Tertullian, ‘we should not conclude God doth things because He is able, but we should inquire what He hath done’.²¹¹ To the tridentine view of the substance being changed whilst the accidents remain, he replies that Christ did not say ‘this is the substance of My Body without its accidents’ but, ‘This is my Body’.²¹² The consecrated bread, whilst being bread, is the true Body of Christ given to the faithful.²¹³ If Aquinas’ notion of transubstantiation tries to prove one thing, it is that the accidents remain, the substance is changed, and what the substance of the bread is, is a matter open for discussion. Bread in itself, the accident – what we see and feel and touch is not annihilated. Cosin holds that grace does not destroy nature.

Cosin summed up the eucharistic controversy under four headings:

1. the signs;
2. the thing signified;
3. the union of both;
4. their participation.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 45-6.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 46-7.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* Cosin is anticipating Schillebeeckx by two hundred and eighty nine years. SCHILLEBEECKX, 108ff.

²¹¹ COSIN, *IV*, 47.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 47-8.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 48.

As for the first, the Roman view is that the sign is the accidents of bread and wine whilst for the Reformed Churches it is the bread and wine. As for the second, it is more a misconception by the Romans of the Reformed position. Cosin writes:

...for we do not hold (as they say we do) that only the merits of the death of Christ are represented by the blessed elements, but also that His very Body which was crucified, and His Blood which was shed for us, are truly signified and offered, that our souls may receive and possess Christ as truly and certainly as the material and visible signs are by us seen and received.²¹⁴

Regarding the third point, Cosin holds that there is a union between the bread and Body and the wine and Blood of Christ whilst the Romans hold that the bread and wine cease to exist and only the bare accidents remain. After the Eucharist the consecrated bread should not be reserved or carried about as an end in itself. The only end is communion.²¹⁵ As for the fourth point, Cosin holds that one does not only participate in the benefits of Christ's passion but as well in its fruits.²¹⁶ He believes that after the consecration the elements are 'set apart and fitted for a much nobler use'.²¹⁷ The basic difference here is the definition of substance. Cosin holds the definition of substance to remain in the meaning of the consecrated elements, their use, office and condition; whilst Trent takes the narrow definition of substance as substance of the bread. Trent asks what makes bread bread, whilst Cosin is asking how the substance participates in the real presence.²¹⁸ This might seem to be hair-splitting, especially today when some Anglican and Roman theologians seem to agree on eucharistic doctrine, but this happens because the Church had people like Cosin who argued for the Middle Way. The reality can be experienced in the symbolic activity rather than in the inanimate sign.²¹⁹ The distinction lies between the reality itself and the form in which it is experienced or appears.²²⁰ Just like Schillebeeckx and Rahner,²²¹ Cosin had problems with Trent because of its definition of substance. Looking closely and carefully especially at Cosin and Schillebeeckx one may ask whether the substance is to be sought in the inanimate object (here the bread) or in the meaning and use that the object has for the believer. Is it in the bread or is it in the breaking of the bread that Christ is recognised? Given that God is almighty one should not inquire about what He is able to do; rather, one should seek his will and understanding.²²² Cosin is very near to A. Vanneste, when he tries to define the Eucharist in the sense that the ultimate meaning of things come from God and so the

²¹⁴ COSIN, *IV*, 174. Max Thurian echoes these words when he writes that one cannot speak of the 'real presence without first speaking of the presence of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist.' THURIAN, *Our Faith...*, 111

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 114, 'The Body and Blood of Christ are objectively present in the Eucharist for communion.'

²¹⁶ COSIN, *IV*, 48-9.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ SCHILLEBEECKX, 100.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

²²¹ KARL RAHNER, *Theological Investigations*, IV, Darton, Longman & Todd, London 1966, 308.

²²² COSIN, *IV*, 53-4.

distinction is not between substance and accidents but between what things are for God (and the believer) and what they are for the secular experience of the human.²²³

Cosin goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not to be found in the Scriptures or in the ancient Fathers.²²⁴ He quotes all the relevant texts and Fathers who have something to say on the matter in discussion. He quotes fifteen Scriptural texts, almost seventy Church Fathers, sixteen scholastics, twenty-two councils or synods, nine popes, twenty-four historians, ten confessions of the Reformed Churches and thirty authors and writings loyal to the Council of Trent. In total, he uses more than 197 different sources in this work. In his last chapter he refutes those who hold transubstantiation starting from 'Ego Berengarius' and going down to the eve of Trent.²²⁵ He quotes Aquinas only once and not in a refutation.²²⁶ Cosin cannot accept the definition of transubstantiation as put forward by Trent.²²⁷

By way of conclusion, it is interesting to note a letter that Cosin sent to the Countess of Peterborough. In it he sets out the main points in his view of the Church and says that the Eucharist is a commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ's Body and Blood once truly offered for us. Cosin acknowledges Christ's "sacramental, spiritual, true, and real Presence there to the souls of all of them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him according to His own institution in that Holy Sacrament."²²⁸ His work aims for a Protestant consensus. His mode is somewhat reminiscent of Calvin and undoubtedly reflects the thoughts he had when writing his *Preces*.²²⁹ It is evident that he believes that in the Eucharist, the Body and Blood of Christ are really and truly but sacramentally present, notwithstanding the faith of the individual; that this sacrament brings about what it really signifies; and that this was the faith of the Church down the ages and freshly proclaimed by all the reformed Churches. The main difference between the reformed Churches and Rome is transubstantiation as defined by Trent.²³⁰

In this chapter I have sought to show the main points of Cosin's eucharistic doctrine, and how it aspires to be faithful to the teaching of the Church Fathers. In the course of so doing, I have also sought to hint at how Cosin diverges from the Reformers and Rome and to indicate certain points at which his thought anticipates the eucharistic theology of some eminent twentieth century theologians.

²²³ SCHILLEBEECKX, 111.

²²⁴ COSIN, *IV*, 54-112. John Scotus Erigena who already established this was sceptical as it was not founded on Scripture, but he accepted it because it was the teaching of the Church. William of Ockham was sceptical and critical of it., MICHAEL SCHMAUS, *Dogma*, V Vols., Sheed and Ward, London, 1968ff., V, 92.

²²⁵ COSIN, *IV*, 112-136.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 131-2.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

²²⁸ KENNETH HYLSON-SMITH, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England*, T&T Clarke, Edinburgh, 1993, 54-7.

²²⁹ STEVENSON, 96.

²³⁰ COSIN, *IV*, 137.

Chapter 3

John Cosin – his Liturgical Contribution

This chapter will deal with the work of John Cosin on the Prayer Book and on his contribution to the 1662 edition. The works of Cosin to be consulted in this chapter are his three series on the Prayer Book and what is known as the Durham Book. Each of these works will be considered separately and each section will be subdivided between non eucharistic comments and suggestions and eucharistic ones.

Cosin's contribution is significant, he was striving to redirect the liturgical fashion of the Church to that of the 1549 Prayer Book therefore determining the doctrine of the Church as this can be found in its liturgical formularies. The inspiration of his liturgical contributions are the Church Fathers. His model is not the Church of Rome but not even Geneva. He is for the *Via Media*. All this was happening shortly after the experience of the commonwealth which saw the structure and nature of the Church shaped on the order and doctrines of Geneva. After the Restoration the Church went back to its original constitution and never since did it depart again from it. Cosin's contribution to the Prayer Book occurs before, during and after the commonwealth and during the Restoration. This chapter will demonstrate where he was successful in seeing his suggestions adopted in the 1662 Prayer Book or otherwise and will attempt to show that some of his suggestions were taken up in later revisions of the liturgy as in the latest Common Worship edition.

The fame of John Cosin rests on his liturgical knowledge. He dedicated many hours to the study of the Book of Common Prayer. On Overall's death in 1619, Cosin returned to Cambridge for four years, there he devoted his time to the Prayer Book, going through Bucer's *Censura* of 1551 and the Puritan Survey of 1606. He also compared the current edition of the Prayer Book with that of 1549 copying out the text where it differed; he even went back to the Sarum liturgical books. This demonstrates that he was really informed about the Prayer Book that indeed was his major interest. In the Articles of his visitation as archdeacon in 1626 he is very meticulous on the observance of the rubrics; and in what he proposed in 1662 he is still highly concerned with legality and uniformity. The ideal Prayer Book for him was 1549 and in this he was consistent throughout.²³¹

3.1. The Three Series on the Prayer Book

The fifth volume of the *Works of John Cosin* published by in the series called Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology is dedicated to annotations made by John Cosin on the Book of Common Prayer. There are three Collections called first, second and third series. The first series of notes are written on a Prayer Book printed in 1619. The notes range from around that year up to around 1638.²³² Cuming

²³¹ CUMING GEOFFREY, *The Anglicanism of John Cosin, The Durham Cathedral Lecture 1975*, published by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

²³² COSIN, V, xviii.

explains that these notes are those made by Bishop Overall that Cosin copied out for his own edification.²³³ Although Cosin's authorship of these notes is put to question, they played an important role in his liturgical formation and thus the relevant parts will be briefly noted. The second series of notes appeared to have been made soon after 1638 but updated and added to up to about 1656.²³⁴ Most of the third series might have been written before 1640.²³⁵

3.1.1. Matters not relating to the Communion Office

Cosin commences his first series by showing the Church of England as standing between the puritans and the papists, therefore asserting his views that the Church is a *Via Media*:

“We are blamed by the puritans that we come to near the form of the papists; and by the papists we are condemned for going too far off; nay, for not taking the selfsame form that they have in all things. To the first Mr. Hooker has given sufficient answer. To the second we say, that our Church has done no more than holy men before have given direction and warrant to do.”²³⁶

The anchorage of the Church of England, for Cosin, is exhibited in the last section of this quote; it is the Church of the Fathers that is to be the real model of a true and pure Church, therefore it stands with the Fathers as against Rome and Geneva and not with Geneva against Rome and Anabaptism as Spinks tries to point out.²³⁷ When commenting on the Preface Cosin rejoices that people are now to hear daily the divine service and to be nourished by Scriptures appointed to be read throughout the year and in their own language.²³⁸ It is interesting to see the rubric in the 1559 and in the 1619 edition of the Prayer Book, on which he is working, about the norm for the clerics to say the daily office privately or publicly:

“And all the Priests and Deacons shall be bound to say daily the Morning & Evening prayer, either privately or openly, except they be let by preaching, studying of Diuinity, or by some other vrgent cause.”²³⁹

As he points out this was an ancient custom in the Church going back to 5th century and later achieving canonical status in the *Decretales*.²⁴⁰ That he did not appreciate this dispensation as it was generally abused is quite clear in his mind:

²³³ CUMING, *Durham Book*, xiii.

²³⁴ COSIN, *V*, xix.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

²³⁷ Spinks, 319.

²³⁸ COSIN, *V*, 6-9.

²³⁹ *Durham Book*, 16 and 1559, 323.

²⁴⁰ COSIN, *V*, 9; and *Decretales Gregorii Papae IX, caput, IX, III*. This form of dispensation was used in the Roman Church even at the time of the Reformation and is still in force today under special circumstances. This dispensation can be found as a major founding block in the Constitutions of the Dominican Order since its inception up to this day. See: a) The Prologue of the First Constitution of the Order written in 1220 by Dominic himself; b) A. G. FUENTE O.P., *La Vida Liturgica en la Orden de Predicadores*, n.publ., Roma, 1981, 41 and c) WILLIAM A HINNEBUSCH O.P., *The History of the Dominican Order*, Alba House, New York, 1965, II Vols, Vol. I, 84.

“We are all for preaching now; and for attending the service and prayers appointed by the Church for God’s worship, and the good of all men, we think that too mean an office for us; and therefore, as if it were not worth our labour, we commonly hire others under us to do it, more to satisfy the law, than to be answerable to our duties. Here is a command that binds us every day to say the morning and evening prayer; how many are the men that re noted to do it? It is well they have a back door for an excuse to come out here: for, good men! they are so belaboured with studying of divinity, and preaching the word, that they have no leisure to read these common prayers; as if this were not the chief part of their office and charge committed unto them.”²⁴¹

He must have been right here and his point was taken in the formation of 1662 as the rubric is changed thus: “And all Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately, or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause.”²⁴² The same is still true in the present Canons of the Church.²⁴³ In this he had his way.

When commenting upon the section entitled Of Ceremonies, our author feels the need to defend the 1549 Prayer Book. He says that the 1552 edition has the same words as those in 1549; therefore those superstitious ceremonies to be abolished could not be 1549 as the same words are present there. Secondly as the title itself speaks about ceremonies (some of which to be retained) it is not the concept of ceremonies that is under attack here but those that are not agreeable with the word of God.²⁴⁴ This again is one of his endeavours to show how the puritans differ from what the English Reformers intended.

Commenting on Morning Prayer he goes at great lengths to show that using musical instruments in the Divine Service is not only to be continued but encouraged as this custom is as ancient as Moses, “...when he came out of Egypt...” it continued up to the time of Christ and as continued to happen after. For our author the “...effeminate Geneva tunes...” are so ill displeasing to those accustomed with the solemn music of the Christians.²⁴⁵ The beauty of holiness and worship is high up in Cosin’s agenda; music carried out properly for him had an important and vital part to play in the liturgy, this can be noted from the rich patrimony of music he left behind him in Durham. Today this argument seems so petty and foreign as the use of the organ in the Church of England is not only accepted but even the norm. However this was not so at Cosin’s time, I would say that he contributed, through his works and endeavours to secure a solid patrimony of music for Durham Cathedral and in the other places were he was serving, and through those who took up his understanding of Anglicanism, in making our present musical arrangements the norm in the Church, therefore he may be partly responsible for the musical patrimony all of us inherit.

²⁴¹ COSIN, V, 10.

²⁴² BCP1662Ms, 19.

²⁴³ Canon C 26, 1.

²⁴⁴ COSIN, V, 12.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 61-3.

When commenting on the Litany, he is surprised to see puritans arguing with papists for holding the distinction between mortal and venial sins as this distinction is present in the litany of the English Church at the petition: "...to forgeue us all our synnes, neglygences, and ignoraunces...".²⁴⁶ This argumentation can seem to be hair-splitting, however one can also see in it the keen eye of observation of our author and the reverence in which he held the Prayer Book, every word in it has an important part to play and in this case one single phrase can provide a footing to ground a whole structure of ethics as regards different grades of sin.

Commenting on the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, he gives a short explanation to the Liturgical year. He sees this as divided in two great blocks; the first is the time of Christ's living on earth and the second of our living on earth following his example. The first part illustrating the life of Christ and the unfolding of the Divine Mysteries starts from the first Sunday of Advent and ends on Trinity Sunday, the second part being there for our guidance in our earthly pilgrimage comprises all the Sundays after that, thus in the first part learning the mysteries of the Christian religion, and in the second to practice "...that which is agreeable to the same...".²⁴⁷ This splendid and may I add rare definition or explanation of the liturgical year comes more fully into its own now that in the Church of England we seem to have two extended or new seasons. The kingdom season with its cry of rejoicing in the saints who 'surround our footsteps as we journey on' is very much into Cosin's concept of the earthly pilgrimage. With the extension of the season of Epiphany one can more clearly see the focus on the life of Christ being extended as now the Incarnation and Paschal cycles are almost in continuation. An instance of our commentator's liturgical notion is his splendid exegesis of the feast of Epiphany.²⁴⁸ He proposed that the simple title for the 25th December (Christmas Day) and for the 6th of January (Epiphany) in the Prayer Book be changed into 'The Nativity of Our Lord commonly called Christmas Day' and 'The Epiphany, or the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles', in both he was successful in the promulgation of 1662.²⁴⁹ The changing moment between the two cycles of Incarnation and the Paschal Mystery is the feast widely known as Candlemas. This feast day deserves a special mention here. It seems that with the publication of modern liturgies,²⁵⁰ there is a re-reception of this feast day.²⁵¹ In the pre 1662 Prayer books this feast is called The Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin. This feast had a proper collect one retained from an ancient liturgy, possibly that found in the Sacramentary of Gelasius but which found its way in the Prayer Book from Sarum.²⁵² The epistle for the day was to be taken from that of the Sunday, while the Gospel

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 68 and 1559, 364.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 71-6.

²⁴⁹ See: DB 102 and 106 and BCP1662M, 91 and 100.

²⁵⁰ I am thinking of the two publications: Promise of His Glory, with the focus around the cycle of the Incarnation and its twin volume Lent, Holy Week, Easter with the focus on the Paschal Mystery.

²⁵¹ This feast can now be transferred or anticipated to a Sunday to make it possible for many people to celebrate it. Also, the new tradition of keeping the crib up to this feast day has spread almost universally in the C of E in such a short time, it seems that by the year 2000 almost all the cathedrals kept their crib up to this feast day.

²⁵² Sarum, op.cit., 348.

was a proper one taken from Luke; ending with the meeting of Jesus and Simeon.²⁵³ Cosin worked hard to reshape the model of this feast day. That what he wanted to see happening on this feast day caused him much trouble is an undisputed fact, there is the whole story of Peter Smart finding great exception at John Cosin going up and down ladders in the Cathedral Church of Durham as from two in the afternoon to light all the candles in time for Evensong, the probably exaggerated figures of more than 200 candles and 16 torches was given.²⁵⁴ We will never know if Cosin wanted to re-introduce the blessing of the candles and the procession, but we know that he wanted a proper epistle for the day and a longer gospel that would incorporate not only Jesus' parents and Simeon, but the canticle and the prophecy together with the story of Anna. He was also very keen to make the festival one dedicated to Christ rather than to the Blessed Virgin Mary. This is evidence that he did not follow blindly the dictates of Rome, he was all for this title even in the periods of his life described by his critics as being at his most Roman at heart. In 1662 this feast is revisited, it is titled as The Presentation of Christ in the Temple commonly called the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin.²⁵⁵ The collect is the same ancient and venerable one, the epistle is a proper one taken from Malachi 3 and the gospel is the same from the previous prayer book but lengthened incorporating all the events that happened on the day. Cosin was successful in these changes. These changes, in recent liturgical books, have been revived to an extent that would make Cosin an extremely happy man. In *The Promise Of His Glory* there is a proper Vigil for the feast and the procession with hallowed candles is encouraged as a custom distinctive of the day. In *Common Worship* the title of the feast is still the one given by Cosin, the collect is still based on the ancient one. There is a post communion developing the themes of Simeon and Anna that reflect the gospel of the day, the same gospel suggested by Cosin and the epistle being as well the one suggested by him are retained.

As regards the Sanctorale our writer was very much in favour of adding more commemorations of saints.²⁵⁶ In every reform of the Prayer book starting from 1662 down to *Common Worship* more saints were added to the calendar. It seems that our author was successful in this matter also.

Cosin comments on the ornaments rubric, one which caused controversy up to the 19th century. For him the vestments in use at the second year of Edward II were not a surplice and hood but a plain white alb with a vestment or cope on it, and therefore our author believes that this is what is normative in the church.²⁵⁷ In 1627, possibly at Cosin's suggestion, vestments were re-introduced in the Cathedral

²⁵³ Lk 2 22-27. Was this gospel chosen thus to bring out the real meaning of the feast day the hypapante, the meeting between Jesus and Simeon, or was it to make sure that the gospel part about light and the sorrows of Mary was not read in order to secure that no superstitious practices are developed? At any rate this was shorter than Sarum that ends with the canticle of Simeon.

²⁵⁴ JOHNSON MARGOT, *John Cosin, Papers presented to a Conference to celebrate the 400th Anniversary of his birth*, Thurnstone Ventures, Durham, 1997, 126.

²⁵⁵ This transition happened exactly in the same way in the Roman Church at the liturgical reform resulting from Vatican II.

²⁵⁶ Cosin, V, 23-40.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 230 ff.

services.²⁵⁸ This was another point of contention during the Smart controversy in Durham Cathedral. Although the use of vestments as suggested by Cosin was not used, he was proved to be right later in time when this rubric was taken to mean as authorising its interpretation in 1549 implying amice, alb, girdle, stole, maniple and chasuble or cope.²⁵⁹ Today the wearing of vestments or surplice and stole are common practice in the Church of England. When commenting on Morning Prayer, our author complains that many people do not kneel for the confession but ‘sit rudely and carelessly on their seats.’²⁶⁰ Indeed a complaint that is heard from many a clergy nowadays.

When commenting on the Office of Holy Baptism Cosin wonders why the exorcisms were omitted from the Prayer book whilst they are kept by some continental reformed churches.²⁶¹ He commends using the sign of the cross during the administration of this sacrament as such rite comes from antiquity.²⁶² Cosin insists that this sacrament should be administered in a public service and it would be better if it is done in the context of Holy Communion.²⁶³ A practice that is widespread today.

Regarding Confirmation our author insists on it being called a sacrament, a look at the Fathers will quickly demonstrate how much more to it there is than a simple public confession of faith as Calvin suggests. Through the imposition of hands the candidates receive strength and defence from evil, but quite rightly he insists that Confirmation should not be looked as standing on its own without the background of baptism from whence it flows.²⁶⁴

When discussing the Visitation of the Sick Cosin commends that all those who commit a mortal sin need to go to confess to a priest.²⁶⁵ This practice never gained much ground in the Church of England. When commenting on the Burial of the dead, which service the Puritans had great reservations for²⁶⁶ Cosin commends that one should pray for the departed.²⁶⁷ This practice was revived after the First World War.

3.1.2 The First Series on the Office of Holy Communion

Cosin introduced the commentary on the Eucharist by lengthy explanation of some rubrics²⁶⁸ and an explanation of the terms altar and priest.²⁶⁹ He goes on to explain and comment upon all the actions and words in the Prayer Book.²⁷⁰ The Eucharistic doctrine in his liturgical literature starts to show itself in

²⁵⁸ HOFFMAN JOHN GREGORY, *John Cosin, 1595-1672: Bishop of Durham and Champion of the Caroline Church*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA, 1977., 111.

²⁵⁹ Ollard, 425-7; and Harford and Stevenson, 514-23.

²⁶⁰ COSIN, V, 45.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 359-60.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 482-3.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 143-5.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 163-4.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 165.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 377.

²⁶⁸ *IBID.*, 83-4.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 85-9.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 89-100.

the commentary about the preparation that Christians are to make before receiving the holy and Blessed Sacrament.²⁷¹ Cosin demonstrates how this preparation happened in the early Church.²⁷² Those who are to partake have to prepare before coming and show reverence when they arrive.²⁷³ This has been taken up by Common Worship not only in a rubric exhorting every communicant for a careful devotional preparation before the service but also by providing a Form of Preparation before the Order of the Eucharist. Cosin's annotations point out that when the priest invites the people to lift up their hearts, it is implied that those present should lay aside all "carnal and worldly cogitation, they must think of nothing but God". This should happen as John Chrysostom said that when one sees the Lord sacrificed and the priest occupied in the sacrifice one should not think about the things of earth but about those of heaven.²⁷⁴ Cosin implies that the Church of England adheres to the notion of sacrifice in the celebration of communion, and whilst commenting on the proper preface for Christmas and its octave he sees a plain proof that the intention of the English Church is to celebrate Communion daily.²⁷⁵ As a result of the Oxford movement this was achieved in many churches.

His notes proceed in explaining the notion of Christ's presence in the Eucharist as was always believed by the Church of England.²⁷⁶ He explains how although some would disagree and laugh at this, the Church of England is of St. Cyprian's spirit when he writes:

"Quam praeclarus est calix iste, quam religiosa hujus potus ebrietas? Sanguinem sugimus, intra ipsa Redemptoris nostri vulnera figimus linguam, quo interius exteriusque rubricati a sapientibus hujus seculi judicamur amentes".²⁷⁷

The notes on Consecration state clearly that the English Church uses the same words as in a 'Mass-book' to the effect, and not a *recitare historiam*,²⁷⁸ using the words of institution to consecrate the elements is what the English Church does, other Christians recite the narrative or history of the words of institution without holding that any change would happen to the elements as they are bare signs. In this moment of the Communion Office the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross is kept.²⁷⁹ In Communion this sacrifice is 'only commemorative and sacramental', it is invisible but sufficient to take away the sins of the world. The application of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, in which all sins of the world were abolished, happens by faith, by good works, by the unbloody offering up of the same sacrifice and by the receiving of His most precious Body and Blood.²⁸⁰ The sacrifice in Communion is not a new

²⁷¹ Ibid., 100.

²⁷² Ibid., 101-2.

²⁷³ Ibid., 101.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 103-4.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 104.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ J FIRMICI MATERNI (ed.), *Divi Caecilii Cypriani*, Gauthier Fratrem et Soc., Parisiis, 1836, 300 and COSIN, V, 105.

²⁷⁸ COSIN, V, 106.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 107.

sacrifice but the same offered on Calvary and the same offered each day to God by Christ in heaven.²⁸¹ After consecration, the elements are called ‘holy mysteries’ and ‘spiritual food of the Body and Blood of Thy Son’. Although the thoughts of the faithful are wholly taken up with the spiritual food of Christ’s Body and Blood the elements are still bread and wine however now with a totally new meaning,²⁸² unlike the Roman Liturgy the elements are never called ‘Thy Creatures’ after Consecration.²⁸³ The commentary holds that the change in the elements happens at the words of consecration.²⁸⁴ According to ancient Church custom, Communion should be given on the hands with the recipients kneeling.²⁸⁵ ‘After the sacrifice is ended’ all come to receive, but the priest should not deliver the sacrament if the communicant does not reply Amen to the words of distribution.²⁸⁶ This is followed by a commentary on the prayer of oblation. Cosin insists that as in 1549 and the use by Bishop Overall this prayer should come immediately after the words of institution and before the Lord’s Prayer and Communion.²⁸⁷ A practice which nowadays might be taken to be the norm and in unity with both Eastern and Western Christianity. A new section explores the notion of the sacrifice of the Eucharist. As the ancient fathers called the Eucharist, it is indeed a ‘*Sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis*’, this does not exclude that the Eucharist is a commemorative, spiritual, respectful, true and propitiatory sacrifice, “And in this sense (an oblation made for all) it is not only an eucharistical, but a propitiatory sacrifice”.²⁸⁸ The commentary describes sacrifice as an oblation of a real and sensible thing to God alone, acknowledging the people’s subjection to God and God’s supremacy. This has to be carried out by a lawful minister and performed by rites ordained by Christ and His Church.²⁸⁹ The true nature of the sacrifice as oblation is in the offering as every sacrifice is an offering.²⁹⁰ The oblation of Christ’s death once offered and the Eucharist being a representative sacrifice of it, is offered for the sins, for the benefit of the whole world, the whole Church, that both those alive and those departed in the faith of Christ, may feel and partake in its affect in virtue.²⁹¹ Truly the Eucharist is an oblation made for all in order to be effectual to all,²⁹² therefore the Eucharist is not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving (Eucharistical) but also a “sacrifice propitiatory”. The sacrifice is propitiatory as it brings about the forgiveness of sins to those present, not on its own merits but since it re-lives the sacrifice of Christ offered once for all.²⁹³ It is not only offered for the living but also for the dead. The Eucharist ‘obtains and brings into act’ the propitiation made once by Christ, it makes this act of

²⁸¹ Ibid., 108.

²⁸² Ibid., 109.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 110.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 112.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 112-3.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 114.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 119-120.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 115-6.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 119.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid., 120.

Christ present and accessible for the faithful.²⁹⁴ By consecration the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present and so exhibited and given to the faithful. This does not happen after a physical manner but after a heavenly one, an invisible and incomprehensible manner. Although some hold that the Body of Christ is present only in the use of the Sacrament and in the act of eating, the Church of England holds that once the elements are consecrated the Real Presence remains until the elements are consumed.²⁹⁵ The cue is taken from Origen, Jerome, Hesychius and the custom in Constantinople and France where is any sacrament remained, young children from the local school were called to eat it up or else it was consumed in fire.²⁹⁶ When commenting on the Catechism, the first series says that the Eucharistic elements should be bread and wine mixed with water, as was the custom of the ancient Church.²⁹⁷ The commentary reaffirms the teaching of the Church of England on the Eucharist in the words of John Overall: “*Corpus Christi sumitur a nobis sacramentaliter, spiritualiter, et realiter, sed non corporaliter*”.²⁹⁸

3.1.3. The Second Series on the Office of Holy Communion

Cosin’s notes on the Order for the administration of the Lord’s Supper start by listing the various names given to the sacred action by the Scriptures and the ancient Fathers of the Church. In this exercise the author is trying to say that all these names are valid for this sacramental action and that it would seem not proper to use names as banners for different forms of doctrinal understanding. He lists: Lord’s Supper, Lord’s Table, Communion, Breaking of the Bread, Food and Drink of the Blessing (*Cibus et Potus Benedictionis*), Eucharist, Liturgy, Assembly or Congregation (*synaxis*), Holy Mystery, Sacrament of the Altar, Sacrifice, Host, Victim, Immolation, Oblation and Mass.²⁹⁹ He proceeds to illustrate how Communion was celebrated in the primitive Church.

- Psalms (sung)
- Readings – Prophets and Sacred Scriptures
- Sermon by the Bishop
- Offertory
- Consecration and Prayer ending with the great Amen.
- Communion
- Psalms and Hymns (sung)
- Prophesying in tongues
- Interpretation of Scriptures
- Agape

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 120.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 131-2.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 132.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 151-4.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 155.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 299-302.

- Hymns and concluding prayers.³⁰⁰

He illustrates how this sacred action is celebrated in the Church of England; therefore implying once more its continuity with the ancient catholic Church. He notes that on the table there should be a fair linen, a Bible, a Liturgy Book, a Paten and Chalice and two candles. The sacred ministers should wear a surplice, chasuble or cope.³⁰¹ When commenting on the offertory Cosin uses the ancient division of the Lord's Supper. From the first Our Father to the homily he calls Mass of the Catechumens and from the offertory onwards Mass of the Faithful.³⁰² In agreement with the Ancient Fathers, Cosin says that the Church of England holds the second part to be the nobler, holy and sacred of the two.³⁰³ Writing on consecration, he starts by quoting various authorities to show that since apostolic times consecration happened only by a priest reciting the words of institution over the elements.³⁰⁴ This was so evident by Augustine's time that he coined the axiom: '*Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum*'.³⁰⁵ Cosin demonstrates that Christ is not offered again to God as he was offered once only on the cross, the sacrifice is remembered, celebrated and re-lived without shedding of His blood or killing Him over again.³⁰⁶ He explains that the Reformed Church of England holds that the Eucharist is a commemoration of the Sacrifice of Calvary in which is truly present the Body and Blood of Christ. He also explains that it is not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving but through the prayers of the faithful God's mercy is experienced and the Eucharist becomes indeed a propitiatory sacrifice.³⁰⁷ He holds that when one receives communion the Body and Blood of Christ, sacramentally and really present, are truly received.³⁰⁸ Cosin says that it is fitting for the faithful recipients to reverence and adore the Saviour giving his own Body and Blood to them.³⁰⁹ The adoration is not given to the blessed elements but to Christ himself, as the elements contain no sensible (physical) presence. Christ's presence is there for those who are to receive in faith.³¹⁰ On the Prayer of Oblation (which in the 1549 Prayer Book was said before the distribution of Communion), he remarks that this position should not have been changed.³¹¹ Indeed starting from the proposed Prayer Book of 1928 to our own times this suggestion can be considered to be now common practice. Cosin gives various citations from both testaments to show that the Eucharist can carry the name of sacrifice, and therefore the table on which it is celebrated an altar as Christ's own sacrifice offered once and for all, is lived again there.³¹² He states that in this respect the Church of England follows the

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 303.

³⁰¹ Ibid. and Ibid., 305-6.

³⁰² Ibid., 318-9.

³⁰³ Ibid., 319.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 332.

³⁰⁵ MARCUS DODS (ed.), *The Works of Aurelius Augustine: Bishop of Hippo*, Edinburgh, 1874, XV Vols., Vol. XI, on John, ii, 300.

³⁰⁶ COSIN, V, 333.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 336.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 345.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid., 347.

³¹² Ibid., 348.

Holy Scripture and the Ancient Fathers.³¹³ The main concerns of Cosin as regards the celebration of the Eucharist are the importance of the second part of the whole liturgy, from offertory onwards, the sacrificial notion and the concept of the Real Presence in the consecrated elements. These concerns are paramount to him and are his guiding principle in understanding the celebration of Holy Communion and later on in his contribution to the formation of the 1662 Prayer Book. Continuing his commentary on the prayer of oblation, he holds that the words "... we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His Passion" mean that all members of the Church past, present and future, those present as those absent are benefiting from the sacrifice. Not only remission of sins past and present but even the other benefits of His Passion that is the resurrection of the body, such benefits being extended not only for the living but even for those departed and those still to come to live and die in the faith of Christ.³¹⁴ In other words he views the Lord's Supper as the expression uniting the participants (those present) with one another in a fellowship in which the eschatological fellowship of humanity in the coming kingdom of God (those absent, those departed and those yet to be) is already present in a sign. There is thus a close material connection between the Lord's Supper and the Church's fellowship, in other words the lasting relationship in the Lord's Supper between the participants and Jesus Christ constitutes a new fellowship: the Church. For Cosin the Eucharist is constitutive of the Church, a notion not so popular among the Reformers of his time. In the same prayer the words "And here we offer and present unto thee O Lord, ourselves" he sees the common priesthood, in a spiritual sense, of the whole assembly of the people.³¹⁵ This brings into perspective the Reformation thesis of the priesthood of all believers. It illustrates the Lutheran idea of each Christian coming before God to pray for others and that all may mutually pray for each other and offer themselves as a sacrifice to God³¹⁶, the congregation is indeed a *communio*.³¹⁷ These ideas all form important and vital aspects in the beautiful tapestry of Cosin's Eucharistic Doctrine. What is more is that he recognises a Real Presence of Christ in the elements that brings with it remission of sins and a living relationship with Christ, which forms a communion – the Church. Cosin believes in an Active Real Presence, in the words of G.W.H. Lampe, "We speak in terms of activity rather than presence,... Christ is not active *in absentia*, neither is he present but inactive".³¹⁸ Interestingly these notions of Cosin all found their way in the *Responsio* of the English Archbishops to the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* of 1897.³¹⁹

An interesting note is a commentary on the rubric: 'if any of the bread or wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use'. Cosin understands that the remaining bread and wine is that provided for the

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 349.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 351-2.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 353.

³¹⁶ PANNENBERG, *III*, 126.

³¹⁷ PAUL ALTHAUS, *Theology of Luther*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1966, 302-3.

³¹⁸ GWH LAMPE, *Ways of Worship*, 200, as quoted in, H. BENEDICT GREEN CR, *Current Developments of Eucharistic Doctrine in Anglicanism*, Pamph., c.1979, 3.

³¹⁹ *Responsio ad Litteras Apostolicos Leonis Papae XIII, 'De Ordinationibus Anglicanis'*, n. XI, in *Anglican Orders*, London, SPCK, 1932, 31ff.

use but not consecrated for the sacrament, as care has to be taken to consecrate no more than will suffice.³²⁰ The fact that the real presence remains after the service of communion, and not only to be reserved for the communion of the sick, is widely accepted by the Church today as new services of communion by extension are being offered to congregations who for a grave pastoral reason can not have a priest to preside on the Communion Office.

3.1.4. The Third Series on the Office of Holy Communion

The commentary on the Office of Holy Communion in the third series opens with a lengthy description of the position of the altar and a description of the rite itself. Cosin was keen on the proper celebration of the rite. Brancepeth church, the chapel at Peterhouse, the chapel at Bishop Auckland and Durham Cathedral were all made fit for worship by Cosin. English people of that generation learned something of the splendour of the liturgy and were caught up by the spirit of liturgical prayer by Cosin's own rapt devotion at the public services of the Church.³²¹ Cosin's guiding principle in the celebration of the Liturgy was the "Beauty of Holiness." He suggests that the altar should stand by the east wall of the chancel as against the use of the time to move the altar in the body of the chancel. It is evident today that for the vast majority of churches that is where the altar stands. In his description of the 1549 Prayer Book, Cosin says that after the offertory those who intend to receive Communion should stay in the choir in the following order, '*virii a dexteris, mulieres a sinistris separatim*'.³²² The priest then counts the communicants and lays on the 'corporas' the right number of hosts and as much wine (mingled with water) as necessary.³²³ This is followed by the preface with the Sanctus and the prayer for the whole state of the Church, which in later editions became the prayer for the Church militant in order to avoid praying for the dead.³²⁴ At the end of this prayer there was a special mention of the present communicants and a thanksgiving to God for the virtues showed in all 'His saints, especially in the most virtuous and glorious Virgin Mary, the mother of Our Lord'.³²⁵ Then followed the Prayer of Consecration with its epiclesis and after the words of institution there was the Prayer of Oblation.³²⁶ The prayer of epiclesis is now an undoubted fact in Church of England Eucharistic Prayers, if one looks at Common Worship it is there in all the Eucharistic Prayers. The Lord's Prayer preceded the Peace and the antiphon of invitation 'Christ our Paschal Lamb'.³²⁷ This was followed by the Confession and Absolution and the comfortable words. After the prayer of Humble Access, Communion was distributed. During the distribution the choir sang

³²⁰ COSIN, V, 356, See PULLAN, 318ff, for Cosin's insistence that the elements consecrated should be enough to communicate those present, the priest should not have less or more than needed. Cosin had problems with some abusive clergy who consecrated more than enough wine, in order to have it for their own use after the service.

³²¹ ADDLESHAW, 32.

³²² COSIN, V, 459, note q.

³²³ Ibid., 459-60. The '*corporas*' strictly means the corporal or white square linen placed upon the altar on which the chalice and paten are placed. It takes its name of the latin *corpus*, body as on it is placed the Body of the glorified Christ.

³²⁴ Ibid., 460.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid., 461.

the Lamb of God. After Communion the Prayer of Thanksgiving was said and the final blessing imparted.³²⁸ Cosin proceeds to comment on his present version of the Prayer Book. Commenting on the Prayer for the Church Militant he says that its form is most ancient and apostolic, and quotes various authorities to demonstrate his point.³²⁹ As against Bucer who introduced the word Militant in the title of this prayer, Cosin would like to do away with it, as the title does not accurately reflect the sense of the prayer he interprets the phrase for all men, in the prayer, as not only those present in the congregation, but for all members of the Church to comprise the dead as well as the living.³³⁰ When commenting on the dialogue preceding the preface he quotes Chrysostom, Eusebius and Jerome to show how high the hearts of the faithful should be to adore the Body of the Lord.³³¹ Following short comments about how the Communion Office comes to an end, he writes about some rubrics explaining that on Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany is to be sung and after that, even if there is no Communion, the priest shall vest with an alb or surplice and a cope and read the Communion Office up to the offertory when he will dismiss the people with a blessing.³³² He says that the host has to be a wafer without any impression upon it. People should communicate at least once a year and in their mouth not in their hands, although in the apostles' time all received on their hands.³³³ Cosin notes that the first time common bread was used was at Geneva in 1538 on the insistence of Farel and Viret. But this custom offended the people there, at Lausanne and Berne so much so that both of them together with Calvin were banished from the town and the use of wafer bread was restored.³³⁴ Again one can say that the use of wafer bread today is widely used in the Church of England.

Cosin ends this section with a lengthy but highly interesting note on Martin Bucer (1491-1551). He says that when Bucer came first to England he studied diligently the 1549 Prayer Book where he found all things purely reformed and everything in accordance with the Word of God. However, afterwards, Bucer neglected his own rule and found fault in many particulars.³³⁵ Bucer wrote these objections in his work known as the *Censura*.³³⁶ The most notable things objected to are kneeling at the Communion, prayers for the dead, the sign of the cross during the consecration, the Chrism, anointing and signing with the cross in Baptism, anointing of the sick and any commendation of the soul of the departed at the burial service.³³⁷ Of these twenty-eight chapters Cosin writes about twenty-one.³³⁸ In these twenty-one he lists the following objections as laid out by Bucer.

³²⁸ Ibid., 461-2.

³²⁹ Ibid., 465-6.

³³⁰ Ibid., 466.

³³¹ Ibid., 470.

³³² Ibid., 473-4.

³³³ Ibid., 474.

³³⁴ Ibid., 481.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ cf. WHITAKER.

³³⁷ OLLARD, 74.

³³⁸ COSIN, V, 474-9.

1. Vestments should not be worn.
2. The Office of Holy Communion should not be read when there is no Communion.
3. Morning and Evening Prayer should not be part of Communion.
4. The Communion should only be administered in churches.
5. Ordinary bread or wafer bread can be used and all rubrics implying transubstantiation might be omitted.³³⁹
6. The bread should be easy to break and the Oblation has to be taken at the offertory.
7. Christ is equally received in Communion as in baptism and the preaching of the Word.
8. That people should receive each time Communion is celebrated and not once a year.
9. That Communion should be received in the hand.
10. That at the offertory there should be a collection for the poor so that none are suffer to beg.
11. That during Communion men should stand on the one side and women on the other.
12. The minister should consecrate sufficient bread and wine but if any is left over *extra usum Sacramenti*, then the elements might be placed in common use.
13. Gestures of kneeling, crossing etc. should be eliminated.
14. That only one Communion should be celebrated on Christmas Day.
15. Every minister should preach and not only read the homilies.
16. The Sanctus may be sung while the priest is saying the prayer of the whole state of Christ's Church.
17. That in the Prayer for the Church there should be no mention of the dead.
18. That the epiclesis should be an invocation of the Holy Spirit on those present rather than on the elements.
19. That there should be no signing of the cross on the elements before consecration and the elements should not be touched during the words of

³³⁹ Bucer here had in mind the following 1549 Prayer Book rubric: "For aduoyding of all matters and occasyon of dycscencyon, it is mete that the breade prepared for the Communion, bee made, through all the realme, after one sort and fashion: that is to say, unleaueled, and rounde, as it was afore, but without all maner of printe, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may aptly deuided in diuers pieces: and eury one shall be deuided into two pieces, at the least, or more by the discrecion of the minister, and so distributed, and menne muste not thynke lesse to be receyued in part then in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our sauour Jesu Christ."

institution. Note: Cosin here says that although the rubric was in 1552 removed to accommodate Bucer's views, the custom prevailed.³⁴⁰

20. That in the Prayer of Oblation the words 'by ministry of Thy holy angels' should be removed as the prayers of the faithful go up by themselves, without the help of any angels.

21. That the prayer of Humble Access should remain as it is.

Cosin suggests the need that those faithful intending to receive communion are to notify the priest of their intention the day before the Eucharist is to be celebrated, and says that the exact time of the celebration needs to be specified by the priest to the people.³⁴¹ He says that the priest should be careful to whom to give the consecrated elements and from whom they are to be withheld as this can cause disputes and contentions.³⁴² Cosin says that the fourth rubric determining that the Table be covered with a linen cloth only is lacking, it needs more explanation to agree with the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth that means a silk carpet as well as the linen. The use of covering the altar with a rich cloth and a white cloth of linen above it was, and to some extent still is, widespread. He also says that it would be helpful if the rubric says where the elements are to be placed upon the altar.³⁴³ Cosin explains that the order of the two collects, for the king and that of the day, should be established. He suggests that the collect of the day should be the closer one to the Epistle and Gospel as in 'many times it relateth'.³⁴⁴ This suggestion was taken up in 1662. Cosin says that the people should stand for the gospel and say the traditional answers at its proclamation and at its ending.³⁴⁵ This is another suggestion that found its way in 1662. He writes about the need to determine the posture during the Nicene Creed, another suggestion taken up in 1662, and asks for the fasting days to be specified for the priest to announce to the people after the creed.³⁴⁶ He writes about necessary rubrics for the collection for the poor, included in 1662, and for the inclusion of the words 'to give thanks to all men' in the title of the Prayer for the Church Militant, this would make it more agreeable to 1549, this suggestion was not taken up.³⁴⁷ Cosin says that rubrics should be set to regulate the actions of the priest whilst reciting the words of institution, and the posture of priest and people while receiving communion, he wishes to see a provision for the priest to use in the case that the consecrated elements run out and there are still people who wish to receive.³⁴⁸ All these suggestions find their way in 1662. Cosin mentions the need to have the Prayer of Oblation in the place it was in 1549, and asks for a rubric to regulate how the people will recite the *Gloria in Excelsis*.³⁴⁹ Cosin asks about how

³⁴⁰ COSIN, V, 478.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 512, 43.

³⁴² Ibid., 44.

³⁴³ Ibid., 512-3, 45.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 513, 46.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 47.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 514, 48-9.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 514-6, 50-6.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 516-7, 56-60.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 517-8, 61-2.

regularly the Office of Holy Communion should be celebrated in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, and writes about the possibility of using wafer bread. He stresses the fact that the curate, after the celebration, can take for his own use the bread and wine that are not consecrated, and to consume the remaining consecrated elements before all the people depart from church.³⁵⁰ This final point was secured as well in 1662.

3.2. The Durham Book

In March 1660, Bishop Wren was released from the tower where he had been imprisoned since 1641 there he wrote the *Advices*, a series of suggestions on the revision of the Prayer Book. Probably Cosin saw them and prepared his own Paper known as the *Particulars*.³⁵¹ In this paper Cosin is more interested in the rubrics than in the text itself, although the latter is by no means neglected. Cosin stresses legality and uniformity. His main concern is the exactness of the liturgical text. Some of his points are so trivial as to be hardly worth making; others, such as the position of the prayer of Oblation, are of far-reaching significance. As in his third series, which he amply consults in this work, he constantly looks at the 1549 Prayer Book. These notes are known as the Durham Book (DB). Cuming says that around the winter of 1660-1, Cosin, encouraged by the convocation of the Savoy Conference, began to enter his suggestions for revision into a Prayer Book printed in 1619.³⁵² The following section of this work depends heavily on the magisterial work of Cuming *The Durham Book*.³⁵³ In the DB the Scottish Prayer Book is widely used, often verbatim by both Wren and Cosin.³⁵⁴ Apparently Wren did not share Cosin's passion for the 1549 Prayer Book and so they both look at the Scottish Prayer Book as a practical means to bring to realisation Cosin's ideas.³⁵⁵ The 1549 Prayer Book, the Three Series and the *Particulars* of Cosin and the *Advices* of Wren are, together with Scottish Prayer Book, the major ingredients that constitute DB. As minor influences one can list, among others, the *Canons of 1604*, Cosin's book of *Devotions*, the *Sarum Liturgy* and the works of Hamon L'Estrange and Anthony Sparrow.³⁵⁶ Before the Savoy Conference itself DB became so heavy with marginal notes and their corrections that William Sancroft decided to re-write the proposals in another Book of Common Prayer, now known as the *Fair Copy*.

3.2.1. Matters not relating to the Communion Office in the Durham Book

Cosin seems very keen that the whole Psalter be read over the space of one whole month. This he suggests even in the short month of February. Up to his time on the 31st day of January the psalms appointed for the first day were used and on the first of March the psalms for the 30th day. This ensured

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 518-9, 63-5.

³⁵¹ COSIN, V, 502ff.

³⁵² Not to be confused with the Prayer Book used in the First Series.

³⁵³ cf. CUMING, *Durham*.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, xx.

that the Psalter was read three times without any repetition in the first three months of the year. He was not very pleased with this arrangement therefore he suggested that that the psalms appointed for day 29 and 30 be distributed between days 27 and 28 when February had 28 days, if February had 29 days than on that day the psalms for day 29 are to be used for Matins and those appointed for day 30 to be used in Evensong.³⁵⁷ This suggestion was not taken up in 1662. He also suggested that on a Holy Day or on Sunday in the Eve the collect of the feast or the Sunday will be used.³⁵⁸ This was not adopted in 1662 although it is the custom nowadays. Many minor suggestions about readings and the distribution of the psalms were as well taken up in 1662. Some suggestions are to secure the whole reading of scriptures as one can see in the addition of chapter 24 to chapter 23 in Matins of Easter II, others to manifest the character of the celebration as appointing Deuteronomy 16: 1-18 as first lesson Matins on Pentecost instead of the one appointed,³⁵⁹ both suggestions were included in 1662. For clarity and end of disputations about which feasts are celebrated and which fasts are kept, Cosin suggests a table before the Calendar, this was taken up in 1662. Another of Cosin's suggestions taken up in 1662 is the rubric after the third collect about the anthem and the collects for the king etc...³⁶⁰ This appendix will provide space for the minister to do his private devotions. Collects for free use are provided separate from the litany in 1662.³⁶¹ In fact there are in 1662 19 collects between supplications and thanksgivings, in previous prayer books there were 6. Cosin had his hand behind this section. He always insisted in his correspondence and writings about the importance of prayer and recollection and his work known as the Private Devotions came in handy here. The first of the Ember collects is a splendid composition by Cosin, as is the thanksgiving for restoring public peace at home.³⁶² The interest of Cosin and his effort in securing this section in 1662 points out to an important feature in his life which might have been obscured because of the controversies he has found himself engaged in. Cosin was a man of prayer and he wanted others to immerse themselves in this life of prayer especially in a sound way which draws its strengths from the liturgy of the Church. I would want to say that Cosin was trying to foster a kind of spirituality and prayer life that continued and led back to the liturgy of the Church in order that the beauty of holiness would not only be a vision and the aim during public worship but even during private prayer.

The next section is the one about Collects, Epistles and Gospels. Following the Sarum rite and the advices of Wren our author suggests that this collect will be used everyday up to the eve of Christmas, as on the eve of that feast as all other feasts and Sundays the proper collect is to be used.³⁶³ The Collect of Ash Wednesday is to have the same treatment for Lent³⁶⁴, these suggestions found their way in 1662. The

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 20.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 22.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 26.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 76.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 92.

³⁶² Blunt, 200ff. Some prayers were written by people who were close to Cosin like Laud and Gunning.

³⁶³ DB, 100.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 110.

collects for Advent III, St. Stephen's, Epiphany VI and Easter Even are of particular interest as they are a composition (or in the case of Even a re-writing from the Scottish Liturgy) by Cosin himself. In them he expresses his idea that the collect should draw on both the epistle and the gospel.³⁶⁵ Liturgical accuracy is even demonstrated in his collects as is evident in the one for Easter Even. Suggestions for distribution of readings for Palm Sunday and Good Friday are taken in 1662.³⁶⁶ His suggestion of having propers for the three Rogation days was not successful.³⁶⁷

3.2.2 The Durham Book on the Office of Holy Communion

Cosin starts by suggesting that the table on which to celebrate Communion should be standing in the midst of the upper part of the chancel, always covered with a carpet of silk, and when communion is celebrated, a fair white linen is to be spread over it.³⁶⁸ After the Offertory, if there is to be a communion, then sufficient bread and wine are to be offered on the table. This is to be followed by the Prayer for the good estate of 'Christs Catholick Church'.³⁶⁹ In the prayer Cosin adds an invocation for those present there to celebrate and commemorate 'ye most pretious death & Sacrifice of thy Sonne & our Saviour Jesus Christ'. Another addition is the commemoration of the faithful departed and the commemoration of the saints, but this time without inserting the name of the Blessed Virgin.³⁷⁰ In the following exhortations Cosin is very keen to add the word sacrifice after the word death when referring to the remembrance of his death, taking place in the sacred action.³⁷¹ After the Exhortations and the Preface the Priest is to stand before the table and order bread and wine in order to be easy for him to take them in his hands. Having done so the priest starts the Prayer of Consecration.³⁷² By calling this Prayer as that of Consecration and by adding in this prayer the word Sacrifice, Cosin is making clear his doctrinal position and making his best to avoid all doctrinal ambiguities. In this prayer Cosin inserts the invocation of the Holy Spirit and

³⁶⁵ These are the collects in 1662 attributed to Cosin:

Advent III : LORD Jesu Christ, who at thy first coming didst send thy messenger to prepare thy way before thee; Grant that the ministers and stewards of thy mysteries may likewise so prepare and make ready thy way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that at thy second coming to judge the world we may be found an acceptable people in thy sight, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit ever, one God, world without end. Amen.

St. Stephen's day : Grant, O Lord, that, in all our sufferings here upon earth for the testimony of thy truth, we may stedfastly look up to heaven, and by faith behold the glory that shall be revealed; and, being filled with the Holy Ghost, may learn to love and bless our persecutors by the example of thy first Martyr Saint Stephen, who prayed for his murderers to thee, O blessed Jesus, who standest at the right hand of God to succour all those that suffer for thee, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Sunday VI after Epiphany: O God, whose blessed Son was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil, and make us the sons of God, and heirs of eternal life; Grant us, we beseech thee, that, having this hope, we may purify ourselves, even as he is pure; that, when he shall appear again with power and great glory, we may be made like unto him in his etereal and glorious kingdom; where with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, he liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Easter Even: Grant, O Lord, that as we are baptized into the death of thy blessed Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, so by continual mortifying our corrupt affections we may be buried with him; and that through the grave, and gate of death, we may pass to our joyful resurrection ; for his merits, who died, and was buried, and rose again for us, thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

³⁶⁶ DB, 112.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 118.

³⁶⁸ CUMING, *Durham.*, 132.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 146.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 148 and 150.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 152.

³⁷² Ibid., 162 and 164.

the Holy Word of God on the elements (epiclesis), so that the elements become the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.³⁷³ During the words of institution the priest is to take hold of the elements he is consecrating while saying the appropriate words, just as it was in 1549 until disliked by Bucer and so removed from 1552.³⁷⁴ After the consecration, Cosin inserts the Prayer of Oblation, or as he calls it the 'Memoriall' (*anamnesis*).³⁷⁵ In this memorial the belief in the Real Presence is clear.³⁷⁶ This is followed by the Lord's Prayer, the Prayer of Humble Access and then the administration of Communion. The faithful are to receive in their hands all humbly kneeling.³⁷⁷ The words of administration are those of 1549 and 1552 joined together.³⁷⁸ The deacon can follow the priest with the chalice.³⁷⁹ The Choir can sing some Sentences and the *Agnus Dei* during the distribution of Communion.³⁸⁰ If there is no choir the faithful are encouraged to recollect themselves in private devotion, again showing Cosin's keen sense of prayer and devotion to flow from the celebration of the Liturgy. An important rubric follows, if after distribution there remains some of the Consecrated Elements, then they are to be placed on the Lord's Table and covered with a fair linen cloth.³⁸¹ Although this rubric is taken from the Scottish Liturgy, in fact it is a very old custom of the Church, probably fourth or fifth century, not to perform the ablutions until the Eucharist is over, in order that 'the altar should not be without the sacrifice while the solemnities are being performed'.³⁸² These suggestions by Cosin were taken up by 1662 and many gestures still form part of today's tradition. It is so interesting to see that Frere himself was so fond of having the consecrated elements on the altar during the concluding rites, I think it was such a fit ending to recite the angelic hymn in front of the Consecrated elements, the ending rites for me feel such an anti-climax now. After the final prayer and dismissal there are a series of rubrics; of those which concern this work is the one that directs the minister to end the service after the Prayer for the Church Militant if there is no Communion to be celebrated, therefore ratifying the celebration of the Mass of the Catechumens only.³⁸³ Another proposed rubric permits the use of wafers, especially in places where it has been the custom, alongside the best and purest bread and wine.³⁸⁴ The other rubric proposed clears the confusion which the one in force gave about the right of the Curate to have for his own use any of the remaining bread and wine, given that they are unconsecrated, this rubric was already anticipated in both the Scottish Liturgy, the Advices and in the Particulars.³⁸⁵ A panoramic view of the Communion Office as suggested by Cosin would look thus:

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 166 and 168.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 168

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 172.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 174.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* and 176.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² ARNOLD AND WYATT, 136-8.

³⁸³ CUMING, *Durham*, 182.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 184-5 and 187.

- Lord's Prayer
- Collect for Purity
- Decalogue
- Collect for the King
- Collect of the Day
- Epistle
- Gospel
- Creed
- Sermon
- Notices of forthcoming Holy days or Fasting days
- Offertory Sentences and Offertory
- Prayer for the Church
- Exhortations
- Invitation
- Confession and Absolution
- Comfortable words
- Preface
- Prayer of Consecration
- Prayer of Oblation
- Lord's Prayer
- Prayer of Humble Access
- Distribution
- Prayer of Thanksgiving
- *Gloria in Excelsis*
- Final Blessing

What Cosin suggested was near to what was promulgated in 1662 but every revision of Anglican liturgy came more and more nearer to him.

3.3. The Convocation and the New Prayer Book

The Convocation reassembled on the 21 November 1661 and read the King's Letters, which directed the revision of the Prayer Book, for which purpose a Committee of Bishops was appointed. The Bishops were: John Cosin of Durham, Matthew Wren of Ely, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, Hinchman of Salisbury, Morley of Worcester, Sanderson of Lincoln and Nicholson of Gloucester.³⁸⁶ The Committee reported that the revision work had been foreseen and that preparations were already made and that the House might proceed to the work of revision. By the 27 November 1661 the whole revised

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 194 and same page note 1.

Prayer Book was presented to the Lower House, which in turn speedily presented its amendments. The amendments involved the erasure of some 4500 words and the addition of 10,500; these were passed in sixteen hours of sitting.³⁸⁷ It has to be said that Cosin and Wren had already done much of the work, and ample use was made of the Fair Copy³⁸⁸, which was the corrections entered by Sancroft from the Durham Book in another copy of the Book of Common Prayer. The outstanding figures on the committee were clearly Sanderson, Cosin and Wren. Wren secured the inclusion of a number of points from his Advices that were not included in the Durham Book, while Cosin secured a number of suggestions that had been omitted from the Fair Copy.³⁸⁹ The Presbyterians kept up their pressure; they succeeded in a substantial amount by taking away the Laudian elements contained in the Durham Book.³⁹⁰ By the 20 December 1661 the new Book of Common Prayer was adopted and subscribed to by the Clergy of both houses of Convocation of both Provinces.³⁹¹ With a few alterations the Prayer Book was annexed to the Act of Uniformity, which received the royal assent on 19 May 1662. The Prayer Book had to be used by St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662.³⁹²

In the 1662 Prayer Book the Office of Holy Communion, called the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, has the following structure:

- The Lord's Prayer
- The Collect for Purity
- The Ten Commandments
- The Collect for the King
- The Collect of the Day
- The Epistle
- The Gospel
- The Nicene Creed of Constantinople (said or sung)
- Banns and other notices
- The Sermon or one of the Homilies
- Sentences of the Offertory, during which the alms for the poor will be collected and the preparation of the elements on the Table.
- Prayer for the Church Militant
- Exhortation I
- Exhortation II
- Exhortation III

³⁸⁷ CUMING, *History*, 121.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*,

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

³⁹¹ PROCTER AND FRERE, 194.

³⁹² CUMING, *History*, 127.

- General Confession and Absolution
- Comfortable Words
- Preface
- Sanctus (said or sung)
- The Prayer of Humble Access
- Prayer of Consecration
- Communion
- The Lord's Prayer
- The Prayer of Oblation
- The *Gloria in Excelsis*
- The Final Blessing³⁹³

Although not all the proposals and suggestions of Cosin found way in the 1662 Prayer Book, one can still say that his hand can be seen all over the Office of Holy Communion. The two things on which he set his heart most, the Order of the Canon and the epiclesis, never found their way into the Anglican liturgy until recent developments. An influence can be seen on the title page of the Book of Common Prayer itself. In 1552 the title page read:

The Boke of Common Prayer And Administracio Of The Sacramentes, And Other Rites
And Ceremonies In The Church of England.

On Cosin's own initiative³⁹⁴ the title page of 1662 read:

The Booke of Common Prayer And Administration of the Sacraments And other Rites
and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Vse of the Church of England Together
with The Psalter or Psalmes of David Pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches
And The Forme or Manner of Making, ordaining, & consecrating of Bishops, Priests, &
Deacons.

The use of the word Church in the title page was abolished in 1552 and re-introduced, on Cosin's insistence here, to signify the universal Catholic Church. In other words the Sacraments, rites and ceremonies belong to the whole Catholic Church but are here celebrated according to the custom of this particular branch of the Catholic Church which is still faithful to the Church of the Fathers with which it stands against Rome and Geneva.

Cosin had considerable impact in his own day. The Private Devotions ran into 18 editions, the first eight in his own lifetime. The first three editions numbered around 3250 copies, quite a high number for a time when not all people could read, it seems that that kind of literature was not only needed but proved

³⁹³ BCP1662Ms, 234ff.

³⁹⁴ OSMOND, 200.

popular. There are those who seem to suggest that this book was used at Little Gidding and Peterhouse³⁹⁵, more recently it was used by some Anglican monastic foundations and in a theological college.³⁹⁶ It is a fact that Cosin's name was widely known at the stage after then publication of the Devotions, for some he was guilty of 'apostasy from Christ to antichrist',³⁹⁷ for others 'a Jewel of great price and value.'³⁹⁸

He had an impact on his own time as well because of his notion of the beauty of holiness to be manifested in proper and dignified worship. Brancepeth church, the chapel at Peterhouse, the chapel at Bishop Auckland and Durham Cathedral were all made fit for worship by Cosin. English people of that generation learned something of the splendour of the liturgy and were caught up by the spirit of liturgical prayer by Cosin's own rapt devotion at the public services of the Church.³⁹⁹

Another major impact that Cosin had on his own time were the liturgical formularies and rubrics that he managed to see adopted by the Prayer Book of 1662, one can not forget the words written by Cuming that he together with Wren remains the most copious contributor to the Prayer book since Cranmer.⁴⁰⁰ But together with this must not forget the huge impact Cosin must have had on those with whom or over whom or to whom he exercised so diligently his priestly ministry.

Cosin's impact does not restrict itself to his own lifetime or for a few years after his death. His impact is still felt and in every generation since his death he was discussed or studied or published, one must not forget what Cuming says: 'He would be a rash man who undertook to say something completely new about John Cosin'.⁴⁰¹ I agree that no one can say anything new about him but it is possible to say something different as I hope I am doing here.

Cosin had an impact on the Oxford movement and was considered by nineteenth century Anglo-Catholics as their apostle and cited as an authority.⁴⁰² His works were published in five volumes by the series called Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology and his correspondence in two volumes by the Surtees Society. The first paragraph of the preface of the first volume of his works sums up what the Anglo-Catholic sentiment towards Cosin was in 1843:

Bishop Cosin, the faithful and trusted adherent of King Charles the Martyr, the friend of Montague and Laud, the first who was deprived of his dignities in the University of Cambridge, and sequestered from his ecclesiastical benefices by the puritan faction, was no less distinguished by his unrivalled Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer, than by his general powers as a controversialist. The writings of this eminent

³⁹⁵ STANWOOD AND O'CONNOR, l-li, n.44.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., xxxviii.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., xxxvii

³⁹⁸ Ibid., xxxv.

³⁹⁹ ADDLESHAW GWO, *The High Church Tradition*, Faber and Faber Limited, London, n.d., 32

⁴⁰⁰ CUMING, *Durham Book*, xv.

⁴⁰¹ CUMING, *Godly Order*, 123.

⁴⁰² CUMING, *Durham Book*, xv.

and illustrious person will be always, therefore, interesting, both to those who value his piety, judgement, and learning, as well as those who study his life and character.⁴⁰³

Another impact of Cosin can be seen in recent times. With the revival of the Liturgical Movement, interest has been taken up in Cosin's work. From the doctoral thesis and other writings of John G Hoffman⁴⁰⁴ to the many works on Cosin by Geoffrey Cuming and the edition of the Private devotions by P G Stanwood,⁴⁰⁵ renewed interest can be detected in Cosin's work through many researches and articles written. This will leave its mark on present liturgical studies.

And finally one can not leave out the development in Anglican liturgy that whilst not directly shaped by Cosin is in accord with his views. This is pointed out in the text. From Cosin's influence in or on the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 in to the American Prayer Books, and once more in the proposed Prayer Book of 1928, the ASB and more recently Common Worship.

Chapter 4

John Cosin: his Place in the Doctrinal Debate

In the Chapter Three I concentrated on presenting Cosin's ideas about the Church's understanding of the eucharist and about how these truths are to be celebrated in worship and codified in rubrics. Here, I will focus on locating this thought in the ecclesiastical debate about the eucharist. My purpose is to test my hypothesis that Cosin stood with the Fathers against Rome and Geneva. In order to achieve this, I will briefly see what Rome and Geneva understood and believed concerning the eucharist and then draw comparisons with Cosin. At the outset I will say that it seems clear to me that, although Cosin was very much against the schoolmen, he never attacks the works of Thomas Aquinas but on the contrary uses what Aquinas wrote. I will attempt to show that the Church of Rome departed from Aquinas.

4.1. Calvin's understanding of the Eucharist

⁴⁰³ COSIN, *I*, v.

⁴⁰⁴ HOFFMAN JOHN GREGORY, *John Cosin, 1595-1672: Bishop of Durham and Champion of the Caroline Church*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA, 1977.

The Arminian and the Iconoclast: The dispute between John Cosin and Peter Smart, in *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, September 1979, Vol. XLVIII, no. 3, 279-301.

⁴⁰⁵ See Bibliography.

Here, I will establish what Calvin held and then I will explore Cosin's relationship to it. Calvin's teaching on the eucharist can be mainly traced in his letter of reply to Cardinal Iacopo Sadoletto in 1539 and in his "*Institutes of the Christian Religion*".

In his reply to Sadoletto Calvin argues that both the essence and the divine power of Christ are defined by no limits. He is unwilling to chain down Christ's Body to earthly elements.⁴⁰⁶ Calvin proclaims that the communion of Flesh and Blood is exhibited to believers in the Supper, and that the soul enjoys them in very truth. He is adamant in rejecting transubstantiation and dismisses this doctrine with one single word, 'fiction'.⁴⁰⁷

The major work of Calvin is the "*Institutes of the Christian Religion*".⁴⁰⁸ In this work he treats the Eucharist in book IV, Chapters XVII and XVIII. Out of his love, the Eternal Father made sure to nourish his adopted children through a spiritual banquet of life-giving bread. Satan is so envious of this gift that he does not cease in spreading doubts and creating arguments about this wonderful mystery. Calvin says that the signs of bread and wine represent the invisible food that we receive from Christ. Christ is the only food for our soul that gives us enough strength to reach heavenly immortality. The bread and wine are tokens and guarantees. Just as bread and wine sustain physical life, so are souls fed by Christ making the faithful become partakers in His life-giving death.⁴⁰⁹ Calvin holds that the special fruit of the Lord's Supper is union with Christ. The faithful and Christ become one body, sharing completely in what is human in the Godhead and what is Divine in humanity.⁴¹⁰ In this sacrament, Christ is present as he himself is touched by our hands and seen by our eyes, but the entire force of this Sacrament lies in the words, "which is given for you", and "which is shed for you". Therefore, the bread and wine become signs and symbols of Christ's Body and Blood.⁴¹¹ Indeed, Calvin is here expressing the theory of receptionism⁴¹². This Sacrament does not exist simply to make the faithful partakers in Christ's Body but also to seal and confirm Christ's promise that his Flesh is food indeed and his Blood is drink.⁴¹³ Christ is received by faith; this sacrament reminds us that Christ is the bread of life we continually eat. Calvin warns the faithful not to divorce the signs from what they signify on the one hand, and not to let them obscure the hidden mysteries on the other.⁴¹⁴ He quotes Augustine to demonstrate that the eating of the Body and Blood of Christ is of faith and not of the mouth.⁴¹⁵ However, it is wrong to say that the faithful

⁴⁰⁶ JOHN C. OLIN (ed.), *A Reformation Debate - John Calvin and Jacopo Sadoletto*, Baker Book House, Michigan, USA, 1991, 70.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁰⁸ In this work the following edition is used: JOHN T. MCNEILL (ed.), *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* in JOHN BAILLIE, JOHN T. MCNEILL AND HENRY P. VAN DUSEN (eds.), *The Library of Christian Classics*, The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, USA, 1967, XXVI Vols., Vols. XX and XXI.

⁴⁰⁹ CALVIN, *op.cit.*, Bk. 4, Chap. XVII, 1.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3. See as well n. 12 on p. 1363.

⁴¹² This word denotes a form of eucharistic teaching that holds that after the consecration the elements remain bread and wine and those who faithfully receive, receive bread and wine together with the Body and Blood of Christ.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

are partakers of the Spirit only, omitting mention of Flesh and Blood.⁴¹⁶ Calvin teaches that by communion the believers are nourished unto eternal life.⁴¹⁷ It is necessary for all who aspire to heavenly life.⁴¹⁸ Bread and wine are the symbols, not the thing signified; nevertheless, by the showing of the symbol the thing signified itself is shown.⁴¹⁹ The sacred mystery of the Supper consists of physical signs and spiritual truth.⁴²⁰ Christ is truly shown to us through the symbols in order that those who receive may grow into one body with him, may be made partakers of his substance and feel his power in partaking of all his benefits.⁴²¹

Calvin now proceeds to expose the ‘errors devised by the Roman court’ – “as if the body of Christ, by a local presence, were put there to be touched by the hands, to be chewed by the teeth, and to be swallowed by the mouth.”⁴²² Arguing against the scholastic writers, Calvin holds that it is wrong to believe that bread is to be taken as God. He acknowledges that they are more moderate than the *Ego Berengarius*⁴²³ statement. However, he writes that their argument “boils down to this: that Christ is to be sought in what they call the ‘species of bread’.”⁴²⁴ Calvin holds that the consecrated bread and wine are to be considered of a different class from common foods intended to feed the stomach, since in them is set forth the spiritual food for the soul, while the bread and wine are not annihilated. If the bread does not remain bread, says Calvin, then the whole nature of sacrament is not there any more.⁴²⁵

Calvin then proceeds to attack the eucharistic doctrine held by the Lutherans that bread and wine remain bread and wine, but that the Body of Christ is enclosed underneath.⁴²⁶ He stresses that the consecrated bread and wine are symbols that invite the faithful to see Christ in his wholeness, that is, in the glory of his Kingdom from where he assists his people.⁴²⁷ Nothing must distract Christ from his heavenly glory; therefore He cannot be enclosed in bread or wine or in any other earthly substance.⁴²⁸ When interpreting the words of institution, Calvin says that in no way anyone can imply transubstantiation or impanation or consubstantiation. He argues that those in favour of transubstantiation take the verb ‘is’ in “This is my body” to mean ‘transubstantiation’, but in no language does the verb ‘is’ mean or imply that. In the same way, the same verb does not in any way imply that the bread is now also

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 9.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 10.

⁴²⁰ This is indeed the classical Catholic definition of Sacrament: A visible and sensible sign of an invisible reality. Cf. *Canons of the Council of Trent*, 1605-6 and *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, para. 1127ff.

⁴²¹ CALVIN, *op.cit.*, Bk.4, Chap. XVII, 11.

⁴²² Ibid., 12. Calvin here is quoting the document *Ego Berengarius* of 1059 in which the Real Presence has never been formulated more crudely. Cf. A.J. MACDONALD, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine*, Longman, Green & Co., London, 1930, 130. And Y. BRILIOTH, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice: Evangelical and Catholic*, The Macmillan Company, London, 1931, 86.

⁴²³ The statement that Berengarius was forced to sign by the Roman Church, in which he abjured all his former teachings about the Eucharist.

⁴²⁴ CALVIN, *op.cit.*, Bk.4, Chap. XVII, 13. It could seem that here Calvin is oversimplifying the writings of the Scholastic era.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 16.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 18.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 19.

the Body of Christ.⁴²⁹ The words of institution, according to Calvin, are to be understood as a metonymy, a figure of speech commonly used in Scripture when mysteries are under discussion.⁴³⁰ Calvin insists that Christ is not brought down from heaven to the faithful, but the faithful, during the eucharist, are lifted up to Him.⁴³¹

Calvin concludes his learned discussion on this matter by examining various matters related to the sacrament, such as the partaking by the unbelievers, adoration of the consecrated elements, the unity between the Lord's Supper and the Word, partaking worthily in the Supper and proper and frequent celebration of the same.⁴³² His eucharistic doctrine can be summed up in seven points:

1. The Body and Blood of Christ are exhibited in the elements.
2. The elements are signs that represent invisible food.
3. The elements are tokens.
4. Whilst Rome focuses on what happens to the elements, Calvin focuses on what happens to the believer whilst he receives – that is, his doctrine is 'receptionism'.
5. Christ is only received by faith.
6. If this is a sacrament, than there must not only be the thing signified (in this case the presence of Christ) but also the thing that signifies (the bread). Therefore the bread must be present and not transubstantiated.
7. Luther was wrong in teaching about impanation, i.e. that both Christ and bread are present.

Drawing from my exposition of Cosin's eucharistic thought in Chapter Three, I infer that Cosin would reply to Calvin on each of these points, as follows:

1. The real presence is not simply exhibited in the consecrated elements but given as heavenly food upon our altars.
2. The elements are not signs that represent invisible food: the bread is living and life-giving.
3. The elements are not mere tokens, but the real body of our Lord.
4. The change of the elements happens during consecration and not during reception.
5. The real presence of Christ and our receiving it have nothing to do with our faith in it.
6. The bread does not remain just bread after consecration; it is totally changed.
7. The elements are present but are totally changed, as in a sacramental manner the communicant receives the thing signified, which is a memorial of the Lord's Passion and therefore forgives sins.

It seems then that Cosin and Calvin have little in common except the fact that grace does not destroy nature. They agree that the elements are not totally annihilated, but they differ in the degree of

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 20 and 22.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 21. Calvin continues to expand on this issue in para. 23 - 28.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 31.

⁴³² Ibid., 33 - 50.

annihilation or in the presence of the thing signified. Even in later life, Cosin still kept his distance from the eucharistic teachings of Calvin.

4.2. The Roman (Tridentine) understanding of the Eucharist

To present Rome's eucharistic understanding is not as simple as presenting Calvin's. I will do so in two parts: first, Thomas Aquinas and then The Council of Trent.

It is a given that the major Roman exponent of the doctrine of the eucharist is Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas was vital in systemising the doctrine of transubstantiation. He did this, not only because of his general desire to present a systematic definition of the Christian faith, but also because he was alarmed by the 'sensualistic' interpretation of the unique presence of Christ in the Eucharist.⁴³³ His doctrine of transubstantiation can be found in the third part of his *Summa*, questions seventy five to seventy-seven.⁴³⁴ He starts by pointing out that the presence of Christ in this sacrament is not a figure or a sign, as Berengarius claimed, but a Real Presence detected by faith alone.⁴³⁵ The Angelic Doctor teaches that after the consecration the substance of bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, but not by local motion as it would follow that Christ would not be any longer in heaven. Moreover, what is changed into another thing no longer remains after such change. Therefore the substance of bread cannot remain; it is only the accidents that are left.⁴³⁶ The natural question that arises is what understanding of substance is operative here. Aquinas based most of his philosophical thought on the recently discovered Aristotle, and he knew Aristotle, as did all the scholarly world of the time, from a translation of a translation.⁴³⁷ The term 'substance' should be explained in the context of the Aristotelian philosophy of nature. Aristotle argues that from the evidence of a real distinction between potential and actual in one and the same being, it follows that everything subject to change will be compound of several distinct principles, unity being ensured by the interrelation of act and potentiality. In this study of variable reality, Aristotle sees as of primary importance the distinction between the two fundamental modalities of being: substance and accident. He defines substance as that which exists in itself and by itself (*ens simpliciter*), and defines accident as that which has no existence except in a subject other than itself, and of which the essential function is to modify the substance (*ens entis*).⁴³⁸ This is what Aquinas held to be substance and accident.⁴³⁹ Aquinas teaches that after consecration the substance of the bread is not annihilated but changed into the body and blood of Christ.⁴⁴⁰ This change is not like natural changes, but is supernatural

⁴³³ SCHILLEBEECKX, 1-2.

⁴³⁴ Although the Latin original is to be preferred, for the purpose of this study the accurate translation in three volumes done by the ENGLISH DOMINICAN PROVINCE, printed by Benziger in 1947, is used. The section in question is found in Volume II.

⁴³⁵ S.Th. III, q.75, art.1.

⁴³⁶ S.Th. III, q.75, art. 2.

⁴³⁷ The works of Aristotle were translated from Greek into Arabic for philosophical use in the part of Spain occupied by the Muslims. After the Reconquista, scholars translated the Arabic edition into Latin. This was what Aquinas read.

⁴³⁸ Please cf. F-J. THONNARD, *A Short History of Philosophy*, Desclée & Cie, Belgium, 1956, 105.

⁴³⁹ F.C.COPLESTON, *Aquinas*, Penguin Books, Reading, Great Britain, 108ff.

⁴⁴⁰ S. Th. III q. 75, art. 3.

and effected by God's power alone. This conversion of substance is called transubstantiation.⁴⁴¹ Although this transubstantiation happens, the accidents remain, since it would be horrible for people to eat human flesh and drink human blood, and therefore Christ's flesh and blood are set before us under the species of bread and wine. This also gives partakers the grace of making an act of faith in the Lord.⁴⁴² In transubstantiation, the substantial form of bread and wine is removed for the substance is the living Christ.⁴⁴³ This change of substance happens instantaneously.⁴⁴⁴

In question seventy-six, Aquinas writes about the Real Presence. In the Eucharist, Christ is made present whole and entire; under the species of bread there is now the living Christ with his body, blood, soul and divinity. The same applies to the consecrated wine.⁴⁴⁵ Christ is not made smaller as the species become smaller, but is whole and entire in any tangible quantity of the consecrated matter.⁴⁴⁶ Christ's body is not in this sacrament as a body is in a place.⁴⁴⁷ In fact, Aquinas says that Christ is not present in a moveable way; if the species are moved Christ is not moved.⁴⁴⁸ No eye even if it is the eye of a glorified body can see the body of Christ in the Eucharist.⁴⁴⁹ When by an apparition flesh or blood is seen in the species, that is not the real flesh and blood of Christ, whose blood was shed once only in his passion, but only a fearsome reminder of the invisible body and blood of Christ.⁴⁵⁰ After consecration, the accidents remain although without the substance they had before the consecration. The accidents are not the accidents of Christ.⁴⁵¹ There is no change in dimension or quantity of the accidents.⁴⁵² The flavour of the species remain and are still governed by natural law; they are still subject to corruption. When and if corruption is advanced in the Eucharistic species, in such a way that they could not be regarded as having the proper accidents of bread and wine, then Christ ceases to be present under those species.⁴⁵³ When the species are digested, they are corrupted, and Christ ceases to be present.⁴⁵⁴ This is opposed to the teaching of Stercoranism⁴⁵⁵. The breaking of the species is not the breaking of Christ.⁴⁵⁶ Any liquid added to the chalice that would make it other than the consecrated matter would corrupt the species and therefore Christ is no longer present.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., III q. 75, art. 4.

⁴⁴² Ibid., III q. 75, art. 5.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., III q. 75, art. 6.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., III q. 75, art. 7.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., III q. 76, art. 1.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., III q. 76, art. 3 – 4.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., III q. 76, art. 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., III q. 76, art. 6.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., I II q. 76, art. 7.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., III q. 76, art. 8.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., III q. 77, art. 1.

⁴⁵² Ibid., III q. 77, art. 2.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., III q. 77, art. 3 – 4.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., III q. 77, art. 6.

⁴⁵⁵ The teaching that the Body and Blood of Christ are subject to the laws of digestion after communion.

⁴⁵⁶ S. TH., III q. 77, art. 7.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., III q. 77, art. 8.

This presents a bird's eye view of Aquinas' understanding of transubstantiation in the light of what he meant by the terms 'substance' and 'accidents'. Not all were in favour of this teaching. John Duns Scotus was sceptical as it was not founded on Scripture, but he accepted it because it was the teaching of the Church. William of Ockham was sceptical and critical of it.⁴⁵⁸

By 1346, Aristotle was known as "the Philosopher", and Christian theologians were to follow him as the 'Aristotle not contrary to the faith.' By 1370, due to this new direction, the Thomistic school itself was opposing Thomas, or purifying Thomism from Thomas.⁴⁵⁹ One of the leading figures in this new Thomism was the Dominican Cardinal, Thomas de Vio, called Gaetano. This was the kind of Thomism available at Trent - an Aristotelian Scholasticism more than the contribution of Aquinas himself.⁴⁶⁰ So the second part of my exposition of Rome's position examines what did Trent believe about the Eucharist.

One of the greatest tragedies of the Reformation, regarding the unity of the Church, is that it took so long for a general council of the Church to assemble.⁴⁶¹ It required no less than twenty-eight years after Luther first raised his cry. It must be admitted that there were a large number of obstacles in the way: papal fears of a revival of conciliarism, opposition from the anti-reform members of the Roman curia, the hostility of the German princes and the political rivalry of France and Spain. Finally, Pope Paul III (+1549) convoked the council for 13th December 1545, in the city of Trent in Northern Italy. It took the council eighteen years to complete the work, up to 1563, although it was in actual session only for a little more than three of these years.⁴⁶² One of the first works of the council of Trent was to condemn heretical teaching. For this purpose in February 1547, the council condemned the Eucharistic teachings of Zwingli, Oecolampadius and the Sacramentarians and, in a separate canon, Luther's Eucharistic beliefs.⁴⁶³ Many agree that the condemned theologians were not accurately represented.⁴⁶⁴ Because of these condemnations the first schema (draft) on the Eucharist was drawn up. This was discussed on 9th May 1547. The first canon maintained that the Eucharist contained the Body and Blood of Christ not as a sign or in a symbolic form.⁴⁶⁵ The second held that the change in the eucharist is defined by the word 'transubstantiation' that is the substance of the bread is changed into the substance of the Body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into the substance of the Blood of Christ.⁴⁶⁶ The second canon quotes from the Fourth Lateran council held in 1215, which declared that "...*transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino*

⁴⁵⁸ SCHMAUS, V, 92.

⁴⁵⁹ ETIENNE GILSON, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Sheed and Ward, London, 1955, 471.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, and SCHILLEBEECKX, 55.

⁴⁶¹ THOMAS BOKENKOTTER, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, Image Books, New York, 1979, 250.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*

⁴⁶³ CONCILIIUM TRIDENTINUM: *Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio*, Societas Goerresiana, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co., 1901ff., pt. 5, 869 and pt. 7, 111-2, hereafter referred to as *Acta*. This edition is used for the Latin text, for the accurate English translation cf. TANNER NORMAN P, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II Vols., Sheed & Ward, London, 1990, Vol. V II, hereafter referred to *Decrees*.

⁴⁶⁴ SCHILLEBEECKX, 30.

⁴⁶⁵ *Acta*, pt. 6, 124.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

in sanguinem.”⁴⁶⁷ After several discussions the fathers of Trent suggested various amendments, and insisted on having terms that are more emphatic in explaining the Eucharist. Amongst others they insisted on changing the words ‘truly present’ to ‘truly and really present.’⁴⁶⁸ In the second canon they wanted to change the phrase ‘Christ is contained in the bread and wine’ to ‘Christ is present in the bread and wine.’⁴⁶⁹

The fathers of Trent never stressed the points on which Protestants and Catholics were in agreement, but were only interested to underline their work as a negative reaction to the Reformers.⁴⁷⁰ The amended canons were discussed on 25th May 1547 and further amendments were suggested. Notably there was a move to introduce the word ‘accidents’ instead of ‘species’. A commission of *theologi maiores*, theologians who were at the same time bishops, discussed this issue, but could not agree and so the text remained unchanged. The canons were submitted to the council and were accepted but not published.⁴⁷¹ In frank terms this means that they were quietly shelved. The matter was left as it was for four years, up to September 1551.⁴⁷² Again, the major concern was to point out the difference between Protestant and Roman teaching.⁴⁷³ On the 11th October 1551,⁴⁷⁴ the council defined eleven canons on the Eucharist. The first two concern our work more directly than the rest. These canons are the dogma about the eucharist in the roman tradition. The definitive text runs as follows:

- I. If anyone denies that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there are contained truly, really and substantially, the body and blood of our lord Jesus Christ together with a soul and divinity, and therefore the whole Christ, but says that he is present in it only as in a sign or figure or by his power: let him be anathema.
- II. If anyone says that in the venerable sacrament of the eucharist the substance of the bread and wine remains together with the body and blood of our lord Jesus Christ, and denies that marvellous and unique change of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, while only the appearance of bread and wine remains a change which the catholic church most aptly calls transubstantiation: let him be anathema.⁴⁷⁵

Schillebeeckx remarks that by Canon II the council acknowledged the historical relativity of the use of the word ‘transubstantiation’. Some bishops wanted to suppress this recently introduced term.⁴⁷⁶ There was some doubt in the council if the term transubstantiation had to be used at all. This word had only a

⁴⁶⁷ KARL RAHNER (ed.), *Sacramentum Mundi*, Theological Publications in India, Bangalore, 1989, VI Vols., Vol. VI, 292.

⁴⁶⁸ *Acta*, pt. 6, 142.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pt. 6, 135, 138 – 140.

⁴⁷⁰ SCHILLEBEECKX, 33.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁷² *Acta*, pt. 7, 110-204.

⁴⁷³ *Acta*, pt. 7, 143-76.

⁴⁷⁴ *Decrees*, *693.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, *697.

⁴⁷⁶ SCHILLEBEECKX, 38 and 40-1.

short tradition behind it. Certain bishops even asked for the suppression of the term, believing that a Council ought not to take over such a recently introduced current term.⁴⁷⁷ Many of the Council Fathers answered back by saying that the word ‘homousios’ (consubstantial) was new, and did not occur in Scripture, when earlier Fathers of the Church used it to expose Christological heresies. For the Council of Trent, the term ‘transubstantiation’ was a political banner of the orthodox faith, suitably proclaiming in the sixteenth-century situation the difference between the Reformed and the Catholic view of the Eucharist.

In our own times, this term has lost its significance as some Protestant theologians have discovered and accepted the suggestive force of the word transubstantiation. It has lost its function as a banner because it can now be used to fly over ships with different cargoes.⁴⁷⁸ The modern debate on transubstantiation originated in France immediately after the Second World War. Between the 1950s and 60s it percolated into the realm of general discussion.⁴⁷⁹ There are three current different schools of interpretation about the word ‘transubstantiation’. The first is in fact a very common misinterpretation. The patristic teaching and practice of the Eucharist could be described as both symbolical and realistic. This dual understanding disintegrated in the age of the Carolingians. From that time onwards symbol and reality were seen as opposed to each other. The symbol was understood as merely a pointer to something else. The reality was what could be seized hold of, what was physical. This view is evident in Amalarius of Metz (ninth century) and in the opponents of Berengar (eleventh century).⁴⁸⁰ This notion flourished in a popular devotion that fed on stories about bleeding hosts and apparitions in the host. Thomas developed a teaching of transubstantiation to get rid of the contradictions implied in this physical attitude. He put forward a change that did not take place in the physical structure of bread and wine but in their metaphysical reality. However, the popular attitude persists even in our own days and quite tragically uses what the scholastics wrote to justify what the scholastics wanted to eliminate.

The second school of interpretation uses the terms correctly and develops along two lines. Both sides of the argument are taken into consideration, one does not eliminate the other but they complement each other. On the one hand the term ‘substance’ is taken in a broad and general sense, whilst on the other it is given an Aristotelian meaning. As the teaching of Thomas Aquinas penetrated more and more into the utterances of the *Magisterium*, the problem arises whether the Councils intended to use the first or the second interpretation of substance.

⁴⁷⁷ *Acta* Pt. 7, 188. (In fact, it was only after Trent that the argument of Transubstantiation was considered to be held certain and definitive. It was only since then that the opposing views of Scotus, Durandus and the Nominalists, which show that there was no general consensus in the Church about the argument presented by Trent, were not to be considered tenable. Cf. KARL RAHNER, *Theological Investigations IV*, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1966, 297 n.14.).

⁴⁷⁸ SCHILLEBEECKX, 41.

⁴⁷⁹ PIET SCHOONENBERG, “Transubstantiation: How far is this Doctrine Historically Determined?”, in HANS KÜNG (ed.),

Concilium, Vol. 4 n. 3, April 1967, 41.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

The third interpretation takes into consideration only one part from the second school of thought. It is based on the Aristotelian categories of substance and accidents. This is based on Aristotle's teaching about 'categories'. Aristotle points out that the substance of a thing is the being that underlies the thing itself: what makes a table table? The accidents are distinct from the substance: the ovalness or roundness, height or colour of the table. St. Thomas added to this distinction by maintaining that the distinction is real as far as the substance and accidents can even be separated from each other. As Schillebeeckx quite rightly says, in this matter Aquinas transubstantiated Aristotle's thought.⁴⁸¹

The first interpretation may still be widespread but is certainly not the official teaching of the Church. The second and third have become part of the official teaching of the Church and one may ask which one is the official teaching. If the case is for the broader interpretation then notions such as 'transfinalisation' and 'transignification' may mean the same as 'transubstantiation'.

During the council of Trent the Dominican Melchior Cano pointed out that it was possible to give orthodox affirmation to the real presence while at the same time remaining sceptical about transubstantiation.⁴⁸² This would not be possible with the Aristotelian version. Trent remained true to its principle not to interfere in scholastic disputes within the limits of faith. Trent did not see the interpretation of transubstantiation in terms of substance and accidents as a scholastic opinion: they simply saw it as the teaching of the Council of Constance.⁴⁸³ It seems that Trent could not think of the Eucharist in any other way. In a later age, this formulation of belief was detached from its historical circumstances, a work brought out by Schillebeeckx in his book "The Eucharist". He points out that the Tridentine canon concerning transubstantiation could not possibly have been formulated in another way to affirm the reality of the Eucharistic presence. Trent could not see the real presence without the real distinction of substance and accidents. Today this Aristotelian concept can be criticised without affecting the real presence itself.⁴⁸⁴

4.3. The Place of John Cosin

So, did Trent and Thomas understand the same thing by 'transubstantiation'? It seems not. While for Aquinas the substance of a thing is the being (the meaning) that underlies the thing itself, for Trent it is the thing in itself.

Therefore, I conclude, that Cosin is nearer to Aquinas than the Council of Trent. For Cosin, the significance of the bread is totally changed and becomes living and life giving, whilst for Trent bread ceases to exist and it is only Christ that is now present.

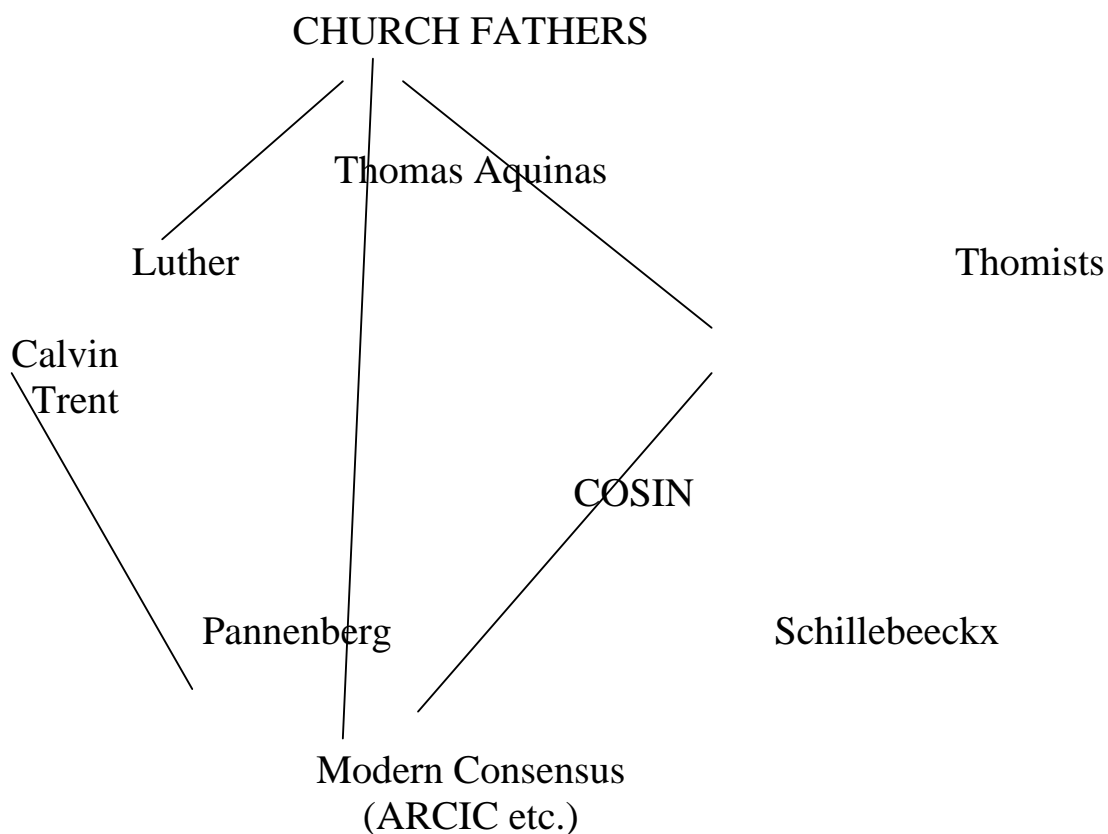
⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² SCHILLEBEECKX, 46-7.

⁴⁸³ SCHONENBERG, *op.cit.*, 43.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 44.

In this Chapter I have sought to show how Cosin distances himself both from Rome (Trent) and from Geneva (Calvin), but that he nevertheless holds with Aquinas. The following diagram summarises my thesis.



Conclusion

Cosin's eucharistic doctrine may be summed up in four points:

1. Once the bread is consecrated it becomes a true living and life-giving bread.
2. In communion the 'flesh and blood most precious of Christ is given and received'.
3. After Consecration the elements receive a new 'superadded dignitie...wrought by the Almighty power of His Word...exhibiting Christ's Body and conferring grace...'
4. The eucharistic celebration brings about the forgiveness of sins.

For these reasons one should, according to Cosin, receive regularly but at least three times a year.

As can be seen in the three series on the Communion Office, Cosin wanted to make sure that these eucharistic truths find expression in the Church's liturgy. This can be found in chapter three of this work together with an indication of where Cosin was successful, or otherwise, in introducing his ideas in the Prayer Book of 1662.

It was suggested that Cosin returned from the exile less of a High Churchman than he had been in his younger days.⁴⁸⁵ There is very little evidence of this. His work and his suggestions for the reformation of the Prayer Book show that he is still consistent with what he proposed and held before the Commonwealth. Notes prepared at an early stage in his life were used again in the formation of the Prayer Book of 1662.⁴⁸⁶ There is a consistency of doctrine and purpose in Cosin's life. The principles of the beauty of holiness to be revealed in worship, and his faithfulness to the Church Fathers, are never lost from his life.

His love for the *Via Media* finds expression in his later years, even in his last will and testament.⁴⁸⁷ His contact with the continental reformed Churches during his exile left him sympathetic toward them but he remained firmly persuaded of their inferiority to the Church of England which he saw as "both for doctrine and discipline, the most eminent, and the most pure, the most agreeable to Scripture and antiquity of all others...".⁴⁸⁸ His lifelong love towards the Church of England found expression in his confession that he is "...most addicted to the symbols, synods, and confessions of the Church of England, or rather the Catholic Church...".⁴⁸⁹

In chapter four I discuss how Cosin stood firm with the Fathers of the Church and with mainstream theological positions, like those of Aquinas, on the Eucharist, but stood very firm against abuses of sound doctrine and that is why he stood against Rome and Geneva.

I believe that because of the central doctrine that Cosin adopted on the Eucharist what he taught is relevant today since we tend to see doctrine not from denominational sometimes controversial perspectives but from the standpoint of our common baptism and ecumenical duty. This is illustrated by the fact that in some reaches of his eucharistic doctrine Cosin anticipates some eminent theologians like Pannenberg, Schillebeeckx and Thurian as well as some ecumenical consensus of the 20th century.

In this work I have sought to demonstrate that in the debate about the eucharist, Cosin was unwavering in standing with the Apostolic Church and the Church of the Fathers against the innovations of Trent and Geneva. The solidness of his eucharistic doctrine is demonstrated by the modern consensus and that nowadays, away from polemics we may see Cosin in direct line with the Church Fathers and Aquinas and modern authors, the same can not be said for Trent and Calvin.

⁴⁸⁵ OSMOND, 320ff and CUMING, xv. The first gives insubstantial evidence the second does not substantiate the claim.

⁴⁸⁶ COSIN, V, 502, note a.

⁴⁸⁷ COSIN, IV, 525ff.

⁴⁸⁸ COSIN, V, 526.

⁴⁸⁹ COSIN, IV, 526-7.

In the third chapter the liturgical suggestions of Cosin for the 1662 Prayer Book are shown and the points in which he was successful or otherwise are pointed out, mentioning as well that many of the suggestions not taken up at the time were accepted for subsequent liturgical revision. Liturgical suggestions underline not only Cosin's doctrinal understanding but above all betray his deep spirituality of the beauty of holiness being manifested in Divine Liturgy, allowing the Militant Church a glimpse of the one Triumphant.

The fourth chapter points out to the right niche in which Cosin fits in the firmament of endless people who dedicated their life for the quest of the correct understanding and proper and reverent appreciation of the Eucharistic Mysteries.

With an abiding sense of the majesty and holiness of God, Cosin loved liturgical order and beauty in religion, and devoted much of his life and ability to the advancement of these ideals. What he wrote, suffered, enjoyed and believed came out from a passionate love and unshakable faith in the eucharistic mystery mediated to us through ordered and dignified liturgy. He left patrimony which makes proud the Church of England, the Church faithful to the Apostolic and Patristic times.

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