

A NEW HISTORY OF  
**THE BOOK OF  
COMMON PRAYER**

*WITH A RATIONALE OF ITS OFFICES*

ON THE BASIS OF THE FORMER WORK BY  
**FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A.**  
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LONDON  
**MACMILLAN & CO LTD**  
NEW YORK • ST MARTIN'S PRESS

1955

VICARIO LEODENSI  
E.C.S.G.

MAGISTRO DISCIPULUS  
D.D.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY LIMITED  
*London Bombay Calcutta Madras Melbourne*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA LIMITED  
*Toronto*

ST MARTIN'S PRESS INC  
*New York*

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A HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. BY FRANCIS PROCTER

*First Edition, 1855. Second Edition, 1856. Reprinted, 1857, 1859, 1861, 1864,  
1867, 1869. Third Edition, 1870. Reprinted, 1872, 1874 (twice), 1876, 1878,  
1880 with additions, 1881, 1884, 1889 with additions, 1892, 1898*

*Revised and Rewritten by WALTER HOWARD FRERE, 1901*

*Second Impression, with corrections and alterations, 1902*

*Third Impression, with corrections and alterations, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911,  
1914, 1919, 1920, 1925, 1929, 1932, 1941, 1949, 1951, 1955*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

## PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

NEARLY half a century has passed since the first edition of Mr. Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer* was published: it has been a period full of an enthusiasm for liturgical studies which is almost, if not quite, without parallel. While these facts speak eloquently of the solidity and value of Mr. Procter's work, they also explain amply the reasons why it was necessary that it should undergo considerable change. In fact, while the general outline and plan has been retained, the greater part has been rewritten. In the first section of the book the history of the Edwardine Prayer Books has especially needed alteration, in view of much that has been discovered and printed since Mr. Procter wrote: the later history has been less altered. In the case of the Elizabethan Prayer Book the facts are still so scantily known, and in the later times they were already so fully known, that there has been little development of knowledge; while the relation of the controversies of the eighteenth century to the Prayer Book has not yet been properly investigated at all; it is a field which certainly proved barren of results, and it would probably prove barren of interest also.

But, beyond this revision of the history of the English Prayer Book since the Reformation, the attempt has been made to deal more fully with the history, both of the old Service-books, of which it was the lineal descendant, and of the old Services, which it contained in a revised form; this has necessitated a new opening chapter to the first part of the book and the entire recasting of the second part.

While much, therefore, of the former work has been superseded, and much new matter has been added, very little has been simply omitted. The section dealing with hymns and metrical psalms no longer reappears, since full information on such points is now available in the *Dictionary of Hymnology*. Also the account of the adaptations made from the Prayer Book for the use of Nonconformist congregations is dropped, because it was very incomplete, and a full treatment of the subject would have required more space than was available or desirable in a text-book of this character. But apart from these sections there has been little or nothing omitted which could still retain its place: and, if occasionally this conservatism has occasioned a certain want of proportion in the treatment of one or another topic, this seemed on the whole less objectionable than that readers should fail to find here any genuine pieces of information which hitherto they have been accustomed to find in their "Procter."

In attempting to cover such an immense field of history, it is inevitable in a book of this scale that much should be stated very briefly and dogmatically, which would demand, if space allowed, a much fuller

discussion or a much more balanced and reserved kind of statement. Such brevity and dogmatism is all the more deplorable in a study such as that of liturgical history, in which again and again evidence is painfully deficient, even upon points of first-class importance, and where deductions have to be drawn and theories constructed from data, which are only too lamentably insufficient. The main function of the Notes in a text-book of this sort is to supplement the brevity or deficiencies of the text, partly by giving references to the sources of information, partly by referring to other books, where the points in question are more fully discussed; sometimes also by sounding a warning note that the statement in the text is very disputable, by citing objections to it or giving alternative theories; and occasionally by discussing points in detail when they are not too intricate, or when it was impossible to give a reference to any adequate discussion of them elsewhere. There are a few cases where I have been obliged to state curtly conclusions, to which I have been led by independent investigation of MSS. and other primary sources, without being able either to refer to other books for more detailed information or to give at length the grounds or sources of my conclusions. With these few cases excepted, I hope that the Notes will enable the student to verify all the statements in the text, and to pursue the subject further and in greater detail.

My first thanks are due to Mr. Procter himself (if indeed it is not an anomaly to thank him in a book which is still largely his own) for the generous confidence which has led him not only to suffer me to set about

the task of revision unhampered and unfettered, but also to be ready in every way to forward and facilitate the work. Among the many debts which I owe to friends and fellow students I must especially acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Hart, of Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, U.S.A., for revising the account of the American Prayer Book, with which he had adorned the recent editions of Mr. Procter's book, and to Bishop Hall, of Vermont, U.S.A., for his assistance in the same matter. The help with proofs and special points of the book which has been given by the Rev. F. E. Brightman and the Rev. W. C. Bishop represents only a very small part of my wider obligations to them for knowledge of the subject in general. My earliest and in many ways therefore my chiefest debt has been already recorded in the Dedication. Further thanks are due to the Rev. H. P. Currie and the Rev. T. A. Lacey for help and criticism, and to Miss Gertrude Simpson for lightening the labour of the Index.

HOUSE OF THE RESURRECTION,  
MIRFIELD,  
*December 6th, 1900.*

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND IMPRESSION

A CONSIDERABLE number of corrections have been made, many of them of small moment, but some containing matter of such interest or importance that it is advisable to mention them here.

(i) Mr. Brightman has pointed out the influence of the Cologne *Antididagma* on the Liturgy of 1549, and a brief reference to this has been inserted. (ii) A mention of Calvin's criticism of the First Prayer Book is re-inserted, and in its right place: it was formerly dated 1548, but this is clearly a year too early, and the letter by being placed in 1549 becomes an intelligible and valuable comment on the new book. (iii) The course of the revision in 1552 is made more clear by a letter of Peter Martyr which has not hitherto attracted the attention that it deserves. (iv) The account of the coronation of Elizabeth is corrected to the best form of compromise which can be made between the conflicting temporary accounts. And (v) a far clearer statement of the genesis of the Elizabethan Book is given. Dr. Gee has lately put forth a new theory on this point,<sup>1</sup> but while acknowledging how much he has done to clear up the subject, I cannot but feel that a

<sup>1</sup> *The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, pp. 54 and ff.

searching scrutiny of the records leads to a different conclusion, which when stated, moreover, carries more conviction with it.<sup>1</sup> (vi) I am convinced that there is sufficient evidence, following the line of the arguments of the Bishop of Salisbury,<sup>2</sup> that the Elizabethan Prayer Book was held not to forbid but rather to permit under certain restrictions the communicating the sick with the reserved sacrament; the passage to which I have referred in Hill's *Communicant instructed* leaves no room for doubt on this point, and it follows the line of Calvin's letter, also cited there. And viewed in the light of this evidence, the language of Jewel and Sparrow, and perhaps even the puzzling provisions of the Latin Book of 1560, for the first time become intelligible. It is impossible here to set out the whole argument, but I shall hope to return to it hereafter.

These are some of the principal alterations and changes that have been made. References have been added to several books which have appeared since the first edition, and the List of Principal Authorities has been greatly enlarged, in the hope that it may serve as a guide to farther study. I have profited much by the criticisms of reviewers and the kindly correction of friends: to them a large number of minor alterations are due, and I beg to return them my best thanks.

1902.

W. H. F.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Early Years of Elizabeth* in *Church Quarterly Review, Worship*. (1901.) No. LV.

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD IMPRESSION

THE opportunity of a new edition has been utilized for the introduction of a number of small corrections and a few additions. There are further two alterations which, being of a somewhat larger nature, may be specially noted here. First, a clearer decision is expressed in favour of the traditional view that the Ornaments' Rubric refers to the First Prayer Book (p. 362), and a more accurate account is given of the circumstances in which it came out (p. 105). Secondly, on p. 499 the description of the English Ante-Communion Service has been materially altered. Many thanks are due to kind friends and strangers who have pointed out mistakes both great and small.

W. H. F.

MIRFIELD,

July, 1905.

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## A LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

### [A.] TREATISES.

#### EARLY PERIOD.

- Warren, F. E. *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church.* (S.P.C.K., 1897.)  
**A brief outline, with original texts.**
- Pleithner, F. X. *Aelteste Geschichte des Breviergebetes.* Kempten, 1887.)
- Probst, F. *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte.* (Tübingen, 1870.)
- Wordsworth, J. *Ministry of Grace.* (London, 1901.)  
**Deals with various subjects, chiefly of the Early Period, and is a valuable starting-point for further study.**

#### MEDIÆVAL.

- Martene, E. *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus.* 4 vols. (Venice, 1783.)  
**Several editions are available.**
- Duchesne, L. *Origines du culte chrétien.* (2nd ed., Paris, 1898.)  
**These two books are invaluable. Martene is a storehouse both of texts and elucidations of many different rites. Duchesne is an admirable survey of the history of the Liturgy down to the time of Charlemagne.**
- Batiffol, P. *Histoire du Breviaire Romain.* (Paris, 1895.) E.T. by Baylay (London, 1898).
- Bäumer, S. *Geschichte des Breviers.* (Freiburg, 1895.)
- Bocquillot, L. A. *Traité historique de la liturgie sacrée.* (Paris, 1701.)
- Bona, J. *Opera.* (Antwerp, 1667, and later editions.)
- Chambers, J. D. *Divine Worship in England in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XIXth Centuries.* (1877.)
- Comper, J. *A Popular Hand-book on . . . Liturgies.* 2 vols. (1891.)
- Ebner, A. *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum.* (Freiburg, 1896.)
- Krazer, A. *De Liturgiis.* (1786.)  
**A useful compendium.**
- Le Brun, P. *Explication de la Messe.* 4 vols. (Paris, 1726.)  
**A comprehensive survey of Christian Liturgies.**
- Magistretti, M. *La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese nel Secolo IV.* (1899.)
- Probst, F. *Sacramentarium und Ordines.* (Münster, 1892.)  
*Die abendländische Messe.* (Münster, 1896.)
- Rock, D. *The Church of our Fathers.* 4 vols. (1849-53.)  
**Contains much interesting information as to Services in England.**
- Swete, H. B. *Services and Service-books before the Reformation.* (1896.)  
**A short and excellent summary.**
- Thalhofer, V. *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik.* (1894.)
- Wordsworth, C. *Mediæval Services in England.* (1898.)
- Zaccaria, F. A. *Bibliotheca Ritualis.* 2 vols. (Rome, 1776.)  
**A useful index to previous writers, and directory of liturgical study.**

## [B.] TEXTS.

## I. EASTERN.

Brightman, F. E. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Vol. i. (1898.)  
 Contains the Eastern Liturgies, admirably edited from the MSS., with illustrations from Patristic writings.

## Older editions of these Liturgies are—

Assemani, J. A. *Codex Liturgicus*. 13 vols. (Rome, 1749- .)  
 Hammond, C. E. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. (Oxford, 1878.)  
 Neale, J. M. *The Liturgies*. (2nd ed., London, 1868.)  
 E.T. (2nd ed., London, 1869.)  
 Renaudot, E. *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*. (2nd Ed., 1847.)  
 Serapion. *Sacramentary*. Edited by Brightman in *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1899, and January, 1900.  
 E.T. by Bp. Wordsworth of Salisbury. (S. P. C. K., 1899.)  
 Goar, J. *Rituale Græcorum*. (1647.)  
 Habert, I. *Pontificale*. (1643.)

## Many modern Editions are available of the existing—

Euchologion. *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*. Containing the Sacraments.  
 Horologion. *Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα*. Containing the Divine Service.

## Compare—

Maclean, A. J. *East Syrian Daily Offices*, transl. from Syriac. (1894.)  
 Shann, G. V. *Euchology of the Orthodox Church*, transl. from Russian.  
*Book of Needs*. Do. (1894.) (1891.)

## 2. WESTERN.

## THE ANCIENT SACRAMENTARIES.

Leonine. Ed. Feltoe. (Cambridge, 1896.)  
 Gelasian. Ed. Wilson. (Oxford, 1894.)  
 Gregorian. See—  
 Pamelius. *Liturgicon*. (Cologne, 1571.)  
 Menard (Paris, 1642) and Migne, *P.L.* LXXVIII.  
 Muratori. (Below.)  
 Thomasius. *Opera*. (Ed. Vezzosi, 1750.) Vol. V.  
 Warren. *Leofric Missal*. (Oxford, 1883.)  
 H. B. S. *Missal of Robert of Jumîges*.  
 Rule. *Missal of S. Augustine's, Canterbury*. (1896.)  
 Gallican. See Muratori (below.)  
 Thomasius. *Opera*. (Ed. Vezzosi, 1750.) Vol. VI.  
 Neale and Forbes. *Gallican Liturgies*. (London, 1855- .)  
 Issued in parts and never quite completed: but most valuable.

## These are collected in—

Muratori, L. A. *Liturgia Romana Vetus*. 2 vols. (Venice, 1748.)  
 They are also reprinted in vols. LIII. LXXII. LXXIV. and LXXVIII.  
 of Migne's "Patrologia Latina."

## Note also—

Wilson, H. A. *Index to the Roman Sacramentaries*. (Cambridge, 1892.)  
 Delisle, L. *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*. (Paris, 1886.)

## [B.] TEXTS—Continued.

## THE OLD ROMAN ORDINES.

Mabillon, J. *Museum Italicum*. Vol. 2. (Paris, 1689.)  
 Reprinted in Migne, *P.L.* LXXVIII.  
 Hittorp, M. *De Divinis Ecclesie Catholicae Officiis*. (Paris, 1624.)  
 Many editions in XVth and XVIIth centuries.

## THE LIBER ANTIPHONARIUS MISSARUM, OR GRADUAL.

Thomasius. *Opera, u. s.* Vol. V.  
 Pamelius. *Liturgicon*. Vol. 2.  
 also Migne. *P.L.* LXXXVIII.  
 Gerbert. *Monumenta*. (See below.)

## THE LIBER RESPONSALIS, OR ANTIPHONAL.

Thomasius. *Opera, u. s.* Vol. IV.  
 Migne. *P.L.* LXXXVIII.

## THE COMES, OR LECTIONARY.

Thomasius. *Opera, u. s.* Vol. V.  
 Zaccaria. *Bibliotheca*. (See above.)  
 Ranke, E. *Kirchliche Perikopensystem*. (Berlin, 1847.)

## LATER MEDIEVAL TEXTS.

## I. ENGLISH.

*Sarum Breviary*. (Cambridge, 1879-86.)  
*Sarum Missal*. (Burntisland, 1861-1883.)  
*Sarum Processional*. Ed. Henderson. (Leeds, 1882.)  
 Wordsworth, C. *Salisbury Processions*. (1901.)  
*Sarum Manual*. See Maskell: and York Manual.  
*Sarum Martiloge as read at Syon*. See H. B. S.  
*Sarum Customs and Ordinal*. See Frere, *Use of Sarum*. 2 vols.  
 (Cambridge, 1898 and 1902.)  
*Sarum Gradual and Antiphonal*. (See Plainsong Society, below.)  
*York Service Books*. See Surtees Society Publications for Breviary,  
 Missal, Processional, and Manual.  
*Hereford Missal*. Ed. Henderson. (Leeds, 1874.)  
*Pontifical*. See Maskell, below.  
 See Surtees Society for Egbert's and Bainbridge's.  
 Lacy's. Ed. Barnes. (Exeter, 1847.)  
 Bernham's. Ed. Wordsworth. (Edinburgh, 1886.)  
 For a list of English Pontificals see Frere, *Pontifical Services* (Alcuin  
 Club Collections, IV.).  
*Primer*. See Hoskins, *Primers, Sarum, York, and Rome*. (1901.)  
 Littlehales, *The Prymer*. 2 vols. (1891.) And another  
 like book in E. E. T. S.  
 Maydeston. *Directorium Sacerdotum and Tracts*. See H. B. S.  
*Ordinale Exon*. Ed. Reynolds, incomplete.  
*Legenda Exon*. Do.

## 2. SCOTCH.

*Breviarum Aberltonense*. Ed. Blew. (1854.)  
*Breviarum Bothanum*. Ed. Macray. (1900.)  
*Missale Ecclesie de Arbuthnot*. Ed. Forbes. (1864.)  
*Missale Drummondense*. Ed. Forbes. (1882.)

## [B.] TEXTS—Continued.

## For collections of Texts now in progress see—

- Auctarium Solesmense*. (Solesmes, 1900.)  
 H. B. S. Publications of Henry Bradshaw Society; especially valuable is *The Westminster Missal*. 3 vols.  
 Plainsong Society. Facsimiles of *Sarum Gradual* and *Antiphonal*.  
*Bibliothèque Liturgique*. Ed. Chevalier. (Paris.)  
*Paléographie Musicale*. Edd. the Benedictines, of Solesmes.

## Older collections of Texts are—

- Gerbert, M. *Monumenta veteris Liturgie Alemannica*. Four parts. (S. Blasien, 1777-9.)  
 Hittorp, M. *De divinis Ecclesie Catholice officiis*. (Paris, 1624.)  
 Contains the *Ordines Romani* and the writings of Early Mediæval liturgists: a most valuable collection.  
 Maskell, W. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesie Anglicane*. 3 vols. (2nd ed., Oxford, 1882.)  
 A very useful collection of English Occasional Offices, with notes and dissertations.  
 Thomasius. *Opera*. 6 vols. Ed. Vezzosi. (Rome, 1747-50.)

## AMBROSIAN, MOZARABIC, AND IRISH BOOKS.

- Ambrosian Sacramentary*. See *Auctarium Solesmense*.  
 Beroldus. *Ordines*. Ed. Magistretti. (Milan, 1894.)  
*Notitia Liturgie Ambrosiana*. Ed. Ceriani. (Milan, 1895.)  
*Pontificale Ecclesie Mediol.* Ed. Magistretti. (Milan, 1897.)  
 The modern Ambrosian Service-books are easily obtainable.

- Mozarabic Breviary*. Migne, P.L. vol. LXXXVI.  
*Mozarabic Missal*. *Ibid.* vol. LXXXV.  
*Liber Canticus*. Ed. Morin. (1893.)  
*Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica*. J. Pinius. 2 vols. (Rome, 1746.)

- Bangor Antiphoner*. H. B. S. 2 vols. Ed. Warren.  
*Missale Vetus Hibernicum*. Ed. Warren. (1879.)  
*The Stowe Missal*. Ed. McCarthy in *Trans. Royal Irish Acad.* XXVII. 135.  
 For this group see Warren, "Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church."

## [C.] POST-REFORMATION TEXTS.

- Antididagma, seu Christiana et Catholica Religionis per Canonicos eccl. Coloniensis propugnatio*. (Paris, 1549.)  
 Burton, E. *Three Primers*. 1834.  
*Documents relating to the Act of Uniformity of 1662*. (London, 1862.)  
 A valuable collection.  
 Dowden, J. *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*. (1884.)  
*Fragmentary Illustrations*. Ed. Jacobson. (1874.)  
 Containing documents of Bps. Sanderson and Wren.  
 Hall, P. *Reliquie Liturgie*. (1847.)  
*Fragmenta Liturgica*. (1848.)  
 Two valuable collections of services and documents.

## [C.] POST-REFORMATION TEXTS—Continued.

- Hermann, Abp. *A Simple and Religious Consultation*. (London, 1548.)  
 Keeling, W. *Liturgia Britannica*. (1851.)  
 The text of the various editions of the B. C. P. arranged in parallel columns.  
 P.S. Parker Society Publications.  
 Include the Edwardine and Elizabethan Service Books, public and private.  
 Quignonez, F. *Breviarium Romanum*. Ed. Legg. (1888.)  
 Richter, E. L. *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*. 2 vols. (1846.)  
 An invaluable collection of Lutheran Services.  
 Sprott, G. W. *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI*. (1871.)

## [D.] BOOKS ELUCIDATORY OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

- Blunt, J. H. *Annotated B. C. P.* (Revised ed., 1895.)  
 Burbidge, E. *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*. (1885.)  
 Campion and Beamont. *The Prayer Book interleaved*. (10th ed., 1880.)  
 Dowden, J. *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*. (1899.)  
 Fallow, T. M. *The Order of Baptism*. (1838.)  
 Gasquet and Bishop. *Edward VI. and the B. C. P.* (1890.)  
 Gee, H. *Elizabethan Prayer Book*. (1902.)  
 Lathbury, T. *History of the B. C. P.* (1853.)  
 Nicholls, W. *Commentary on the B. C. P.* (1710.)  
 Parker, J. *Introduction to the Revisions*. (1877.)  
*The First Prayer Book*. (1877.)  
 Contains the Text, with the later editions compared.  
 These two books are the result of much patient investigation: they are indispensable, but not to be followed blindly.  
 Pullan, L. *History of B. C. P.* (1900.)  
 S.P.C.K. *Prayer Book Commentary for Teachers and Students*. (1891.)  
 Scudamore, W. E. *Notitia Eucharistica*. (1872. 2nd ed., 1876.)  
 Selborne, Lord. *Liturgy of the English Church*. (1878.)  
 Sparrow, A. *Rationale*. (From 1658 onward.)  
 Tomlinson, J. T. *The Prayer Book Articles and Homilies*. (1897.)  
 Warren, F. E. *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*. (1881.)  
 Wheatly, C. *A Rational Illustration of the B. C. P.* (Ed. Corrie, 1858.)

## [E.] HISTORICAL BOOKS, &amp;c., BEARING ON THE HISTORY.

- A.C.L. Anglo-Catholic Library.  
 Contains the Works of Andrewes, Laud, Cosin and others.  
 Bruns, H. T. *Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum*. (1839.)  
 Bucer, M. *Scripta Anglicana*. (Basle, 1577.)  
 Burnet, G. *History of the Reformation*. (Ed. Pocock, 1865.)  
 C.H.S. Church Historical Society's Publications.  
 Cardwell, E. *Documentary Annals from 1546-1716*.  
*Synodalia from 1547-1717*.  
*History of Conferences* about the B. C. P.  
 Contains a large number of the principal documents.  
 Collier, J. *Ecclesiastical History*. (New ed. 9 vols. 1840.)  
 Dixon, R. W. *History of the Church of England from 1529 to 1570*. 6 vols.  
 Invaluable for the history.

[E.] HISTORICAL BOOKS, &c.—*Continued.*

- Duchesne, L. *Le Liber Pontificalis*. 2 vols (Paris, 1886-1892.)  
 E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society's Publications.  
 Frere. *English Church, temp. Eliz. and James*. (1904.) Vol. V. of  
*Hist. Engl. Ch.* (Edd. Stephens and Hunt.)  
 Foxe, J. *Acts and Monuments*. (New ed. 8 vols. 1837.)  
 Gardiner, S. R. *History of England from 1603 to 1642*. 10 vols. (1883.)  
 Haddan and Stubbs. *Councils and Eccl. Documents*. 3 vols. (1871.)  
 Harduin, P. *Concilia*. 11 vols. (1715.)  
 Jacobs, H. E. *The Lutheran Movement in England*. (1892.)  
 Lathbury, T. *History of Convocation*. (1853.)  
 Lyndwood, W. *Provinciale*. (Ed. of 1679.)  
 Mansi. *Concilia*.  
 Parker Society publications.  
 Contain a valuable series of liturgical texts of the Reformation period,  
 besides other writings illustrative of the history.
- R.S. Rolls Series of Publications.  
 Stone, D. *Holy Baptism*. (1899.)  
 Strype, J. *Works*. (1820-1840.)  
 Wilkins, D. *Concilia*. 4 vols. (1737.)  
 W.M.G. i.e. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*.

A NEW HISTORY  
 OF  
 THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER  
 PART I  
 GENERAL LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BOOK

A NEW HISTORY  
OF THE  
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

CHAPTER I.

*THE SERVICE-BOOKS IN PRE-REFORMATION TIMES.*

I.

THE earliest information as to the services used in the Christian Church comes to us, not from the direct evidence of Service-books, but indirectly from other sources. The services were at first very free ; it was only by degrees that liturgical forms of prayer were stereotyped, and until the forms had attained some fixity there was no great place for Service-books.

None of the earliest of such books have survived, but quotations from the Liturgy exist in writers of the second and third centuries, increasing in volume as time goes on : some such quotations have been surmised to exist in documents of the first century such as

S. Clement's letter,<sup>1</sup> and the Didache,<sup>2</sup> or even in the New Testament writings.<sup>3</sup>

Descriptions of services are given by Pliny in his celebrated letter to Trajan<sup>4</sup> (*circa* 112), by S. Justin Martyr in his First Apology (c. 148)<sup>5</sup> and at a later date in several passages of Tertullian and others. More full than these are the descriptions dating from the fourth century, such as those given by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catechetical Lectures* delivered in Jerusalem in 348, and by S. Silvia of Aquitaine in her *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (*circa* 385): the former are official comments on the Liturgy delivered by the Bishop,<sup>6</sup> while the latter are a pilgrim's descriptions of the services held in Jerusalem other than the Liturgy.<sup>7</sup>

At an earlier date (c. 250), the interesting document commonly called the Hippolytean Canons, contains directions and formulas, for the Liturgy and other rites, especially Ordination and Holy Baptism.<sup>8</sup>

When we come to the celebrated ecclesiastical manual called *The Apostolic Constitutions*, we are on the debatable land between a treatise and a service-book. The book is definitively a treatise and a compilation from many sources, but the liturgical formulas which it includes are of such magnitude that it might almost be said that a service book is incorporated in the treatise.<sup>9</sup> The same

<sup>1</sup> 1 Clem. 59—61. This and other Ante Nicene liturgical remains are given in Warren's *Liturgy of the Ante Nicene Church*. Cap. III.

<sup>2</sup> Capp. 9, 10. Warren, *l.c.* p. 172.  
<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* 1 Tim. iii. 16; Eph. v. 14. Warren, *l.c.* p. 34

<sup>4</sup> Epistles, x. 97. Warren *l.c.* p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Apologia*, i. 6 and 65—67.

<sup>6</sup> Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, has collected the passages, pp. 464—470.

<sup>7</sup> Duchesne, *Origines du Culte chrétien*, gives the chief passages, pp. 472—503. See also *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, vol. 39 of the Vienna *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*

<sup>8</sup> See *Origines*, pp. 504—521. Warren *l.c.* pp. 88, 192, &c.

<sup>9</sup> See Brightman's *L.E.W.* I—30, and the description, pp. xvii—xlvii. This deals only with the Liturgy. The other liturgical formulas (Books vii. and viii.) are distinguished by different type in Pitra's edition (*Juris*

is true also of the newly-published *Testament of our Lord*, which contains the essential parts of the Liturgy, the Baptismal and Ordination Services of an even earlier date (250—380), but in the form of a book of Church law and practice rather than that of a Service-book.<sup>1</sup>

The first collection to which the name of Service-book can properly be given is that of the prayers of Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis (c. 350). This is what was called in the West in later times a 'Sacramentary,' viz. a collection of the prayers said by the celebrant in the administration of Sacraments and Sacramental Rites.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing so complete is met with again till the seventh century, when the earliest MSS. of Western Service-books make their appearance. The interval between these dates is bridged over by many treatises of both the Eastern and Western Church from which information and formulas can be recovered.<sup>3</sup> But the continuous literary history of the Service-books proper cannot be said to begin before the seventh century.

At that date the worship of the Church had reached a fully developed state: not only had the sacramental system of the Church its organised services, but in the west, at any rate (to which our attention is practically confined), the two other chief classes of Christian worship had attained a clear and definite position, viz., (a) The Divine Office, comprising the Hours of Prayer throughout the day, and (b) The Occasional Services, comprising under that heading such services as the

*Ecclesiastici Græcorum Historia et Monumenta*, Rome, 1864), p. 366 and ff., but not in Lagarde's or Ueltzen's edition. See also Warren, *l.c.* Appendix, pp. 255—319, for a translation into English.

<sup>1</sup> *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (ed. Rahmani) 1899.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journ. Theol. Stud.* (1899)

I. 88, 247, and Bishop Wordsworth's translation, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book*, S.P.C.K. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> See the reconstructions in the Appendixes to Brightman's *Liturgies*. For the Ambrosian Rite, see Magistretti, *La Liturgia della Chiesa Milanese nel Secolo iv.* (1899).

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Dedication of Churches or the Consecration of Virgins, as well as the occasional services of the sacramental system, such as Ordination, Marriage, or the Reconciling of Penitents.

Origin of  
mediæval  
Service-  
books.

The Service-books required for this worship were many, and were arranged on a principle different from that which was adopted later. In the XIVth and XVth centuries it seemed desirable to collect in one volume all the various formulas (prayers, antiphons, responds, lessons, &c.) required for the performance of any particular service. At first this was not so, but just as the service was distributed among many persons, each of whom contributed his quota to it, so a Service-book was written for a particular person rather than for a particular service, and in view of the particular part assigned to him. Thus a 'Sacramentary' was written for the principal officiant at the service, and contained the celebrant's prayers, not only in the Liturgy, but also such as he would use at Baptism, Ordination, &c. On the same principle, a 'Gospel-book' was written for the deacon who read the Gospel, and an 'Epistle-book' for the subdeacon who read the Epistle, while musical Service-books were written for the choir, containing in some cases the musical parts, not only of the Liturgy but of other services, and even of the Divine Office side by side with the Liturgy. At the Divine Office, again, the readers of Lessons had their 'Legend' or 'Lesson-book' quite independently of the choir or the rest: again, the principal officiant, whose duty it was to say the Chapters and Collects, had a book of his own (a 'Collectar') written for him in view of his particular requirements.

This method of providing Service-books for individuals is all of a piece with the old view of what a service is:

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Services.

it was normally regarded, not as a simple function, performed by a minister for the benefit of a congregation, but rather as being a complex act of worship, to which many and various persons combined to contribute the various component parts: and this being so, it is only natural to find that the earliest Service-books were arranged upon this principle, so as to enable each individual, not so much to take an active part in the whole service, as to contribute his quota.<sup>1</sup> But later, as piety decayed, the services were said in a less dignified way; the old Solemn Mass disappeared almost entirely and even High Mass with three Ministers gave way before the custom of celebrating Low Masses without deacon and subdeacon or choir; in these the celebrant became responsible for the whole service instead of only his own proper part, and therefore he required a '*Missale plenum*,' containing all the various parts combined. Again, as the result of a similar decadence, the Divine Office was recited in private instead of in choir, and a similar fusion of all the component parts into one book became necessary. Thus, in later mediæval times, the 'Missal' arose to take the place of 'Sacramentary,' 'Gospel book,' 'Epistle book,' and the music books belonging to the Liturgy: the 'Breviary' combined the 'Psalter' with the 'Lesson-book,' the 'Collectar' and the music books of Divine Service, while other services were relegated to the 'Manual,' or, if they were proper to a Bishop, to the 'Pontifical.'

It must not be supposed that the Rites contained in these Service-books were uniform throughout the Western Church. The earliest Service-books introduce

Conflicting  
Rites and  
Uses.

<sup>1</sup> There are some exceptions: e.g. Bradshaw Society, vols. iv. and x) is The Bangor Antiphoner (Henry a composite Service-book See p. 9.

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Two types of Liturgy.

us into a state of things in which there is a keen battle raging between two different types of Liturgy in the West;<sup>1</sup> one is pre-eminently Roman, as emanating from Rome and from the practice of the Pope; the other is non-Roman: and though it takes various shapes in various places, Gallican in France, Ambrosian in Italy, Mozarabic in Spain, Celtic in the British Isles, it is at bottom one and the same, and probably derives directly from the earliest Use of the Western Church apart from Rome.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in the liturgical sphere, the same contest was going on as is noticeable in other spheres between the central influence of Rome and the Papal services on the one side, and the general diffused traditions of Western Christendom on the other. The victory lay with the former. The Roman Liturgy, after adopting many features from the other Rites, ousted each of them in turn, with the single exception of the Ambrosian Rite, which has survived, though in a Romanised form, to the present day. The cause of the transformation seems to have been neither any inherent superiority of the Roman Liturgy, nor any urgent desire on the part of the Popes to press their Rite upon others, but simply a wish on the part of other churches to conform to the practice of the Roman church.

The position in England.

The Liturgy in use in the British Isles before the seventh century was no doubt of the non-Roman type. The missions sent from Rome introduced the Roman services, while the great Celtic missions propagated the non-Roman forms. The early policy of the former was, at S. Gregory's express direction, one of tolera-

<sup>1</sup> See Duchesne, *Origines*, c. iii. of this type are found in nearly every Les deux usages liturgiques de l'occident Latin.

<sup>2</sup> The Ephesine origin of these Rites is hardly a tenable view. Traces though more tenable is far from certain. See below, pp. 313, 446 and ff.

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Disappearance of Celtic forms

tion,<sup>1</sup> but it is not clear how far it was carried out: what is clear is that these differences led to many a struggle, for the Celtic party were very tenacious of their customs and jealous of external interference; but the strong sense of gratitude to the city and see of Rome and of admiration for the Roman methods, which characterised the early English Christianity, was continually enlisted on the side of the Roman services, and as the Roman organisation of the church gradually absorbed into itself the magnificent harvest of the Celtic missionaries, so the Roman ousted the Celtic Liturgy.<sup>2</sup>

With the single exception of the curious collection known as the Bangor Antiphoner,<sup>3</sup> no MS. Service-books of purely Celtic origin exist: such books as there are show a mixed character in which the Roman elements predominate. For the rest, to arrive at the

<sup>1</sup> Beda, *Hist.* i. 27: 'Interrogatio Augustini. Cum una sit fides, cur sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tenetur? Respondit Gregorius papa. Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. Sed mihi placet, sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet ecclesia aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem deponere.'

<sup>2</sup> For the History, see Bright's *Early English Church History*. The end of the conflict was marked by

the victory of Wilfrid and the Roman party at the Conference at Whitby in 664 (Bright, 194 and ff.), on the two chief points of dispute, viz., the date of Easter and the form of the Tonsure. The definite liturgical settlement was formulated at the Council of Cloveshoo in 747, thus: 'Tertio decimo definitur decreto, ut uno eodemque modo dominicæ dispensationis in carne sacrosanctæ festivitates, in omnibus ad eas rite competentibus rebus, id est, in baptismi officio, in missarum celebratione, in cantilenæ modo, celebrentur juxta exemplar videlicet quod scriptum de Romana habemus ecclesia. Itemque ut per gyrum totius anni natalitia sanctorum uno eodemque die, juxta martyrologium ejusdem Romanæ ecclesiæ, cum sua sibi convenienti psalmodia seu cantilena venerentur.' Haddan and Stubbs. *Councils*, iii. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Bradshaw Society: vols. iv. and x.



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Services.

Celtic Liturgy itself, it is necessary to argue by analogy from Gallican and Mozarabic books which were undoubtedly akin to it; but even these are few, and many of them are full of Roman features.

Without attempting this task here, for the purposes of the History of the Book of Common Prayer it is enough to realise (i) that all the existing English Service-books are of the Roman type, with at most some small Gallican or Celtic features adopted into them; and (ii) that it is from such books that the Prayer-book is derived.<sup>1</sup>

Roman  
parentage  
of the later  
books.Types of  
Divine  
Service.

We have, so far, been considering exclusively the Liturgy; but with regard to the Divine Service and the other offices, the case is not widely different. It is true that the battle of Rites was not a simple duel here, as it was in the case of the Liturgy. While all agreed upon Mattins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Evensong, and Compline as the Hours of daily prayer, the variety of forms in celebrating the Divine Service was considerable: it is natural to expect this in a scheme of worship which does not, like the Liturgy, go back to Apostolic ordinance, nor rest upon our Lord's injunctions, but had its origin in the free wish of various communities of people—men, women, monks, consecrated virgins, canons, secular clergy, &c.—to devise an edifying scheme for the orderly recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible.

Here three chief types of service stood out finally—a Benedictine type, a Gallican type, and a Roman type: the conflict was divided into two distinct battles, (i) between the Benedictine type on one side against other 'monastic' schemes of service, and, (ii) between the Roman type on the other against other non-monastic or

<sup>1</sup> The whole question is dealt and the chief Scotch and Irish documents in Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual* of the Celtic Rite are printed of the *Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), there.

Medieval  
Services.A similar  
history.

'secular' types of service.<sup>1</sup> In the end, the Benedictine type beat out of the field all rival monastic schemes<sup>2</sup> and the Roman all rival secular schemes except the Ambrosian. The result here, then, is closely analogous to the result which has been indicated above in the case of the Liturgy.

There is no Service-book of the British Isles extant which exhibits any Gallican form of Divine Service except the Bangor Antiphoner; all belong to one or other of the two types which ultimately won the victory, viz., the monastic, *i.e.* Benedictine type or the secular, *i.e.* Roman type. The Divine Service in the Book of Common Prayer is entirely derived from the 'secular' type of service, and this therefore alone comes into question henceforward.

With regard to other Rites, such as Baptism, Ordination, Consecration of Churches, &c., &c., the Roman model had here an even easier victory than in the case of the Liturgy or Divine Office. Certain Gallican and non-Roman features no doubt appear in such services, particularly in English and French Service-books, but here, too, the type is Roman, and these features have been imported into the services from outside without altering the general character of the Rites.

Other  
services.

It is thus clear that the Service-books to which the services of the Book of Common Prayer are to be ultimately traced are Service-books of the Roman type

<sup>1</sup> The Roman type had probably a monastic origin, but it was adopted from the monks by the secular clergy, and then came to be considered the 'secular' type of service, while the Benedictine type acquired an exclusive right to the term 'Monastic.' See below, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that later religious orders, *e.g.* Dominicans and Franciscans, adopted the Roman type of service. Each type contained, however, many variant species. A Cistercian and a Carthusian Breviary are both of the Benedictine type, but are not the same; the Sarum, the Dominican, and the ancient Paris Breviaries are equally of the Roman type, but they are unlike one another, and unlike the Roman Breviary.

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Services.

with some small admixture of non-Roman features. The old English Service-books, however, though all of one type, differed in detail to a considerable extent; and, indeed, there was no idea of strict liturgical uniformity, either in England or abroad, in mediæval times: it arose simultaneously both in England and abroad in the sixteenth century, and issued alike in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Tridentine revision of the Latin Services.<sup>1</sup> But before discussing the variations in detail between the various old English Service-books, it is desirable to get a clearer idea of the points in which they all agreed; in other words, it is desirable to realise what is meant by saying that they all belong to the Roman type.

In the first place, the Roman kalendar, in one or other form, was the basis of the English kalendars:<sup>2</sup> in the Liturgy, the 'Canon' or central prayer, including the consecration, was the Roman canon, and in fact the rest of the invariable framework of the public service (or 'Ordinary') was that adopted from Rome<sup>3</sup>: as regards the variant parts of the service, the musical elements were taken from the great storehouse of the Roman *cantilena*, and next to the Canon and Ordinary this is the most unchanging element in all services of the Roman type<sup>4</sup>: again, the Collects were mainly drawn

<sup>1</sup> A curious attempt at enforcing uniformity on Roman lines was made by Gilbert, the first Bishop of Limerick, early in the XIIth century. 'Episcopis, presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsul Gillebertus Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Rogatu, necnon et præcepto multorum ex vobis, carissimi, canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis horis et peragendo totius ecclesiastici ordinis officio scribere conatus sum, non præsumptivo, sed vestræ cupiens

piissimæ servire jussioni; ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines, quibus Hibernia pene tota delusa est, uni Catholico et Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut schismaticum dici poterit, quam doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius ecclesia idiotam et laicum fieri?' Prolog. Gilberti Lunicensis Episc. *De Usu Ecclesiastico*. Migne Pat. Lat. CLIX. 995.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 324 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 469.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction to *Graduale*

The Roman type of service is the source of the English books.

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from Roman sources, the nucleus of the Epistles, Gospels, and Lessons followed more or less closely the old Roman arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, the materials were provided from Roman sources, and the variations mainly arose (i) from a different use of the common storehouse of materials, (ii) from the introduction of new festivals or the provision for greater variety in the services.

In the Divine Office, the allotment of Psalms to the services of the week was the Roman allotment:<sup>2</sup> the music was largely drawn from Roman sources, though there was not the same musical uniformity here as in the Liturgy: the Lessons to some extent conformed to a common outline: e.g. Isaiah was read in Advent and so forth. The variations are far greater in the Divine Service than in the Liturgy, for there was far more liberty to alter or to import novelties into the former than into the latter.

But while the framework of the services was constant and the materials of the services were largely drawn from a common source, there still remained room for considerable variety. It is very rare to find any two early MS. Service-books quite alike: no doubt this fact is to be discounted, because so small a number of early Service-books at all is extant: but after making all due allowances it is more right to regard each MS. as a book standing by itself than to expect to find a number of books exactly alike. In England in early days it seems clear that books differing considerably from one another were not only used but deliberately provided for use side by side in the same church.<sup>3</sup> The inconvenience of this

*Sarum*. (Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society, 1894, and reprinted as *The Sarum Gradual*, 1895.)

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 522 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 312 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Norman Conquest brought additional complications with it. Among the many foreigners who were appointed to bishoprics and abbeys was Thurstan, Abbot of

But variety of Service-books.

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is obvious, but it was not apparently till the twelfth or thirteenth century that any serious attempt was made to remedy it. When the influential churches had reduced their own services to order, it was natural for others in the neighbourhood to follow them, and thus there grew up in the thirteenth century, under the guidance or with the sanction of the Bishop, the Diocesan Use, *i.e.* a species of service emanating from a cathedral, radiating widely throughout the diocese and even spreading into other dioceses.<sup>1</sup>

The English  
Uses.

The history of the origin and diffusion of these Uses is very obscure: but for the present it is enough to notice that there were three principal Uses current in England from the thirteenth century to the Reformation, connected respectively with Salisbury (Sarum Use), York and Hereford.<sup>2</sup> Of these the first was the best known and most widespread; it may therefore be looked upon as that which has most direct bearing on the history of the Prayer Book.

Glastonbury (1083). He attempted to compel his monks to use a style of church music invented by William of Fécamp, instead of the Gregorian chant which they had taken over from Rome, and to which they were attached. The chroniclers, *e.g.* Simeon of Durham, (in Twysden *Scriptores Decem.* col. 212), John Brompton, (*ib.* 978) and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*ad. an.* 1083) give a piteous description of the tumult and bloodshed that ensued; for armed soldiers drove the monks from the chapter, and slew many of them in the church.

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that a large number of the cathedrals were served by monks, whose services were 'monastic,' and not 'secular,' and could not therefore form a model for the parish churches of the diocese. Also that the Diocesan Use never had any concern with Monastic or Conventual Churches.

<sup>2</sup> Other Uses, such as those of Lincoln and Bangor, which are mentioned in the preface of the Book of Common Prayer, do not seem to have possessed such a marked individuality as these three.

## II.

The see of Salisbury was founded to take the place of the old sees of Ramsbury and Sherborne in 1075: three years later S. Osmund became Bishop, and under his powerful and fostering hand both cathedral and chapter were built up, until in 1090 two formal documents crowned his work, and the Sarum cathedral-body was equipped with an endowment, and also with a constitution which was to become the model of many other cathedral-bodies. There is no evidence that S. Osmund's work dealt with the liturgical arrangements: <sup>1</sup> it was left to Richard Poore, first as Dean and then as Bishop, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the see was transferred from Old Sarum to New Sarum, and from the old Norman cathedral which has perished to the existing Early English building, both to develop more fully in his Consuetudinary the constitutional legislation of S. Osmund, and to add to this a full code of liturgical rules. This may be taken as the date of the definitive settling of the Use of Sarum. The term includes both the form of services executed in the cathedral church, and also the method of executing them: in other words, the books required for the due performance of the Use of Sarum were of two kinds, first the actual Service-books themselves, and, secondly, the books of directions explaining the method of performance.

Attention has already been called to some of the Service-books required for Divine worship. They may be classified as follows:—

(i) For the Mass. (a) The *Sacramentary*, containing the Ordinary, Canon, Collects, &c., said by the

<sup>1</sup> See for an estimate of his work ff. and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, i. xiv and ii. 860 and ff.

Sarum Ser-  
vice-books  
—  
The Use of  
Sarum.

Ritual  
Books.

celebrant. (b) The *Epistle-book* for the Subdeacon. (c) The *Gospel-book* for the Deacon. (d) The *Gradual*, formerly called *Antiphonarium Missæ*, or *Cantatorium*, for the Choir. (e) The *Troper*, or book containing the more recent musical additions to the traditional music, which, from the twelfth century onward, after the disappearance of the bulk of the tropes, consisted mainly of the sequences.

(ii) For the Divine Service or Canonical Hours. (a) The *Psalter*, containing the psalms and canticles. (b) The *Legend*, containing the Scriptures, Homilies, Lives of Saints, &c., which were read as lessons. (c) The *Antiphonal*, containing the musical parts of the services, and very constantly including (d) the *Hymnal*. (e) The *Collectar*, containing the short texts from Scripture and the Collects, which were said by the principal officiant.

The two books of directions which were needful to show the proper method and use of the Service-books, were the following: (a) The *Ordinal*, which (i) brought together into one the opening words of all the various component parts drawn from the various books and showed how they were to be fitted in together, and (ii) gave general directions in view of the variations of kalendar from year to year. (b) The *Consuetudinary*, which prescribed the ceremonial and assigned to the various persons concerned the part which each was to take in the service, according to certain rules of precedence and local custom.

In process of time, the contents of the whole of the first group were thrown together in one volume into the *Missal*, and the contents of the second group into the *Breviary*. The *Ordinal*, then, was no longer so necessary for its first purpose, and tended to become fused with the *Consuetudinary* on the one hand, and on the other

hand with the *Pie* or Perpetual Kalendar, which provided in detail for all the possible contingencies that can arise through the varying in date of Easter Day and Christmas Day: in this later form it often took the name of *Directorium*. Meanwhile it became increasingly common to insert the ceremonial directions contained in these books, into the actual Rites themselves, in the form of rubrics, though this was never, either before or since the Reformation, very fully or scientifically carried out.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) The occasional services as performed by a priest, such as Baptism, Marriage, Services of the Sick and Dead, &c., were collected in the *Manual*, while those performed by a Bishop, such as Ordination Services, Consecrations of places and people, together with Episcopal Benedictions, and very constantly the foregoing priestly services, were combined in the *Pontifical*.

(iv) The services used in the various processions, whether connected with Mass or Divine Service or independent, were in the later mediæval period often for convenience sake collected in the *Processional*: but they were chiefly made up of materials—Antiphons, Responds, Collects, &c.—drawn from other sources, and therefore a separate *Processional* was more a luxury than a necessity.

Together with the foregoing books required for public services, it is important also to take note of a class of books which, though designed for private use, were of considerable importance and exercised considerable

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to distinguish Rite or title page of the Prayer Book. See from Ceremony and Ritual from also the *Rationale* (Collier, v. 106, Ceremony: a Rite is a service, a 191), and below, p. 34. The confusion of language is still a common one, and cannot be defended. But as a fact of history it must be recognized and the ignoring of it has led to a mistaken interpretation of Reformation documents in recent times.

Sarum Service-books.

Origin of the Primer or Horæ.

influence on the development of the English Prayer Book.

The Psalter, with an appendix added to it containing Canticles, Creeds, Lord's Prayer, *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c., was the nucleus round which private devotions were gathered, just as it was the germ of the public Hour Services. Thus not only were private prayers appended to it, but also some of the Secondary schemes of Hour Services which grew up in imitation of the Primary or Canonical Hours of the Breviary; these were originally adopted, first by monks, and afterwards by secular clergy, as a series of Hours to be recited publicly through the day, supplementary to the ordinary Canonical Hours; but they were also subsequently adopted as acts of private devotion by private persons, and incorporated in their private Psalters. A similar development brought the Services of the Dead first into public use, as a secondary service supplementary to the Breviary Services, and secondly into private use, as a general act of devotion on behalf of the departed. From the Xth century onward, there are to be found *Votiva Laus in veneracione Sanctae Mariae Virginis*,<sup>1</sup> *Horæ de Trinitate*, *Horæ de Sancto Spiritu*, *Horæ in honore sancte crucis*, and (most commonly of all) *Horæ de Beata Virgine Maria* attached together with private prayers and for the purposes of private devotion to copies of the Psalter;<sup>2</sup> and from the XIIIth century onward, these additions, after acquiring a status of their own as an appendix to the Psalter, were thrown off and became a separate book, varying greatly both in its contents and in its titles. From one point of view the set services, and especially the *Horæ B.V.M.*, were the most conspicuous part of the collec-

<sup>1</sup> For the early English forms of *Horæ B.V.M.* see H.B.S. vol. XXI. and ff. <sup>2</sup> See Hoskins, *Primers*, pp. vii.

Sarum Service-books.

tions, and consequently the name of *Horæ B.V.M.* was given to the whole: from another point of view, the educational value of the layman's book (often, no doubt, his only one) was made more prominent than the devotional; the A.B.C., *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, Devotions in English, &c. were prefixed to it and it thus became his lesson book, and was called the 'Primer.'

The *Horæ* or Primer thus formed appears with the Hours in Latin from the XIIIth century onward, and in English from the XIVth century onward;<sup>1</sup> the supplementary prayers were in Latin and at times in English also; from the time of the invention of printing numberless editions in Latin, or in English, or in Latin and English, were poured forth from the press. The earliest complete printed book of this class which is known is one issued by W. de Worde, *circa* 1494: its contents may be summarised as follows.

The Primer of c. 1494

1. *Orationes quotidianæ*, prayers for private use at home and at church, in Latin.

2. *Horæ B.V.M.*, in Latin, one series of seven Hours to be said without variation: but printed with the special antiphons, chapters, &c. of 'Hours of the Passion,' and the 'Hours of the Compassion B.V.M.' appended to it, so that these services could be used as alternatives.

3. Miscellaneous prayers including the *Orationes B.V.M.*, the XV Oes or prayers of S. Bridget on the Passion<sup>2</sup> and the *Suffragia Sanctorum* or short devotions (Antiphon, *Ps* and *R* and Collect) commemorative of a number of Saints.

4. The Seven penitential Psalms and the fifteen gradual Psalms.

<sup>1</sup> The early MSS. of the Primer in *mer* or *Lay Folks Prayer Book*. English have been dealt with fully by Early Eng. Text Soc., original series Mr. Littlehales. See *The Prymer*, 105 and 108. <sup>2</sup> See p. 44, note 2.

Sarum Service-books.

5. The Litany and Suffrages.

6. The Services of the Dead (*Placebo, Dirige* and Commendation).

7. The Psalms of the Passion, XXII—XXXI, with the selection from the Psalms known as S. Jerome's Psalter.

8. An appendix in English containing 'The XV Oes and other prayers.'<sup>1</sup>

Later additions.

This represents the *Horæ* or Primer in a well developed state: the collection of devotions in MS. copies was not as a rule so large, and even many of the later printed editions were less voluminous. On the other hand, fresh matter was added constantly in successive editions; other *Horæ*, e.g. *De Sancto Spiritu* in 1498, *Dulcissimi Nominis Jesu* in 1503, or the two alternative forms of *Horæ B. V. M.* as contained in the Breviary for use (a) during Advent and (b) between Christmas and Candlemas, in 1511; a votive Mass such as the *Missa de Nomine Jesu*, in 1528, a rhythmical version of the X Commandments in 1523, the Proper Prefaces at Mass in 1539, the Epistles and Gospels in English in *circa* 1537—to mention only some of the larger items. It is easy thus to see that the popularity of the Primers was great, and their position in the liturgical changes of the XVIth century an important one. They provided for the laity a simple unchanging form of Hour-services and, if they desired it, several alternative and similar forms, as well as their own private prayers to be said at home and in Church.

The Spread of Sarum Use.

The Service-books of the Use of Salisbury had acquired considerable fixity by the time of Bishop Poore's great work at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and, in fact, were beginning also to acquire that prestige which ultimately made Sarum Use the dominant Use

<sup>1</sup> This had a separate existence, and by Caxton, *circa* 1490. This edition had already been separately printed was reproduced in facsimile in 1869.

Sarum Service-books.

in England. Its history before that time is very obscure: if the Use as a whole may be ascribed in its settled form to Bishop Poore, it must at the same time be remembered that, as has been said already, nearly the whole of these services, as of other Western services, is drawn from a common storehouse, and very little indeed except the work of selection and arrangement is peculiar to Sarum: even the customs and ceremonies, which are really much more distinctive of a Use than the actual Rites, Sarum largely shared with other churches. It is impossible at present to trace the actual channels through which the old materials made their way to Salisbury and formed the local Use. But this much is clear, that when once the Use was formed, it was the clearness and fixity that it possessed which recommended it to others. Salisbury had already a wide reputation in the thirteenth century for being a model cathedral-body from the point of view of constitution, and this must have facilitated the adoption of Salisbury Use as a model also from the point of view of Services and Service-books. In course of time the Sarum Use was adopted in whole or in part by Wells, Exeter, Lichfield, London (St. Paul's),<sup>1</sup> Lincoln, and other cathedral churches besides numbers of collegiate churches and other large foundations: it was constantly called 'the Use of the English Church,'<sup>2</sup> and finally, in 1542, on the eve of the Reformation changes, the Convocation of

<sup>1</sup> The Use of St. Paul's in London had been according to a peculiar form continued until 1414, in which year, 'Oct. 15, Richard Clifford, then Bishop of London, by the consent of the dean and chapter, ordained that from the first day of December following, beginning then at Vespers, the solemn celebration of Divine Service therein, which before that time had been according to a peculiar form anciently used, and called *Usus Sancti Pauli*, should thenceforth be conformable to that of the Church of Salisbury, for all Canonical Hours, both night and day.' Dugdale, *Hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Primers *Secundum usum ecclesie Anglicane* are Sarum Primers.

Sarum Service-books.

Other English Uses.

Canterbury adopted the Sarum Use for saying the Hour Services throughout the Southern province.<sup>1</sup>

If little is known as to the origin and history of the Use of Sarum,<sup>2</sup> it must be confessed that still less is known of the history of the other English secular Uses. Lincoln and Bangor seem to have varied only slightly from Sarum, while Exeter was eclectic and combined Sarum customs with Roman features. York and Hereford were far more independent, but the only clear point in the history of either is the revision of Hereford Use under Bishop Trillek (1344-1361). This absence of information, though regrettable, is very natural. The Sarum Use had become the dominant one, partly, perhaps, because of its clearness and fixity, partly, perhaps, because the Bishop of Sarum was regarded as Precentor of the Southern Province, and more probably still because there was at Salisbury a continuous tradition of skill in liturgical matters, and the Canons of Salisbury became the referees for disputed questions.<sup>3</sup> There is plenty of evidence that Ceremonial and Ritual matters were hotly debated at any rate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: liturgical punctiliousness was strong in Wiclif's day and strongly denounced by him, and even the authority of the Canons of Salisbury could not satisfy a contentious ritualist of the fifteenth century such as Clement Maydeston, the author of the popular *Directorium Sacerdotum* and other ritual handbooks. But this did not prevent the diffusion of the Sarum Use nor the supremacy of its Service-books at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 861. For the fuller history, see Frere, *Use of Sarum*, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The most valuable investigations that have yet been made are those of Dr. Wickham Legg in the third

volume of The Westminster Missal (H. Bradshaw Soc. vol. XI), pp. 1406 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Crede Michi* in *The Tracts of Clement Maydeston* (H.B.S., vol. vii), ed. Wordsworth.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

## I. LISTS OF SERVICE-BOOKS.

THE Church-Books required in the Anglo-Saxon period are enumerated in the 21st of the Canons called Archbishop Ælfric's (*circ.* 1006). 'Psalter, Epistle-book, Gospel-book, Missal, Song-book, Hand-book, Gerim,<sup>1</sup> Passional,<sup>2</sup> Penitential,<sup>3</sup> and Reading-book.'<sup>4</sup> The books used in the Anglo-Norman period are enumerated among the things which the parishioners were bound to provide for the service of their church, in the fourth of the Constitutions of Archbishop Winchelsey, published in a synod at Merton (*circ.* 1300): 'legenda, antiphonarium, gradale, psalterium, troperium, ordinale, missale, manuale.'<sup>5</sup> A similar list had been prescribed by earlier bishops, Worcester (1240) and York (1250).<sup>6</sup> In addition to these, Quivil, Bishop of Exeter (1287), had ordered 'venitare, hymnare, et collectare.'<sup>7</sup> For the time immediately preceding the Reformation we find the following named, in the preface to a *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum* (1544), as church-books which might be printed only by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch:—'the Masse booke, the Graile, the Hymnal, the Antyphoner, the Processyonall, the Manuel, the Porteous,<sup>8</sup> and the Prymer both in latine and also in english.'<sup>9</sup> And the statute of 1550,<sup>10</sup> which ordered the old church-books to be abolished and extinguished,

Service-books.

<sup>1</sup> The *compotus*, or calendar, with its calculations of Easter, &c. Arithmetic is *rim-craft*. Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Containing the passions of the Saints to be read on their festivals.

<sup>3</sup> A handbook of Church discipline, and not liturgical.

<sup>4</sup> Mansi, *Concil.* XIX. 700; Wilkins, I. 252; Johnson's *English Canons* (ed. *Ang-Cath. Libr.*), I p. 394; cp. Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, II. 350, and for another list, Ælfric's *Pastoral Epistle*, *ibid.* 384.

<sup>5</sup> Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Lib. III. Tit. 27, p. 251, ed. 1679; Wilkins, *Conc.* II. 280; Johnson, II. p. 318.

<sup>6</sup> Hard. vii. 331. Wilkins, I. 768.

<sup>7</sup> *Synod. Exon.* can. xii. Mansi, XXIV. 800; Wilkins, II. 139.

<sup>8</sup> The 'portiforium' was another name for the Breviary, and it appears in many strange forms when translated into English.

<sup>9</sup> Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. p. xvii. or xxi.

<sup>10</sup> Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. Cap. 10, cp. the Royal Writ, *Doc. Annals*, xx.

described them under the names of Antiphoners, Missals, Grayles, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Primers in Latin or English, Couchers,<sup>1</sup> Journals,<sup>2</sup> and Ordinals.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. THE ARRANGEMENT OF SERVICE-BOOKS.

The arrangement of mediæval Service-books needs to be understood, both because this is essential to the student who would find his way about them, and because it has left its mark upon the Book of Common Prayer. Nothing need be said of those which were merely collections of distinct services, but as to the others which had to deal with a yearly course of services—such as the Breviary, Missal, or Processional, &c.—it is necessary to point out that—(1) The services consist of (a) permanent and (b) variable parts. (2) The permanent parts stand generally in the middle of the volume, *i.e.* the Psalter as arranged for weekly recitation, together with the rest of the ferial service in the middle of the Breviary, and the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass in the middle of the Missal. (3) The variable parts are generally in three groups:

(a) The *proprium de tempore* or *Temporale* containing the variants required for the Church's seasons from Advent to Advent.

(b) The *proprium de sanctis*, or *Sanctorale* containing the variants required for the Saints' days, ranging generally from S. Andrew to S. Katherine.

(c) The *Commune sanctorum* containing special forms of common service prescribed for *e.g.* an Apostle, a Martyr, a Confessor, &c., and used in the case of those Saints' days which have individually little or nothing distinctive of their own, and therefore share a common service with others of the same group.

Such is the most common arrangement in mediæval Service-books, but neither in detail nor in general outline is it universal.

It is to be noted also that, for convenience sake, sometimes the system of division is broken through, *e.g.* when the services of the Saints' days after Christmas are inserted, not in the *Proprium*

<sup>1</sup> *Coucher* appears to have been the common name for a large book which must lie upon a desk for use:—'unum coucher magnum de usu Ebor.' Surtees Society, vol. 64, p. 235. *Couch* is connected with *colloco*: cf. *ledger*, or *ledger-book*. See Skeat.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Diurnale, containing the Day Hours as distinct from the great night service of Mattins or Nocturns.

<sup>3</sup> For fuller details see Dr. Swete's *Church Services and Service-books*, Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service Books*.

*sanctorum*, but in their chronological sequence in the *Proprium de tempore*, as is still done in the Book of Common Prayer.

The arrangement is further complicated by the occurrence of supplementary services; for example, in the Breviary the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the services of the Dead, or the Commemorations, *i.e.* the special services which actually displaced the regular canonical hours on certain days, prescribed by the complicated rules of the Ordinal and Pie; or again, in the Missal the votive Masses provided for special occasions.

The system had, by means of these additions and substitutions, become an extremely elaborate one: the arrangement of the books and the code of directions provided by the Ordinal and other handbooks was admirably planned and executed under the circumstances, but the system was too intricate for common use:<sup>1</sup> it was too much to ask that each man should, before the week's services began, sit down and master the elaborate rules without which he would be sure to go wrong<sup>2</sup>; no doubt the complaint recorded in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer 'that there was more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it was found out,' was one which awakened a responsive echo, and did much to recommend the bald simplicity of the new Order.

<sup>1</sup> The people were accustomed and also greatly attached to the Sunday services of Mattins, Mass and Evensong, but in practice the pre-Reformation congregation did not expect to follow every point of the services. The people knew little of the Breviary Hours except for Sundays, and the Hours which they knew best were the little Hours of the B.V.M. in the Primer which were commonly said during Mass. (*Italian Relation*, Camden Soc., p. 23.) They were however well instructed in the Mass: the ceremonial enabled them to follow all the points, and they were taught to say prayers meanwhile. See for examples *the Lay folks Mass Book* (E.E.T.S.), and other devotions in the Primers. Preaching was common, until the uneasiness of the XVIth century stopped part of the supply,

and was very popular. It was generally accompanied by some vernacular devotions, the Gospel read in English, the Bidding of Bedes, &c. (See Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, Essay IV.) or The Holy Water sprinkling. (Blunt, p. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> Vos igitur O emptores, O domini sacerdotes, O clerici omnes charissimi adhortor in visceribus Jesu Christi ut rubricas has in vestrum alieno sudore commodum paucas breves lucidasque effectas una cum prefata tabula non modo vigilantes perlegatis verum etiam tenaci commendatis memorie. Picam quoque secundum anni cursum diligenter perlegere studeatis ante primas vespertas cuiusque dominice.

The printer's address to the purchaser of Portiforium Sarum, 8vo. 1507, quoted in *Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, p. xli.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE EARLIER STAGES OF CHANGE.

Foreign  
Reforms.

\* IT was not until the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII., when the reform movement was beginning to attract more attention in England, that the desire for some reformation of the public services came into prominence.

Abroad for some time previous to this, liturgical innovations and experiments had been going on. Luther had begun in 1523 and published his first attempts at liturgical revision<sup>1</sup> and so inaugurated a long series of Lutheran 'Kirchen-Ordnungen,' which were schemes of service rather than Service-books pure and simple. But similar questions were being raised among the Catholics as well as among the Lutherans, and it is necessary to take special account of two foreign reforms which were not without bearing on the course of events in England. One of these was simply Catholic from beginning to end, while the other marks the transition from Catholicism to Lutheranism.

After an abortive attempt to revise the Roman Breviary in the interests of Humanism, Clement VII.

Quiñones'  
Breviary.

<sup>1</sup> *Von ordenung gottis dienst ynn bergensi.* See Richter, *Die Evander gemeyne*, and the *Formula missæ geistlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Weimar, et *communione pro ecclesia Witten.* 1846.

Foreign  
Reforms.

entrusted to Francis de Quiñones, a Spanish Franciscan and Cardinal of the Holy Cross, the task of bringing back the Canonical Hours to their ancient form and removing difficulties and prolixities, with the object of recalling the clergy to their neglected duty of saying the Office. After five or six years, the first text of Quignon's Breviary was published in 1535 and after six editions had been issued and had stood a hot fire of criticism, a revised form was published in 1537 which enjoyed considerable popularity. The method of reform was drastic: the psalter was rearranged entirely, the lessons were reduced to three, the first from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, the third a Saint's life, a homily or a passage from the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles. Everything was sacrificed to secure continuity in singing the psalter and reading the Bible. The bare simplicity of the first edition was a little relieved in the second text, *e.g.* by the reinstatement of antiphons; but though the new Breviary was welcomed by busy clergy and did something to recover the private recitation of the Office, its fate was sealed. It savoured too much of the reformed ideas: it had gone too far and too wantonly away from the old paths, and when it began to penetrate into choir and be publicly recited in church, this, which was never intended, gave it its death-blow, and in 1558 a papal rescript decreed that there was no longer any reason for allowing it to be printed.<sup>1</sup>

The second step in liturgical reform is that of Her-

<sup>1</sup> See Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, Engl. Trans., pp. 236—248. The first text, *Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum, in quo sacrae scripturae libri probataque sanctorum historiae eleganter beneq. disposita leguntur*, has been reprinted by the pains of Dr. Wickham Legg (Cambridge, 1888). A large number of editions of the second text appeared.

mann von Wied, Prince Archbishop of Cologne, who, after leaning for some time in the direction of reform,<sup>1</sup> made a definite move in 1542 towards reformation; on his initiative a scheme was drawn up and submitted, not only to the Landtag at Bonn in that year, but also to the leading German divines of the Lutheran party.<sup>2</sup> As the basis of the liturgical revision the authors took the Kirchen-Ordnung drawn up in 1533 mainly by Osiander for Brandenburg and Nürnberg<sup>3</sup>; and as a result of the work of Martin Butzer (Bucer), with the help of Melancthon<sup>4</sup> there was published in 1543 the book best known as *Hermann's Consultation*.<sup>5</sup> The greater part of the book was doctrinal, but half way through the

<sup>1</sup> See his proposal to revise the Breviary by purging out false or doubtful legends. Synod of Cologne (1536), Art. II. cap. vi. Binius *Concilia Gen.* (Cologne, 1618), IV. ii. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermann von Wied*, von M. Deckers (Köln, 1840) pp. 71 and ff. <sup>3</sup> Richter, *l.c.*, i., 176.

<sup>4</sup> 'Postquam veni Bonnam intellexi episcopum dedisse mandatum, ut forma doctrinæ et rituum proponenda ecclesiis conscribatur, et quidem ad exemplum Norimbergensis formæ.' Melancthon, *Epist.* No. 2706; *Opp.* V. 112. 'Scripsi vobis antea Episcopum securitatem esse formam Norimbergensem, eratque ante meum adventum institutus liber ad exemplum Norimbergense scribendus. Retinuit pleraque Osiandri Bucerus; quosdam articulos auxit, ut est copiosus. Mihi, cum omnia relegissem, attribuit articulos περί τριῶν ὑποστάσεων de creatione, de peccato originis, de iustitia fidei et operum, de ecclesia, de poenitentia. In his consumpsi tempus hactenus, et legi de cæremoniis Baptismi et Cœnæ Domini quæ ipse composuit.' *Epist.* No. 2707, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> This work was first published in German, *Von Gottes genaden unser*

*Hermans Ertzbischoffs zu Cöln und Churfürsten, &c., einfaltigs bedencken warauff,* &c. (Richter, II. 30). A Latin translation was published at Bonn in 1545, '*Nostra Hermanni ex gratia dei Archiepiscopi Coloniensis et principis, electoris, &c., Simplex ac pia deliberatio,*' &c., which differs considerably from the German original. An English translation of the Latin work was printed in 1547, entitled, '*A simple and religious consultation of us Herman by the grace of God archebishop of Colone, and Prince Electour, &c. by what meanes a Christian reformation, and founded in God's worde, of doctrine, administration of the devine Sacramentes, of Ceremonies, and the hole cure of soules, and other ecclesiastical miniseries, may be begon among men committed to our pastorall charge, until the Lorde graunt a better to be appointed either by a free and Christian counsayle, general or national, or elles by the states of the Empire of the nation of Germanie, gathered together in the Holye Ghost.*' A second English edition, 'revised by the translator thereof, and amended in many places,' was printed in 1548. This edition is that quoted here.

discussion of the Sacraments begins, and forms more or less complete are given incidentally for Baptism, Confirmation, The Lord's Supper, Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Marriage and Burial. The whole movement at once met with great opposition. The *Consultation*, as a scheme of service, never was in use: a reply entitled *Antididagma* was issued by the Chapter: Hermann himself was excommunicated in 1546, and though at first supported by the Emperor against the Pope for political purposes, he was deprived in 1547, and lived in retirement until his death, August 15th, 1552.<sup>1</sup>

These two attempts, abortive though they may seem, were not without their influence on the course of events in England. The reformed Breviary, at any rate in its earlier shape, was before Cranmer, and left its mark upon the Prayer Book; and while some of the liturgical forms inserted into the midst of the doctrinal statements which formed the bulk of the *Consultation* influenced parts of the services of the Holy Communion and of Holy Baptism, the influence of the *Antididagma* was also great. Thus it is well to notice whatever there was of external influence, which had any effect from abroad, before coming to consider the course of the history of the Prayer Book at home.

The English liturgical reform was preceded by fresh efforts to make the Bible accessible in the mother tongue. On December 19th, 1534, the Convocation petitioned Henry, amongst other things, to make provision for an authorised English version of the Bible<sup>2</sup>; and in 1536, in a Proclamation for Uniformity in Religion,<sup>3</sup> issued shortly after the appearance of Cover-

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte* and ff. *im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Berlin, 1843) iv., 329, and Deckers, pp. 148

<sup>2</sup> Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 776.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 810.

dale's Bible (October, 1535), the King, though maintaining that he is not compelled by God's Word to set forth the Scripture in English, yet 'of his own liberality and goodness was and is pleased that his said loving subjects should have and read the same in convenient places and times.' In Sept. 1538 Cromwell, as the King's Vicar-General, issued Injunctions,<sup>1</sup> which direct a 'Bible of the largest volume in English' to be set up in some convenient place in every church, where it might be read, only without noise, or disturbance of any public service, and without any disputation, or exposition,<sup>2</sup> they also make special provision that the people shall be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. In 1542 a proposal was laid before the southern Convocation by Cranmer to amend the Service-books and to discontinue the dressing of images and setting up lighted candles before them.<sup>3</sup> A new edition of the Sarum Breviary<sup>4</sup> was issued at this time bearing the clear marks of the breach with Rome, and it was further determined that no other Breviary should be used in the province of Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Concil.* III. 815. Burnet iv. 341 (ed. Pocock, Oxford, 1865.)

<sup>2</sup> The order is repeated in a Proclamation (6 May, 1541), which fixes the price of the unbound bible at ten shillings, or twelve shillings if 'well and sufficiently bound, trimmed, and clasped' (Wilkins, III. 856; Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 84. See an account of early English translations of the Bible in Bp. Westcott's *History of the English Bible*.)

<sup>3</sup> Reverendissimus egit cum patribus de candelis et candelabris coram imaginibus fixis abolendis, necnon de portiferiis, missalibus, et aliis libris corrigendis et reformandis, ac nominibus Romanorum pontificum et Thomæ Becket diligentius ab omnibus pres-

byteris radendis et abolendis; atque de quibusdam vestimentis sericis et aliis ornamentis ipsis statutis appositis; egitque de Oratione Dominica, Symbolo Apostolorum, et Præceptis Decalogi a plebe in vulgari discendis et recitandis.' Wilkins, III. 861.

<sup>4</sup> 'Portiforium secundum usum Sarum noviter impressum, et a plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso adscriptum omittitur, una cum aliis quæ Christianissimo nostri Regis statuto repugnant. Excusum Londini per Edwardum Whytchurch, 1541.' See *Sarum Breviary* (Cambridge Ed.), III. p. xlvi.

<sup>5</sup> Wilkins, III. 861, 862. See above p. 21.

the meeting of Convocation in 1543, the Archbishop signified that it was the King's will that there should be a further reformation of the Service-books;<sup>1</sup> a committee was appointed for the purpose, and 'it was ordered also that every Sunday and holy-day throughout the year the curate of every parish church, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English without exposition; and when the New Testament was read over, then to begin the Old.' Thus the first step was taken towards liturgical reformation by introducing the reading of Scripture in English into the public service of the Church: and this was done by the authority of the House of Bishops in Convocation, who had also received the proposal to correct the Service-books. The way was thus prepared for the further substitution of English for Latin in the prayers. The first change in this respect was made in the Litany. This form of petition, used in solemn processions, had been in the hands of the people in their own tongue in the Primer certainly for a hundred and fifty years; but in 1544 circumstances led to the issue of an official version of the Litany in English.

The King had issued a letter on August 20th, 1543, desiring 'general rogations and processions to be made' owing to the rain and bad weather; other troubles, such as war and pestilence, were also pressing upon people

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* III. 863: 'That all mass-books, antiphoners, [and] portuises in the Church of England should be newly examined, corrected, reformed and castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles, and responses: and that the names and memories of all saints, which be not mentioned in

the Scripture, or authentical doctors, should be abolished.' 'It was ordered that the examination and correction of the said books of service should be committed to the bishops of Sarum and Ely, taking to each of them three of the lower house, such as should be appointed for that purpose. But this the lower house released.' A gentle refusal to have anything to do therein. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* I. 376.

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both at home and abroad. The people responded but slackly, and this slackness was put down partly to the fact 'that they understode no parte of suche prayers or suffrages as were used to be songe and sayde': consequently (June 11th, 1544) there were 'set forthe certayne godly prayers and suffrages in our natyve Englishe tongue';<sup>1</sup> to this 'Letanie with suffrages to be said or songe in the tyme of the said processyons' there was prefixed 'An exhortation unto prayer, thoughte mete by the Kinges Maiestie and his clergy to be read to the people in every church afore processyons.'<sup>2</sup> This litany represents the present English Litany in its actual form, with the exception of three clauses of invocation, and very nearly in its present words.<sup>3</sup> The work was no doubt done by Cranmer, and was probably his first essay in this direction. All the other parts of divine worship continued to be celebrated according to the several books and uses which have been noticed. It is important, however, to consider the relation of reform to the books of private devotion, and especially to call attention to the King's Primer, which was issued about the same time as the Litany. This was not by any means the first occasion on which the influence of the reformed views was brought to bear upon the Primer. A popular book of this nature was especially liable to such influences, and as early as 1530 complaints were made of the orthodoxy of certain Primers.<sup>4</sup> Four years later a far greater measure of

The Revised  
Primers.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkins, *Conc.* III. 868—870.

by Grafton.

<sup>2</sup> Printed as an Appendix to *Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society), from a copy dated May 27. An edition with the plain-song and another edition with music in five parts. 'as used in the King's Chapel,' were subsequently printed

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 414 and ff.

<sup>4</sup> Wilk. *Conc.* III. 733. This has been supposed to refer to Marshall's Primer, but the reference is probably to some unknown predecessor of Marshall's book, for this appeared in

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innovation came in with the first edition of Marshall's Primer, which, while keeping in general to the traditional form, contained no Litany or *Dirige* (*i.e.* Mattins of the Dead), and introduced a new spirit in the various exhortations, expositions, and prayers which it included. The omission of the Litany and *Dirige* caused so much protest, that in the second edition in 1535 they were restored, with an explanatory and unconciliatory preface prefixed to each.<sup>1</sup> Four years later more official action was taken when, under the authority both of Cranmer as Archbishop and of Cromwell as Vicegerent to the King, Bishop Hilsey's Primer was issued, which in some respects carried innovation a step in advance of Marshall's Primer.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after this, about the year 1541, the King began to exercise some modifying influence on the Primers, and this led up to the issue, in 1545, of King Henry's Primer,<sup>3</sup> which quickly brought to an end the series of Primers of the old type.<sup>4</sup> This included the new form of Litany as issued in the previous year, with revised forms of the Hours of Our Lady and the Services of the Dead, besides other prayers both old and new. Here for the present things rested, both with regard to public and private worship. But meanwhile other changes were being prepared.

Marshall's

Hilsey's,

and Henry's  
Primer.

There is no sign that the committee nominated by Convocation ever set to work, but it is clear that Cranmer, perhaps with Heath and Day, the Bishops of

Experi-  
ments in  
Reform.

1534, and was then denounced in Convocation. See Additional Note, p. 43.

<sup>1</sup> This second edition is printed in Burton's *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.* (Oxford, 1834).

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Burton, *l.c.* p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> *The Primer set forth by the King's Majesty and his Clergy to be taught, learned and read: and none other to be used throughout all his dominions.* Printed in Burton, *l.c.* p. 437.

<sup>4</sup> It was resumed in 1554 under Queen Mary. See for the whole subject Hoskins, *Primers.*

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the services  
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Cranmer's  
First Draft.

The  
Rationale.

Second  
Draft.

The  
Processional

Worcester and Chichester, and others appointed by the King,<sup>1</sup> was busying himself with experiments in the reform of the Service-books. His earliest extant Draft follows the lines of Quignon in keeping the ancient seven Hours of prayer and the Latin tongue throughout: it was therefore probably earlier in date than this action of Convocation: it did not touch any services except those of the Hours, and as it never saw the light it had no overt influence upon them.<sup>2</sup> Another abortive attempt besides this First Draft was the document known as the *Rationale*, or explanation of the 'ceremonies to be used in the Church of England.' This dealt with all the old ceremonies, and probably was drawn up by the commission appointed by the King in 1540.<sup>3</sup> A second Draft of revised services marks a considerable step forward: the Hours were reduced to two, but Latin was retained throughout except in saying the Lord's Prayer and in reading the lessons. This second Draft seems to date from the latter years of Henry VIII. or the opening months of Edward VI.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear also that further experiments in English services were being made. Soon after the publication of the Litany, Cranmer was busying himself with a translation of the Processional as a whole, and after making some experiments with a free hand, both as translator, adapter and reviser, he sent them to the King with

<sup>1</sup> See Burnet, v. 353 (Pt. II. bk. i. record lxi.) Cranmer's letter to the King, January 24, 1545/6.

<sup>2</sup> This draft was first printed by Gasquet and Bishop: See *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 16—29, 311—352. The document is there dated as subsequent to the action of Convocation, *i.e.* between 1543 and 1547.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon, *History*, ii. 229, 311. The document is printed in Collier *Hist.*

v. 191—198.

<sup>4</sup> Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 30—39; 353—382. The reduction in the number of Hours goes along with the direction to omit Prime and Hours when a sermon was preached, which was given in the 36th of the Royal Injunctions of 1547: compare similar but fuller directions in the Royal Injunctions to Cathedrals issued in September, 1547 (Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 55, 56).

Changes  
under  
Edward VI.

Edwardine  
Innovation.

Homilies  
and In-  
junctions.

further proposals as to the nature of the musical reform as he conceived it.<sup>1</sup> The whole appears to have come to nothing for the moment, though it to some extent foreshadows what was to come.

Edward VI. came to the throne on January 28th, 1547, and signs of change were soon evident. Liturgical innovations were carried forward, and Compline was sung in English in the Royal Chapel on April 11th, 1547<sup>2</sup>: there are some traces also of other experiments in English adaptations, not only of the Hours, but also of the Liturgy.<sup>3</sup>

In July, the First Book of Homilies was issued, and thus provision was made for a scriptural instruction of the people, that should be independent of the opinions of the parish priests; and a standard was set for the work of preaching, which, though under great restrictions, was being encouraged everywhere.<sup>4</sup> In the following month the Royal Injunctions were issued with the Articles of Enquiry for the Royal Visitation: both these plans were carried out by the Council acting for the Crown, and overriding episcopal authority. The Injunctions were based upon the Cromwellian Injunctions of 1536, but went much further. They demanded that, not only a Bible, but also a copy of the 'Paraphrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Gospels' should be set up in the churches, and further that the clergy should possess these, study them, and be examined in them by the Bishops. Among the new provisions was an order for

<sup>1</sup> 'In some processions I have altered divers words, in some I have added part, in some taken part away: some I have left out whole either for by cause the matter appeared to me to be little to purpose or by cause the days be not with us festival days: and some processions I have added whole

because I thought I had better matter for the purpose than was the procession in Latin.' See below, Additional Note, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Gasquet and Bishop, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> See Additional Note, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> See *Documentary Annals*, III. p. 32.

Changes  
under  
Edward VI.

the reading of one of the homilies every Sunday; and besides the old provision for one chapter of the New Testament to be read at Mattins, and at Evensong one chapter of the Old Testament<sup>1</sup> on every Sunday and Holy Day, the custom was now made general that the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass should be read in English. To make room for the chapter of Scripture a further change was directed 'that when nine lessons should be read in the Church, three of them shall be omitted and left out with their responds; and at Evensong time the responds with all the memories shall be left off for that purpose': and to make room for the sermon or homily it was ordered that 'the Prime and Hours shall be omitted.'<sup>2</sup> The English Litany was appointed to be said or sung by the priests and other of the choir kneeling in the midst of the Church immediately before High Mass, and this was to take the place of all the old processions. A new form of Bidding prayer was appended following upon the changes which Henry had already made in this form.<sup>3</sup> In the course of the Royal Visitation, further alterations were introduced, *e.g.* at Winchester Cathedral sequences were abolished: at Lincoln and York no anthems were to be allowed but those of our Lord, and they in English, set to a plain and distinct note, for every syllable one: and the public recitation of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin and of ferial Dirges was also abrogated.<sup>4</sup>

These innovations were all made without reference to Parliament or Convocation: a second stage in the

Action of  
Convocation  
and Parlia-  
ment

<sup>1</sup> The former before *Te Deum*, the latter after *Magnificat*. See Royal Injunctions for Lincoln (1548) in *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, ii. 590.

<sup>2</sup> For the fullest directions see *Linc. Cath. Stat.* ii. 593. Cp. Blunt, 12.

<sup>3</sup> See the Injunctions, *Doc. Ann.* ii. §§ 7, 20, 21, 23, 32, 36, and p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> See *Linc. Cath. Stat.* ii. 581, 592. Cp. *Doc. Ann.* xii. especially for vernacular explanations of the ceremonies to be interpolated at Mass.

Changes  
under  
Edward VI.

development began when these bodies met in the beginning of November, 1547. At the opening Mass on November 4, the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo* and *Agnus* were all sung in English,<sup>1</sup> and among the earliest business of Convocation was a petition to the upper house from the lower house 'that the work of the Bishops and others who have been occupied, in accordance with the command of Convocation, in examining, reforming and publishing the Divine Service, may be produced and submitted to the examination of this House.'<sup>2</sup> It does not seem to have led to any definite result, nor was Convocation more fortunate in the claim which it made to discuss and settle itself 'such matters as concerneth religion.' On the other hand, at the sixth session (December 2nd), the proposal for communion under both kinds was approved *nullo reclamante*, and already a bill was on its way through Parliament which included a provision to the same effect,<sup>3</sup> so that this change was brought about by consent of Church and State. After this, Parliament and Convocation were prorogued, and the innovations enter upon a third stage, when again they are controlled by secular authority.

concerning  
Divine  
Serviceand Com-  
munion.

Early in 1548 (if not before the end of 1547) questions were submitted to the Bishops with a view to changes in the Liturgy: their answers show, among

The Order of  
Communion.

<sup>1</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle* (Camden Soc.), i. 187.

<sup>2</sup> So speaks the Latin official Record. A fuller account in a MS. of Cranmer has it thus: 'That whereas by the commandment of King Henry VIII. certain prelates and other learned men were appointed to alter the service in the Church and to devise other convenient and uniform order therein, who according to the same appointment did make certain books, as they be informed: their request is that the said books may be seen and perused by them for a better expedition of Divine Service to be set forth accordingly.' Wilk. iv. 15. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 419. See for this Convocation Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 73-78, 449-451, and Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Documentis*, No. LXVII.

Changes  
under  
Edward VI.

other things, some hesitation as to the expediency of saying all the Mass in the vulgar tongue,<sup>1</sup> and this no doubt was not without its influence upon the next step taken in liturgical innovation. It was urgent that some provision should be made for the carrying out of the direction for communion in both kinds; the work was entrusted to 'sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates and other learned men in the scripture'<sup>2</sup> 'who, after long conference together with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon' a form; this was issued by Royal proclamation on March 8th, 1548, and further imposed by a letter from the Council to the Bishops dated five days later, and pointing to Eastertide as the time when *The Order of Communion* should come into use.<sup>3</sup>

This made no alteration in the Latin Mass except that the English devotions for communicants were inserted in the middle of the service, which in other respects (as was expressly stipulated) went on for the present as before. The English Order comprised the Invitation, longer and shorter Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access in much their present form, together with words of administration for communion in both kinds, similar to the first half of the present words, and 'The Peace,' without the blessing annexed to it as at present.<sup>4</sup>

The Bishops were ordered to direct their clergy to use 'such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, that there might be

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, v. 197 (Pt. II. bk. i. record xxv.), especially Quest. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The names are involved in the same uncertainty as besets the names of the compilers of the First Prayer Book. See below, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> The Letter is in Wilk. iv. 31. *Doc. Ann.* xiv. The *Order* itself,

Wilk. iv. II. or in *Liturgies of K. Edward VI.* (Parker Soc.) pp. 1-8.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 486, 487.

Its Recep-  
tion.Changes  
under  
Edward VI.

one uniform manner quietly used in all parts of the realm.'<sup>1</sup> However, some of the Bishops were backward in directing the use of the new form; and many parish priests were so far from instructing their parishioners for their good satisfaction in the matter, that they laboured to excite them against it, and declared in their sermons that the real intention of the Government was to lay a tax of half-a-crown upon every marriage, christening, and burial.<sup>2</sup> Besides the opposition of the conservative section, the Council had to control the innovations of the reformers, who had already been warned 'not to bring in new and strange orders every one in their Church according to their fantasies,' but were in spite of this not by any means restrained.<sup>3</sup> To remedy these disorders, all preaching was forbidden by a proclamation<sup>4</sup> (April 24th), except under licence from the King, the Lord Protector, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards was more strictly prohibited by another proclamation<sup>5</sup> (September 23rd), that the people might be 'the more ready with thankful obedience to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order to be had throughout the realm.'

Meanwhile other changes had been made by the Council, which in January abolished the ceremonies of candles on Candlemas, ashes on Ash Wednesday, and

<sup>1</sup> *Doc. Ann.* xiv. For an account of the Latin translations of the 'Order of Communion,' and of the First Prayer Book, see p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> The people had this notion in Henry's time, when parish registers were ordered to be kept. This order was renewed in the Injunctions (1547).

<sup>3</sup> A Proclamation against them that do innovate: see *Doc. Ann.* vii. Compare the Proclamation prefixed to 'The Order of the Communion'

(1548), showing that some enterprised to run before authority: and the Act of Uniformity (1549), stating that, besides the old *uses*, divers forms and fashions have of late been used in cathedral and parish-churches, concerning Mattins and Evensong, the Holy Communion, and the administration of other sacraments of the Church. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> *Doc. Ann.* x\*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xiii.

Disaffection  
of the Clergy  
at it.Preaching  
forbidden.Further  
changes.

Changes  
under  
Edward VI.Abrogation  
of Cere-  
monies.and  
Vernacular  
Services.

palms on Palm Sunday,<sup>1</sup> and in the following month first abrogated Holy bread, Holy water, and the service of Creeping to the Cross on Good Friday,<sup>2</sup> and then went a stage beyond the Royal Injunctions in abolishing not merely such images as had been abused, but 'all the images remaining in any Church or Chapel.'<sup>3</sup>

In May further experiments were made: 'Paul's choir and divers other parishes in London sung all the service in English, both Mattins, Mass, and Evensong, and kept no Mass without some received the communion with the priest'; and a little later 'on the 12th day of May King Henry VII.'s anniversary was kept at Westminster, the Mass sung all in English, with the Consecration of the Sacrament also spoken in English, the priest leaving out all the Canon after the Creed (? *Qui pridie*) save the Paternoster, and then ministering the Communion after the King's Book.'<sup>4</sup>

As time went on, these experimental forms of service were given a wider currency.<sup>5</sup> On the 4th of September, 1548, the Protector wrote to the Vice-Chancellor and heads of houses of the University of Cambridge to order that for the present 'you and every of you in your colleges, chapels, or other churches use one uniform order, rite, ceremonies in the Mass, Mattins, and Evensong, and all divine service in the same to be said or sung, such as is presently used in the King's Majesty's Chapel, and none other.'<sup>6</sup> The prescribed form accompanied the

<sup>1</sup> Wilk. IV. 22. *Doc. Ann.* VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Doc. Ann.* VII.

<sup>3</sup> Wilk. IV. 22. *Doc. Ann.* IX.

<sup>4</sup> Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II. 2. Cp. *Greyfriars Chronicle*, p. 55. The passage is not very clear.

<sup>5</sup> The Churchwardens' Accounts of S. Michael's, Cornhill, for 1548, contain the following entry: 'Paid

to the Schoolmaster of Paul's for writing of the Mass in English and the Benedicites, Vs.' It is also noticeable that 'eight Sawtters in English' were bought. *Churchwardens' Accounts* (ed. Overall) pp. 67, 68.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Gasquet and Bishop, p. 147, from C.C.C.C. MS. 106, f. 495.

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under  
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letter, but it does not appear to be now extant: but it is clear from the description that the Breviary Offices had been already reduced to two, and it seems probable that in other respects besides this the point occupied by the First Prayer Book as to these services had already been practically reached by way of experiment, and that little remained but to complete the work and present it for formal authorisation.



## ADDITIONAL NOTES

## I. EDWARDIAN CHOIR BOOKS.

Edwardian  
Choir Books.

SOME traces of the forms of service employed in the King's Chapel and in other places by way of experiment may be found in some MS. choir books in the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library.

Important evidence of the spirit which guided the revision of the music is to be found in a letter sent from Cranmer to the King six<sup>1</sup> months after the publication of the Litany with its music, accompanying some drafts of further translations with music, of which unfortunately no trace can be found. The letter, however, strikes the keynote of such changes as are known to have been made. He writes:—

'I have translated into the English Tongue, so well as I could in so short time, certain processions to be used upon festival days.' Then, after describing the freedom which he has allowed himself as translator, to alter or add to the old rite, he proceeds:—'If your grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto, (as is to the procession which your majesty has already set forth in English) I trust it will much excitate, and stir the hearts of all men unto devotion and godliness: But in mine opinion the song, that shall be made thereunto, would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note, so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly: as be in the Mattins and Evensong—*Venite*, the hymns, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and all the psalms and versicles: and in the Mass—*Gloria in excelsis*, *Gloria patri*, the *Credo*, the Preface, the *Pater noster*, and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve festa dies* the Latin note, as I think, is sober and distinct enough: Wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto: I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But, by cause mine English verses want the grace and facility that I could wish they had, your majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase. As for the sentence, I suppose will serve well enough.'<sup>2</sup>

The choir books which survive of the early years of Edward VI.

<sup>1</sup> Or eighteen, the date is uncertain. Oct. 7, 1544 or 1545. v. 206; printed in full from *State Papers*, I. ii, p. 760.

<sup>2</sup> Cranmer, *Works*, II. 412; Collier,

The Reformed  
Primers.

contain an adaptation of the old Plain-song of the mass to English words on the lines laid down above, as well as a number of settings for four or five voices, which are characterized in the main by a similar simplicity. They also show that several tentative translations were made and set to music before the version for use in the Prayer Book was settled. In the case of the canticles the versions of the Primers were used, as well as others which have not hitherto been traced to any printed source. There are also two Masses in English which have the Apostles' Creed instead of the Nicene Creed; this is probably due to the fact that translations of the former but not of the latter were already available in the Primers.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE REFORMED PRIMERS.

The Reformed Primers of Henry VIIIth's reign fall into three groups, the first connected with the name of William Marshall, the second with that of Bishop Hilsey, while the third consists of the King's Primers.<sup>2</sup> Besides reforming the old materials, they introduced a considerable amount of novelty. Thus Marshall's book<sup>3</sup> contains the offices for the hours of prayer: but a considerable portion of the volume is occupied with an exposition of Psalm li., and a harmony of the Gospel narrative of our Saviour's Passion. It has also a doctrinal instruction in the form of a dialogue between a father and his child. It contains the Dirge and Commendations: but with an admonition and warning prefixed against prayer for the dead, and an exposition of the meaning of the Psalms and Lessons read in that service. The book was denounced in Convocation<sup>4</sup> when it first appeared.

Hilsey's book<sup>5</sup> published in 1539 was intended to introduce as

<sup>1</sup> See *Journ. Theol. Stud.* I. 229 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> The grouping is only a rough one. The primer of 1540 printed by Grafton and Whitchurche in Latin and English, is drawn partly from Marshall's and partly from Hilsey, and between 1536 and 1540 there were books which partly followed Marshall's and partly the old Sarum forms.

<sup>3</sup> The first known edition is that circa 1534. Its contents are given by Dr. Burton *Three Primers*, p. 31. A fuller edition was published in 1535. This has been reprinted by Dr. Burton, pp. 1—300. It is entitled 'A goodly Primer in English, newly corrected and printed, with certain godly Meditations and Prayers added to the same, very necessary and profitable for all them that right assuredly understand not the Latin and Greek Tongues. *Cum privilegio regali.*' Hoskins, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Wilkins, III. 769. Dixon, I. 140. The book, however, was extensively circulated (1534—1539), and was known to Cranmer, who transferred whole sentences from it into *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537). Lathbury, *Hist. of Prayer-book*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> This was entitled 'The Manual of Prayers, or the Primer in English, set out at length, whose contents the Reader by the Prologue next after the Kalendar shall soon perceive,

The Reformed  
Primers.

much doctrinal improvement as the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters could venture upon. It has 'the form of bidding of the beads, by the King's commandment,'<sup>1</sup> and 'the Abrogation of the Holy-days.' Many of the psalms, anthems, lessons, and hymns are changed for others of more plain sentence: also a great number of the saints invoked in the Litany are omitted, according to the Injunctions of 1536. Prayer for the dead is retained in the bidding the beads and in the *Dirige*; but the Lessons of this service are changed for others, declaring the miserable state of man's life, the condition of the dead, and the general resurrection. It contains 'an instruction of the manner of hearing of the mass,' opposing the doctrine of the sacramentaries. The book follows three main divisions—Faith, Prayer (the *Hours*, with the xv. Oes,<sup>2</sup> the vii. and xv. Psalms, and the Litany, &c.), and Works, concluding after passages of Scripture upon the relative duties, with an extract from 2 Pet. ii., headed 'The bishop of Rome with his adherences, destroyers of all estates.' This with all preceding Primers was superseded in 1545 by 'The King's Primer'<sup>3</sup> and its Latin counterpart, the *Orarium*, of 1546.

This was much less pronounced, and contained, besides the Hours, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the *Dirge* and Comendations, and the Psalms and devotions of the Passion, only a short collection of Private Prayers.

and therein shall see briefly the order of the whole Book. Set forth by John, late Bishop of Rochester, at the commandment of the right honourable lord Thomas Crumwell, lord Privy Seal, Vicegerent to the King's Highness.' Burton, *Three Primers*, pp. 305—436. There was also an edition published in the same year in English and Latin. (Hoskins, *Primers*, No. 142 and p. 233.)

<sup>1</sup> This was carefully ordered by Henry, to omit all mention of the Pope, and to teach the people that the king was the supreme head immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the Church of England.

<sup>2</sup> These fifteen meditations on Christ's Passion, each beginning with 'O Jesu,' 'O blessed Jesu,' &c., composed and said daily by St. Bridget before the crucifix in St. Paul's church at Rome were a common feature in the older Pri-

mers (p. 19). Marshall rejected them as superstitious, and they were not placed in K. Henry's Primer (1545). Bishop Hilsey retained them in their usual place, before the vii. Psalms and the Litany, with an admonition prefixed: 'The xv. prayers following, called commonly the xv. Oes, are set forth in divers Latin primers, with goodly prynted prefaces, promising to the sayers thereof many things both foolish and false, as the deliverance of xv. souls out of purgatory, with other like vanities; yet are the prayers self right, good and virtuous, if they be said without any such superstitious trust or blind confidence.' Burton, *Three Primers*, p. 371. We find them again in the time of Q. Elizabeth: see *Private Prayers put forth in that Reign* (Parker Soc.), and Mr. Clay's note, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> Burton, *Three Primers*, pp. 437—526, and see above, p. 33.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK.

THE definite history of the compilation of the First Prayer Book is wrapped in considerable obscurity. In the previous chapter an account has been given of various steps which led up to it, but when the attempt is made to ascertain accurately the names of those who compiled it and the history of their work, little evidence is forthcoming. The authors of the Order of Communion lie hidden behind the vague phrases of the Proclamation of March 8, 1547—8, under which it was issued. Other phrases similarly vague occur in connexion with the First Prayer Book in the Act of Uniformity which authorized it. There is no direct evidence of any formal commission issued for the purpose, and indirectly all the details that can be ascertained are the following. In September, 1548, a number of bishops and divines were assembled at Chertsey and also (probably during the King's stay on September 22 and 23) at Windsor, for the settlement of liturgical questions and 'a uniform order of prayer.'<sup>1</sup>

The names of these can only be ascertained by conjecture,<sup>2</sup> but since it is known that five bishops and four

<sup>1</sup> *Greyfriars Chronicle*, 56. *Journal of Edward VI.* in Burnet, v. 7 (Pt. II. i. p. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> No names are given by Cranmer in his letter to Queen Mary of September, 1555, (*Remains*, p. 450), nor

The First  
Prayer Book  
of  
Edward VI.

Its authors.