

- The Ordinal.** *per D.N.J.C. ab initio cuncta creasti et postmodum.*  
 . . . (*Long consecratory prayer.*)
13. *Blessing.* *Benedictio de septiformi spiritu sic:* Spiritus Sanctus septiformis veniat super te, &c.  
 (a) *Ant.* Unguentum in capite. *Ps.* Ecce quam bonum. *Repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum.*  
 (b) *Hic mittatur solum chrisma super caput eis.* Unguatur et consecratur, &c. (*as above, omitting mention of oil.*)  
 (c) Unguantur manus istæ et sanctificentur, &c.  
 (d) *His peractis, ipse qui consecratur extendat manus. . . . et consecrator fundens chrisma super manus . . . .* Deus et Pater D.N.J.C. qui te ad pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, &c.  
 Immensam clementiam tuam rogamus, omnipotens et piissime deus, ut manus istius famuli tui scilicet fratris nostri sicut exterius obducuntur chirothecis istis, sic interius aspergantur rore tuæ benedictionis: ut quæcunque per eas sint bene dicenda sanctificanda vel consecranda per te benedicentur, sanctificentur et consecrentur. Qui vivis. *Deinde imponantur chirotheca.*
15. *Putting on of gloves.* (a) *Deinde consecrator benedicat baculum pastorem sic:* Sustentator humanæ imbecillitatis, &c.  
 (b) *Quum datur baculus, dicat ordinator:* Accipe baculum pastoralis officii: et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, iudicium sine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens. . . .
16. *Pastoral staff.* (a) *Benedictio annuli.* Creator et conservator humani generis, &c.  
 (b) Accipe anulum fidei, &c.
17. *Ring.* (a) *Benedictio mitræ.* Deus cuius providentia statuit, &c.  
 (b) Deus qui mitræ pontificalis, &c.
18. *Mitre.* *Postea det eis codicem evangeliorum, dicens:* Accipe evangelium, et vade, prædica populo tibi commissio: potens est enim Deus augere tibi gratiam suam: Qui vivit.
19. *Gospel Book*
- The last Collect, 'Most merciful Father, &c.'* *Missæ episcopi pro se in die ordinationis suæ . . . .*  
*Benedictio super populum.* Deus, qui me indignum et peccatorem ad pontificale officium dignatus est promovere, sua vos illustret atque sanctificet benedictione. Amen.  
 Donet mihi per gratiam suam bene operandi facultatem: et vobis sui famulatus promptissimam obeditionem. Amen.  
 Sicque vos doctrinis spiritualibus et operibus bonis repleri in præsentī vita concedat: ut ad pascua vitæ æternæ cum cæteris ovibus suis vos pariter introducat. Amen.

## A NEW HISTORY

OF

## THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

PART II.

## THE SOURCES AND RATIONALE OF ITS OFFICES.

## CHAPTER IX.

### INTRODUCTORY MATTER, TITLE, PREFACES AND KALENDAR.

#### I.

THE title-page of the Prayer Book of 1661 shows that in more ways than one it is a compilation. In the first place it incorporates the title of the Ordinal<sup>1</sup> as well as the title of the Prayer Book proper; and in the second place it emphasizes the fact that the book known as The Prayer Book consists itself of three distinct parts with an Appendix. They are these—(1) The Book of Common Prayer, *i.e.*, “The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily to be said and used throughout the year”;<sup>2</sup> (2) The Administration of the Sacraments, *i.e.* the two Sacraments of the Gospel; (*a*) “The Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion,” together with “the Collects, Epistles and Gospels to be used throughout the year”; and (*b*) the three services for the “Ministration of Baptism.” This forms the central and largest section of the book. (3)

\*  
Introductory  
Matter.  
Title-page.

<sup>1</sup> The Ordinal, however, still retains its own Title page and Preface. Bishop, p. 356. This is the proper use of the term ‘Divine Service.’

<sup>2</sup> “The Common Prayers of the Church” commonly called “The Divine Service” is in Cranmer’s preface the equivalent of *preces horariae sive canonicae*. See *e.g.* Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, *passim*. It was, however, loosely applied to the Eucharist in the closing rubric appended to the Liturgy in Gasquet and 1661.

Introductory  
Matter.

“Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church”<sup>1</sup> including first the two sacramental services of Confirmation (to which the Catechism is prefixed) and Matrimony, then the Church’s care for the sick and dead, the Orders of Visitation and Burial, and lastly the Thanksgiving Service of The Churching of Women and the Penitential Service of Commination.<sup>2</sup> (4) The Appendix contains the Psalter pointed for singing, to which are added some Forms of Prayer to be used at sea.<sup>3</sup>

By a similar process various Appendixes<sup>4</sup> have been added after the Ordinal containing (a) additional services such as the “State services,” which at various times have been annexed to the Prayer Book by civil authority, or (b) documents such as the Articles of Religion, the Table of kindred and affinity, the Canons Ecclesiastical of 1603 or the Metrical Psalms; these are not parts of the book at all in any accurate sense.

## II.

The Preface.

The prefatory matter consists of three parts. The Preface represents the attitude of the Bishops in the last revision (1661), and embodies their comments upon the Rebellion, by which recently Prayer-Book worship had been suppressed, and upon the negotiations and trans-

<sup>1</sup> For the loose use of this term ceremony as similar to *Rite* see above, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> A careful distinction is here drawn. The Common Prayer, Sacraments and Rites are those of the Church Catholic: the particular forms of them contained in the book are those ‘According to the Use of the Church of England.’ The distinction was made in 1549, obscured in 1552 and restored in 1662. The question is touched upon in the first and third paragraphs of the Preface.

<sup>3</sup> In earlier Prayer Books this had its own Title: at one time in 1662 this custom was to have been continued, but eventually no separate title-page was prefixed to this section. Parker, *Introduction*, pp. xciv., ccciv.

<sup>4</sup> The development of the Title-page and Contents may easily be traced in the conspectus of the successive Title-pages and Tables of Contents given in Blunt, *Annotated B.C.P.*, p. 83, or in Keeling, *Liturgie Britannica*.

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Matter.

actions since the Restoration, and especially in connexion with the Savoy Conference. It was drafted by Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, and revised by a committee of Bishops.<sup>1</sup> Still more it defines the principles on which they had conducted the revision, and describes the actual alterations made; their aim was “moderation,” that is, while repudiating disloyal proposals, to accept others for the sake of greater peace and piety; their method was (a) to give better directions for services, (b) to clear up ambiguous expressions, (c) to improve the translation of the Scriptural passages, (d) to meet new needs by additional forms.

The section ‘Concerning the Service of the Church’ was written by Cranmer as the Preface of the book of 1549, and it continued in that position, with the addition in 1552 of one final sentence, till 1661, when two short sentences were struck out and the rest was placed next after the new Preface.

A draft of this Preface made by Cranmer in Latin appeared in the second of his draft-schemes of service preparatory to the Prayer Book.<sup>2</sup> It was clearly written under the influence of Quignon’s Breviary. It follows the same line as Quignon’s Preface in tracing the decay and depravation of Divine Service, and in many passages exhibits verbal correspondence with it. Cranmer dealt freely with his model, and again in translating his own Latin draft into English he dealt freely with his original, and in the course of this development three points are especially noticeable.

Cranmer inserted in 1549 a new paragraph as to vernacular service, for which there had been no place in his Latin draft; he omitted a paragraph about the

<sup>1</sup> Walton’s *Life of Sanderson* and <sup>2</sup> Above, p. 34. Cardwell, *Synodalia*, II. 655.

Concerning  
the Service  
of the  
Church.

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hymns, after having failed in his attempts to reproduce them in English dress, as he had planned to do; he also omitted a paragraph as to Saints' days, having by that time decided not merely to omit such festivals as were misleading, unjustifiable or superfluous, but to retain only the feasts of the great Saints mentioned in the New Testament.<sup>1</sup>

This preface explained the need and the method of reform in 1549, just as the new preface did in 1661, but it covers a narrower field; for primarily it deals only with Divine Service, and is simply concerned with the restoration of the system of canonical hours so as to recover the continuous recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible, under simplified and uniform rules, to be expounded in case of doubt by episcopal authority.

The rule of  
daily recita-  
tion.

Directions follow for the daily recitation of Divine Service, with a permission that it may be said privately in other languages than English. This permission has come from 1549 practically unaltered,<sup>2</sup> but the directions have been made more stringent. Originally none were bound to the recitation of the service except those who 'served congregations,' but in 1552 all Priests and Deacons were bound to the daily recitation 'either privately or openly,' and the Curate, *i.e.*, the Parish Priest, was bound normally to have his Church bell rung and to say his prayers publicly. This direction was repeated with verbal alterations in 1661, and the clergy were still more strongly bound to the daily recitation of the services.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 16, 37, 356-370.

<sup>2</sup> 'Mattins and Evensong' was altered in 1552 to 'Morning and Evening Prayer,' but the old names survive in the Kalendar.

<sup>3</sup> The Scottish Book of 1637 had made the Bishop or Archbishop the

judge of what was a valid cause for omitting to say the service. This proviso was not adopted in 1661, but 'sickness' was substituted for 'preaching, studying of divinity' as the typical instance of what was to be held 'urgent cause' sufficient to justify non-compliance with the rule.

Introductory  
Matter.  
Of cere-  
monies.

The third chief part of the prefatory matter is the section "Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained." This was set in 1549 at the close of the book, followed by "Certain notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this book"; but in 1552 these "notes" were superseded by two rubrics dealing with the place of service and the ornaments of the church and of the minister, which were set before the beginning of Morning Prayer.<sup>1</sup> The section "Of ceremonies" was at the same time transferred to its present position as an introduction instead of an epilogue to the book.

This explanation of the method employed in dealing with old ceremonies is no doubt from Cranmer's pen. The abolition of some ceremonies is defended on two grounds, partly because of the burdensome quantity, and partly because of the alleged abuse of ceremonial. The retention of others is justified on the grounds that there must be some ceremonies, and that it is better to keep such as are old than to invent new ones. Further the actual selection of ceremonies embodied in the book is justified on the grounds that it need not be final, and that it excludes all ceremonies except such as are luminous and edifying.

## II

It has already been explained that the chief guiding principle in the revision of the Hour Services in the sixteenth century was the wish to provide for the orderly and continuous recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> If for no other purpose than this, a kalendar

Psalmody and  
Lectionary.  
Orders and  
Tables.

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 358 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 52.

Psalmody and  
Lectionary.

is necessary. Moreover the English Church had no intention of giving up, as other bodies did, the elaborate system of commemorating events in the life of our Lord and His Saints which she shared with the rest of the Catholic Church. For two reasons then a kalendar was needed.

The origin  
of Divine  
Service.

It is hardly too much to say that Divine Service traces its origin to the desire for the orderly recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible, and still exists for that purpose. Psalmody and Lessons from Scripture had already formed a natural part of the Synagogue worship, and they became equally naturally features of Christian use. It will be shown later how out of these two elements there was formed the introductory section of the Liturgy<sup>1</sup>; for the present it is only necessary to trace their part in the genesis of the Hours of Divine Service. The Psalms formed the hymn-book of the Early Church, and were so well known as to be sung by the people at home or over their work.<sup>2</sup> When others, both men and women, forsaking ordinary occupations, dedicated their lives to devotion and prayer, the singing of psalms together with the reading of the Bible formed the bulk of the religious exercises in which they spent the day. At first all was done privately: the hermits in their several cells in the desert, and the consecrated virgins within their own several homes, followed out each their own course as it seemed best. Presently the cœnobitic or community life developed out of the solitary life: monasteries were formed in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine, while in the towns men and women gathered together in the churches to unite in their devotions, or

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jerome says: Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens alleluia decantat, sudans messor

psalmis se avocat, et curva attendens vitem falce vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit. *Ep.* XLVI. (XLIV.) Paulæ et Eust. ad Marcellam.

Psalmody and  
Lectionary.

formed urban communities which were often grouped round a particular church. Then the systematizing of the psalmody and lectionary began: with the Eastern monasticism of S. Basil or S. Pachomius the Eastern type of services also penetrated into Southern Gaul and other parts of the Western Empire, and was soon confronted with a Western type of service which had grown up (as far as can be surmised) chiefly in the religious establishments which had become attached to churches in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

At first there was great variety of practice: the Eastern method which Cassian brought into Gaul in the first half of the Vth century was the progenitor of many Gallican systems,<sup>2</sup> while the old Western system had also its descendants. In course of time the recitation of the Psalter in Divine Service, which had begun outside clerical circles among the monks and virgins, became a clerical obligation as well; in Rome the secular clergy discarded their old services in favour of the more developed system of the Roman monks; but meanwhile the monks were everywhere conforming their practice to the rule and system of S. Benet; and thus from that time forward the old Roman monastic system came to be regarded as the 'secular' method of service, and this secular course of psalmody and lectionary became contrasted with the new monastic or Benedictine method and course.<sup>3</sup>

Both of these came to England from Rome in due

<sup>1</sup> See Batiffol, *Hist. Rom. Brev.* and Benedictine systems. See Hadan and Stubbs, *Councils* i. 138, and been maintained that these are Alexandrian, not Roman, but most authorities assign them to Rome and the beginning of the third century.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these survived among the Celtic bodies in the British Isles until they were ousted by the Roman

<sup>3</sup> The history is very obscure; see Bäumer, *Gesch. des Brev.*, Batiffol, *l.c.* Article on *The Early History of Divine Service* in *Ch. Q. Rev.*, xli. 395 (Jan. 1896).

In the West.

In England.

time,<sup>1</sup> and existed side by side till the latter disappeared at the suppression of the monasteries in Henry VIIIth's reign: thus the only system which actually confronted the Revisers was the Gregorian or secular course of psalmody, which was common to the Sarum and other diocesan breviaries as well, and the secular type of lectionary.

In each of these respects important changes were made. It was a great innovation by which the recitation of the Psalter and the reading of the lessons in the Divine Service was regulated by the civil year instead of the ecclesiastical year. The Psalter had hitherto been apportioned to the days of the week as such, but the new order prefixed to the kalendar in 1549 not only spread the recitation of the Psalter over a longer period in arranging it for a month, but also destroyed the old association of particular psalms with particular days of the week. The secular and monastic breviaries which the Prayer Book displaced, though they differed in detail the one from the other, yet had both agreed in assigning the Psalter to a week, beginning with the Sunday, and ending with the Saturday.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The monks naturally brought with them their own service, but special zeal was shown in England for the secular service, and nowhere did the Roman chant, the pioneer of Roman customs, meet with such a welcome. It formed a prominent feature of S. Augustine's first entry in Kent: later it spread to the north to Ripon under S. Wilfrid, to Wearmouth and Jarrow under S. Benet Biscop, and these monasteries brought special teachers direct from Rome and became centres for the diffusion of the Roman service and music. It was in fact the beginning of the movement by which, gradually, all other forms of secular service, with a very few exceptions, were ousted by the Roman services. See Bede, *passim*,

and especially *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 20, iv. 2, 18; *Hist. Abb.* 5. See also Bäumer, 223-227. The work was completed by the Council of Cloveshoo (747). Above, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The Ambrosian method covers a fortnight, though the fortnightly course is probably not original. The Orthodox (Eastern) arrangement is more complicated: it normally covers a week (so also the Armenian), but in Lent only half a week, as does the normal method of the East Syrians. For the East Syrian method see Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, pp. xvii. 259-263. For the rest see the art. 'Psalmody' in *Dict. Christian Antiq.* and compare the valuable tables in *P. B. interleaved*.

The innovation was made in the interests of simplicity and curtailment; and at the same time, in deference especially to the first of these, another great change of method was made. The old schemes for the recitation of the Psalter worked upon two principles: in some cases fixed psalms were assigned to fixed occasions, in other cases the psalms of the Psalter were said *in course*, either excluding the fixed psalms or including them, as the case might be. Thus in the ordinary secular psalter (as used *e.g.* in the Sarum Breviary), fixed psalms were used at Lauds and at the Little Hours and Compline, but at Mattins and Evensong (Vespers) the rest of the psalms of the Psalter, excluding these, were said in course, the first half (i.—cix.) at Mattins and second half (cx.—cl.) at Evensong.

With the First English Book this distinction disappeared: the new system was rigidly consecutive and numerical: the employment of fixed psalms only survived in the case of the *Venite* at Mattins,<sup>1</sup> and here provision was carefully made that it should not interrupt the consecutive course by assigning it the first place among the psalms of the 19th morning, where it might figure, as it were, in two capacities at once.

A great deal of appropriateness has been lost by this arrangement: *e.g.* a psalm appropriate only at night, (Psalm iv.) is sung on the first morning, and a psalm specially appropriate to Sunday (Psalm cxviii.) is sung

<sup>1</sup> The provision of psalms as alternatives to the Gospel canticles was not made till 1552. This did not interfere with the recitation of the psalms in the ordinary course, and in 1661 rubrics were added to prevent the possibility of clashing. See below, pp. 385, 403. The *Benedicite* had formed part of the fixed psalmody at Lauds and so may be said in a sense to be, in its present position as alternative to *Te Deum*, another example of the principle of fixed psalms.

alike on all days of the week: but the gain from the point of view of simplicity is indubitable.<sup>1</sup>

The uniform simplicity of this system is only broken by the appointment of 'Proper Psalms' on six days in the year. This principle formed part of the older system and was retained, though restricted to a very few occasions. The actual selection of Proper Psalms which was adopted in the Prayer Book does not follow the old lines, though it has points of contact with them.<sup>2</sup>

In all the earlier Prayer Books down to 1661 an attempt was made to rectify the inequality of the days of the month at the beginning of the year, so that February, having only twenty-eight days, borrowed for the purposes of the Psalter the 31st day of January and the first day of March and thus the Psalter was said three times in the first three months, without repetition in January and March, and without omission in February. But in 1661 this refinement was given up,<sup>3</sup> and according to the plan already adopted for the Scottish Book of 1637, it was allowed that the Psalter should be left unfinished in February, and the 30th portion repeated in

<sup>1</sup> Quignon in his revised Breviary kept to the weekly system, but distributed the psalms afresh over all the Hour Services, assigning three uniformly to each: he also gave up the *numerical* course altogether, and made his selection such as to equalise the various portions of psalmody. 'Psalmi sunt ita distributi, retento quatenus licuit veterum patrum instituto, ut omnes perlegantur singulis hebdomadis totius anni, terni singulis horis, unius longitudine cum alterius brevitare sic compensata, ut labor legendi diurnum par propemodum sit tota ebdomada, et perinde toto anno.' *Breviarium Romanum*. Præfatio (ed. Legg), p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Pss. xix. xlv. lxxxv. and lxxxix. of Christmas Day were sung on that day under the old system, but not Pss. cx. cxxxii. Ash Wednesday had no special psalms. The selection in the P. B. with Ps. li. used at the Communion, reproduces the 'Seven Penitential Psalms' of the old system, which were used in various supplementary ways in the ancient services but did not form any part of the system proper of the Psalter. Similar points of contact exist in all the other cases.

<sup>3</sup> It had already proved unworkable. See Bp. Wren's strictures in *Fragm. Ill.*, p. 52.

January and March as in the rest of the months which have thirty-one days.

The Doxology *Gloria patri* which is prescribed at the end of each psalm has been used in that position in one or other form from very early times: it was probably first used as one of the refrains sung in the earliest form of psalmody called 'responsorial':<sup>1</sup> it consisted then only of the first clause and this was in use in several forms. The Arian controversy brought these variations into question: the baptismal formula given by our Lord<sup>2</sup> forms the basis of them all; but while one form followed this closely in simply coupling the names of the Blessed Trinity—"The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost,"—another ran thus—"in the Son," or thus—"through (by) the Son and through (by) the Holy Ghost." The latter forms were favoured by the Arians as more agreeable to their views, and the maintainers of the biblical form were charged (probably unjustly) with innovation. As Arianism decayed, the doubtful forms lost ground and finally disappeared, while the surviving form annexed a second clause to itself, which again in turn took various forms: of these the most notable are the present Eastern form<sup>3</sup> "both now and always and for ever," and the Western form which appears in English dress in the Prayer Book.<sup>4</sup> This last seems to have won its way in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries throughout the West, except in Spain, as a protest against Arianism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an explanation of this term see Additional Note I. p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> S. Mat. xxviii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

<sup>4</sup> The Latin form is 'Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula sæculorum. Amen.' The Eng-

lish version here prescribed is not very close to the original: earlier translations were more literal and the approximation to the present form may be traced chronologically in the English Primers. See Dowden, *Workmanship*, 166.

<sup>5</sup> The fifth canon of the Council of Vaison in 529 ordered the adoption of the second clause with the

Psalmody and  
Lectionary.

The old doxology with a single clause survived however in the responsorial psalmody, from whence it sprung, in the Latin Services down to the Reformation, and disappeared with it in the process of transition to the English Book.<sup>1</sup> The use of this doxology signifies our belief that the same God was worshipped by the Jewish Church as by us, only the mystery of the Holy Trinity is more clearly revealed to us by the teaching of our Lord: this therefore we commemorate, and so we turn the psalms and canticles, which preceded that teaching, into fully Christian hymns.<sup>2</sup>

The Psalter.

A further departure was made from the Latin books in the enumeration of the psalms. The Vulgate, following the Septuagint, varied from the Hebrew and adopted a different subdivision of the psalms, which altered the whole enumeration from Psalm ix to Psalm cxlviii.<sup>3</sup> In the versions of the Bible in the XVIth century a return was made to the Hebrew numbers, and when

object of refuting heresy and on the ground of its general use elsewhere.

*Et quia non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem, et totam Africam, vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, qui Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore clæpisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post Gloria, Sicut erat in principio dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita dicendum esse decernimus.* Conc. Vasense, III. al. II. (529) can. v.; Mansi, VIII. 727; Bruns, *Canones*, II. 184.

On the other hand, a century later, the Doxology sung in Spain at the end of all psalms was 'Gloria et honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' See XIIIth and xvth Canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 (Bruns, I. 227). This form survived in the Mozarabic Rite (*Missal*, Migne P. L. LXXXV. 109); *Breviary*, Migne P. L.

LXXXVI. 47.)

S. Benet prescribed the *Gloria* at the opening of the service (*Regula*, cap. IX.), but it is not clear whether this included the second clause.

<sup>1</sup> For fuller information on the subject see *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, s.v. 'Doxology.' Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> According to the American Prayer Book *Gloria Patri* may be repeated at the end of every Psalm; and either it or *Gloria in excelsis* is ordered to be sung or said at the end of the whole portion of Psalms at each service.

<sup>3</sup> Latin ix. = Hebrew ix. and x.; and Hebrew cxlvii. = Latin cxlvi. and cxlvii. Between these points the Latin enumeration is one less than the Hebrew, except that Hebrew cxiv. and cxv. = Latin cxliii.; and Latin cxiv. and cxv. = Hebrew cxvi.

Psalmody and  
Lectionary.

the translation of the Great Bible was adopted in 1549, this feature was retained. After the issue of the so-called 'Authorised Version' of 1611, it was natural that the scriptural passages in the Prayer Book should be taken from this new translation, and the other version discarded. This was done in 1661, but an exception was made in the case of the Psalter. Here familiarity with the old version and perhaps a preference for its rhythm stepped in and procured its continuance, and accordingly the 'Note' at the end of this section was revised and enlarged.<sup>1</sup>

In the early days of Divine Service the reading of Scripture was a constant element: like the psalmody, it had been taken over from synagogue worship into the pre-Anaphoral part of the Liturgy, and like the psalmody, too, it was again utilised to form part of the core of Divine Service. The methods of lectionary were even more various than those of psalmody: in some two lessons were read at each of the Hours, in others the lessons were confined to the service of Nocturns: this was the case with both the secular Roman and the monastic Benedictine system, and therefore for the present purpose all other schemes may be set aside as having no bearing on the question of English ways. But it is important to note that, like the psalmody, the mediæval method of reading Scripture followed the liturgical year and not the civil year. It was a simple method, as it entailed no double system of providing

The  
lectionary

<sup>1</sup> This history was a repetition of what had already taken place in the case of the Latin Psalter. The later version of S. Jerome called the Gallian Psalter only with great difficulty superseded the earlier versions, including S. Jerome's Roman Psalter, especially within the city of Rome itself. The change was brought

about in England in the IXth or Xth century (Bäumer, 247), but in Rome not till the XVIth. The earlier psalter now survives there only at S. Peter's.

The question of the revision of the Psalter came up again among the abortive proposals in 1689. Cardwell, *Conf.* pp. 416, 432.



Psalmody and  
Lectionary.

a series of lessons for Sundays side by side with another series for week-days. It had not however the numerical simplicity of the Prayer Book.

The old  
system.

It has been supposed that originally the lessons followed somewhat the same plan as that formerly found in the Liturgy, and that the three lessons or three groups of lessons were drawn from the Old Testament, the Prophets, the Epistles, &c., and the Gospels in a definite sequence. Certainly at a later date when evidence is clearer, a system is found in possession, which has many points of contact with the old system of the Liturgy. Homilies and commentaries from the Fathers were also read, as appears both from S. Benet's monastic provisions and from S. Gregory's modification of them for the secular service.

Its decay.

This in itself sounds an eminently reasonable system. But in the first place the reading of scripture and homily had fallen away from its original plan, and had been modified in plan,<sup>1</sup> curtailed by slackness, and mangled beyond recognition through the normal course being continually superseded by the lessons of Festivals, Commemorations, &c., drawn from legends of saints and other extraneous sources. Moreover, the old system was never intended for any others but those who could follow the course of Divine Service daily. In the English Prayer Book the attempt has been made to adapt Divine Service not only to the needs of that class—at best a small minority of the faithful—but also to the needs of those who could attend it only on

The method  
of reform.

<sup>1</sup> The connexion was often lost between the scriptural lessons and the comments on them. The homilies thus tended to become an independent collection, and 'Homiliaries' multiplied till that of Paul the Deacon superseded most of the rest in Charle-

magne's time. See Batiffol, 108; Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen*. The Sarum lectionary follows this fairly closely except in Holy Week and for Sundays after Trinity.

The Kalendar.

Sunday. Consequently a dual system has been ultimately introduced combining (i) a system of daily lessons following the course of the civil year in the simplest numerical order, and (ii) a system of lessons for Sundays and other Holy days, following the course of the liturgical year. This new system has gone through several stages.

At this point, therefore, it becomes necessary by way of introduction to the Kalendar and the Tables of Lessons to consider the nature and origin of the liturgical year.

#### IV

The early Christians, following the natural instinct of man and the precedents of the Jewish system, began at once to commemorate the great events of the Gospel. The division of time into weeks was inherited from the Jewish Church; the first day of the week, hallowed by our Lord's resurrection and subsequent appearances,<sup>1</sup> became the Lord's Day,<sup>2</sup> and was from the first set apart for Christian worship.<sup>3</sup> The anniversary of the Crucifixion and Resurrection were similarly kept, and kept in close association with the Jewish Passover, with which originally they were so closely connected: and the rules regulating the passover became also the rules for the Christian Pasch or Easter. Thus was defined one of the fixed points, round which the orbit of the Christian year was to revolve.

Foundations of the  
Kalendar.

Easter.

The other chief fixed point was not determined so easily or so soon. No tradition was preserved of the date of our Lord's birth: even the year remained doubtful. But in the Roman Church as early as the end of

Christmas.

<sup>1</sup> S. John xx.

<sup>2</sup> Apoc. i. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

The Calendar.

the second century the 25th of December had been fixed upon; and this date has been generally adopted as the day upon which to keep an anniversary of the Nativity.<sup>1</sup>

Moveable feasts.

These two festivals have a very large voice in determining the fixed arrangement of the year, and they also determine the annual variations. The variation of dates dependent upon Christmas is confined within the limits of seven days, and according to the day of the week, on which Christmas falls, the date of the first Sunday in Advent is fixed.

The variation of the date of Easter is far greater, and the range of its influence far wider. It may vary from March 22 to April 24, and its variation affects the whole of the time from Septuagesima, which is nine weeks previous to it, up to Whitsunday or Trinity Sunday, and even in a sense up to Advent.

The moveable feasts are thus determined.

Immoveable feasts.

Of the immoveable feasts some depend upon Christmas, some are simply anniversaries, some are merely fixed days of commemoration. Thus The Annunciation of Mary is nine months before Christmas, S. John Baptist's Nativity six months before, The Circumcision eight days and The Purification forty days after. The Visitation seems to be placed on July 2, so as to be the first day after the Octave of S. John Baptist's Day: a date shortly after Lady Day was undesirable because it would so

<sup>1</sup> The earliest witness for this is Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel iv. 23 (ed. Bonwetsch and Achelis, i. p. 242). It is often supposed that this date was due not to tradition or calculation but to policy, which set a Christian festival at the winter solstice on purpose to counteract the influence of heathen customs and rites then, and especially the Mithraic festival *Natalis Invicti*: if this is so, then the origin of

the festival must be a good deal anterior to Hippolytus. But it seems possible that the date was derived from a very widespread (though erroneous) belief that March 25 (the vernal Equinox) was the date of our Lord's passion and that consequently this must have been also the day of his conception and Dec. 25 the day of his birth. See more fully in Duchesne, *Origines du Culte*, pp. 250 and ff. *L.P.* i. vii. *W. M.G.* 392.

The Calendar

often fall either in Holy Week or Easter week.<sup>1</sup> The three great festivals on the days following Christmas are not anniversaries but commemorations, which were placed there so as to be in close relation to Christmas.

Thus while Easter determines mainly the moveable dates, Christmas has had a large share in fixing the dates of the immoveable feasts.

The remaining immoveable feasts are for the most part anniversaries, and in the case of those which are only commemorations their date was determined independently without reference to Christmas.

In early days the kalendar of any church was in the main determined by local considerations. Apart from Easter and Christmas, and some dates that depend upon these two, there was little else of more than local observance except the festival of the Epiphany. The 6th of January was from very early times in the East the day adopted for commemorating primarily the manifestation of our Lord as incarnate God at His baptism, and secondarily His birth.<sup>2</sup> From the East it came with its Greek name and its Eastern signification to southern Gaul by the middle of the fourth century; when ultimately adopted at Rome, it was looked upon chiefly as a commemoration of our Lord's manifestation to the Gentiles in the persons of the Magi, and secondarily of His baptism and opening miracles.<sup>3</sup> The East and West thus, as it were, exchanged festivals and mutually enriched one another.<sup>4</sup> The feast of the

Epiphany

<sup>1</sup> The festival began only in the fifth century at a time when there was great reluctance to multiply festivals at that period of the year. In the analogous cases of S. Benet and S. Cuthbert (March 20 and 21) the full observance of these festivals was commonly transferred to the day of the Saint's translation, viz., July 11 and September 4.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest witness to this feast is in a document of the Diocletian persecution at the beginning of the fourth century. *W. M.G.* 400.

<sup>3</sup> For the bearing of this on the question of Baptism, see below p. 574.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenians have never yet adopted Dec. 25, but keep Jan. 6 in the original way. See Duchesne,

The Kalendar.

Circum-  
cision.

Circumcision is of far later date. At first the day was kept at Rome as the Octave of Christmas and as the Festival of the Blessed Virgin. At a later date (probably when the importation of the Eastern festivals of the Blessed Virgin cast into the shade and then abolished the old Roman commemoration of January 1) the natural connexion of the day with the Circumcision asserted itself: this had already been the case in Gallican and in Oriental circles. But the festival has never had any liturgical prominence: even when recognised, its services had very little that was proper to the Circumcision, but remained still such as befitted the Octave of Christmas.<sup>1</sup>

It has already been pointed out<sup>2</sup> that the English Church at the Council of Cloveshoo adopted the Roman kalendar. Apart from the great cardinal festivals above mentioned, this was of a very local character, and grew up chiefly from the lists of the anniversaries of popes or of martyrs (subsequently to the second century) who belonged to Rome itself. Such lists of Roman festivals exist from the beginning of the fourth century onward,<sup>3</sup> and definite liturgical kalendars are known from the

Growth of  
the Roman  
Kalendar.

*Origines*, 247 and ff. for the whole of this subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 262. In some places it was kept as a fast day by way of reparation for the heathen festivities of the Saturnalia on January 1. Concil. Turon, II. (567), can. 17, *De jejuniis*. 'Et quia inter natale Domini et Epiphaniæ omni die festivitates sunt, itemque prandebunt: excipitur triduum illud, quo ad calcandam gentilium consuetudinem patres nostri statuerunt privatas in kalendis Januarii fieri litanias, ut in ecclesiis psallatur, et hora octava in ipsis kalendis circumcisionis missa Deo propicio celebretur.' Mansi, ix., 796; Bruns, ii. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp. 9, 12.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest Roman evidence is that of the Philocalian Kalendar dating from 336-354, including the Depositions of Popes and of Martyrs. Printed in Migne, *P. L.* XIII. 464: or better, *Monum. Germ. Script. Ant.* IX. p. 70 (ed. Mommsen); cp. Duchesne *Liber Pont.* I. pp. vi, 10, 11, 12. This is given again under the title of 'Bucherian Kalendar' together with the Kalendars of the three early Roman Sacramentaries in Probst, *Die ältesten Römischen Sacramentarien*, pp. 40-45. Cp. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, edited by de Rossi and Duchesne in *Acta Sanctorum*, November, II. i. p. [xlviij].

The Kalendar

earliest Roman Service books; and it is clear that, with the exception of a few days of extraneous saints, such as SS. Perpetua and Felicitas or S. Cyprian of African origin, or S. Agatha from Sicily, or S. Vincent from Spain, the festivals belonged locally to the city of Rome, and commemorated either Roman saints or other saints to whom churches in Rome were dedicated.

Such must have been the kalendar which S. Augustine brought with him at the end of the sixth century, and which in a more developed form the Council of Cloveshoo adopted in 747. Some of the festivals of specially local Roman interest still survive in our Prayer Book kalendar, such as those of the Roman martyrs, S. Fabian, S. Agnes, S. Valentine, S. Lawrence, S. Cicely, S. Clement, S. Silvester, or of the patron saints of Roman churches, such as S. Prisca or S. George; and in this way they bear witness to the fact that there lies hidden in the kalendar an original Roman nucleus which can be traced out historically as it expands from the fourth to the eighth century.

Local  
Roman  
influences.

But other festivals of more general interest also came to England in the Roman kalendar, having been incorporated into it at various dates. Some, like those already mentioned, are the anniversaries of martyrs.<sup>1</sup> The present S. Peter's day is the anniversary of the translation of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul, and S. Andrew's day is probably the anniversary of his martyrdom. Others are the anniversaries of the dedication of Roman churches. Michaelmas commemorates a church on the Via Salaria, six miles from Rome; S. Philip and S. James's day, the dedication of a church to these apostles in Rome, which was rebuilt *circa* 561.<sup>2</sup> The festival of

<sup>1</sup> These were kept from the first. For already kept on May 1, and this S. Polycarp see Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15. terminated the date of Dedication

<sup>2</sup> S. Philip's day, however, was when the church was rebuilt.

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S. Peter's Chains (Aug. 1, Lammas) has reference to the dedication of the church<sup>1</sup> of the Apostles on the Esquiline Hill (432—440) where the relic of the chains was preserved. The All Saints' festival is of special interest. It originated in the solemn dedication to Christian worship of the old Roman Pantheon as the Church of S. Mary and All Martyrs by Boniface IV. (608—614).<sup>2</sup>

External influences.

In the seventh century various festivals of external origin had won a place in the Roman kalendar. The Nativity<sup>3</sup> and the Falling Asleep, Repose, or Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary had come from the East,<sup>4</sup> the Exaltation of the Cross (the dedication festival of Constantine's Basilica at Jerusalem in 335) from Palestine, the Invention of the Cross from Gaul. A few great names of Saints had also won recognition in the Roman kalendar, without being Roman or being martyrs, but purely on general grounds, such as S. Augustine of Hippo on the day of his death August 28, and S. Jerome or S. Benedict; these were ranked as 'Confessors.' A similar movement, operating from the seventh or eighth

<sup>1</sup> The like cause probably accounts for the festival of S. Lucy.

<sup>2</sup> The anniversary originally was kept on May 13, and it became the typical Dedication Festival. (*Grad. Sar.* xix.). The transference of the building by the Emperor Phocas and the hitherto unparalleled circumstance of the transformation of a heathen temple into a church, gave it a special importance (*Lib. Pont.* i. 317), and it soon became the custom to hold a festival there in honour of All Saints on November 1. (Beda, *Serm. Estiv.* in Hampson *Kalendar*, ii. 147.) This spread gradually to other parts, especially when the festival was appointed for the Frankish Empire by Louis, with the assent of Pope Gregory IV., in 835. (Sigebert *Chron.*, A.D. 835; Migne, *P.L.* CLX. 159.) But it was probably

earlier in England, as it is marked by Beda in his Martyrologies. *Opera*, ed. Giles, i. 53, iv. 145.

<sup>3</sup> The festival of the Conception depends upon this but is of much later date, and did not begin to be commonly current in England till the twelfth century.

<sup>4</sup> Probably also the two other great festivals of the Annunciation and Purification: for, though the connexion of these with Christmas makes it possible that these were of earlier date in Rome, it seems likely that only one festival of the B. V. M. was kept in Rome till the seventh century and that on Jan. 1: this was only later transformed through its relation to Christmas and through Byzantine influence into a festival of the Circumcision. For these festivals see *W. M.G.* 407 and ff.

The Kalendar.

century onwards, gradually brought in other festivals of Apostles and S. Mary Magdalene's Day. The Conversion of S. Paul was adopted from Gaul,<sup>1</sup> S. James' Day seems to have been put designedly a week before S. Peter's Chains, and other Apostles' days followed, mainly in the ninth century.

It would be difficult to say exactly what point of development the Roman kalendar had reached when it was adopted at Cloveshoo; but it is clear that subsequently the development was continued here in England; three main impulses are observable at work in it, two of which have been already demonstrated, while the third is a novel one.

Local interest in events in Rome still continued to operate even after the kalendar had been transplanted to England. Roman dedication festivals led to the adoption of S. Nicomede and S. John Port-Latin, and in other ways the Roman influence is still traceable. Again many additions were due to general interest, such as that of S. Ambrose from Italy, S. Denys, S. Martin, S. Crispin, S. Faith, S. Hilary, S. Brice from France, or at a later date S. Machutus, S. Lucian, S. Leonard, S. Remigius, S. Giles, S. Lambert from France, and S. Margaret, S. Katherine, S. Blaise from the East.

But further a new influence soon showed itself in the shape of the local English interest. The Council of Cloveshoo, at the moment when it adopted the Roman kalendar, added to it, for local English reasons, the feasts of S. Gregory and S. Augustine of Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> On the same principle S. Boniface's day was ordered, on the receipt of the news of his death eight years later, in 755,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Decollation of S. John Baptist is due to the same source.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, III. 368.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III. 390.

Its growth in England.

Influence of English Local interest.

The Kalendar.

and many other names were subsequently added, such as S. Alban, King Edmund and King Edward, Archbishop Dunstan and the martyred Archbishop Alphege.

From the time of the coming of the Normans the interest of the English Church in matters outside herself was wider, and this had its effect upon the growth of the kalendar. Meanwhile the theory of canonisation was also changing, and the power to order a festival was passing out of the hands of the local authorities into the centralised authority of Rome. The canonisation of Edward the Confessor in 1161 marks the change so far as English saints are concerned; previously to that the power had been exercised by the English Church, but thenceforward up to the time of the Reformation such additions as were made to the list of saints were made with papal authority. This did not curtail the power of the local authority to choose out for commemoration such recognised saints as seemed desirable, nor was the change retrospective, for the festivals of S. Dunstan, S. Alphege, &c., continued in England, though they had not received formal papal sanction.

The Sarum Kalendar

It must now suffice to consider only the Sarum Kalendar and to enumerate such additions to it from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries as are of interest from the point of view of the present Prayer Book Kalendar.

S. Hugh of Lincoln was canonised in 1220, S. Edmund of Canterbury in 1246, and S. Richard of Chichester in 1260, in each case shortly after death. S. Anne's day became popular in 1383 under the influence, as it seems, of the Queen, Anne of Bohemia.

The festivals of S. David and S. Chad were raised to greater dignity in 1415, the two new general festivals of

The Kalendar.

the Visitation and the Transfiguration<sup>1</sup> were adopted in England in 1480, shortly after their promulgation by Rome, and at the same time S. Etheldreda's festival in October was adopted for the Sarum use.<sup>2</sup> Finally it is interesting to note that the festival of the Most Sweet Name of Jesus, which was already in use in England, was specially sanctioned and endowed with privileges by Alexander VI. (1493—1503).<sup>3</sup>

Side by side with the individual festival days<sup>4</sup> stood special seasons of the year. Christmas was preceded by Advent and Easter by Lent, while these days threw their lustre forward as well as backward, so that the Christmas season extended till the Octave of the Epiphany or to Candlemas (Feb. 2) and Eastertide till Trinity Sunday, or even, at a later date, twelve days longer, to the octave of Corpus Christi.

The Church Seasons.

The observance of Lent has had an intricate history: it probably grew out of two things, (i) a strict unbroken fast either on Good Friday only or for the time between our Lord's death and His Resurrection, a period which came to be estimated at forty hours: and (ii) a period of forty days of preparation for the festival of Easter and especially of training the catechumens for the Baptism on Easter Eve. The fast was enlarged so as to cover the whole of Holy Week, and then by different degrees and different methods to cover the whole forty days, which then were explained as being kept in memory of our Lord's fast in the wilderness. The forty days, as days of general preparation rather than of fasting, were

Lent.

<sup>1</sup> This was in some places a much older festival, especially among the Benedictines.

<sup>2</sup> The earlier festival of S. Audrey is June 23.

<sup>3</sup> Thereupon there was added to the first and second lessons of Mat-

tins an account of this transaction. See *Sar. Brev.* of 1531 (Cambridge reprint, III. 621). This change was not yet made in the Breviary of 1510.

<sup>4</sup> For the fuller history of the Sarum Kalendar, see Frere, *Graduale Sarum*, Introduction, pp. xxii-xxx.

The Church  
Seasons.

recognized by the time of the Nicene Council (325); but as time went on they were observed in different ways and varying degrees. In the West as the fast was extended to cover the whole six weeks of preparation for Easter, the Sundays were excepted, and then it was realised that the forty days were, in fact, only thirty-six. Some justified this, and explained the number as being a tithe of the year. But the full number of the forty days was made up in the sixth and seventh century by the pushing back of the beginning of Lent to Ash Wednesday.<sup>1</sup>

Closely connected with Lent is the observance of the preceding Sundays as Quinquagesima, Sexagesima and Septuagesima. This clearly is a subsequent development, but not necessarily subsequent to the addition to Lent of Ash Wednesday and the three days following.<sup>2</sup>

Advent.

The history of the observance of Advent is still more obscure. It seems to have been modelled upon Lent as another period of forty days devoted to preparation for Christmas. Here again there was probably a gradual expansion: the full period of six weeks is still attested by the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites: in Gaul it took the form of a S. Martin's Lent (*Quadragesima S. Martini*) beginning after the festival of the Saint. In Rome it originally comprised five Sundays, and the signs of this arrangement are still clearly to be seen in the older Service-books: but a process of contraction

<sup>1</sup> The date is doubtful. S. Gregory speaks of both 'the forty' and 'the thirty-six' days and it is disputed whether this implies that he was familiar with the additional days or that he was not. The latter is the classic interpretation, but it is ably opposed in *Un mot sur L'Antiphonale Misarum* (Solesmes, 1890), pp. 26 and ff. Contrast Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 234, n.

<sup>2</sup> It seems possible that Septua-

gesima was due to the custom prevalent in some parts, e.g. in Milan, of not fasting on Saturday. This would leave only five fast days in the week and demand a period of eight weeks to make up the forty days. If further the view were adopted, as it was by some, that the forty days' fast was to be exclusive of Holy Week this would throw back the preparation as far as Septuagesima.

The Church  
Seasons.

succeeded that of expansion, and reduced the number of Sundays to four.<sup>1</sup> The development of the fasting as a feature of the preparation was also arrested, and Advent never came, as did Lent, to be a formal fast.

Side by side with these penitential seasons there were the single days of fasting and penitential exercise. In each week in very early times<sup>2</sup> Wednesday and Friday were set apart as days of fasting: the fast was an abstention from all food for a part of the day, and it was generally closed by a public service, either the whole Liturgy or a service corresponding to the opening part of the Liturgy called the Mass of the Catechumens.<sup>3</sup> These days were called by the military term "stations," as being days on which especially Christians "mounted guard."

The Saturday had from the first a peculiar position as being the Jewish Sabbath: when the Church drew away from Jewish customs, Saturday still for some time had a position of its own. The Jewish sabbatarianism was eliminated, but Saturday became in some places a festival day, in others a fast day.

In the Middle Ages these customs had been greatly reduced; the fast on Friday became more definite and complete, but Wednesday and Saturday lost in the main their special significance, though the Saturday abstinence survived till Elizabeth's reign, and a Wednesday abstinence was then ordered by Act of Parliament.

The same preparation which was felt to be necessary for Easter was desired on a smaller scale for Christmas and lesser festivals. This took the form of a Vigil, or night spent in a series of services leading up to the Liturgy; and here, as we have already noticed in other cases, a fast was annexed to the preparation. The

<sup>1</sup> Probst, *Sacramentarien*, 277-280. *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s.v. 'Advent.' The subject needs a fuller treatment.

<sup>2</sup> Διδάχην, VIII. I. W. M. G. 327. *Ch. Q. Rev.* Jan. 1896, XLI. pp. 399, 400. Cf. Socrates, *Hist.* v 22.

Weekly  
fasts.

Vigils.

The Church  
Seasons.

Easter Vigil was the model for the rest, and a similar vigil was soon attached, not only to Christmas but to other festivals also. The custom mentioned above of observing Saturday as a fast was probably due to its being considered the Vigil of Sunday.

The Festivals of martyrs had their Vigils from early times: it was noted as a coincidence that at the time when S. Cyprian was apprehended (258) a Vigil was being kept by the Church.<sup>1</sup> Hence came the system which prefaced all the principal festivals with a Vigil kept not merely as time of preparatory services, but also as a day of fasting.

Octaves.

Another similar custom, that of keeping "octaves," and prolonging the services of a festival for a week, also has its roots in the observance of Easter. Christians in this respect followed the customs of the Jews, and prolonged their Paschal services for eight days; and the custom was thence extended to other festivals.

Ember  
Days.

The same instinct, which led the Roman Church, as seems probable, to fix the feast of Christmas upon a pagan festival, led also to the establishment of the Four Seasons (*Quatuor tempora*) or Ember Days in place of the heathen agricultural festivals. At first they were three seasons, not four, and corresponded with the winter sowing (*Ferïæ sementinæ*), the summer reaping (*Ferïæ messis*), and the autumn vintage (*Ferïæ vindemiales*). The establishment of them is ascribed to Calixtus I. (*circa* 220),<sup>2</sup> and it seems probable that from the first the days to be observed at these seasons were the three days of the week already prominent at Rome as half fasts—the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The actual date of the seasons was fixed by the month of the civil and not the

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, § 15. Ed. Hartel, III. cvii.    <sup>2</sup> *Liber Pont.* (Duchesne), I. 141.

The Church  
Seasons.

ecclesiastical year; a justification for this was found in the words of Zech. viii. 19, and at a later date a fourth season was added so that they were known as the fasts of the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months.<sup>1</sup> From Rome they spread to other places from the beginning of the fifth century, and by Roman custom became the recognized times for holding Ordinations. Meanwhile their dates also became more definitely fixed, they were divorced from their connexion with the civil year, and became identified with their present positions in the ecclesiastical year. In England this took place as early as the VIIIth century.<sup>2</sup> In the old Roman services they still retain archaic features which attest their high antiquity, and show their original connexion with agricultural and heathen festivals.<sup>3</sup>

The Rogation Days on the other hand are of later date. They arose from the action of Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne (c. 470) in ordering special Rogations or 'Litanies' to be celebrated on the three days preceding Ascension Day at a time of great distress and terror in his diocese through the last eruptions of the volcanoes of Auvergne.<sup>4</sup> Thence the Rogation Days spread through Gaul,<sup>5</sup> and came to England. The Council of Cloveshoo (747) adopted them,<sup>6</sup> as well as the older indigenous Roman day of supplication called *Litania major* (April 25), which had ousted the heathen Roman procession of the *Robigalia*; but the Gallican days were not admitted at Rome till half a century later.<sup>7</sup>

Rogation  
Days.

<sup>1</sup> It was in this form that they were adopted by the Council of Cloveshoo (747). Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III. 368: Canon 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Grad. Sar.* p. xiii. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 411.

<sup>3</sup> See Morin's article in *Revue Bénédictine*, Aug. 1897.

<sup>4</sup> Sidonius Ap. *Epist.* v. 14; vii.

1. Migne *P. L.* lviii. 544, 563. Cp. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* II. 34. Migne *P. L.* lxxi. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Council of Orleans (511), Canon 27. Harduin, *Conc.* II. 1011.

<sup>6</sup> H. & S. III. 368. Canon 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, s.v. Leo III. (ed. Duchesne), II. 35, n. 17: and

40, n. 58. See further below, p. 406

The Kalendar.  
Revision  
of the  
Kalendar.

Under  
Henry VIII.

Edward VI.

This elaborate system of fast and festival, referring both to periods of the year and to single days, confronted the Revisers of the Prayer Book at the outset. No thought seems to have been entertained of abolishing the whole in the drastic manner of most continental Reformers, though doubtless there were some then, to whom such a course would have commended itself, just as there have been ever since Churchmen who disobey the Church's rules on these points. But it clearly was regarded as a matter in which some measure both of simplification and purification was desirable. The liturgical changes under Henry VIII. were scarcely of a serious nature since they merely involved the erasure of the festivals of S. Thomas of Canterbury and of the title 'pope' applied to various saints, but the observance of festivals as public holidays was considerably curtailed by Convocation in 1536.<sup>1</sup> In the preparation for the First Prayer Book a more serious and a liturgical purpose becomes evident. The general arrangement of the seasons of the year was left untouched: simplicity was attained by reducing all services to one type and by minimizing the amount of variation involved. Thus, for example, while Eastertide was still retained, its services were made the same in structure as those of the rest of the year, and Lent remained, though stripped of its own touching peculiarities of service. The simplicity was most dearly bought in the case of Holy Week: the characteristic services of that solemn and unique period all disappeared, though they were to a large extent ancient, biblical, and allied to the English devotional temper;<sup>2</sup> and the whole was brought into a

<sup>1</sup> Dixon, i. 83, 424.

<sup>2</sup> The Veneration of the Cross, for example, goes back to the fourth century, the Reproaches are biblical, the Ceremony of the new Fire probably

began in Britain, and like many of the picturesque rites and ceremonies was only later adopted into the Roman Service-books. See below, pp. 535 and ff. *W. M. G.* 370 and ff.

The Kalendar.

Cranmer's  
first draft.

His second  
draft.

rigid and prosaic uniformity with the rest of the year. The observance of Vigils was maintained, but the keeping of octaves disappeared,<sup>1</sup> no doubt because of the complications which it involved.

The process of simplification and purification is still more evident in the case of the single days of fast or festival. The Ember days, Rogation days, and Vigils, were retained, but without any variation in their services. The treatment of the festival days has a more complicated history. There are two draft kalendar extant which belong to Cranmer's second scheme of services.<sup>2</sup> The first contains the names of biblical saints—the Apostles, S. John Baptist, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Timothy, S. Titus, S. Michael, S. Stephen, Holy Innocents, and the four great festivals of the Blessed Virgin—with twelve of the chief Doctors of the Church<sup>3</sup>, about the same number of other saints who had a place in the Sarum Kalendar and most of the English Kalendar, and finally, a few entries which are surprising and puzzling since it is difficult to see from what source or on what ground they were selected.<sup>4</sup>

A later draft seems to exhibit the same project at a further state of development: three of the more surprising entries have been omitted, but on the other hand, large additions have been made. These are due, in the first place, to a zeal for Scripture which has run to excess.

<sup>1</sup> A trace may be said to survive in the Proper Prefaces and the use of the Christmas collect for the week following.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The selection is curious and does not include S. Jerome though he was more commonly commemorated in Kalendar than many of the others. The days to which they are assigned are in some cases quite unusual: *e.g.* S. Polycarp is entered on a day un-

known either to Quignon or Sarum.

<sup>4</sup> Babilas, The XL. Martyrs and Barbara are known, if unusual in English Kalendar. Benjamin on Feb. 21 seems to be the Old Testament patriarch; Phileas and Philoromus (Feb. 3) shows the influence of Quignon; and Petrus, Dorotheus (July 2) seems to have been taken from the same source (Sept. 9) but placed upon a different day.



The Kalendar.

For example, many of the vacant days in January have been filled up with Old Testament names in chronological order<sup>1</sup>—Abel (Jan. 2), Noe (3), Abraham (7), Sara (9), Isaac (14), Jacob (15), Joseph (19). This is carried on into other months, and meanwhile a further series of New Testament names is begun with Ananias on the day after S. Paul's conversion, and continued in February with Vidua pauperula (10), Zacharias and Elizabeth (15), Symeon (17), Zaccheus (March 8), Fidelis latro (12), Joseph (19). The rest need not be described in detail, but two further points deserve notice. (1) Cranmer has still further added to this very long list, in his own hand, the names of other saints drawn in the main from the Sarum Kalendar or from Quignon's Kalendar.<sup>2</sup> The list of Christian writers is further enlarged by the names of Epiphanius and Cassian, while among the names taken from the Sarum Use are some which have a local English interest, viz., S. George (in red), S. Augustine of Canterbury, S. Alban, S. Edmund the King; and these make up a little for the total lack of local interest which characterizes the earlier draft. (2) In some cases Cranmer has followed Sarum in preference to Quignon, and *vice versa* in others.<sup>3</sup>

The draft kalendars then abound in faults and follies which were set aside on second thoughts. They are, however, of interest as showing a real stage in the development and as further evidence of the influence of

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of these Old Testament saints were commemorated in the old martyrologies, but not on these dates.

<sup>2</sup> Only two of the additions are not traceable to one or other of these sources, viz. SS. Vitalis and Agricola (Nov. 4), a common festival abroad, and S. Mamas on Sept. 1, which seems inexplicable.

<sup>3</sup> Thus S. Leo is put at April 11, as in Quignon, instead of June 28 as in Sarum, his translation day. On the other hand S. Ambrose stands as in Sarum on April 4, not as in Quignon on Dec. 7. It should be noted that the fuller Kalendar prefixed to Sarum Primers has been drawn upon and not simply the true liturgical Kalendar of the Missal or Breviary.

The Kalendar.

Quignon's Breviary on the course of Cranmer's mind.

When the first Prayer Book appeared, a revulsion of feeling had evidently taken place. The Kalendar was far nearer to the earlier than to the later draft, and in it the policy of exclusiveness had been pushed a great deal further. Only five and twenty festivals were admitted, comprising the feasts of our Lord and of the Apostles and Evangelists with S. Stephen, Holy Innocents, All Saints, Michaelmas, S. John Baptist, S. Mary Magdalene, and the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. All these were treated as greater festivals with variants provided for their services.<sup>1</sup> In 1552 the festival of S. Mary Magdalene as a red letter day disappeared; and the numbers of those remaining became four and twenty, at which figure it still remains. On the other hand, the black letter festivals began to come into existence on somewhat the same basis as Vigils, Rogation days or Ember days, not to be observed as Holy Days, but kept as a commemoration without any change of service. In 1552 only four such names were inserted, viz., S. George, Lammas, S. Lawrence, and S. Clement, but in the new Elizabethan Kalendar of 1561, this list was considerably lengthened; S. Mary Magdalene reappeared as a black letter day, and further fifty-six other festivals were added. In 1604 Enurchus was added on September 7. In 1661 these entries were continued, fuller descriptions<sup>2</sup> were given in the Kalendar and two new names were added, viz., those of S. Alban and the Venerable Bede.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The eleventh of the abortive Royal Injunctions of 1549 (see above, p. 59) ordered 'That none keep the abrogate holydays other than those that have their proper and peculiar service.' *Doc. Ann.* xv.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from Cosin's *Devotions*.  
<sup>3</sup> The list of 'Holy Days' to be observed and 'none other' as given in the Edwardian Act, 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. iii., or in the Elizabethan Kalendar of 1561 excludes Black

The Prayer Book Kalendar.

The Kalendar.

Choice of  
red letter  
Days.

It is difficult to see clearly the motive which determined the selection of the black letter Saints' Days. In the case of the red letter days it clearly was the desire to bring the festivals to the test of the Bible, so that, without introducing new or extravagant commemorations, such of the old should be retained as would stand the test. But even so the test was not very carefully applied: the Assumption was rejected, while the Purification and the Annunciation were retained: so far all is natural: but the Visitation was excluded, and, like the Transfiguration, in spite of having biblical authority, only received later recognition as a black letter festival.<sup>1</sup> Again, the exclusion of S. Mary Magdalene cannot be justified by this principle. It is probable that these last mentioned festivals were all rejected on the ground that they were recent importations into the Latin Kalendar; so that it would seem that a further test for admission was applied by the Revisers, viz. that of antiquity, and that ancient festivals, such as the Assumption, failed to make good their claim for want of biblical evidence to support them, while biblical festivals shared the same fate for want of ancient prescription. 'Antiquity,' however, for this purpose was very liberally interpreted; for, as has been shown, the festivals of the Apostles were many of them unknown till the eighth or ninth century. However, it seems most likely that the Reformers were not aware of this, and that, such being the case, they applied these two

Letter Days, Rogation Days, Ember Days, and Vigils; its object was to restrict the observance of public holidays just as had been done in Henry VIIIth's time. The Edwardian Act, which was repealed by Queen Mary, was never renewed under Elizabeth (D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 27), but the same object was brought

about by the Kalendar of 1561 and the Advertisements of 1566 (*Doc. Ann.* LXV. p. 327).  
<sup>1</sup> The American Church, in 1886, replaced *The Transfiguration of Christ* in the Kalendar as a Red-letter Day, with Proper Lessons, Collect, &c.

The Kalendar.

and of  
black letter  
Days.

principles to the best of their power in selecting the red letter Saints.

On the other hand, the principles which governed the selection of black letter Saints are not so clear. Thirteen of them are double feasts in the Sarum Kalendar, and by the addition of these to the red letter days the whole of the immoveable Sarum double feasts are represented in the present Prayer Book Kalendar except the Assumption and the two festivals of S. Thomas of Canterbury; the reason for the exclusion of those is not far to seek.

The next class of Sarum festivals is, however, not fully represented, and though perhaps a reason might be found to account for the exclusion of the four festivals which are passed over,<sup>1</sup> it is evident on reviewing the next class below that the choice has been arbitrarily made. Local considerations clearly indicated the additions of 1661, viz., S. Alban and the Venerable Bede—the latter the only festival which was not in the proper Sarum Kalendar; but in 1561, though these considerations were clearly operative, they did not suffice to bring in S. Cuthbert, S. Oswald, S. Wulstan, S. Osmund, S. Frideswide, or S. Winifred, who all had a place in the Sarum Kalendar, much less others who had not, such as S. Aidan or S. Wilfrid; on the other hand, a place was found for some who were of no special account in the Sarum Kalendar, such as S. Lucian or S. Hilary, or even of no great intrinsic interest, such as S. Brice or S. Blaise. No signs survived at that date of the laudable desire shown in the early drafts to commemorate great writers who had hitherto had little or no position in English Kalendars, such as S. Athanasius, S. Basil or S. Chrysostom. Moreover the work was evidently done unin-

Omissions.

and inaccuracies.

<sup>1</sup> Cathedra S. Petri. Translation of S. Paul, S. Michael in Monte of Abp. Edmund, Commemoration Tumba.

The Kalendar.

telligently; S. Cyprian was placed in 1561 upon the day of an obscure namesake instead of the day of his martyrdom,<sup>1</sup> S. Alban in 1661 upon the xvijth of June by a misreading of the figure xxij; while the one effort of 1604, which added the name of Enurchus to the Kalendar of September, is distinguished both for inaccuracy and want of judgment, since the saint intended was really named Evurtius, and at best had no claim to be rescued from the oblivion of some Sarum Primer to be set in this position.<sup>2</sup>

Two motives seem to underlie the provision of the black letter days. At first they took their place in 1552 as little more than calendrical notes analogous to *Sol in aqua*, *Equinoctium*, Dog days, &c. In 1561, while this motive remained, another was added of keeping in mind the principal saints of the older Latin Kalendar<sup>3</sup> without observing them as public holy days. This double ground was definitely taken by the bishops in 1661; they replied to the Puritan attack upon Saints' days, that the black letter saints 'are left in the Kalendar, not that they should be so' (as the others) 'kept as holy days, but

<sup>1</sup> Possibly on purpose to avoid collision with Holy Cross Day.

<sup>2</sup> Both the entry Enurchus and the assignment of S. Alban to June xvij appear curiously enough in the Kalendar of the *Preces Privata* of 1564. See St. Paul's Eccles. Soc. *Transactions*, iv. 33, 46, and for S. Cyprian, pp. 47 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> In the Primers and in other Kalendars where the entries are purely for Calendrical purposes they show a marked contrast to the Prayer Book Kalendar, for they contain the Assumption and the day of 'Becket traitor,' which were ousted from there; and also they are far larger in number, as indeed was necessary if they were to be of much use for the

purpose of dates: in Edward's Primer of 1553 there are 183 entries of Saints' days, including the Assumption and Becket, besides a large number of purely Calendrical entries and the marking of the P. B. Vigils by the entry 'Fish.' In the *Orarium* of 1560 and the *Preces Privata* of 1564 there is hardly a day vacant, and in the latter all liturgical authority was disclaimed, and the very necessary caution was given at the end, that it is not necessarily implied that all are to be regarded as saints, or that even so they are to be given divine worship and honour, but only as notes of time and convenient dates. See *Priv. Prayers of Q. Eliz.* (Parker Soc.).

The Kalendar.

they are useful for the preservation of their memories and for other reasons, as for leases, law days, &c.'<sup>1</sup> It is clear from their adding S. Alban and Ven. Bede—the latter not a commonly known date—which of their two reasons they considered the more important.

We are now in a position to resume the question of the Lessons appointed for Divine Service throughout the year. The old system of lessons followed entirely the ecclesiastical year, as has been already pointed out; no lessons were read at any service except Mattins,<sup>2</sup> and that service in a secular Breviary contained much variety, sometimes one group and sometimes three groups of three lessons, each drawn from Scripture, Fathers or Legends of the Saints. The three in each group were generally continuous, but there was not necessarily any continuity between the groups. Already Quignon had simplified this system by reducing the lessons to a uniform three at Mattins, the first from the Old Testament, the second from the New Testament, and the third from the Acts or Epistles, except on a Saint's day, when a proper lesson from the life of the Saint was appointed. Three draft schemes of Cranmer exist, which show his transition from the old system to the new by way of Quignon's plan. The first adopted Quignon's scheme of the year but provided three lessons at Mattins, one at Lauds, and one at Evensong. In the second scheme he omitted the lesson at Lauds, and in the third, while maintaining the three lessons at Mattins, he fixed the number at Evensong at two. From this it was an easy step to the arrangement of the First Prayer Book, maintained ever since, of two lessons alike at Morning and Evening Prayer.

With regard to the method of selection, the first of

<sup>1</sup> Cardwell, *Conf.* 306, 314.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 350, 352.

The  
lectionary.New system  
of lessons.Draft  
Schemes.Method of  
Selection.

these schemes followed the course of the ecclesiastical year beginning in Advent, and admitted special lessons for holy days outside the daily course. The ancient disposition of the books<sup>1</sup> was also partly retained: thus Genesis was begun at Septuagesima and the historical books were assigned to the summer months. But in all these respects alterations were introduced into the second scheme: the reading followed the civil year, not the ecclesiastical year: the substitution of special lessons for holy days was given up: the connexion of special books with special seasons was broken, and, for example, Genesis was begun on January 3. In the third scheme the New Testament as well as the Old was made to follow mechanically the course of the civil year. The Gospels and Acts were read at the third lesson at Mattins, the Epistles at the second lesson of Evensong, the Apocalypse with the Old Testament prophets at the second lesson at Mattins, and the rest of the Old Testament in the first lessons. Connected with this third table of lessons (which belongs to Cranmer's second draft, and forms part of the second Kalendar described above) there was also a series of lessons for Saints' days, which were to be added then as fourth lessons, thus following to some extent again the precedent set by Quignon, and securing in one way what had been

<sup>1</sup> According to mediæval custom, representing the remains of the primitive system as codified under Carolingian influence, the general outline of the lectionary of Scripture was as follows: Isaiah in Advent followed by Jeremiah and Daniel up to Epiphany. Then the remainder of the prophets or the Pauline Epistles. From Septuagesima or Sexagesima to Passiontide the Heptateuch (Genesis—Ruth). In Eastertide the Acts, S. James, and the Apocalypse. Through the summer the historical and sapiential books. The Sarum breviaries retained some more and some less of this scheme. The Gospels were not read as books but the liturgical Gospels from the Mass were read instead with an expository homily. In Passiontide special select lessons from Jeremiah, &c., were chosen. See Bäumer 265 and ff, 285 and ff, and Wiegand *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen*.

given up in another way, viz. the reading of some special lesson on Holy Days.<sup>1</sup>

The system of lessons of the First Prayer Book was only a small step beyond the last draft scheme. The blessing given to the reader before the lessons and the formula of closing, which had been retained by Cranmer in his draft schemes, disappeared. A very few special lessons were admitted for the greater Holy Days, but none for Sundays: the mechanical system already drafted was still farther simplified by the reduction of the Lessons at Mattins to two, so that one Old Testament lesson followed by the New Testament lesson could be appointed daily for each service, and go on in a series that was almost unbroken from week to week and month to month of the civil year.<sup>2</sup>

In 1559 the system of special lessons for Sundays was introduced, and additions were made to the proper lessons for Holy Days: the new Kalendar of 1561 contained a revised series of lessons as well as a revised list of days. Some variations have been introduced in 1604 and 1661. These were small compared with the changes introduced in the new lectionary of 1871: but the changes were only those of detail, the system remains what it was in the First Prayer Book.<sup>3</sup>

The 'Tables and Rules' owe a good deal to the *Collection of Private Devotions*, published by Bishop Cosin in 1627.<sup>4</sup> The rules for the moveable feasts are drawn from it,<sup>5</sup> and also the table of vigils, fasts, &c. These

<sup>1</sup> Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 22-24, 34, 35, 373-394.

<sup>2</sup> Some trace, however, is left of the old system of connecting books with seasons, in that the book of Isaiah was assigned out of its natural course to the end of November and all December, where it should coin-

cide with Advent, as it did under the old system.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Works* (Angl. Cath. Libr.), II, 83 and ff.

<sup>5</sup> Some such direction appeared as early as the Latin Book of 1560 and the New Kalendar of 1561.

had been observed up till 1661, only in deference to custom, reinforced by Statute Law,<sup>1</sup> except that the Eves to be observed with fasting as vigils were marked in the Kalendar from 1561 onwards.<sup>2</sup> The revisers at Cosin's suggestion<sup>3</sup> adopted and enacted the same list as he had put out; but they admitted only one exception to the Friday fast, while Cosin had excepted any Friday falling within the twelve days of Christmas, and they added the note as to the vigil of feast days falling upon a Monday.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 and 3 Edw. VI. c. 19, and 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> They were also so marked in the Kalendar of the Edwardine Primer of 1553, with the entry, 'Fish.'

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, v. 514.

<sup>4</sup> They did not enforce 'The

Times wherein Marriages are not solemnized' which Cosin had given as 'From Advent Sunday until eight days after the Epiphany, From Septuagesima Sunday until eight days after Easter, From Rogation Sunday until Trinity Sunday.'

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

### I. METHODS OF PSALMODY.

Four distinct methods of psalmody were anciently in use, two involving a refrain and two involving none. The two latter were: 1, *Cantus directaneus*, the simplest form of singing in chorus, with little more than monotone; 2, *Cantus tractus*, singing in an unbroken solo; here the chant, as was usual in the case of solo voices, was generally very elaborate, e.g. in the 'Tracts' sung after the Epistle on penitential occasions. The two other forms, involving more or less of a refrain, were 3, *Cantus responsorius*, and 4, *Cantus antiphonalis*. The first of these is the older of the two: psalms were sung to a monotone with slight inflection by a single voice, and at intervals a short refrain was sung by the congregation. This method, which was very simple in primitive times, was elaborated as time went on, and the Graduals or the Responds of the Roman chant, which date back to the VIth century, are extremely florid; though they preserve, in spite of the elaborate phrases with which they are ornamented, their own fundamental character as being really monotone with inflections. The Antiphonal method, however early it may have been in the East, was introduced into the West by S. Ambrose. It differed in two chief respects from the responsorial psalmody: (a) in method, since it was the alternation, not of solo and chorus, but of choir answering choir; and (b) in character, since the music was not a developed monotone, but a style of unfettered melody. Antiphonal psalmody has also gone through many and various modifications since its introduction into the West. For further information, see the *Elements of Plain-song*, pp. 55 and ff; Kienle, *Chant Gregorien*, pp. 122-186; *Palléogr. Musicale*, IV.; or, for a good summary, Bäumer, pp. 119 and ff.

### II. TABLE OF OCCURRENCE.

The following table has been found necessary to settle some disputed points. It takes the place of the old *Pica* or *Pie*,<sup>1</sup> which regulated the occurrence and concurrence of feasts; but it deals only with occurrence, since under the Prayer Book system there is no clashing when feasts concur, i.e. fall on consecutive days.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 17, 257.

A TABLE TO REGULATE THE SERVICE WHEN TWO FEASTS,  
OR HOLY-DAYS, FALL UPON THE SAME DAY.<sup>1</sup>

(Drawn up in 1879 by the Committee of Convocation appointed to revise the Rubrics).

When two Feasts or Holy Days happen to fall upon the same day, then shall be said the whole service proper to the day placed in the left-hand column of the following table; and wheresoever in the service the collect for the day is appointed to be said, then shall immediately follow the collect for the day placed in the right-hand column—

1 Sunday in Advent.	S. Andrew.
4 Sunday in Advent.	S. Thomas.
S. Stephen, S. John, Innocents' Day, Circumcision.	1 Sunday after Christmas.
Epiphany.	2 Sunday after Christmas.
Conversion of S. Paul.	3 Sunday after the Epiphany.
Purification.	4 Sunday after the Epiphany. Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima Sundays.
Septuagesima and Sexagesima Sundays.	Conversion of S. Paul.
Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima Sundays, Ash-Wednesday, Sundays in Lent.	S. Matthias.
Annunciation.	3, 4, 5, Sundays in Lent.
Sunday next before Easter, Monday before Easter to Easter Even, inclusive.	Annunciation.
Easter Day, Monday and Tuesday in Easter week.	S. Mark.
1 Sunday after Easter.	S. Mark. S. Philip and S. James.
S. Mark.	2, 3, 4, 5, Sundays after Easter.
S. Philip and S. James.	S. Philip and S. James.
Ascension Day.	S. Barnabas.
Whitsun Day, Whitsun Monday and Tuesday.	
Trinity Sunday.	
S. Barnabas and all other holy-days till All Saints' Day, inclusive.	Sundays after Trinity.

The table is not altogether satisfactory: it lacks the precision and completeness of the old rules: *e.g.* it makes no provision for the transference of festivals on occasions, such as the occurrence of Lady Day and Good Friday, when combination is impossible. The principle of transference is not laid down in the Prayer Book, but it has received episcopal sanction in recent years.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Convocation Prayer Book* (London 1888).

## CHAPTER X.

### THE ORDER FOR DAILY MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER.

#### I. *The Origin of Divine Service.*

A LARGE part of the history of Divine Service has\* already been touched upon in dealing with the use of the Psalter and Lectionary: how important a part of the subject this is, can best be judged from the statement already made, that the Divine Service mainly exists for the purpose of the orderly recitation of the Psalter and reading of the Bible.

In close connexion with this object another is also visible from the first, viz., to consecrate certain fixed hours of the day to prayer. This object was present to the Jewish mind, as is clear from Daniel's practice of praying three times a day, or from the Psalmist's mention of midnight thanksgiving and sevenfold daily prayer.<sup>1</sup> It was also the habit of the Apostles and others, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles<sup>2</sup> and soon became a recognized ideal of the devout Christian. The *Didache* prescribes the use of the Lord's Prayer three times daily, presumably at the Third, Sixth, and Ninth hours, which are referred to as Hours of Prayer in the Acts of the Apostles, and by a long string of Fathers beginning with

<sup>1</sup> Dan. vi. 10; Ps. cxix. 62, 148; <sup>2</sup> Acts ii. 1, 15; iii. 1; x. 3, 9, 30, 164.

\* Two objects of Divine Service.

1. Use of Psalter and Bible.

2. Consecration of fixed hours to prayer.

The Origin  
of Divine  
Service.

Clement of Alexandria (c. 195), and Tertullian (c. 200). From the same list of authorities similar testimony may be obtained to the use of a formal midnight prayer or Vigil. The custom of prayer on rising and retiring to bed hardly needs to be formally attested.<sup>1</sup>

Growth of  
this habit.

The consecration of such hours as these to prayer was at first a matter of private devotion; but before long the practice received public recognition, and public services began to be devised. It was probably the Vigil or midnight service which first acquired this recognition. The early Christians were deeply impressed with the expectation that our Lord's Second Coming, which they deemed imminent, would be at midnight and at the Paschal solemnities. The night preceding Easter was therefore kept as a Vigil with continuous services preparatory to Easter Communion. By a natural process the Vigil was repeated before other Sundays, and in some cases before Saturdays, that is to say, in places where Saturday was observed as a day of special solemnity. And so it came to be considered a natural preparation for any great day, and was prefixed also to Saints' days.

The Vigil.

Later, when monastic influences began to act powerfully upon the services,<sup>2</sup> the night service became

<sup>1</sup> See the collection of passages in Pleithner, *Aelteste Geschichte des Breviergebetes*, or in Bäumer, pp. 41 and ff. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The growth of monasticism exercised a very large influence on the development, as has been already mentioned. (Above, p. 313.) At first the 'religious' of both sexes, other than hermits, lived at home and went to the churches for their devotions, and thus their private prayers became joint and public prayers. Then the clergy began to take an increasing part in the Hours. Meanwhile convent life

was devised, and with it came a great enlargement of the system of Hours. Services: this again further affected the clergy, who were not willing to be left behind in the course of progress, but were obliged to adopt the new ideas. Thus the system became obligatory upon clergy as well as characteristic of monasticism, and 'secular' schemes took their place side by side with monastic schemes of service, and derived from them, while the old rudimentary services of the clergy, such as are traceable, e.g. in the Hippolytean Canons, disappeared.

The Origin  
of Divine  
Service.

a daily institution,<sup>1</sup> but by the same process it was reduced in its proportions till it became the mediæval service of Nocturns, *i.e.*, a midnight service of psalms and lessons of varying length according to circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

Morning  
and  
Evening  
Prayer.

The Hours of Prayer which next acquired public recognition and became public services were the Morning and Evening Prayer: this had probably come about by the end of the second century, and the services were started which became in the later system Lauds and Evensong (Vespers).

The Little  
Hours.

The little Hours of Terce, Sext and None did not become public services till the end of the fourth century, and then at first only in monastic communities; at a still later date two further offices were added, both of them under monastic influence, and probably in Italy, that of Compline, as a service at bedtime, and that of Prime as a similar service preceding the daily Chapter or business-meeting of the monks.<sup>3</sup>

This system of Hours of Prayer was already complete in the West, probably by the end of the fifth century, for the Roman *cursus* or 'course' of psalmody allotted the Psalms and Canticles to this system of services, and S. Benet's 'course' (530), which seems to be a revision of the Roman 'course,' did the like, though with important modifications.

<sup>1</sup> The exact line of connexion between the occasional vigil and the daily vigil cannot be very exactly traced, but it seems to have been due to these influences.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this history is very obscure, and most of these questions, such as the mutual relationship of secular and monastic services, as they in turn influenced one another, afford plenty of scope for conjectures,

but very little for statements of established fact.

<sup>3</sup> Cassian mentions the establishment at Bethlehem of a novelty in the shape of a service at the first hour (*Instit. Cenob.* I. iv. Migne P. L. xlix. 126), but this does not seem to have really been the progenitor of the later service of Prime, though from the similarity of name and time it has often been so taken.

## II. *The Structure of the Hours of Prayer.*

The Structure  
of the Hours  
of Prayer.

The structure of the Hours of Prayer bears out and confirms this sketch of their history. The midnight service of Nocturns stands alone; Lauds is like Vespers, the three Little Hours follow one uniform plan, while Compline and Prime are clearly formed on one model. Before describing in detail the normal<sup>1</sup> structure of these services as they existed in mediæval times according to the 'secular' type<sup>2</sup> it will be well to call attention to some general points, which (with some small exceptions) hold good throughout.<sup>3</sup>

Reading.

The course of Bible reading (as has been already shown) was confined to Nocturns, the night-service, and the only reading of Scripture, which took place at the Day Hours, consisted in the recitation of a short text called the *Capitulum*, or Chapter, generally drawn from the Epistle belonging to the corresponding Mass.<sup>4</sup> At Nocturns (later called Mattins), the lessons were read in groups of three lessons; either one or three such groups were prescribed according to the day. Each lesson was followed by a *Responsorium* or Respond, sung by soloist and choir.

Psalmody.

Psalms were sung at all the Hours, but fixed Psalms were appointed for all of them except Nocturns and Evensong: consequently it was only at these that the Psalter was sung through 'in course'; Ps. i-cx. (English numbering) were those appointed at Nocturns, and Ps.

<sup>1</sup> The structure is altered at special Services for the first Sunday in Advent from the Sarum Breviary (ed. Seager, 1842).  
times by omission or addition: such alterations need not now be taken into account.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> See the specimen given above on pp. 257-268, containing the Hour Collect.

<sup>4</sup> Prime and Compline do not vary the *Capitulum* from time to time, but have a fixed Chapter and a fixed Collect.

cx.-end at Evensong, and the fixed psalms appointed for the other services were excluded from the 'course.'

The Structure  
of the Hours  
of Prayer.

The psalms in the secular services were all sung antiphonally: the responsorial method of singing was used in the *responsoria* or responds, which followed the lessons and the *capitula* or chapters.

The services began alike with introductory devotions,<sup>1</sup> but ended differently from one another. Nocturns ended abruptly, when the lessons and singing were over, with a versicle, said by the officiant, but without any collect; it preserved in this respect its primitive simplicity, because in practice the service of Lauds followed it immediately.<sup>2</sup> In all other cases, but that of Nocturns, a collect, followed by two versicles, closed the service; except at Prime and Compline, the collect was variable according to the day, and was borrowed from the corresponding mass. On many occasions the collect was preceded by the *Preces* or suffrages, *i.e.*, miscellaneous devotions largely made up of Versicles and their Responses. The suffrages were uniform at Lauds, Evensong, and the Little Hours, but Prime and Compline had suffrages of their own formed on another pattern, and embodying the recitation of the Creed as well as the Lord's Prayer, and also a form of mutual confession and absolution.<sup>3</sup>

Opening and  
Close of the  
Services.

In process of time *addenda* and appendixes were incorporated into the framework of the services, and also many additional services were added, which resulted in a great complication of the system of the Breviary Hours: but the supplementary services must be passed over altogether here, and of the former it is only neces-

Additions

<sup>1</sup> But Mattins and Compline had Lauds, but this seems to have been an additional opening versicle. due to a misunderstanding.

<sup>2</sup> This versicle was afterwards looked upon as introductory to <sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 386, 392 and ff.



The Structure  
of the Hours  
of Service.

sary to notice that there were added on occasion at the end of Lauds and Evensong, *Memoriae* or Memorials, that is, short devotions, each consisting of Antiphon, Versicle, and Collect, and commemorating some circumstance or some particular intention appropriate to the day.

The structure of *Nocturns* is as follows:—

1. Private prayers . *Pater (Ave)*, privately.
2. Introduction . . . Opening Versicles aloud.
3. . . . . *Venite* with its Invitatory.
4. . . . . Hymn.
5. The Nocturns . . . One or three groups of (i) Psalms said in course with antiphons, each followed by (ii) a Versicle and Response, and by (iii) Three lessons, each preceded by a blessing and followed by (iv) a Respond.
6. Conclusion . . . . On Festivals *T? Deum*.
7. . . . . Varying Versicle and Response leading to Lauds.

#### LAUDS

1. Introduction.
2. Five Psalms or canticles, fixed (with slight variations), but with varying antiphons.
3. *Capitulum* or Chapter, varying, and R? *Deo gratias*.
4. Hymn, varying, and its Versicle.
5. *Benedictus* with varying antiphon.
6. Collect, varying, preceded on occasion by Suffrages.
7. Memorials, varying on occasion.

#### EVENSONG OR VESPERS

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Five Psalms, in course, with varying antiphons.
3. Chapter, varying.
4. Respond, varying, but used on great occasions only.
5. Hymn, varying, and its Versicle.
6. *Magnificat* with varying antiphon.
7. End as at Lauds, Nos. 6 and 7.

Tables of  
the struc-  
ture.

The Structure  
of the Hours  
of Service.

#### TERCE SEXT AND NONE

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Hymn, fixed.
3. Six portions of Ps. cxix. in three divisions with varying antiphon.
4. Chapter, varying.
5. Respond, varying, and Versicle, varying.
6. Collect, varying, preceded on occasion by Suffrages, as at Lauds.

#### PRIME

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Hymn, fixed.
3. Psalms, fixed, with varying antiphon.
4. *Quicumque vult*, with antiphon (five alternatives).
5. Chapter (three alternatives).
6. Respond, fixed, but subject to slight modifications.
7. Versicle, fixed.
8. Suffrages, and Collect (two alternatives).

#### COMPLINE OF THE SARUM USE

1. Private prayers and Introduction.
2. Four psalms, fixed, with varying antiphon.
3. Chapter, fixed.
4. Respond (two alternatives, and only in Lent).
5. Hymn, varying, and Versicle, fixed.
6. *Nunc dimittis*, with varying antiphon.
7. Suffrages and fixed Collect.

### III. *The Structural Modifications*

This system of the Hours of Prayer was in possession everywhere in the XVIth century with a thousand years of authority at its back. It had no doubt been introduced into England by S. Augustine, though little evidence is forthcoming as to its history here before the

Structural  
Modifications.Alterations  
in mediæval  
times.

XIIIth century.<sup>1</sup> Alterations had been made, which while leaving the broad outline of the system intact, rendered it extremely complex. Two tendencies were at work, one of addition and the other of curtailment: in accordance with the former, various novel services, such as the secondary system of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, or the office of the Dead, were added to the obligations of the clergy and to the pages of the Breviary; and also new portions were inserted in or appended to the canonical or primary Hours. On the other hand curtailment was taking place, the lessons and psalmody were considerably shortened to compensate for the fresh obligations, and the long ferial offices were to a considerable extent avoided and replaced by festival offices or commemoration offices. Other innovations simply added to the intricacy of the system: the growth of the Kalendar, already explained above, the keeping of octaves and the saying of memorials all made fresh complications: and later still the system of 'Commemorations' was introduced, according to which the normal ferial office of the day was ousted on two or even three days in a week, and a special service commemorative of the Blessed Virgin, or the patron, or some other saint was substituted in its place.

Changes of  
structure

Early in the XVIth century, among the many objects which clamoured for reform, the Service-books were recognized to have a paramount claim. The breach between England and Rome gave the English Church her opportunity, and a reform of the Hour Services was inaugurated and carried on by slow steps.<sup>2</sup> The main objects of the revision were to simplify the complex system and to recover the orderly and continuous reading

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 12 and ff.<sup>2</sup> See above, Chapter II.Structural  
Modifications.

of the Bible and recitation of the Psalter, while-removing at the same time the corruptions which had crept in, chiefly into the series of lessons: at a later date it was further seen to be advisable to make the system applicable to the laity instead of being almost confined to the clergy, and with that object to reduce the number of Hours of Prayer, and to issue the services in the vernacular. The course of this development can be traced in Cranmer's Drafts for the revision of the Breviary. At first he followed the lines of Quignon, kept the seven Hours and the Latin tongue, rearranged the Psalter and provided lessons at Mattins, Lauds and Evensong: the Chapters and all Responds were abolished, and but one antiphon was retained for each Hour. The Hymn at Lauds was abolished, and the hymns which were retained were all placed in a uniform position immediately after the introduction: by this and other means as well the structure of the Hours was made more uniform.<sup>1</sup>

inaugurated  
by Cranmer.His first  
Draft for  
Mattins.

The second Draft shews considerable advance: the Latin language was still to be retained except for the Lord's Prayer and the Lessons: the Hours were to be compressed into two,<sup>2</sup> of which Mattins represented the ancient Mattins, Lauds and Prime. The Little Hours and Compline were to be omitted; and even the latter half of the new Mattins, from *Te Deum* onwards, might be omitted to make room for preaching.

Secunda  
Draft.<sup>1</sup> The Draft is printed in Gasquet and Bishop, Appendix II.<sup>2</sup> The seven services of the Latin Breviary were habitually, at this time, said in two groups, so that the custom of praying actually seven times a day no longer was in general use among the secular clergy. Hence this action of Cranmer was an in-

novation in appearance more than in reality. The Lutherans had experimented in the same way, and had already adopted schemes of daily service derived from the Latin by a similar plan to that which Cranmer adopted. Jacobs, p. 245, and Pullan, p. 160; and cp. above, p. 90.

Structural  
Modifications.

The following table will shew the structure of the projected service.

1. The Lord's Prayer in English said aloud, with the rest of the Introduction.
2. Hymn.
3. Three psalms, each with *Gloria*, but no *Venite*.
4. The Lord's Prayer aloud.
5. Three Lessons, with introductory blessing and final close.
6. *Te Deum*.
7. A fourth lesson, on occasions.
8. *Benedictus*.
9. Collect.
10. [*Quicumque vult*, with Suffrages on Sundays only.]

Evensong is to follow the same course, but to have two lessons instead of three, then *Magnificat*, then the Collect, and so come to an end.

The First  
Book.

From this project it was a very easy transition to the First Prayer Book. The hymns were omitted for want of English versions; the lessons were reduced to two, shorn of their introductions and closes, but placed so that singing came as a break between them; the suffrages were retained in an unchanging form as an introduction to the Collect, and this was followed by two other prayers in the position of the old 'memorials.'

The Second  
Book.

A slight development in 1552 brought the main body of the service into its present form by the prefixing of the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession and Absolution, and the transposition of the Creed and the Salutation so as to follow the *Benedictus*. The rubrical direction for adding an anthem with the five prayers or Litany was made in 1661.<sup>1</sup>

The following comparative table exhibits the development so far as the general structure is concerned:—

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 397.

Structural  
Modifications.

BREVIARY	MATTINS FIRST PRAYER BOOK	SECOND PRAYER BOOK
		Sentences. Exhortation. Confession and Absolution.
MATTINS— Introduction. <i>Venite</i> with Invitatory. Hymn.	Introduction (modified). <i>Venite</i> plain.	Introduction. <i>Venite</i> .
Psalms in I or 3 course with Nocturns antiphons and or Groups of Lessons with Responds.	Psalms in course, plain.	Psalms.
<i>Te Deum</i> on festivals, and Versicle.	First lesson, plain.  <i>Te Deum</i> ,	First lesson  <i>Te Deum</i> .
LAUDS—	or	or
Fixed psalms and canticle (on Sunday <i>Benedicite</i> ), with antiphons.	<i>Benedicite</i> , plain.	<i>Benedicite</i> .
Chapter. Hymn and Versicle. <i>Benedictus</i> with antiphon.	Second lesson.  <i>Benedictus</i> , plain	Second lesson.  <i>Benedictus</i> or <i>Jubilate</i> .
Suffrages on occasion, and Collect. Memorials.	Suffrages (including Creed) and Collect. Collects for Peace and Grace.	Suffrages and Col- lect. Collects for Peace and Grace.
		Added { [Anthem, in Litany or 1661. { 5 Prayers]

By a similar process Evensong was formed of materials taken out of the old service of Evensong or Vespers, together with the *Nunc Dimittis* and the third Collect taken from Compline. It was made to follow the structure of the new Mattins, so that both the services should be of a uniform design.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen if the

<sup>1</sup> The introductory versicle *Domine* in 1552, and so the uniformity was *labia* which had been peculiar to made complete. Mattins was prefixed to Evensong

Evensong.

Structural  
Modifications.

tables of Evensong and Compline given above are compared with the structure of the Evening Prayer of the Prayer Book that more omission and alteration was necessary here than at Morning Prayer.<sup>1</sup>

It is time now after these preliminaries to turn to the actual services themselves as they stand in the present Prayer Book and consider them point by point.

#### IV. Introductory Rubrics

These two rubrics were placed as general directions for the service in 1552. They give rise to many questions about which there has been much difference of opinion and practice.

(1) In what part of the church should the Morning and Evening Prayer be said? To settle this question was the original intention of the first of these rubrics. In 1549 the simple direction was given, '*The priest being in the quire shall begin with a loud voice. . . .*' But great diversity arose in the manner of ministration; the more ardent reformers were anxious to change every custom of the mediæval service: hence, not only did some lay aside the vestments worn by the priest, but they left the accustomed place of reading the prayers. And this was not treated as an unimportant matter; for we find Bucer calling it antichristian to say service in the choir; and

Prayers to be  
said in the  
accustomed  
place of the  
Church,  
Chapel, or  
Chancel.

<sup>1</sup> It is important to observe that though, historically speaking, the structure of the Prayer Book Service is derived from the Breviary Service, yet for all practical purposes the structure of the derived English service, as it stands, is entirely different from that of the Latin services from which it was derived. A single example will make this clear: the Latin Vespers and Compline each of them work up to a Gospel canticle

as the definite climax of the service, and this *crescendo* is the structural secret of each: but when these are combined in the English Evensong the climax is gone, the *crescendo* ceases, and the clue to the structure of the service must be sought elsewhere. It is, in fact, more analogous to the old Vigil service, with its alternating lessons and chants, or to the mediæval Nocturns, than to its own immediate forbears.

opinions of the same class were constantly gaining ground throughout the reign of Edward VI.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, in the new Prayer Book of 1552, this was placed as a general introductory rubric, with the title prefixed, '*The Order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said:*' and the first rubric directed it to be '*used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary. . .*' In 1559 this was altered to '*the accustomed place. . . except it shall be otherwise determined by the ordinary.*' The effect of the altered rubric was a permission to retain the traditional customs, since on Elizabeth's accession the old usages were in force, and the *accustomed place* of service was the chancel: such therefore was to continue, unless the ordinary should appoint otherwise<sup>2</sup> for the better accommodation of the people. The direction that *the chancels shall remain, as they have done in time past* has no doubt saved them from destruction, but it did not save them from devastation either in Edward's reign or in Elizabeth's. Some attempt was made to moderate destructive zeal by the royal orders of October 10th, 1561<sup>3</sup>: but soon, and especially after the Advertisements of 1566,<sup>4</sup> the chancels were commonly deserted by the clerks and the priest alike. Some bishops used the authority which was given to them, and caused a seat to be made in the body of great churches, where the minister might sit or stand,

Introductory  
RubricThe accus-  
tomed placeThe  
chancelsReading  
pew.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 73. Cp. Hooper's sermon on Jonah in 1550. *Early Writings*, pp. 492, 493.

<sup>2</sup> Some seem to have made alterations without waiting for the direction of the ordinary: in 1564 Cecil complained of these irregularities; that some said service in the chancel,

others in the body of the church, some in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Strype, *Parker*, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Perry, *Lawful Church Ornaments*, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> *Doc. Ann.* LXV. p. 325.

Introductory  
Rubrics.

and say the whole of the Divine Service; or in smaller churches, a convenient seat outside the chancel door.<sup>1</sup> This in turn became the general custom: and the Canons (1603) direct a convenient seat to be made for the minister to read service in, 'in such place of every church as the bishop of the diocese, or ecclesiastical ordinary of the place, shall think meet for the largeness or straitness of the same, so as the people may be most edified.'<sup>2</sup> The Canon thus forms a commentary on the meaning of the rubric, which was retained at the last revision (1661), as a sufficient guide to the minister, all mention of Puritan innovations being avoided, and the final direction being left in the hands of the bishop of the diocese.

Vestments.

(2) What should be the dress of the minister? At the end of the Book of 1549 was placed the chapter, now forming a part of the Introduction, 'Of Ceremonies,' with 'Certain notes for the more plain explication and decent ministrations of things contained in this book,' couched in the following terms. 'In the saying or singing of Mattins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the minister in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, the archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees. And whensoever the Bishop shall

The Directions of the  
First Book of  
Edward VI.  
for Ministers,

or Bishops,

<sup>1</sup> Parkhurst's *Articles of Visitation* made of a reading pew. *Second for the Diocese of Norwich* (1569). *Report of Ritual Commission*, p. 404. This is the first mention that we find

<sup>2</sup> Canons (1603) 14 and 82.

Introductory  
Rubrics.

celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministrations, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.' Also the officiating priest at Holy Communion was instructed<sup>1</sup> to wear 'a white albe plain, with a vestment or cope,' and the assistant priests or deacons, 'albes with tunicles.' And on Litany days though there be none to communicate, the Priest shall put upon him a plain albe or surplice with a cope and say the ante-communion service.<sup>2</sup>

In the Second Book of Edward VI. these ornaments were reduced to the smallest possible amount; it was then ordered,<sup>3</sup> 'that the minister at the time of the Com-

<sup>1</sup> Fourth rubric before the Communion Office (1549).

<sup>2</sup> Very few of these vestments except the alb and its girdle, the chasuble, stole and dalmatic go back to early times in the history of the Church. Surplices and hoods date only from the later middle ages: the rochet is a still later variant of the surplice. The chimere, which is now worn by Bishops with the rochet, was not worn in church till after the Reformation, but was the out-door walking dress of the bishop. The cope went through the same transformation at an earlier date and passed from being a protection against rain (*pluviale*) or cold to being an ecclesiastical vestment. The alb worn with a chasuble, a dalmatic or a tunicle comes direct from the ordinary dress of the Roman empire: the stole is a scarf of honour worn as an addition to it: the maniple represents an original handkerchief: the amice was probably introduced about the eighth century when vestments became much ornamented and a protection was needed round the neck; at a later period it was made also to serve as a

head covering. The mitre began as a specially episcopal headdress in Rome in the Xth century. The black scarf or tippet was worn out of doors, by bishops with their rochet (and chimere), by priests with their gown and square cap. A false line of evolution has produced out of this a black or coloured 'stole' so-called, but worn not as a stole but as a scarf, with some spurious points of assimilation to the old use of the stole. If this garment is a stole, it is no more and no less legal than a chasuble, and it should not be worn at Mattins or Evensong. If it is a scarf, or tippet, it has a place of its own as the dress which is now prescribed for the minister by Canons 58 and 74, but it should not be worn deaconwise.

See for the question of vestments generally Duchesne, *Origines*, ch. xi.; Braun, *Die priesterlichen Gewänder* and *Die pontificalen Gewänder*; Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments*; Dearmer, *Parson's Handbook*, pp. 79 and ff.; St. Paul's *Eccles. Soc. Trans.* iv. 181 and ff., for the chimere; cp. iv. 128 and iii. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Second General Rubric before Morning Prayer (1552).

for the  
Priest at  
Communion.Vestments  
ordered in  
the Second  
Book of  
Edward VI.

Introductory  
Rubrics.

*munion, and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope: but being archbishop, or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochette: and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.*

The Elizabethan  
Book.

The rubric in Elizabeth's Prayer Book echoed the clause on this subject in her Act of Uniformity and referred to it: the present rubric is a modification of the Elizabethan rubric, retaining its provisions in spite of Puritan opposition, but following more exactly the terms of the Elizabethan Act.

Ornaments  
Rubric.

Two difficult questions arising out of this have been of late years the subject of much discussion; the first concerns the general meaning of the rubric as governing the ornaments of the church as well as those of the minister: the second refers only to the latter—the vestments.

The date  
referred to.

First. It is doubtful whether the words *such ornaments. . . as were in this Church of England by the authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth* refer to the state of things under the First Prayer Book or to that immediately anterior to the issue of that book.<sup>1</sup> The distinction is not one of

<sup>1</sup> The traditional view refers the words to the First Prayer Book; but this was not in fact in use by authority of parliament till the third year of the reign. But the Uniformity Act of 1552 spoke of the Act of 1549 as 'made in the second year,' and other instances of a similar laxity of expression can be found in acts of parliament (*Guardian* for 1899, p. 695). On the other hand the clause on the face of it points to a certain year—the year before the introduction of the Prayer Book; it was so understood at the time by Sandys (*Parker Corr.* p. 65); and Queen Mary's Act (1 Mary, Sess. 2, c. 2) in the same way referred to a year and not to any book. The

objection to this view is the difficulty which besets it of finding an adequate interpretation for the words *by the authority of Parliament*. The traditional view seems the more probable; the Act of 1559 merely copied the mistake of 1552 and so the error went on. But the rubric, even if it refers to the Book and not the year, covers more ornaments than the few expressly mentioned in the First Prayer Book. Such an admission must be made, unless it is contended that not only minor things such as cushions, hassocks, &c., but also greater things, such as organs or even the usual episcopal dress, are illegal. Which is absurd. See further on this subject below, p. 367.

very great importance,<sup>1</sup> but the second question is more vital.

The twenty-fifth clause in the Elizabethan Act provided for the retention of the ornaments 'until other order shall be taken therein by the authority of the Queen's majesty with the advice of' the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 'or of the Metropolitan of this realm.' The question arises whether further order was formally taken or no in this respect.

What is certain is that this clause and rubric were not fully enforced: the ornaments were retained, but a considerable number even of those specified expressly in the First Prayer Book were never put into use, and were ultimately defaced and made away with.<sup>2</sup> The well-known letter of Sandys<sup>3</sup> shows that in some influential quarters there was no intention that they should be used. The Bishops found that, in face of violent Puritan agitation, to exact the bare minimum of surplices with hoods in parish churches, and copes in cathedrals, was a task which would strain their power to the utmost: as early as 1560, by the time of the issue of the 'Interpretations'<sup>4</sup> they had determined with regard to vestments not to demand in practice more than these; and this policy found a more authoritative expression in the Advertisements of 1566.<sup>5</sup>

These were issued by Parker and five of the southern bishops in accordance with a royal command contained

<sup>1</sup> Strype does not seem to have been justified in saying that Cranmer in 1550 wore his mitre at Ponet's consecration (*Cranmer*, 253), but it is clear that other ornaments than those specified were used with the First Prayer Book. Thus the distinction is of little legal value, and in either case, ornaments other than those mentioned in the First Book must be recognized as legal.

<sup>2</sup> Some were retained in use for a time, such as the grey almuces, which, though not mentioned in the First Prayer Book and actually given up in 1549, were retained for some time in Elizabeth's reign in face of Puritan complaints, and were in use until prohibited by Canon 4 of 1571.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Doc. Ann.* i. p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Doc. Ann.* LXV.

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rubric super-  
sededby the  
Advertisements?

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in a letter of January 25, 1564-5. If 'other order' was taken in this matter it was through these Advertisements and the Canon of 1604 which quoted them.<sup>1</sup> In that case the Edwardine vestments must be held to have been abolished by an authority based upon and equivalent to the authority of parliament; and to have remained so at any rate till 1661. If, however, these Advertisements had not the full and formal authority provided in clause 25 of the Elizabethan Act, they were powerless to override it; and whatever the Bishops might do or not do as a matter of policy, could not affect the statutable legality of the Edwardine vestments.

The  
historical

This is a very intricate historical point: and there remains also the further question, whether the re-enactment of the rubric by the Caroline Act of Uniformity did or did not restore the vestments, if they had been in fact abolished by the Advertisements. This question is mainly a legal one.

and legal  
problem.

It is impossible here to discuss the whole problem, but it is evident that the Edwardine vestments remain legal, unless it can be proved that the Advertisements were such a formal taking of further order under the section 25 of the Elizabethan Act as to abrogate the use of all vestments except those expressly enforced by the Advertisements. It is open to grave doubt whether this can be proved. The method by which the Crown took action under the Act is most clearly known from the two undoubted instances of the use of the similar authority granted to the Crown in section 26, which took place in 1561 and 1604;<sup>2</sup> there is no trace of any procedure

The method  
of 'taking  
further  
order.'

<sup>1</sup> Canon XXIV. Previous Canons had also quoted them, but in those published with the authority of Queen Elizabeth (1575) the quotation was cut out before the publication was

authorised. Cp. the case of the 4th Article of 1584. Selborne, *Liturgy of the Church of England*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 109, 141.

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action.

at all analogous to this in the case of the Advertisements: moreover, in those two instances, as soon as the further action had been taken, the Prayer Book was altered in accordance with it: but the ornaments rubric has never been altered in accordance with the terms of the Advertisements.<sup>1</sup> Without going into further detail<sup>2</sup> these two luminous and undisputed facts seem to show that the Advertisements had only such force as belonged to episcopal action backed by the general authority of the crown:—that is to say, an overwhelmingly great force, *positively*, to enforce some vestments (which were already prescribed by the rubric and clause of 1559), but no force at all, *negatively*, to bring to an end the rubric and clause about ornaments, or to abrogate such other vestments as were there prescribed.

Again, with regard to the further question of the bearing upon this of the revision in 1661; even if the Advertisements be held to have abrogated the use of all other vestments but those which they enforced, for the whole period up till the changes at the Restoration, it is difficult to escape the argument that the Act of 1662, in authorizing the present rubric, did in fact revive the provisions of the Elizabethan Act and abrogate whatever changes the Advertisements may be supposed

Action in  
1661.

<sup>1</sup> Nor was the practice of the Church altered: chasubles had not in fact been worn between 1560 and 1566, though prescribed. Only thenceforward the surplice and cope were more stringently enforced. But see *Zurich Letters*, II. ii. 77, where Beza in 1566 complains of chasubles.

<sup>2</sup> It must be added, however, against this argument that Elizabeth herself bears witness to another and earlier formal use of this authority, viz. in the Orders appended to her

Injunctions of 1559 on the questions of the position of the Holy Table and of the use of wafer-bread. See Parker's Letter to Cecil, Jan. 8, 1578, in *Parker Corr.*, p. 375. This has an important bearing upon the case, and hitherto it does not seem to have been taken into account as it deserves to be from this point of view, though it is a familiar point in the arguments as to the legality of wafer-bread. See below, p. 500.

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judgments.

to have introduced, thus restoring the legal position of the Edwardine vestments.

On the other hand it must be noted that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has twice<sup>1</sup> come to the conclusion that (i) the Advertisements were a further taking order within the meaning of the Act, so that the cope, surplice, scarf, and hood were the sole legal vestments from 1566 to 1662; and (ii) that at the latter date the intention and effect of the legislation was only to restore the *status quo* before the Rebellion. Such an opinion, of learned judges such as Lord Hatherley, Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne, must be taken into account in weighing the evidence, even by those who cannot in general recognize Privy Council Judgments as authoritative decisions of a proper Church Court, and although in this particular instance the final judgment, with the circumstances attending it, was very severely criticised at the time and has become generally discredited since.<sup>2</sup>

Ornaments  
of the  
church:

two views.

(3) What should be the ornaments of the church? The answer to this question depends partly upon the view which is taken on the first of the two difficult questions already discussed. If it is held that the rubric refers to the year preceding the Prayer Book of 1549, then a large number of ornaments are authorized, and these are to be ascertained by ecclesiological enquiry.<sup>3</sup>

If, on the other hand, it be held that the rubric refers to the First Edwardine Book, the number of ornaments

<sup>1</sup> Hebbert v. Purchas, 1871, and Ridsdale v. Clifton, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> See Lord Selborne's *Liturgy of the English Church*, pp. 12-28, in defence of the Judgment, and Parker's reply *Did Q. Elizabeth take 'other order' in the Advertisements of 1566?* And for a recent discussion of the whole question, Talbot, *Ritual*, ch. III. Valuable information is collected in

Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies*, ch. IV.

<sup>3</sup> This view is that supported in Alcuin Club Tract, No. 1, Micklethwaite's *Ornaments of the Rubric*; the enquiry is there made and a detailed list given of the Ornaments which from that point of view are covered by the rubric.

Introductory  
Rubrics.

there ordered by name is exceedingly small and comprises only the following: Bible, Prayer-Book, Altar, Book of the Homilies, Poor Men's Box, Corporas, Paten, Chalice, Font, Bell, Quire Door, Pulpit. Besides these ornaments the use of others is implied, such as cruets for wine and water, and also for oil in anointing, a pix to carry the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, a lectern, pews or seats of some kind, &c. : and some are expressed by name in the present Prayer Book and must be added to the minimum list of ornaments contemplated; such as Alms bason, Flagon, and two fair linen cloths, the one to cover the altar, and the other to be placed over the Sacrament after the Communion: others are mentioned in the Canons. But even after all such additions have been made (which in themselves sufficiently refute any strict or narrow interpretation of the rubric), this list is so manifestly incomplete that it is clear that, if the rubric is interpreted as referring to the ornaments of the Book of 1549, it cannot be strictly interpreted, but must be held to sanction other things besides those specified by name.

The further question then remains as to how far other things are held to be covered by the rubric. It is all a question of degree and of expediency: for the last half century the tendency has been to make the rubric (so interpreted) increasingly elastic, and to extend it to cover an increasingly large number of ornaments.<sup>1</sup> Finality in such matters is probably not desirable, but whether that be so or not, it certainly has not been attained.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Episcopal sanction is now given to many things to which formerly it was refused, and even the Church Courts and the Privy Council have come in time to declare legal some ornaments which previously they had declared illegal, such as a credence-table, altar-cross, and coloured altar-cloths.

<sup>2</sup> Some ornaments have been sanctioned which certainly are not covered by either view of the rubric, such as altar vases and hanging censers; and on the other hand chancel gates, which are expressly mentioned in the First Prayer Book, have been disallowed.

Even the  
most restric-  
tive must be  
liberally in-  
terpreted.



## V. Morning Prayer.

§1. *The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution.*

This commencement of our service was prefixed in 1552 to the older formularies. Reference has been made for its supposed original to the forms of worship used by the French and German congregations in England, and severally drawn up by Valerandus Pollanus and John à-Lasco.<sup>1</sup> But if the idea of placing a confession at the opening of the service was taken from the book of Pollanus, the peculiar doctrines of the French Reformers were carefully avoided.<sup>2</sup> This addition to the old service may be explained, however, without a distinct reference to these foreign forms. It was a time when sound exhortation was greatly needed, but when it was not wise to leave much to the uncertain care or discretion of individuals; and just as Homilies were provided to be read by those priests who were not allowed to preach, so addresses to the people were put into the Prayer Book, wherever an exhortation was felt to be required in the course of the services. This instruction, therefore, as to the necessity of a daily confession of sins to God, and of a comfortable trust in God's promises of pardon to the penitent through faith in Jesus Christ,—the great subject of the teaching of the Reformers,—was naturally placed at the beginning of the daily prayers, and expressed in words suited to bring home religion, as

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 86 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> The followers of Calvin never lost an opportunity, especially in such a form as a confession, of tracing our *actual* sins to the *original* corruption of our nature; see the confession, above, p. 87. This notion is carefully avoided in our forms of prayer. Other expressions are introduced, which are contrary to

the Calvinistic theory, such as the plea for mercy in our confession, by reason of the promises of God *declared unto mankind* by Jesus Christ, and the declaration of the Divine mercy in the Absolution,—*who desireth not the death of a sinner*. See Laurence, *Banopt. Lect.* Notes, pp. 268 and ff. and 374.

Opening of  
the present  
service.

Reason of  
this addition  
in 1552.

a personal matter of continual obligation, to each man's conscience. Further, in preparing the English prayers in 1549, the mediæval forms of mutual confession and absolution, which occurred in the latter part of the services of Prime and Compline, were entirely omitted, and nothing was put in their place. Hence it became necessary, in revising the services in 1552, that this defect should be supplied; and the present forms were accordingly composed and brought into a much more suitable position for the present purpose at the opening of the service, thereby agreeing with the second edition of Quignon's Breviary and with similar arrangements in the services of foreign reformed congregations.<sup>1</sup>

The texts from the Old and New Testaments fitly represent the necessity of repentance and confession of sin under the Old and the New Dispensation.

It has been well observed<sup>2</sup> that some of them contain support for the fearful, and are designed to prevent that excessive dread of God's wrath which hinders the exercise of devotion (3, 10, 7); some are designed to strengthen faith in God's mercy, and thus to comfort the despairing (4, 6, 9); some to inform the ignorant, who think either that they have no sin, or that a slight repentance will procure pardon (11, 1); some to rouse the negligent to the duty of immediate repentance (2, 8); and one to reprove the merely formal worshipper (5).<sup>3</sup>

The Exhortation connects the Sentences with the Confession: it derives the necessity for this duty from

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cc. 'It is agreeable to religion that, as often as we appear before the Lord, before all things we should acknowledge and confess our sins, and pray for remission of the same.'

<sup>2</sup> Comber, *Companion to the Temple*, i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> In the American Prayer Book three additional Sentences (Hab. ii. 20; Mal. i. 11; Ps. xix. 14, 15) were appointed in 1792: and in 1889 others were added, differing for Morning and Evening Prayer, and most of them adapted to special seasons of the Christian year.

The  
Sentences.

Rationale  
of the Sen-  
tences,

the Exhort-  
ation,

Morning  
Prayer.

the Word of God, shows that the present time is most suitable, teaches the manner in which it should be performed, and invites to its performance. Its expressions are adapted to instruct the ignorant, to admonish the negligent, to support the fearful, to comfort the doubtful, to caution the formal, and to check the presumptuous,—tempers which are found in every mixed congregation, and which ought to be prepared for the solemn work of confession of sin.

the Confession,

The form provided for this purpose is called a 'General Confession.' It is general, because it is expressed in general terms, referring to the failings of human life, which are common to all men, and which may and ought to be confessed by all, without descending to particular sins, of which perhaps some of the congregation may not be guilty. It consists of three parts, besides the introduction, or address to God: the first, a confession of our sins of omission and commission; the second, a supplication of pardon for the past, and the third, a prayer for grace for the future.

The manner in which the Confession should be said is distinctly marked, because it differs from the manner customary in the older services of Prime and Compline: there the Confession was said by the principal person present, and the prayer of absolution following his confession was said by all present: then *vice versa* the congregation said the Confession and he the absolution, adding as well a further prayer of the same sort. By the rubric of the Prayer Book the Confession is *to be said of the whole congregation after the minister*; i.e. the minister is to say each clause, and then the people to repeat that clause after him.<sup>1</sup> The manner of saying

<sup>1</sup> This strict interpretation of the words here is justified by tradition: equally explicit (e.g. at the Lord's

Morning  
Prayer.

the Lord's Prayer is different; that is to be said 'with him,' the people repeating the clauses simultaneously with the minister.

The Absolution also differs not only in form but also in scope from the form in the old offices: there it was in the form of a prayer suitable to be said by all alike in mutual interchange: but here it is declaratory and ministerial: the change is emphasized by the rubric. Until the Hampton Court Conference, it ran thus: *The Absolution, to be pronounced by the minister alone*: the explanatory words, *or Remission of sins*,<sup>1</sup> were added at the revision after that Conference, for the satisfaction of some who thought that the word 'absolution' was only popish. At the last revision, the word *priest* was substituted for *minister*, on which word the Puritans had sought to build an argument against the use of 'priest' at all: and a direction was adapted from the Scottish Book that he should stand while the people kneel.<sup>2</sup> This alteration shows the intention of the Church to be that deacons may read the prayers,<sup>3</sup> but that only one in priest's orders may pronounce the absolution. When a deacon therefore is saying the prayers, and a priest is also present, and in his place in the choir, the most

and the  
AbsolutionNot to be  
said by  
Deacons.

Prayer after Communion) it has not traditionally been so strictly interpreted; so it is doubtful how far such an interpretation is the true one, and how far the tradition in its favour is trustworthy.

<sup>1</sup> In some Prayer Books it is, *The Declaration of Absolution*, or —as to the *Forgiveness of Sins*.

<sup>2</sup> But not the direction, also given there, that he should turn to the people.

<sup>3</sup> The present practice arose in Elizabeth's time (1559), from the necessity of supplying some service to churches which had no parish priest, when not only deacons but

even some laymen were licensed by the bishops to read the service. See the Articles, or promises subscribed by Readers, Strype, *Annals*, i. 151; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* i. p. 302, *note*. Lay-readers were gradually discontinued; but the public ministrations of deacons became a general custom, and was recognised by the Act of Uniformity of Charles II., which ordered (§ 22) that, when any Sermon or Lecture is to be preached, the Common Prayers and Service appointed for that time of day shall be openly read by some priest or deacon.

Morning  
Prayer.

proper course appears to be, that the priest should stand, when the Confession is ended, and pronounce the Absolution, while the deacon continues kneeling, and ready to proceed in leading the people in the Lord's Prayer and the petitions which follow it. But when no priest is present, the deacon should continue kneeling after the Confession, and proceed to the Lord's Prayer.

The Absolution contains four particulars: (1) a general declaration of the mercy of God to returning sinners, and (2) of the authority committed to His ministers to pronounce pardon to the penitent; (3) the declaration of that pardon on condition of true faith and hearty repentance; and (4) an admonition to ask the help of His Holy Spirit to enable us to perform those conditions, that the pardon pronounced in His Church on earth may be effectual to our eternal salvation.

Amen.

It will be observed that the word *Amen* is printed at the end of the Confession; but that the first rubric directing it to be said by the people at the end of all prayers occurs after the Absolution. According to a later custom, which has no authority in *The Book Annexed*, the Amen is printed in a different type at the end of the prayers. In these, the minister says the Prayer, or the Collect, and then stops, while the people answer their *Amen*. In other parts, as the Confession, Lord's Prayer, Creeds, which are repeated by the minister and people, there is no such difference; and the minister goes on and says *Amen* himself, thus directing the people to do the same. In the alternating portions, as at the end of the *Gloria Patri*, the word is printed in the same character, thus directing it to be said by the same persons who have said the 'Answer' of the *Gloria*, as being a part of that 'Answer.'

§ 2. *The Old Introduction.*

We come now to the point at which the old Latin Service began. This is indicated in the original MS. of 1661 by two lines drawn across the page to make a clear division, but they are constantly omitted by modern printers.<sup>1</sup> In 1549, as little alteration was made in the form of the service as was consistent with reformation of doctrine. Hence the Mattins and Evensong continued to begin with the Lord's Prayer: the *Ave Maria*, which had only been introduced into that position comparatively lately, was omitted, and the priest was directed to say the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice, instead of, as before, repeating it inaudibly as part of the private preparation which each one said to himself before the service began. The first allusion to its use at the beginning of the Hours comes from S. Benedict of Aniane (810), who ordered his monks thrice a day to go round the altars and say at the first the Lord's Prayer and Creed, *i.e.* before Mattins and Prime and after Compline.<sup>2</sup> In the Sarum Breviary it was preparatory to the service,<sup>3</sup> and after it the priest *began* the service with the versicles. The same method is now provided for by the rubric, which since 1661, has directed an

The Old  
Introduction.The Lord's  
Prayer.

<sup>1</sup> The division at this point is not the best structural division; the old service proper does not begin till the first versicle: there are now prefixed to it new English preparatory devotions as well as the older Latin private devotion of the Lord's Prayer. The real line to be drawn is after the Lord's Prayer, not before it, if it really is to help to define the structure. The Lord's Prayer is not an integral part of the Office here; the Lord's Prayer which really belongs to the service is the later one which follows the Lesser Litany. See below, p. 393.

The old traditional musical use confirms this real structural division, but of late years a bad custom has arisen of beginning the singing and monotone before the versicle, 'O Lord, open Thou our lips': this not only obscures the structural division but is in itself ridiculously out of harmony with the general meaning of the words.

<sup>2</sup> Vita, cap. 8, in *Acta SS.* Feb. 12 (iv. 618).

<sup>3</sup> This use was introduced into Quignon's Breviary (1535), and into the Roman in 1568.

The Old Introduction.

'audible' voice instead of a 'loud' voice; the intention clearly is that all the introductory part of the service up to the *V. O Lord, open Thou our lips* should be said audibly and congregationally, but quietly without monotone or singing.

To be repeated by the people.

The direction that the people should join in repeating the Lord's Prayer in this place was added in 1661. Previously it had been said by the minister alone on its first occurrence in the Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Communion Service; and (since 1552) by the minister, clerks, and people, when it occurred afterwards; unless indeed, as is very probable, the rubric of *The Book of Common Praier Noted* (1550) shews a contrary custom to have prevailed: it has here '*The Quere wyth the Priest.*'

In 1661 a further change was made, following the Eastern, in opposition to the Western use, by the addition of the Doxology<sup>1</sup> at the conclusion of the prayer in this and in some other parts of the services. This forms no true part of the text of the Gospels, but is found as early as the *Didache*. It has great liturgical value, and there is special reason for its insertion in this place, where the Lord's Prayer immediately follows the Absolution, and the moment is one of praise.

The Versicles.

The Versicles have certainly been used since the sixth century. The first is taken from Ps. li. 15, and under the old system was peculiar to Mattins, as being the first Hour of the series. It was not prefixed to Evensong till

<sup>1</sup> Some ancient English versions, from the thirteenth century to 1538, are printed in Maskell's *Appendix to the Prymer, Mon. Rit.* II. 238 [III. 248]. All omit the Doxology, according to the constant use of the Latin Church. It was inserted in a quarto edition of the Prayer Book in

1630, and in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637). The form used in the Greek Church is:—*Ὅτι σου ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. Ἀμήν. Horologion, p. 1.*

The Old Introduction.

1552, when both it and the following were put into the plural number, instead of the singular.<sup>1</sup> It was originally prescribed for use on first waking. Similarly, the second versicle with its response is drawn from the opening verse of the 70th Psalm, which was originally repeated entire on waking or on the way from the dormitory to the church, and then concluded with *Gloria Patri*.<sup>2</sup> Hence arose the use of the opening versicles. In 1549 this section was taken from the Sarum Breviary,<sup>3</sup> but with two changes: (i) the *Gloria* was assigned to the Priest alone in the ordinary books, though not in the 'Noted' edition: in the Latin service it was sung by all together and it was not until 1661, when the traditional use was lost, that it became a *V* and *R*: (ii) instead of *Alleluia*, to be said throughout the year except from Septuagesima to Easter, the following was ordered: 'Praise ye the Lord. *And from Easter to Trinity Sunday, Alleluia.*'<sup>4</sup> The Answer, 'The Lord's name be praised,' was first inserted in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637), and was placed in the English Book at the last revision in 1661, when the words *Praise ye the Lord*, which before, in accordance with all precedent, were said by the people, were assigned to the Priest, through the same misunderstanding which altered the preceding *Gloria*.

<sup>1</sup> It is used so in the Mozarabic rite.

*Sacerdos statim, Deus in adiutorium meum intende.*

<sup>2</sup> Bäumer, pp. 259, 260. Cp. the *Regularis Concordia* of S. Ethelwold, cap. i. in Migne *P.L.* cxxxvii. 479 (attributed to S. Dunstan), or better in *Anglia*, xiii. 378. ed. Logeman.

*Resp. Domine ad adiuvandum me festina.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Matutinas dicat sacerdos Pater noster, et Ave Maria.*

*Gloria Patri. Sicut. Alleluia. But from Septuagesima to Easter, Laus tibi domine rex æternæ gloriæ.*

*Postea sacerdos incipiat servitium hoc modo, Domine, labia mea aperies, Chorus respondeat, Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.*

<sup>4</sup> In the Western Church *Alleluia* is laid aside in penitential seasons. The Greek Church uses it not only on days of gladness, but more constantly on occasions of mourning and fasting, and burials.

§ 3. *The Invitatory and Psalmody*

The 95th Psalm has been sung in the Western Church from a very remote period, before the Psalms of the first nocturn.<sup>1</sup> It has been generally termed the Invitatory Psalm. It was very possibly a new introduction by S. Benet into the services of the West, and passed from thence to the Roman office, except for the last three days of Holy Week and one or two other occasions where it still is wanting. *The Invitatory* was a refrain sung before it, and repeated in part, or entirely, after each verse.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the rubric (1549) directed *Venite* to be 'said or sung without any Invitatory,'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strictly, perhaps, the portion to the end of the invitatories was regarded as introductory to the service. It is probable that the custom of prefixing one or two psalms to the Nocturnal Office was also connected with the desire to allow some little time for the clergy and people to collect, before the office began. S. Benedict (*Regula*, ix. xliii) appointed two psalms, the second being the *Venite*. Bäumer 173. At Rome it was at first sung only on Sundays when the laity attended. Granelas *Comment. in Rom. Brev.* i. 27.

<sup>2</sup> The *Venite* represents the old responsorial method of psalmody: the psalm was sung by solo voices, the choir only sang the Invitatory, repeating it in full after the odd verses but only the second part of it after the even verses. See *Sarum Brev.* i. 18: and for a specimen printed out in full, Dowden *Workmanship*, p. 61. And compare additional note on p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> In the rubric preceding *Venite* there is an instance of confusion between the ecclesiastical terms, *reading, saying, and singing*, which is found in other rubrics, which belong partly to the earlier Prayer

Books, and partly to the last revision. At that time the phrase 'to read prayers' was coming into use—probably to distinguish the settled prayers of the Church from the extemporaneous effusions of Dissenters. See the rubric before the *Prayer for the King's Majesty* (Morning Prayer), which belongs to this period; 'Then these five Prayers following are to be read here, except when the Litany is read, &c.' See also the rubric before the Apostles' Creed; 'Then shall be sung or said... except only such days as the Creed of S. Athanasius is appointed to be read:' the latter part of this rubric was added in 1661. To say, however, does not necessarily mean *to intone*; a rubric of the Marriage Service, until the last revision, directed, 'Then shall be said a sermon.' The distinction intended by the rubrics is that which has been recognised since 1549, between 'choirs and places where they sing,'—churches where there are choral establishments, and where the service is chanted,—and ordinary churches, 'where there be no clerks,' and where the service is read. But in each case the XIVth Canon (1603) directs that the Com-

and the pointing of the psalm was assimilated to the rest of the Psalter, so that it could be sung to the ordinary Psalm tones instead of its own peculiar chants.<sup>1</sup>

The Psalms follow according to the ancient custom; the changes from the mediæval services have already been explained, the chief one being that the whole Psalter is sung through 'in course' every month, instead of there being fixed Psalms appointed for certain services, and the remainder sung 'in course' every week. The Psalter thus becomes more generally known to the ordinary Sunday churchgoer, by the whole of it being used in turn in the Sunday services.

§ 4. *The Lessons and Canticles*

The position which the Church gives to the reading of Scripture in the daily service commends itself to our reason. After confession and absolution, which may be called the preparation for worship, and psalmody, we are in a fit disposition to hear what God shall speak to us by His word. Two Lessons are read, one from the Old, and one from the New Testament; showing the harmony between the Law and the Gospel, and the unity of the Church under its two dispensations; the comparative darkness of the older prophetic and typical revelation being made clear by the history of the life of Jesus Christ, and preaching of His Apostles.

The ancient method of reading the Lessons has been already dealt with above, and it has been shown that

mon Prayer be 'said or sung distinctly *Liturgicarum*, i. xiii. 5. and reverently.' See Robertson, *How*

<sup>1</sup> For these see the Tonal in Frere, *to Conform*, pp. 139 and ff. 'Cantate missam priscorum phrasi illi dicebantur, qui sine cantu et privatim celebrabant.' Card. Bona, *Rerum* xcv, with Ps. xcvi, 9 and 13.

The  
Lessons and  
Canticles.

the recovery of continuous Bible reading, which had been lost in the course of time from the Breviary services, was one of the main objects of the revision of the Prayer Book: while the appointment of two chapters at Morning and Evening Prayer, one from the Old, and one from the New Testament, was itself a return to primitive custom.<sup>1</sup>

First  
Lessons on  
ordinary  
days.

For the First Lessons on ordinary days the course begins at the beginning of the year with Genesis, and takes the books of the Old Testament in their order, omitting, however, chapters and books, which for this purpose are less useful. Isaiah is not read in its order, but is reserved for the season of Advent, on the ground that he is 'the Gospel Prophet,' and that his book contains the clearest prophecies of Christ.

The Apo-  
crypha.

In the Kalendars of 1561 and 1661, and down to 1872, there were above fifty days for which Lessons were appointed from the Apocryphal books. These are read, as they have been read in the Western Church since the fourth century, 'for example of life and instruction of manners, but not applied to establish any doctrine.'<sup>2</sup> The new Lectionary has Lessons from the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch, for twenty-one days.<sup>3</sup>

The first Lessons appointed for Sundays form a

<sup>1</sup> S. Justin Martyr shows that at the Eucharist in the second century 'the writings of the Prophets and Apostles' were read. *Apol.* § 67; see p. 507. And for the Early Hour Services cp. Cassian, *Inst. Cenob.* II. 6: 'quibus [psalmis] lectiones geminas adjuungentes, id est unam veteris et aliam novi Testamenti. . .'

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. *Prologus in Libros Salomonis*, Opp. vol. I. p. 692, ed. Paris, 1624. See the Sixth Article, and Gibson's commentary on it in *The Thirty-nine Articles*.

<sup>3</sup> In all editions of the Prayer Book

up to 1661, directions had been given as to the singing of the Lessons at the Morning and Evening Prayer and of the Epistle and Gospel at the Eucharist. These were then omitted partly perhaps because of Puritan objections (see p. 65) but more probably because the traditional method had been forgotten. No directions are given in either Clifford's 'Brief directions' prefixed to his book *The Divine Services*, or in Edward Lowe's *Short Directions*, which are the two books which carried over the Cathedral traditions to the Restoration period;

The  
Lessons and  
Canticles.

First  
Lessons for  
Sundays.

distinct yearly course of selected chapters from the Old Testament. These are taken from Isaiah during Advent and Epiphany, and from the Books of Job and Proverbs for the last three Sundays after Epiphany. Genesis is begun on Septuagesima Sunday, which is the first step in the preparation for Lent, and the point at which the Sundays begin to be reckoned with reference to the coming Easter. This book, relating the original of our misery by the sin of Adam, and the judgment of God upon the world, has been read during Lent, as part of the instruction of Catechumens, from very early times in the Christian Church.<sup>1</sup> The selections then proceed through the Historical and Prophetical Books.

Another course is provided for Holy Days: proper chapters are appointed, usually for the First and the Second Lesson, which are suited to the Commemoration, either prophetical of it, or, if possible, relating the history of it.<sup>2</sup>

The Second Lessons are always taken from the New Testament, so that, with the exception of the Revelation, it is read through twice in the year. The order is interrupted only on certain Holy Days which have their own proper history, appointed to be read.

It is probable that, from very ancient times, Psalms or Canticles have been intermingled with the reading of

Lessons for  
Holy Days

The Second  
Lessons.

The Can-  
ticles.

and Bishop Wren records that the Lessons, Epistle and Gospel were in his day nowhere sung. *Fragm. Illust.* 58.

<sup>1</sup> Chrysost. *Hom. VII. ad Pop. Antioch.* Opp. II. p. 100, ed. Par. 1838. Migne *P. G.* XLIX. 92. It is still so read in the Byzantine, Ambrosian, and Mozarabic rites.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no difficulty in determining what should be read on Holy Days when they fall in the week. For the fixed festivals (e.g. *Circum-*

*cision, Epiphany, &c.*) no Lessons are appointed in the Kalendar; and therefore on those days, and likewise on the moveable festivals and fasts (such as *Holy Week, Ascension Day, &c.*), reference must be made to the Table of *Lessons proper for Holy Days*. But when a saint's day falls on a Sunday, the case technically known as 'occurrence,' the precedence may be regulated by the table given above, p. 346.

The  
Lessons and  
Canticles.

Scripture in the public service, at the Hour Services, as well as at the Eucharist, but as a rule these were variable from day to day. In the Latin Mattins each of the Lessons was followed by a Respond: these elaborate compositions for solo and chorus, set to words appropriate to the Lessons themselves or to the occasion, formed the bulk of the Roman chant (*cantilena Romana*) which was welcomed with such enthusiasm and sung with such skill when introduced by the Roman mission to England. Unfortunately it was too elaborate and magnificent for a popular and congregational service, and consequently the whole of this rich treasure had to be sacrificed and excluded from the Prayer Book. The principle, however, was maintained of singing alternately with reading, and fixed canticles or hymns were appointed after each lesson. The first of these is the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. In the Breviary it is called the 'Psalm *Te Deum*,' or the 'Canticle of Ambrose and Augustine,' from the old legend, that, at the baptism of S. Augustine by S. Ambrose, it was improvised and sung alternately by the two saints by inspiration. Recent

*Te Deum  
laudamus.*

*Its Author.*

researches have discovered the real author in Niceta, missionary Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia at the end of the fourth century. There is no extant testimony to its use earlier than the Rule of S. Benet: by that time it was commonly known throughout Western Christendom, and sung at the end of the night-office. The rubric of the Sarum Breviary appointed it at Mattins on Sundays and Festivals, except in Advent, from Septuagesima to Easter, and on some other days. In 1549 it was ordered to be used 'daily throughout the year except in Lent,' when its place was to be taken by *Benedicite*.<sup>1</sup> The exception

<sup>1</sup> The *Benedictus es domine*, the sung daily in Lent according to that Mozarabic form of *Benedicite*, is use.

The  
Lessons and  
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was omitted in the rubric of Edward's Second Prayer Book, but the *Benedicite* was retained as an alternative.

The following is the Latin original, taken from the printed Sarum Breviary, which gives the text in a form which modern research seems to show to be very generally correct, except in the case of the one word *numerari* in v. 21. This has no MS. authority at all, and only appeared by mistake for *munerari* for the first time in the Breviary of 1491; it was, however, unfortunately accepted by the Revisers of the Prayer Book, and has left its mark there.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Te Deum laudamus,  
te Dominum confitemur :
- 2 Te æternum Patrem  
omnis terra veneratur.
- 3 Tibi omnes Angeli,  
tibi cœli et universæ potestates,
- 4 Tibi Cherubin et Seraphin  
incessabili voce proclamant :
- 5 Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus ; Dominus Deus Sabaoth :
- 6 Pleni sunt cœli et terra majestatis gloriæ tuæ.
- 7 Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,<sup>2</sup>
- 8 Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
- 9 Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
- 10 Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia ;
- 11 Patrem immensæ majestatis ;
- 12 Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium ;
- 13 Sanctum quoque Paraclytum Spiritum.
- 14 Tu Rex gloriæ Christe,<sup>3</sup>
- 15 Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.
- 16 Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,  
non horruisti virginis uterum.

<sup>1</sup> There is also an important variation in verse 16, *Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem*: but this is now recognised to be probably an Irish emendation. <sup>2</sup> See Wordsworth, *Te Deum* apostolorum gloriosus chorus: illic prophetarum exultantium numerus: illic martyrum innumerabilis populus...

<sup>3</sup> Cp. S. Cyprian. *De Mortalitate*, c. 26 (ed. Hartel, i. 313): 'Illic

- 17 Tu, devicto mortis aculeo,  
aperuisti credentibus regna cœlorum.  
18 Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris.  
19 Iudex crederis esse venturus.  
20 Te ergo quæsumus, famulis tuis subveni,  
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.  
21 Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis  
in gloria numerari.
- 22 Salvum fac populum tuum Domine: et benedic hæreditati tuæ.<sup>1</sup>  
23 Et rege eos: et extolle illos usque in æternum.  
24 Per singulos dies benedicimus te:  
25 Et laudamus nomen tuum in sæculum et in sæculum sæculi.<sup>2</sup>  
26 Dignare Domine die isto: sine peccato nos custodire.<sup>3</sup>  
27 Miserere nostri Domine: miserere nostri.<sup>4</sup>  
28 Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos: quemadmodum  
speravimus in te.<sup>5</sup>  
29 In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum.

The hymn contains many phrases which are familiar from their occurrence elsewhere: a specially large part of the language is akin to the *contestationes*, or prefaces in Gallican liturgies.<sup>6</sup> The verses from 22 onward do not properly form part of the hymn,<sup>7</sup> but were originally suffrages<sup>8</sup> in the form of versicle and response appended to it: many of these still appear in the like relation to the *Gloria in excelsis* in the Eastern office<sup>9</sup> in a position

<sup>1</sup> From Ps. xxvii. 9 (Vulgate).

<sup>2</sup> (24, 25) Ps. cxliv. 2. The first of the versicles after the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις—Καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλόγησω σε, καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομα σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. *Horologion*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> (26) The second Greek versicle:—Καταξίωσον, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

<sup>4</sup> (27) Ps. cxxxii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> (28) Ps. xxxii. 22. The fourth Greek versicle:—Γένοιτο, Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπισαμεν ἐπὶ σέ.

<sup>6</sup> See Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 265—272.

<sup>7</sup> Some MSS. indeed do not contain them, and the fact is confirmed by the evidence of literary style (see Burn, pp. 248 and ff.), and of the music, which ended at the same point. (See *Dict. Hymn.* 1131.)

<sup>8</sup> For the history of suffrages, see below, pp. 386 and 392.

<sup>9</sup> This has been a morning hymn since the fourth century. See *Apost. Const.* vii. 47, and Pseudo-Athanasius *De virginitate*, 20: Migne, P.G. xxxviii. 275.

analogous to that now held by the *Te Deum* in the West.<sup>1</sup> This suggests the possibility that originally in the West the same was the case, but that when the *Gloria in excelsis* was transferred to the Mass, the *Te Deum* was put in to fill the vacant place at Mattins.<sup>2</sup>

The hymn thus falls into two parts with an appendix: the first part is twofold, comprising (a) a section, analogous to the Preface and *Sanctus* in the liturgy, setting forth the praise of God the Father, and (b) a section which expresses the Church's chorus of homage to the blessed Trinity; the second part commemorates, like the liturgy, the work of redemption through Christ, and bases thereon a prayer to Him for help; while the appendix contains the versicles.<sup>3</sup>

The 'hymn,' or 'Psalm *Benedicite*,' or the 'Song of the Three Children,' is a part of the Greek addition to the third chapter of Daniel. It was commonly sung among the morning psalms in the fourth century,<sup>4</sup> and some writers of that age speak of it as Scripture.<sup>5</sup> S. Benet prescribed it in his Rule under the name *Benedictiones*, and it reappears in the later Gallican Rules. Thus it found a place both in the Roman and the monastic office among the Psalms of Lauds, being specially allotted to Sunday.

*Benedicite.*

<sup>1</sup> These verses from the Psalms are taken from S. Jerome's revision, which came into use in Gaul about the end of the fourth century. This makes the beginning of the fifth century the earliest date for these additions. In the body of the hymn it is the pre-Hieronymian version which is quoted, e.g. verse 17 *aculeo* not *stimulo* in I. Cor xv. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Cesarius prescribes both *Te Deum* and *Gloria in excelsis* with its capitellum or versicle. *Regula ad mon.* xxi. in Migne P.L. lxxvii. 1162, and fuller provision in the *Regula* xi. printed in *Acta SS.* Jan. 12.

<sup>3</sup> For the whole subject see Burn,

*l. c.* chapter xi. Dowden, *Workmanship*, ch. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Virginitate*. l.c. Ruffin. *Adv. Hieron.* Lib. ii. inter Opp. Hieron. (ix. p. 155, B. ed. Paris, 1623) iv. 448, ed. Bened. Paris, 1706; Chrysost. *Quod neno læditur*, xvi. Migne, P.G. li. 477.

<sup>5</sup> Cyprian. *De Orat. Dom.* § 34. (ed. Hartel, i. 292); Chrysost. *Hom. iv. ad. Pop. Ant.* § 3; τὰς ἱερὰς ἐκείνας ἀνέπεμπον εὐχὰς. Migne, P.G. XLIX. 63. Jerome and Theodoret expound it: Ruffinus (*sup. l. c.*) is very severe upon Jerome for denying its canonicity.

<sup>6</sup> Cap. XII. Migne, P.L. LXVI.



The  
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It is easy thus to account for its selection as an alternative to *Te Deum*; Mattins, being ended with *Te Deum*, were immediately followed by Lauds, beginning with Psalms, among which this Canticle was sung.<sup>1</sup> In 1549 it was ordered to be used instead of *Te Deum* during Lent. In 1552 when a Psalm was added as an alternative to each Canticle, the rubrics concerning *Te Deum* and *Benedicite* were altered, as it appears, for uniformity, and these Canticles were to be used at discretion, without being limited to particular seasons.

They are the only portions of the kind, appointed in the English Prayer Book, which are not taken out of canonical Scripture. *Benedicite* is especially suitable to the first Lessons of some particular days (e.g. Septuagesima Sunday and the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity), or as a substitute for *Te Deum* on Sundays during Lent; but its use on week-days in Lent is no longer required by the rubric, and it is not in itself as suitable for such a position as *Te Deum*, which contains humble prayer as well as joyful worship.

The Second  
Lesson.

In the old office, there had been a short portion of Scripture called the *Capitulum* or Chapter, read after the psalms of Lauds. It was rarely more than a single verse, generally a text from the Epistle of the day. It was rejected from the Breviary by Quignon, as part of his scheme of real continuous Bible reading, and in the

<sup>1</sup> The pointing was altered in transferring it to the Prayer Book, and a return was made to old custom as represented, e.g., by the *Bangor Antiphoner*: in the later mediæval method the refrain was sung only after the first verse, the last verse and the two intermediate verses concerning the 'the earth' and 'Israel.' In other cases each verse was composed simply of a pair of

invocations. No *Gloria Patri* was sung, but in place of it the verse *Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum spiritu sancto: laudamus, &c.*, with verse 56 of Dan. iii. (modified) as a closing verse. The *Benedicite* appeared in this form in English Primers and in services preparatory to the Prayer Book. *Journ. Theol. St. i.* 238.

The  
Lessons and  
Canticles.

reformed English service, a chapter from the New Testament was appointed instead of it to be read as a Second Lesson: thus, in the present arrangement of the Lectionary, the New Testament is read through (except *The Revelation*), once in the Morning, and once in the Evening Service.

The Chapter at Lauds, in the old offices, was followed by the Gospel Canticle which is still used after the Second Lesson. The three Gospel Canticles had been appended to the Psalter as the Hymn-book of the Church, together with the Old Testament Canticles, at least as early as the middle of the IVth century, and they figure in this position in the Codex Alexandrinus belonging to the Vth century. The assignment of *Benedictus* to this position as the climax of Lauds is ascribed, but not very confidently, to S. Benet.<sup>1</sup> At any rate when once so placed it has not moved. It was called in the Sarum Breviary the 'Psalm *Benedictus*,' or the 'Song of the prophet Zacharias.' In one edition of Edward's First Prayer Book, the rubric directing its use 'throughout the whole year' describes it as a '*Thanksgiving for the performance of God's promises.*' And as by singing *Te Deum* after the Lesson from the Old Testament we declare that the ancient promises were fulfilled in the incarnation and atonement of the Saviour, and acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity; so, after the Lesson from the histories of the New Testament, we praise God for the fulfilment of His promises, in the inspired words of the father of John the Baptist, which may almost be called one of the earliest Christian hymns.

At the revision in 1552 the 100th Psalm was added in this place, to be used instead of *Benedictus*. It is clear

Benedictus.

Jubilate  
Deo.

<sup>1</sup> Bäumer, 177. Grancolas, *Comment in Brev. Rom.* i. 33.

however both from the history of its appointment, and the words of the rubric, that *Benedictus* should always be used, 'except when that shall happen to be read in the Chapter for the day, or for the Gospel on S. John Baptist's day.'

### § 5. *The Suffrages and Collects.*

In the early forms of the Hour Services appropriate Collects were said at the close of each Psalm or Canticle and the service ended when the Psalmody and Lessons ended. This custom however disappeared, and perhaps by way of compensation short prayers, called *Capitella*, were added at the end for various purposes in the form of versicle and response. Some such prayers have already come under notice in dealing with *Te Deum*. Those at the end of the Gallican services formed in their old shape a developed litany of intercession and prayer, and at a later date they were combined with the *Kyrie*, Lord's Prayer and Creed, and ultimately adopted by the Roman rite.

This scheme of 'suffrages' was taken over from the Sarum service into the First Prayer Book, but in 1552 the Creed was taken out of this place and prefixed to the suffrages to be said aloud by all. It will be best therefore first to deal with the Creed and then to return to the question of the suffrages.

The Creed,<sup>1</sup> belongs properly to the Baptism Service :

<sup>1</sup> Called from the first word, *Credo*, in the Latin Church, as the Lord's Prayer was called *Paternoster*, and the Psalms were known by the opening words. The legend that the Apostles, before they separated from Jerusalem, compiled the Creed called by their name, each one contributing a clause, may be dismissed from serious history. It first appears in Pirminius, a

Frankish Bishop of the middle of the eighth century: but the general statement, that the Creed is a body of doctrine collected by the Apostles, is as old as the fourth century. *The Creed* is also called *σμβολον*, *symbolum*—a proof of authenticity, or a mark of recognition, as a seal-ring, a watchword—the proof of orthodoxy:—some have derived this name from

it was taught beforehand to the catechumens as the symbol of the Church's faith and rehearsed by them in the hearing of the faithful at their baptism. This appears to have been the earliest use of the forms which are still extant of the confessions of faith of various churches or dioceses.

The confession of faith in order to baptism was at first of the simplest kind: 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.'<sup>1</sup> But early heresies made it necessary to introduce more exact definitions, and to formulate creeds dealing with the Three persons of the Blessed Trinity in accordance with the Baptismal formula. Hence we have clear signs of a creed as early as Aristides the Apologist,<sup>2</sup> (*circa* 140), and again, towards the end of the second century, a declaration by Irenæus<sup>3</sup> of the faith received from the Apostles and their disciples, and also by Tertullian,<sup>4</sup> in the shape of an enlargement of some articles of the Creed. What is called the Apostles' Creed is the old Roman baptismal creed; it is first definitely cited by Marcellus of Ancyra in 341 in an early form, and is found again fifty years later in the exposition of Ruffinus<sup>5</sup> of Aquileia: but it took shape as early as the middle of the second century. Enlarged subsequently under Gallican influence, it did not reach its present form till the VIIth or VIIIth century.<sup>6</sup> What is called the

the legend above-mentioned (quasi

*σμβολη*, *collatio*), as the joint contribution of the Apostles, or as the sum of the Scriptural narrative (Cassian, *De Incarn.* Lib. vi. c. 3). See for this and for the whole subject

Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 282 and ff. and *passim*, and Sanday in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 1. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Acts viii. 37. The passage is an interpolation, but it shows that a baptismal confession of faith was the

practice of the early Church.

<sup>2</sup> *Apology* (Camb. Texts and Studies), p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. *Adv. Hær.* 1. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Tertull. *De Præscript. adv. Hæreticos*, 13. Burn, pp. 35 and ff.

<sup>5</sup> This Commentary of Ruffinus is printed in Heurtley *De Fide et Symbolo*, pp. 121 and ff., with many others of the ancient forms of Creed.

<sup>6</sup> See Gibson, *Articles* No. viii. for a good account of the Creeds.

The Suffrages  
and CollectsNicene  
Creed

Nicene Creed is not the creed accepted at the Council of Nicæa, but the baptismal creed of the Church of Jerusalem modified through the insertion by S. Cyril of the dogmatic terms sanctioned at Nicæa (325); it was probably accepted as proof of S. Cyril's orthodoxy by the Council assembled at Constantinople (381), which also reaffirmed the original creed of the Nicene Council. Both of these forms, the original Nicene and the Cyrillian Nicene, were received by the Fourth General Council at Chalcedon (451); and from that date the latter ousted the former, and the present creed, accepted by councils and called Nicene, appears to have become general. This is still *the* Creed of the Eastern Church.

Athanasian  
Creed.

The *Quicumque vult*, or 'Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called The Creed of St. Athanasius,' has been the subject of much discussion, as to the date of its composition, the value of its dogmatic definitions, and the position given to it in the Prayer Book. It is not a creed in the sense in which those hitherto mentioned are creeds; it is rather a confession of faith which was written in Southern Gaul early in the Vth century, and it has been used by the Western Church as a Canticle since the VIIIth century.<sup>1</sup>

Public  
Repetition of  
the Nicene  
Creed

The transference of the Creed from the Baptismal office for use in other services as well began in the East. The constant repetition of the Creed in the Eucharistic Office was first ordered as a safeguard against the Arian heresy, by Peter, called the Fuller, bishop of Antioch (*circa* 471)<sup>2</sup>; Alexandria followed suit soon after, and the example was also followed by Timothy, bishop of Constantinople (511),<sup>3</sup> where till that date the

<sup>1</sup> Bäumer, 254.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 578: Τιμῶθες τὸ τῶν<sup>2</sup> Theodor. Lector. *Hist.* Lib. II. p. 582: Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κναφέα... ἐν τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καθ' ἐκάστην πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι. τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτῶ πατέρων σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.began in the  
East,The Suffrages  
and Collects.and spread  
through the  
West.

Creed had been recited at the Liturgy only on Maundy Thursday. At first the original Nicene Creed was in use in the East, but it gave way before the present Creed, as did also all local forms of creed. Of the Latin Churches, that of Spain first adopted this Creed and the public use of it, for the same reason that had caused its use in the East, viz. to bring the people back to the true faith after the Arian Gothic invasion: the third Council of Toledo (589)<sup>1</sup> ordered that it should be sung aloud by the people before the Lord's Prayer was said.<sup>2</sup> The custom slowly spread through the Gallican Church for the same reason, especially in the time of Charlemagne.<sup>3</sup> Rome enjoyed the reputation of being free from Arianism, and hence had not hitherto introduced the Creed into the Liturgy. But at last, under external pressure, the singing of the Nicene Creed was adopted into the Roman Liturgy (1014), in order to assimilate the use of Rome with that of France and Spain.<sup>4</sup> In this country at an earlier date the Nicene Creed was sung at Mass, being probably received from the Gallican Church.

The Apostles' Creed was said several times over in the Sarum daily service. In this country we find it as early

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Tolet. III. cap. 2 (Mansi, ix. 993): 'Constituit synodus, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ, vel Galliciæ, secundum formam Orientalium Ecclesiarum, concilii Constantinopolitani, hoc est centum quinquaginta episcoporum symbolum fidei recitetur: ut priusquam dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara a populo decantetur; quo et fides vera manifestum testimonium habeat, et ad Christi corpus et sanguinem prælibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant.' It will be noted that it is the Cyrillian formula, now called Nicene, but then called Constantinopolitan, which was adopted.

not the Creed of the 318 Fathers of Nicæa, which seems never to have been used liturgically in the West, though well-known and actually recited as Nicene at Toledo. Gibson, *Articles*, i. 251. Cp. Bruns, i. 213.

<sup>2</sup> This position was also ordered by the Emperor Justinian in 568, and is probably the original position in East as well as West. Burn, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Walafriid Strabo, *De Exordiis*, xxiii. (ed. Knöpffer, p. 62), but xxii. in Hittorp (Paris, 1624), col. 682.

<sup>4</sup> Berno, *De quibusdam rebus*, II. in Hittorp, col. 701. Migne *P.L.* cxlii. 1060.

The Apostles' Creed,  
how used in  
the Service  
of the  
Hours.

The Suffrages  
and Collects.

as the Anglo-Saxon times in the suffrages of Prime and Compline ;<sup>1</sup> and it is from this use of it that it has come into its present position in the Prayer Book ; like the Lord's Prayer, it was said privately through, and then the last two clauses were repeated aloud in the form of a versicle and response.

In 1549 the Creed was retained in English<sup>2</sup> among the suffrages, the rubric ordered that the priest<sup>3</sup> should say it with a loud voice, but the old treatment of the last clauses was retained in the case of the Lord's Prayer with the usual musical inflection. In 1552 this order and method was given up in favour of that now in use. The object clearly was to gain for the Hours a public recitation of the Creed by all, similar to that prevailing in the Liturgy.<sup>4</sup>

The Athanasian  
Creed sung  
publicly.

Till then the only profession of faith that was sung publicly in the Hour Services was the *Quicumque*. In the Sarum Breviary it was appointed to be sung daily at Prime after the Psalms, and before the Prayers, and, as has been stated already, this use goes back to the VIIIth century. The later tendency has been to restrict its use. Quignon, in his reformed Breviary, appointed the Athanasian Creed on Sundays, and the Apostles' Creed on weekdays.<sup>5</sup> In the Tridentine Breviary it is ordered to be used on Sundays only. In the American book it is omitted altogether.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomson, *Select Monuments*, 142, 102; *Durham Rituale* (Surtess Soc.), 166, 181.

<sup>2</sup> See English versions of the Creed, belonging to the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* II. pp. 240 and ff. [III. pp. 251 and ff.]. And Dowden, *Workmanship*, pp. 95 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> The rubric in Merbecke is *The quere with the priest*, followed by the Creed in full:—I believe in God

... everlasting. Then, Our Father ... against us. *Priest*: And lead us not into temptation. *Answer*: But deliver us from evil. Amen.

<sup>4</sup> In the American book permission is given to use the words, 'He went into the place of departed spirits,' instead of 'He descended into hell.'

<sup>5</sup> *Brev. Quignon.*, pp. 3, 24.

<sup>6</sup> And the Nicene Creed may be said in place of the Apostles' Creed at Morning or Evening Prayer.

The Suffrages  
and Collects.

In 1549 the Athanasian Creed was appointed to be sung or said after *Benedictus* upon the six festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity. In 1552 seven Saints' days were added to these six festivals; so that this *Confession of our Christian faith*<sup>1</sup> should be used at intervals of about a month throughout the year.

Both minister and people are directed to sing or say the Creeds, because they are the profession of every person present. They are to be repeated *standing*, to express our resolution to hold fast the true faith. The custom, prevalent in many churches, of turning to the East while repeating the Creed, has no rubrical authority nor any pre-Reformation precedent.<sup>2</sup> It was begun in Caroline times, partly in imitation of the practice of the Jews, who always turned their faces in the direction of Jerusalem, towards the mercy seat of the holy temple, when they prayed, and partly in imitation of the early Christian ceremonies of Baptism, in which it was usual for the catechumens to renounce the devil with their faces to the West, and then turn to the East to make their covenant with Christ: the East, or region of the rising sun, being the source of light. Hence the turning towards the East became associated with Christian worship generally from early times, but not till quite recently in any special sense with the daily recitation of the Creed.<sup>3</sup>

Bowing at the name of Jesus has been retained in

<sup>1</sup> The addition, *commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius*, was made in 1661, and also the explicit directions that it was to be said *instead of the Apostles' Creed*, and *by the Minister and people standing*.

<sup>2</sup> For the Sarum rules for turning to the East, see Frere, *Use of Sarum*, I. xvii. (13). The true survivals of

the old ways are the turning for the *Gloria patri* and the *Gloria in excelsis*. *Hierurg. Angl.* 59, 366. There is less reason for turning at the Nicene Creed than at the Apostles' Creed, and none at all for turning at the *Quicumque*.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. 8, § 15.

Ceremonies  
observed in  
repeating  
Creeds:  
*standing*,  
*turning to  
the East*,and bowing  
at the name  
of Jesus.

The Suffrages  
and Collects.

repeating the Creed, even where it has been given up on other occasions, as a symbol of adoration of the Divine Saviour.<sup>1</sup> The 18th Canon (1603) gives the meaning of this custom, and prescribes the bowing generally, and not only in the Creed.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Suffrages.

It has already been pointed out that the suffrages were in their origin a long and developed litany of intercession. The *capitella* were either triple, each consisting of a bidding, followed by a versicle and response, or else duple, each consisting of a bidding and a single response. In their fullest extant Western form they contain sixteen petitions of the first type. The first is

Let us pray for every condition in the Church.  
Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness,  
And thy saints sing with joyfulness.

Others follow in the same form 'for our pastors, the King, his children, our Abbat, the whole Catholic people, our brothers and sisters, for peace, for travellers by land, by sea, persecutors and slanderers, quarrelsome, penitents, almsgivers, the sick, the faithful departed,' (with a second versicle and response), followed by four clauses 'for our sins and negligences,' and three 'for our absent brethren.'<sup>3</sup> Shorter collections of the same sort existed side by side with this, besides those for Prime and Compline which contained also the Apostles' Creed. The

<sup>1</sup> See Ellicott and Lightfoot's notes on Phil. ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> 'When in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed, testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in

whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised.' The same order was given in Queen Elizabeth's Injunction LII. (1559): Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* XLIII. § 52.

<sup>3</sup> From a Rheims Psalter (882—885) at Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. 272, printed with additions from other sources in Bäumer, p. 611.

The Suffrages  
and Collects.

Roman service at this period ended as it seems with *Kyrie*<sup>1</sup> and Lord's Prayer,<sup>2</sup> and when there were appended to it such Gallican collections of the two kinds of the *capitella* fused together, there developed a regular type of suffrages, consisting of (i) *Kyrie eleison* (ii) *Pater noster*, (iii) more or fewer versicles and responses (the biddings of the triple *capitella* for uniformity's sake being usually dropped), and finally, as the climax, (iv) a collect. This scheme reappears constantly throughout the later mediæval services. In the Sarum Breviary two such forms were in use: (i) the schemes at Prime and Compline, which though differing in detail were alike in outline and use; (ii) the ferial suffrages used before the collect on ferias at all the other Day-Hours.<sup>3</sup>

In our present form, the mutual salutation of minister and people, which is of primitive if not Apostolic origin,<sup>4</sup> together with the invitation to prayer, instead of introducing the collect as in the old suffrages, introduces the suffrages themselves. In its present position it marks the transition to a new section of the service, and is

The Salutation.

<sup>1</sup> This expression was in its origin heathen. Arrian in the second century (*Comment. Epicteti* ii. 7) says, 'τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐπιστρέφόν μοι ἐξελεθεῖν.' Evidence for its Christian use does not appear till the IVth century and then at the Liturgy and in the East: *Apost. Const.* VIII. 6, *i.e.* the Ektene (see below, p. 407) and *Peregr. Silv.* xxiv. 5. It was spreading from Rome through the West in connexion with the Hours also early in the VIth century. See Council of Vaison, Canon III. (529), *Bruns.* ii. 184. The Gallican Rule of Aurelian (*c.* 550) (*Migne, P.L.*, LXVIII. 93) agreed with the Italian Rule of S. Benet in prescribing it, and made an advance upon previous regulations since it prescribed *Kyrie*, not only at Evensong, Mass, and

Lauds, but at all the Hours. All this suggests that the *Kyrie* was somewhat of a novelty, and that its introduction to the West was probably not anterior to the middle of the VIth century. See *Kyrie eleison*, by Edm. Bishop (reprinted from the *Downside Review*, Dec., 1899, and March, 1900); also Bäumer, 128, 154.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Diaconus, *De Ecclesia Lateranensi*, vii. *Migne P.L.* CXIV. The addition of the collect from the Mass was of later date. See below, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop, *l.c.*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Ruth, ii. 4; John, xx. 19, 26. The Greek form is, *Εἰρήνη πᾶσι. Καὶ μετὰ πνεύματος οὐ.* See Chrysost. *Hom.* III. in *Coloss.* *Migne, P.G.* LXXII. 322.

The Suffrages  
and Collects.The Lesser  
Litany.

a prayer that God will hear the joint petitions of minister and people in the Versicles, and of the minister as the voice of the people in the Collects that follow.

The Lesser Litany is the prelude to the *Prayer*, as the Doxology in its present connexion in our service may be said to be the prelude to the *Praise* of the service.<sup>1</sup> Being addressed to each person of the Holy Trinity, by its three clauses, it fixes the object of Christian worship. In the old Latin Offices the Greek words *Kyrie eleison* were retained here, as at Mass, and each clause was usually thrice repeated. The direction that the priest shall stand to say the Versicles and Collect is continued from the mediæval rubric.<sup>2</sup> The Versicles seem to have been taken not directly from the suffrages of the Breviary, either those said daily at Prime and Compline, or those said at Lauds, the Lesser Hours, and Evensong on ferias, but rather from the following similar selection which was used in the form of 'Bidding the Bedes,' and was probably better known to the people at large than either of the forms in the Breviary :<sup>3</sup>—

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam :

Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam :

Et sancti tui exultent.

Domine, salvum fac regem :

Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.

<sup>1</sup> Historically speaking, its rationale is something quite different. See above, p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> The officiant stood up only for the latter part of the ferial suffrages and for the Collect : at other times, when the ferial suffrages were not used, every one remained standing till the end of the service and there was no kneeling. The words introduced into the rubric of 1661, *all kneeling*,

refer not to the officiant but to the people : they are not inserted in the similar position at Evening Prayer. Such directions for the people were necessitated by the breach of tradition caused through the Great Rebellion and the suppression of the Prayer Book. Cp. p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarum Processions* (Ed. Wordsworth), p. 23. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. 342 [402].

The Suffrages  
and Collects.

Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas :

Domine, Deus meus, sperantes in te.

Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine.

Et benedic hereditati tuæ.

Domine, fiat pax in virtute tua :

Et abundantia in turribus tuis.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam :

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

These Versicles except the fourth and the last of the series, form our present suffrages : some alterations have been introduced from the text of the Psalms, from which they were originally taken,<sup>1</sup> the second and third pair have been transposed, the fifth versicle is used in the shorter of the two forms in which it appears. The idea of the sixth is kept, but in view of the collect for peace which is to follow the old antiphon which was used with it in the 'memorial for peace' is substituted for the regular versicle.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in view of the collect for grace which is to follow, a new versicle and response is made and put in place of the *Domine exaudi* which in the old series paved the way for the collect, and is still retained in that position in the suffrages of Confirmation,

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxxv. 7, xx. 9; cxxxii. 9; xxviii. 9; li. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Maskell's *Prymer* (circ. 1400), *Mon. Rit.* II. p. 35 [III. 38]. King's *Primer* (1545), p. 469, ed. Burton. The connexion between this petition and its response is not very obvious at first sight : the former evidently supposes a state of war (and war seldom ceased in the rude times in which this antiphon was framed); while the latter implies that God alone can give the victory which will secure peace as its result. The American Prayer Book formerly omitted all but the first and the last

pairs, but the recent revision has replaced all these Versicles in the Evening Prayer, giving a new response to the petition for peace,— 'For it is Thou, Lord, only that makest us dwell in safety.' The Commissioners of 1689 proposed to substitute for this response 'an answer promissory of somewhat on the people's part of keeping God's laws or the like, the old response being grounded on the predestinating doctrine taken in too strict an acceptance.' See above, p. 209, and Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 431.

The Suffrages  
and Collects.

Marriage, the Visitation of the Sick, and the Churcing of Women.

A further change has been made in the method of saying the Lord's Prayer. In pre-Reformation times the Lesser Litany was said alternately by the choir, the Lord's Prayer was said silently and the officiant only began at the penultimate clause, which he said as the first versicle, while the choir responded with the last clause. Some part of this method was retained in 1549: the recitation of the creed as well as the Lord's Prayer was ordered, but in a loud voice: the repetition of the final clauses in the form of a versicle and response was prescribed in the case of the Lord's Prayer though not (as formerly) in the case of the Creed as well. The whole plan was altered in 1552.

The Collects.

The Collects are not an ancient feature of the Hour Services: in early days each psalm was followed by private prayer, prostration, and a Collect summing up the private petitions: at a later date these disappeared and the element of prayer was represented only by the suffrages appended to the services other than Nocturns: then the Lord's prayer was added to these and then the Collect was borrowed from the Mass to form their close.

The Collect for the day occupies in one sense the same position in which it occurred in the unreformed offices at the end of Lauds; but in another sense its position is different, for it there formed the close of the service proper, whether preceded or not by suffrages: the Salutation and another Versicle followed and so the service ended. But, as has been stated already, on many occasions 'memorials' were added varying from time to time. In place of these, two fixed Collects were adopted in 1549. The Collect for peace comes from the old Memorial for peace, said at the Lauds of

The Suffrages  
and Collects.Collect for  
Peace.

the Blessed Virgin.<sup>1</sup> The third Collect is the ancient ferial Collect for Prime.<sup>2</sup> The relation of these to the preceding Versicles has already been explained: both of them are drawn from old Roman sources.

### § 6. The Closing Prayers

Here the Order of Morning Prayer ended until the last revision in 1661. All the 'five prayers' except the second had been since 1559 appended to the Litany, and in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637) a rubric was added after the third Collect of Morning and Evening Prayer, directing what is almost identical with our present usage.<sup>3</sup> And in 1661 the present rubric and the five prayers were inserted.

The anthem though not mentioned before had long been customary: it was common to sing an anthem or Antiphon after some of the services in pre-Reformation times, especially to sing one of the anthems of the Blessed Virgin after the Prayer 'Lighten our darkness,' which ended Compline.<sup>4</sup> It was natural therefore to do the like in the corresponding positions in the Prayer Book Services, and it was specially authorised by the Elizabethan Injunctions.<sup>5</sup>

The earliest form of the *Prayer for the King's Majesty* that has yet been discovered occurs in two little books which issued from the press of Berthelet, who was King's

Prayer for  
the King's  
Majesty.

<sup>1</sup> 'Deus auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est: protege ab omnibus impugnationibus supplices tuos: ut qui in defensione tua confidimus, nullius hostilitatis arma timeamus. Per.' *Brev. Sar.* i. 11. *loweth the Litany: and if the Litany be not appointed to be said or sung that morning, then shall next be said the Prayer for the King's Majesty, with the rest of the prayers following at the end of the Litany, and the Benediction.'*

<sup>2</sup> See the original of this, with the rest of the service above, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> See *Use of Sarum*, ii. 234, 235.

<sup>5</sup> Injunction XLIX. See above

<sup>3</sup> 'After this Collect ended, fol. p. 106.

printer at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. and the beginning of that of Edward VI.<sup>1</sup>

*A prayer for the kinge.*

O Lorde Jesu Christe, moste high, moste mightie, kyng of kynges, lorde of lordes, the onely rular of princis, the very sonne of god, on whose ryghte hande syttyng, doest from thy throne beholde all the dwellers upon earth : with mooste lowly hertes we beseche the, vouchesafe with faourable regard to behold our most gracious soueraigne lorde kyng Henry the Eyght, and so replenysshe hym with the grace of thy holy spiritie, that he alway incline to thy wil, and walke in thy way. Kepe hym farre of frome ignoraunce, but through thy gifte, leat prudence and knowlage alwaie abound in his royall hert. So instructe hym, (O LORD IESV) reygnyng upon us in erth, that his humane majestie alway obey thy divyne majestie in feare and drede. Indue him plentifully with heauenly giftes. Graunt him in health and welth long to liue. Heape glorie and honoure upon hym. Glad hym with the joye of thy countenance. So strengthe hym, that he maie vanquishe and ouercome all his and our foes, and be drede and feared of al the enemies of his realme. AMEN.

In the Prayer Books of Edward VI. this prayer was not put into the Morning and Evening Service; it was,

<sup>1</sup> One of these books is entitled '*Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holy Scripture*;' the date on the title-page being 1545 (though the border contains the date 1534), and that in the colophon being July 2, 1545. The book consists of xv. 'psalms,' made up of selected passages from the Psalms and other parts of Scripture; at the end these are called '*Finis xv. Psalmorum*,' thus in appearance being intended as a devotional substitute for the '*xv. Psalmes*' of the Primer. After this come the xxiii<sup>rd</sup> and the c<sup>th</sup> Psalmes; and then follow '*A prayer for the Kynge*,' and '*A prayer for men to saie entering into battaile*.'

The other book containing this prayer is entitled, '*Prayers or Meditations, wherein the mynd is stirred patiently to suffre all afflictions here, to set at nought the wayne prosperitee of*

*this worlde, and awaie to longe for the everlastynge felicitye: Collected out of holy woorks by the most vertuous and graciouse Princesse Katherine, quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande. Anno dni. 1545.* The colophon states that this volume was printed by Berthelet, Nov. 6, 1545. The first portion, containing Queen Katherine's prayers, is a series of devotional sentences: after which comes this prayer for the King: then the prayer for men to say entering into battle: then '*A deuoute praier to be dately saied*,' '*An other prayer*,' and '*A deuoute praier*.'

These two books are bound up together with the Henrician Litany of May 27, 1544 (above, p. 32), in Bodleian Libr. Douce B. 231. Later on the Edwardine editions kept the old title page but altered the colophon and its date.

however, placed in his reformed Primer (1553),<sup>1</sup> as '*the fourth Collect for the King*' at Morning Prayer; another and shorter '*Prayer for the King*' being added to the Collects '*for Peace*,' and '*for Aid against all Perils*,' at Evening Prayer. At the revision of the Prayer Book in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1559), this prayer was altered and shortened, and together with the Prayer for the Clergy and People was placed before the '*Prayer of Chrysostom*' at the end of the Litany.

The *Prayer for the Royal Family* was added among the Collects at the end of the Litany, in 1604; approved, if not composed, by Archbishop Whitgift,<sup>2</sup> and placed in the Prayer Book among the changes made by way of explanation, after the Hampton Court Conference, on the authority of James I. It was then entitled, '*A Prayer for the Queen and Prince, and other the King and Queen's children*,' and began with the words,—

Almighty God, which hast promised to be a Father of thine elect and of their seed, We humbly beseech thee to bless our gracious Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and all the King and Queen's royal progeny: endue them, &c.

In the first Form of Prayers published by authority in the reign of Charles I., being a service provided for a fast-day (1625), the words '*the fountain of all goodness*' were introduced into this prayer, and were continued in the Prayer Book published in 1627; for the plain reason that the original clause was not thought appropriate in the case of a sovereign who was at that time without issue. Afterwards (1632) the

<sup>1</sup> At the end of the Primer (1553) Service, and the third being also a were also placed '*Sundry Godly Prayers for diuers purposes*;' the first Becon's *Flower of Godly Prayers*, p. 19 (ed. Parker Soc.).  
<sup>2</sup> Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 235.



The Closing Prayers.

clause was replaced, and Prince Charles and the Lady Mary were mentioned in the prayer. In the following year, however,—the first year of the primacy of Laud,—the clause was again and finally removed. The inconvenience was thus avoided of continually altering the language of the prayer.<sup>1</sup>

Prayer for the Clergy and People.

The *Prayer for the Clergy and People* followed the Litany in pre-Reformation days, and so came naturally into the like position in the English Litany of 1544; it is found as early as the old Roman Sacramentary called Gelasian.<sup>2</sup>

A Prayer of S. Chrysostom.

The *Prayer of St. Chrysostom* is found in the Liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom; the composition of it cannot be ascribed to either of those fathers, but the prayer forms part of the Byzantine Liturgy from at least the ninth century onward, and Cranmer no doubt put the heading because he took it from the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's enemies tried to hatch up out of this a charge against him of meaning to strike a sly blow at Calvinism. It was also urged against the archbishop, that political motives had caused him to omit the names of 'the Prince Elector Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth his wife,' after 1632, when in fact other names were introduced of princes more nearly connected with the throne, and the general expression, 'The Royal Family,' was added to include all the remoter branches. Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui facis mirabilia magna solus, præterde super famulos tuos pontifices et super cunctas congregationes illis commissas spiritum gratiæ salutaris, et ut in veritate tibi complacent perpetuum eis rorem tuæ benedictionis infunde. Per.' There has thus been an English version of it in the Primer since the fourteenth century; Maskell,

ii. p. 107 [III. 111]. It was somewhat altered in the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637); being entitled, '*A Prayer for the holy clergy*,' and commencing, 'Almighty and everlasting God, who only workest great and marvellous things: Send down upon our Bishops, Presbyters and Curates, &c.' In the American Prayer Book the language was again altered, 'Almighty and everlasting God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; Send down upon our Bishops and other Clergy, and upon the Congregations, &c.'

<sup>3</sup> It is the Prayer of the third Antiphon (Εὐχή Ἀντιφώνου γ'), after the Deacon's Litany in the *Missæ Catechumenorum*, and before *The Little Entrance: Euchologion*, pp. 49, 77 (Venice, 1862); Neale's *Liturgies*, p. 118. See Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I. 317, 367.

The Closing Prayer.

This prayer was placed at the end of the Litany, when that service was revised by Cranmer in 1544; it seems likely that he had recourse to S. Chrysostom's Liturgy primarily for help in drawing up the Litany, and that, finding this prayer in close connexion with the Deacon's Litany there, he translated it and used it as the closing prayer of the English Litany.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin Hour-Services ended with the Salutation and a versicle and response:—

'Benedicamus domino.' 'Let us bless the Lord.'  
'Deo gratias.' 'Thanks be to God.'

To which was added in some uses a prayer for the repose of the faithful departed. These were not taken over in 1549, and the services ended abruptly: the 'Grace' was first added as a conclusion to service in 'The Litany used in the Queen's chapel' of 1559;<sup>2</sup> thence it found its way as the fifth of the five prayers into the Elizabethan Prayer Book. It is found in Greek Liturgies in a very different connexion, viz., before the *Sursum Corda* from the fourth century onwards,<sup>3</sup> but there seems no reason to suppose that this had any connexion with its introduction into the Prayer Book here.

## VI. Evening Prayer.

The order for Evening Prayer or Evensong was formed, as we have seen, upon the ancient offices of Evensong (Vespers), and Compline, but assimilated to the scheme of the Morning Prayer of the Prayer Book. No invitatory was needed, but otherwise the structure has been identical in both cases since 1552, when the opening

<sup>1</sup> Dowden, *Workmanship*, pp. 147, 227—229. in all the editions of the Prayer Book of that year. *Ibid.* pp. 75 and ff.  
<sup>2</sup> *Liturg. Services of Elizabeth*,  
<sup>3</sup> Liturgy of Apost. Const., p. 17 (Parker Soc.). It is not printed Brightman, *L. E. W.*, p. 14.

The close.

Structure as at Mattins.

Evening  
Prayer.

versicle, formerly peculiar to Mattins, was prescribed for Evensong also. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution were appointed, as at Mattins, in 1552 to be said before the commencement of the older service; but this part was not printed at the beginning of Evening Prayer until the revision of 1661. The first lesson occupies the place of the Chapter at Vespers, followed by *Magnificat*, which has been sung at Vespers since the time of S. Benet, who probably gave it that position.<sup>1</sup> Our second Lesson occupies the place of the Chapter at Compline, which, after a hymn that is omitted, was followed by 'The Song of Simeon'; this has been treated as a canticle from very early times,<sup>2</sup> it has never formed part of the Benedictine Compline, and therefore its position in the secular Compline is probably subsequent to the time of S. Benet, and the tradition which ascribes its insertion to S. Gregory may be a true one.<sup>3</sup> The Canticles thus inserted occupy a most significant place in our service. After reading the Old Testament, we have the Song of Mary, testifying to the fulfilment of God's promises of mercy to the fathers; and after reading the chapter from the New Testament, and there beholding how the promises were fulfilled in the propagation of the Gospel among the Gentiles, we express our readiness to receive that Gospel for ourselves, in the Song of the aged Simeon, and our faith that by so doing we shall have peace in our death, of which every night brings a type in sleep. These two

The  
Canticles.

<sup>1</sup> In the Eastern Church *Magnificat* is among the Morning Canticles; and one of the earliest traces we have of it in the West is in the *Lauds* Office of Aurelian (circa 540), *Regula*, Migne, P. L. lxxviii. 393.

<sup>2</sup> *Const. Apost.* vii. 49. See also the practice of Nilus as described in Pitra, *Juris eccl. Græc.* i. 220, § 17.

<sup>3</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* shows that the Winchester monks used it on the days in the year when they said the secular office, cap. v. (ed. Logeman, in *Anglia*, XIII. p. 430.)

Evening  
Prayer.

canticles only were appointed in 1549. In 1552, probably for uniformity with the corresponding part of the Morning Prayer, and still retaining the ancient rule that Psalms and reading of Scripture should be alternated, the 98th and the 67th psalms were appointed to follow the first and second Lessons, at the discretion of the Minister, unless either of them had been read in the ordinary course of the psalms. They had not been sung among the psalms of Vespers or Compline.<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the service has the same history as Mattins, except the two fixed Collects. In the old system the services began with the Evensong on the preceding night. A survival of this is found in the rubric placed before 'The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels,' which orders that the Collect for the following day (according to our modern reckoning) is to be said on the evening before every Sunday and any Holy Day that has a Vigil or Eve.<sup>2</sup>

*The Second Collect, for Peace*, is from the old Roman storehouse, and occurs in the Gelasian Sacramentary. In the Sarum Breviary it was the fourth Collect after the Litany, as well as the Evening Memorial for peace.<sup>3</sup>

*The Third Collect, for Aid against all Perils*, which is also in the Gelasian Sacramentary, is the invariable Collect of Compline in the Sarum Breviary.<sup>4</sup>

The Collects

<sup>1</sup> In the American book another alternative is added, made up of Ps. CIII. 1—4, 20—22.

<sup>2</sup> A *Vigil* is a fast-day preceding a feast: an *Eve* is not necessarily a fast.

<sup>3</sup> 'Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia et justa sunt opera: da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem: ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et, hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla: Per.' *Brev. Sar.* i. 11; ii. 254.

<sup>4</sup> See the original Latin, p. 268. In the American Prayer Book this Collect was altered thus: 'O Lord, our heavenly Father, by whose Almighty power we have been preserved this day; By thy great mercy defend us from all perils, &c.' The English form is restored in the late revision in 1886. A rubric follows:—*The Minister may here end the Evening Prayer with such Prayer, or Prayers, taken out of this Book, as he shall think fit.*

Evening  
Prayer.  
The fixed  
Collects.

There is a close resemblance between these ancient daily Collects of Morning and Evening Prayer. In the first of each pair, the subject of petition is the same, but the words are different, and suited to the respective seasons. We ask outward peace in the morning, to secure us against the troubles of the world; and inward peace in the evening, to comfort and quiet our minds when we are to take our rest. In the second of each pair of Collects, we ask in the morning grace and guidance to direct us in our duty; and in the evening, light and aid, when we are passive or unconscious. The metaphor of light, according to Scriptural usage, will include the two ideas of knowledge and of comfort. We therefore pray that our understanding may be enlightened to perceive the sleepless providence of God, and our hearts cheered with the assurance of His love.

Psalms and  
Hymns.

The direction for an anthem properly belongs more to Evensong than to Mattins.<sup>1</sup> In the latter part of the XVIIth Century and the beginning of the XVIIIth the custom was growing up of singing a metrical psalm or hymn in parish churches at this point: the earlier custom prescribed this immediately after the Second Lesson; and the like again at Morning Prayer between the 'First' and 'Second Service,' *i.e.* the equivalent of the anthem or *Sanctus*, which was sung there 'in quires' in place of the old Introit.<sup>2</sup> The modern hymn has followed these precedents, adopting the later custom in Morning and Evening Prayer: to follow this analogy is natural enough, but on liturgical and practical grounds alike the hymn would be more suitably placed at the end of the introductory part of the service.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Bisse, *Beauty of Holiness*, 95, 125.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE LITANY AND OCCASIONAL PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS.

THE term Litany (*λιτανεία*) belongs properly to any\* The Litany. solemn form of entreaty, but in Christian usage it has gained a specialized meaning as the result of a somewhat complex history.

In the East, as early as the IVth century, the word was used to describe penitential services. S. Basil speaks of these as being in use in his day at Cæsarea (c. 375), but admits that they were innovations, and not as old as the days of S. Gregory Thaumaturgus (254).<sup>1</sup> The term, thus employed, denoted days or acts or services of penitence or of supplication; and when it made its way into the West it was the equivalent of 'Rogation.' This is the first point in the history of the term.

Origin of  
the term, in  
the East,

A second point was reached a little later when, during the stress of the Arian conflict, and as a counter-blow to Arian propaganda, S. Chrysostom introduced processions at Constantinople (398), accompanied by responsorial singing.<sup>2</sup> This move proved so successful and popular

<sup>1</sup> The objection was raised as to *γὰρ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν δάκρυσι ζῆν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν, φησὶ, ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου* the innovations made by him: 'Ἄλλ' *μετανοία διηνεκεῖ.* S. Basil, Ep. ccvii. (al. 63), ad Clericos Neocæsar. Γρηγορίου. He replies: 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ *Ὀρθ.* iii. 311. D. (iii. 450).  
*αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἃς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε.* <sup>2</sup> The Arians, not being allowed  
*καὶ οὐ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν λέγω· ἠέχθημι* to use the churches within the city,