

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.¹ 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.² 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.

¹ See above, p. 397.

² 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).¹ 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.² This move proved so successful and popular

¹ The objection was raised as to the innovations made by him: 'Ἄλλ' μετανοία διηνεκεῖ. S. Basil, Ep. CCVII. (al. 63), ad Clericos Neocæsar. Γρηγορίου. He replies: 'Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ αἱ λιτανεῖαι ἕς ὑμεῖς νῦν ἐπιτηδεύετε. *γὰρ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν δάκρυσι ζῆν, καὶ ὄψεσθε.* *Opp.* iii. 311. D. (iii. 450).
² The Arians, not being allowed to use the churches within the city,

The Litany.

and in the West.

that the custom was retained permanently; and processions were thenceforward used as a method of solemn supplication, joined often with fasting and special prayer in time of emergency.¹ This, too, penetrated into the West, and the best known instances have been already quoted in describing² how both at Rome and at Vienne under special emergencies solemn days of intercession were appointed and observed by a supplicatory procession, and were not merely observed for the occasion, as had hitherto been the case, but retained a permanent place in the Kalendar; in Rome the Greek name was the one in use, and the procession of S. Mark's Day was called the *Litania Maior*, in contradistinction to other lesser *Litanie* or penitential observances. In Gaul the Latin term Rogation was more commonly used, and it has survived still as the name for the most important of the *Rogationes*, viz., the three days preceding Ascension Day which Mamertus appointed.³

Nature of the service.

So far the only evidence as to the character of the service used on such occasions is that which comes from Constantinople as to responsorial singing. It is clear that such a form of singing would naturally lend itself well to use in procession, where the various petitions could be

assembled about the public squares, and after singing heretical chants through a great part of the night, at dawn of Saturday and Sunday went through the city and out of the gates to their places of worship, singing responsorially all the way. S. Chrysostom fearing that his people might be induced by these processions to join the Arians, established similar nocturnal services of singing and orthodox processions on a more splendid scale; and by the help of the Empress Eudoxia silver crosses were provided bearing wax-lights, which were carried in the

processions of the orthodox, until, after the rival processions had come to blows, the Arian processions were suppressed by the Emperor. Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 8; Sozom. *H. E.*, viii. 8.

¹ E.g. an earthquake at Constantinople (430). Niceph. Callist. *Hist.* xiv. 46. Migne *P. G.* cxlvi. 1217.

² Above, p. 333.

³ Both terms were in use in Gaul: e.g. Canon 27 of the first Council of Orleans (511); 'Rogationes id est litanias ante ascensionem Domini ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari, &c.' Bruns, ii. 163. Cp. above, p. 324.

The Litany.

simply and effectively responded to by the moving crowd: accordingly it is natural to find that in the West too at the *Litaniae* or Rogations psalms were sung, probably responsorially, and formed the main part of the service.¹

It was not, however, processional psalmody that was to be associated ultimately with the name of Litany, but a different, though kindred, liturgical form. There had grown up in the East, probably in the IVth century, a type of responsorial prayer very similar to responsorial psalmody.

Prayer in this form was already a prominent feature of the Eucharist, and it has remained so in the East. In the West, on the contrary, the use of it in the Liturgy has become very restricted; but on the other hand, it has developed greatly outside the Liturgy, and has become the independent and self-contained form of service, now known as Litany.

As regards the use in the Eucharist of this form of responsorial prayer the form in the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions is typical.² The deacon bids the prayer or names the subjects of petition, and the people answer to each 'Kyrie eleison,' 'Lord have mercy.'³ A series of petitions is said thus for each of the classes of worshippers—catechumens, energumens, &c.—as they are dismissed before the Service of the Faithful begins, together with other petitions for peace, protection, forgiveness and a happy death, appended to

¹ See the passages collected by ii. 42.

Bishop, *Kyrie eleison*, pp. 16, 17:

even as late as 572 the second Council of Braga ordered: 'in cuius (sc. quadragesimæ) initio convenientes in unum vicinæ ecclesiæ per triduum cum psalmis per sanctorum basilicas ambulantes celebrent litanias.' *Ibid.*

² *Apost. Const.* viii. 6, in *L. E. W.* p. 4. Cp. the opening part of that now in use in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom printed above, p. 269.

³ For the history of this phrase, see above, p. 393.

The Litany form of prayer in dialogue.

In the Eucharist.

Eastern Liturgies.

The Litany.

those for the catechumens. The Mass of the Faithful then begins with a continuation of the same litany in a more general and developed form.¹ This Deacon's litany, or Ektene,² appears in a similar shape but generally on a reduced scale in a similar position in most of the Eastern Liturgies, and accompanied by the same response.

Roman

In the Roman Liturgy there seems never to have been a very extended use of this responsorial form of prayer with the *Kyrie* as refrain: but it was in use there, being probably imported in the Vth century, and formed the introduction to the service. Already in S. Gregory's time³ the method of performance had altered, and 'Christe eleison' had been introduced as a response side by side with 'Kyrie eleison'; but also the process had already begun by which the long string of varying petitions fell away, till nothing was left but the responses; and ultimately these were restricted in number till the nine-fold *Kyrie* of the mediæval mass was all that survived.⁴

¹ The same use is attested by S. Chrysostom; see *L.E.W.*, pp. 471 and ff.; cp. p. 521 for S. Basil. These three witnesses of the IVth century seem to be the earliest extant.

² Ἐκτενή or Συναπτή is the Eastern term, not *litanía*.

³ Epist. IX. 12. Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII. 956. The Pope, being charged (amongst other innovations borrowed from Constantinople) with having ordered the saying of *Kyrie eleison* at Mass, replied: '*Kyrie eleison* autem nos neque diximus neque dicimus sicut a Græcis dicitur: quia in Græcis simul omnes dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur: et totidem vicibus etiam *Christe eleison* dicitur, quod apud Græcos nullo modo dicitur. In quotidianis autem

missis aliqua quæ dici solent taceamus; tantummodo *Kyrie eleison* et *Christe eleison* dicimus, ut in his deprecationis vocibus paulo diutius occupemur.'

The interpretation of the passage is in several ways doubtful: it is not clear whether S. Gregory denies having introduced the *Kyrie* at Mass, or whether he only denies that in doing so he slavishly copied the customs of Constantinople. That the *Kyrie* was in use seventy or eighty years earlier in some form in Italy and Rome is clear from the third Canon of the Council of Vaison (529).

⁴ Duchesne, *Origines*, 156. The number is still undetermined in the first Roman Ordo, § 9; cp. Ordo III. 9, and for the transition the Ordo of S. Amand, Duchesne, p. 442.

The Litany.

Gallican.

The Gallican Rite was more conservative and kept more closely to the Eastern customs, and litanies with varying petitions like the Greek Ektene are found surviving in part of the Ambrosian¹ and Mozarabic liturgies.²

So far there is no sign of this responsorial form of prayer being anything but stationary, though mention has been made of processions connected with the observance of *Litaniæ* and with responsorial psalmody. But the next step is a very obvious one. The word Litany was in use in the West for two kindred things, a penitential procession, and a form of responsorial prayer of which the refrain was *Kyrie eleison*:³ nothing was more natural than that they should coalesce, *i.e.* that the Litany, as a peculiar type of prayer, should become identified with the Litany as a penitential procession. And thus was reached the compound mediæval use of the term 'Litany,' as meaning a form of prayer in dialogue, either stationary or processional, and for either regular or occasional use.

The Litany-form and the Litany days coalesce.

Both the stationary and processional uses were exemplified in the early Liturgy: the *Kyrie*, as has been already shown, is the remains of the former: but further it is to be noted that on the days when a solemn procession preceded the stationary Mass at Rome, the Litany was sung as the Pope came near to the Church where the Mass was to be said: this use of a Litany in procession before Mass spread elsewhere, and continued in a shrunken form down to the Reformation in the shape of

Survival at Mass.

¹ The Ambrosian Liturgy has *Kyrie eleison* regularly in three places, after the *Gloria in Excelsis*, after the Gospel, *i.e.* at the end of the Catechumen's Mass and at the end of all. Ceriani, *Notitia*, 43, 44.

² *Dict. Antiq.* i. 1001.

³ S. Benet (c. 530) uses *litanía* for the *Kyrie eleison* (*Regula*,

Supplicatio litaníæ id est Kyrie eleison; cp. xii. xiii. xvii.) in prescribing its use at the close of the Hours: cp. the lesser Litany above explained, pp. 386, 393, 394. Elsewhere, *e.g.* in S. Gregory or in the *Liber pontificalis*, it means simply a procession. The Ordines use it for the *Kyrie* at Mass.

The Litany.

the Procession about the Church introductory to High Mass on Sundays and Festivals. These two uses of the Litany were too much alike to exist side by side simultaneously. In early days the *Kyrie* was dropped and the processional Litany retained;¹ but later the *Kyrie* became a fixed feature of the Liturgy and the procession preceding it was altered so as to be unlike the *Kyrie*.

Occasional use of the Litany.

Besides this regular use of the Litany in connexion with the Liturgy it is to be observed that in other special services, both Roman and Gallican, the Litany-form won and kept a place, as for example in the Ordination service and kindred services, the Consecration of the Font on Easter Even, or the Dedication of a Church.

Besides these uses there was also the occasional use on such days as those already described; in Lent, and at times of special emergency: and such were of continual recurrence, so that a Rogation or Processional Litany became the normal form of supplication for special needs.

Transformation.

As regards the form of the Litany, it is clear that the Roman type went through much transformation. When the varying petitions were dropped, only the *Kyrie eleison* remained; and there is an instance of the use of nothing else but the repetition a hundred times of the three formulas *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison* for a processional Litany.² But in other cases the varying petitions were not dropped, only new forms of re-

¹ See the provisions in the Ordines Romani: for the ordinary procession, superseding the *Kyrie*, see Ordo i. §§ 24, 25; and for the similar omission of the *Kyrie* on Sundays, when there was an ordination, because of the stationary litany that was to follow in the ordination service, see Ordo viii. § 3, and ix. § 2.

In the latter Ordo at § 1 the processional litany is said only in the Church as the Pope advances to the altar: but even so it still supersedes the *Kyrie*.

² Mabillon, Comm. in Ordinem Romanum, *Mus. Ital.* ii. xxxiv. Migne *P.L.* lxxviii. 868. Cp. Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* x. i.

The Litany.

sponse to them came into use: to one class, *Ora pro nobis*, Pray for us; to another, *Libera nos domine*, Good Lord deliver us; to another, *Te rogamus audi nos*, We beseech Thee to hear us. Petitions of the first of these classes multiplied especially rapidly, until the Litany threatened to become little else but an invocation of saints.

In other cases the Litany form was dropped altogether, and there were occasions when the service during the Procession, as early even as the time of S. Gregory, consisted of chanting a number of anthems.¹ And it was thus, as Beda relates,² that S. Augustine and his company of missionaries entered Canterbury, chanting what was called a Litany, but which was really nothing else but one of these processional anthems.

The Roman form of the Litany came early to England and can be traced from early times. The following form, belonging to the eleventh century, is an example of the use of the Anglo-Saxon Church:³—

Litany of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Christe audi nos.
Pater de cœlis Deus, Miserere nobis.
Fili Redemptor mundi Deus, Miserere nobis.
Spiritus Sancte Deus, Miserere nobis.
Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, Miserere nobis.⁴

[Then follow a long series of invocations, beginning "Sancta Maria ora," and ending "Omnes sancti, orate pro nobis."]

¹ These are given to the number of forty-seven for the 'Litaniam Maior,' March 25, in the Gregorian *Liber Antiphonarius*: *P.L.* lxxviii, 682-6.

² Bed. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25. 'Fertur autem quia adpropinquantes civitati, more suo, cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, hanc letaniam consona voce modularentur. *Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quam peccavimus. Alleluia.*'

³ From a Canterbury Psalter with interlinear English translation, Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Ff. i. 23.

⁴ The four preceding clauses are not in the earliest forms of the Litany: see *Egbert Pontifical*, pp. 27, 32. Nor yet in the Litany of Easter Even. *Proc. Sarum*, 83-86.

The Litany.

Propitius esto,
 Ab omni malo,
 Ab insidiis diaboli,
 A peste superbiae,
 A carnalibus desideriiis,
 Ab omnibus immunditiis mentis et corporis,
 A persecutione paganorum et omnium inimicorum nostrorum,
 A ventura ira,
 A subita et æterna morte,
 Per mysterium sanctæ Incarnationis Tuæ,
 Per crucem et passionem Tuam,
 Per sanctam resurrectionem Tuam,
 Per admirabilem ascensionem Tuam,
 Per gratiam Sancti Spiritus Paracliti,
 A pœnis inferni,
 In die iudicii,
 Peccatores,
 Ut pacem et concordiam nobis dones,
 Ut sanctam Ecclesiam Tuam regere et defensare digneris,
 Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesiæ in sancta religione conservare digneris,
 Ut archiepiscopum nostrum et omnem congregationem illi commissam in sancta religione conservare digneris,
 Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo visitare et consolari digneris,
 Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris æterna bona tribuas,
 Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum nobis donares,
 Ut animas nostras et animas parentum nostrorum ab æterna damnatione eripias,
 Ut nobis miseris misericors misereri digneris,
 Ut inimicis nostris pacem caritatemque largiri digneris,
 Ut fructus terræ dare et conservare digneris,
 Ut fratribus nostris et omnibus fidelibus infirmis sanitatem mentis et corporis donare digneris,
 Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam donare digneris,

*Parce nobis Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Libera nos Domine.**Te rogamus, audi nos.*

The Litany.

Ut nos exaudire digneris,
 Fili Dei,
 Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
 Christe, audi nos.
 Kyrie eleison.
 Christe eleison.
 Kyrie eleison.

*Te rogamus, audi nos.**Te rogamus, audi nos.**Parce nobis Domine.**Miserere nobis.*

Some similar form was in universal use in England up to the Reformation. It formed an integral part of certain services, for example the Blessing of the Font on Easter Eve or the Ordination of Deacons and Priests: it was also said kneeling daily throughout Lent after Terce was ended. Further, the Litany was also used as an independent processional service, not only on the Rogation Days and the *Litania Maior* (S. Mark's Day) but also on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent and on special occasions when there was a call to public prayer. The old features thus survived: the Litany was sometimes processional and sometimes not, and its use was in part regular and in part occasional.¹

It was a special occasion calling for public prayer, which first produced an authoritative English translation:² but in preparing the Litany for the Processions in 1544 Cranmer was not content to produce a hasty or ill-considered piece of work. It is clear that he had before him not merely the current Latin Litany as used through Lent or on the Rogation Days with the different form prescribed for the dying, but also the form of

¹ For a procession consisting of the Litany sung by the monks of Canterbury standing in the body of the church, while my Lord Cardinal knelt at the choir door, see Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Morley), p. 69.

² See above, pp. 31-33, for the history. There were English versions of the Litany in the fourteenth century; see Maskell, II. 217 [III. 227]; and the early English Prymer, *ib.* p. 95 [III. 99]. Littlehales, *Prymer*, and the forms in Marshall's and Hilsey's Primer, in Burton's *Three Primers*, and above, p. 43.

Medieval Use.

The English Litany.

The Litany.
The Invocations.

Litany put out by Luther in 1529,¹ which had already been utilised in Marshall's Primer. There are also signs that he turned to Eastern sources and used the Deacon's Litany in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.² Thus he did not merely translate the old Latin form but enriched it from foreign sources.³

The old Western Litanies generally commenced with the form *Kyrie eleison*, each part of it being once or thrice repeated.⁴ This was omitted in preparing the Litany of 1544, and thus an important point of connexion with the early history of Litany-prayers was lost.⁵ At the same time the words *miserable sinners* were added in the invocations of the Trinity, and also the words, *proceeding from the Father and the Son* were inserted as a descriptive clause in the third invocation, to balance those in the first two invocations. These changes, and the mode of repeating the clauses whole, instead of saying each as an invocation and response, are special features of the English Litany.⁶

Next in the old Litanies came the invocation of Saints, beginning with S. Mary, and ending, after a great number of clauses, with *Omnes sancti: Orate pro nobis*. In Luther's Litany these were entirely omitted. Cranmer was at first not quite so drastic, but the number of invocations was greatly curtailed and only

¹ Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement*, 234 and ff.

² Dowden, *Workmanship*, 147 and ff.

³ The form of Litany in Hermann's *Consultation* (1543) is derived from the form of Luther, but it is hardly likely that Cranmer was influenced by the *Consultation* so early as 1544.

⁴ In some cases these Kyries were repeated also in the body of the Litany between different sections (see *Egbert Pont.*, p. 33), as well as

said at the beginning and end.

⁵ Cranmer also greatly simplified the music, and it is in this form that the Litany is best known now. For the older form of the music see the adaptation published by the Plain-song Society (Vincent and Co., 1900); this also makes plain the structure of the service, which the usual adaptation obscures.

⁶ For a discussion of the opening invocations see Dowden, *Workmanship*, pp. 152 and ff.

The Litany.

three such clauses were retained. They stood as follows:—

Saint Mary, mother of God, our Saviour Jesu Christ, pray for us.

All holy angels and archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for us.

All holy patriarchs, and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, pray for us.

Each clause was repeated by the choir, in the same way as the preceding invocations of the Trinity. In the revision of this Litany for the King's Primer (1545) these three clauses still appeared, but only the words *pray for us* were given to the choir. The clauses were entirely omitted in the Litany of Edward VI.

The long petition which comes between the Invocations and the Deprecations which follow them, was newly inserted in 1544, in the place of the old and short clause, *Propitius esto*: while the response *Parce nobis Domine* was retained. It is a translation of the greater part of the anthem assigned to the Penitential Psalms, which stood in the Breviary immediately before the Litany.¹

Then follow, in all the Litanies, the Deprecations, varying both in phrase and number, but preserving a general uniformity of subject; in the Latin form they were given commonly in single clauses, each of which was followed by *Libera nos Domine*. Cranmer not only selected his Deprecations from his various sources and added to them, but with more doubtful wisdom he combined a number of petitions together under

¹ 'Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum, irascaris nobis: et ne des hereditatem tuam in perditionem, ne in nostris. *Non dicitur ulterius quando aeternum obliviscaris nobis.*' *Brev. dicitur in choro.* Parce, Domine, Sar. ii. 249. See Tobit iii. 3, and parce populo tuo quem redemisti Joel ii. 17. Cp. its use below, p. 623.

The Deprecations.

The Litany.

one response: this change made a gain in brevity and rapidity, but sacrificed the simplicity and directness of the old Litany-form. Two points call for special notice.¹ In 1544 the last of the series contained the clause, 'from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities,' after 'privy conspiracy:' this held its ground through the reign of Edward, but disappeared in Queen Mary's Litany. Secondly, it is to be observed with regard to the same deprecation that the words 'rebellion' and 'schism' were inserted at the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1661.

The Obsecrations.

The next portion, comprising the Obsecrations as a plea for mercy by or through the redemptive work of Christ, is formed from the same sources by a similar process of compression.

The next clause, 'In all time of our tribulation, &c.,' stands alone: it was formed by combining four separate clauses of Luther's Litany of which the first two were novel.

The Intercessions.

The form of the Intercessions which now follow is common to all the Litanies, but the subjects vary considerably, and the signs of the influence of the Lutheran Litany become far more prominent in the English service. After the suffrage for the Church, those for the ecclesiastical orders usually came first, and were followed by those for the prince and for Christian people.² Yet the intercessions for rulers of the Church and of the State were occasionally transposed, and in 1544 the series of petitions for the King was set next after that for the Church: and this order remains.

¹ For a tracing of the petitions in which see Jacobs. detail see Blunt, *Annotated B. C. P.*, who gives the Latin sources fully, but not the Litany of Luther: for

² The Sarum Processional and Antiphonal differ here from the Brebut vary.

The Litany.

The clergy were described by Cranmer, following Luther, under the names of 'bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church;' this was altered at the last revision to 'bishops, priests, and deacons,'—an expression more distinctly opposed to Presbyterian notions of the Christian ministry.

The Prayer for the peace of all nations is characteristic of our Litany and of the circumstances which gave rise to it. The Sarum Litany prays, 'to give peace and concord to all kings and princes,' and the phraseology seems to have been adopted by Cranmer though modified. The ancient Anglo-Saxon Litany is remarkable in this respect, that it contains a suffrage 'for our enemies.'

The remaining suffrages are almost entirely drawn from Luther's Litany, but the phrase 'in danger, necessity and tribulation' seems to come from the Liturgy of Constantinople, and possibly the succeeding petition as well: and the petition for the fruits of the earth is alike both in Luther and in the Sarum Litany.

The last suffrage has nothing corresponding to it in any other Litany:¹ it is a beautiful summary, expressing what we ought to feel at the conclusion of such petitions as have preceded: it is intended to supply any omission of a request, or of a confession, which ought to have been made: a prayer for repentance, forgiveness, and the grace of amendment of life.²

The Invocations which follow are according to the

¹ One expression has been traced 'That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest,' edition of the *Horæ B. V. M.* (Paris, 1530): 'Sanguis tuus, Domine Jesu Christe, pro nobis effusus sit mihi in remissionem omnium peccatorum, negligentiarum et ignorantiarum mearum.' Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 587 [cp. p. 232, ed. 1884].

² A Suffrage has been inserted in the American Litany from Luther:—

The Litany.

old form.¹ The Litany proper then ends with the triple *Kyrie eleison* and the Lord's Prayer: the former primitive feature of the Litany survives only here in the English form. In the old form a number of suffrages were appended, introducing a Collect; but Cranmer here deserts Sarum in favour of Luther's Litany, where the present versicle, response, and prayer, 'O God, merciful Father, &c.,' occur in this position without preliminary suffrages, but with additional prayers added after the Collect. Cranmer took these three² and left the rest, thus reducing this section to very small dimensions.

Versicles and Prayer.

The intercession in time of war.

Anthem.

The following words, 'O Lord arise,' begin a new section, but owing to the accidental omission of *Amen* at the end of the preceding Collect³ the fact is obscured. This new section is one which was a special intercession in time of war. It opens with the processional anthem and psalm verse with which it was customary to begin the Procession,⁴ and then passes at once to the special versicles.

Litany to the beginning of the Collect: thus destroying the only remains left of the *Kyrie* and throwing the whole structure into confusion. The Litany may be used at Evening Prayer, after the Collect *For Aid against Perils*.

¹ 'Dona nobis pacem' was not in the public Sarum litanies, but was in other English forms. (e.g. *Egbert*, 30) and in the Visitation of the sick.

² The prayer was in Sarum Use the Collect in the Mass *pro tribulatione cordis*:—'Deus qui contritorum non despicias gemitum, et mœrentium non spernis affectum; adesto precibus nostris, quas pietati tuæ pro tribulatione nostra offerimus: implorantes ut nos clementer respicias, et solito pietatis tuæ intuitu tribuas ut quicquid contra nos diabolicæ fraudes atque humanæ moliuntur adversitates

ad nihilum redigas, et consilio misericordiæ tuæ allidas; quatenus nullis adversitatibus læsi, sed ab omni tribulatione et angustia liberati, gratias tibi in ecclesia tua referamus consolati. Per.' *Miss. Sar.* col. 797*.

³ The Amen was in the early Elizabethan Litanies, but was not filled in with the rest in 1661.

⁴ 'Ordo processionis in secunda feria in rogationibus. *Hæc antiphona dicitur a toto choro in stallis antequam exeat processio, cantore incipiente antiphonam.* An. Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos, et libera nos propter nomen tuum. Alleluia. Ps. Deus, auribus nostris audivimus: patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis. *Non dicatur nisi primus versus, sed statim sequatur Gloria Patri. Deinde repetatur Exsurge Domine.*' *Processionale Sarum*, p. 105, ed. Henderson, 1882.

The Litany.

Two changes were made in the process of adaptation of the anthem. First in translating the verse of the Psalm, Cranmer completed the sense by adding the remainder of the sentence, which in the Latin forms the second verse; the whole passage is Ps. xlv. 1 in our translation. Also the order was changed, and the anthem with a slight variation in translation was made to precede instead of following the *Gloria patri*. It is difficult to explain the latter change, as it makes no improvement in the sense, while it entirely destroys the form.¹

The Versicles were taken from the occasional portion added to the Litany in time of war:² unlike the suffrages above, they were sung by the choir not the officiant, but they led up to a final sacerdotal versicle and Collect, said by him. The distinction is still retained here; from 1549 to 1661 this couplet was marked 'The Versicle,' and 'The Answer,' but it is now in each case marked as 'Priest' and 'Answer.' This particular versicle is unprecedented in this position,³ but the Collect (with a different sacerdotal versicle) was appointed to be said at the close of the Litany on the last of the Rogation

Versicles,

and collect.

¹ The change which made the *Gloria* a versicle and response was not made till 1661, and was a well-intentioned suggestion of Wren. *Fragm.* III. 62.

² 'Si necesse fuerit, versus sequentes dicuntur a predictis clericis in tempore belli.

Ab inimicis nostris defende nos, Christe.

Afflictionem nostram benignus vide.

Dolorem cordis nostri respice clemens.

Peccata populi tui pius indulge.

Orationes nostras pius exaudi.

Fili Dei vivi, miserere nobis.

Hic et in perpetuum nos custodire digneris, Christe.

Exaudi nos Christe, exaudi, exaudi, nos, Christe.'

Proc. Sarum, 'Letania in rogationibus,' p. 120.

The phrase 'Fili Dei vivi' is, probably by mistake, rendered 'O Son of David; cp. Luke xviii. 38: but this was a not uncommon expression in mediæval devotion; see examples in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, 'Additional note on the Litany,' p. 586 [p. 234, note, ed. 1884].

³ It was one of the Suffrages of Prime and Compline.

The Litany.

Days.¹ It was freely adapted for the present position, and the intercession of the saints was no longer mentioned in it.

Additions.

The closing section of the Litany of 1544 consisted of an appendix of Collects, just as the old Litanies of the English Church ended, for the most part, with a group of seven Collects.² Three of these were retained here by Cranmer, viz. the first, second and fifth, and two additions were made: the first of these ran thus:

Grant, we beseech thee, O Almighty God, that we in our trouble put our whole confidence upon thy mercy, that we may against all adversity be defended under thy protection. Grant this, &c.

The second addition was the Prayer of S. Chrysostom, which no doubt Cranmer noticed when he turned to the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom for help in the preparation of the Litany:³ and with this the Litany of 1544 ended.

Textual changes:

A close study of the text of the various subsequent editions of the English Litany reveals many inconsistencies and small changes which are merely bewildering because they do not show any relationship between the successive issues. All that can be said is that none of these editions was copied exactly from any other. The Litany in the Primer of 1545 differs in small points from

¹ *Proc. Sarum*, p. 121. 'Infirmi-
tatem nostram quæsumus, Domine,
propitius respice: et mala omnia
quæ juste meremur omnium sanctorum
tuorum intercessione averte. Per.'

² 1. 'Deus cui proprium est misereri
semper et parcere, suscipe deprecationem
nostram; et quos delictorum
catena constringit, miseratio tuæ
pietatis absolvat. Per.' O God,
whose nature and property, &c.

2. 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,
qui facis mirabilia,' &c. (*The Prayer
for the Clergy and People*), p. 400.

3. 'Deus qui caritatis dona,' &c.
4. 'Deus a quo sancta desideria,'
&c. *The Second Collect at Evening
Prayer*. See above p. 403.

5. 'Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam
nobis quæsumus, Domine, clementer
ostende; ut simul nos et a peccatis
omnibus exuas, et a poenis quas pro
his meremur benignus eripias.'

6. 'Fidelium Deus omnium condi-
tor et redemptor,' &c.

7. 'Pietate tua quæsumus, Do-
mine, nostrorum solve vincula,' &c.

³ See above, pp. 400, 401.

The Litany.

that of 1544:¹ some points of resemblance to these Henrician editions appear in the first Edwardine Ordinal which are not in the First Prayer Book.² The First and Second Prayer Books each brought innovations: those due to the latter were mainly reproduced in the Primer of 1553.³ The Marian Litany, in some respects innovated, and in others reverted to the Henrician forms.⁴ The three early forms of Elizabethan Litany were similarly eclectic⁵: so that no solid ground is reached till the Elizabethan Prayer Book.

But among all these minutiae several more important changes stand out clear. First, the clause against 'the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable ('abominable' in 1545) enormities,' which was introduced in the Henrician Litany of 1544, was excised in the Marian Litany, and after reappearing in one of the tentative Elizabethan editions, disappeared finally at the Elizabethan Prayer Book. Secondly, the three invocations of Saints, also characteristic of the Henrician Litanies, though retained down to 1548,⁶ disappeared in 1549.

Thirdly, while the appendix of Collects varied so much

¹ *E.g.* the form of the three invocations following the invocation of the Trinity vary.

² *E.g.* 'From fornication and all deadly sin.' So also the Marian Litany, 'Pitifully behold the colour of our heart.' So also the Elizabethan Litany of 1558.

³ In the First Prayer Book the petition for the fruits of the earth first took its present shape, and, except for the change of 'as' to 'that' in the tentative Elizabethan Litanies, it has retained it ever since. Again, at the same time the Collect 'We humbly beseech Thee, O Father,' was enlarged into its present form.

The Second Book, besides other small changes, altered 'Thy Holy Church universal' into 'Thy Holy Church universally.'

⁴ It had also peculiarities of its own, *e.g.*, 'From battayle and from sudden death,' 'Let us not to be ledde into temptation.'

⁵ They agreed, however, in being the only copies in which the 'Amen' is appended to the first Collect. The Litany of 1559 reverted to the Henrician form of the *Gloria patri*, but anticipated the Prayer Book, *e.g.*, by enlarging the suffrage for the Queen, see p. 102.

⁶ See *The Psalter . . . the Litanies*, &c., printed by Roger Car for Anthoni Smyth, 1548. (Brit. Mus., C. 35, b, 2.)

three of importance.

The Litany.

in successive editions, both in its own contents and in its relation to other parts of the Book, that it is not worth while to attempt to describe the variations, it is worth while to notice that the new Collect added in 1544 was used in 1549 to enlarge the Collect, 'We humbly beseech Thee, O Father, &c.,' and so ceased to have a separate existence.¹ The prayer of S. Chrysostom is the only one of the collection which has uniformly retained its place: of the rest some have disappeared, some have been placed elsewhere. 'The Grace' was first appended to it as the closing Benediction in 1559.²

The use of the Litany:

occasional.

regular before High Mass.

The English Litany was put out originally as a separate service; both in 1544 and 1545³ it was used as a procession on the accustomed days, *i.e.*, Wednesdays and Fridays, similarly to the Lenten use of the Litany; it was first brought into permanent relation with other services when the Edwardine Injunctions⁴ ordered that it should be sung immediately before High Mass by the priests with other of the quire kneeling in the midst of the church, and should supersede for the time all other processions or Litanies in church or churchyard.

This was in itself a considerable change, for the Litany had long ceased to be a normal preliminary of Mass, and was so only upon the Rogation days,⁵ or such special occasions as the Processions in time of war, when a Votive Mass naturally followed. Moreover, the new Injunction abolished the ordinary Sunday Procession before High Mass, which was a popular form of service,

¹ Except in the Elizabethan Litany of 1558 where it occurs in both capacities; *Lit. Services of Q. Eliz.*, pp. 7, 8.

² For the relation of this Appendix to the 'Five Prayers' see above, pp. 397 and ff.

³ Cranmer *Remains*, pp. 494, 495.

⁴ *Doc. Anv.* II. § 23. See above p. 36.

⁵ It has been suggested that the custom may have survived in England though not prescribed in the service books, but no evidence has been cited to support the suggestion.

The Litany.

including in some places prayers in English, especially the solemn Bidding prayer.¹ It was now intended, (perhaps not without some reminiscence on Cranmer's part of primitive and Eastern custom) to prefix to Mass a more complete form of vernacular intercession. The Litany was ready to hand and had been proved successful in this position by constant use on Wednesdays and Fridays at intervals during the preceding three years.² The only inconvenience that had been found was that some disorder attended its recital in procession,³ and therefore in this respect a change was made, and the Litany was to be sung kneeling.⁴

When the First Prayer Book was issued it did not originally include the Litany, but only a rubric that upon Wednesdays and Fridays it should be sung according to the Injunction and should be followed by at least the Ante-communion Service.⁵ This implies that the people were still to use it as 'a Procession on their knees.' The earliest editions had the Litany appended as a supplement, while in later editions it was regularly incorporated in the book and stood next after the Communion. It was clearly not intended that the Litany should wholly sweep away

In the First Prayer Book.

¹ See above, p. 255.

² Besides the use ordered by the Mandates of June 1544, and August, 1545, other instances occurred, probably before the end of the reign (*Greyfriars Chron.* 49, 50), and certainly after the issue of the Injunctions, *e.g.*, after the Battle of Pinkie; see *Wriothesley Chron.* i. 136. They 'kept a solemn Procession on their knees in English.'

³ The Injunction spoke of 'contention and strife which hath risen . . . by reason of fond courtesy and challenging of places in procession.'

⁴ This Injunction was evidently not meant to be of permanent and

universal authority: since even in the early years of Elizabeth the English Litany was commonly sung in Procession at S. George's, Windsor, on S. George's Day, by the knights of the Garter and priests and clerks in copes and some of them in almuces. *Machyn's Diary*, 232, 257, 258, 280, 306, and in 1661 a direction to kneel was at one period of the revision inserted into the opening rubric, but was afterwards struck out.

⁵ This provision links on not only to the old use of the Litany on these days in Lent, but still more naturally to the old 'Stations' of the Early Church, see p. 331.

The Litany.

the old Processions, for a rubric at the end of the book provided thus: *Also upon Christmas Day, Easter Day, the Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and the feast of the Trinity may be used, any part of the Holy Scripture hereafter to be certainly limited and appointed in the stead of the Litany.* This shows that Cranmer had not yet given up his hopes of a Processional in English.¹ But in fact the work was never accomplished. In the Second Book the Litany was moved to its present place, and it remains as a solitary and stationary 'Procession' preparatory to the Eucharist. The rubric of 1552 merely ordered it for *Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays and at other times when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.* The 18th Elizabethan Injunction repeated the Edwardine Injunction with slight verbal changes, again expressly connecting the Litany with 'the time of communion of the sacrament,' while the 48th ordered the saying of the Litany and prayers in Church on Wednesdays and Fridays with no mention of the Ante-communion service.

The Second

The connexion with the Liturgy obscured

In time the connexion with the Liturgy was lost sight of: this was mainly the result of the massing together of three services into one, as when Grindal, archbishop of York, in his visitation (1571), directed 'the minister not to pause or stay between the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, but to continue and say the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, or the Service appointed to be said when there was no Communion, together, without any intermission: to the intent the people might continue together in prayer, and hearing the Word of God; and not depart out of the church during all the time of the whole Divine Service.'²

¹ See above, p. 34.² *Doc. Ann.* LXXVI.

The Litany.

and almost forgotten.

The revisers of 1661 went a step further by ordering the Litany to be sung *after Morning Prayer*:¹ this made little difference² so long as the services were still massed together; but the recent custom of subdividing the services has seriously broken the connexion, and now in many places the Sunday Eucharist is deprived of its proper introductory Procession.³

The only occasional use of the Litany prescribed in the Prayer book is that in the Ordinal, where it has been a feature of the service from very early times. Uniformity has brought it about that the Litany there shall have the same appendix of prayers for a time of war as is included in the regular Litany. It may be doubted how far this feature is a desirable part of the regular normal course, and whether the Litany would not be better suited for general use without it: but certainly it is an especially inappropriate appendix to the service on the special occasion of an ordination.⁴

The use in the Ordinal.

The one form of Litany is really used in three different ways, (1) as the Procession before the Eucharist on Sundays, (2) as a votive service on the old Station days of Wednesday and Friday,⁵ and (3) as a special act of pleading in Ordinations: and it is all the more necessary to keep the distinction of use clearly in

¹ This was done at Cosin's suggestion (*Works*, v. 509) to prevent a 'contentious man' from taking advantage of the absence of direction to say it in the morning.² The connexion of the Litany with the Eucharist was not forgotten, e.g., in Elborow's *Exposition of the B.C.P.* (1663) the Elizabethan Injunction is expressly quoted on this point, p. 53.³ The revolutionary and disastrous Shortened Services Act of 1872 actually sanctioned the use of the Litany

in the afternoon or evening. It is subversive of all liturgical order that Mattins should follow instead of preceding the Eucharist, but the divorce of this use of the Litany from the Eucharist is both practically and theoretically more unjustifiable still.

⁴ It is true that such a use is not without precedent, for the appendix forms part of the Second Litany in the Consecration of a Church in the *Egbert Pontifical*, (Surtees Soc., vol. 27, p. 33).⁵ Elborow, *l.c.* p. 69.

Occasional Prayers.

Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions.

mind, because there is only the one form available for the three different purposes.¹

The Occasional Prayers are entirely English compositions; they were collected in this place for the first time in 1661, but some of them had already appeared elsewhere in previous editions. The prayers for Rain and Fair Weather were appended to the Communion Service of 1549. The Prayers *In the time of Dearth and Famine* were added in 1552; the second form was left out in 1559, and only restored, with alterations, in 1661. The Prayer *In the time of War and Tumults* belongs to 1552, and also that *In the time of any common Plague or Sickness*. It is probable that all these forms had their origin in the necessities of the time.² The Prayers *to be said every day in the Ember weeks* were added at the last revision. They are peculiar to the English ritual.³ The Prayer *that may be said after any of the former* is as old as the Gregorian Sacramentary,⁴ and in an English form has had a place in the Primer as long as that book can be traced, standing with the Collects at the end of the Litany.⁵ It was, however, omitted during the reign of Edward VI.,

¹ See Lacey, *Liturgical Use of the Litany* for this subject.

² We find an account of the Sweating Sickness, and a Dearth, in 1551: Strype, *Mem. Eccl. Ed. VI.* bk. II. ch. iv. Also there was a general European war, besides the more pressing troubles in Ireland: *ib.* ch. iii.

³ Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* I. p. 305. The first of these Prayers is in Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions* (1627); the second in the Scottish Prayer Book (1637).

⁴ In the American Book this Prayer is added to the Prayers from the Commination Service in *A peni-*

tential Office, to be read on the First Day of Lent, and at other times, at the discretion of the Minister.

⁵ Maskell, II. p. 107 [III. p. 110]. Being a short Collect, it is given here as an example of mediæval English:—'Preie we. *Orisoun. Deus cui proprium.* God, to whom it is propre to be merciful and to spare euermore, undirfonge ouré preieris: and the mercifulness of thi pitie assoile hem that the chayne of trespas bindith. Bi criste our lord. So be it.' See the original Latin above, p. 420. It is a Prayer for Mercy and Pardon in the American Prayer Book.

Occasional Prayers.

but restored in the Litanies at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1558 and 1559).

The Prayer for the High Court of Parliament was composed most probably by Laud, when Bishop of S. David's. It first appeared in an 'Order of Fasting,' in 1625, and again in 1628 in a special form of prayer 'necessary to be used in these dangerous times of war.' In these early forms it is almost verbally like the present prayer, only somewhat longer; it also contains the words 'most religious and gracious king,'¹ which have been commonly supposed to have been introduced as a compliment to Charles II. In 1661 the Prayer was inserted in a special form for a Fast-day on the 12th of June, and again in the following January; and at the same time it was placed by the Convocation in the Book of Common Prayer.²

The Prayer for all Conditions of Men was probably composed by Dr. Peter Gunning, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely.³ In its original shape it is supposed to have been longer and was designed as a substitute for the Litany, no doubt to meet the objections of the Puritans.⁴ The Convocation, however, retained the Litany, reduced this prayer to its present proportions and adopted it as an alternative to the Litany, without, however, altering the word *finally*, which seems to be needlessly introduced in so short a form. Before this, no general intercessory prayer occurred in the

¹ Sovereigns are mentioned as pp. 301, 302. The word *Dominion* εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ πιστότατοι in the was substituted for *Kingdoms* by an Anaphora of St. Basil's Liturgy: Order of Council of January 1, 1801. *L. E. W.* 333.

² Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 233, note; Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.*

³ Bisse, *Beauty of Holiness* (5th edition, 1717), p. 97.

⁴ See above, p. 173.

Occasional
Prayers.Thanks-
givings.

service, except on those mornings when the Litany was said.

Praise is an essential part of divine worship. Hence we retain, throughout the services, Doxologies, Psalms, and Canticles. But these do not include that particular thanksgiving for extraordinary deliverances, or indeed for daily mercies, which is due to the author and giver of all good things. Hence some particular thanksgivings¹ were annexed to the Litany, at the revision of the Prayer Book after the Hampton Court Conference, by order of James I., under the title of '*An enlargement of thanksgiving for diverse benefits, by way of explanation.*'² These were thanksgivings for *Rain, for Fair Weather, for Plenty, for Peace and Victory, and for Deliverance from the Plague* in two forms.³ At the last revision, after the restoration of the Monarchy, another special form of thanksgiving was added for *Restoring Publick Peace at Home.*⁴ Its language must have been felt to be strikingly appropriate, when read with the restored Common Prayer, after such a mournful period of civil discord. At the same time the Convocation accepted a form of *General Thanksgiving*, composed by Bishop Reynolds,⁵ an addition which rendered the book more perfect by making the Thanksgivings correspond with the Prayers.⁶

¹ 'The English ritual, I believe, is the only one which contains special thanksgivings for the mercies of God, others having confined themselves to general expressions of gratitude on all such occasions. It has therefore, in the present case, improved on the ancient customs of the Christian Church, instead of being in any way inconsistent with them.'—Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* i. p. 307. See Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* v. 43.

² See above, p. 142.

³ Cardwell, *Conf.* pp. 222, 223.

⁴ Based upon Wren's suggestion, *Fragm. Ill.* p. 64.

⁵ Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 658.

⁶ In the American Prayer Book the *Prayer for all Conditions of Men*, and the *General Thanksgiving* are inserted in their place in the Morning and Evening Prayer; and the *General Thanksgiving* is also inserted at the end of the Litany. The

Occasional
Prayers.

Prayer for Parliament becomes, with slight alteration, *A Prayer for Congress*; *A Prayer to be used at the Meetings of Convention* is taken in great part from a paragraph in the Homily for Whit-Sunday, changes of phrase being provided, adapting it for use in churches during the session of any General or Diocesan Convention. The Prayers, *For Rain, For Fair Weather, In Time of Dearth and Famine, and In Time of War and Tumults*, are taken with some changes of phrase, and omission of the references to the Old Testament; and the two forms *For those who are to be admitted into Holy Orders, to be used in the Weeks preceding the stated Times of Ordination*, are taken from the English Book, with only two minute improvements in the first Form, 'who' (for 'which'), and 'show forth' (for 'set forth') thy glory, as 'set forward' immediately follows. The *Prayer in Time of great Sickness and Mortality*, was composed and placed in the Book of 1789; and additional Forms are provided *For the Unity of God's People, For Missions, For Fruitful Seasons* (in two Forms), *to be used on Rogation Sunday and the Rogation-days*. Also, *For a Sick Person, For a Sick Child, For a Person or Persons going to Sea, For a Person under Affliction, For Malefactors after Condemnation* (all dating from 1789). Additional Thanksgivings (to be used after the General Thanksgiving) are, *For a Recovery from Sickness, For a Child's Recovery from Sickness* (1892), and *For a Safe Return from Sea*. The Thanksgiving from the Churching Office is also placed among the Occasional Thanksgivings.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, OR HOLY COMMUNION.

SECT. I.—*Primitive Liturgies.*

THE traces of the form of worship used by the Christian converts, which we find in the New Testament, refer to the Eucharist, as being emphatically the Christian Service. Attendance at the 'breaking of the bread' was from the first a principal feature of the Christian Church,¹ and the due performance of the service forms one of the main topics of one of S. Paul's Epistles.² It clearly was designed to be a close reproduction of our Lord's action in instituting the Eucharist at the last Passover, and this has in fact determined the whole course and method of Eucharistic worship from the very first. It led in very early days to the combining of the Eucharist with the Christian meal of the *Agape*—a combination which

¹ See the description of the earliest converts, Acts ii. 42, ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς, and compare 46, and xx. 7.

² See I Cor. xi. 17 and ff. Compare also I Cor. x. 16 and ff. referring to the consecration of the bread and wine and the meaning of reception; I Cor. xiv. 16, to the use of the word *Amen* by the people after the Eucharistical prayer offered by the minister; I Cor. xvi. 2, to the weekly almsgiving.

was natural enough, until it led, as it clearly did at Corinth, to a false conception of the meaning and scope of the Eucharist: and then S. Paul's intervention, and the teaching which he gave in his epistle on the subject, mark the first step in a process of change: the Eucharist was separated from the *Agape*, and placed in the position, in which it is found at the opening of the IInd century, when evidence on the point is next forthcoming, viz., as an early morning service. It is significant that the Church at once interpreted literally the command 'Do this in remembrance of me' as an instruction to continue the Eucharist as a perpetual service, in quite a different sense from that which it gave to the apparently similar command to 'wash one another's feet'; just as it gave a quite different interpretation to the statement, 'This is my body' from that which it gave to such parallel statements as 'I am the vine,' or, 'I am the resurrection.' Thus from the first the Eucharist stood out in a unique position as the distinctive Christian service, and attendance at it as a primary Christian duty.

Hence naturally arose the ecclesiastical use of the word *Liturgy*,¹ to designate the form employed by the Church in performing that duty. Other titles bring out other aspects of the same service, which was called the *Mass* by the First Prayer Book, as was usual in the mediæval and the Latin Church, but which in the later Prayer

¹ In classical Greek λειτουργία denotes any public service, religious or secular. In the LXX. translation it is used especially in Numbers and Chronicles for the *ministry of the Levites* (e. g. 1 Chron. xxvi. 30, εἰς πᾶσαν λ. Κυρίου); in the New Testament, among other things, for the *ministry of prophets and teachers* (Acts xiii. 2, where see Wordsworth's note; cp. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Test.* i § xxxv.); and in ecclesiastical writers, for any sacred function, and later, in an especial and strict sense, for the Eucharistic Office. See Bingham, *Antiq.* XIII. 1. The term has been at times extended to cover other services besides the Eucharist, just as the term 'Divine Service' has been similarly misused and extended: but it is far best to keep each to its own proper place. See above, p. 307.

Primitive Liturgies.

Traces of the Christian Service in the New Testament.

Relation to the Agape.

Primitive Liturgies.

Interpretation of our Lord's command.

Titles of the rite.

Primitive
Liturgies.Early
Documents.

Books is called *The Lord's Supper* and *The Holy Communion*.¹

Outside the New Testament the earliest descriptions of the service extant are those of Pliny (*circa* 112) and of Justin Martyr (*circa*. 148): both these belong to a period when there were still no fixed forms of service and no written Service-books²: but though these are only general descriptions, as being intended for heathen readers, and, in the case of Pliny,³ written by a heathen pro-prætor who had evidently little understanding of what he described, it is clear from them that the service followed a fixed outline and

¹ The following are the principal early titles of the service: *Breaking of Bread*, Acts ii. 42, 46, xx. 7: *Communion*, κοινωνία, from S. Paul's account of the effect of the service, which is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, 1 Cor. x. 16: *Eucharist*, εὐχαριστία, S. Paul uses the word, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, but probably not in the technical sense: this, however, is clear in Ignatius, *Smyrn.* c. 6, 8; *Philadelph.* c. 4, and probably in the Didache, § 9. The use of εὐχαριστεῖν in Clement, § 41, is intermediate. *Lord's Supper*, Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, because instituted by our Lord at supper, and succeeding the Jewish Paschal supper; it does not appear, however, that the text (1 Cor. xi. 20) was interpreted absolutely of the Eucharist before the end of the fourth century; and at the end of the seventh century *Lord's Supper* had not become a familiar name for the Eucharist, but rather denoted the supper, or love-feast, *Agape*, which accompanied it, or our Lord's own supper with His disciples, or the supper which preceded the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday; in the Middle Ages, however, it was a very common name for the Eucharist: *Oblation*, προσφορά (*circa* 96)

Clem. Rom. c. 40. *Sacrament*, sacramentum (112), Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96: the word was probably misunderstood by Pliny, and may have been technically employed, as it certainly was in Tertullian's day: *Sacrifice*, θυσία (150), *Just. M. Dial.* c. 41, 117: *Commemoration*, *Memorial*, ἀνάμνησις, μνήμη (150), *ibid.* c. 117: *Office*, officium (200), *Tert. De orat.* 14: *The Lord's Service*, dominicum (250), Cyprian *De opere et el.* 15; *Epist.* lxi. 16: *Mass*, Missa (385), from the usual form of dismissal, *Ite, missa est*; Ambros. *Epist.* i. 20. *ad Marcellinum*, § 4. See Probst, *Liturgie der Ersten Chr. Jahrh.* I and ff.

² These are printed below (see additional note I, p. 506) together with passages from the Διδάχη, which gives two forms of thanksgiving after reception and a general Eucharistic thanksgiving to follow. The prophet with his gift of extempore prayer was allowed liberty in celebrating, while at the same period other celebrants were being restricted to fixed forms. But the forms very possibly refer only to the *Agape*. Bp. J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*, 46.

³ See Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. pp. 50 and ff. Keating, *Agape and Euch.* pp. 54 and ff.

Primitive
Liturgies.

Pliny.

Justin.

was on the way to be stereotyped into fixed liturgical forms.¹

Pliny's letter suggests that the Eucharist took place early on Sunday morning, and that the *Agape* or Love-feast, which had accompanied it in the days when S. Paul dealt with the matter at Corinth, was now separated and put after it.²

Justin Martyr speaks also of the Sunday gathering and specifies (i) the reading of Scripture, and (ii) a sermon based on it; (iii) the prayers for all classes of men; (iv) the kiss of peace; (v) the oblation of bread and the cup of wine and water; (vi) the long exercise of praise, prayer and thanksgiving offered by the president at his discretion, and responded to by the people with (vii) Amen; (viii) the administration to those present and by the deacons to the absent; (ix) the almsgiving. He touches further on the doctrine of the communion and on the discipline by which the sanctity of the Sacrament was safeguarded.

All this implies that in the middle of the second century the features familiar in later times were already present in an organized shape.³

As to the fixity of liturgical forms there was probably much variety of habit. Prayer on a given theme very soon falls into regular phrases out of which formulas grow. Such phrases and formulas were no doubt in use in quite early times, but the officiant was not at first bound to them.⁴ As time went on, the liberty of using

¹ See a general description in *Wordsworth*, pp. 41 & ff.

² *Ibid.* 57. Pullan, pp. 3, 7.

³ For further descriptions of the Liturgy in later times see the references given above on pp. 4, 5. And generally adopted. See 1 *Clem.* 59-61; Warren, *Liturgy of Ante-Nicene Church*, 168-170; and for

⁴ It is probable that even as early as the Epistle of S. Clement, if not

in N. T. times, a liturgical language had been formed, phrases had been coined and were in recognised use, and some formulas possibly had been generally adopted. See 1 *Clem.* 59-61; Warren, *Liturgy of Ante-Nicene Church*, 168-170; and for Biblical passages; 1 Tim. iii. 16, Eph. v. 14, and Warren, 34-36.

The begin-
ning of
liturgical
forms.

Primitive
Liturgies.

extempore forms was curtailed, till it was restricted to special orders of the ministry, such as the 'prophets' or the episcopate; and finally to all intents and purposes it disappeared. But meanwhile for a considerable period the use of fixed forms and the liberty to extemporize went on side by side, and the earliest extant Liturgy, that in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis, seems to be, not a common form in general use, but the particular form drawn up by Serapion for his own peculiar use, in virtue of the right of liturgical independence which belonged to him as a bishop.

The primi-
tive liturgy.

Passing thus from the early period, in which almost the only evidence available is that of various descriptions of the service such as those of S. Justin or S. Cyril, to the later period at which actual forms of service and Service-books are forthcoming, the first impression is one of great multiplicity of rite and use: but on further study it becomes clear, not only (i) that these many individual forms can be classified in various families belonging to certain localities and centres of Church life, but also that (ii) there is underlying these families a primitive and universal scheme of Eucharistic service, on which all have been modelled, and that (iii) the scheme agrees with that which has been noticed in the early descriptions of the Eucharist. Round this primitive nucleus much has been gathered, and out of it much has been developed, in different ways and at different places and times; but dimly discernible in the background of the whole elaborate picture there is the early Christian form of Eucharistic service. Thus by working backwards from these later liturgical documents the same conclusions are to be reached which have already been suggested by the earlier descriptive documents.

Primitive
Liturgies.
—
Its struc-
tural
outline.

There existed at first, as has been shown, no more than a mere outline, to be followed out in general by all who celebrated, but to be filled in in detail at the discretion of the individual celebrant: S. Paul speaks of the congregational *Amen* at the end of the Eucharistic prayer,¹ and this implies that the congregation followed the prayer and knew their cue for responding. Similarly at a later date it is clear that at intervals through the service there were fixed cues, to which the celebrant was expected to return, though he were following a line of his own and perhaps even extemporizing, and which the congregation was prepared to recognise and even respond to.² The *Sursum corda*,³ the *Sanctus*, the words of Institution, the Lord's Prayer, are cases in point. They are elements common to most early liturgies and are attested by early writers as prominent points in the service. They were principal parts of the structural skeleton of the early days, which later became variously clothed with differing features, just as they are still the main joints on which the Liturgy articulates.

No definite records of early days prescribe formally this skeleton or outline of service, but, since the two main lines of argument already mentioned, viz. patristic witness and comparative liturgiology, both converge and lead to the same results, it may fairly be claimed that the results acquired are trustworthy. They may be summarized as follows.

First with regard to the main structure of the Liturgy. It has always consisted of two parts, (i) a preliminary service of lessons, chants, preaching, and prayers, which possibly is not unconnected with the worship of the

The liturgy
of the cate-
chumens¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 16.² This is especially clear from the Sacramentary of Serapion. See p. 5.³ This is attested by the Hippo-

lytean Canons in the middle of the third century. Ed. Achelis, § 21, or Duchesne, p. 506.

synagogue. It was to this only that Catechumens were admitted, and it therefore is called the Catechumens' service. (ii) The second part of the Liturgy only began when all except the 'Faithful' had left;¹ it therefore is called the service of the Faithful. It followed the analogy of our Lord's institution of the Eucharist in being the definitely Christian rite annexed to the Jewish service.

It will be best at once to get a clear idea of the main contents of these two parts of the primitive outline of the Liturgy.

- I. (a) Lessons, more or fewer in number, from various parts of scripture, such as Law, Prophecy, Epistle, Gospel.
- (b) Psalms and canticles sung between the Lessons.
- (c) Sermon.
- (d) Prayers, including the special prayers for and dismissal of the various classes of persons, who were not qualified to remain to the Liturgy proper.²

The service of the faithful itself falls into two parts, (A) the first preparatory to the offering of the Eucharist, (B) the second the offering itself, called technically the 'Anaphora.'

- II. A (a) The Prayers of the Faithful.
- (b) The offertory, that is the oblation of the Elements, and other offerings.³
- (c) The Kiss of Peace.

¹ Baptized Christians in the East (*Apol.* i. 65-67), except the second, undergoing penitential discipline in one or other stage of excommunication were also excluded. See Marshall, *Penitential Discipline*, Angl. Cath. Lib. *Rev. d'Histoire*, vii. i.

² This last feature certainly goes back to very early times, if not to the earliest. All these four divisions are mentioned by S. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65-67), except the second, which is mentioned by Pliny (*Ep. ad Traj.* x. 96). See Additional Note i.

³ These at one time were very various, but were in time restricted to offerings of liturgical use. The third of the Apostolic canons restricted them to oil and incense. Bruns, *Canones*, i. i.

- B (d) The Salutation, *Sursum corda*, &c.
- (e) The great Eucharistic prayer, containing, in one or other form :—
 - (i) The Commemoration of God's Eternal Being and Work in Creation, leading to
 - (ii) The Triumphal Hymn of *Sanctus*.
 - (iii) The Commemoration of God's Work in Redemption, and of our Lord's incarnate Work, including the Recital of the Institution of the Sacrament.
 - (iv) In virtue of this, The Oblation of the elements and the Invocation of God's power to consecrate them.
 - (v) The Fraction, Lord's Prayer, and final Amen.¹
- (f) The Invitation and the Communion.
- (g) The Thanksgiving and dismissal.²

From another point of view, already mentioned above, the Anaphora may be said to develop round five cardinal points: these are (i) the *Sanctus*, (ii) the Recitation of the institution of the Eucharist, (iii) the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, (iv) the Fraction, and (v) the Lord's Prayer. They are fixed points, in which every early Anaphora, whether improvised by the celebrant in early days or written down at a later date, may be expected to coincide. The second was at first probably only an incident in the historical summary of the work of redemption, which formed the central section of the action; while the third naturally became attached to the historical summary in the position which its connexion with Pentecost obviously marked out for it; but these two features gradually acquired special and rival prominence: in the West stress was laid on the former, and in the East on the

¹ The order of the closing items though some points, such as the universality of the *Sanctus* and the position of the Lord's Prayer, are disputable.

² The outline is only conjectural, but it is borne out in the main by the Liturgies and the early writings,

Primitive
Liturgies.

latter, with the result that the centre of gravity of the action became in the West the Words of Institution, and in the East the Epiclesis or Invocation.

That some such outline or scheme underlies all existing Liturgies may easily be deduced from a comparison of the earliest extant Liturgies and from the patristic writings bearing on the subject.¹

But one very early cause of dislocation and change needs special notice here. The Intercessions, including the Diptychs, or two lists of the Living and the Departed respectively who were to be prayed for, had originally preceded the Anaphora : but at an early date these were in most cases inserted into it, in one or another position and in greater or lesser degree: they were thus brought in closer relation to the central action of the liturgy, and in some instances they were inserted there more or less in duplicate, *i.e.*, without being altogether displaced from their original position. This seems to be the one clear exception to the uniformity of outline which underlies the Liturgies in their earliest recoverable forms.²

In the East this outline has been very faithfully preserved : additions have been made to the Anaphora, such as the above mentioned addition of the intercession : some other parts, such as the 'Great Entrance' or solemn ceremonial of the offertory, have been developed ; and in particular the preparation for the liturgy has grown in the course of time to considerable proportions :³ but the changes have left the old structure undisturbed and recognizable, while the variations in the position of the

¹ These are best studied in Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Augustine's time. *Epistle*, 59 (149), 16, ad Paulinum. It was said by all

² Possibly the use of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Anaphora is not primitive : its position is variable, but there is testimony to its almost universal use in this position in S. present according to Oriental and Gallican Use, but by the celebrant only in the Roman Use. See below, p. 496.

³ Brightman, *L. E. W.*, Appendix L.

with one
main excep-
tion.

In the East.

Primitive
Liturgies.

Intercession serve to differentiate the various Anaphoras into four different families—the West-Syrian, which has Antioch for its centre, the East-Syrian or Nestorian, the Byzantine, and the Egyptian.

In the West there has been much more change, and even upheaval : but still there is evidence enough to shew that the same structure underlies the Western Liturgies, though it is far less recognizable here than in the Eastern liturgies. There is little change as to the general outline of the service as a whole, but as to the form of the Anaphora there is great change visible. As the liberty in extemporizing prayer was curtailed and the crystallization into fixed forms gradually came about, a result was obtained in the West different from that reached in the East. In the East the result was the creation of a number of Anaphoras, each of them generally associated with some great name: these afforded considerable scope for change and choice, but each Anaphora itself was fixed and subject to no variation from day to day or from one season to another. In the West the variations were connected not with the various names of great Bishops or churches, but with the changing seasons and occasions of the year : moreover the mode of variation was different ; for here, some parts of the anaphoral division of the service remained fixed and invariable, while other parts varied frequently or even daily. Thus the Latin Church instead of having a number of alternative Anaphoras, each of which was one long continuous and unchanging prayer, had for the anaphoral division of the service a series of short prayers, some invariable and some variable ; or in other words, a fixed framework with a number of alternative 'masses'.¹

¹ This distinction between East speaking, it is more apparent than and West is for practical purposes, real, and more a matter of form and poses worth noticing, though, strictly method than of principle. Each

contrasted
with the
West,in general
outline,in the
Anaphora.

Primitive
Liturgies.*The Liturgy
in Rome.*

Rome was unlike the bulk of Western Christendom, for there the church was originally Greek-speaking, and it seems clear that the original Greek Liturgy of the church of the City of Rome was maintained down at least to the end of the IIIrd or even to the middle of the IVth century.¹ At some such time the great change was made of adopting a Latin Liturgy: probably there had been for a long time two liturgies in use side by side:—one of the Greek pattern (and probably akin to that of Alexandria), with an invariable Anaphora, into which it is probable that the Intercession had already been inserted: the other of the Latin pattern, comprising fixed elements alternating with variable prayers: here the Intercession was still in its old place before the Anaphora.

The Canon:

The Roman 'Canon' seems to be the result of a compromise between the two. It will be best to deal first with this, the central section and nucleus of the Liturgy, and to come later to the history of the less central parts.

*a forecast of
its history.*

It will be shown to have combined something of the variability of the Latin model with much of the fixity of the Greek model. The position of the Intercession seems to have been a concession to the Greek view, while in other respects the Canon is markedly Latin: the western plan of providing variants in the Anaphora is adopted, but considerably restricted. This fusion was

Eastern Anaphora (or, to be more accurate, not only the Anaphora but the whole *Missa Fidelium*) is made up of a combination of variables and constant elements; while each Western *Missa*, if the variable and the constant elements were combined in one, would be seen to be the equivalent of an Anaphora. The difference is mainly one of arrangement; Western custom separated off variables from constants, while Eastern custom kept them together.

¹ Duchesne gives the former date, *Revue d'Histoire*, v. 45; Burbidge the latter, quoting passages from Victorinus Afer (c. 365), *Adv. Arium*, i. 30, ii. 7 (Migne, *P.L.* VIII. 1063, 1094), which seem references to a Greek Liturgy. *Guardian*, March 24, 1897. But as the Latin Canon was apparently already in use (see below p. 459, note 3), the two must in that case have been going on side by side; this is not at all improbable.

Primitive
Liturgies.

apparently completed by the end of the IVth century, and since that event the Roman Canon has been very little altered: only the amount of variation was still further and steadily curtailed, while slight additions were made to the fixed text by S. Leo and by S. Gregory, and the Lord's Prayer was transferred so as to come before the fraction instead of after it.¹

SECT. II. *The Roman Canon.*

The Canon as brought to England by S. Augustine is therefore practically identical with that of the later Latin Service-books of the English Church. It will be best therefore to give it here from the Sarum Missal² as a starting point from which both to work backwards in describing its history and significance, and also to work forwards, in describing the process by which the consecration prayer of the English Prayer Book came out of it.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus:

Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis cum Thronis et Dominationibus cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus, sine fine dicentes;

Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates, Cœli, cœlorumque Virtutes, ac beata Seraphin, socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplicii confessione dicentes;

¹ See Ebner, *Quellen*, 394—429, and footnotes on pp. 442 and 443.

² The Sarum arrangement is given above, p. 282: this is rearranged.

1. *The Anaphora begins.*

2. PREFACE variable, with two alternative fixed endings in ordinary use.

The Roman Canon.

3. SANCTUS. Sung by the choir.

THE CANON.¹

4. Introduction to the Prayer of the Living.

Commemoration of the Saints or of the Festival Variable.

5. (a) Oblation of the gifts. Variable.

(b) With fixed ending.

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua : Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini : Osanna in excelsis.

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata, imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. et Rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.

Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio : [pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel]² qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum pro spe salutis et incommutabilitatis suæ, tibi que reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

Communicantes et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosæ semperque virginis Mariæ, genetricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis, et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani et omnium sanctorum tuorum ; quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari.³ Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Quam oblationem tu, Deus omnipotens, in omnibus, quæsumus,

¹ According to the later mediæval use the Canon is the portion commencing 'Te igitur,' and ending before the Lord's Prayer. Ebner, 395. From the eighth century onward the celebrant said it *secreto*, or *submissa voce*: 'ita ut ipsemet se audiat,' et a circumstantibus non audiat. There are many constitutions of the English Church about the mode of utterance : e.g., Can. vi. of a Council at Oxford (1222), 'Verba vero Canonis, præ-

sertim in consecratione Corporis Christi, plene et integre proferuntur.' Wilkins, I. 505. See Bingham, *Antiq.* xv. iii. § 34. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, VI. iii.

² This is a later insertion. Ebner, 404.

³ This passage, 'diesque nostros... numerari,' was permanently added to the Canon by S. Gregory : *Lib. Pont.* i. 312, s.v. Beda, *Hist.* II. I.

The Roman Canon.

6. Commemoration of the Institution.

7. and of Redemption.

Oblation of the elements,

and the equivalent of the Invocation.

8. The Prayer of the Departed.

Duplicate commemoration of the Saints.

benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corporis et Sanguinis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas et venerabiles manus suas, et, elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim Corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens : Accipite, et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim calix Sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

(a) Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis, offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ.

(b) Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.¹

(c) Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui Corporis, et Sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Memento etiam, Domine, animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus : cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro,

¹ These words, 'sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam,' were added to the Canon by Leo the Great : *Liber Pont.* i. 238, s. v.

The Roman Canon.

9. Two duplicate Doxologies, with Amen.

10. Prelude to the Lord's Prayer.

11. Conclusion appended to it.

12. Fraction into three parts.

Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis : intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

(a) Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sancti-ficas, vivi-ficas, bene-dicis, et præstas nobis.

(b) Per ip-sum, et cum ip-so, et in ip-so, est tibi Deo Patri omni-potenti in unitate Spiritus-Sancti omnis honor et gloria, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oremus.

Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere, Pater noster, &c.¹

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

Chorus respondeat : Sed libera nos a malo.

Sacerdos privatim : Amen.

Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris : et intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genetrice Maria, et beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo, atque Andrea, cum omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris : ut, ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesus Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.²

Pax Do-mini sit sem-per vobiscum.

Chorus respondeat : Et cum spiritu tuo.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : miserere nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi : dona nobis pacem.

¹ Gregory the Great joined the Lord's Prayer to the Canon, from which it had previously been separated by the fraction: 'orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.' Greg. M. Ep. ix. 12 (26) ad Johan. Syracus. Migne P.L., LXXVII. 956. Duchesne, *Origines*, 176.

² Here special prayers were inserted. Thus, by an indenture be-

tween King Henry VII. and the Abbat of Westminster, it was directed that at every mass in the chapter, after the fraction of the Holy Sacrament, and before the holy prayer of *Agnus Dei*, Special Psalms, Orations, and Prayers for the said King should be said. Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.* i. 279, cited in Maskell, *Anc. Lit.* p. 110 [162]. Here also the episcopal benediction was given. See Maskell, *ibid.* p. 198 [270]. Above, p. 291.

The Roman Canon.

The Commixture. The third part of the Host is placed in the chalice.

The kiss of peace.

The Eastern and Western type of Anaphora.

Hæc sacro-sancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam æternam promerendam et capescendam præparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Antequam pax¹ detur, dicat sacerdos :

Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus : da mihi hoc sacrosanctum Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita digne sumere ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere. Quia tu es Deus, et non est alius præter te, cujus regnum gloriosum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Pax tibi et ecclesiæ Dei.

Responsio : Et cum spiritu tuo.

If the Roman Anaphora is compared with the primitive outline given on p. 437, which is still closely followed by Eastern Liturgies, it will be seen that it follows the whole scheme though much modified. The Intercession has been inserted in two places (i) after the *Sanctus*, and (ii) after the section corresponding to the Invocation. Hardly anything has survived of the Commemoration of the Work of Redemption except the commemoration of the Institution, while the Invocation has been greatly obscured and can hardly be said to be directly made. The result of this is that while the outline remains the same, the centre of gravity has settled itself at a different point here from that which it has occupied in the East (as has been already stated above),² and it has become customary in the West to connect the consecration not with the Invocation but with the recital of the words of Institution. This identification was more and more narrowly emphasised as

¹ 'Pax ; instrumentum quod inter missarum solemnium populo osculandum præbetur.' Du Cange. The introduction of the Pax instead of the old practice of mutual salutation was not until about the 13th century. Maskell, p. 116 [170] note.

² See pp. 437, 438.

The Roman Canon.

Their bearing on the doctrine of consecration.

time went on: conformably with it in later mediæval times the method of writing and saying the Canon was altered and the ceremonial was adapted to match: but there still remains enough of the old in the prayer to witness to the fact that originally this narrow identification was not so made; for the elements are spoken of as *panem* (bread) and *calicem* (cup) until the point of the Invocation has been reached, a sacrifice analogous to those of Abel, Abraham and Melchizedek; but after that point they are *corpus* (Body) and *sanguis* (Blood).¹

The fact is that the liturgies themselves do not encourage the fixing of a precise moment of consecration. The non-Roman service of the West has sometimes a very explicit Invocation and sometimes is as vague as the Roman Canon, and often contains phraseology which by its lack of precision militates quite as much as the Roman Canon against a narrow identification of the act of consecration with particular words.

The Roman and the Non-Roman Anaphora.

We must now leave comparisons of East with West and try to get at the history of the Roman Canon. It clearly is a document which has suffered much from changes and modifications: clearly it is also closely connected in outline as well as phraseology with non-Roman or Gallican forms.

Comparing the Roman Anaphora now with the ancient Latin non-Roman Anaphora we obtain the following table:

NON-ROMAN.

- i. *Sursum Corda*, &c.
- ii. Variable Preface leading to

ROMAN.

1. *Sursum Corda*, &c.
2. Variable Preface (*Vere dignum*) leading to

¹ In § 9. a they are also called simply *bona*. For the interpretation of this passage see below, p. 448.

NON-ROMAN.

- iii. *Sanctus*.
- iv. Variable oblation.
- v. Commemoration of the Institution. *Qui pridie*.¹
- vi. Variable Prayer of Commemoration and Oblation with the Invocation, or its equivalent.
- vii. Doxology.
- viii. Variable Prelude introducing the Lord's Prayer.
- ix. Variable Conclusion of the Lord's Prayer.

ROMAN.

3. *Sanctus*.
4. Introduction and Prayer of the Living with variable Commemoration of the Saints, &c. *Communicantes*.
5. Variable oblation. *Hanc igitur*.
6. Invariable Commemoration of the Institution. *Qui pridie*.
7. Invariable Prayer of Commemoration and Oblation, with the equivalent of the Invocation.
8. Prayer of the Departed with duplicate commemoration of Saints.
9. Two duplicate Doxologies.
10. Invariable prelude introducing the Lord's Prayer.
11. Invariable conclusion to the Lord's Prayer.

The Roman Canon.

In the Roman scheme §§ 4 and 8 represent the interpolation of the Intercession and Diptychs into the Canon, which had not taken place in the non-Roman scheme: setting these aside, the parallelism of the two schemes is complete:² the *Sanctus*, *Qui pridie* and *Pater Noster* are the three cardinal points on which each turns: the only difference is in the amount of

The two Schemes are parallel.

¹ This was clearly the opening of the Gallican prayer originally as well as of the Roman since the variable prayers following are described as 'Post-pridie' prayers: but in the Mozarabic rite this prayer has been altered and now begins quite otherwise: *Adesto*, &c. See *Pallog. Mus.*, v. 54 and ff.

² The § 5 of the Roman Canon seems to correspond to two Gallican *Post-Sanctus* prayers, and § 7 with three or more *Post-pridie* prayers. In § 9 the dual ending is clearer still. For the whole of this see the *Guardian* of March 24, 1897, and *Pallographie Musicale*, vol. v. pp. 76-96.

The Roman Canon.

but differ in the amount of variation.

Origin of the Roman Canon.

variants. The Gallican scheme has variation normally at five points: in the Roman prayer the variation has been retained as a normal thing only at the Preface: at the Commemoration of the Saints, &c. (4 b), and the first oblation (5) it occurs as an exceptional thing, but nowhere else in the Roman Anaphora. The Roman variants have all a fixed opening, two have also fixed endings, while the Preface has almost always one of two alternative endings: so that the whole variation amounts to little more than an occasional intercalation into a fixed form. Moreover, the number of variations prescribed in each case steadily diminished, and except in the case of the Preface soon became inconsiderable.¹

It will be enough then for the present purpose to have arrived at this point, and, setting aside minuter questions, to be able to say, without risking much in the conjecture, that the Roman Canon is a prayer which assumed its present form (details apart) about the beginning of the fourth century in Rome: it certainly represents a reaction against the excessive variation which was then common in the liturgical formulas of the West, and it seems possible that the reform was not unconnected with the transition, which took place within the Roman Church, from a Greek to a Latin Liturgy.

It is also worth while to notice that, though the Canon itself is greatly open to criticism from several points of view, and can hardly be called a satisfactory composition,²

¹ The Sarum Liturgy retained only six *Communicantes* variants and three *Hanc igitur* variants, and after 1175 confined itself to ten Prefaces, which were all that the Roman Liturgy had then retained. See below, p. 489.

² The obscure passage in § 5 becomes intelligible if it is really the fusion of two *Post-Sanctus* prayers as

has been already indicated. Another of the chief obscurities is explained when § 8 is recognised to be a later interpolation, for then § 9 (a) follows naturally as the true close of § 7 (c) omitting the Amen which figures there; and there is no need to suppose, as some have done, a reference to the blessing at this point of fruits of the earth. Duchesne, p. 174.

The Roman Canon.

The problem of revision.

yet the reform in the direction of fixity, to which it owed its origin, and probably its name, has been an entire success. A period of compromise between the Roman and Gallican rites ensued, but the Roman reform won its way everywhere,¹ and even here in Great Britain, as elsewhere, the older Latin type of service gave way before it, in spite of Celtic tenacity and insular conservatism.

SECT. III. *The English Canon of 1549.*

The translators of the Prayer Book in dealing with the Mass were confronted with this venerable document, the Roman Canon, with which the English Church had been familiar ever since the coming of S. Augustine.² They

The other chief obscurities are due, not so much to the prayer itself, as to the theory of consecration which has been developed in the face of it. See above, p. 446. But, apart from all obscurities or theories, the whole is meagre and miserably jejune judged by the primitive or Eastern model.

¹ In 415, when Innocent wrote his famous letter to Decentius, No. xx. (Migne, *P. L.* xx. 551-561), it was supposed already, at any rate in Rome, that the Roman Canon had come from S. Peter, and that the Gallican usages were unlawful innovations. Decentius, however, was clearly asking in simple good faith for more information as to the Roman customs which he had witnessed in Rome, but which were to him, as Bishop of the Umbrian diocese of Gubbio, unfamiliar and novel. It is equally clear that the practice of his Church was the ordinary non-Roman or Gallican practice as to the position of the Pax and the intercession in the Liturgy, besides other matters of baptism, confirmation, the observance of Saturday, &c. A century later Pope Vigilius dealt more reasonably

with Profuturus of Braga in writing to inform him about the Roman rite in 538: he clearly explained the difference in principle between the Gallican rite of Spain, with its many variants, and the fixed Canon of the Roman rite, with its few variants; and sent him the Roman Canon, with the variants of Easter Day, as a specimen, to serve as a model for the Spanish Church. Vigilius, *Ep. ad Profuturum (Eutherium)*, § 5. Migne, *P. L.* LXIX. 19. The Roman model was consequently adopted by the Council of Braga in 563. Harduin, *Conc.* ii. 1432: iii. 350, and Hefele, *History of Councils*, E. T. iii. 381 and ff.

The view here adopted of the relation of the Roman to the Gallican rite is only one of several rival views. See Additional Note 2, p. 508.

² For the Celtic Liturgy, see Warren, *Liturgy of the Celtic Church and Bangor Antiphoner*. The latter is a purely Gallican and Celtic fragment: the earliest extant book which represents the later usage, the Stowe Missal, has already adopted the Roman Canon, though it exhibits peculiarities.

The English Canon of 1549.

knew it as it was being used, that is to say, set in surroundings and encompassed by interpretations which were alien and even contrary to its original meaning and history. They had not the opportunity to see it in any other light, and not unnaturally they connected it with the abuses of Eucharistic doctrine, which were then current and against which they were raising their protest. Even if the learned could have disabused themselves of the associations which clung to it, this could not have been expected of the multitude. It was therefore inevitable then that the old Roman Canon should be laid aside; indeed at the time it was the object of such hatred and abuse, as it is difficult now to understand; and there was little regret but rather great eagerness expressed on the part of the Reformers to be rid of it.

To take its place a new English Canon¹ of the Mass was provided for the First Prayer Book: the nature of this will best be seen by a comparison of it with the Latin. The two are here printed in parallel columns and the passages which are common to both are printed in italic type.

THE LATIN MASS.²

1. *The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks to our Lord God.
It is meet and right so to do.*
2. *It is very meet, right, fitting and profitable that we should at*

1. Dominus vobiscum.

2. Vere dignum.

¹ The title 'Canon' was expressly given to the new prayer in the rubric at the end of 'The Celebration of

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.

- The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks to our Lord God.
It is meet and right so to do.*
- It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at*

the Holy Communion for the Sick, in the First Prayer Book.

² Compare p. 287.

The English Canon of 1549.

THE LATIN MASS.

all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God: And therefore with angels and archangels, with thrones and dominions and with every company of the heavenly host we sing the hymn of thy glory, saying evermore;

3. *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts,*

Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory:

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Hosanna in the highest.

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.
all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, almighty everlasting God: therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the holy company of heaven we laud and magnify Thy glorious name evermore praising Thee and saying;

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts,

Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory;

Hosanna in the highest.

Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.

Glory to thee O Lord in the highest.

PRIEST OR DEACON. Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

4. Therefore *most merciful* Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord,

we humbly pray and beseech Thee to receive these gifts, these offerings, these holy undefiled sacrifices which first of all we offer to Thee for Thy holy Catholic Church, which do Thou vouchsafe to keep in peace, to watch over, to unite and govern throughout the whole world, together with Thy servant our

Pope and *our Bishop N., and our King N.,*

PRIEST. Almighty and everlasting God which by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications and to give thanks for all men, *we humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty, beseeching Thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord: and grant that all they that do confess Thy holy name may agree in the truth of Thy holy word and live in unity and godly love. Specially we beseech Thee to save and defend Thy servant Edward our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly*

3. Sanctus.

4. Te igitur.

The English
Canon of 1549.

THE LATIN MASS.

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549. governed. And grant unto his whole council, and to all that are put in authority under him that they may truly and indifferently minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue.

Give grace (O Heavenly Father) to *all Bishops*, Pastors and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth Thy true and lively word and rightly and duly administer Thy holy sacraments.

and all right believers and maintainers of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

Memento.

Remember O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N. and N.,

and all here standing around whose faith is known and devotion noted by Thee; for whom we offer unto Thee, or who are offering unto Thee, *this sacrifice of praise* for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety, and who unto Thee are paying their vows,

And to all Thy people give Thy heavenly grace that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive Thy holy word, truly serving Thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

And we most humbly beseech Thee, of Thy goodness (O Lord) to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

And especially we commend unto Thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in Thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of Thy Son.

The English
Canon of 1549

THE LATIN MASS.

O everlasting God, living and true.

In communion with and venerating the memory firstly of the glorious and ever-virgin Mary, mother of Jesus Christ our God and Lord; and also of Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all Thy saints; by whose merits and prayers grant that we may in all things be defended by the help of Thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.

And here we do *give unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks* for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in *all Thy saints from the beginning of the world: and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God, and in the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs;*

whose examples (O Lord) and steadfastness in Thy faith and keeping Thy holy commandments grant us to follow.

We commend unto Thy mercy (O Lord) *all other Thy servants which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace,* and that at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice: Come unto Me, O ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate.

Communi-
cantes.

(8.)

The English Canon of 1549.

5. (a) *Hanc igitur oblationem.*

(b) *Quam oblationem.*

6. *Qui pridie.*

THE LATIN MASS.

5. (a) This oblation therefore of our service, as also of Thy whole household, we beseech Thee, favourably to accept, O Lord, and to order our days in Thy peace, and command that we be delivered from eternal damnation, and numbered with the flock of thine elect; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

(b) Which oblation, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, do Thou vouchsafe altogether to render blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable, *that it may be made unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ.*

6. *Who* on the day before He suffered *took bread* into His holy and venerable hands, and with His eyes uplifted towards heaven, unto Thee O God His Almighty Father, *giving thanks to Thee, He blessed, brake, and gave to His disciples, saying; Take and eat ye all of this, for this is My Body.*

Likewise after supper, taking also this excellent cup into His holy and venerable hands, again giving thanks unto Thee, He blessed, and gave to His disciples, saying; Take and drink

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.

O God Heavenly Father, which of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesu Christ, to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there by His one oblation once offered a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute and in His Holy Gospel command us to celebrate a perpetual memory of that His precious death until His coming again:

Hear us (O merciful Father) we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, *that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.*

Who in the same night that He was betrayed, *took bread,*

and when He had blessed and given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples saying; Take, eat, this is My Body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of Me.

Likewise after supper He took the cup, and when He had given

thanks, He gave it to them saying; Drink ye all of this,

The English Canon of 1549.

7. (a) *Unde et memores.*

(b) *Supra quæ.*

THE LATIN MASS.

ye all of this, for this is the cup of My Blood of the new and everlasting Testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for remission of sins. As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.

7. *Wherefore also, O Lord, we Thy servants, but also Thy holy people, having in remembrance the so blessed passion of the same Thy Son Christ our Lord, as also His resurrection from the dead and eke His glorious ascension into the heavens, do offer unto Thy excellent Majesty of Thine gifts and bounties a pure offering, a holy offering, an undefiled offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of everlasting salvation: upon which do Thou vouchsafe to look with favourable and gracious countenance, and hold them accepted, as Thou didst vouchsafe to hold accepted the presents of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and that holy sacrifice the pure offering, which Thy high priest Melchisedek did offer unto Thee.*

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.

for this is My Blood of the New Testament, which

is shed for you and for many, for remission of sins. Do this as oft as you shall drink it in remembrance of Me.

Wherefore O Lord and Heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesu Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy divine Majesty with these Thy holy gifts the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make: having in remembrance His blessed passion, mighty resurrection and glorious ascension;

rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that by

The English Canon of 1549.

THE LATIN MASS.

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549: the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we and all Thy whole church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His passion. And here we offer and present unto Thee (O Lord) ourself, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto Thee:

(c) Supplices Te.

We humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, command these things to be brought up by the hands of Thy Holy Angel to Thy altar on High before the sight of Thy divine Majesty; that as many of us, as by this partaking of the altar shall have received the most sacred Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace; through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

8. Memento.

8. Remember also O Lord the souls of Thy servants and handmaidens, N. & N., who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and repose in the sleep of peace; grant unto them, we beseech thee, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ a place of refreshment, light and peace;

humbly beseeching Thee that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ and be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction and made one body with Thy Son Jesus Christ, that He may dwell in them and they in Him. And although we be unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service: and command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of Thy Holy Angels to be brought up into Thy Holy Tabernacle before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty:

(See p. 453.)

The English Canon of 1549.

THE LATIN MASS.

through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Unto us sinners also, Thy servants that hope in the multitude of Thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cicely, Anastasia, and with all Thy saints; unto whose company do Thou admit us,

not weighing our merits, but bestowing pardon, we beseech Thee, through Christ our Lord.

Through whom, O Lord, all these good gifts Thou dost ever create, sanctify, quicken and bless and bestow upon us.

By Him and with Him and in Him in the unity of the Holy Ghost all honour and glory is unto Thee, God the Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Let us pray.

10. Admonished by salutary commands and directed by divine teaching, we are bold to say; *Our Father, &c.*

And lead us not into temptation.

But deliver us from evil. Amen.

11. Deliver us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present and future, and at the intercession of Mary the blessed, glorious and ever-virgin

Q

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.

Nobis quoque.

not weighing our merits but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord;

Per quem.

By whom and with whom in the unity of the Holy Ghost all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Let us pray.

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say; *Our Father, &c.*

And lead us not into temptation.

THE ANSWER. *But deliver us from evil. Amen.*

10. Preceptis salutaribus.

Libera nos.

The English Canon of 1549.

THE LATIN MASS.

Mother of God and Thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew with all Saints graciously give peace in our time ; that aided by the succour of Thy mercy we may be both free evermore from sin and secure from all alarm ; through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever. Amen.

The peace of the † Lord be alway with you.

CHOIR. *And with thy spirit.*

[The *Agnus Dei*, Commixture and Kiss of Peace follow.]

The Latin and the English Canon.

Influence of the Bible,

The point which stands out most clearly from this comparative table is the close similarity of the new to the old : the general outline is exactly the same, except that the Prayer of the Departed is placed immediately after the Prayer of the Living. There are signs of a wish to revert more closely to biblical models : for example § 4 opens with a reference to I Tim. ii. 1 ; the prayer for the King is put before that for the Bishop probably because this order was held to be more in accordance with the same passage ; while the commemoration of the institution follows very closely S. Paul's narrative in I Cor. XI.¹

¹ This represents a change from had followed the Synoptists, except the Latin Services which everywhere that the Mozarabic Liturgy at some

THE ENGLISH MASS OF 1549.

PRIEST. *The peace of the Lord be alway with you.*

CLERKS. *And with thy spirit.*

PRIEST. Christ our paschal Lamb is offered up for us once for all, when He bare our sins in His Body on the cross ; for He is the very Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world : wherefore let us keep a joyful and holy feast with the Lord.

The English Canon of 1549. of doctrinal considerations

Other changes were due to different motives ; the effect of the perverted views of the Eucharistic sacrifice then current was to make the Revisers very reserved on the subject : therefore at the beginning of § 4 the offering is one of 'prayers' in place of 'gifts, offerings and holy undefiled sacrifices.' Again in § 5 the term oblation is applied, not to the Eucharistic oblations, but to our Lord's sacrifice of Himself, and words are heaped up to emphasize the fact that that sacrifice was all-sufficient and could not be repeated, but only re-presented.¹ When in § 7 the gifts are offered, it is carefully explained that this is the 'memorial' which Christ ordered, and the phrase, 'sacrifice of praise,' the biblical term for the Eucharistic sacrifice² is transferred here from the first *Memento* (§ 4). The commemoration of the Saints is analogous to that in the Litany, since the long lists are omitted, but a brief commemoration is retained. The order of thought and the phraseology are influenced by the *Antididagma*. In many places the prayer is amplified and made less jejune, especially in the intercessions § 4 and § 8 and the invocation and commemoration in § 5.

The allusions to Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek,³ on the other hand are omitted, and it is curious to notice

amplifications

and omissions

unknown date made the same change as the P. B. made. The Lutheran formulas had done the same. See for example the Kirchenordnung of Brandenburg-Nürnberg. Richter, i. 207. See Burbidge, 209, n. The Eastern liturgies follow S. Paul. Cp. *Pal. Musicale*, v. 54 and ff.

¹ This was a protest especially against the mediæval error that while the Sacrifice of the Cross availed for original sin, the satisfaction for actual sin was through the Sacrifice of the Mass. Kidd, *Eucharistic Sacrifice* (C.H.S. Tract XLVI.), pp. 73 and ff.

² See *Responsio Archiepp. Angliae*

De ordinationibus Anglicanis, § XI. It was at the time recognised by the 'old learning' as the technical term for 'the oblation and action' of the priest in the Mass. See the articles signed by Shaxton, Bp. of Salisbury, to prove his orthodoxy in 1546. Burnet, I. iii. record xxix. (vol. iv. p. 531).

³ References such as these are found in several Gallican prayers in the like position, and the mention made of Melchizedek was criticised by a writer as early as the time of Damasus (366-388). Duchesne, *Origines*, 168 : *Pal. Mus.* v. 88.

The English Canon of 1549.

that in § 7 (c) the Angels are mentioned in the plural.¹ The eleventh section is omitted altogether, probably because it was not thought wise to retain the ceremonial Fraction which took place meanwhile: similarly the Commixture which followed was also omitted, together with the Kiss of peace, while the *Agnus dei* was set for the clerks to sing later 'in the Communion time.' Its place here was somewhat filled by the brief exhortation provided for the priest to say or the choir to sing.²

Ceremonial change.

The elevation of the host was expressly forbidden by rubric. It was a comparatively recent addition to the ceremonial, and was evidently only becoming general in England at the beginning of the XIIIth century:³ but its significance was exaggerated out of all due proportion to the doctrine of antiquity, and it was then commonly associated with the most debased forms of Eucharistic doctrine: the prohibition was thus characteristic of the reformation.⁴

SECT. IV. *The Roman Liturgy.*

The Roman Liturgy as a whole.

It is now time to turn from this central nucleus of the service to consider the setting in which it is placed in the Roman Liturgy as a whole.⁵ It will be seen that this Liturgy corresponded more or less closely with the primitive scheme already described.

¹ The same is the case in the (Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 579); or the Pseudo-Ambrosian *De Sacramentis*, Canons of the Council of Oxford in iv. 27. The original reference was probably to the angel who appeared to Manoah (*Judges* xiii.). See *Pal. Mus.* l. c.

² *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 235. It was sanctioned by Pope Honorius in 1219. *Decret.* Greg. IX. lib. III. tit. 41, cap. x.

³ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 235. ⁴ It became a test question again in 1559. See above, p. 97.

⁵ For a comparison of the Roman and Gallican Liturgies in regard to the general scheme, see Pullan, *History of the Prayer Book*, pp. 21-26.

The Roman Liturgy

It consisted of three main elements: (i) the chants, (ii) the lessons, and (iii) the prayers, corresponding with the three classes of Service-books for the Liturgy, viz. (i) *Antiphonale Missarum*, Gradual or Grayle, (ii) *Comes*, Epistle Book, Gospel Book, (iii) Sacramentary.

The Chant.

The Roman chant in its present form represents the result of a revision of the ancient liturgical music by S. Gregory at the end of the VIth century: the bulk of it has gone through very little change even down to the present day. It comprised two different classes of items, viz. six variable elements: (i) the Introit or Office,¹ a psalm with its antiphon sung at the beginning of Mass: (ii) the Communion, a psalm and antiphon corresponding to the former and sung at the end during the Communion: (iii) the Gradual, a respond sung between the lessons: (iv) the *Alleluia* with its Verse, sung at festival times after the Gradual:² (v) the Tract, a psalm sung instead of the *Alleluia* at penitential occasions:³ (vi) the Offertory, an antiphon with Verses sung during the offering of the oblations. To these may be added as an appendix (vii) the Sequence, a rhythmical or metrical composition differing from the preceding, inasmuch as it was like hymnody rather than like psalmody, and did not begin till the IXth century.⁴

Variable elements.

In the case of the two antiphonal chants, the Introit

¹ The term 'Office' properly belongs to the opening section of the service, and is only in a narrower sense identified with the term Introit.

² Originally when there was a prophetic lesson preceding the Epistle and Gospel (see below, p. 465), the Gradual came before and the *Alleluia* after the Epistle.

³ The latter was originally sung at Rome only at Easter (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 19), and was not sung except in Eastertide until S. Gregory extended its use. *Ep.* ix.

⁴ Migne, *P. L.* LXXVII. 956.

⁵ See Additional Note, above, p. 345.

⁶ At that period a rage set in for inserting Tropes, i.e., interpolations, into the chant, often of a very incongruous nature. The greater number of the Tropes were, after a short stay, expelled again from the Liturgy, but the Sequences, which were Tropes appended to the *Alleluia*, held their ground. See Frere, *Winchester Troper* (H. B. S. vol. VIII.).

The Roman
Liturgy.

and Communion, at an early date there was a change made, in order to reduce the length of the singing, when the opening ceremonial had been curtailed and the number of communicants had declined: consequently the psalm¹ entirely disappeared from the latter and almost entirely from the former, leaving only a short antiphon to stand by itself for the Communion, and leaving for the Introit only one verse with *Gloria patri* and the antiphon twice (or according to Sarum use thrice) repeated. By a similar process of reduction the Offertory lost its Verses when the ceremonial offering of the oblations had come to be curtailed. But apart from such changes as these, the variable chants have remained marvellously unaltered and almost without additions since the VIth century.

Invariable
elements.

The case is otherwise with the invariable elements, which may be numbered thus: (i) the *Kyrie*, a ninefold chant (*Kyrie eleison* thrice, *Christe eleison* thrice, *Kyrie eleison* thrice)² sung at the beginning of the Liturgy: (ii) the *Gloria in excelsis*: (iii) the Nicene Creed: (iv) the *Sanctus*: (v) the *Agnus Dei*.

Kyrie.

All of these except the *Sanctus* and possibly the *Kyrie* are of later date. The *Kyrie* with the collect following is probably a survival of the old Litany introductory to the Liturgy.³ The *Gloria in excelsis* was originally a Greek hymn for Mattins,⁴ dating at least

Gloria.

¹ One psalm originally did duty for both, the first part being sung at the Introit and the remainder at the Communion.

² In this form it was introduced by S. Gregory. *Ep.* ix. 12. Migne, *P.L.* LXXVII. 956. See above, p. 408.

³ See above, p. 409.

⁴ See above, p. 382. In some most ancient forms it contains a full commemoration of the Holy Trinity,

'God the Father Almighty, Lord and only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, and Holy Ghost,' and so the first part closes, and the second opens with the address, 'O Lord God, Lamb of God,' &c.

This is still found in the Greek: *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*

'Τμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε,

The Roman
Liturgy.

from the IVth century and possibly from the IInd and was translated into Latin at an early date; when first imported into the Roman Liturgy¹ it was said only by the bishop in the Mass on Christmas night. Pope Symmachus at the beginning of the VIth century extended its use to Sundays and Festivals.² It was not till much later that the use of it was conceded to ordinary priests at Rome except on Easter Day or under special circumstances. As the Roman Liturgy won its way outside Rome, these restrictions were removed and its use was extended; but it was not in general use in Rome till the XIth century. At the same date also the Creed was adopted into the Liturgy in Rome: but it had been so used elsewhere in the West since the VIIth century. The *Agnus Dei* began as a *confractorium* or chant sung by the choir during the Fraction: subsequently its use was extended, and it was ordered by Pope Sergius at the end of the VIIth century that it should be sung by both clergy and people. The fixing of the triple repetition and the change of the third refrain was accomplished far later still; not much before the XIIth century.³

Creed.

Agnus.

εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, Κύριε Βασιλεῦ, ἐπουράνιε Θεέ, Πάτερ παντοκράτορ, Κύριε Υἱὲ μονογενὲς Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα

Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ ἀπὸν τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

*Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος Ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.

This is found also in the Celtic Latin version (*Bangor Antiphoner*, H. B. S. f. 33), but not in the Roman version, where the commemoration

of the Trinity is at the end instead. The earlier, as well as the later, survived in one setting of the *Gloria in excelsis* in the York Gradual (MS. of James Ward, Esq.), and it has been restored in the Scottish Book, but the clause concerning the Second Person is now twice repeated. See Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, pp. 265 and ff.; *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s. v. *Gloria* and *Doxology*.

¹ The introduction is ascribed to Pope Telesphorus early in the second century (*L.P.* i. 129).

² *Ibid.* i. 263.

³ *Lib. Pont.* i. 376, and the passages collected by Thalhofer, ii. 276. Other music was required by the

The Roman Liturgy.

The music of all these invariable texts was very simple: different settings did not begin to multiply till the Xth or XIth century, and the Creed had one setting, and one only, even down to the time of the Reformation. They thus present a marked contrast with the older variable chants which were elaborate, and, when intended for solo voices, were even of immense difficulty and required brilliant vocalisation.¹

Relation of the chant to the English Book.

In the English Prayer Book none of the variable chants have been properly retained. The Introit survived in an altered form in 1549 but disappeared in 1552. A small and novel collection of Offertory and Post-communion anthems were provided, but the former alone have barely survived, while the latter disappeared in 1552. The fixed chants were all retained, but in 1552 the *Agnus Dei* was omitted and the second half of the *Sanctus* was shorn off, while the *Gloria in Excelsis* was transferred to the end of the service. The effect of this was to give greater prominence to the *Kyrie*, and this was further heightened by another change. The ten Commandments were prefixed to the Liturgy as a penitential preparation, and the old ninefold *Kyrie* was altered to serve as responses after the several Commandments: the old petition—in its English dress, ‘Lord have mercy upon us’—was repeated after each Commandment, amplified by the addition of the words ‘and incline our hearts to keep this law’ after the first

celebrant and ministers beyond that of the choir which the Gradual contained, principally for the singing of Epistle and Gospel, and for the recitation of the Preface and Lord’s Prayer.

¹ For the whole of this part of the subject, see Frere, *Graduale Sarum*,

Introduction, especially pp. xxx–xxxiv. The Antiphonale Missarum is best studied in Tommasi *Opera* (ed. Vezzosi), vol. v.; in Migne, *P.L.* LXXVIII. and the facsimiles in *Paléographie Musicale*, vols. 1. and IV.

The Roman Liturgy.

The Lessons.

nine, and the words ‘and write all these thy laws in our hearts we beseech Thee’ after the tenth.¹

The Lessons of the Roman Liturgy from the sixth century onward were normally only two (the Epistle and Gospel), though on some occasions traces remained of the system of three Lessons, which was common elsewhere, and was retained in the Gallican Rite. In early days it is clear that the Lessons were sometimes simply read continuously from day to day,² while on special occasions a special selection interrupted the continuous reading.³

It is possible to trace back the special lessons of the Roman rite to very early times. The *Comes* or Lectionary was a well-known directory towards the end of the fifth century: the preface to it is a letter addressed to Constantius, who was probably Bishop of Cosenza at the beginning of the same century;⁴ and if the author was not really S. Jerome, as is alleged,⁵ it was some considerable person living in or near Rome not very long after his time. Internal evidence confirms this; for there exist many MS. copies of the *Comes* of various dates, and there is an original nucleus clearly underlying them all, to which additions have been made in different ways as time went on.⁶ In Caro-

The old Roman series.

¹ For the supposed connexion of this with the service of Pullain, see above, pp. 86, 87. The connexion of the Commandments and *Kyrie* had been made far earlier by Coverdale, who in his *Ghostly psalms*, published before 1539, gave metrical versions of the Commandments, with the *Kyrie* as a refrain. See his *Remains* (Parker Soc.), pp. 543 and ff.

² See, e.g. S. Augustine, *In Joan. Ev.* Tr. xi. 1; Tr. xxxix. 8.

³ See S. Augustine, *In Epist. Joan. Prol.* and Tr. ix. 1. Even on festivals the continuous reading was

not always broken off. See *In Joan. Ev.* Tr. ii. 13.

⁴ *Revue Bénéd.* for 1898, pp. 248 and ff.

⁵ Later mediæval liturgists asserted that S. Jerome compiled the *Comes* and that it was adopted by Pope Damasus (circa 382), e.g. Radulphus Tongrensis, *De canon. obs.* § 23; Hittorp, col. 1153.

⁶ Possibly it has been also curtailed, for the Preface seems to suggest that originally the *Comes* provided for a prophetic lesson as well as for Epistle and Gospel. It contained

The Roman Liturgy.

lingian times it came under the revising hand of Alcuin; and by this and other means the principle of continuous reading was dropped,¹ and special lessons were provided for all Sundays, Festivals and principal vigils, fasts, &c., of the year, for every day in Lent, and for the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in ordinary weeks.

The Epistles and Gospels in the Sarum Missal represent one form of this old Roman arrangement,² and from them the series of the Prayer Book is derived.³ The most important change was that of curtailment: no provision was made for any days but Sundays or Festivals, except in Holy Week, and so the lectionary was brought back to a state even simpler in many respects, and less adequate than the elementary stage at which it began in the fifth century.⁴

The Prayers of the Liturgy were contained with those of other sacraments in the 'Sacramentary.' The history of the central series of prayers has already been given, from which it will be easily understood that the Canon, or invariable part of the Roman Anaphora, was placed in a central position in the middle of the book. Round it were grouped the variable elements, those belonging to the Anaphora, § 2 and § 5, together with

Ash-Wednesday and the Friday following, but not the Thursdays in Lent.

¹ To a certain extent the selected lessons still follow one another on a principle of continuous reading, e.g. the Epistles of the Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity, when there are no special events to commemorate, form a continuous series from S. Paul's Epistles: the continuity, however, was upset in course of time. See below, pp. 531, 550.

² At an earlier date a non-Roman form of Lectionary had been imported into use into England from

Capua by Hadrian, one of the companions of Archbishop Theodore in 668. But there is no evidence that it was exclusively used. Morin, *Liber Comicus* (Anecd. Maredsolana I.), p. 426.

³ See, for this subject, Ranke, *Das Kirchliche Perikopensystem*, especially pp. 133, 259 and ff., and the Appendixes; and Morin's article in *Revue Benedictine*, 1898, pp. 241-246.

⁴ All traces of the prophetic lesson disappeared; two masses were retained only at Christmas and Easter, and otherwise the Vigil Mass entirely went out.

continued in the Sarum Missal and the Prayer Book.

The Prayers.

The Roman Liturgy.

variable prayers inserted at other points in the Liturgy, three normally in the Gregorian Sacramentaries, viz. the Collect proper at the beginning,¹ the Secret at the Offertory, and the Postcommunion at the end.²

The Roman Sacramentary is extant in three principal stages: the earliest is that of the 'Leonine Sacramentary,' contained in a unique and mutilated MS. of the seventh century: it represents the state of things in the middle of the sixth century before the reforms of S. Gregory: it is purely a Roman document, but is not complete, and probably is a private collection rather than an official service book.³

The second stage is that of the 'Gelasian Sacramentary': several MSS. of this type are forthcoming: it represents the Roman Liturgy as current in Gaul, and modified by Gallican influence at the beginning of the eighth century.⁴

The third stage is that of the 'Gregorian Sacramentary': in its original form it represents the sacramentary sent from Rome by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century:⁵ but an appendix for Frankish use was at once added to it by Alcuin, and other modifications were made before it finally superseded the Gelasian Sacramentary, which was in possession.

The mediæval sacramentaries are mainly the various

¹ This was probably in its origin the collect which closed the processional Litany preceding the Liturgy: of which a trace has already been noticed in the *Kyrie*. Above, pp. 462, 409.

² The Gelasian Sacramentaries often had five prayers, viz. a prayer at the offertory (*super sindonem*) and a benedictory prayer after the Postcommunion *ad populum*, as well as the above. The latter survived in Lent in the Gregorian books.

³ Printed in Migne, *P. L.* l.v., in

Murator, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, and most recently edited by Feltoe for the Cambridge University Press.

⁴ Printed in Tommasi and Muratori, and lately re-edited by Wilson for the Oxford University Press.

⁵ A number of early MSS. of this Sacramentary at various stages are in print. See Muratori, and Migne *P. L.* lxxviii. The MSS. of Sacramentaries are described in Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*. See also Duchesne, pp. 114 and ff., and Ebner, 373-394.

The old Roman Sacramentaries.

The Roman Liturgy.

results of compromise between these two, though they contain materials which are found in the Leonine Sacramentary and elsewhere. A large part of the prayers is common to all three of the early types.

Additional devotions added subsequently.

Thus the Chants, the Lessons, and the Prayers are the three strands which together form the old Latin Mass: in course of time other prayers, &c., were added to the 'Ordinary' of the Mass, at first as private devotions, but gaining more and more of an official position: especially preparatory prayers (i) at the beginning of service for the celebrant and his ministers, and (ii) for the celebrant before and at his communion: or again, prayers connected with the ceremonial, (iii) for the incense, (iv) at the gospel, (v) at the offertory: or again, after the Canon, (vi) at the commixture, (vii) at the Pax, (viii) at the ablutions: and finally (ix) closing prayers.

These varied from place to place and very profusely: they made no pretence to be of the same calibre and fixity as the rest, and only had a very precarious claim to be included in Sacramentaries or Missals at all.¹

Thus by a combination of these three ancient strands, together with the admixture of a varying number of semi-official devotions, the mediæval Missals grew up, containing in one book all the various elements collected together. The following table represents the result of the combination: the different strands are represented by different type; the CAPITALS shew the musical items, the *large Italic* distinguishes the lessons, while the items from the Sacramentary are in large Clarendon type; and the variable portions are distinguished from the rest by being indented.²

¹ See a collection of these in Martene *De eccl. rit.* I. cap. IV. esp. rite, as printed above, p. 282. Ordo iv.

THE SARUM MASS.	PRAYER BOOK. 1549.	PRAYER BOOK. 1552.
1. Preparation, including the Collect for Purity, Lord's Prayer, Mutual Confession and Absolution, Versicles, Collect.	Lord's Prayer. Collect for Purity.	Lord's Prayer. Collect for Purity.
2. Blessing of incense and censuring.		
3. INTROIT (sung meanwhile).	INTROIT.	
4. KYRIE (d°.)	KYRIE (IX.).	Commandments and KYRIE (X.).
5. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.	GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.	
6. Collect for the day.	Collect for the day.	Collect for the day.
	Collect for the King.	Collect for the King.
7. Epistle.	Epistle.	Epistle.
8. GRADUAL.		
9. ALLELUIA and SEQUENCE OF TRACT.		
10. Prayers at the Gospel.		
11. Gospel.	Gospel.	Gospel.
12. CREED (on occasion). Sermon.	CREED (usually). Sermon.	CREED daily. Sermon.
13. Dominus vobiscum and Oremus.		
	Exhortation.	
14. Prayers at offertory and censuring, and lavatory.		
15. OFFERTORY (sung meanwhile).	OFFERTORY.	OFFERTORY.
		Intercession (Church Militant) Exhortation.
16. Secret.		
17. Salutation.	Salutation.	
18. Preface.	Preface.	
19. SANCTUS.	SANCTUS.	
20. Canon.	Canon.	
{ Intercession.	{ Intercession.	
{ Consecration.	{ Consecration.	
{ Oblation.	{ Oblation.	
{ Lord's Prayer.	{ Lord's Prayer.	
	Invitation.	
	Confession and Absolution.	{ Invitation. Confession and Absolution. Comfortable Words. Salutation. Preface. }
	Comfortable Words.	
		SANCTUS.
	Prayer of Humble Access.	Prayer of Humble Access. Consecration.

THE SARUM MASS.	PRAYER BOOK. 1549.	PRAYER BOOK. 1552.
21. AGNUS DEI.	AGNUS DEI during the	
22. Prayers at Commixture and Pax.		
23. Prayers at Priest's Communion.	Communion of Priest and people.	Communion of Priest and people.
24. Prayers at ablutions.		
25. COMMUNION (meanwhile).	POSTCOMMUNION.	
		Lord's Prayer Oblation or } Thanksgiving f
26. Postcommunion.	Thanksgiving.	GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.
27. Dismissal.	Blessing at dismissal.	Blessing at dismissal.
28. Closing prayers.		

SECT. V. *The First Prayer Book.*

Edwardine adaptation.

The table shows also in graphic form the changes introduced in the Liturgy of 1549; the principal have been already noted, but it is well to point out one or two further points.

Private prayers.

The preparatory prayers were reduced to a minimum and almost all the semi-official devotions disappeared; the celebrant and his ministers were left almost entirely to themselves for their prayers at the offertory, communion and other times noted above: they were also provided with only a bare minimum of rubric,¹ and even that was not generally provided except in places where a change was made, and where therefore the old customs needed to be superseded: since these were otherwise assumed to continue so far as was consistent with the new service.²

Rubric.

¹ Rubric was a novelty. The old books had practically none, and many late mediæval books were equally destitute. The directions for ceremonial were separate from the ritual texts contained in Ordines, such as the early Roman Ordines, printed by Mabillon, &c. (Migne, *P. L.* LXXVIII.), or later in the Ordinals, e.g. the old Sarum Ordinal (*Use of Sarum*, vol. ii.) The Sarum Service-books in their

later and printed form incorporated in the services as rubric the greater part of the directions of the later recension of the Sarum Ordinal, which bore upon them.

² For example, no direction was given as to the conclusion of the collects, nor was the conclusion of the Preface for Trinity Sunday given at all in the book. See below, pp. 490, 524.

The singing of the *Gloria in excelsis* and the Creed was directed as the normal course and the omission of them an exceptional thing; hitherto they had only been in use on a certain (and increasing) number of occasions.

A fixed collect for the king was affixed to the variable collect for the day, probably for the same reason as the similar change which has been noted in the Canon, viz., to comply with St. Paul's direction in 1 Tim. ii. 1.

Special directions were made for the sermon or homily and for an exhortation on the Sacrament, and for the placing of the communicants.

After the Canon was inserted 'The Order of the Communion' of the people which had been issued in 1548 and since then had been hitherto in use in conjunction with the Latin Mass: the exhortations mentioned above were also drawn from the same source.¹ A similar form of preparation was in use before communion already, but it was generally in Latin, it was not incorporated into the Missal, nor did the Communion of the people necessarily take place at this its natural position or even within the service at all.²

A corporate thanksgiving was provided for the priest to say on behalf of himself and all the communicants: this to some extent took the place of the personal and private thanksgivings prescribed for him in the later Missals.

A blessing was provided for the dismissal of the people: it was the usual custom at low Mass at the time, though no provision was made for it in the English Missal.³

¹ They are distinguished by small Club Collections II.) pl. 17. Rock, Clarendon type in the table above. *Church of our Fathers* III. ii. 168.

² Wordsworth, *Mediæval Services*, Cp. York Missal (Surtees Soc.) ii. p. 93.

³ The Lambeth Judgment (Read v. Bp. of Lincoln) denied this, but the evidence for it is considerable. Nuptial Mass. Cp., for an earlier use, Ebner, p. 17.

*The First Prayer Book
Gloria and Creed.*

Collect.

Sermon

Communion.

Close.

The Second
Prayer Book.The
Edwardine
Revolution.Dismember-
ment of the
Canon.Its conse-
quences.SECT. VI. *The Second Book.*

In the Second Prayer Book of 1552 extensive changes were made in the service. The new English Canon of the Mass was divided into three parts and considerably altered in language: the first section, the Intercession, was placed earlier, so as to follow immediately upon the offertory.¹ This was consciously or unconsciously a return to primitive use; but on the other hand a great departure was made from primitive use by the omission of prayer for the faithful departed and the consequent alteration of the bidding by the insertion of the words 'militant here in earth.'²

The central section was retained as the Consecration Prayer; but in place of the invocation of the Holy Spirit the following petition was inserted, "Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine accord- to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood." This change was a serious departure from primitive methods in that it omitted both the direct prayer for consecration which was retained in 1549, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which, though not in the Latin Canon, had been inserted in the new English Canon. Dangerous consequences have also resulted from the ending of the prayer at the recital of the Words of Institution; since it ministers to the narrowest Western view of the doctrine of consecration, as being tied to the particular words; and further, the cutting off of all reference to our Lord's resurrection, ascension, and heavenly priest-

¹ At the same time it was made a prayer of offering the alms collected at the offertory. Below, p. 480.

² These restricting words were greatly debated in 1661, and only at the last it was decided finally that they should be retained.

The Second
Prayer Book.

Its object.

Further
transposi-
tion.

hood is likely to obscure the true view of the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice, as the offering which the Church presents on earth in union with our Lord's continual presentation of His sacrifice in heaven.¹

The ending of the Consecration prayer at this unfortunate point was brought about by the transference of the third section, the oblation, to the close of the service after the Communion of the people. The purpose of the change is clear. The revisers, accepting the current western and mediæval doctrine of consecration,² were anxious that the Communion should follow immediately upon it, and to secure this, they transferred, not only the oblation but even the Lord's Prayer also and the prayers following it, till the later moment, after Communion.

This involved a further important change: in 1549 the devotions for communicants from *The Order of the Communion* had followed the Canon, and in the old way immediately preceded their communion. In 1552, conformably with the above mentioned purpose, they were set earlier, and were divided up; the greater part was set before the Anaphora, but the Prayer of Humble Access was inserted into it, immediately before the Consecration. The revisers thus obtained their purpose, and, by admitting no interval between consecration and communion, they minimized the danger, which there undoubtedly was at that time, of a false habit of eucharistic worship: but the reform was purchased at a very dear cost: the present position of the prayer of oblation is the main blot upon the English Liturgy, a blot which has carefully been removed in both the Scottish and the American Liturgies.

¹ Milne, *Eucharistic Worship*, 49, 57, 69.

² In later Prayer Books, e.g. in the XVIIth century, the words of insti-
tution were not infrequently printed in capitals to emphasize them as the words of consecration. See above, p. 153.

The Second
Prayer Book.
and modifi-
cation.

Other
changes.

In the process of transference the prayer of oblation also underwent considerable change; the commemoration of the passion, resurrection and ascension of our Lord—a most primitive and catholic feature—was perforce omitted as unsuitable to the new position, and for the same reason the prayer for grace worthily to receive the Sacrament was changed into a prayer for a blessing upon the communion received. It is less easy to explain why the mention of the ministry of the Holy Angels should have been omitted.

Besides the redistribution and remodelling of the Canon and the transposition of the devotions for communicants, other changes were made: by (1) The omission of the Introit-Psalms, *Agnus Dei* and Post-communion anthems, (2) The insertion of the Commandments and alteration of the *Kyrie*: (3) The transference of the exhortation from the sermon time to the beginning of the new 'Mass of the Faithful' to use the old formula, or after the 'Ante-communion Service' to use a more modern description: (4) The transference of the *Gloria in Excelsis* from the opening to the close of the service. Also ceremonial changes were introduced by (5) the alteration of Vestments; (6) the omission of direct orders for the offertory, (7) for the mixed chalice, and (8) for the manual acts in consecration. On the other hand provision was made for the first time for notice to be given of Holy Days, and fasting days, for kneeling at communion; and for the first time the Black Rubric appeared.

Such was the revolutionary revision of 1552: each revision since has done something to undo some of its effects; but the English Liturgy still lags behind its Scottish and American daughters, and its best friends are those who would most desire some amendment and reform.

The Present
Office.

SECT. VII. *The Present Order.*

The principal features in the history of The Order of Holy Communion will be perceived from what has preceded. It remains only to go *seriatim* through the service as it is and trace the changes by which it has been brought to its present arrangement. This will involve some recapitulation, but it will also give an opportunity for touching upon some details which have hitherto for clearness sake been passed over.

The title of the service in 1549 was *The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion commonly called the Mass*. This was altered in 1552 to its present title, *The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion*.

The words of the first Rubric (1549) implied that there was time between Mattins and the Communion Service for intending communicants to signify their names to the Priest who has the cure of the parish.¹ And the Rubric remained in this form until 1661; by then there were very few Parish Churches in which there was any space at all between the services,² and it was therefore ordered³ that the names should be signified to the curate *at least some time the day before*.⁴

The second Rubric refers to the case of notorious evil livers, or persons who have done wrong to their neighbours by word or deed, to the offence of the congregation.

¹ Wordsworth *Medieval Services*, p. 556 and ff.; Pullan, 141.

² *Fragm. Illustr.* 74, and Cosin, *Works*, v. 512. In earlier times there had been an interval of an hour or two, as morning prayer was at 6 or 7, and Communion at 9 or 10. Heylyn, *Antid. Linc.* iii. ch. x. p. 61. The practice of inverting the order so that Morning Prayer suc-

ceeds instead of preceding the Eucharist is of very recent introduction, and entirely contrary to the whole history of worship and the spirit and actual provisions of the Prayer Book.

³ See above, pp. 177, 187.

⁴ The practice has fallen into general though not universal disuse; the Rubric is omitted in the American Prayer Book.

The
Rubrics.

Notice of
Communion.

Discipline.

The Present Office.

The third likewise refers to malicious persons. These rules, implying an efficient system of corrective discipline, are wisely retained for self-reproof, and as a means of showing what the Church requires in her members, though in practice they have fallen into disuse, partly because of the abeyance of the preceding rubric and partly from the uncertainty of their legal application. There is, however, no doubt as to the duty of admonition; and ordinarily conscience and public feeling will deter a notorious offender from Communion, if not from crime. In proceeding to repulsion, it must be remembered that this is in fact excommunication, which requires the sentence of a competent judge; and that no private person may condemn a man upon common report as a 'notorious' offender unless he has been convicted by some legal sentence.¹ The ecclesiastical rule is, according to the addition made in 1661 to the third Rubric, to signify the case of one who will not be admonished to the Bishop.² The safety of such a step to the individual clergyman consists in this, that the Bishop is the party to institute legal proceedings, which he is bound to do, if the offender is to be repelled from communion.³

The position of the Holy Table.

The fourth Rubric (1552) determines the position of the Priest, and of the Holy Table itself, together with its covering, at the time of Communion.⁴ Its language directing the Table to stand where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said, whether in

¹ This rule is as old as the time of S. Austin. See *Serm.* CCCL. 10. Cp. Bp. Wilson, *Works*, i. 462. Andrewes, *Minor Works*, p. 151. Cp. the sixth canon.

² See above, pp. 177, 188, and Cosin's suggestion, *u.s.*

³ See this question argued at length in the *Book of Common Prayer with Notes* (ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.) pp. 1056 and ff.

⁴ In the Prayer Book for Scotland

(1637) this rubric was: '*The Holy Table having at the Communion-time a carpet, and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter standing at the north side or end thereof, shall say the Lord's Prayer, with this Collect following for due preparation.*'

The Present Office.

the body of the church (as in parish churches), or in the chancel (as in cathedrals and college chapels), was meant on the one side to encourage ecclesiastical propriety, and, on the other, not altogether to condemn the laxer usage of the ultra-Reformers. It was re-enacted in 1559, but at once abrogated by the Queen acting under the 26th section of the Uniformity Act,¹ through an order appended to the Injunctions, confining the Holy Table to the chancel.² But the Prayer Book rubric was not altered,³ and was re-enacted in 1661 with slight verbal changes, and the addition of an order that the people should kneel.⁴ By custom, however, the older rule, which Laud finally succeeded in generally enforcing,⁵ has still gone on. The altars are confined to the chancel, are not moved at the time of Communion, and are set altar-wise. As to the position of the celebrant, the exact compliance with the Rubric thus became impossible, since the Holy Table no longer had a north side, and consequently the eastward position of the celebrant has been in use since Laudian times, and was recognised as legal by the Lambeth Judgment in 1890.⁶

The Lord's Prayer⁷ and Collect⁸ were taken, in 1549,

¹ *Parker Corr.* 375.

² Above, p. 105.

³ In fact the Order was explained away by the Bishops' *Interpretations. Doc. Ann.* i. 238. Above, p. 105.

⁴ Changes were proposed both to make the rubric consistent with the Order, and with current practice, and also to include a mention of the carpet of silk ordered in the 82nd Canon, but neither was finally adopted. See Cosin, *Works*, v. 513.

⁵ Hutton, *William Laud*, pp. 16, 73-78. *Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 19 and ff.

⁶ *Judgment*, p. 40.

⁷ The Lord's Prayer was not printed here until 1662; the rubric only directed it to be said. Hence apparently the custom of the unreformed service continued, that the Priest alone should repeat it; and the tradition has prevailed over the general rubric, inserted there at the first occurrence of the Lord's Prayer, ordering that the people should repeat it with the minister, '*wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service,*' unless indeed the term Divine Service was meant in its strict sense, which is unlikely.

⁸ This collect is probably of Eng-

The Lord's Prayer and Collect.

The Present Office.

from the devotions which had been repeated by the Priest and the other ministers as a preparation for the Mass.

The Commandments.

The Ten Commandments were inserted in 1552, and the *Kyrie* was adapted to suit them; the direction that the celebrant should turn to the people in rehearsing them was inserted in the Scottish Book, and thence adopted in 1661 at Wren's suggestion.¹ The concluding response naturally followed the reading of the Law in a Christian service, being a prayer for the fulfilment of the prophetic promise concerning the law.²

Collects for the King and for the Day.

The Collects for the King were composed in 1549,³ and originally succeeded the Collect of the Day, being said in the old way as a 'Memorial.' In 1661 the order was inverted, as it had been in the Scottish Book of 1637, probably merely for convenience and to avoid turning back in the book, or else to keep the Collect in close connexion with the Epistle and Gospel.⁴ The Collect for the Day, the Epistle, and Gospel, and the Creed,⁵ occupy the same relative position in which they

Lessons and Creed.

lish origin or at any rate especially connected with England. See Blunt *ad loc.*

¹ *Fragm. Ill.*, p. 75. The Bishops at the Savoy had laid down the general principle in reply to the Puritans. Above, p. 178.

² Jer. xxxi. 33. In the American Prayer Book of 1892, our Lord's Summary of the Law (Matt. xxii. 37-40) may be read after the Ten Commandments, with the introductory words, 'Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.' And the Decalogue may be omitted, provided it be said once on each Sunday: but, whenever it is omitted, the Minister shall say the Summary of the Law, and the Lesser Litany be said after it. In the Scottish Office (1637) it was directed that the Commandments should be rehearsed distinctly, 'the

people all the while kneeling, and asking God mercy for the transgression of every duty therein, either according to the letter, or to the mystical meaning of the said Commandment.' This observation applied especially to the Fourth Commandment. Afterwards, the Summary was added as an alternative: this was borrowed from the Nonjurors' Office of 1718 (above p. 226), where the Summary was first used, to the exclusion of the Ten Commandments. Dowden, *Annot. Scottish Com. Office*, p. 158.

³ The mediæval Service inserted the King's name, together with that of the Pope and the Bishop of the diocese, in the Canon (above, p. 442).

⁴ Cosin, *Works*, v. 513.

⁵ See above, p. 469.

The Present Office.

had been placed in the mediæval service. The rubric was simplified in 1552 and enlarged in 1661, especially by the addition of the order that the people should stand; but the direction for the ascription *Glory be to Thee, O Lord*, was not reinserted,¹ though it had been prescribed in 1637 with a second ascription to follow the close of the Gospel. Tradition has supplied the deficiency.

Sermon.

The sermon or homily is a very old feature of the service, since there is mention of it in S. Justin's account of the Liturgy in the IInd century. Its natural place was after the reading of Scripture, and a large part of the long series of Christian sermons from the earliest days to the present have been expositions of the lessons read at the Eucharist.² In the later middle ages sermons were not preached at the Mass weekly, but only on occasions: consequently the restoration of the weekly sermon or homily was a special feature of the reform movement.³

With regard to notices, the rubric of 1661 transferred the time for them from the end to the beginning of the sermon and gave fuller directions.⁴

At the same time directions for the offertory, such as there had been in 1549, were restored, and placed side by side with those for the collection of alms for the poor, which alone was mentioned in 1552. The history is a little intricate, and the stages of change were as follows.

The offertory.

¹ Cosin had proposed this, as well as the order to stand at the Gospel and Creeds.

² S. Austin's sermons and expositions are especially full of allusion to the lesson and chants of the service.

³ For the connexion with the Bidding Prayer see above, p. 255.

⁴ This is the proper place for the publication of banns of marriage.

The Act 26 Geo. II., c. 33, authorises their publication after the second lesson only in a case where there is no Morning service, but only Evening Prayer, said in a church. But in many Prayer Books an unwarranted alteration of rubric has been made by the printer. Stephens, *B. C. P. with Notes*, ii. 1151.

The Present
Office.

In 1549 the Offertory was to be sung by the clerks¹ or said by the minister while the people offer; thus there was an opportunity for people to contribute to the poor men's box, or upon the offering days² to pay their dues to the curate. The communicants were divided from those who were not intending to communicate, and the elements were prepared and set on the altar.

Alms.

In 1552, when the Intercession, which had been originally the first part of the Canon, was brought into its present position with an altered bidding, the rubric preceding it was: *Then shall the Churchwardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the devotions of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box, &c.* And the words of the prayer were: 'We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to accept our alms,' with the side-note, *If there be none alms given to the poor, then shall the words, &c.* The next change was that introduced into the rubric of the Prayer Book for Scotland (1637), which directed the deacon or one of the churchwardens, to '*receive the devotions of the people there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered he shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the Holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's table, that it may be ready*

Devotions of
the people.

Oblations.

¹ Music for these Offertories was provided in Merbecke's *B. C. P. Noted*; direction was given in 1552 that the sentences should be said which had been only an alternative method in 1549. They are still commonly sung, though rarely to Merbecke's music. Additional sentences are provided in the Scottish and American books.

² The usual offering-days were Christmas Day, Easter Day, and two others, of which the feast of the Dedication of the Parish Church was usually one. Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 713, ii. 160. By an Act of Henry VIII. (1536), Midsummer and Michaelmas were substituted for the two latter days.

The Present
Office.

for that service.' Still the prayer itself only mentioned *our alms*, and the side-note only *the alms given to the poor*. At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661, all mention of the payment of dues at this time was omitted,¹ the substance of the Scottish rubric was taken, and a variety was recognised in the uses of the offertory. It was ordered that the *alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people*, should be received in a decent bason and brought to the Priest, *who shall humbly present, and place it upon the Holy Table. And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place² upon the table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient.* Thus the scope of the collection was enlarged to include other offerings besides the alms for the poor, and the solemn presentation of the elements which was customary, though not prescribed,³ was again definitely enjoined. At the same time the words '*and oblations*' were put into the prayer, and a corresponding change made in the side-note, '*If there be no alms or oblations.*' The interpretation of the additional word is somewhat doubtful, but it seems legitimate to refer it either to the elements just set upon the altar,

¹ Cosin urged this on the ground that if it were in fact carried out it would be very unseemly. *Works*, v. 514.

² The words, *offer up and place*, from the Scottish Office (1637), were proposed for adoption by Convocation in 1661, but they were not adopted.

³ In the first part of the XVIIth century, though there was no rubric for the offertory, it was performed with great ceremony. This rubric therefore only confirmed existing practice. The same was the case with regard to the manual acts in consecration. See above, p. 148.

For the elaborate ceremonial then practised, though not prescribed by rubric, see Andrewes, *Minor Works*, pp. 152 and ff., and the forms of service in Lambeth MS. 577. From the earliest times it has been customary to mix water with the wine in the chalice: the direction for this was given in 1549, but omitted in 1552, and not restored in 1661. It was decided in the Lambeth Judgment that the mixed chalice is lawful provided that the mixing is not done during the service. *Lamb. Judg.* pp. 4-13.

The Present
Office.

or else, from a more strictly antiquarian point of view, to the dues and offerings paid by the people to the clergy.¹

The general history of the prayer has already been given, but it must be noted further that the concluding sentence of thanksgiving and prayer for the faithful departed was added at this same time (1661) to supply the gap caused by the omission in 1552.²

¹ It is significant that Patrick, in his *Mensa Mystica* (second ed. 1667), and his *Christian Sacrifice* (first ed. 1670), refers the word 'oblations' to the placing the Bread and Wine upon the Holy Table, as a thankful oblation to God of the fruits of the earth: and this use of the term was common in the XVIIth century. But its technical meaning had been in older times, and still was, the contribution of the laity to the support of the clergy. This is clearly its strict meaning here; or, in a wider sense, all offerings of the people other than alms for the poor. And the insertion of the word in the prayer corresponds not with the simultaneous addition of a rubric providing for the placing of the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, but with the contemporary alteration of the preceding rubric; by this (i) the order for payment of 'the due and accustomed offerings' to the curate by the laity was omitted, and thus the ancient 'oblations' became voluntary instead of compulsory: and (ii) these voluntary oblations, as part of 'the other devotions of the people,' were not simply paid over to the Curate, but were 'presented and placed upon the Holy Table,' and so were fitly given a place side by side with the alms in the prayer.

The identification, therefore, of the oblations with the eucharistic elements, though obvious and supported by early and good evidence is not, historically speaking, the primary one. But as a secondary interpretation it is probably as old as the rubric

itself. See Wesley, *The Pious Communicant* (1700) p. 4, quoted in Clutterbuck, *Vindication*. 'Alms relate to the money collected for the poor, and oblations may relate to the Bread and Wine' (Edn. 1702) p. 50, and for the whole question see *Journ. Theol. Stud.* i. 321 and ff.

² All mention of the dead was omitted in 1552, when the place and heading of this prayer were changed. It had been (1549) introduced with the words, 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church:' in 1552, the words 'militant here in earth,' were added, in compliance with Bucer's strictures upon the practice, which he allows to be very ancient, of making mention of the dead in prayer: *Script. Angl.*, p. 467; above, p. 46. In the Scottish Prayer Book (1637) much of the language of the formulary of 1549 was introduced; and this single clause was added in 1661. Thus the objection was met which both Cosin and Wren made that the prayer spoke of 'giving thanks,' but in fact contained no thanksgiving. Cosin, *u.s.*; *Fragm. Illustr.*, *u.s.* A proposal was made at the same time to substitute as title *Let us pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church of Christ*, and for a long time the proposal held the field. It was rejected in the final stages of the revision, but the title in this form appeared not infrequently in early editions of the Restoration Prayer Book. See Parker, *Introduction*, p. cc. and *The Book Annexed*.

The Present
Office.

The Exhortations are a special feature of the reformed offices. They have passed through many changes, not so much in language as in arrangement. In 1552, the Prayer for the Church Militant was followed by (i) an *Exhortation at certain times when the Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion*: 'We be come together at this time, dearly beloved brethren, to feed at the Lord's Supper, unto the which in God's behalf I bid you,' &c.: a new form, composed apparently by Peter Martyr at the instance of Bucer.¹ Then followed (ii) another Exhortation, with the rubric: *And sometime shall be said this also at the discretion of the Curate*: 'Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God, our heavenly Father, most hearty thanks, for that He hath given His Son, our Saviour,' &c.: a recast of the invitation in the *Order of the Communion* and the Book of 1549.² (iii) *Then shall the Priest say this Exhortation*: 'Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come,' &c.: the long exhortation of the *Order of the Communion* and the Book of 1549. The short exhortation followed:—(iv) *Then shall the Priest*

Exhortation to the negligent.

Notice of Communion

Long Exhortation.

Short

¹ *Censura*, cap. xxvii. p. 495. Its object clearly was to promote frequent communion, and that all who were present should communicate: 'ut qui communioni sunt presentes sacramentis quoque participant.' The Exhortation contained the words: 'Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on of them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves,' which disappeared in 1661, because, as Bishop Wren recorded, by that date it had become the custom for non-communicants to retire. *Fragm. Illustr.* 78.

² The following words which originally stood at the end were omitted in 1552. After the direction to unquiet consciences to resort

to the minister for absolution there follows: "requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that do use to their further satisfying the auricular and secret confession to the priest, nor those also, which think needful or convenient for the quieting of their own consciences particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God and the general confession to the Church. But in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or consciences, whereas he hath no warrant of God's word to the same."

The Present
Office.
Exhorta-
tion.

say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion, 'Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you,' &c. This order continued until the last revision (1661). At that time the form of giving notice of Communion, which was adopted in 1548 but given up in 1552, was restored: the order of the two invitations was altered, and an alteration was made in the beginning of each, in order to include the giving of such notice; also the rubric directed one or the other to be read *after the Sermon or Homily ended, on the Sunday, or some Holy Day, immediately preceding*.¹ The revised edition of (ii) was placed first, as being that which was likely to be used most frequently as a general instruction to communicants, and also a warning to contemners of the Sacrament; and hence the notice to blasphemers, &c., not to presume to come, was at the

¹ See the suggestions of Cosin and Wren, *u.s.* This secured (i) that the Exhortation was read to those who needed the Exhortation, and (ii) that time was allowed for those who desired it to come to the Minister 'for the quieting of their conscience and receiving the benefit of absolution.' The Irish Canons until quite recently made special provision thus. 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, of the years 1634 and 1711, Canon XIX. *Warning to be given beforehand for the Communion.*

Whereas every lay person is bound to receive the Holy Communion thrice every year, and many notwithstanding do not receive that Sacrament once in a year:

We do require every Minister to give warning to his parishioners publickly in the church at Morning Prayer the Sunday before every time of his administering the holy Sacrament, for the better preparation of themselves; which said warning we enjoin the said parishioners to accept and obey under the penalty and danger of the law.

And the Minister of every parish, in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches some principal Minister of the Church, shall, the afternoon before the said administration, give warning by the tolling of the bell, or otherwise, to the intent, that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special Ministry of Reconciliation, he may afford it to those that need it.

And, to this end the people are often to be exhorted to enter into a special examination of the state of their own souls; and that finding themselves either extreme dull, or much troubled in mind, they do resort unto God's Ministers, to receive from them as well advice and counsel for the quickening of their dead hearts, and the subduing of those corruptions, whereunto they have been subject, as the benefit of absolution likewise, for the quieting of their consciences by the Power of the Keys, which Christ hath committed to his Ministers for that purpose.²

The Present
Office.

revision inserted here, instead of being, as hitherto, addressed to the communicants at the time of Communion.¹ Peter Martyr's Exhortation (i) was directed to be used *instead of the former, when the people were negligent to come to the Holy Communion*: and a change was made in the position of the two invitations, which henceforward were to follow the sermon instead of being postponed till after the Church Militant Prayer.² In contradistinction to them, the long Exhortation (iii) was appointed to be said *at the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament*; followed by the Invitation (iv), which still retained its rubric, *Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the Holy Communion*,³ but the words in the Exhortation implying a congregation of non-communicants were omitted,⁴ because by this time all such were accustomed to retire previously.⁵

Three of the Exhortations mentioned above, together with the Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words that immediately follow, were derived from *The Order of the Communion* of 1548, as well as the Prayer of Humble Access, which is now separated from the rest, the words of administration (first part) and the 'Peace' prefixed to

¹ This was one of Cosin's suggestions, *Works*, v. 515, but it was probably adopted only at a late stage of the revision, as it was one of the corrections made like the insertion of the black rubric (p. 503) after the transcription of the *Annexed Book*.

² See above, p. 178.

³ In old days it was customary for the communicants to 'draw near' at this point, and the previous rubric was inserted before the Long Exhortation in order to obviate this. Cosin, *Works*, v. 516; *Not. Euch.*

⁴ The omission was very incompletely made, for the rubrics which precede and follow still contemplate the presence of others not communicating.

⁵ In the American Book the two Exhortations giving warning (ii. and i.) are placed after the service. Leave is given to curtail them and to omit the Long Exhortation to communicants (iii.) 'if it hath been already said on one Lord's Day in that samemonth.' Cp. the Irish Book.

The Present Office.

the final Blessing. The history of this Order has been given above,¹ and its incorporation into the First Prayer Book has also been recorded,² but a fuller account of it has been deferred till now.

It began with the Invitation to give notice of Communion and exhort to a due preparation, *i.e.* (ii) above. Then followed the rubric:—

Order of the Communion (1548).

'The time of the Communion shall be immediately after that the Priest himself hath received the sacrament, without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass (until other order shall be provided), but as heretofore usually the Priest hath done with the sacrament of the body, to prepare, bless, and consecrate so much as will serve the people; so it shall continue still after the same manner and form, save that he shall bless and consecrate the biggest chalice, or some fair and convenient cup or cups full of wine with some water put unto it; and that day not drink it up al himself, but taking one only sup or draught, leave the rest upon the altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion, and shall thus exhort them as followeth: 'Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this holy Communion must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, &c.'

The Exhortation.

This is our present Exhortation at the time of the celebration of the Communion, *i.e.*, (iii) above.

'Then the Priest shall say to them which be ready to take the Sacrament: If any man here be an open blasphemer, &c.' This clause is now inserted, in almost the same words, in the first Exhortation, giving warning of the Communion, *i.e.*, (i) above.

*'Here the Priest shall pause a while, to see if any man will withdraw himself: and if he perceive any so to do, then let him commune with him privily at convenient leisure, and see whether he can with good exhortation bring him to grace: and after a little pause, the Priest shall say: You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins . . . make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to His holy Church, here gathered together in His name, meekly kneeling upon your knees, *i.e.*, (iv) above.'*

Address to the communicants.

The General Confession.

'Then shall a general Confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, either by one

¹ See p. 38.² See p. 471.

of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees: Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, &c. Then shall the Priest stand up, and turning him to the people, say thus: Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to His Church, to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy upon you, pardon, &c.'

Order of the Communion (1548).

The Absolution.

Then followed the '*Comfortable Words*,' the Prayer '*in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion*,' and the Administration to Ministers first and then people with these words: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life.' 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul to everlasting life:' concluding with the blessing: 'The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. To which the people shall answer, Amen.'

Prayer of humble Access. Communion.

A rubric ordered that '*If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he follow with the chalice, and as the Priest ministereth the bread, so shall he for more expedition minister the wine:*' also that the bread '*shall be such as heretofore hath been accustomed; and every of the said consecrated breads shall be broken in two pieces at the least:*' and if the wine hallowed doth not suffice, '*the Priest, after the first cup or chalice be emptied, may go again to the altar, and reverently, and devoutly, prepare and consecrate another, and so the third, or more, likewise beginning at these words, Simili modo postquam cœnatum est, and ending at these words, qui pro nobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum, and without any levation or lifting up.'*

A second consecration of Wine.

In comparing this with the present service, the first point to notice after the Exhortations is that the rubric before the Confession was altered in 1661, in accordance with that introduced into the Prayer Book for Scotland,¹ and with the exceptions of the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference.² The Confession itself had been

The Present Office.

The Confession.

¹ *Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the Holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.' Rubr. (1637).*
² Above, pp. 178, 188.

composed in 1548, partly from the old Latin form,¹ and partly from the long form in Hermann's *Consultation*.²

¹ The mediæval Confession contained the expression, 'peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, *mea culpa*': the words, 'By thought, word, and deed,' are due to this source. See above, pp. 267, 282. It is further possible that those which follow, 'provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us,' were taken, as a single idea, from Pollanus (fol. 5), 'perditi jam inde a prima nostra origine, indies magis atque magis judicium tuum in nos provocantes vitæ improbitate.'

² 'Almighty everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Maker of all things, the Judge of all men, we acknowledge, and we lament that we were conceived and born in sins, and that therefore we be prone to all evils, and abhor from all good things; that we have also transgressed thy holy commandments without end and measure in despising thee and thy word, in distrusting thy aid, in trusting ourselves and the world in wicked studies and works, wherewith we have most grievously offended thy Majesty, and hurt our neighbour. Therefore we have more and more buried ourselves into eternal death. And we are sorry for it with all our hearts, and we desire pardon of thee for all the things that we have committed against thee; we call for thy help against sin dwelling in us, and Satan the kindler thereof; keep us that we do nothing hereafter against thee, and cover the wickedness that remaineth in us with the righteousness of thy Son, and repress it in us with thy Spirit, and at length purge it clean out. Have mercy upon us, most gentle Father, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Give, and increase thy Holy Spirit in us, who may teach us to acknowledge our sins truly and thoroughly, and to be pricked with a lively repentance of the same, and with true faith to

apprehend and retain remission of them in Christ our Lord, that dying to sin daily more and more, we may serve, and please thee in a new life, to the glory of thy name, and edifying of thy congregation. For we acknowledge that thou justly requirest these things of us, wherefore we desire to perform the same. Vouchsafe thou, O Father of heaven, which hast given us a will, to grant us also that we may study to (do) those things with all our hearts which pertain to our health, though our Lord Jesus Christ.

Hear the Gospel.

John iii.: God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that all which believe in Him should have life everlasting.

Or, 1 Tim. i.: This is a sure saying, and worthy of all embracing, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Or, John iii.: The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands: he that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life.

Or, Acts x.: All the prophets bear witness unto Christ, that all that believe in him receive remission of their sins through him.

Or, 1 Joh. ii.: My little children, if any have sinned, we have a just advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, and he is an atonement for our sins.

When the pastor hath showed to the people one of the said Gospels, he shall say further,—Because our blessed Lord hath left this power to his congregation, that it may absolve them from sins, and restore them into favour of the heavenly Father, which being repentant for their sins, do truly believe in Christ the Lord; I, the minister of Christ and the congregation, declare and pronounce remission of sins, the favour of God, and life everlasting through our

A comparison of it with the latter shows how our Reformers kept in view the truth that confession was a personal action, an acknowledgment of personal sins; and that it was not necessary to recur at all times to the sin of our nature, which in a confession seemed to offer an excuse for personal transgression rather than an acknowledgment of it.

The Absolution is from the old Latin form, with an additional clause prefixed which was probably taken also from the *Consultation*, and which makes the formulary to be also a declaration of the need of repentance and faith in order to forgiveness. The Comfortable Words that follow are the scriptural statements upon which the Absolution is grounded: the idea was taken from the *Consultation*, but altered and set after the Absolution instead of before it.

We come now to the more solemn part of the service, called the Anaphora, commencing with the Versicles and Preface. The origin and growth of this central section have already been dealt with at length, and only a few points remain to be noted. The number of Proper Prefaces, which had once been considerable, was restricted to ten at a Provincial Council held in 1175 under Richard Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ so as to conform with Roman custom. In the Prayer Book the number was further reduced to five,² two of which

Lord Jesus Christ, to all them which be sorry for their sins, which have true faith in Christ the Lord, and desire to approve themselves unto him.' Hermann's *Consultation*, fol. cci. and ff. (1548). A mediæval English form of *Exhortation before Communion* is printed in Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* III. 348 [408]; and in Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 178 [382].

¹ Harduin, *Conc.*, VI. p. ii. p.

1638. The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, a Winchester book written c. 1020, has 281 Prefaces. Another Winchester Missal a century later (c. 1120) has 190. See *Jumièges Missal* (H.B.S. XI.), pp. lxxiii. 337-340.

² The five omitted are those for (1) the Epiphany, and throughout the Octave; (2) Ash Wednesday and Lent fast-days; (3) Feasts of the Apostles and Evangelists; (4)

The Present
Office.

date from 1549,¹ while the rest are taken from the old Latin.² All the proper Prefaces in 1549 were appointed only for the day of commemoration: this was altered in 1552, in accordance with the old rubrics, which had appointed the Prefaces of these days to be said throughout their Octaves: that for Whitsunday is to be said only during the six following days, because the Octave is Trinity Sunday, which has its proper Preface, and which is said only on that day, in celebration of the Unity in Trinity.

Sanctus.

The *Sanctus* is drawn almost entirely from the texts

the two festivals of Holy Cross; and (5) every festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary, except the Purification.

¹ Those for Christmas Day and Whit-Sunday. For the former the old Preface was: 'Quia per incarnati Verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuæ claritatis infulsit: ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilem amorem rapiamur.' And for the latter 'Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes cœlos, sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum Spiritum Sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat. Sed et supernæ virtutes atque angelicæ potestates hymnum gloriæ tuæ concinunt, sine fine dicentes.'

² The following are the Latin originals. For Easter: 'Et te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum die gloriosius prædicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi: qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit.

'Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus sine fine dicentes:—'

For Ascension Day: 'Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Qui post resurrectionem suam omnibus discipulis suis manifestus apparuit, et ipsis cernentibus est elevatus in cœlum, ut nos divinitatis suæ tribueret esse participes. Et ideo

For Trinity Sunday: 'Qui cum unigenito Filio tuo, et Spiritu Sancto, unus es Deus, unus es Dominus, non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius trinitate substantiæ. Quod enim de tua gloriæ revelante te credimus, hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus. Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque deitatis, et in personis proprietatis, et in essentia unitas, et in majestate adoretur æqualitas.

'Quam laudant angeli atque archangeli, Cherubin quoque ac Seraphin, qui non cessant clamare una voce dicentes:'

This ending was the only exceptional ending; of the two ordinary Latin alternatives (above, p. 441) one only was required for all the other prefaces in the Prayer Book, viz. the ending 'et ideo cum angelis.' For this exceptional case the cue, 'Whom the angels,' was given here in 1549, but the full translation of it was never given, and in 1552, the same cue was appended to this as to the rest.

The Present
Office.

of Scripture, viz. the song of the Seraphim (Is. vi. 3) and the song of welcome at our Lord's Triumphal entry on Palm Sunday (Mat. xxi. 9). This was inserted in full in 1549, but in 1552 the translation was altered, and the latter part, or *Benedictus*, was cut off.

The prayer of humble access formed part of *The Order of the Communion*, and remained here in the position in which it was placed in 1549, while the Invitation, Confession, Absolution and Comfortable Words were transferred to an earlier point. Two new rubrics were introduced in 1661 in connexion with the consecration prayer, (i) the marginal rubric directing the manual acts in consecration, which had been designedly omitted since 1552, though they were commonly retained in practice; and (ii) the rubric preceding the prayer and directing that the priest should stand before the table to arrange the elements in preparation for these acts in consecration.¹

The present Prayer of Consecration, which is the second of the three sections into which the English Canon of 1549 was divided, consists of three parts:—an introduction expressing the meaning and object of the rite, a petition, and the words of institution. There had always been in this part of the service a commemoration of God's benefits to man through Jesus Christ; it has been already pointed out² that this part is here much more full than it was in the Latin Canon, and that great pains is taken to reaffirm a truth, which had then been strangely controverted, that the oblation of Christ once offered is a full and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. The second part of the prayer comes not

¹ The insertion of this Rubric Talbot, *Ritual*, p. 132. The Irish authorised the Eastward position at consecration, which was at the time used by many, though not enjoined. Book has altered this.

² See above, p. 459.

Prayer of
humble
access.

Rubrics.

The Consecration.

Commemoration of
God's mercies.

The Present Office.

The ἐπίκλησις.

from 1549 but from the revision of 1552, at which the Invocation of the Holy Spirit was omitted and there was substituted the phrase 'Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood,' differing from the phrase in the Latin Canon,¹ and from that in the Scottish Office.² The Prayer avoids at this point any express mention of the consecration of the creatures of bread and wine, and of the work of the Holy Spirit in consecration: it is carefully worded so as not to express any special theory of consecration while consecrating the sacrament: the prayer has already been offered that we may duly 'eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood,' and it is enough now to pray that we, receiving those creatures of God, may partake of that Body and Blood, truly and really,³ in a sacramental manner, according to the full meaning of Christ's ordinance, whatsoever that may be, without specifying the hidden way in which the earthly elements are made conductors of the heavenly grace. The third part of the prayer comprises the Words of Institution with the manual acts, the taking the bread and the cup into the hand, the breaking of the bread, and the laying the hand upon the bread, and upon the vessels containing the wine, in sign of blessing and consecration. At this point the prayer comes to an abrupt end. The oblation

The Words of Institution.

¹ Above p. 443, 'corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui.'

² This was (1637):—'Vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy Word and Holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.' In the present Office it is:—'. . . that they may become the Body and Blood . . .'

³ 'All sides agree in the faith of the Church of England, that in the most blessed sacrament the worthy receiver is by his faith made spiritually partaker of the true and real Body and Blood of Christ truly and really [verily and indeed], and of all the benefits of His passion.'—Laud, *Conference with Fisher*, § 35, p. 241, ed. Oxf. 1839.

The Present Office.

The Administration.

and Lord's Prayer are deferred and the communion immediately follows.

The Administration of the Elements is according to the primitive order: the Clergy first receive in both kinds, and then the people in like manner, having not only Communion in both kinds,¹ but receiving the bread and the wine separately;² the people by the rubric introduced in 1552³ are required to be kneeling, and since the same date the bread has been delivered into the hand of the communicant.⁴ The form of words used in delivering the elements has met with many changes. The earliest that we can trace were very simple, such as 'This is the Body of Christ,' 'Amen:': 'This is the Blood of Christ,' 'Amen'; or again 'The Body of Christ, The Blood of Christ the Cup of Salvation,'⁵ and stress was laid on the communicant's response 'Amen.'⁶ In the time of Gregory the Great, it appears that the form used in the Roman Church was, 'Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam,'⁷ and a similar

¹ The withdrawal of the chalice from the assistants began in England in the twelfth century, and then spread abroad until, apart from exceptional cases, it was complete in the fourteenth century. Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* ix. vii: Pullan, 45, and most fully Smend, *Kelchspendung und Kelchversagung*, pp. 14, 23 and ff.

² In the Eastern Church the bread is dipped in the cup, and the laity thus communicated in both kinds. The same custom of 'intinction' was in use for some time in the West previously to the withdrawal of the cup from all but the celebrant. *Not. Euch.* ix. v., Smend, p. 19. On the different modes which have prevailed in administering the Eucharist, see also Bingham, *Antiq.* xv. ch. 5. *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* s. v. Communion.

³ See above, pp. 83-85.

⁴ This is the primitive custom. The direction given by S. Cyril of Jerusalem (348) is this. 'Making your left hand a throne for the right, which is as it were to receive a King and hallowing the palm, receive the Body of Christ.' *Cat. Myst.* v. 18. Brightman, *L. E. W.* i. 466. Cp. 484-536. *Not. Euch.* ix. viii. It began to be disused by the ninth century, and was forbidden by the Council of Rouen (c. 878) *Hard.* vi. 205. See Martene, *De Ritibus*, i. iv. 10, § 8. *Not. Euch. l.c.* The restoration was suggested by Bucer. See above, p. 74.

⁵ Hippolytean Canons, 146: Clementine Liturgy in *Const. Apost.* viii. 12; *L. E. W.* 25.

⁶ *Ibid.* 25, 466. S. Augustine, *Contra. Faust.* xii. 10. *Eus.* vi. 43.

⁷ Joh. Diacon. *Vita. Greg.* ii. 41; Migne. *P.L.* lxxxv. 103.

The Present Office

In 1548.

In 1549.

In 1552.

form ending, 'custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam eternam. Amen,' was that which was customary in England before the Reformation.¹ When this was adopted for the double administration in the *Order of the Communion* of 1548, not only were the words 'which was given (shed) for thee' inserted, but 'preserve thy body' was said at the administration of the Body, and 'preserve thy soul' at the administration of the Blood.² Objection was raised to this distinction, and consequently in 1549 the formulas followed more closely the old words, thus: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life:' 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul to everlasting life.' In 1552, entirely new sentences were substituted, more in accordance with the views of foreign reformers³ and avoiding every appearance of calling the elements the body and the blood of Christ: 'Take, and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.' 'Drink this, in remembrance that Christ's blood was

¹ It is given in the Manuals, not in the Missals. See for York and Sarum, *The York Manual* (Surtees LXIII.), pp. 52, 51*.

² See the form of words above, p. 487. No direction is given for the posture of the priest, and no form is provided with which he is himself to receive; these points were left undecided deliberately in 1661, but the use of the first person seems most in accordance with the origin of the words which he uses in administering to others, and has Wren's authority. *Fragm. Illustr.* 82, 83.

³ The form in Hermann's *Consultation* (fol. ccxxiv.) is, 'Take, and eat to thy health the body of the Lord, which was delivered for thy sins. Take, and drink to thy health

the blood of the Lord, which was shed for thy sins.' The form used by Pollanus (1551) was, 'Panis quem frangimus, communicatio est corporis Christi; Calix cui benedicimus, communicatio est sanguinis Christi.' *Liturgia Peregrinorum*, fol. xi. In a second edition (Frankfort, 1555) a longer form is given: 'Panis quem frangimus communicatio est corporis Christi; Accipite, comedite memore, corpus Christi pro vobis esse fractum. Calix benedictionis cui benedicimus communicatio est sanguinis Christi, qui pro vobis est fusus in remissionem peccatorum.' See the form appointed in the *Directory*, above, p. 205. The Scottish Prayer Book (1637) restored the form of 1549.

The Present Office.

In 1559.

A second consecration.

shed for thee, and be thankful.' When the Prayer Book was revised at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1559), these two sentences were combined with the older formulas of administration.

The rubric directing a second consecration, if required, was added in 1661. It was already customary, a similar rubric had been inserted in the Scottish Book, and the attempt of a Puritan to administer unconsecrated bread and wine, when more was required, without proceeding to a second consecration, had been definitely condemned in 1574, though he could plead that there was no rubric to authorise him to do so.¹ The directions are in accordance with late mediæval precedents which made the recital of the Words of Institution the irreducible minimum to be required for consecration; but in the earlier middle ages before the withdrawal of the chalice from the laity, additional wine was consecrated by simple contact with the Sacrament that had been already consecrated.² When it was necessary to make fresh directions recourse was had to the later and not the earlier expedient.³

The rubric following as to the placing and covering of what remains of the consecrated elements upon the Lord's table, also dates from 1661, and is part of the

¹ Case of Robert Johnson in *A parte of a Register*, pp. 105-111, from which it is taken: *And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least; and then, if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration, 'Our Saviour, in the night that He was betrayed, took, the simple recitation of the words of institution, and it does not even require all of them to be uttered. In this respect it goes beyond the direc-*

² *Not. Euch.* ix. vi. Smend, l.c.

³ This has the advantage that some definite words of consecratory prayer are said; but on the other hand it certainly favours the notion that the act of consecration is connected not with the prayer in general, but with the simple recitation of the words of institution, and it does not even require all of them to be uttered. In this respect it goes beyond the direction in the Prayer Book for Scotland, from which it is taken: *And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least; and then, if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration, 'Our Saviour, in the night that He was betrayed, took, the simple recitation of the words of institution, and it does not even require all of them to be uttered. In this respect it goes beyond the direc-*

tion in the Prayer Book for Scotland, from which it is taken: *And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least; and then, if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration, 'Our Saviour, in the night that He was betrayed, took, the simple recitation of the words of institution, and it does not even require all of them to be uttered. In this respect it goes beyond the direc-*

met in daughter Rites. See p. 515.

The Present Office.

provision then made for greater reverence to the Holy Sacrament.

Post-Communion.

At the revision in 1552, the Anthems were omitted which had been provided in 1549 to be sung by the choir after the Communion, as well as the *Agnus Dei* sung during the Priest's Communion.¹ At the same time the post-Communion service came, as has been shown, to consist of the Lord's Prayer, a Prayer of Oblation or of Thanksgiving, the Great Doxology, and the Blessing. The Lord's Prayer when placed in its present position in 1552 was also assigned to be said by the people as well as the Priest according to Gallican and Eastern custom.

The Lord's Prayer.

The Thanksgiving.

The first of the two alternative forms following is the Prayer of Oblation cut off from the Edwardine Canon in 1552 and placed in this anomalous position.² The second form was composed in 1549 as the Thanksgiving to be used at this part of the service. The Latin Mass was dependent upon its variable post-Communion prayers for the principal act of thanksgiving, and this fixed prayer which was provided in their place may be allowed to accord most with the thanksgivings which the primitive Church used in the same position.³ One expression in it is taken from the Priest's thanksgiving after receiving.⁴

¹ In the Lambeth Judgment, which authorised the restoration of this hymn, the suggestion was adopted that its omission was due to the transference of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, containing the same words, from the beginning of the service, where it was remote from this, to the end, where it was very close to it: and it was further suggested that it was by way of compensation for this omission, that then the words in the *Gloria in Excelsis* were thenceforward thrice repeated, instead of twice, as had formerly been the case. *Judgment*, p. 61. But some MS. settings of the First Book (p. 43) have the repeat.

² A proposal emanating from Cosin to restore the prayer of oblation to its proper position as 'more consonant, both to former precedents, and the nature of this holy action' was not accepted by the bishops at the revision in 1661. Cosin, *Works*, v. 517.

³ The opening words have a certain similarity to a prayer in the Brandenburg - Nürnberg Order of 1533 (Jacobs, p. 243), but the bulk of the prayer is entirely different. Richter, i. 207.

⁴ Above, p. 293: 'Gratias . . . qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore, &c.' Cp. the Thanksgiving in the Greek Liturgies in *L. E. W.*

The Present Office.

Gloria in excelsis.

The history of the '*Gloria in excelsis*' has already been given¹ and it has been shown how at the revision of the Prayer Book in 1552,² it was placed at the end of the service. This according to present arrangements appears to be its most suitable position. The whole service, indeed, is eucharistical; but as it was then made to open with the Law, and prayers of humble confession, it was most natural to put the hymn of praise in close connexion with the thanksgiving, which has always been placed after Communion.

The Blessing.

The Blessing which was added at the end of the service in 1549 to take the place of the blessing that was customary though not prescribed in the Latin Missals, consists of two parts. The first clause taken from Phil. iv. 7, was appointed in 1548 as the close of the administration in '*The Order of the Communion*'; the second clause is that which was habitually used at the close of the special blessing which the Bishop, when he celebrated, pronounced after the Canon was completed;³ it was probably also the form used in giving the customary blessing at the end of Mass.⁴

The Collects

Of the six *Collects to be said after the offertory when there is no communion, &c.*, the first, second and fourth were taken from ancient offices,⁵ the others were com-

¹ Above, p. 462. In translating the hymn in 1549, the opening words were taken from the Greek, *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*, not from the Latin of the Vulgate and the Missal, '*pax hominibus bona voluntatis.*'

² Above, p. 474.

³ These Episcopal Benedictions varying throughout the year were collected in Benedictionals (e.g. that of S. Ethelwold, published by the Soc. of Antiquaries in 1853), and often inserted into the Pontificals. A standard series received the imprimatur of Peckham Abp. of Can-

terbury (1279-1294).

⁴ '*Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper.*' Lacy's *Pontifical*, p. 153; Bainbridge, *Pontifical* (Surtees Soc. LXI.), p. 40. In others the form varies, e.g. S. Ethelwold's *Benedictional*, p. 51, or Egbert's *Pontifical* (Surtees Soc. vol. 27), p. 59, which have '*Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.*' Cp. *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren), pp. 63, 248.

⁵ The first is the Collect, '*Adesto,*

The Present Office.

The Rubrics. I. Part of the service to be read without Communion.

posed in 1549. They seemed to have been placed here for use as post-communion collects as well as for days when there was no communion. This is shown by their position here and also by the rubric in the corresponding position in the ordination services.

The direction for the 'ante-communion service' is an attempt to revive the old custom, current in primitive times, of saying the introductory part of the Liturgy on solemn days when there was no celebration of the whole. In the book of 1549 this, together with the Litany, was prescribed for Wednesdays and Fridays, the 'Station Days' of the early Church.¹ The rubrics then assumed that there would be a communion on Sundays and Holy Days: but in case of failure they provided that on all other days, beside the Litany days, *whenever the people be customably assembled to pray in the church and none disposed to communicate with the priest*, the first part of the service should be said. By 1552 the communion on Holy Days could no longer be counted upon, and the order was transferred to *the Holy Days if there be no communion*: this order continued until the last revision in 1661, when it had long been evident that even a regular Sunday communion was a thing of the

Domine, supplicationibus nostris et viam famulorum tuorum in salutis tue prosperitate dispone: ut inter omnes viæ et vitæ huius varietates tuo semper protegantur auxilio. Per': said in the Sarum *Missa pro iter agentibus*; also in the devotions called *Pretiosa*, which were said in chapter after Prime; *Brev. Sar.* ii. 5. The second is the Collect, 'Dirigere et sanctificare et regere dignare Domine Deus quæsumus corda et corpora nostra in lege tua, et in operibus mandatorum tuorum: ut hic et in æternum, te auxiliante, sani et salvi esse mere-

amur. Per': usually said on the same occasion, *Ibid.* p. 55. The fourth was a Collect appointed for the second Saturday in Lent: 'Actiones nostras, quæsumus, Domine, et aspirando præveni, et adjuvando prosequere; ut cuncta nostra operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te cepta finiatur. Per.'

¹ See above, p. 331. The old service of Good Friday and Easter Even is of this nature: the Mass of the presanctified was grafted on to it in mediæval times, but originally it was simply an 'ante-communion service.'

The Present Office.

II. and III. Requirement of Communicants.

past, and consequently the opening portion of the office was directed to be said *upon the Sundays and other Holy Days if there be no communion*.¹ These changes reveal a gradual declension from primitive custom. In place of communion on Sundays and Holy Days with ante-communion on Station days, the rubric sanctioned a general substitution of table prayers for communion, and a general disuse of the Lord's service on the Lord's day.² The cause that has led to this result has been the provision in the following rubric forbidding to proceed to the solemn part of the Liturgy without communicants.³ This very necessary reform,⁴ when promulgated among people who were in the habit of communicating only once a year, had the immediate result that for want of communicants a constant celebration of the Lord's Supper never came into use, and the daily mass was discontinued.⁵ For the Priest could not communicate alone, and the people had not learned to communicate except at Easter.⁶ The

¹ The old pre-anaphoral service (1552). The Irish Book has reduced the requirement to *three or two at the least*.

² The Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. 6), while maintaining Private Masses, and others without communicants, expressed the desire that there should always be communicants at every Mass.

³ For the primitive custom of daily Eucharist and daily communion, see *Not. Euch.* xiv.

⁴ The current rule was for laymen to communicate once a year, according to the 21st canon of the Lateran Council in 1215 (Harduin, vii. 35). The demand of the Devonshire rebels (1549) to 'have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay people,' shows the difficulty of reform. This minimum was re-enacted by the Council of Trent (Sess. xiii. 9).

⁵ 'There shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper except there be some to communicate with the Priest' (1549):—'except there be a good number,'—'four, or three at the least'

(1552). The Irish Book has reduced the requirement to *three or two at the least*.

⁶ The Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. 6), while maintaining Private Masses, and others without communicants, expressed the desire that there should always be communicants at every Mass.

⁷ For the primitive custom of daily Eucharist and daily communion, see *Not. Euch.* xiv.

⁸ The current rule was for laymen to communicate once a year, according to the 21st canon of the Lateran Council in 1215 (Harduin, vii. 35). The demand of the Devonshire rebels (1549) to 'have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay people,' shows the difficulty of reform. This minimum was re-enacted by the Council of Trent (Sess. xiii. 9).

The Present Office.

disuse of the Liturgy then proceeded by rapid strides, although the Reformers showed in every possible way that they wished to introduce more frequent communion,¹ and their provision for the ante-communion service was at least a way of reminding the people of their duty.²

The Puritans taking advantage of the omission since 1549 of the direction to say the service 'at the altar,' made a practice of saying it at the reading desk, and this in spite of episcopal prohibitions. At the Savoy Conference the practice was condemned by the Bishops and was considered illegal, though not explicitly forbidden by rubrical direction.³

IV. Weekly Communion where possible.

The wish of the Reformers for frequent Communion is expressed clearly with regard to Cathedrals and Colleges, where the clergy are to be expected to communicate every Sunday: while a daily Eucharist is provided for, in so far as the rubric directs the use of the Epistle and Gospel of Sunday on vacant days throughout the week following.⁴

V. The Wafer or Bread.

It was ordered in 1549 that to avoid dissension the bread should uniformly be *unleavened*⁵ and round as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, and thus should be always divided at the distribution. But in 1552 permission was given⁶ to use ordinary bread instead, provided

¹ Wordsworth, *Holy Com.* pp. 147 and ff.; *Not. Euch.* xiv. Clutterbuck, *Vindication of the Liturgy* (1702), p. 45.

² Cp. the Answer of the Bishops at the Savoy Conference, who defended it not only on the ground of primitive practice (above, p. 174), but also as 'an invitation to the Holy Sacrament' and a reminder of 'our duty, viz. to receive the Holy Communion, some at least, every Sunday.' Cardwell, *Conf.* p. 342. Cp. *Not. Euch.* xii.

³ See the Note before the Table of Proper Lessons: see also below, p. 530.

⁴ For the history, see *Not. Euch.* xv. ⁵ Archbishop Parker's letter, written after conference with the Queen upon the subject, expressly

The Present Office

it be of the best quality: this provision survives as the present rubric. In Elizabeth's reign the rule of 1549 was revived by the Royal Injunctions with the 'force of law'¹; but it met with great opposition and was after a time not enforced, and common bread became more usual than wafer. At the revision in 1661 the rubric was left practically unaltered though rival proposals in favour of a more explicit statement were made, one expressing a direct preference for wafer and the other a preference for common bread.² Thus on the face of it the use of wafer is tacitly assumed and the use of common bread is expressly conceded; but the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has twice ruled that the rubric directs exclusively the use of common bread.³

The rubric allotting the unused bread and wine to the Curate dates from 1552, but in 1661 it was necessary to add the word 'unconsecrated' because some had applied the rubric to the consecrated bread and wine and profanely taken this home and used it as common food:⁴ a further clause was added to direct the reverent consumption of this in church, so as to provide more surely still against profanation. A similar rubric had been inserted in the Scottish Book,⁵ and similar directions existed in pre-Reformation times for the reverent consumption of the

VI. The reverent consumption of the Sacrament.

and authoritatively explains the words, 'It shall suffice' as being merely permissive. *Parker Corr.*, p. 375. See above, p. 365. Compare the use of the same direction with regard to baptism by affusion. The Irish Book omits the words.

¹ This was done by Royal authority, under the 26th section of the Act of Uniformity, with the advice presumably of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed July 19, 1559, immediately before the Visitation, since there was no Primate

available till Parker's consecration in December. *Parker Corr. l. c.*; and above, p. 101.

² *Fragm. Illustr.* 84; Cosin, *Works*, v. 518.

³ Elphinstone (Hebbert) *v.* Purchas and Clifton *v.* Ridsdale. See Talbot *Ritual*, pp. 134-140. The question presents many illuminating analogies and contrasts with the question of Vestments. Above, pp. 362-367.

⁴ Cosin, *Works*, v. 519.

⁵ Both Wren and Cosin urged the insertion of a similar provision here.

The Present
Office.

Sacrament 'if any remains.'¹ The rubric was not intended to touch upon the question of the Reservation of the Sacrament for the Communion of the sick; it is only concerned with the consumption of that which remains, and authorizes the ablutions by which this consumption is reverently and adequately carried out.²

VIII. Mini-
mum rule of
Communion.

In primitive times communion was frequent: S. Cyprian in the middle of the IIIrd century speaks of daily communion,³ but the custom varied in different times and places and according to different dispositions.⁴ As time went on it was necessary to prescribe a minimum rule for all professing Christians, and at first three times a year was specified; this rule existed as early as the VIth century, and became general and was enacted in England in the IXth century:⁵ later the requirement was reduced to one communion a year, viz. at Easter, by the Lateran Council of 1215,⁶ and this remained the rule up till the Reformation⁷ and was repeated in the First Prayer Book. The older requirement of three communions including

¹ Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, III. tit. 25; Dignissimum, q. and Gratian, *Decr.* III. Dist. ii. c. 23. 'Tanta in altario certe holocausta offerantur quanta populo sufficere debeant. Quod si remanserint, in crastinum non reserventur sed cum timore et tremore clericorum diligentia consumantur.' From the Pseudo-Clementine epistle to James of Jerusalem, a forgery of the VIIth century; Works of S. Leo (ed. Ballerini), App. 674 (Migne, *P.L.* lvi. 893): afterwards used by Pseudo-Isidore: see Hinschius, *Decr. Pseudo-Isid.* pp. lxxxi. 46.

² See *Lambeth Judgment*, pp. 14-17, and *Talbot Ritual*, pp. 147-149.

³ *De orat. dom.* 18.

⁴ *Not. Euch.* XIX.

⁵ Can. 18 of the council of Agde (506), prescribing Christmas, Easter, and Whitsundays, was incorporated

in the *Decretum*, III. Dist. ii. c. 19, and into the Pseudo-Egbert *Excerptiones* of the IXth century. Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 262, No. 39.

The custom of being content with the three communions a year was condemned by Bede in 734, as prevailing then even with the more religious people. *Ep. ad Egbertum*, 9.

⁶ Canon 21. Harduin, VII. 35. This was adopted in the Provincial Constitutions of S. Edmund of Canterbury, in 1236, c. XVIII.; *Ibid.* p. 270.

⁷ The older rule was, however, not lost sight of; the above-named constitution, and even as late as 1378 a republication of it by Simon of Sudbury at the Synod of Lambeth, urged the three communions of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. Lyndwood, *Prov.* v. Tit. xvi.

The Present
Office.

Easter was restored in 1552. This was retained in 1661, but the succeeding clause *And shall also receive the Sacraments and other rites according to the order in this book appointed* was omitted, because it seemed to clash with the language in the Catechism and the Articles relative to the two Gospel Sacraments.¹

The Easter offerings comprised personal tithe, the payment of which was ordered by Act of Parliament² as well as customary dues which were less defined and less easy to trace or specify.

The Book of 1661 for the first time recognised that the offerings made might be for other purposes than for the poor: consequently the rubric as to the disposal of the money was inserted here.

The history has already been given of the Declaration on kneeling which was at the last moment foisted by the Council into the Second Prayer Book.³ Its omission in 1559 became one of the stock Puritan grievances, and although the Bishops at the Savoy Conference held out no hopes of restoring it, it was restored, but in a modified form, which implicitly affirms the Real Presence instead of denying it.⁴

It only remains to add a few words concerning the general structure of the form now in use at the celebration of the Holy Communion. It consists of three general divisions: the Preparation, the Office itself, and

¹ See Cosin's objection. *Works*, v. 519. The Scottish Book omitted the word 'Sacraments' here.

² 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. XIII. section 7.

³ Above, pp. 83-85, 102, 153, 180, 197, 204.

⁴ Burnet ascribes the reinsertion of the Declaration to the influence of Bps. Gauden and Morley and the Earl of Southampton. *Hist. of Own Time*, i. 324 (Oxford 1897).

The change was made at the instance of Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Chichester and Ely: so Burnet, who disliked the change, bears venomous witness. Preface to *Hist. Ref.* (ed. Pocock, iii. 8). The insertion was made at a late stage of the revision after the transcription of the annexed book, but clearly before its subscription. See above, p. 204.

Ecclesiasti-
cal dues.IX. The
disposal
of the
Collections.The Black
Rubric.

Rationale

The Prepara-
tion.

Rationale.

The first part.

the Service of Thanksgiving.¹ The first part of the Preparation incites the whole congregation to the exercise of repentance, by the Lord's Prayer, the Collect for purity, and the Ten Commandments ; of holy desires, by the Collects for the King, and of the day ; of obedience, by hearing the Epistle and Gospel ; of faith, by repeating the Creed ; and of charity, by the Offertory, and the Prayer for the whole Church. If we consider the Commandments as a permanent lection from the Law, this portion of the office may be compared with the early Christian Service, containing lessons from the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the writings of the Apostles, followed by an instruction or exhortation in the sermon. The preparation then proceeds to a further stage with the Offertory and Solemn Prayer ; and then, distinguishing those who are to communicate from the rest, it deals with them in the Exhortation and Invitation, showing the care taken to provide fit recipients of those holy mysteries. Hence, that all may come with clean hands and pure heart, this more immediate preparation contains an humble Confession, and an Absolution, in which the promises of God to the penitent are applied with the authority which He has given to His visible Church ; and then some of the most precious declarations of Holy Scripture are read, to confirm the hope and gratitude of the pardoned worshippers. They then enter upon the second part beginning with the ancient Versicles, Preface, and the Seraphic Hymn of Praise. But even in this part we observe that the jubilant character of the service is

*The second part.**The Anaphora.*

¹ 'Melius dividitur Missa in tres partes ; scilicet in præparationem tam populi, quam materiæ consecrandæ ; in eucharistiæ consecrationem et oblationem ; in consecratæ communionem et mysterii conclusio-

nem. Prima pars potest dici missa catechumenorum, pro eo quod major pars admittit catechumenos, secunda canon, tertia communio.' Gabriel Biel, *in Canone, lect. 15.*

Rationale.

deferred : the attitude of prayer and supplication befits those, who shall partake of these mysteries, at each step of their approach to the table of the Lord. Here is, therefore, placed the Prayer of Humble Access, in which we again solemnly acknowledge our unworthiness of the mercies, given to us in the cleansing of our sinful bodies and souls by the Body and Blood of Christ. The elements of Bread and Wine are then consecrated by the Word of God and prayer ; the prayer of the faithful is offered by the Priest according to the practice of the primitive Church, and following as closely as possible the actions of our blessed Lord. The Holy Sacrament is then delivered into the hands of the kneeling people, since this posture most befits us, when we are to receive so great a gift as the Body and Blood of Christ.

The post-communion, like the ante-communion, opens with the Lord's Prayer, introductory to an expression of praise for which two forms are provided : the first is principally designed to give expression to a feeling like that of S. Paul,¹ that it is just and reasonable that we should offer up, together with our Eucharistic 'Sacrifice of praise,' ourselves, our body and our soul, as a living sacrifice. The second form is one of Thanksgiving, consisting more entirely of praise for the mercies which are assured to us in this Sacrament ; yet it also includes a very earnest prayer for perseverance and fruitfulness in good works. The office then concludes with the Great Doxology, or song of praise for the mercies of redemption, and finally with the solemn Blessing.

The post-Communion.

¹ Rom. xii. 1. Cp. S. Austin's teaching quoted in Gore, *Romans* ii. 240.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

I. THREE EARLY ACCOUNTS OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

From the Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων (circ. A.D. 90).

Κεφ. θ'. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὅσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοὺ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς कुσί.

Κεφ. ι'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκῆνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν· ἵνα σοὶ εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ

ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἠτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοὺ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὁσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ. Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστι, μετανοεῖτω· μαρναθά. Ἄμην.

Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

From the *Apology* of Justin Martyr (A.D. 140).

Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀποκηνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκειται μέχρι ἐγχωρεῖ· εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένου ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημῆ λέγων τὸ Ἄμην. καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστω γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ βούλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῷ ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς, κ.τ.λ.¹

From Pliny's Letter to Trajan (A.D. 112).

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum quo secundum mandata tua betaerias esse vetueram.²

¹ Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 67. Cp. reception of converts, *ibid.* p. 97. chapters 65 and 66. See also the ² Epist. x. 96. description of the service at the

II. GALLICAN *versus* ROMAN.

The relation of the Gallican customs and rites to the Roman customs and rites is a very doubtful point. All authorities agree that there is a clear distinction between them, and recent investigation and discussion has only tended to accentuate the contrast (i) by adding to the evidence for the widespread prevalence of non-Roman ways, and (ii) by reducing all these non-Roman ways to one type, and so reducing the conflict of rites to a duel of Gallican *versus* Roman. It is clear that at the end of the IVth century Rome and its immediate surroundings formed in liturgical matters an island in the midst of a sea of Gallican customs and rites.

Three principal explanations of this have been propounded. 1. Formerly it was suggested that an oriental type of Liturgy came with the stream of Asiatic influence from Ephesus to Gaul, and spread from Lyons and similar centres through the West : this theory now finds few if any supporters.¹ 2. It has been suggested by Duchesne that the oriental features came to Italy with Auxentius, the Cappadocian Bishop of Milan in the middle of the IVth century and spread from there. No doubt there is much to recommend this suggestion.² 3. It has recently been maintained afresh that the Gallican Liturgy is the old Roman Liturgy,³ but that changes occurred within Rome itself, which resulted in the discrepancy which is revealed by documents of the IVth century, such as Innocent's letter to Decentius.⁴ 4. The explanation set forth in the text is not quite any of these : but more akin to the last than to the first two views. So far as the Liturgy goes it may be true that Rome innovated, while the rest of the West preserved a type of Liturgy more akin to the primitive type, and including features which now seem oriental, though really they are simply primitive. But the problem is wider than the question of Liturgy : it touches Baptism, Ordination, and other points.⁵ The difference can hardly be due to the changes of one era, for while the Gallican influence in respect of Liturgy seems to have been conservative, and to have kept an older type of Liturgy than Rome, in other respects, *e.g.* ordination services, it seems to have been radical, and to have led conservative Rome somewhat unwillingly to accept Gallican novelties.

¹ For the arguments against it see Duchesne, p. 85.

² *Ibid.* 88. *Revue d'Histoire* (Jan. 1900), v. 31 and ff.

³ *Paléogr. Musicale*, v.

⁴ See above, p. 449.

⁵ For these see below, pp. 564, 571, 652 and ff.

The solution of the difficulty probably lies in the fact that in early days little interest was taken in Liturgical customs, and churches in various localities developed, without comparing notes with one another, and without much of self-criticism or self-consciousness. Rome in particular was using its unique influence to secure agreement in other and more important matters, and liturgical uniformity was little thought of. Only occasionally when the discrepancies were emphasised, as in the dealings of Innocent and Decentius, some naïve surprise was expressed on both sides. But Rome was still content to reserve its influence and pressure for other matters in the main : at a later date, when it felt itself free to direct its attention and influence to the liturgical divergencies, the effect was very clear, and by steady pressure the Roman customs either absorbed or else drove out the Gallican.

It was generally the music which paved the way for the acceptance of the Roman Service-books. The Gallican churches had their own sacramentaries and lectionaries, their own method of psalmody and canonical hours, but they had nothing at all comparable to the Roman chant : it is not surprising therefore to find that the Antiphonals did the work of pioneers. This is the case in the contest between the Celtic and the Italian methods in England, as also at a later date in the movement in France by which the Gallican rites disappeared.

The history of the triumph of the Gregorian Sacramentary is typical. First came the Roman music to Metz, Rouen, &c., and then the Gelasian Sacramentary arose as an adaptation of Roman customs to Gallican use : this did much to abolish or absorb the old Gallican customs, though it was only one, and probably the most Roman one, of many similar compromises. Then later at the Frankish Court the music again effected its entrance, and opened the door to the Roman rites : Charlemagne, with his zeal for Rome and for uniformity, accepted the pure Roman Sacramentary as Pope Hadrian sent it, but did not promulgate it through his empire until it had received from Alcuin's hands the appendix which should reconcile it to what remained of the Gallican customs, and reconcile the people to its acceptance. Thus the Roman rite made terms with the Gallican and superseded it.

Scottish and
American
Offices.III. *Arrangement of the Scottish (1764) with Bishop Seabury's (1786) and the American Office (1892).*

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

AMERICAN.

After the Preface, ending with *Sanctus*.

Then shall the Priest, kneeling down at the Lord's Table, say in the name of all those who shall receive the Communion, this Prayer following.

We do not presume, &c.

When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands, he

19

Then the Presbyter, standing at such a part of the holy table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands,

17 shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth.

a All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give Thine [thy, S. (1764)] only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption;

who (by his own oblation of himself once offered) made | who made there (by his one oblation of Himself once offered) [A. and 1786.]

a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory [memorial (1764)] of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again: For in the night that [in which A.] he was betrayed, he took bread . . .

The Institution.

The Oblation.

c Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; and rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

AMERICAN.

And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread

and wine, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son. [d. 2.]

and wine; that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood. [d. 3.]

Scottish and
American
Offices.d
The Invocation.

e And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we, and all thy whole Church, may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we [humbly (1764)] offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively [living A.] sacrifice unto thee, [humbly (1786 and A.)] beseeching thee, that whosoever [we and all others who (1786 and A.)] shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, [and (1764)] be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them [us A.] and they [we A.] in him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus [Jesus Christ, (Seabury, 1786, and A.)] our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers,

Here may be sung a Hymn.

[In the American Office, the Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church militant" follows the Offertory, and the placing the bread and wine upon the Table.]

9

Scottish and
American
Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764; Bp. SEABURY, 1786.

which we offer unto thy divine Majesty ; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord ; and grant that all they that [who, *Bp. Seabury*, 1786] do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors, and especially thy servant our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed : and grant unto his whole council, and to all who are put in authority under him, that they may truly and impartially minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments : and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations : most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come,

[and Governors ; and grant that they, and all who are in authority, may truly and impartially minister (*Bp. Seabury*, 1786)]

[from their labours : yielding unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful goodness and virtue (*Bp. Seabury*, 1786)]

SCOTTISH, 1764.

Bp. SEABURY, 1786.

Scottish and
American
Offices.

ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Then shall the Presbyter say |

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father . . . For thine is the kingdom . . . *Amen.*

Then the Presbyter [Priest (1786)] shall say to them that come to receive the holy communion, this invitation.

Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways :

Draw near, | Draw near with faith,
and take this holy sacrament to your comfort ; and make your humble confession to Almighty God.

Then shall this general confession be made, by the people along with the Presbyter ; he first kneeling down. | *people, along with the Priest ; all humbly kneeling upon their knees.*

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.* | through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall the Presbyter, or the Bishop (being present), stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce the absolution, as followeth.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who . . .

Then shall the Presbyter also say, | *Then shall the Priest say,*

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. | heavy laden, and I will refresh you.

Private ejaculation.

Refresh, O Lord, thy servant wearied with the burden of sin.

God so loved the world, that he gave . . .

10

18

13

14

15

Scottish and
American
Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764.

Hear also what St. Paul saith.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation . . .

Private ejaculation.

I embrace with all thankfulness that salvation that Jesus Christ has brought into the world.

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate . . .

Private ejaculation.

Intercede for me, O blessed Jesu! that my sins may be pardoned through the merits of thy death.

*Then shall the Priest,**Then shall the Presbyter, turning him to the altar, kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall communicate, this collect of humble access to the holy communion, as followeth.*19 We do not presume . . . that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his most sacred body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter [the Priest (1786)] that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (if there be any present,) and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ to others, he shall say,

BP. SEABURY, 1786.

Private ejaculation.

Lord, I believe in thy Son Jesus Christ, and let this faith purify me from all iniquity.

Private ejaculation.

I embrace with all thankfulness that salvation that Jesus Christ has brought into the world.

Private ejaculation.

Intercede for me, O blessed Jesu! that my sins may be pardoned through the merits of thy death.

Then shall the Priest,

AMERICAN.

*Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and proceed to deliver the same to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in like manner, (if any be present,) and after that to the People also in order, into their hands all devoutly kneeling. And sufficient opportunity shall be given to those present to communicate. And when he delivereth the Bread he shall say,*Scottish and
American
Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

AMERICAN.

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy soul and body unto everlasting life.

*Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.**And the Presbyter or Minister that [And when the Priest (1786)] receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction, [he shall say, (1786)]*

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul and body unto everlasting life.

*Here the person receiving shall say, Amen.**If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent**before all have communicated, the Presbyter [Priest (1786)]**beginning at the words, All glory be to thee, &c., and ending with the words, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.**When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say,**Having now received the precious body and blood of Christ,*

thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

And the Minister who delivereth the Cup shall say,

thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

*be spent**the Priest beginning at—All glory be to thee, Almighty God—and ending with these words—partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood.**the Minister shall return to the Lord's Table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated Elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth.**Then shall the minister say*

20

21

Scottish and
American
Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

let us give thanks to our Lord God, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his holy mysteries; and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions; and that being made [resolutions; that being made (1786)] holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Then the Presbyter [Priest (1786)] shall say this collect of thanksgiving as followeth.

22

Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. We now most humbly

beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace and Holy Spirit, that we may continue in that holy communion and fellowship,

and do all such good works as Thou hast commanded us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Father [with Thee (1786)] and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end.

Amen.

Then shall be said or sung, Gloria in excelsis, as followeth.

AMERICAN.

the Lord's Prayer, the People repeating after him every Petition.

Our Father, . . .
for ever and ever. Amen.

After shall be said as followeth.

the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we most humbly

that we may continue in that holy fellowship,

prepared for us to walk in;

with thee

Then shall be said or sung, all standing, Gloria in excelsis; or some proper Hymn from the selection.

Scottish and
American
Offices.

SCOTTISH, 1764; BP. SEABURY, 1786.

Glory be to God in the highest, and in earth
peace, good will towards men.
We worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty; and to thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu[s] Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who [that A.] takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father.

Amen. [Amen (1786)].

Then the Presbyter [Priest (1786)]

or Bishop if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

The peace of God .

AMERICAN.

Glory be to God on high, and on earth

We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Amen.

Then the priest

(the Bishop if he be present)

23

24

Key to the numbers used in the following Table, to mark the order of the parts in certain English Communion Offices.

- 1 The Lord's Prayer, and Collect following.
- 2 The Ten Commandments, with Response.
- 3 The Gospel Summary of the Law.
- 3* The second Collect at the end of the Communion Office,—
'O Almighty Lord,' &c.
- 4 Collect for the King.
- 5 The Collect of the Day, with the Epistle and Gospel.
- 5* 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' said before the Gospel;
- 5** The same, with 'Thanks be to thee, O Lord' after the Gospel.
- 6 The Nicene Creed.
- 7 The Offertory Sentences :
- 8 The Alms presented and placed upon the holy Table ;
- 8* —presented . . . with the words 'Blessed be thou,' &c., from
1 Chron. xxix. 10 . . . ;
- 8** —put into the poor men's box.
- 9 Prayer for the whole state of the Church militant on earth ;
- 10 with Praise for all Saints departed.
- 11 Exhortation at certain times to non-Communicants, or negligent.
- 12 The Exhortation to the Communicants.
- 13 The Invitation :—'Ye that do truly,' &c.
- 14 The General Confession, and Absolution.
- 15 The Comfortable Words.
- 16 *Sursum corda*, The Preface ending with *Sanctus* :
- 16* —the same, when *Sanctus* is printed as a separate clause, that the people should then join with the Priest in singing it.
- 17 The Prayer of Consecration.
 - a The opening Address.
 - b The Recitation of the Institution.
 - c *The Oblation* :—Wherefore, &c.
 - d *The Invocation* :—'Hear us,' or 'And we most humbly beseech thee to hear us . . . and vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine' . . .
- d.1 '—that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son' . . .

- d.2 '—that they may be unto us the body and blood of' . . .
- d.3 'Hear us . . . and grant, that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood' . . .
- e The Prayer for acceptance, with the offering of ourselves.
(The first Form of Post-Communion Prayer.)
- 18 The Lord's Prayer.
- 19 Prayer of humble Access :—'We do not presume,' &c.
- 20 Communion, with the two clauses ;
- 20.1 —with the first clause only ;
- 20.2 —with the second clause only.
- 20.3 *The person receiving shall say, Amen.*
- 21 Introduction to Thanksgiving :—'Having now received,' &c.
- 22 Thanksgiving :—'Almighty and everliving God,' &c. (Our second Form of Post-Communion Prayer.)
- 23 *Gloria in excelsis* ;
- 23* —omitting the interpolated clause.
- 24 The Blessing.

FIRST BOOK. 1549.	SECOND BOOK. 1552.	QUEEN ELIZABETH, 1559, AND LATIN, 1560.	THE SEALED BOOK. 1662.	THE PRAYER- BOOK FOR SCOTLAND. 1637.
I	I	I	I	I
<i>Introit.</i>	2	2	2	2
23*				
4	4	4	4	4
5	5	5	5	5
5*				5**
6	6	6	6	6
<i>Sermon or Homily.</i>	<i>Sermon or Homily.</i>	<i>Sermon or Homily.</i>	<i>Sermon or Homily.</i>	<i>Sermon or Homily.</i>
12	7	7	7	7
7	8**	8**	8	8
8**	9	9	<i>The Bread and Wine placed upon the Table.</i>	<i>—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.</i>
16*	11	11		
9	12	12		
10	13	13		
	14	14		
	15	15		
	16*	16		
	19	19		
17.a	17.a	17.a	17.a	17.a
d	d.3	d.3	d.3	d
d.2	b	b	b	d.2
b				b
c				c
e				e
18				18
Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered, &c.				19
13				
14				
15				
19				
20.1	20.2	20	20	20.1
O Lamb of God, &c.	18	18	18	20.3
Post-Communion Anthem.	e or 22	e or 22	e or 22	22
22		23 (1559)		
	23	23* (1560)	23	23
24	24	24	24	24

BISHOP FALCONAR'S STANDARD. 1764.	BISHOP SEABURY'S. 1786.	AMERICAN. Before the late Revision.	Revised Text, 1892.	SCOTTISH. Present Use.
			I	I
			2	2 or 3
			(or 2 + 3, or 3, may be said.)	4
			3*	5**
			5*	5*
				6
			<i>The Apostles' or Nicene Creed, unless one of them has been used before in the Morning Prayer.</i>	<i>The Sermon.</i>
12	12		<i>The Sermon.</i>	12
7	7		7	7
8*	8*		8	8*
<i>—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.</i>	<i>—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.</i>		<i>An Offertory Anthem may be sung or said.</i>	<i>—offer up and place the Bread and Wine.</i>
16	16		<i>The Priest shall then place the Bread and Wine upon the Table.</i>	16
			9	
			12	
			13	
			14 (but without naming absolution. <i>The Priest or Bishop shall say.</i>)	17.a
17.a	17.a		15	b
b	b		16	c
c	c		16*	d
d	d		19	d.1
d.1	d.1		17.a	e
e	e		b	
9	9		c	9
10	10		d	10
18	18		d.3	18
13	13		e	13
14	14			14
15	15		<i>Here shall be sung a Hymn, from the Selec- tion.</i>	15
19	19		<i>Here may be sung a Hymn.</i>	15
20.1	20.1		20	19
20.3	20.3		18	20.1
21	21		22	20.3
22	22		23	21
			24	22
23*	23*			23*
24	24			24