

THE ORDER FOR MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

DAILY TO BE SAID AND USED THROUGH- OUT THE YEAR

PREFATORY RUBRICAL DIRECTIONS

THESE two rubrics, with a special heading, appeared first in 1552, and present grave problems. They relate to the place where Morning and Evening Prayer are to be read, and to the 'ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof' to be used at all times of their ministrations, and not only at Morning and Evening Prayer. They were not printed on a separate page in 1552.

Heading.

1552. The Order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said. Scottish Book, 1637: 'where and how': 'said or sung.'

1662. The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily to be said and used throughout the Year.

The substitution of 'for' for 'where' makes the heading slightly more general, but the directions in all editions cover other services besides Morning and Evening Prayer. The addition, 'daily . . . throughout the Year,' refers rather to the services than to the minister, whose duty in respect of their daily use is found in the penultimate clause of the 'Preface concerning the Service of the Church' (see p. 25).

First Rubric, concerning the place where Morning and Evening Prayer are to be read.

[1549. Though there was no corresponding rubric until 1552 the 'priest' is directed at the commencement of 'Matins' to begin that service 'in the quire.']

1552. The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the Church [i.e. the body of the Church], chapel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his Deputy shall appoint the place, and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

1559. The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or Chancel; except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place; and the chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

1662. The last clause, already separated by a colon in 1559, became completely separate, a full stop being put after 'place,' and 'and' commencing with a capital, while the statutory comma after 'remain' dropped out, doubtless owing to its unauthorized absence from the printed folio copy of 1636, employed in the 1662 revision.

This rubric enshrines the history of a division of opinion amongst the Reformers as to the wisdom of retaining the chancels, i.e. the part of the church behind the screen (*cancelli*). Bucer and Hooper argued strongly for their removal, but Cranmer found them useful as a place where the communicants might gather, to the exclusion of non-communicants. He therefore counselled their retention, explicitly directing their use at Morning and Evening Prayer to be no longer the rule, as in 1549, but contingent upon convenience for hearing.

The omission in 1559 of this regulation as to convenience for hearing is in conflict with 1 Eliz. c. 2 (3), which re-enacted the 1552 Book with three specified exceptions, which included neither this rubric nor the one which follows. The author of the alterations is unknown, but it is conjectured that Elizabeth herself was responsible. The alterations, by whomsoever made, were disregarded, many Episcopal Visitation Articles being extant dating from 1571 to 1622, in which the question is asked: 'Whether your Minister so turn himself and stand in such place of your church or Chauncell as the people may best hear the same': the very words of the 1552 rubric being used. The substitution of the vague phrase 'the accustomed place' is intelligible as characteristic of Elizabeth's temporizing policy, but its applicability after the suspension of the Prayer Book during the reign of Mary is hard to see. The same criticism applies to its re-enactment in 1662, when the still longer supersession of the Prayer Book had left no 'accustomed place'

for Morning and Evening Prayer. The omission of the 'deputy,' in 1559, is more intelligible; it was not Elizabeth's way to commit authority to many hands, especially in matters involving ecclesiastical disputes.

The curious separation of the last clause of the rubric, until in 1662 it became a separate sentence, has led some to suppose that it referred to the condition of the chancels and not to their existence. Apart from the history of the case, which makes such an interpretation impossible, the original comma after 'remain' shows that the emphasis is upon that word, and not upon the 'as' which follows. In 1662 that comma was omitted, but at that time there was no desire that the chancels should remain in the condition in which they had been 'in times past,' when the whole liturgy had been banished.

(See Tomlinson, 'Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment,' 6th Edn., p. 24: also Tracts on Ritual: No. 192.)

Second Rubric, concerning the 'Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers,' i.e. the articles and vesture requisite to the performance of the prescribed Services of the Church.

The prevalence of divergent opinions and practices in the Church, based almost exclusively upon the interpretation of this rubric, necessitates that even a brief comment shall contain some reference to the historical documents concerned, the legal decisions pronounced, and the various views propounded. As being the more prominent part of the subject under discussion, and as involving to a large extent the whole question as to Ornaments, the vesture of the Minister will be first considered, a brief summary of the legal position in regard to the Ornaments of the Church being appended.

ORNAMENTS OF THE MINISTER.

I. Historical Documents.

1549. The directions as to vestments in 1549 B.C.P., put forth 'by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth,' are the earliest of their kind after the repudiation of Papal authority. They are to be found:

(1) At the end of the Book, the first of 'certain notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this book'—In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the Minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a Surplice. And in all Cathedral Churches and Colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries, and Fellows, being Graduates, may use in the quire, beside their Surplices, such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every Minister shall be at liberty to use

any Surplice or no. It is also seemly, that Graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees.

And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holy Communion in the Church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a Surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment; and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.

(2) In the fourth Rubric at the beginning of the Communion Office.—Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope. And where there be many Priests, or Deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the Priest, in the ministration, as shall be requisite; and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, Albes, with tunicles.

(3) In the first Rubric at the end of the Communion Office.—Upon Wednesdays and Fridays . . . though there be none to communicate with the Priest, yet these days (after the Litany ended) the Priest shall put upon him a plain Albe or surplice, with a cope, and say all things at the Altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's supper) until after the Offertory. . . .

And the same order shall be used all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the Church, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest.

Explanatory Summary:

i. Bishops are to wear a 'vestment' (i.e. chasuble) or cope, and an alb or surplice, at all 'public ministrations.* The sacrificial vestment is thus made permissible and not obligatory, and its special connexion with Holy Communion is no longer regarded so far as Bishops are concerned.

ii. The officiating Priest at Holy Communion is allowed to wear cope or chasuble, but must wear an albe and not a surplice. When there is no celebration, the Priest must wear a cope at Ante-Communion, over either an alb or a surplice. Assistant ministers at Holy Communion are allowed no alternatives to the alb and tunicle.

iii. At Matins, Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, a surplice must be worn, the same vesture being prescribed for the use of Archdeacons, Deans, etc., 'in the quire' of Cathedral Churches and Colleges, the hood being permitted also, and recommended as 'seemly' for all Graduates when they preach.

iv. The vesture for Holy Communion is distinctive, save for Bishops, but the chasuble ceases to be obligatory.

v. There is no prescribed vesture for any ministers (except the Bishops) at the Litany, Matrimony, Communion, or Churching of Women; unless indeed the statement that 'in all other places (but Cathedral Churches and Colleges) every Minister

* The Ordinal, which followed the 1549 B.C.P., carried the idea of indifference to the chasuble so far as to abandon its use in the Ordination of Priests. The *accipe vestem sacerdotalem* of the unreformed ordinal was entirely abandoned.

shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no,' regulates the vesture at these services.

1552. These directions were superseded in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI by the following rubric, placed at the head of Morning Prayer* :—

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his Ministration, shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor Cope; but being Archbishop or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.

Explanatory Summary :

All distinction between services is removed, and the dress of both Bishops and other clergy simplified by the direction of the use of the rochet, a lawn surplice with sleeves gathered in at the wrist, by the Bishop, and the surplice by a priest or deacon. The 1549 vestments, alb, chasuble and cope, are expressly forbidden.

1559. On the accession of Elizabeth the 1552 B.C.P. was restored by the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz. c. 2, which directs :

That all and singular Ministers in any Cathedral, or Parish Church, or other place within this Realm . . . be bounden to say and use the Mattins, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, and all their common and open Prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said Book, so Authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth Years of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth : with one alteration, or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the Year, and the Form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two Sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the Communicants, and none other, or otherwise.

Explanatory Summary :

The careful language of the last sentence, not only specifying the three alterations in the 1552 B.C.P., but excluding all other alterations, gives the same authority to the 1552 Ornaments Rubric as to the rest of the 1552 Book. It should be borne in mind that there was no Elizabethan Prayer-Book, strictly speaking; the Act simply re-established the 1552 B.C.P. But, in the same Act are two provisos, §§ 25 and 26, the former directly, and the latter indirectly, bearing upon the Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers :

* These two rubrics appear on a separate page for the first time in printed copy of 1636, in which Sancroft notified the alterations in 1661. In his Durham Book, Cosin wrote a direction to the printer: 'Set the first title and ye 2 orders following on the other side, retro, with a fayre compartment before it,' to which is added in Sancroft's writing: 'and in Italic letters.' The appropriateness of this severance from the Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer is obvious, seeing that the same vesture was ordered for 'all times of their ministration' alike.

§ 25. Provided always, and be it Enacted, That such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, shall be retained, and be in use, as was in this Church of England, by Authority of Parliament, in the second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other Order shall be therein taken by the Authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the Advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for Causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm.

§ 26. And also, that if there shall happen any Contempt or Irreverence to be used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, by the misusing of the Orders appointed in this Book, the Queen's Majesty may, by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further Ceremonies or Rites as may be most for the advancement of God's Glory, the edifying of his Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy Mysteries and Sacraments.

Explanatory Summary :

i. The Authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI is contained in the first B.C.P. of Edward, 1549. Either, therefore, this proviso contradicts the earlier provision of the Act, viz. the restoration of the 1552 Book, including its Ornaments Rubric; or the words 'shall be retained, and be in use' do not bear their surface meaning, but merely forbid the destruction or sale of albs, chasubles and copes till authoritative directions shall be forthcoming. This latter was the interpretation of the proviso put forward by Bishop Sandys at the time of the passing of the Act.

ii. Both provisos foreshadow possible changes, made by the specified authority of the Queen acting by advice of her Commissioners or the Metropolitan, the former, § 25, particularly promising 'other order' in regard to vestments; the latter, § 26, more generally leaving a way open for the addition of 'further ceremonies and rites.'

iii. In the *printed* B.C.P. of this date, 1559, the 1552 rubric was altered, without any authority, ostensibly to accommodate the rubric to the proviso :

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his Ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church, as were in use by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book.

Explanatory Summary :

i. The rubric does not profess to possess any authority save as being a digest of the Act. It is omitted in the Latin Prayer Book, published 1560.

ii. As such it is inaccurate, for the Act does not necessarily say that the Ministers shall use such Ornaments, but that they shall 'be retained and be in use,' and the Act says 'as was in this Church,' etc., not 'as were in use.' Moreover, it omits all reference to the promise of 'other order.'

iii. As a contemporary interpretation of what was understood by 'shall be retained and be in use,' this unauthorized rubric of 1559 might be valuable, were it not that there is no record of any obedience to such a rule, but, on the contrary, abundance of evidence that from 1559 onwards the vesture of the second year of King Edward was forbidden. Indeed, in the very year in which this printed rubric first appeared, the Queen sent Commissioners through the country with certain Injunctions, to which the clergy were compelled to subscribe. Two of these Injunctions relate to Ornaments:

30. Item. Her Majesty being desirous to have the Prelacy and Clergy of this Realm to be had in outward reverence as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministries, and thinking it necessary to have them known to the people in all places and assemblies, both in the Church and without, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God; willeth and commandeth that all Archbishops and Bishops, and all other that be called or admitted to preaching or ministry of the Sacraments, or that be admitted into vocation ecclesiastical, or into any society of learning in either of the Universities, or elsewhere, shall use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, not thereby meaning to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but as St. Paul writeth, *Omnia decenter et secundum ordinem fiant.* 1 Cor. 14 cap.

47. That the churchwardens of every parish shall deliver unto our visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, books, and specially of grayles, vouchers, legends, processions, hymnals, manuals, portuasses, and such like appertaining to the Church.

Explanatory Summary:

i. Injunction 30 might seem to refer merely to the outdoor dress of the clergy, if it were not for the words 'both in the Church and without' and 'such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.' There was no rule as to ordinary clerical dress in the 'latter year' of Edward VI, but it was in that year that the 1552 B.C.P. became compulsory, with its definite prescription of the rochet and surplice. Moreover, amongst other similar phrases in his visitation articles, Archbishop Parker uses the expression (1563) 'a surplice prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions.'

ii. In regard to the inventories demanded by Injunction 47, it is generally admitted that the Injunction 'clearly indicates that all these things were to be taken away for the use of the Crown' (Perry, 'Student's History,' p. 266). This is in accord with Sandys' famous letter to Parker: 'Our gloss upon this text (i.e. the proviso to retain the ornaments of 1549) is that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away; but that they may remain for

the Queen.' It is also in accord with what actually happened, as at Grantham, at that time: 'Item, the vestments, copes, albs, tunicles, and all other such baggage was defaced, and openly sold by a general consent of the whole corporation, and the money employed in setting up desks in the Church, and making a decent Communion Table, and the remnant to the poor' (Peacock, 'Church Furniture,' p. 87). This is one of many similar records.

1566. In spite of the Injunctions, much irregularity prevailed, especially due to a widespread unwillingness to wear any ecclesiastical dress at all. The intrusion of the *printed* rubric, seeming to authorize the vestments of 1549, disregarded and episcopally banned, could only add to the confusion. The Advertisements of 1566, sometimes dated 1565, the year in which the Queen's mandate for their composition was issued, were intended to cope with this irregularity. The three which relate to the Ornaments of the minister are:

Item.—In ministration of the Holy Communion in the cathedral and collegiate churches the principal minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoller agreeably, and at all other prayers to be said at the Communion Table to use no copes but surplices.

Item.—That the Dean and Prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the quire; and when they preach to wear their hood.

Item.—That every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering of the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charges of the parish; and that the parish provide a decent table standing on a frame for the Communion Table.

Explanatory Summary:

i. The surplice is ordered for all ministrations in all churches, with one exception, viz. the three copes for celebrant, gospeller and epistoller at Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches. This novel use of the cope bears some superficial resemblance to the alternative prescription of 1549, but differs from it in being confined to certain churches, and prescribed for the gospeller and epistoller, as well as for the celebrant.

ii. The direction to dignitaries in the quire and when preaching is identical with the direction of 1549.

iii. The suppression of the 1552 Rubric, not in set terms remedied by the Injunctions, is atoned for by these direct and explicit regulations. Henceforth the Bishops commonly refer to both the Injunctions and the Advertisements in their Visitations, the former to dispose of the discarded vestments, the latter to compel the wearing of the surplice. It cannot be said that the order to wear copes was generally obeyed, or ever, so far as is known, enforced; the Bishops really carried out the

requirements of the 1552 Rubric, appealing to the Injunctions and Advertisements as their authority.

1604. The Canons of 1603-4 were adopted with 'the most formal, solemn, concurrence possible of the Crown and the Convocations.' The Canons relating to vestments are :

24. Copes to be worn in Cathedral Churches by those that administer the Communion.

In all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches the Holy Communion shall be administered upon principal feast-days . . . the principal minister using a decent cope, and being assisted with the gospeller and epistoler agreeably, according to the Advertisements published anno 7 Eliz.

25. Surplices and hoods to be worn in Cathedral Churches when there is no Communion.

In the time of Divine service and prayers, in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, when there is no Communion, it shall be sufficient to wear surplices, saving that all deans, masters, and heads of collegiate churches, canons, and prebendaries being graduates, shall daily at times both of prayer and preaching wear with their surplices such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees.

58. Ministers reading Divine service and administering the Sacraments, to wear surplices and graduates therewithal hoods.

Every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the Sacrament or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish ; and if any question arise touching the matter, decency, or comeliness thereof, the same shall be decided by the discretion of the ordinary. Furthermore, such ministers as are graduates shall wear upon their surplices, at such times, such hoods as by the orders of the Universities are agreeable to their degrees, which no minister shall wear (being no graduate), under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding it shall be lawful for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent tippet of black, so it be not silk.

Explanatory Summary :

i. These regulations are merely a recapitulation of those in the Advertisements, save that the 'tippet,' a scarf which is now frequently miscalled a stole, is permitted for non-graduates, and the triple cope wearing in Cathedrals, etc., is limited to principal feast-days.

ii. The Advertisements are cited as the received standard regarding vestments.

iii. Laud's Visitation Articles of 1628 suffice to show the practice of the period : Whether doth your minister wear the surplice while he is saying the public prayers, and administering the Sacrament, and a hood according to his degree of the University : Whether there be in your parish, who are known or suspected, to conceal or keep hid in their homes any Mass books, Breviaries, or other books of Popery or superstition, or any

chalice, copes, vestments, albs, or other ornaments of superstition, uncanceled, or undefaced, which is to be conjectured they keep for a day as they call it.

1662. At the Restoration the present Ornaments Rubric was substituted for the unauthorized rubric of 1559. It runs :

And here is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.

Explanatory Summary :

i. The great and all-important change from the 1559 printed rubric was the substitution of the exact words of the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz. c. 2, for the paraphrase of it inserted without authority in 1559. With the exception of the more grammatical 'were' for 'was,' the rubric is now identical with the proviso.

ii. The introduction of that Act into the Prayer-Book, numbered 1 in the list of Contents of the Prayer-Book,* permitted the omission of the words referring to the Act, it being perfectly obvious that the words of the rubric, being the actual words of the Act, could mean neither more nor less than the Act intended them to mean.

iii. There is abundance of evidence, dating from the time of the last revision, 1662, and furnished by the Visitation Articles of Bishops engaged in that revision, to show that the contemporaneous interpretation of the revised rubric, construed with the Act, was that the surplice was to be worn, and not the vestments of 1549.

Summary of the above requirements.

1549. Vestment or Cope, Alb or Surplice at Holy Communion with Albs and Tunicles for the assistant ministers ; Surplice only at other services.

1552. Rochet for Bishops, Surplice for other clergy, at all ministrations.

* The omission to print the Act in the ordinary Prayer-Books sold for public use, is much to be regretted. It is strange that with so much depending upon the actual words used, even in the Quarto Editions sold for Churches, the Act is sometimes incorrectly printed, and not divided into sections. For example, the Quarto Editions printed 'cum privilegio' by the Oxford University Press, and published by the S.P.C.K., since the death of Queen Victoria, present both these defects, the error in printing being no mere misplacement of a word, but a misrepresentation of the critical words of § 25 of the Act, 'used' for 'be in use.' Further, even in so careful a work as that of Keeling, the Act is suppressed, only its opening words being cited, though all other such Acts, some of which have only an antiquarian interest, are given in full.

1559. By the Act of Uniformity, § 3, 1552 Rubric restored. By the same Act, § 25, 1549 vesture to 'be retained and be in use.'
- By the printed rubric, the minister to use the 1549 vesture.
- By the Injunctions, 1552 vesture to be worn, 1549 vesture inventoried for Visitors.
1566. Advertisements: Cope in Cathedrals for Holy Communion, otherwise Surplice and hood at all ministrations.
1604. Canons: repetition (with certain limitations) of Advertisements, with tippet added for non-graduates.
1662. By the Act, as above, under 1559, the Rubric being brought more into verbal agreement with sec. 25 of the Act of Elizabeth.

II. Legal Decisions.

The fact that the regulations as to vesture are now confined to an Act of Parliament would seem to suggest that the proper interpreters of those regulations are the King's Judges, however assisted by the historical investigations of others. There is, however, a tendency in some quarters to dispute the jurisdiction of the Church courts, and especially that of the Final Court of Appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Attempts are being made to discover another Court which shall command the approval of all Churchmen; meanwhile there is no other lawful interpretation save that furnished by this Court, whose latest pronouncement upon the Ornaments Rubric was given in the Folkestone Case, 1878. It was then laid down that:

i. The Rubric is subordinate to the Statute 1 Eliz. c. 2, from which it is a quotation, the whole Statute being now part of the B.C.P.

ii. Its application, therefore, turns upon the question as to whether the 'other order' promised in that Statute has ever been taken.

iii. The Advertisements of 1566 were such 'other order.'

In the course of their pronouncement, the judges delivered other important decisions upon details:

i. The printed rubric of 1559 'was not inserted by any authority of Parliament'; it 'claimed no intrinsic authority for itself.'

ii. The Injunctions of 1559 are not the 'other order,' as not being proved to refer to the vestments now in controversy, and not issued with the advice required by the Statute. It will be

noted that the former of these reasons for rejecting the authority of the Injunctions in this connection, is open to correction by historical discovery; the latter is fatal to any idea that the Injunctions are the 'other order' foreshadowed by § 25 of the Act.

iii. The 'authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward the Sixth' is interpreted as excluding everything prior to the 1549 Book.

iv. It is pointed out that the phrase 'at all times of their ministrations' is incongruous with a return to the 1549 vesture, seeing that no provision was made in 1549 for Matrimony, the Litany, etc.

v. It is also pointed out that the introduction of that phrase into the rubric in 1662 is inappropriate to the reintroduction of vesture which would distinguish the Holy Communion from 'all other times of ministration.'

vi. The suggestion being made that the omission in 1662 of the words 'according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book,' necessitates the interpretation of the Rubric without reference to that Act, it was replied that the omission could not be so regarded, seeing that the Act was then (for the first time) constituted by the two Convocations part of the B.C.P., and that 'other order' having been already taken (viz. 1566) the words omitted were simply unnecessary.

III. Other Views.

i. The contention that the authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI refers to the period preceding the issue of the 1549 B.C.P., and therefore legitimizes all pre-Reformation ornaments, still occasionally appears in publications and speeches, but was abandoned by its foremost defenders under examination in the recent Royal Commission upon Ecclesiastical Discipline. Much of the ritual introduced within the last fifty years ultimately depends upon this untenable position; the regulations of the 1549 Book, even if legal to-day, omitted much of the ceremonial in question, and in the 'Notes' at the close of the Book stated why these omissions were made.

ii. The more frequently avowed contention is that 'other order' was never taken, and that therefore the requirements of 1549 as to ornaments are still in force.* The Report of Five Bishops of Canterbury Convocation, 1908, practically advances this contention, by its effort to demonstrate that the Advertisements were not the 'other order' required by the Act.

* To eke out those reduced requirements, it is often further contended that what is not expressly forbidden is enjoined, in spite of the explanation of omissions above noticed.

iii. That same Report notices another contention, viz. that the Advertisements were a minimum requirement, enacted to combat the Puritan objection to the surplice, and not to exclude the vesture of 1549. . . . This is a mere conjecture, not only entirely without historical support, but at variance with the strict 'uniformity' demanded at that time and for many years later.

iv. The contention that the Injunctions were themselves the 'other order,' and that the Advertisements were promulgated under § 26 of 1 Eliz. c. 2, and not § 25, is vitiated by the lack of proof that the Injunctions were issued by the authority required by the Act. Nevertheless, this theory has the merit of calling attention to the weak point in the judgment of the Privy Council, viz. that the Advertisements, issued in 1566, cannot explain the continuous and official enforcement of the surplice from 1559 to 1566.

v. Another view, recognizing both the untenableness of the theory that the Injunctions were themselves the 'other order,' and also the necessity of accounting for the enforcement of the surplice at Holy Communion, and prohibition of the 1549 vestments before the issue of the Advertisements, is that the re-enactment of the 1552 rubric by 1 Eliz. c. 2, sec. 3 is the sole and sufficient explanation of the immediate enforcement of the surplice in 1559, and that 'other order' as regards the 1549 vestments and other ornaments was taken by the Queen's Visitors, who in 1559 went through the country with the Injunctions, disposing of those ornaments. This view alone seems to account for the facts (1) that the 1549 vestments were at once suppressed and the surplice enforced; (2) that the printed rubric was absolutely ignored save by the Puritans, who at a later date used it to attack the Bishops for trying to enforce the surplice, and (3) that the very words of the companion rubric which had also been suppressed in the printed books, were quoted as authoritative in Visitation Articles just as they stood in the 1552 B.C.P. (see p. 77) Bishop Sandys' contemporary explanation of the words 'be retained and be in use,' as referring not to ministerial use of the ornaments but to their retention for the use of the Queen, corroborates this view, which is, however, independent of that explanation, and equally valid if the words of the Proviso contemplated a temporary toleration of those ornaments, a toleration, it is fair to add, of which there is no trace of historical evidence. That the Visitors of 1559 were themselves 'Commissioners under the Great Seal for causes ecclesiastical' who took 'other order' in the Queen's name by destroying, defacing or confiscating the ornaments of 1549 is shown in detail in Tomlinson's

'Royal Visitations of 1547-1559.' The first Prayer Book did not permit a surplice to be worn at Holy Communion: the Second Book of Edward did not permit the celebrant even to 'have' any other dress than the surplice at Holy Communion. By that simple test the rival theories may be weighed.*

ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

(1) *Articles legally required.*

Bible.	Font.
Lord's Table with proper coverings, including the fair white linen cloth, plate or paten, cup, fair linen cloth to cover elements. The Table must be of wood and easily movable.	Alms chest. Alms basin. Bell. Bier. Registers. Tables of Degrees of Kindred and Affinity.
Bread and Wine.	Ten Commandments over Lord's Table.
Book of Common Prayer.	Sentences of Scripture or Apostles' Creed.
Book of Thirty-nine Articles.	Ordinary furniture of Church and Vestry.
Book of Homilies.	
Book for Banns.	
Pulpit.	
Reading Desk.	

(2) *Articles legal, but not compulsory, and in some cases not desirable.*

Organs and musical instruments.	Credence Table.
Clocks.	Second Lord's Table.
Chimes.	

(3) *Articles allowable as 'decorations,' but not for use.*

Images.	Regimental colours.
Crosses.	Painted windows.
Flowers.	Holly, etc., at Christmas.
Flower vases.	Harvest decorations.
Royal arms.	Monuments and brasses.
Banners.	

(See Whitehead's 'Church Law,' tit. 'Ornaments.')

* The so-called 'Interpretations of the Injunctions,' of unknown origin, but apparently dating from about 1560, has been designedly ignored in the above investigation; there is no evidence that they were ever authorized or even published, much less enforced.

A TABLE SHOWING THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE ORDER FOR MORNING PRAYER
AND THE OFFICES OF MATINS, LAUDS AND PRIME IN
THE SARUM USE (BREVIARY).

PRAYER BOOK, 1662.		SARUM USE, ¹ 1085.		
Morning Prayer.		Matins. Before Daybreak.	Lauds. At Daybreak.	Prime. At c. 6 a.m.
1 Sentences		In the Name	Versicles and Responses	In the Name
2 Exhortations				
3 Confession				
4 Absolution				
5 Our Father	5	Our Father ('secreto')	7 O God, make speed	5 Our Father
6 O Lord, open thou		Hail! Mary	8 Gloria	7 O God, make speed
7 O God, make speed	6	O Lord, open thou	9 Alleluia, or Praise be	8 Gloria
8 Gloria	7	O God, make speed	12 Psalms *	9 Alleluia, or Praise be
9 Praise ye	8	Gloria	19 Jubilate (on Sunday)	Hymn
10 The Lord's Name	9	Alleluia, or Praise be	13 4 Gloriae	12 Psalms *
11 Venite		Invitatory and	Canticle	13 Gloria
12 Psalms		Response	16 Benedicite (on Sunday)	21 Creed, Athanasian
13 Gloria	11	Venite,	17 Short Chapter,	17 Short Chapter
14 1st Lesson, O.T.		Hymn	Hymn	22 The Lord be with you

15 Te Deum, or	12 Psalms *	18 Benedictus	23 Lesser Litany
16 Benedicite	13 9 Gloriae	25 Suffrages	24 Our Father
17 2nd Lesson, N.T.	Benedictions	26 Collect for the Day	20 Creed, Apostles' †
18 Benedictus, or	14 & Lessons †	27 Collect for Peace	(said privately)
19 Jubilate	17 Homily		25 Suffrages
20 Creed, Apostles', or	Responsories		of. 3 Confession } Mutual
21 Creed, Athanasian	15 Te Deum (on Sunday)		of. 4 Absolution }
22 The Lord be with you			28 Collect for Grace
23 Lesser Litany	* There were 12 Psalms and 6 Antiphons.		Prayers for the Inter-
24 Our Father	On Sunday 18 Psalms and 9 Antiphons.		cession of the Virgin
25 Suffrages	† There were 3 or 9 Lessons from O.T. and N.T.		and the Saints
26 Collect for the Day			32 Benediction
27 Collect for Peace			
28 Collect for Grace			* There were 3 Psalms and 1 Antiphon, and on Sunday 9 Psalms and 1 Antiphon.
29 Anthem			† The Choir responded 'et vitam aeternam. Amen.'
30 Prayers for State and Church			N.B.—The Grace (2 Cor. xiii. 14) was the ordinary Sunday Lesson at Tierce (9 a.m.).
31 Prayer of St. Chrysostom			
32 The Grace			

¹ Definitely settled beginning of thirteenth century. Sarum Breviary reformed, 1st ed. 1516, 2nd ed. 1531; further reformed 1541.

THE ORDER FOR MORNING PRAYER, DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

ANALYSIS AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. **Penitential Introduction.*** 1552.
The Sentences, etc., ending with the Absolution.
2. **The Lord's Prayer and Versicles.** 1549.
[The Doxology to the Lord's Prayer and the Response, 'The Lord's name be praised,' added 1662.]
3. **Psalms, Reading of the Scriptures, and Singing of the Canticles.** 1549. Except *Jubilate*. 1552.
The Venite, etc., ending with the *Jubilate*.
4. **The Confession of Faith.** 1549.
The Apostles' Creed, or
The Athanasian Creed on thirteen special occasions.
5. **Concluding Prayers and Thanksgiving.**
 - (1) The Suffrages, 'The Lord be with you,' etc., ending with the Collect for Grace. 1549.
 - (2) Intercession for the State and the Church.
Prayer for the King's Majesty. † 1559.
Prayer for the Royal Family. † 1604.
Prayer for the Clergy and People. † 1559.
 - (3) Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions.

i. PRAYERS.

For Rain. 1549. † For fair Weather. † 1549.
In the time of Dearth and Famine (two forms). 1552.
In the time of War and Tumults. 1552.
In the time of any common Plague or Sickness. 1552.
In the Ember Weeks (two forms). 1662.
A Prayer that may be said after any of the former. 1559.
A Prayer for the High Court of Parliament. 1662.
A Collect for all Conditions of men. 1662.

* This section was added by the Reformers and takes the place of Private Confession which still remained in 1549.

† Printed at the end of the Litany until 1662.

‡ Printed at the end of the Communion until 1552.

ii. THANKSGIVINGS.

- A General Thanksgiving. 1662. [1604.
For Rain. 1604. For fair Weather. 1604. For Plenty.
For Peace and Deliverance from our Enemies. 1604.
For restoring Public Peace at Home. 1662
For Deliverance from the Plague, or other common
Sickness (two forms). 1604.
(4) Prayer of St. Chrysostom.* 1549.
(5) The Grace.* 1559.

EXPOSITION.

The Title.

1519. An Order for **Matins** daily throughout the year.
1552. An Order for **Morning Prayer** daily throughout the year.
1662. **The Order for Morning Prayer, etc.**

The Rubric before the Sentences.

1552. At the beginning both of Morning Prayer and likewise of **Evening Prayer**, the Minister, etc.
1662. At the beginning of Morning Prayer the Minister, etc. The sentences are directed to be read 'with a loud voice.' This was so stated as formerly the priest frequently read in an undertone ('secreto').

The Opening Sentences. 1552. Eleven in number, eight from the Old Testament, three from the New Testament.

The Old Testament sentences (except Dan. ix. 9, 10) were taken from the old Lenten Capitula, and from the penitential Psalms daily read during Lent.

The New Testament sentences, as well as Dan. ix. 9, 10, were selected by the Reformers.

The sentences until 1662 were taken from Cranmer's Bible (1539), commonly called 'The Great Bible.'

Verse 9 of 1 John i. was added to the last sentence in 1662.

The sentences are of a penitential character and designed for different classes. The spiritual counsel they afford may be thus stated †:—

- (1) Support to the fearful. Ps. vi. 1; li. 9; cxliii. 2; Jer. x. 24.
- (2) Comfort to the doubtful. Ps. li. 17; Dan. ix. 9, 10; Luke xv. 18, 19.
- (3) Instruction to the ignorant. Ezek. xviii. 27; 1 John i. 8, 9.
- (4) Admonition to the negligent. Ps. li. 3; Matt. iii. 2.
- (5) Caution to the formal. Joel ii. 13.

* Printed at end of Litany until 1662.

† Comber, Companion to the Temple, *in loco*.

The following additional sentences are found in the American B.C.P. of 1792:—

Hab. ii. 20; Mal. i. 11; Ps. xix. 14, 15 (Psalter).

Others chiefly adapted to special seasons of the Christian Year were added in 1889.

The earliest daily Service to open with Scripture was the Strasburg Liturgy, which commenced with the Ten Commandments.*

The Exhortation.† 1552. Grounded on the preceding sentences. The idea may have been suggested:—

- (1) By portions of a Homily of Leo read in Lent (Sar. Brev.).
- (2) By the Gallic and Spanish Liturgies, in which an address was given after the departure of the Catechumens and before the administration of the Holy Communion.
- (3) By the short Exhortations in the Strasburg Liturgy, published by Valerandus Pollanus (Pullain). 1552 (February).
- (4) By Hermann's 'Consultatio.'

Analysis.

I. Address respecting confession of sin.

1. The Source of Authority: the Holy Scriptures.
2. The Spirit: penitential.
3. The Purpose: forgiveness.
4. The Occasion: always, and especially at Public Worship, when we meet for:—
 - (1) Thanksgiving.
 - (2) Praise.
 - (3) Hearing God's Word.
 - (4) Prayer.

II. The Invitation to the performance of this duty.

Rubric before the Confession:—To be said ['made,' 1604]:—

1. By the Minister and the whole congregation.
2. Not *with* but *after* the Minister (not necessarily clause by clause).
3. Kneeling, as becometh penitents (cf. Ps. xcv. 6; Luke xxii. 41; Acts vii. 60; ix. 40).

* 'However, according to the rites of many Western Churches, a verse or *capitulum* was read before the Office of Compline or the latest Evening Service: a custom which is at least as ancient as the time of Amalarius, A.D. 820, for he mentions it (Amalarius 'de Eccl. Offic.', lib. iv. c. 8). The nocturns have for many ages been accounted one office.' (Palmer, '*Origines Liturgicæ*' vol. i. 210, ed. 1839.)

† Notice the rhetorical reduplication of words, such as: 'acknowledge and confess,' 'sins and wickedness,' 'assemble and meet together,' 'not dissemble nor cloke.'

General Confession. 1552. Based on Rom. vii. 8–25.

It was probably suggested by the Confession in the Strasburg Liturgy; though there is in foreign Service Books nothing which can be fairly regarded as the model of this Confession.

'St. Basil mentions Confession of Sin as coming at the beginning of Divine Service' (Cornford).

It is called 'General' as being suitable for all persons and all occasions.

The Confession in the Mediæval Offices differed much from our form:—

1. It was of the nature of mutual and alternate Confession.
2. It contained Confession to the Virgin and the Saints as well as to God.

N.B.—It was called *Confiteor*, and, with the Absolution, *Miserereatur*, placed towards the end of Prime and Compline.

Analysis.

I. An address to God.

II. Confession of Sin.

III. Prayer for Spiritual Blessings, viz. :—

1. For Mercy and Pardon.
2. To live rightly (Godward, manward, selfward).

Amen. When printed in Roman characters to be pronounced:—

- (1) By the Minister and people, if both repeat the preceding words.
 - (2) By the Minister only, if he only repeat the preceding words.
- When printed in Italics it is the response of the people.

The Rubric before the Absolution.

1604. The words in the Rubric, 'or Remission of sins,' were added.

1662. 'Minister' altered to 'Priest,' and the clause 'The people still kneeling' was added.*

The Absolution. 1552. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18; John xx. 22, 23; cf. Acts ii. 38; 2 Cor. ii. 10; v. 18.

It is adapted from 'An order of Service in Latin, and afterwards in French' (being the version of Calvin's form 1545), used by the Walloons under John a Lasco, a Polish noble who took refuge in England from 1548 to 1550, and was Minister to the Dutch and German Protestants living in London in the reign of Edward VI.

* In the Scottish Service Book (1637) the rubric is: 'The absolution or remission of sins to be pronounced by the Presbyter alone, he standing up and turning himself to the people, but they still remaining humbly upon their knees.'

The Priest* pronounces the absolution alone, and standing, as God's ambassador. The alteration from 'Minister' to 'Priest' in 1662, to the exclusion of the Deacon, is due to the tendency to regard the diaconate as rather a probationary office than a distinct order. There is, of course, nothing save ecclesiastical fitness to prevent a Deacon, or a layman, exercising the ministry entailed in the pronouncement of this form of Absolution, which, it is to be noted, still retains the word 'Ministers.'

The former portion of the Absolution is somewhat involved and obscure, and has consequently given rise to interpretations which the words do not warrant. In order to see the meaning of the passage it is necessary to understand the capacity in which the Minister speaks. It is as a Minister of the Gospel he utters the words, and in that capacity he is authorized to make the proclamation that pardon is given to penitent sinners. His words do not convey pardon, but the assurance of pardon to the truly penitent. The following interpolations in the passage will help to elucidate it, 'and hath given power, and commandment, to His Ministers (as preachers of the Gospel and His ambassadors) to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins; (for in that Gospel it is declared that) He † (i.e., God) pardoneth and absolveth all them which truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel.'

The warrant for the pronouncing of the Absolution rests upon our Lord's words in which He intrusted the proclamation of pardon to the members of His Church assembled on the evening of the first Easter Day (John xx. 22, 23; Luke xxiv. 36). But the words in St. John are to be interpreted by Luke xxiv. 47, 48, and the practice of the Apostles (Acts ii. 38; iii. 19; x. 43; xxvi. 18; 1 John ii. 12). They plainly mean, 'Whosoever ‡ sins ye (as Ministers of the New Covenant) remit (i.e., declare to be remitted) are remitted, and whose sins ye retain (i.e., declare to be retained) are retained. §'

There are two other forms of Absolution in the B.C.P. :—

(1) In the Communion Office, which is precatory, and expressive of an earnest and assured wish that God 'will

* For explanation of the term 'priest' see pp. 515–20.

† Observe the grammatical construction of the sentence. The pronoun 'He' is introduced so as to emphasize the declaratory nature of the Absolution.

‡ In the original Greek 'whosoever' is plural. The Lord does not guarantee infallibility of judgment as to the applicability of remission or retention of sin in individual cases.

§ The figure of speech by which what is said to be done is put for what is declared, or permitted, or foretold to be done, is frequently used in the Holy Scriptures. (See Gen. xli. 13; Lev. xiii. 6, 8, 11; Isa. vi. 10; Jer. i. 10; Ezek. xliii. 3; cf. Acts x. 15.)

pardon and deliver' the communicants 'from all their sins.'

- (2) In the Visitation of the Sick, where the form is directly personal, although the clause 'by His authority' makes it clear that the authority is ministerial. The retention of this direct form for the sick and dying was a concession to this accustomed mode of consolation in the hour of death.*

If the Service is performed by a Deacon he ought to omit the Absolution and pass on to 'the Lord's Prayer.' There is no Rubrical authority for substituting the prayer for pardon, 'O God, whose nature and property,' etc., as is sometimes done.

Analysis.

I. A Declaration respecting God, viz. :—

1. His desire for the salvation of men.
2. His committal of authority to Ministers to declare and pronounce that the truly penitent are pardoned. †

II. A Declaration by the Minister of God's Pardon on the conditions of Repentance and Faith.

III. A Call to Prayer based on the assurance of pardon, for :—

1. Holiness at the present time, and for the rest of our life.
2. Attainment of eternal joy.

Rubric at the end of the Absolution.

1552. The people shall answer, Amen.

1662. The people shall answer here, and at the end of all other prayers, Amen.

It is worthy of note that the Absolution is here definitely and distinctly described as a Prayer.

The Rubric before the Lord's Prayer.

1549. The Priest being in the quire shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer, called the *Paternoster*.

1552. Then shall the Minister begin the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice.

1662. Then the Minister shall kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer with an audible voice; the people also kneeling, and repeating it with him, both here, and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service.

Prior to 1549 the Minister was directed to repeat it 'secretly' ('secreto'), or in an undertone, to himself, down to the sixth petition, when the people responded with the seventh petition.

The words 'and wheresoever else,' etc., have caused difference

* For further particulars, see Visitation of the Sick, pp. 453–5.

† The succeeding context shows that this is the extent of the priest's authority.

of opinion as to whether they govern the case of the opening Lord's Prayer in the Communion Office or not. On the one hand, besides this general direction, the rubric frequently states on its recurrence that both the people and the Minister shall say it, whereas at the beginning of the Communion Service the rubric merely says, 'the Priest standing at the north side of the Table shall say the Lord's Prayer, with the Collect following, the people kneeling.' On the other hand, since the rubric does not state that the Priest alone is to say it, this rubric may hold good, and as such both the Priest and the people should repeat it. (See Dowden, 'Further Studies in the Prayer Book,' pp. 82-88.)

The Lord's Prayer. 1549. Sar. Brev. Taken chiefly from the rendering in the King's Book of 1543, which did not, however, contain the Doxology, but the *Ave Maria* followed.

It was here that in 1549 the Service commenced, and in 1662 two lines were drawn across the page to mark the point.

The Lord's Prayer, as being the form given for disciples, now furnishes the connecting link between the Penitential Introduction and the offering of praise. The suitability of this arrangement was enhanced by the addition of the Doxology in 1662. This is an ancient Liturgical adjunct, and was adopted by the Greek Church, but omitted by the Latin. In the A.V. it is only found in St. Matthew's Gospel, and in the R.V. it is altogether wanting. It mostly occurs in our Prayer Book where that portion of the Service is associated with praise.

The Lord's Prayer * is given to us as :—

- (1) A Form to be used (Luke xi. 2).
- (2) A Model by which we are to frame our petitions, as to their order and proportion as well as their substance (Matt. vi. 9).

The Versicles and Responses. 1549. Sar. Brev. Matins. Ps. li. 15; lxx. 1.

They are found in the Anglo-Saxon Offices from the sixth century, and also called 'antiphonal suffrages,' or 'preces.'

1549. My lips, My mouth; Save me, Help me.

1552. Our lips, Our mouth; Save us, Help us.

The Rubric before the Gloria was added 1662, adapted from the Scotch Service of 1637.

Gloria Patri. 1549. Sar. Brev. Matins.

This is one of the earliest primitive doxologies and is sometimes called the lesser doxology, as distinguished from the *Gloria in excelsis*.

* For 'Expository Analysis' see Catechism, p. 413.

In substance it is as old as the fourth century, the words, 'As it was in the beginning,' etc., having been added in the sixth century. The Arian Version was 'Glory be to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost.' There were several doxologies in the Early Church. The form in the Mozarabic Liturgy was, 'Glory and Honour to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.'

The Call to Praise. 1549. Sar. Brev. Matins.

1549. 'Praise ye the Lord' was followed by 'Hallelujah' from Easter to Trinity Sunday.

1552. 'Hallelujah' was omitted.

1662. 'The Lord's Name be praised' (from the Scotch Prayer Book of 1637) was added.

The Rubric before the Venite.

1549. Then shall be said or sung without any Invitatory, this Psalm, *Venite, exultemus*, etc., in English, as followeth. Psalm xcvi.

1552. Then shall be said or sung, this Psalm following.

1662. The words, 'Except on Easter Day, upon which another Anthem is appointed; and on the Nineteenth day of every month it is not to be read here, but in the ordinary Course of the Psalms' were added.

The Venite, exultemus Dominò. (Ps. xcvi.) 1549. Great Bible. Sar. Brev. Matins.

From very early times it has been usual to intermingle the reading of Scripture in Church with Psalms and Canticles, and this was, indeed, enjoined by the Council of Laodicea, about 360. With the exception of the *Te Deum* and *Benedicite*, they are taken from the Holy Scriptures. The *Venite* was formerly termed 'the Invitatorium,' or the 'Invitatory Psalm.' In the Primer of Henry VIII its title was 'A Song stirring to the Praise of God.' It touches 'the highest and lowest notes of the scale in the spiritual life.'

In the Western Church it was sung from early times. Anciently it was read while the congregation was assembling. In the Sar. Brev. 'a short versicle, called an 'Invitatory' inciting to praise, and suited to the season of the ecclesiastical year, was sung before the *Venite*' (Evan Daniel).

The pointing of the Psalm was assimilated to the rest of the Psalter, so that it could be sung to the ordinary Psalm tunes, instead of its own peculiar chants.

In the Eastern Church a shortened form of it is used.

In the American Prayer Book the *Venite* consists of the first seven verses of Ps. xcvi., with Ps. xcvi. 9 and 13

Analysis.

- I. A Call to Worship God publicly, viz. :—
1. To praise and thank the Supreme Sovereign (v. 3) and Upholder (v. 4) and Creator (v. 5) of the Universe 1-5
 2. To bend before God's Throne in prayer, because of His own personal relationship to us 6, 7
- II. An Entreaty not to harden our hearts and slight the Word of God lest, like Israel of old, we forfeit the promised rest 8-11

B.C.P., Corners of the Earth.

A.V., Deep places (lit., 'depth of earth').

B.C.P., Strength of the hills.

R.V., Heights of the mountains.

B.C.P., To-day if ye will hear His voice.

R.V., To-day, oh that ye could hear His voice.

R.V. renders second clause of ver. 8 'as in the provocation; and as in the day of Massah in the wilderness.'

The Rubric concerning the Psalms.

1549. Then shall follow certain Psalms in order, as they been ['be,' 1552] appointed in a table made for that purpose, except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day.

1662. Then shall follow the Psalms in order as they are appointed.

In accordance with the title page of the B.C.P., the Psalms are to be sung or said. Both practices have the sanction of Scripture (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 1; 2 Chron. xxix. 30; Ps. cxviii. 2; Luke i. 46, 67; ii. 28; Eph. v. 19; Rev. vii. 10; etc.).

The Psalms. 1549. Sar. Ps. (but sung on a different system). The Prayer Book version is that of Tyndal and Coverdale, 1535, and Rogers, 1537, revised in 'The Great Bible' called Cranmer's, 1539. It is somewhat more rhythmical and suitable for song than that of the A.V. The Prayer Book version, being a translation of a translation, cannot have anything like the claim to accuracy which the A.V. and R.V. possess.

The Psalms are 'pointed as they are to be said or sung in Churches,' i.e., they are divided by a colon to mark the 'break in the chant.

1549. Special Psalms were appointed for the four great festivals (Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Whit-Sunday).

1662. Special Psalms for Ash Wednesday and Good Friday were added.

The seven penitential Psalms were chosen for Ash Wednesday, one, the fifty-first, being in the Communion Service.

The Psalter was in ancient times divided into five books :—

- (1) Pss. i.-xli.; (2) xlii.-lxxii.; (3) lxxiii.-lxxxix.;
- (4) xc.-cvi.; (5) cvii.-cl.

Some were used by David and Solomon in the Temple Service (1 Chron. xvi. 8; 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42), and in the Synagogue worship after the return from Captivity. Our Lord Himself quoted and referred to some of them (Luke xx. 42, 43; xxiv. 44; cf. Acts i. 20). It is generally supposed that Pss. cxliii.-cxviii. formed the great Hallel, which was probably the 'hymn' which our Lord sang with His disciples after the Last Supper (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26).

The early Christians used them by selection as we use a hymn book. The continuous use of the Psalms in Public Worship began with the Monastic Orders. In the Sar. Brev. there were fixed Psalms appointed for certain services, the remainder being sung 'in course' every week. The Antiphonal singing of Psalms, originally an Eastern custom, rapidly spread in the Western Churches, owing to Gregory the Great setting up the first singing school in Rome.*

There is no Rubrical authority for the Psalms being repeated verse by verse alternately by the minister and people. But this method is plainly alluded to by Tertullian, and it was introduced into the Christian Church by St. Ignatius among the Greeks, and St. Ambrose among the Latins. The practice prevailed in the Jewish Temple.

The Rubric concerning the Doxology.

And at the end of every Psalm throughout the Year, and likewise at the end of *Benedicite*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*, shall be repeated [*Gloria Patri*].

The Doxology.

It was used in the Eastern Church after the last Psalm only, but in most of the Churches of the West after every Psalm. It serves to connect the Unity of the Godhead as known to the Jews with the Trinity as known to Christians.

The Rubric concerning the Lessons.

1549. Then shall be read two Lessons distinctly with a loud voice, that the people may hear. The first of the Old Testament, the second of the New; like as they be appointed by the Calendar, except there be proper Lessons assigned for that day; the Minister that readeth the Lesson, standing and turning him so as he may best be heard of all such as be present.

And before every Lesson, the minister shall say thus: The

* For further details about the Psalter, see pp. 32 ff.

first, second, third or fourth Chapter of Genesis or Exodus, Matthew, Mark, or other like, as is appointed in the Calendar. And in the end of every chapter, he shall say, Here endeth such a Chapter of such a Book.

1604. The following clause was added: 'And to the end the people may the better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the Lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading; and likewise the Epistle and Gospel.' This clause was omitted in 1662.

1662. Then shall be read distinctly with an audible voice the First Lesson, taken out of the Old Testament as is appointed in the Calendar, (except there be proper Lessons assigned for that day): **He that readeth** so standing and turning himself, as he may best be heard of all such as are present.

Note, That before every Lesson the Minister shall say, **Here beginneth such a Chapter**, or Verse of such a Chapter, of such a Book: And after every Lesson, Here endeth the First, or the Second Lesson.

The Lessons.

The first mention of reading the Scriptures in public is in Neh. viii. 8; but cf. 2 Chron. xvii. 7-9. Lessons from the Law and the Prophets were read by the Jews each Sabbath in their synagogues (Luke iv. 17-19; Acts xv. 21; cf. Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. v. 27). The method was to have two stated lessons, one from the Law and the other from the Prophets. The Lectionary is specially marked in our Hebrew Bibles. Before the settlement of the Canon of Scripture, portions from the Epistles of St. Barnabas and St. Clement were read. Later on, Traditions of the Apostles, Acts of Martyrs and Confessors, etc., took the place of the Holy Scriptures on several occasions. Until the time of St. Augustine of Hippo the Lessons were chosen by the Minister, afterwards Lectionary Books (Lectionaria), containing appropriate Lessons for certain days, began to make their appearance.

The Reformers, following the practice of the early Christians, appointed two Lessons to be read at each Service, one from the Old Testament and the other from the New Testament.

N.B.—One of the beauties of the Liturgy is its variety. Thus after the active devotion of Psalmody there comes a refreshing repose in listening to the Lessons. 'He which prays,' as Hooker remarks, 'in due course is thereby made the more attentive to hear; and he which heareth is the more earnest to pray.'

1549. Daily Lessons were appointed.

1552. Proper Lessons for Holy Days, Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension, and Whit-Sunday were added.

1559. Sunday Lessons were added.

1871. A Revised Lectionary was introduced, by which:—

- (1) The Old Testament, with certain omissions, is read once during the year, and the New Testament twice. In the first six months the Gospels are read in the Morning Service, and the remaining New Testament Books in the Evening; and *vice versa* in the last six months.
- (2) The Lessons were shortened, and not made coincident with the division of the Bible into chapters (see Isa. lii. and liii.; Acts xxi. and xxii.; Heb. ii. and iii.; iv. and v.).
- (3) A second First Lesson provided for Evening Service on Sundays.
- (4) Other Lessons upon special occasions to be approved by the Ordinary, may, with his consent, be substituted for those appointed. The following direction respecting the selection of Lessons in cases of Saints' Days when they fall on Sunday is useful:—

If any of the Holy-days for which proper Lessons are appointed in the table fall upon a Sunday which is the first Sunday in Advent, Easter Day, Whit-Sunday, or Trinity Sunday, the Lessons appointed for such Sunday shall be read; but if it fall upon any other Sunday, the Lessons appointed either for the Sunday or for the Holy-day may be read at the discretion of the Minister.

In the old Lectionary, 44 out of the 132 chapters of the Apocrypha were selected to be read. But in the new Lectionary the only books from which selections are taken are Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch. These are read on week-days from October 27 to November 18, and on certain Holy-days, 'with a view to instruction in virtue and holiness of life' (see Art. VI).

Before the Reformation in England, several Lessons, sometimes as many as nine, were read in the Services; but as each consisted only of a verse or two, the nine Lessons together were probably shorter than any of ours, and the Lessons were invariable.

The Rubric especially directs that the Lessons 'shall be read distinctly with an audible voice.'*

Rubric concerning the Te Deum. 1549.

1549. After the first Lesson shall follow *Te Deum laudamus*, in English, daily throughout the year, except in Lent, all the

* For fuller particulars, see pp. 35 ff.

which time, in place of *Te Deum* shall be used *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino*, in English as followeth.

1552. After the first Lesson shall follow *Te Deum laudamus*, in English, daily throughout the whole [‘whole’ omitted 1604] year.

1662. And after that, shall be said or sung, in English, the Hymn, called *Te Deum laudamus*, daily throughout the Year.

N.B.—From 1552 onward the *Benedicite* is given as an alternative without restrictions.

Te Deum Laudamus. 1549. Sar. Brev. Matins (Sundays and Festivals).

1545. Called in the Primer of Henry VIII ‘The Praise of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’

1549. Prescribed for use ‘except in Lent.’

1552. This exception removed.

This Hymn has been called ‘a Creed in the form of adoration.’ It is included in the Form of Prayer to be used at Sea, after Victory or Deliverance from an Enemy; and also in the Coronation Service.

The history of this famous Hymn is obscure. The earliest mention of it is in the ‘Rule of Cæsarius,’ Bishop of Arles (470–542), while portions of it are to be found in old Greek Liturgies. A well-known tradition, without historical support, makes it the extempore joint production of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine at the baptism of the latter. Conjectures have credited it to Hilary of Poitiers (355) and Hilary of Arles (440). Modern scholarship inclines to the suggestion that the author was either Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia (370–420), or Nicetius of Treves (535).

Variations in the MSS. in regard to the eight concluding verses have given rise to the suggestion that they are no part of the original Hymn, but borrowed from the *Gloria in excelsis*, with the use of which in the West similar verses were associated at the time when the *Te Deum* took the place of the *Gloria* as the morning hymn.* Viewed in this light the *Te Deum* may be analysed as (1) a Hymn to the Holy Trinity, vv. 1–13; (2) a hymn to God the Son as Redeemer, vv. 14–21; (3) versicles added as a conclusion. The analysis given below is based upon the sense of the Hymn as it stands.

Some instances of departure from the original Latin in the English translation are worthy of note, e.g.—

* See ‘The Workmanship of the Prayer-Book,’ by Dr. Dowden, pp. 83–94: *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1885, p. 20.

Te Deum laudamus: ‘we praise Thee as God.’

Laudabilis numerus: ‘the praise-worthy number’ (of the prophets).

Candidatus exercitus: ‘the white-robed army.’

Venerandum: ‘adorable,’ which is the rendering of the American P.B. and is perhaps nearer the original than our ‘honourable.’

Mortis aculeo: ‘death’s sting’ (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 55, 56).

Non confundar in æternum: this can be finely rendered as an indicative, ‘I shall never be confounded.’

An important various reading is **munerari** for **numerari**: ‘make them to be rewarded with Thy saints.’*

Analysis.

I. Praise (vv. 1–9).

	vers.
1. From the Assembled Worshipers	1
2. From Heaven and Earth	2–6
3. From Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs	7–9

II. Confession of Faith (vv. 10–19).

1. In the Blessed Trinity	10–13
2. In the Divine Redeemer	14–19

III. Prayer (vv. 20–29).

1. For eternal salvation, eliciting praise	20–25
2. For present and future preservation from sin	26–29

Benedicite omnia Opera. 1549. Sar. Brev. (sung on Sundays and Festivals at Lauds, among the Psalms).

This Hymn, which is an alternative for the *Te Deum*, is found in the Septuagint between the 23rd and 24th verses of the 3rd chapter of Daniel, and in the English Apocrypha between the Books of Baruch and Susannah in a much expanded form. Some have thought it to be an expansion or paraphrase of Ps. cxlviii. It is called ‘The Song of the Three Holy Children,’ Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (the Princes of Judah), whom Nebuchadnezzar had taken captive, and to whom had been given the Babylonian names of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego (Dan. i. 6, 7). In the Hymn itself they are called Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, the Grecized form of their Hebrew names. It was commonly sung among the morning Psalms in the fourth century. In the ancient Offices the Doxology ran thus: ‘O let us bless the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost; let us praise them, and magnify them for ever. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, in the firmament of Heaven; worthy to be praised, and glorious, and to be magnified for ever.’ The Reformers (1549) substituted the present Doxology. This Hymn is suitable for Septuagesima

* For further remarks the reader is referred to Dr. Wordsworth’s ‘*Te Deum, Its Structure and Meaning*,’ etc. Revised Edition. S.P.C.K.

Sunday (First Lesson, Gen. i.-ii. 4) and for the 21st Sunday after Trinity (First Lesson, Dan. iii.).

1549. Ordered to be used in Lent instead of the *Te Deum*.

1552. This direction removed.

In the Scottish Book Ps. xxiii. takes the place of the *Benedicite*. The American Book omits the last verse of the *Benedicite* and the Doxology.

Analysis.

An Appeal to praise the Creator, addressed :—	vers.
1. To Creation in general	1
2. To the Angels, the Heavens, and the Heavenly bodies ..	2-7
3. To the great forces and phenomena of Nature..	8-17
4. To the Earth with its vegetable and animal life ..	18-25
5. To our Fellow-men living and dead, and in particular to the Three Children in whose memory the Hymn was composed	26-32

Rubric before the Benedictus.

1549. And after the second Lesson, throughout the whole year, shall be used *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, &c. in English as followeth.

1552. The words '*Dominus Deus Israel*' and 'throughout the whole year' were omitted; and after 'used' the words 'and said' were added.

1662. Then shall be read in like manner the Second Lesson, taken out of the New Testament; and after that, the Hymn following; except when that shall happen to be read in the Chapter for the Day, or for the Gospel on Saint John Baptist's Day.

Benedictus. (Luke i. 68-79.) 1549. Sar. Brev. Lauds.

This was the Song of Zacharias to which he gave utterance immediately after the circumcision of John the Baptist. It is a summary of the messages of both Testaments. The version differs slightly, both from the 'Great Bible' and from the A.V.

1549. Described, in one edition, as a 'thanksgiving for the performance of God's promises.'

N.B.—The infinitives, 'to perform . . . to remember . . . to perform' in verses 72, 73, are connected with the words 'He hath raised up a mighty salvation for us' (ver. 69).

Analysis.

I. Thanksgiving for the Advent of the Messiah, in Whom God's promised Redemption was being fulfilled	vers. 68-75
II. Address to the Infant John, in which Zacharias prophesies the object of his mission as the Forerunner	76-79

The Rubric before the Jubilate.

1552. Or else this Psalm, *Jubilate Deo*.

1559. Or the C Psalm, *Jubilate*.

1662. Or this Psalm, *Jubilate Deo*.

There is, at first sight, some ambiguity in the wording of the Rubric before the *Benedictus*, and consequently some have thought that the *Jubilate* should only be sung on the two occasions when the Rubric directs the *Benedictus* to be omitted. But the meaning is clear if the two Rubrics are read together thus: 'And after that, the Hymn following; (except when that shall happen to be read in the Chapter for the Day, or for the Gospel on St. John Baptist's Day),' or this Psalm, *Jubilate Deo*.' The parenthetical marks are inserted for the sake of elucidation. Read in this way, it will be seen that the *Jubilate* can be sung on any occasion.

Cf. rubrics for use of alternative Prayers for Ember Days, of alternative Thanksgivings in the Post-Communion, and of alternative Psalms in the Office for the Solemnization of Matrimony.

Jubilate Deo. (Psalm c.) 1552. 'Great Bible.' Sar. Brev. Lauds.

In Lauds (Sundays and Festivals) it came before the Lesson.

The joyful character of this Psalm, which was most likely composed for some joyous Festival in the Jewish Temple, makes it specially appropriate after the reading of the glad tidings contained in the New Testament Lesson. Compare its position as the closing Psalm (a 'doxology') of the series of Psalms xciii.-xcix., intended for Temple worship on some joyful occasion. It represents the 'tone' of Morning Prayer, as the *Nunc dimittis* that of Evening Prayer. In the latter the 'Gospel of Peace' is gratefully accepted, in the former 'grace, mercy, and truth' are made the ground of an appeal for joyous assurance that 'the Lord He is God.' The Psalm is written in antiphonal form.

Analysis.

I. An Appeal to all lands to sing God's Praise, for we are His possession	vers. 1-2
II. An Appeal to thank Him publicly, for His mercy is unchanging	3-4

N.B.—R.V. renders 'and not we ourselves,' as 'and we are His.'

The Rubric before the Creed.

1549. Then the Minister shall say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in English, with a loud voice, &c.

1552. Then shall be said the Creed by the Minister and the people, standing.
1662. Then shall be sung or said the Apostles' Creed by the Minister and the people standing: except only on such days as the Creed of St. Athanasius is appointed to be read.

The Apostles' Creed. 1549 (not printed in the Service). 1552 (printed). Sar. Brev. Matins and Prime.

This Creed, 'commonly called the Apostles'' (Art. VIII.), can only claim that designation from its containing Apostolic teaching. Traces of Apostolic formulæ have been thought to be found in Acts xvi. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 3-8; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Tim. i. 13, 14; but none of the various Baptismal Creeds of the primitive Church can boast of direct Apostolic sanction. The Baptismal Formula of Matt. xxviii. 19 is doubtless the germ of both the contents and the structure of the later Creeds, which gradually grew from a simple confession of faith in the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity to more or less detailed summaries of Scriptural revelation concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The earliest use of a Creed was probably in Baptism, as is suggested by its ancient name *Symbolum*, i.e. the sign or mark by which a Christian is known. Other old names were *Regula fidei*, the rule or 'canon' of truth, and 'the standard of truth.' The Apostles' Creed is selected for this purpose in the Church of England, and is used not only in the Baptismal Offices, but also in the Catechism, Daily Services, and Visitation of the Sick.

The Apostles' Creed attained to its present form about the middle of the eighth century. The following steps are traceable:—

138-161. Aristides' *Apology* gives 7 of its clauses.

180. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, gives a summary of Christian doctrine substantially similar to that of the Apostles' Creed: *Adv. Haer.* I. ii.

341. A Creed in the days of Marcellus shows approximation to the present form.

369-410. The Creed of Rufinus of Aquileia contains further additions towards the completion of the present Creed.

750. In the writings of Firminius the Creed is found in its present form.

About 1000 the Creed, which had already found its way into the Anglo-Saxon Office, was generally adopted by the Western Church. In the pre-Reformation Services it followed the Lord's Prayer amongst the prayers of Prime. Its present position is much more appropriate. It follows upon the reading of Holy Scripture, the foundation of faith, and precedes prayer, which

both needs and sustains faith. The old practice in the Sar. Brev. was for the Priest alone and inaudibly to recite the Creed till the last clause ('et vitam æternam'), when he raised his voice as a signal to the Choir that they were to join with him in saying it. This inaudible recitation of the Creed, as of the Lord's Prayer, has been connected with the early practice of concealing these sacred mysteries from the heathen and unbaptized. The Reformers were anticipated in their improvement upon this somewhat meaningless custom by Cardinal Quignon, who directed in his Breviary, 1536, that the Creed should be said aloud on all days except Sunday. In the Sar. Use the Creed used publicly was the Athanasian, but in Rom. Brev. the Athanasian Creed was used on Sundays only. The rubric directs the people to join the Minister in its recitation, profession of faith being essentially a personal matter; and to stand,* because that attitude is significant of readiness to defend and suffer for the faith.

There is no authority for the frequent practice of turning to the East in the Creed, nor is there any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the custom. The still more frequent custom of bowing the head at the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ is also without authority and explanation. The 18th Canon of 1604 indeed gives direction for 'due and lowly reverence' whenever in Divine Service the Name 'Jesus' is uttered, but apart from the fact that these Canons are not binding upon the laity, there is no authority here for restricting such observance to the Creed. The practical impossibility as well as the inconvenience attaching to such a direction has from the first prevented the Canon from being generally observed.

It is probable that the great mass of Christians are absolutely at one upon the Apostles' Creed, down to the clause which concluded its earlier forms, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost.' A possible exception is 'He descended into Hell,' omitted in the American Book† and by the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, but here the difference is based upon the ambiguity of the word 'hell,' and not upon doctrinal differences. The later clauses were added as the desire became more pronounced to emphasize the Church, and though they contain nothing in their wording to which any Christian would object, they are capable of very divergent interpretation.

It is to be noted that in the B.C.P. the words 'carnis resurrectionem' (Latin Version) are translated 'resurrection of the body,' but in the Baptismal Offices they are rendered 'resurrection of the flesh.'

* In 1549 the Creed was apparently said kneeling.

† Changed to: 'He was sent to the place of departed spirits.'

In 1549 the Apostles' Creed came after the Lesser Litany.*

The Rubric before the Versicles.

1549. Then shall be said daily through the Year, the Prayers following, as well at Evensong as at Matins, all devoutly kneeling.

1552. And after that, these Prayers following, as well at Evening Prayer as at Morning Prayer, all devoutly kneeling, the Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice.

1662. The words 'as well at Evening Prayer as at Morning Prayer' omitted.

The Versicles before the Lord's Prayer. 1549. See Ruth ii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 22; Ps. cxxiii. 3; Luke xvii. 13.

These Versicles consist of two parts—

1. The Mutual Salutation. 1552.

2. The Lesser Litany. 1549.

The division is marked by the invitation, 'Let us pray.'

The Rubric before the Lord's Prayer.

1549. Then the Minister shall say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in English, with a loud voice, &c.

1552. The words 'Clerks † and People' were added after 'the Minister.'

1662. The words 'in English' were omitted.

It is ordered to be said 'with a loud voice' (cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol. i. c. 13*), as a corrective, doubtless, to the practice of the Church of Rome, which is to say it mentally.

The Lord's Prayer. 1549. *Sar. Brev. Prime*, where it preceded the Apostles' Creed.

This Prayer is a fit introduction to the supplicatory portion of the Service, as a general summary of human need. Objection has been taken to the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, a repetition which in the Irish Book has been obviated by a special rubric. The Lord's warning against mechanical repetitions is interpreted by His own repetitions in Gethsemane (*Matt. xxvi. 44*). Repetition need not be mechanical, and the best defence of the practice here is that the Prayer is so condensed in its completeness that it is impossible for any worshipper, however devout, to exhaust its meaning in one utterance. The Doxology is omitted here, 'because the characteristic of this part of the Service is Prayer' (*Cornford*), i.e. as distinct from Praise.

The Rubric before the Versicles after the Lord's Prayer.

1549. Priest.

1552. Then the Minister standing up shall say.

* For the analysis and exposition of the Creed, see *Catechism*, pp. 406, 7.

† 'Clerks' mean the lay-clerks, i.e. the choir.

1662. Then the Priest, etc.

The 'standing up' of the Priest is exceptional. The direction was apparently borrowed from the practice in the old Services of his rising up after the 51st Psalm, with the words *Ezurgat Deus*, and proceeding to the steps of the Altar to say the rest of the prayers, in order to be heard by the people with a view to their responding.

The Versicles or Preces and Responses after the Lord's Prayer.

1549. *Sar. Brev.* except 5th Versicle, which occurs in *Henry VIII's Prymer*, 1545.

These Versicles are found in the old Offices for Prime, but not together. Originally they were meant for private preparation for the Service. They are taken from the following texts, viz: *Ps. lxxxv. 7; 1 Sam. x. 24; Ps. xx. 9; cxxxii. 9; xxviii. 9; li. 10, 11*. The thoughts contained in them generally correspond with those in the Collects and Prayers which follow—

The 2nd. To the Prayer for the King.

The 3rd and 4th. To the Prayer for Clergy and People.

The 5th. To the Collect for Peace.

The 6th. To the Collect for Grace.

The Rubric before the Three Collects.

1549. The word 'Matins' was used.

1552. The words 'Morning Prayer' were substituted for 'Matins.'

1662. The words 'all kneeling' were added.

In 1549 there was the following 2nd Rubric, 'The Priest standing up, and saying, Let us pray. Then the Collect of the Day.'

The Collect for the Day occurred at the end of Lauds.

The Collects with their brief petitions are characteristic of the Western Church; in the East a more exuberant phraseology found favour.

The Reformers recast several of the Collects and carefully rejected whatever was not consistent with the Holy Scriptures. This was especially needful in connection with the Collects for Saints' Days, which frequently contained intercession for or through the saint.*

Collect for Peace. 1549. *Sac. Gel.; Sar. Brev. Lauds.* (See *1 Cor. xiv. 33; John xvii. 3; viii. 31-36; Rom. vi. 15-23; Ps. xxvii. 1, 3*.) The terseness of the Latin in the address to God is difficult of reproduction in English: 'Quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est.'

Collect for Grace. 1549. *Sac. Gel.; Sac. Greg.; Sar. Brev.*

* For further details see pp. 149 ff.

The American Book avoids the somewhat difficult grammar of the last clause by rendering it thus—

But that all our doings, being ordered by Thy governance, may be righteous in Thy sight. (*Sed semper ad Tuam justitiam faciendam omnis actio Tuò moderamine dirigitur.*)

It was here that the Order for Morning Prayer ended before 1662.

The Rubric after the Third Collect.

1662. In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.

'Quire' means the choirs of Cathedrals, Royal Chapels, Collegiate Churches and Colleges; and 'Places' refers either to ordinary Parish Churches or to those mentioned in Elizabeth's 49th Injunction. Under the word 'Anthem' comes any Hymn or Psalm, rhythmical or metrical. This is the only place in the B.C.P. which authorizes Hymnody; but it has now been formally legalized in the amended Act of Uniformity that Hymns may be sung at other times during Service.

The Rubric before the Five Prayers.

1662. Then these five Prayers following are to be read here, except when the Litany is read; and then only the two last are to be read, as they are there placed.

Observe that the word 'read' is substituted for 'said,' the term previously used. This shows that the last Revisers were not so regardful as generally supposed of merely ecclesiastical expressions. 'Read' was an expression which came into use in the seventeenth century to distinguish liturgical from extempore prayers.

A Prayer for the King's Majesty. 1559. (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.)

This Prayer, the authorship of which is unknown, is a good example of the more flowing and rhetorical style of the later Collects, breathing all the fervent loyalty of the Tudor Period. Prayers for Rulers occur in the old Greek and Latin Liturgies. In the Sarum Use they are called 'Memoriæ (Commemorations) pro rege' (Cornford).

The following quotation from Dr. Dowden* is worthy of notice: 'This Prayer, "O Lord, our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings," etc., has been much and deservedly admired for the solemn dignity of its opening. Yet there are at least two particulars in which it is capable of improvement. We know from Holy Scripture (Rev. xix. 16 and xvii. 14) that it is He whose "name is called the Word of God" that has on His vesture and on His thigh the name written, "King of kings, and

* See 'The Workmanship of the Prayer Book,' pp. 219, 220.

Lord of lords." Hence it is "the Lamb" who is the "Lord of lords and King of kings." And in accord with this thought the original of this Prayer was addressed to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and opened in the following sublime language: "O Lord Jesus Christ, most high, most mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of Princes, the very Son of God, on whose right hand sitting dost from Thy throne," etc. The Reformers therefore, by altering the address, injured the thought of the prayer.'

1545. The earliest English form of it is in 'A Prayer for the Kyng' composed in the reign of Henry VIII and occurring in a book entitled 'Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holye Scripture.'

1553. Placed in the reformed Primer, as 'the fourth Collect for the King' at Morning Prayer; another and shorter 'Prayer for the King' being added to the Collect 'for Peace' and 'for aid against all peril' at Evening Prayer.

1559. Placed in its present form before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

A Prayer for the Royal Family. 1604.

This Prayer was approved, if not composed, by Archbishop Whitgift.

1604. Placed among the Collects at the end of the Litany, and entitled 'A Prayer for the Queen, and Prince, and other the King and Queen's children.' It began with the words, 'Almighty God, which has promised to be a Father of thine elect and of their seed, We humbly beseech Thee to bless our gracious Queen Anne, Prince Henry and all the King and Queen's royal progeny; endue them,' etc.

1625. When Charles the First came to the Throne, having no issue, the words 'the fountain of all goodness' were substituted for the clause 'which has promised . . . seed.'

1632. After the birth of Prince Charles and the Lady Mary the passage in the 1604 B.C.P. was reintroduced.

1633. The Prayer was finally revised by Laud as we now have it.

1662. Placed in its present position.

A Prayer for the Clergy and People. 1559. Sac. Gel.; Sac. Greg.; Sar. Brev.

1544. Inserted in Cranmer's Litany.

1559. Introduced into Prayer Book, and placed at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

'Who alone workest great marvels' (cf. Ps. cxxxvi. 4).

These words suggest:—

(1) The Pentecostal outpouring (Acts ii. 2-4).

(2) The Preservation and Triumph of the Church.

'Curates'—i.e. all who have cure of souls, whether they be Incumbents or Assistant Curates.

Other versions of the Prayer are—

Almighty and everlasting God, who alone workest great and marvellous things, send down upon our Bishops, Presbyters, and Curates, etc. (Scottish Liturgy, 1637.)

Almighty and everlasting God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift: send down upon our Bishops and other Clergy, and upon the congregation, etc. (The American Prayer Book.)

Prayer of St. Chrysostom. 1549. (See Matt. xviii. 19, 20.)

This Prayer is found in the Liturgy of Constantinople bearing the name of St. Chrysostom, although it is wanting in the most ancient copy of that Liturgy, viz. the Barberini. It is likewise found in the Liturgy of St. Basil (ninth century), and forms part of the Byzantine Liturgy of the same date. The author of it is unknown. Cranmer ascribed it to St. Chrysostom, probably because he took it from the Liturgy which bears his name. It is addressed to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.

1544. It was placed at the end of the English Litany which had been set forth by Cranmer and his coadjutors. Before this time it had not been inserted in any of the 'Processions.'

1549. Retained in the same place.

1662. Placed in its present position, in Morning Prayer, but left at end of Litany also.

The Grace. 1559. (2 Cor. xiii. 14; cf. Numb. vi. 24-26.)

It is found in Eastern Liturgies. The Latin Hour Services ended with the salutation and the versicle and response—

Let us bless the Lord.

Thanks be to God.

1559. Placed at the end of Litany.

1662. Placed also at end of Morning and Evening Prayer.

A TABLE SHOWING THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE ORDER FOR EVENING PRAYER AND THE OFFICES OF VESPERS AND COMPLINE IN THE SARUM USE (BREVIARY).

PRAYER BOOK, 1662.		SARUM USE, ¹ 1085.	
Evening Prayer.		Vespers. At 6 p.m.	Compline. Before retiring to rest.
1	Sentences	In the Name	In the Name
2	Exhortation		Turn us
3	Confession		
4	Absolution		
5	Our Father	5 Our Father ('secreto')	5 Our Father
6	O Lord, open	Hail ! Mary	7 O God, make speed
7	O God, make speed	7 O God, make speed	8 Psalms *
8	Psalms	8 Psalms *	9 3 Gloriae
9	Gloria	9 5 Gloriae	10 Short Chapter
10	1st Lesson	10 Short Chapter	Hymn
11	Magnificat, or	Hymn	14 Nunc Dimittis
12	Cantate	11 Magnificat	17 Lesser Litany
13	2nd Lesson	17 Lesser Litany	18 Our Father
14	Nunc Dimittis, or	18 Our Father	19 Suffrages
15	Deus Misereatur	19 Suffrages	16 Apostles' Creed †
16	Apostles' Creed	20 Collect of the Day	(said privately)
17	Lesser Litany	21 Collect for Peace	cf. 3 Confession } Mutual
18	Our Father		cf. 4 Absolution }
19	Suffrages		22 Collect for Aid
20	Collect of the Day	* There were 5 Psalms and Anti- phons.	
21	Collect for Peace		* There were 4 Psalms and Anti- phons.
22	Collect for Aid		† The Choir re- sponded, 'Et vitam aeternam. Amen.'
23	Prayers for State and Church		
24	St. Chrysostom's Prayer		
25	The Grace		

¹ Definitely settled beginning of thirteenth century. Sarum Breviary reformed, 1st ed. 1516, 2nd ed. 1531, further reformed 1541.

THE ORDER FOR EVENING PRAYER DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR*

THE Evening Service of the Book of Common Prayer was compiled partly from materials taken from the ancient Services of Vespers (Evensong) and Compline (the Service before retiring to rest). The general plan of the Order for Morning Prayer was followed, the intention being that both Services should exemplify the same general principles.

A certain difference of tone is traceable between the Order for Morning Prayer and that for Evening Prayer. In the words of Canon Fausset: 'As in the Morning Service intensity and vigour are the characteristics, so throughout the Evening Service there breathes a tranquil spirit, which is well embodied in the aged Simeon's soothing hymn, after his active day was past, and the shades of life's evening cheered by the assurance of Jesus' salvation were gathering round him.' †

The Title.

1549. An Order for Evensong throughout the Year.
1552. An Order for Evening Prayer throughout the Year.
1662. The Order for Evening Prayer daily, etc.

The Sentences, etc.

1552. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution added, but not printed in the Evening Service. The rubric, however, at the beginning of the Morning Service ran thus: 'At the beginning both of Morning Prayer and likewise of Evening Prayer, the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one of these Sentences of the Scriptures that follow. And then he shall say that which is written after the said Sentences.'
1662. The Sentences, etc., up to the Lord's Prayer printed as an integral portion of the Evening Service, i.e. as they now stand.

* Refer to Notes on Morning Service for those parts which are similar to the Evening.

† 'A Guide to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer' (1894), p. 105.

Rubric before the Lord's Prayer.

1549. The Priest shall say.

1662. Then the Minister shall kneel and say the Lord's Prayer; the people also kneeling, and repeating it with him.

The Lord's Prayer. 1549. Sar. Brev. Vespers. [Not printed in full till 1662.]

In 1549 the service commenced with this Prayer.

The Versicles.

1549. O God, make speed to save me [us, 1552].

O Lord, make haste to help me [us, 1552].

1552. O Lord, open thou our lips

And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

This Versicle and Response were added and placed before the former.

Gloria Patri. 1549. Sar. Brev. Vespers.

The Versicle.

1549. Praise ye the Lord. And from Easter to Trinity Sunday, Hallelujah.

1552. 'Hallelujah,' omitted.

1662. 'The Lord's name be praised' added.

The Rubric concerning the Psalms.

1549. Then Psalms in order as they be appointed in the Table for Psalms, except there be proper Psalms appointed for that day.

1662. Then shall be said or sung the Psalms in order as they be appointed.

The Rubric concerning the First Lesson.

1549. Then a Lesson of the Old Testament as it is appointed likewise in the Calendar, except there be proper Lessons appointed for that day.

1662. Then a Lesson of the Old Testament, as is appointed.

The First Lesson.

This occupies the same position in the Service as did the Chapter read at Vespers.

The Rubric before the Magnificat.

1549. After that [i.e. the Lesson] (*Magnificat anima mea Dominum*) in English, as followeth.

1552. 'Anima mea Dominum' omitted.

1662. And after that [i.e. the Lesson], *Magnificat* (or the Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary) in English, as followeth.

The Magnificat. (Luke i. 46-55.) Great Bible. 1549. Sar. Brev. Vespers.

This Canticle, which resembles the Song of Hannah (1 Sam.

ii. 1-10), has been sung at Evening worship from the sixth century, when St. Benedict is said to have assigned it for use at Vespers. In the Eastern Church it is sung in the morning while the Deacon censes the altar. In the King's Primer 1545 it was entitled, 'The Song of Mary rejoicing and praising the Goodness of God.' Owing to the high position assigned in the Canticle to the Virgin Mary, and owing to the fact that ornate ritual often accompanied its public use in the Middle Ages, the Puritans tried several times to procure its removal from the Prayer Book. In 1662 the explanatory title was added, 'or the Song of the Blessed Virgin.'

Analysis.

	Vers.
I. Outburst of Joy	46, 47
II. Various Notes of Praise for :—	
1. The Personal Honour bestowed upon her * ..	48, 40
2. The Enduring Mercy of God	59
3. The Contrasts in God's dealings with men ..	51-53
4. The Fulfilment of the Promise to Abraham ..	54, 55

'Lowliness' is altered into 'Low estate' (A.V. & R.V.), 'Hath magnified me' into 'Hath done to me great things' (A.V. & R.V.); 'And His mercy is on them that fear Him throughout all generations' into 'And His mercy is unto generations and generations on them that fear Him' (R.V.).

The Rubric before the Cantate Domino.

1552. Or else this Psalm.
 1559. Or the 98 Psalm. *Cantate Domino canticum novum.*
 1604. Or else this Psalm. *Cantate Domino*, Psalm 98.
 1662. Or else this Psalm; except it be on the Nineteenth Day of the Month, when it is read in the Ordinary course of the Psalms. *Cantate Domino*, Psalm 98.

Cantate Domino. (Ps. xcvi.) Great Bible. 1552. Sar. Brev. Lauds.

The language of this Canticle resembles in several passages that of the *Magnificat*. The Hymn is a Song of Triumph for the revelation of God to the world as Conqueror, Deliverer, and Judge.

An alternative Canticle was here provided, possibly as a concession to those who were prejudiced against the *Magnificat*.

In the American Prayer Book a second alternative is provided, consisting of Ps. ciii. 1-4, 20-22.

Analysis.

A Summons to sing to God, addressed	vers.
1. To the House of Israel	1-4
2. To all the Nations of the World	5-7
3. To the World of Nature	8-10

* 'And holy is his name' (v. 49b) is an outburst of adoration called forth by the thought of the personal honour bestowed upon her.

The arrangement of the verses both in the A.V. and the R.V. somewhat differs from the Prayer Book Version.

The Rubric concerning the Second Lesson.

1549. Then a Lesson of the New Testament.

1662. Then a Lesson of the New Testament, as it is appointed.

The Second Lesson.

This occupies the place of the Chapter that was read at Compline.

The Rubric before the Nunc dimittis.

1549. And after that [i.e. the Second Lesson], (*Nunc dimittis servum tuum*) in English, as followeth.

1552. *Servum tuum* omitted.

1662. And after that, *Nunc dimittis* (or the Song of Simeon) in English, as followeth.

Nunc dimittis. (St. Luke ii. 29-32.) Great Bible. 1549. Sar. Brev. Compline.

This is found as a Canticle in the 'Apostolical Constitutions.*' Its use in Compline is ascribed to Gregory the Great (d. 604).

Analysis.

I. A thankful readiness to depart, now that Simeon has seen the pledge of the world's salvation 29, 30

II. Declaration respecting the Saviour's world-wide office as the Gentiles' Light and Israel's Glory 31, 32

N.B.—In 1549 the Rubric after the *Nunc dimittis* ran thus: 'Then the suffrages before assigned at Matins, the Clerks kneeling likewise, with three Collects,' etc. This was explained by the rubric before the Lesser Litany in the Morning Service which ordered, 'Then shall be said daily through the Year, the Prayers following, as well at Evensong as at Matins, all devoutly kneeling.'†

The Rubric before the Deus misereatur.

1552. Or else this Psalm.

1559. Or this Psalm (*Deus misereatur nostri*) in English.

1604. Or else this Psalm.

1662. Or else this Psalm; except it be on the Twelfth Day of the Month.

Deus misereatur. (Ps. lxxvii.) Great Bible. 1552. Sar. Brev. Lauds.

* See 'Apost. Const.,' vii. 49.

† Much difficulty is experienced in ascertaining the rubrical directions in the Prayer Books prior to 1662, and especially those of 1549, as many of those referring to the conduct of the Evening Service are found in the Morning Service, and *vice versa*.

The underlying thought of this Psalm is that the acknowledgment of God's blessing leads to further blessings. The key-notes are, 'Prayer,' 'Blessing,' 'Praise,' 'further Blessing.' (John i. 16.)

Analysis.

I. Prayer for blessing upon Israel, that the nation may fulfil its missionary calling	1, 2
II. Appeal for world-wide praise to God on account of His righteous administration	3-5
III. Consequent increased blessing	6, 7

The Rubric before the Creed.

1549. Then the Minister shall say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in English, with a loud voice, &c. (See Morning Service *in loc.*).

1552. Then shall follow the Creed, with other Prayers as is before appointed at Morning Prayer after *Benedictus*.

1662. Then shall be said or sung the Apostles' Creed by the Minister and the people, standing.

The Creed. 1549 (but not printed). Sar. Brev. Compline.

The Rubric before the Versicles.

1549. Then the suffrages before assigned at Matins, the Clerks kneeling likewise.

1552. Then shall follow . . . other Prayers as is before appointed at Morning Prayer after *Benedictus*.

1662. And after that, these Prayers following, all devoutly kneeling; the Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice.

Mutual Salutation.

The Versicles before the Lord's Prayer. 1549. Sar. Brev. Vespers and Compline.

The Lord's Prayer. 1549.

The Versicles and Responses after the Lord's Prayer. 1549.

These 'Versicles' are called 'Suffrages' in 1549.

Rubric before the Three Collects.

1549. With three Collects. First of the Day; second of Peace; third for Aid against all Perils, as here followeth: which two last Collects shall be daily said at *Evensong* without alteration.

1552. And with three Collects; first of the Day; the second of Peace; the third for Aid against all Perils, as hereafter followeth: which two last Collects shall be daily said at *Evening Prayer* without alteration (included in rubric before the Creed).

1662. Then shall follow three Collects; the first of the Day, etc.

Collect for Peace. 1549. Sac. Gel.; Sar. Brev., Vespers.

Collect for Aid against all Perils. 1549. Sac. Gel.; Sac. Greg.; Sar. Brev. Compline.

Its language echoes noticeably that of the Psalms. 'Thou shalt light my candle, the Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light. Yea the darkness is no darkness but the night is as clear as the day: the darkness and light to Thee are both alike. He will not suffer thy foot to be moved: and He that keepeth thee will not sleep. Behold He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep' (Ps. xviii. 28; cxxxix. 11; cxxi. 3, 4. Prayer Book Version).

In the first American Prayer Book the Collect reads thus: 'O Lord, our heavenly Father, by whose Almighty Power we have been preserved this day; by Thy great mercy defend us from all perils,' etc., but in the revision of 1886 the English form was adopted.

In the American Book there is a Rubric to the Collect to the following effect: 'The Minister may here end the Evening Prayer with such Prayer or Prayers, taken out of this Book, as he shall think fit.'

The Closing Rubric.

In the 1549 B.C.P. after the Third Collect there was the following rubric: 'In the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, and upon Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said immediately after *Benedictus* this Confession of our Christian Faith.* In the B.C.P. of 1552, 1559, and 1604 the rubric directed that it should also be sung or said on the Festivals of Saint John the Baptist and some of the Apostles.

The Court Prayers, the Prayer for the Clergy and People, the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the Blessing, were all inserted in 1662 as a result of the Savoy Conference.

The *Benediction* in the Eastern Vespers was thus worded: 'And may the blessing of the Lord come upon us through His grace and lovingkindness continually, now, always and for ever and ever. Amen.'

1549. Thus endeth the Order of *Matins* and *Evensong*, through the whole Year.

1552. 'Morning and Evening Prayer' were substituted for 'Matins and Evensong.'

1662. Here endeth the Order of *Evening Prayer* throughout the Year.

* This was the Athanasian Creed which was printed in 1549 at the end of the Evening Service, i.e. immediately after the Third Collect. See notes on 'Athanasian Creed,' pp. 122 ff.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED

The Heading. At Morning Prayer. 1662.

The Name of the Creed. This is not given in the heading, but in the opening rubric it is spoken of as 'This Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius' 1662.

The title in the Utrecht Psalter was 'Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis'; in many ancient Psalters, 'Fides Catholica sancti Athanasii'; in Sar. Brev. 'Symbolum Athanasii.'

The Creed is called that of St. Athanasius (Bishop of Alexandria, 326-373), because it contains the great doctrine of the Trinity in Unity and the Unity in Trinity, for which he contended against the Arians.

The Rubric.

1549. In the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, and upon Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said immediately after *Benedictus*, this Confession of our Christian Faith.

1552. In the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Saint Matthias, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, Saint John Baptist, Saint James, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Matthew, Saint Simon and Jude, Saint Andrew, and Trinity Sunday, shall be sung or said, immediately after *Benedictus*, this Confession of our Christian Faith.

1559. 'Saint' was printed 'S' (according to Keeling).

1604. 'Saint' was restored for 'S.'

These rubrics and the Creed itself in the above Editions stood at the end of The Order for Evening Prayer.

1662. Upon these Feasts; Christmas Day, etc. . . shall be sung or said at Morning Prayer, instead of the Apostles' Creed, this Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius, by the Minister and people standing.

The seven additional days, added in 1552 to the six great Festivals named in 1549 for its use, were, as will be seen by the

table below, apparently in order to secure the Creed being said about once a month.

The Six Great Festivals.

1. Christmas Day (Dec. 25).
2. The Epiphany (Jan. 6).
3. Easter Day (March 22-April 25).
4. Ascension Day (April 30-June 3).
5. Whit-Sunday (May 10-June 13).
6. Trinity Sunday (May 17-June 20).

The Seven other Holy Days.

1. St. Matthias (Feb. 24).
2. St. John the Baptist (June 24).
3. St. James (July 25).
4. St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24).
5. St. Matthew (Sept. 21).
6. St. Simon and St. Jude (Oct. 28).
7. St. Andrew (Nov. 30).

Quicumque Vult was inserted 1549, omitted 1552 and 1559, and re-inserted 1604.

1. THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF THE CREED.

The Creed not only affirms and defines the doctrine of the Trinity and the union of the Divine and human natures in our blessed Lord, but also contradicts and excludes certain heretical opinions of the time when it was composed.

'Every proposition is a record of some battle-field, on which the faith has been assaulted, but finally is maintained, ascertained, and cleared' (Samuel Wilberforce). 'Not a phrase that is used,' writes Dean Armitage Robinson, 'is new: each phrase has been tested in the long fight, and has been found needful to protect some portion of the truth. Almost every section is the tombstone of a buried error.'*

2. HISTORICAL NOTES.

- c. 420-450. Compiled in Southern Gaul, author unknown.
- c. 670. First mentioned in connection with the Gallican Church in a Canon of the Council of Autun.
772. Presented to the Pope by Charlemagne and the Lombards.
- c. 900. Introduced into England.
- c. 930. Admitted into the Offices of the Church of Rome.
- c. 1085. Ordered in Sar. Brev. to be said daily at Prime.
1539. Translated into English in Bishop Hilsey's Primer.

* 'Some Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed,' p. 23. See also pp. 46, 47, 61, 62.

3. APPARENT QUOTATIONS FROM THE CREED.*

798. By Denebert, Bishop of Worcester, in a Confession of Faith presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
633. By the Fathers assembled at the fourth Council of Toledo.
- 502-542. By Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles.
- 490-518. By Avitus, Bishop of Vienne.
450. By Vincentius of Lerins.

4. ITS AUTHORSHIP.

It was at an early period regarded as the work of Athanasius, and this traditional authorship remained practically unquestioned until the seventeenth century.

The Ten Articles (1536) stated it was 'made by Athanasius.' Richard Hooker follows Baronius in ascribing it to Athanasius, and there is no indication of doubt in formularies until 1662. A Dutch theologian named Gerard Voss in his work on the Three Creeds (*De tribus Symbolis*), 1642, forcibly and successfully attacked the received opinion.

The arguments against the Athanasian authorship are as follows †:—

- (1) It rarely occurs in any MS. of Athanasius, and never with his name affixed.
- (2) It is not referred to by Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, or any other early Fathers.
- (3) It is not cited (as it would have been if it had been acknowledged to be the work of St. Athanasius) during the important controversy respecting the Procession of the Holy Spirit, in the eighth century.
- (4) It is seldom mentioned up to 1000 A.D.
- (5) It is now admitted to be originally a Latin composition.
- (6) It is largely dependent on the works of Augustine, who wrote a century later than Athanasius.
- (7) It definitely condemns Apollinarianism, which did not become a serious danger till the last years of Athanasius' life, and was not formally condemned till after his death (see Bishop Gibson, 'The Three Creeds,' pp. 183-184).

N.B.—The first four arguments were those used by Voss.

The following have been suggested, but upon inconclusive grounds, as possible authors of the Creed: Hilary, Bishop of Arles (c. 430); Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles (470-542); Vincentius of

* See Bishop Gibson, 'The Three Creeds,' p. 191.

† 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' 1723 (revised edition by J. R. King, 1870).

Lerins (450); Honoratus, Bishop of Arles (d. 429). Some have thought it may have been gradually developed by various hands into its present form.

5. ITS DATE.

Waterland * tries to fix its date as follows:—

- (1) It could not be earlier than 420, for—
 - (a) It combats so fully the Arian and Apollinarian heresies.
 - (b) It depends so largely on the work of St. Augustine on the Trinity (416).

- (2) It could not well be later than 430, for—

It is wanting in those critical terms which were used against the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, condemned at the General Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451).

Therefore its date must be between 420 and 430. †

6. ITS USE IN THE SERVICES OF THE CHURCH.

There is a very great difference of opinion about this. Against its recital it has been urged that ‡:—

- (1) It is in a high degree ill-suited for use in the large and miscellaneous gatherings that crowd our Churches at the great festivals.
- (2) It cannot in its present form be otherwise than misleading.
- (3) It is a constant source of irritation and misunderstanding.
- (4) It is a composition in the form of a hymn.
- (5) Its statements go beyond the teaching of Scripture.

The following several suggestions § have been offered:—

- (1) To make the use optional instead of compulsory, by inserting 'may' in the place of 'shall' in the rubric.

* See Bishop Gibson, 'The Three Creeds,' pp. 181-189.

† The arguments in support of this conclusion are clearly set out in Harold Browne's 'Exposition of the Articles,' pp. 221-224.

‡ See Froulkes, 'The Athanasian Creed,' by whom written and by whom published, 1872; Heurtley, 'The Athanasian Creed,' 1872, and 'A History of the Earlier Formularies of Faith,' 1892; Lumby, 'History of the Creeds,' 1873; Swainson, 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: their Literary History, together with an Account of the Growth and Reception of the Sermon on the Faith commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius,' 1875; Ommanney, 'A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed,' 1897; A. E. Burn, 'An Introduction to the Creeds and to the *Te Deum*,' 1899.

§ Gibson deals with these suggestions in his work on 'The Three Creeds,' 1908, pp. 252-258.

- (2) To remove the minatory clauses.
- (3) To delete the rubric, as has been done by the Church of Ireland, so that the Creed, while remaining in the Prayer Book, should be no longer used in public worship.
- (4) To provide a synodical declaration, or rubrical note, and a new translation.
- (5) To print the Creed in its present form, together with a new translation, at the end of the Prayer Book, as an appendix.

The reasons for its retention in its present position are thus stated by Waterland: 'So long as there shall be any men left to oppose the doctrine which this Creed contains, so long will it be expedient, and even necessary, to continue to use it, in order to preserve the rest: and, I suppose, when we have none remaining to find fault with the doctrines, there will be none to object against the use of the Creed, or so much as wish to have it laid aside.'

It is omitted altogether in the American Prayer Book.*

It occupies no authoritative position in the Greek Church.† In the Greek versions the *filioque* phrase (v. 23) is of course wanting. Since the last quarter of the eighteenth century it has been accorded a place in the Horologion, or Service Book of the Greek Church.

In the Roman Church it is used at Prime, a service when few of the laity are present.

7. INTRODUCTORY SUMMARY.

1. The Godhead, the Divinity, the Essential Being of God, that which makes God to be God, is technically called **Substance**.‡
2. In order to describe the individuality of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the technical term **Person** § is used.
3. God the Father begat the Son from all eternity, and He has the same substance with the Father.

* For the discussion as to its retention for public use in the Church of England, see Stanley, 'The Athanasian Creed,' 1871 (adverse); Brewer, 'Origin of the Athanasian Creed,' 1872 (defensive); Oxenham, 'The Athanasian Creed: should it be recited?' 1902; J. Armitage Robinson, 'Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed,' 1905.

† See Gibson, 'The Three Creeds,' 1909, p. 205.

‡ 'Substance' ('sub stare') is that which is supposed to stand under or support attributes.

§ The 'Persons' of the Trinity cannot be contemplated as existing and working in isolation. In all their acts all the Persons of the Trinity co-operate.

The Arians taught that the Son was of a like but not identical substance.

The Adoptionists taught a Sonship merely by adoption.

4. From God the Father and God the Son eternally proceeded the Holy Ghost, and He has the same substance with the Father and the Son. He is not, as the Macedonians taught, a creature.

The words 'begat,' 'proceeding,' are scriptural terms, used as those best able to suggest Divine relationships which are beyond human language to express, and the human mind to grasp.

5. Thus there is a Trinity in Unity and a Unity in Trinity.
6. In regard to the Incarnation of our Lord, the following points need to be firmly held:—

- (1) Our Lord had a real human body.

His body was not, as the Docetæ taught, only a seeming body, or a phantom.

- (2) In our Lord there is one Person, two Natures.

He is not, as Nestorianism taught, two distinct persons. He has two natures, not one nature, as the Monophysites affirmed; nor are the two natures fused, as the Eutychians contended.

- (3) The human nature of Christ was complete. He had a reasonable or rational soul, and a human will.

The Divine nature of our Lord did not supply or interfere with His rational soul, as the Apollinarians contended; nor did it take the place of His human will, according to the teaching of the Monothelites.

8. ANALYSIS.

- I. Exposition of the Doctrine of the Trinity (vv. 1-28).
 1. Necessity of holding fast the Catholic Faith in its Integrity and Purity 1, 2
 2. Definition of the Catholic Faith, concerning the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity 3, 4
 3. Enumeration of the Divine Attributes possessed alike by each Person of the Trinity 5-20
 4. Declaration of the Relations existing between the Divine Persons, viz.—

The Father is made of none;
The Son is of the Father alone . . . begotten;
The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son . . . proceeding 21-23
 5. Summary of above Statements.

The Three Persons in the Trinity are co-eternal and co-equal 24-28

II. Exposition of the Doctrine of the Incarnation (vv. 29–41)	vers. 41
1. Necessity of a Firm Faith in this Doctrine	29
2. Statements respecting the Reality of our Lord's Human and Divine Natures, viz.—	
The union of the two natures and their distinctness when so united	30–36
N.B.—Verses 30–33 state the perfection of the two natures in One Person, and vv. 34–36 guard against misunderstandings.	
3. Description of the Work of the Incarnate Christ	37–41
Final Re-affirmation of the Necessity of Believing the Catholic Faith	42

9. EXPOSITION.*

I. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

- The Necessity of holding fast the Catholic Faith in its Integrity and Purity* (vv. 1, 2).
- Whosoever † will be saved [would be saved], i.e. desireth to be saved ('Quicumque vult salvus esse'): before all things, i.e. first in importance, it is † necessary [needful] that he hold [fast] ('teneat') the Catholic Faith, i.e. the faith held by the whole Church (Acts xvi. 30, 31; Heb. xi. 6) as distinguished from that held by heretical communities.
'Would be saved;' marg. 'desireth to be saved.'
- Which Faith except † every one [a man] ('quisque'), i.e. one who has been duly instructed in the truth † do keep [have kept] whole and undefiled ('integram inviolatamque servaverit'), i.e. in both its integrity and purity, without omission or corruption: without doubt he † shall [will] perish everlastingly (eternally) ('in æternum peribit').
'Undefiled;' marg. 'uncorrupted.'

The Creed can only be duly appreciated when it is regarded as 'the warning of a loving mother for her children' during the stress of Arian persecutions that severely tried the faith of many. 'The Quicumque' has well been termed by Bishop Dowden 'The mysterious cry, the chant, the inspiring battle-song of the faith, or the hymn of constancy'; and by Dean Armitage Robin-

* The renderings in square brackets [] are those of the Committee appointed by the Archbishop to make a new translation of the Athanasian Creed in pursuance of the 29th Resolution of the Lambeth Conference, 1908. These alternative renderings in the margin are given in small type immediately after the verses. The sign † immediately precedes the original words which have been differently translated. The marginal alternative renderings of the Committee are given in small type after each verse.

son 'The great hymn of the Catholic Faith.' The Formal Declaration by the Convocation of Canterbury, 1879, runs, 'Whereupon the warnings in this Confession of Faith are to be understood not otherwise than the like warnings of Holy Scripture; for we must receive God's threatenings even as His promises, in such wise as they are generally set forth in Holy Writ. Moreover, the Church doth not herein pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, God alone being the Judge of all.' Bishop Gibson remarks, 'The monitory clauses are simple warnings, not of what we wish to happen to any one, but of what, if God's Word be true, will happen to those who reject or let go the faith' ('The Three Creeds,' p. 243).*

- Definition of the Catholic Faith, concerning the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity* (vv. 3, 4).
- And [now] ('autem') the Catholic Faith is this: That (not only we believe but) we worship ('veneremur') one God † in [as a] Trinity, and Trinity † in [as an] Unity ('unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate');
'The word "worship" marks the attitude of the Church towards the deep mystery of the Faith. It seems to say at the outset: We cannot wholly understand these things, for they are in their nature higher than the sphere in which we live and think as mortal men. We must look up to them: our true attitude is the upraised face of adoring wonder.' †
- Neither confounding* [confusing] by destroying the identity of the Persons (as Sabellius, who considered the Three Persons to be only three different aspects or manifestations of one God, namely, Creator, Redeemer, Inspirer): nor dividing ('separantes') the Substance (i.e. essential nature of the Godhead) (as Arius, who denied that the Substance of the Son and of the Holy Ghost was the same with the Substance of the Father; cf. John xiv. 9–11; xvii. 11; Rom. viii. 9–11).
'The substance' ('sub stare') etymologically the equivalent of the Greek word *ὑπόστασις*, hypostasis, which theologically, however, was used sometimes in the sense not of 'substance' but of 'person'. The Greek word generally used for substance was *οὐσία*, *ousia*.

* Cf. J. Armitage Robinson, 'Some Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed,' pp. 43, 44.

† J. Armitage Robinson, *Ibid.*, p. 29.

3. *Enumeration of the Divine Attributes possessed alike by each Person of the Trinity* (vv. 5-20).
5. For ('enim'), by way of elucidation, there is † one [a] Person ('alia persona') of the Father, another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost (cf. Matt. iii. 16, 17; John xv. 26).
This verse is directed against the Sabellians, who in their anxiety to preserve the unity of the Godhead, fell into the error of denying such distinctions within the Godhead as are necessary to make the Incarnation and Atonement possible. Hence they were called Patripassians by the orthodox, as implying that God the Father suffered on the Cross.
6. But the Godhead of the Father, of [omit 'of'] the Son, and of [omit 'of'] the Holy Ghost, is all [omit 'all'] one (simply 'una') (John i. 1; x. 30): † the [their] Glory equal (John i. 14; xvii. 5), the [their] Majesty co-eternal (cf. John xvii. 5; Heb. i. 3, R.V.).
This verse is directed against the Arians, who, though they called Jesus the Son of God, yet used the words in an inferior sense, since they denied that He was of the same eternal and equal Substance with the Father.
7. Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.
Verses 7-18 enforce the statements just made (vv. 3-6), by emphasizing the truth that while each of the Divine Persons possesses the Divine properties and attributes, each being uncreated, infinite, eternal, almighty, God and Lord, yet we are not to think of the Persons of the Holy Trinity as being so separate one from another as to be three uncreated infinities, eternals, almighties, or as being three Gods or three Lords (Gibson, 'The Three Creeds,' 1909, pp. 212, 213).
8. The Father † uncreate [uncreated] (cf. Ps. xc. 2; Isa. xl. 13, 14; xliii. 10; John i. 1-3), the Son † uncreate [uncreated]: and the Holy Ghost † uncreate [uncreated].
9. The Father † incomprehensible [infinite] ('immensus'), the Son † incomprehensible [infinite]: and the Holy Ghost † incomprehensible [infinite] (cf. Job xi. 7-9; Ps. cxxxix. 7; 1 Cor. ii. 16).
'Incomprehensible' does not mean here 'not to be comprehended.' This word 'incomprehensible' in olden days possessed a different meaning from that which it now conveys. As used in this verse it signifies 'infinite,' 'illimitable.' The Latin word in the Creed is 'immen-

- sus.* Bishop Dowden, however, considers that the word 'incomprehensible' is used to represent not 'immensus,' 'infinite,' but ἀκατάληπτος ('incomprehensibilis'), 'not to be thoroughly understood by the intellect;' and that a Greek text was used for our version. 'The word "immensus,"' writes Dean Armitage Robinson, 'conveys the idea that the Divine nature cannot be measured by any measure that we can apply to it, and cannot be grasped in its completeness by our human faculties.' †
10. The Father eternal, the Son eternal: and [om. 'and'] the Holy Ghost eternal (cf. Ps. xc. 2; Isa. lxiii. 16; Heb. i. 8; Rev. xxii. 13).
11. And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.
12. As also there are † not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated: but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible [not three uncreated, nor three infinities: but one infinite, and one uncreated].
13. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty (cf. Gen. xvii. 1; Job xxxiii. 4; Rev. i. 8; xv. 3).
14. And yet they are not three Almightyies: but one Almighty.
15. So the Father is God, the Son is [omit 'is'] God: and the Holy Ghost is [omit 'is'] God (Acts v. 3, 4; Eph. i. 3).
16. And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.
17. So likewise [omit 'likewise'] the Father is Lord, the Son Lord: and [omit 'and'] the Holy Ghost Lord (cf. Matt. xi. 25; Acts x. 36; 2 Cor. iii. 17).
18. And yet [they are] not three Lords: but one Lord.
19. For ('quia' because) like as we are compelled by the Christian verity (i.e. by the truth expressed in the Holy Scriptures): to acknowledge [confess] † every Person [each of the Persons] by himself ('singillatim,' singly, severally) to be [both] God and Lord;
'By the Christian verity;' marg. 'by Christian truth.'
'By himself;' marg. 'severally.'
20. So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion (see note on v. 1): † to say, There be [to speak of] three Gods, or three Lords.
'We must not view God as we would a material being, as though the Godhead could be divided into three different parts, which three united together made up one whole; and so imagine that the Father alone was not

* Dowden, 'Further Studies in the Prayer Book,' pp. 137-162; specially, p. 145.

† 'Some Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed,' p. 69. See also pp. 30-33.

God, but required to have the Son and Spirit added to Him in order to make up the Godhead. The spiritual unity is far closer, more intimate, and more real than the unity by which parts make up a whole. Each by Himself or considered alone ('severally') must be confessed to be God; and yet all make not up three Gods, but are one in essence, and therefore but one God'. (Bishop Harold Browne, 'Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles,' 1868, p. 226).

Swainson remarks upon this verse that 'we may speak of a "separate confession" in regard to One or Other (of the Persons of the Trinity); but that it is wrong to speak of One or Other as being "by Himself."'

4. Declaration of the Relations existing between the Divine Persons (vv. 21-23).

21. The Father † is made [omit 'made'] of none ('a nullo'), i.e. He is self-existent [not made]: † neither [nor] created, nor begotten.

The Father derives His essence from none, being Himself the Fountain and Source of being (cf. John v. 26). He is the essential Godhead with the property 'to be of none,' and is revealed as the first Person in order in the Holy Trinity (cf. Matt. xxviii. 19).

22. The Son is of the Father alone (in contradistinction to the double Procession of the Holy Spirit see v. 23): not made, nor created, but begotten (cf. John v. 26; Heb. i. 5).

The very same nature or substance of God which the Father has, is from all eternity communicated by Him to the Son.

23. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of [omit 'of'] the Son ('a Patre et Filio') (cf. John xiv. 26; xv. 26; Acts ii. 33): † neither [not] made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding ('procedens').

The famous *filiouque* clause ('and the Son') in the Nicene Creed is rejected by the Eastern Church, as an unauthorized addition to the statement in John xv. 26. The statement in the Creed implies that the very same substance of God is from all eternity communicated to the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.*

5. Summary of above Statements (vv. 24-28).

24. So there is [there is therefore] i.e. it follows from what has been stated about the properties of the Godhead (vv. 21-

23) one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

25. And in this Trinity, none is † afore [before], or after other [omit 'other'] as to duration: none is greater, or less than another [omit 'than another'] as to degree, power, and dignity ('Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus');

Bishop Dowden suggests that our English of the second clause of this verse 'is rather a paraphrase of what was supposed to be the true sense of a rather obscure verse, than an attempt to translate it.' He offers as a free re-translation the following: 'And in this Trinity there is nothing afore or after, nothing greater or less.' The idea of the original seems to be, he writes, 'that in the conception of the Trinity there is no place for the notions of priority, posteriority, or of greater or less.'*

26. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal † together [one with another] ('coeternæ sibi'): and co-equal.

27. So that in all † things [ways], as is aforesaid (vv. 3-23); † the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped [both the Trinity is to be worshipped as an Unity, and the Unity as a Trinity] (cf. Rev. vii. 9-12).

28. He therefore that will be saved [Let him therefore that would be saved] ('qui vult ergo salvus esse') †: must thus think [think thus] of the Trinity, i.e. 'as consisting of three Persons, co-eternal and co-equal, and all one God, distinct enough to be three, united enough to be one; a distinction without division, a union without confusion.'

'That would be saved;' marg. 'desireth to be saved.'

'Of the Trinity;' marg. 'concerning the Trinity.'

II. THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.

1. Necessity of a Firm Faith in this Doctrine (v. 29).

29. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting [eternal] salvation: that he also believe † rightly [faithfully] ('fideliter credat') (cf. 1 John xiv. 3; Rom. x. 10) the Incarnation (John i. 14; Rom. i. 3, 4) of our Lord Jesus Christ.

2. Statement respecting the Reality of our Lord's Human and Divine Natures (vv. 30-36).

30. † For the right Faith [The right Faith therefore] ('est ergo fides recta') is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord

* Dowden, 'Further Studies in the Prayer Book,' pp. 137-162; specially 161, 162

* See Nicene Creed, p. 305.

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is [at once both] **God and Man** (1 John v. 20 ; 1 Tim. iii. 16) ;

In vv. 30-33 the heresies that are principally alluded to are the Arian, which impugned the truth of our Lord's Godhead ; and the Apollinarian, which impugned the perfection of His Humanity.

31. [He is] **God, of the Substance of the Father** ('*ex substantia Patris*'), not of a totally *different* substance, as the Arians contended, nor of a *like* substance, as the semi-Arians contended, but of the *same* substance with the Father (cf. Col. ii. 9) **begotten before the worlds** ('*ante sæcula*') i.e. before time was (John xvii. 5) ; and [He is] **Man, of the substance of his Mother** (cf. Gal. iv. 4) and not, as Eutyches taught, that the Manhood of Christ was absorbed into His Godhead, **born in the world, not, as the Docetæ taught, a phantom ;**

'Before the worlds;' marg. 'before all time.'

'In the world;' marg. 'in time.'

32. **Perfect**, i.e. completely, **God**, not, as the Arians taught, that the Son had a beginning, and [omit 'and'] **perfect Man** (cf. Heb. iv. 15), not, as such Gnostics as the Marcionites taught, that the body of Jesus was not really born of the Virgin Mary, but descended from heaven, and was incapable of suffering and only seemed to suffer : of † a **reasonable** [reasoning], or rather rational, **soul and human flesh** † **subsisting** [consisting], viz. possessed of all the attributes of God and man ; endowed with a rational soul and human flesh in His essential nature, not, as Apollinaris maintained, that the Divine Word supplied in Him the place of the rational soul ;

'Reasonable;' marg. 'rational.'

'A reasonable soul' is a soul belonging not to the lower creation, but to man.

33. **Equal** (the Arians said 'inferior') **to the Father, as touching his Godhead** (John xiv. 9, 10 ; xvii. 11, 22) : † **and inferior to [less than] the Father, as touching his Manhood** (John xiv. 28 ; Phil. ii. 5, 7).

34. **Who although he be God and Man : yet he is not two, but [is] one Christ ;**

The Apollinarians charged the orthodox with making two Christs, because it seemed to them that the acknowledgment of the existence in the Incarnate Christ of the human spirit in addition to the Divine Logos, involved the recognition of a twofold personality.

The Nestorians, by their emphatic distinction between the Son of God and the Son of Mary, practically taught that there were two Persons in Christ, viz. the Son of God and a man, into whom the Son of Man descended, and whom the Son left before the Crucifixion.*

35. † **One ; not by conversion** [One, however, not by change] ('*unus autem, non conversione*') **of the [omit 'the'] Godhead into flesh** (i.e. the whole human nature) : **but by taking of † the [omit 'the'] Manhood** ('*assumptio humanitatis*') **into God ;**

'The Godhead lost nothing by its conjunction with flesh in the Person of Christ, while the manhood, though losing none of its essential properties, was infinitely exalted by its union with the Divine Nature in the same one Person of Christ.' ‡

36. **One altogether** ('*unus omnino*'), i.e. one wholly, entirely ; **not by confusion of Substance** (the Eutyechians taught that after the Incarnation the human nature of Christ was absorbed into the Divine, and thus then ceased to have a distinct existence ; the Apollinarians had similarly confounded the Substance) : **but by unity of † Person** [person].
'Not by confusion ;' marg. 'One : not by any confusion.'

3. *Description of the Work of the Incarnate Christ* (vv. 37-41).

37. **For** ('*nam*') (by way of analogy) **as † the reasonable** ['as reasoning'] **soul and flesh is one man** (Gen. ii. 7) : **so, i.e. just as really and completely, God and Man is one Christ** (cf. Matt. xvi. 13-16 ; John vi. 69) ;

'Reasonable;' marg. 'rational.'

This does not teach that God and man are united in Christ in the same way in which the soul and flesh are united in man. God and man are two natures, soul and flesh are two parts of one nature.

38. **Who suffered** (Isa. liii. 4-10) **for our salvation : descended † into hell** [to the world below] ('*ad inferos*') (i.e. Hades, the place of departed spirits), **rose again the third day** [omit 'the third day'] **from the dead** (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4).

'Into hell;' marg. 'into Hades.'

'In the text of vv. 38 and 39 two phrases have been interpolated to make the passage correspond more closely with the text of the Apostles' Creed. In v. 38 the words "the third day" should certainly be omitted, and similarly in v. 39 the words "God Almighty." §

* Gibson, 'The Three Creeds,' pp. 221, 222.

† *Ibid.*, p. 223.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

39. He [omit 'He'] ascended into heaven, he† [omit 'he'] sitteth [sat down] at the right hand of the Father, God Almighty [omit 'God Almighty'] (Luke xxiv. 51; 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22): † from whence He shall come [to come from thence] to judge (2 Thess. i. 7-10; 2 Tim. iv. 1) the quick and the dead.
40. At whose coming all men shall rise again ('resurgere habent,'* have to rise again) with their bodies: and shall give account † for their own works [for their own deeds] (cf. Isa. xxvi. 19; 2 Cor. v. 10).

* 'Shall rise again,' alternative rendering in the margin, is 'must rise again.'

41. And they that have done good shall [will] go into life † everlasting [eternal] ('æternam') (Dan. xii. 2): and they that have done evil into † everlasting [eternal] fire (Matt. xxv. 45, 46; Heb. x. 26-31).

Observe this emphatic assertion that the rule of judgment on the last day will be in accordance with men's works. The statement stands in striking contrast to the following concluding statement.

Verses 1 and 2 are admonitory, v. 41 is declaratory.

Final Re-affirmation of the Necessity of Believing the Catholic Faith (v. 42).

42. This is the Catholic Faith, i.e. the faith of the whole Church: which except a man † believe faithfully [have faithfully and steadfastly believed] ('Quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit'), he cannot be saved ('salvus esse non poterit').

'Believe,' i.e. accept as an article of faith, as a Divine revelation of a fact beyond the scope of human reason: but not contrary to it.

'And steadfastly.' The Latin 'firmiterque' is not translated in the Prayer Book version. The translators appear to have followed here a Greek copy of the Creed, where the same omission occurs.

Gloria Patri (vv. 43, 44).

43. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;
44. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

The addition of the *Gloria* forms a fitting ending to this striking declaration of the Church's Faith. It was added about the eighth century, when the Athanasian Creed began to be used in the West as a Canticle at the Hour Services.

* Note the curious phrase, 'resurgere habent' ('are to rise,' 'must rise') instead of the future tense.

THE LITANY

1. AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF PRE-REFORMATION LITANIES.

THE first trace of the use of the word 'Litany' occurs in 'The Life of Constantine,' by Eusebius (339), who states that the Emperor 'a little before his death, spent some time in the house of prayer, making supplications and Litanies to God.'*

The word seems to have acquired a liturgical sense about the end of the fourth century. St. Basil the Great (379), for instance, used it as a term for Penitential Services.† The chanting of penitential prayers (Litanies) in Church processions was probably inaugurated about 398 by St. Chrysostom in Constantinople, as a counter attraction to Arian processions. In these processions silver crosses, which had been furnished by the Empress Eudocia, were used.

During the fifth century the custom of reciting or chanting Litanies in public Church processions was adopted by the Western Church, and soon a series of days was fixed and entered in the Calendar.

In Gaul these processional Litanies were called 'Rogations.' Hence, when about the year 467 very dreadful earthquakes were devastating Southern Gaul, Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, directed that solemn Rogations should be used on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension Day. It was in commemoration of these terrible cosmic occurrences that annual Litanies or Rogations were used on these days. Hence, subsequently these days came to be commonly known as Rogation Days.

From the practice of using Litanies in procession through the streets, they were often called 'processions.' Thus in England, during the Anglo-Saxon period, Ascension Week was called *Gangwoeca*, or Procession Week; and the Rogation Days were called *Gangdagas*, or Procession Days.

During the sixth century several Councils, notably those of Orleans (511) and Tours (567), decreed that these Rogation Days

* 'Vit. Const.' iv. 61.

† Basil, 'Ad Clericos Neocæs.' Epist. ccvii.

should be observed as Fasting Days, during which Litanies should be chanted.

The Church in Spain, however, deeming it unfitting to have fasting days at Ascension-tide, decreed that fasting days should be observed during Lent, after Whitsuntide, and during the autumn.

About the close of the sixth century a very fatal pestilence appeared in Rome. A Solemn Litany was, therefore, appointed by Gregory the Great to be used on St. Mark's Day. It was called 'Litania Septiformis.' The clergy and laity in Rome formed themselves into seven separate processions, each of which represented a particular ecclesiastical or social status. Each procession assembled at its appointed Church, and marched thence chanting 'Kyrie Eleison' ('Lord, have mercy'), to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where the whole company joined in the special Litany. This great penitential service was repeated each succeeding year, and received the name of 'The Great Litany of St. Mark's Day.'

Bede states that it was generally believed in his day that Augustine and his band of missionaries chanted a Litany as they made their first entry into Canterbury in 597.*

In the seventh century the seventeenth Council of Toledo (694) decreed that Litanies, with intercessions for the Church, the King, and the people, should be chanted at least once a month.

In the eighth century the Council of Clovesho (747) decreed that the English Church should observe the three Rogation Days with prayer and fasting; and that Litanies should be repeated by both clergy and people on St. Mark's Day, thus following the precedent that had been established by Gregory the Great.

In 813 the Council of Mayence ordered that 'all should go barefoot and in sackcloth in the procession of the Great Litany of three days.'

In the old Litany of Gregory the Great, and likewise in others which were in use prior to the eighth century, there were no invocations to angels or saints, but about 800 they seem to have been introduced, and in the following century their number became considerable. Martene quotes one Litany in which 94 occurred: the Litany of the Anglo-Saxon Church had a long series in this century; one given by Muratori contains the names of 120 saints; and a Litany used by the Church in Paris contained 102 such invocations.

In the Middle Ages the number of them became still greater. At the time of the Reformation these invocations were addressed to the Virgin Mary, to the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, to

* 'Ecl. Hist.,' i. 25.

Angels, and to all the holy orders of blessed spirits, to Patriarchs, to Prophets, to Apostles, to Martyrs, to Evangelists, to the Innocents, to Confessors, to all the Holy Priests, to all Holy Widows and Hermits, etc.

2. THE FORMATION OF OUR PRESENT LITANY.

1544. 'Owing to the miserable state of all Christendom,' Cranmer was requested by King Henry VIII in 1544 to draw up a Litany. In so doing he drew largely from the Litany of Gregory the Great and from the Sarum and York Uses. He also gathered material from Hermann's 'Consultatio,' which contained a Litany compiled by Melancthon and Bucer; and, with much free handling both in arrangement and composition, he produced the Litany which is almost identical with the one now in use. Of the sixty-two invocations to Saints and Angels in these Ancient Offices, he retained only three. These were to:—

- (1) St. Mary, Mother of God our Saviour;
- (2) The Holy Angels, Archangels and all Holy Orders of Blessed Spirits;
- (3) The Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and all the Blessed Company of Heaven.

They were placed immediately after the invocations of the Holy Trinity, and ended with the words 'Pray for us.' Other important changes were:—

- (1) The omission of the Kyrie Eleison, which had been placed at the beginning of all the earlier Litanies.
- (2) The addition of the expression 'miserable sinners' to the invocations addressed to the Three Persons in the Trinity.
- (3) The insertion of the words, 'proceeding from the Father and the Son,' in the invocation of the Holy Spirit.
- (4) The addition of the petition for deliverance 'from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.'
- (5) 'Remember not, Lord,' substituted for the old suffrage 'Propitius esto; parce nobis, Domine' ('Be favourable; spare us, O Lord').

This Litany was intended to be used as a separate service, and was published in a separate book.

1549. - The invocations to the Virgin Mary, Angels and Saints, were now omitted, and, thus amended, it was annexed to the Prayer Book, and placed between the Communion Office and that for Public Baptism, the old title 'The Litany and

Suffrages,' being retained. This Litany is generally considered to be the first portion of the Prayer Book which appeared in the English language; but the Creed, the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer had been issued in English in 1536.

1552. It was removed to its present position.

1558. The words, 'Strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life' were first added in the Queen's Chapel Litany of this date.

1559. The Petition referring to the Pope was omitted.

1662. In the fifth suffrage the words 'rebellion' and 'schism' were added. These additions, said to be due to Bishop Cosin's suggestion, obviously referred to the Great Rebellion, which had recently come to an end, and to the divisions which were then troubling the Church. The words 'Bishops, Priests and Deacons' in the fourteenth suffrage were substituted for 'Bishops, Pastors and Ministers.'

The Rubric.

The Litany and Suffrages.

1549. Upon Wednesdays and Fridays the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the King's Majesty's injunctions; or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his highness.

1552. Here followeth the Litany, to be used upon Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and at other times, when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.

1662. Here followeth the Litany, or General Supplication, to be sung or said after Morning Prayer upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times, when it shall be commanded by the Ordinary.

3. ANALYSIS.

I. The Uniform Portion.

1. Penitential Invocations.

Addressed to the Persons of the Holy Trinity first
separately, and then collectively 1-4

2. Introductory Plea to Christ 5

3. Deprecations, being Prayers:—

(1) For Deliverance from particular forms of evil .. 6-10

(2) For Deliverance generally, making, as the ground of the appeal, the leading facts in connexion with our Lord's life 11-13

N.B.—These are often called 'Obsecrations.'

4. Intercessions for all sorts and conditions of men .. 14-32

5. Supplications for (1) material, (2) spiritual blessings .. 33, 34

6. Versicles and Responses 35-39

II. The Varied Portion.

1. The Lord's Prayer.

2. Versicles.

3. A Prayer against Persecution, or for Deliverance from Troubles, and Responsive Supplications.

O God, merciful Father, etc.

4. Commemoration of Mercies and Responsive Supplication.

O God, we have heard with our ears, etc.

5. The Gloria.

6. Preces and Responses.

From our enemies, etc.

7. A Prayer for Trust in Time of Trouble.

We humbly beseech thee, etc.

8. A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

9. The Grace (2 Cor. xiii. 14).

4. EXPOSITORY AND CRITICAL NOTES.

No. 1. Of heaven (Lat. 'de cælo'). The words signify, 'Who looketh down from heaven.' The expression is equivalent to the words in the Lord's Prayer, 'Which art in heaven' (cf. 2 Chron. vi. 21).

No. 1. Miserable sinners. The epithet 'miserable' refers rather to our natural and spiritual condition than to the view we may take of it.

No. 3. Proceeding from. This has reference to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit.*

No. 5. Remember not . . . vengeance of our sins (cf. Second Commandment). We are not, of course, eternally punished for the sins of our progenitors, but temporally we have to bear the ill effects of their transgressions through heredity.

No. 8. Deadly sins, i.e. wilful and presumptuous sin, which debases the whole nature and hardens the heart.

The phrase 'deadly sin' is not to be regarded as conveying the old scholastic distinction between sins 'venial' and 'mortal,' a distinction which both implied that there was a difference between sins as to guilt and its removal, and also necessitated confession to an expert casuist to determine to which class sinful actions were to be referred. With the single exception of 'the sin against the Holy Ghost' † (which is rather a state than an isolated act) the Holy Scriptures draw no such distinction between sins (cf. Jas. ii. 10) as the Schoolmen drew. For all sins are venial, if repented of; all sins, if persevered in to hardening of heart incapable of repentance, are deadly.

At the Savoy Conference an alteration of 'deadly sins' to

* See Athanasian Creed and Nicene Creed, pp. 132, 305.

† See Matt. xii. 31, 32; Mark iii. 28, 29; Luke xii. 10; 1 John v. 16, 17,

'heinous or grievous sins' was suggested; and of 'sudden death' into 'unprepared death.'

No. 10. **Heresy and Schism.** *Heresy* signifies erroneous doctrine, that which is contrary to the teaching of Scripture. *Schism* refers to the divisions amongst Christian bodies. To express the distinction in another way, *Heresy* perverts the faith; *Schism* divides the unity of the Church.

No. 11. **By the mystery.** 'Mystery' in the New Testament generally denotes something which could not have been made known to man without a supernatural revelation (see Col. i. 26; 1 Cor. xv. 51). Here 'mystery' refers to an event which we heartily believe, but which, even with the help of revelation, we cannot fully comprehend. We cannot understand how the Word was made flesh, how He was at once perfect God and perfect man, and how the union of these two natures is still maintained. It is in this sense that St. Paul speaks of the Incarnation as a great mystery—'Great is the mystery of godliness: He who was manifested in the flesh' (1 Tim. iii. 16, R.V.).

No. 13. **In all time of our tribulation.** This suffrage refers not necessarily to deliverance out of afflictions, but to protection from the special moral dangers which attend them. Suffering does not always fulfil that which God designs it to accomplish; it sometimes hardens instead of softening the heart, and leads to impatience and murmuring.

No. 15. **Righteousness and holiness.** The former refers to our duties and dealings with mankind; the latter to our duty towards God (cf. Rom. i. 18).

No. 29. **Prisoners and captives.** The former signifies criminals, and the latter those who have been taken prisoners in war or specially by pirates. When the Litany was drawn up there were continual cases of piracy in the Mediterranean and the British seas; and hundreds of persons who were taken prisoners by the Algerine pirates were sold as slaves in the African markets.

No. 33. **Kindly fruits of the earth;** i.e. fruits after their several kinds.

The Versicles after the Lord's Prayer.

After our sins. The use of the word 'after' in the metaphorical sense of 'according to' still lingers in such phrases as 'after the pattern, example,' etc. (comp. Isa. xi. 3; Rom. viii. 5).

Prayer for Trust in Time of Trouble. We humbly beseech thee, O Father, etc.

1549. Serve thee in pureness of living.

1552. Serve thee in holiness and pureness of living.

Cranmer placed here six collects in the Litany of 1544. In

1549 the 1st and 5th were combined to form the present collect, the first part of which was adapted from a collect in Sar. Proc., and the second part composed by Cranmer.

A Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

This title dates from 1559.

The Grace (2 Cor. xiii. 14). 1559.

Placed at the end of the Litany in Queen's Chapel Litany.

The Litany of the American Prayer Book.

No. 8. 'From all inordinate and sinful affections' was substituted for 'from fornication.'

No. 13. 'In all time of our prosperity' for 'In all time of our wealth.'

No. 18. 'All Christian rulers and magistrates' for 'Our Gracious King,' etc.

No. 29. 'All women in the perils of child-birth' for 'All women labouring of child.'

No. 34. The words, 'That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest' were added.

The Minister may at his discretion omit that portion of the Litany which commences after the Supplications and ends after the Collect 'O God merciful Father.'

PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS

1. PRAYERS.

IN the Mediæval Litanies there were special prayers for several occasions, and collects were introduced into the Mass for fine weather, rain, war, plague, etc. But the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings in the B.C.P. were original compositions, with part of the old materials adapted.

Prayer for Rain, 1549.

The Title.

1552. The title was, 'For Rain, if the time require.'

1662. The words 'if the time require' omitted.

1549. This Prayer was inserted at the end of the Communion Office.

1552. Placed at the end of the Litany, before the Prayer of St. Chrysostom.

1662. Removed to its present position.

It slightly resembles an old collect in the Sac. Greg. found in the Sar. Missal. For the phrase 'Thy kingdom and the righteousness thereof,' which is due to an inaccurate translation of Matt. vi. 33 in Coverdale's Bible, the Prayer in the Scotch Liturgy of 1637 has 'Thy kingdom and thy righteousness.'

Prayer for Fair Weather. 1549. (Gen. vi. 5-7; viii. 21, 22; ix. 11.)

1549. Inserted at the end of the Communion Office.

1552. Placed at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

This Prayer likewise slightly resembles an old collect in the Sac. Greg. found in the Sar. Missal. The American Prayer Book omits the allusion to the Deluge. The words 'by the granting of our petitions,' 1549, were changed in 1552, 'for thy clemency.'

Prayers in the Time of Dearth and Famine. (Two forms.) 1552.

The First Form (Gen. i. 22; Joel i. 16-20; Matt. vi. 11).

1552. Placed at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

The Second Form (2 Kings vi. 25; vii. 1-16).

1552. Placed at the end of the Litany.

1559. Omitted from the printed Prayer Book.

1662. Restored with alterations, attributed to Bishop Cosin, and placed in its present position.

It is probable that these two Collects are inserted in the Prayer Book in consequence of a dearth which occurred in England in 1551.

Prayer in the Time of War and Tumults. 1552. (1 Chron. xxix. 11; Ps. xxii. 28.)

1552. Placed at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

The words 'and tumults' were added to the title in 1662. This Prayer very slightly resembles a collect on the same subject in the Sar. Missal taken from the Sac. Greg. The American Prayer Book has modified the petition 'Abate their pride and assuage their malice.'

Prayer in the Time of any Common Plague or Sickness. 1552. (Num. xvi. 44-50; 2 Sam. xxiv. 15-25.)

1552. Placed at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

The terrible Sweating Sickness, which occurred in 1551, was probably the reason for the insertion of this Prayer.

1552. O Almighty God, which in thy wrath in the time of King David, didst slay with the plague of pestilence threescore and ten thousand, and yet remembering thy mercy, didst save the rest; have pity, etc., that like as thou didst then command thine angel to cease from punishing, etc.

1662. O Almighty God, who in thy wrath didst send a plague upon thine own people in the wilderness, for their obstinate rebellion against Moses and Aaron; and also in the time of King David . . . that like as thou didst then accept of an atonement, and didst command the destroying Angel, etc.

Collects in the Ember Weeks. (Two forms.) 1662.

The First Form. (Acts vi. 6; xiii. 2, 3; xx. 28; Eph. iv. 7; 1 Tim. v. 22.)

The Second Form. (Jas. i. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 8-10; John xiv. 16, 17; Eph. iv. 11-16.)

* The Ember Days are the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after—

* The old English name was *ymb-ren-wuce*. The prefix *ymb* means about, round. *Rene* or *ryne* means a course. In Dutch they are called

- (1) The First Sunday in Lent.
- (2) Whit-Sunday.
- (3) September 14, formerly observed as Holy Cross Day and called (as well as May 3) 'Roodmasday.'
- (4) December 13, Feast of St. Lucy, Virgin and Martyr (c. 304).

These days were called *Jejunia quatuor temporum*, i.e. the fasts of the four seasons. The original intention of the Ember Days, it has been suggested, was to consecrate with fasting and prayer the four seasons of the year. It was at the Council of Placentia, 1095, that Ordinations were ordered to be held on these days. The first Ember Collect was composed by Bishop Cosin, 1662. The second was taken from the Ordination Services, and varied slightly. They had already been inserted in the Scottish Prayer Book, 1637.

Both Collects dwell upon—

- (1) The twofold ministry of doctrine and life.
- (2) The twofold object, God's glory and man's salvation.

The latter Collect presupposes that the candidates are already chosen.

A Prayer that may be said after any of the Former. 1559. Sac. Greg.; Sar. Brev. (Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7; Rom. vii. 23, 24; 1 John ii. 1.)

This Prayer was found in English Primers prior to 1549 at the end of the Litany.

1549. Not inserted.

1559. Placed at the end of the Litany.

1662. Removed to its present position.

Omitted in the American Prayer Book.

'Nature and property' is a translation of the one Latin word *Proprium*, and means 'essential characteristic.'

A Prayer for the High Court of Parliament. 1662.

1625. First appeared in an 'Order of Fasting.'

1628. Appeared again in a special form of prayer 'necessary to be used in these dangerous times of war.'

1662. Inserted in the Prayer Book.

1801. 'Dominions' was substituted for 'Kingdoms' by an order in Council (Jan. 1).

Its reputed author is Laud.

The words 'Our most religious and gracious' occur in the original form of the Prayer, and were not, as some suppose, a

Quarter temper, and in German *Quatember*. The Ember Fasts would seem to have been so called, therefore, from their coming round periodically. See also p. 54.

compliment to Charles II. A similar expression occurs in the Liturgy of St. Basil, viz. 'Our most pious and faithful sovereigns.'

The Collect for all Sorts and Conditions of Men. 1662.

It has been thought by some that this Prayer was composed by Bishop Sanderson, but its more probable author was Dr. Gunning, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Ely, Coadjutor to the Episcopal divines at the Savoy Conference. It was originally of much greater length, petitions for the King, the Royal Family, Clergy, etc., being included in it. This explains why the word 'finally' is used in so short a prayer. It somewhat resembles the *Orationes Generales* in the Sarum Missal. The words, 'that all who profess and call themselves Christians, may be led into the way of truth,' are thought to be intended to refer to the Puritans, who had increased in such large numbers during the Commonwealth.

The phrase for 'Jesus Christ his sake' is the only trace in our B.C.P. of the theory, once very prevalent, that our possessive case (-'s) is a contraction of the personal possessive pronoun 'his.'

In the American Prayer Book this Prayer is placed in the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer.

In the Irish Prayer Book there are the following special Prayers: 'Prayer for Unity'; 'For a Sick Person'; 'On Rogation Days'; 'On New Year's Day'; 'For Christian Missions'; 'A Prayer for the General Synod of the Church of Ireland'; 'A Prayer to be used in Colleges and Schools.'

2. THANKSGIVINGS.

General Thanksgiving. 1662.

This was the production of Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich. It is the *general* thanksgiving as distinguished from the *special* thanksgivings which follow. There is no authority for its repetition by the congregation, however appropriate the practice. It bears some resemblance to a General Thanksgiving in a Coptic 'Liturgy of St. Basil.'

In the American Prayer Book this Thanksgiving is inserted at the end of the Litany, and also of morning and evening prayer.

Thanksgiving for Rain. 1604. (Acts xiv. 17.)

Title.

1604. A Thanksgiving for Rain.

1662. The words 'A Thanksgiving' omitted.

The titles in the rest of the Thanksgivings were similarly shortened.

For Fair Weather. 1604.

For Plenty. 1604. (Ps. lxxvii. 5, 6.)

For Peace and Deliverance from our Enemies. 1604. (Ps. cxxiv. 1-6.)

For restoring Public Peace at Home. 1662. (Ps. lxxv. 7 ; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.)

This Thanksgiving is believed to have been composed by Bishop Cosin, and based upon Bishop Wren's suggestions.

For Deliverance from the Plague, or other Common Sickness. 1604. (Two forms.)

First Form. (Hab. iii. 2 ; Rom. xii. 1.)

Second Form. (Deut. xxviii. 15-30 ; Ps. cxviii. 15.)

These special Thanksgivings, with the exception of that 'For restoring Public Peace at home,' were inserted at the request of the early Puritans.

A Thanksgiving Service for Harvest was prepared by both Houses of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, February 14, 1862, but still needs the Royal sanction, and approbation of Parliament. **The American Liturgy** includes forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving for several other occasions, viz. : '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' ; 'A Prayer to be used at the Meetings of Convention' ; 'For Recovery from Sickness' ; 'For a Safe Return from Sea' ; 'Forms of Prayer to be used in Families' (morning and evening) ; and a 'Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the fruits of the earth, and all the other blessings of his merciful Providence,' to be used yearly on the first Thursday in November, or on such other day as shall be appointed by the civil authority. In the Irish Prayer Book there is a Thanksgiving for Recovery from Sickness.