

ENGLISH PRAYER BOOKS

PROBLEMS OF WORSHIP

Christian Public Worship

Edited by

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STANLEY MORISON

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1941

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## *An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Public Worship*

BY

STANLEY MORISON



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# CONTENTS

Editors' Preface	page vii
Introduction: Recent Discoveries; Modern Collections; Liturgical Studies and the understanding of religion.	I
FIRST CREATIVE PERIOD: APOSTOLIC TIMES TO THE FIFTH CENTURY	5
The Earliest Times; The Sacramentary; The Psalter; The Kalendar; The 'Hours'.	
SECOND CREATIVE PERIOD: FIFTH TO TENTH CEN- TURY	17
The Gregorian Set of Service-Books.	
THIRD CREATIVE PERIOD: TENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURY	20
The Gregorian Service-Books in England; The Books in Evolution; The Friars and the Liturgy; Local English Peculiarities; Late Medieval Services; Service-Books in Print: Abroad; in England.	
FOURTH OR MODERN PERIOD: SIXTEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURY	37
Printed Missals; the Church of England and Henry VIII; the English rite; the 'Order of the Communion', 1548; the 'Book of Common Prayer': first edition, 1549; second edition, 1552; a Catholic queen; suppression of the Latin rite, 1558; the 'Book of Common Prayer', third edition, 1559; James I, 1603; suppression of the 'Book of Common Prayer', 1645; new edition, 1662; James II, 1685; the Orange settlement: William and Mary, 1689; position of the Latin rite in England, 1558-1688; nineteenth-century Conservative reaction; English Gothic revival; English interest in liturgical history; new editions	



of liturgical books; the later 'Oxford' movement; the style of liturgical books printed abroad; the printing of Anglican liturgical books; liturgical scholarship in England; later Continental research; project to revise the 1662 'Book of Common Prayer'; the 1928 edition of the 'Book of Common Prayer'; Liturgy and Nonconformity; the Latin rite in England since 1688; changes at Rome; the latest Latin developments and the latest Anglican developments in liturgical printing.

**THE PRESENT DAY: SUMMARY** page 104

Free Church adaptations of the English rite; liturgical rationale; liturgical variety; Roman precedents; Anglican 'direct' liturgical services; two specimens of modern 'direct' vocational services: for the Officers and Men of the Royal Navy; for the 25th anniversary of the Royal Air Force; conclusion.

**POSTSCRIPT** 127

Bibliography; acknowledgements.

**INDEXES**

Authors and Printers 139

Prayer Books and Literature 141

## EDITORS' PREFACE

The editors believe that the events which the world is now witnessing impose a supreme test upon the inheritance and quality of every institution in the country, and upon the faith and endurance of every man and woman; and that from the general revaluation of all institutions with roots in the past, the churches will not be excepted. But in the providence of God, as surely as total war tests severely all effort, whether viewed as military or civil, secular or religious, it presents an opportunity to be welcomed. Already the new experiences of all the services, and of all ranks, give promise of new disciplines in the reconstructed future.

But while there is to be observed an increased interest in the great truths which are exhibited in Christian theology, the editors believe also that there is a widespread feeling of need to relate these truths to the emotional life in the experience of worship, and at the same time to relate worship to the tasks of practical life. The successful establishment of such relations necessarily involves a scrutiny of the facilities provided for public prayer at the present day.

It is proposed, therefore, to outline in a series of small books, written by members of various churches, the essentials of worship as they have developed in the course of Christian history; to consider the nature and form of any supplementary services that more recent experience may have suggested; and to discuss the desirability of special services designed for limited groups as additions to the regular services intended for the general public.

Accordingly, and in the first place, the editors have asked Mr Stanley Morison to describe the origin and development of the existing service-books normally used to-day in the churches of this country; and to note the origin and development of forms designed in modern times to satisfy the needs of special sections of the Christian public.

The second volume, to be written by the Dean of St Paul's, will examine the nature of Christian worship; and, while emphasizing the unity of personal and corporate prayer, will draw attention to the requirements governing the distinctive forms of worship designed for the use of societies with special objects.

Future volumes of the series will deal with the drafting of services, the provision of music, and the building of the fabric and the furnishing of places of worship.

## ENGLISH PRAYER BOOKS

The criticism of religion is the beginning of all criticism, Marx says—rightly. A religion is certainly more than the sum of its dogmas. But it will not do to limit enquiry to the social stratification of those who patronize a given religion, and to any economic privileges they may thus secure. Religion, so far as it recognizes the supernatural, transcends class. Accordingly, the criticism of religion, while taking account of the comparative study of dogmas and their social significance, should have regard also to the development of the prayers, public and private, written and unwritten, of religion in its aspect as a purely supernatural cult. Christian sacred texts have long been critically studied. But, the Bible apart, the study of the books used in the public service of organized religion can scarcely be said to be familiar to the public. It is, in fact, a modern study as far as this country is concerned and is perhaps not yet securely established in the esteem of scholars. We all know the story of the Dean who, when asked if he was interested in 'liturgiology' replied, 'No; nor do I collect postage stamps'. It is a probable guess that this scholar would have returned a different answer regarding the liturgies of extinct religions. It cannot be doubted that the systematic study of any religion would provide for the discussion of modes of worship, and, consequently, that the books used in connection with adoration should be studied. Such systematic study would treat of books as they are used in public services; and, secondly, as means of private devotion.

It is the purpose of the following pages to sketch very briefly the nature of the principal books employed in public worship in England by the principal organized bodies. It is hoped in following books in this series to treat more formally the ideas implicit in the services and to discuss the desirability of varying the existing routine of Christian public worship. It is proposed also to treat separately the use of books for the purposes of private devotion. The present volume attempts to induce the reader

who desires to have some idea of Christian worship as conducted in England during the past and present to look first of all at the books themselves.

Of all the classes of manuscripts and early printed books none is more interesting as a group of examples of book-production, and none is more worthy of examination than the several rituals used in the services of the Church. It was upon books of this kind that the scribes and illuminators lavished their best skill in writing and decoration. As hand-written liturgical books were among those which the first printers had to equal if they were to make a livelihood, the printed productions frequently attain the highest of all typographical standards. A great deal of study has been given to the technicalities of their production. The miniatures and engravings have been strictly compared from the historical and iconographical points of view, and if the scripts employed in manuscript liturgical books have not been so closely studied, the texts of the oldest have been minutely investigated and collated, their correspondences noted and their differences explained or discussed; the types used in early printed editions have been identified and their origins traced and attributed to the presses—many of them of religious or monastic origin. Much work of this order remains to be done, but already liturgical scholars, first on the Continent and later in this country, have spent great pains in an endeavour to trace the development of the texts themselves.

The study has benefited from the general application, during the nineteenth century and after, of scientific methods to the writing of sacred and secular history, and of modern critical analysis to bibliographical and literary texts. Thus, new liturgical documents have come to light and new interpretations of them and their relatives have been accepted.

In 1875, the manuscript of the 'Teaching of the Apostles' or the 'Didache' was discovered in Constantinople by Bishop Philotheus Bryennius. The possible existence of a work of the kind had long been discussed by scholars. In 1883 he published the text and in 1884 Adolf Harnack brought out an edition. It has since been the subject of immense discussion and has been

variously dated, between the years 80 and 130. It is thought to have been composed either in Egypt or Syria. The 'Didache', while not rich in forms used in worship, contains many references to them.

In 1895 Wilhelm von Hartel of Vienna announced the identification of a Verona palimpsest with one of the class of document known as the 'Apostolic Tradition' or 'Didascalia apostolorum', and in 1900 Edmund Hauler published an edition of it. The text proved to be a Latin version of a large portion of a work written between 218 and 235, known hitherto only in Ethiopic and Coptic versions of the lost Greek original. In 1916 Dom Hugh Connolly proved that the original was of Roman, and not, as had been thought, of Egyptian provenance. It appears to be the work of St Hippolytus. The document, now that it is identified by Dom Connolly, has the supreme importance of giving an early third-century writer's testimony to the practice of the primitive Roman Church regarding the administration of the sacraments, to the nature of the eucharistic rite, and to devotion of praying seven times a day.

Another documentary find, though of less importance than the preceding, was Dom Germain Morin's identification in 1913 of a Wolfenbüttel palimpsest as, originally, an early Lectionary. The text was edited by Dom Alban Dold in 1936. He dates it as either fifth or sixth century and regards it as the earliest surviving text or fragment of a book read in Christian worship.

As to descriptions of worship, the so-called *Peregrinatio Silviae* in particular, discovered by Gian Francesco Gamurrini in 1884, has thrown a flood of light upon the customs of the early Christian community in Jerusalem. We are already able in some measure to reconstruct the story of Christian worship at least since the fourth century; to estimate the influence in this respect of certain great ecclesiastical centres headed by the patriarchs and to discover the degree to which the principal Churches and their sacramental texts have been subjected to external influences; to separate Eastern from Western traditions and to account on a documentary basis for the manner in which a Rite (whence and how originally

derived remains a question) of the Church of Rome recommended itself so far as to supersede others in Western Christendom; to assess the literary quality of the original prose and verse forms which, with scriptural lections, compose these Rites; to appreciate the artistic value of the manuscripts in which the texts were written and of the beauty of the books in which they were first printed. There is a greater readiness than there was to look at old books of the kind and a wider appreciation of the value of modern forms of public worship.

But it is not yet the fashion to collect such books, any more than it was ever the practice to preserve them. Such books meet with destruction for a variety of reasons. It is not always desirable for practical clerics to keep about them or their sacristies books that are out of date. If, too, liturgical books get the use for which they are destined, their condition inevitably deteriorates and the time comes when they are found not worth using or keeping. Finally, the fate of liturgical books in revolutionary political or religious conditions can never be happy. Visitors to Russia in the nineteen-twenties and later will remember the vestments and mass-books that blocked up the Intourist junk-shops. It is highly fortunate that the collection of the second Earl Spencer (1758-1834), including not a few missals, is now at the John Rylands Library, Manchester. William Maskell's (1814-1890) fine liturgical collection was acquired by the British Museum in 1845; John Wickham Legg's (1843-1921) in 1911. The massive liturgical library of Duke Robert of Parma, who died in 1907, was sold in 1932. Mr John Meade Falkner's collection was sold, at his death, in the same year. These dispersals have not failed to benefit other libraries and institutions. It is to be hoped that as collectors appreciate the special value of liturgical manuscripts and printed books some, perhaps, will realize that they might well be placed where they can better be consulted by scholars. Hence, the generous offer by Sir Frederick Radcliffe to present, and the decision of the authorities of the Cathedral Church of Christ, Liverpool, to accept, his collection of books, including the library on liturgical prayers, brought together by the Wordsworths of Salisbury, is very warmly to be welcomed.



## FIRST CREATIVE PERIOD

### APOSTOLIC TIMES TO THE FIFTH CENTURY

#### THE EARLIEST TIMES

The first prayers of the very first Christians were doubtless said in the native Aramaic used by the Lord in speaking to His disciples and to His public. The same, too, was doubtless the language employed at the first, which was also the Last, Supper. The 'breaking of bread' became a 'liturgy' when the faithful obeyed the Lord's command: 'This do' (Luke xxii. 19). No command as to language was given, but Greek was the universal tongue. The Gospels are written in Greek; Peter and Paul evangelized a Greek-speaking world. As missionaries, they naturally preached in that language and, when engaged in a public service, prayed in that tongue. Hence the services of the early Christians were preponderantly Greek. The word 'liturgy' derives from two Greek words: 'leitos', public; and 'ergon', work. The Greek word 'liturgos' means a public servant. In the Eastern rite, the word 'leitourgia' is used exclusively for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, whereas in the Western rites the word 'liturgia' signifies the whole body of public services of the Church. But while the action- and prayer-forms existed in Greek, use was not yet made of an official liturgical language; at Antioch, Ephesus and Alexandria ministers and people said their common prayer in their common vernacular. Greek was also the Christian vernacular in Rome itself, and for generations after its evangelization. Latin was also the language of many converts and it is almost certain that services were bilingual from very early times. It was from the provinces, notably Africa and Gaul, that the demand came for Bible-readings and services in Latin.

The pressure for Latin became strong in the third century. From about this time it was gradually adopted as the chief medium



of expression for Christian writers at Rome. The date and circumstances of the final supersession of Greek for public worship there are unknown. Both languages existed side by side for a couple of generations. The change to Latin at Rome did not, of course, affect native and other Greek-speaking communities in the Mediterranean and the Eastern Empire. It is unfortunate that no information concerning the change—one of the most revolutionary in the history of Christianity—has come down to us. The revision of the language of public worship from Greek to Latin must necessarily have affected the form of many prayers; indeed, the great difference in genius between the two languages must have led to striking changes of expression and emphasis. However, Greek died slowly in the West. Lessons continued to be read in that language at certain times down to the eighth century; the Creed is given in Greek as well as in Latin for the Baptismal Service of the same period. But, as time passed, it became more and more clear that the conditions of Christian development eastward were destined to maintain Greek in its old position, while Latin was to remain the official language of the Roman Church and other Churches of the West and for all the books containing its liturgy.

It is by no means to be taken for granted that the early Christian congregations or their patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons used books or the equivalent. We regard writing and reading as 'coming by nature', but it was not so in the early Church. The memory rather than the pen was used. The Christians were like the Jews in a great many respects. The rabbis, as the reader will be reminded by a later volume in this series, remembered hundreds of Benedictions. St Gregory the Great refused to consecrate a bishop who could not repeat the entire Psalter from memory. It may be taken as certain that prayers were memorized, though not necessarily by everybody. The use of the memory is a necessary part of systematic oral instruction. As not all teachers are endowed with a creative faculty, both master and pupil would be glad to memorize question and answer. Hence, while the primitive

Christian catechetical teaching was certainly improvised, the mature didactic system doubtless created a literary catechism. It cannot be doubted that the Christian public worship followed a similar course of development from improvisation to memorization. The extreme respect for the apostolic writings carried with it an inevitable habit of memorizing which would assist the final process of formalization. Thus there came into existence at Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, the ancient metropolitan, later called 'patriarchal' cities, the set prayers that we know as the liturgy. Even so there would be no rush to write down the set forms. It is certain that Christian priests, at any rate in Rome, knew by heart the Sunday services. It may have been one of the reasons for the intense conservatism of that Church. Naturally there were official books in which the authentic texts were recorded. At least the 'patriarchal' sees of Antioch, Alexandria and Rome would possess such records. The 'Didache' (end of the first century) gives extracts from baptismal and eucharistic rites. But the regular possession of sets of official books for the regulation and conduct of services is, in the opinion of scholars, not witnessed to before the middle of the third century, e.g. in the 'Apostolic Tradition' of Hippolytus. While it is not certain that the books alluded to by Hippolytus were in Latin, the latinization of the Church of Rome was advancing by this time. At least, the official liturgy for the principal churches in Rome was in rapid transition from Greek to Latin.

By 'liturgy' or 'public worship' the Western Church means the kind of official adoration, thanksgiving and intercession that is offered and pleaded by those appointed for the purpose and through the medium of forms and acts established in behalf of all Christian congregations and of the whole society.

The earliest description we have of the Sunday services of Christians is that given by Justin Martyr (100-163), who wrote three generations before Hippolytus whose 'Apostolic Tradition' is mentioned above. Experts regard Justin's account as exhibiting the custom of the Roman Church at about the year 150. The congregation first listened for a fixed time to a gospel or other

biblical reading; then followed a sermon. To this part of the service any friends might come. There followed the second part of the service, at which only the baptized could remain. This, the Eucharistic service, began with a prayer for the moral perfecting and eternal salvation of Christian people. At the end of it the congregation saluted one another with the kiss of peace. Then followed the bringing to the altar of the congregation's gifts of bread and wine and water. Over these, the priest recited the prayer of thanksgiving. He invoked the Divine Logos that by his descent upon the bread and wine they might become for Christians the saving food of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The consecrated elements were distributed to the faithful and later carried to members of the congregation who were sick or in prison. Other voluntary offerings were handed to one of the ministers for the help of the needy.

The earliest documents concerning the practice of Christianity, other than the apostolic (or sub-apostolic) writings, with the exception of the second part of the 'Didache' written perhaps as early as 85, describe the customs of the Church at Rome. Thus the earliest foreshadowing of the great liturgical Eucharistic prayer of the Church is the long 'cento' of scriptural quotations that occurs in the letter which no critic doubts was written by Clement, Bishop of Rome and sent by him *ca.* 96 as from 'the Church of God which sojourneth at Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth at Corinth'. But these earlier writers give us nothing like so detailed a description as that of Justin. How pitifully small is our knowledge of the Churches of Palestine before the time of Constantine may be seen from Mr J. W. Crowfoot's fascinating lectures to the British Academy on 'Early Churches in Palestine' (London, 1941). The word 'missa' or 'mass' was used in the time of St Ambrose (340-397) for any public religious service and later restricted to the Eucharist. Hence the word is properly restricted to the Latin rite.

It is of the books containing the service of the mass and other services normally used by the Christian community in England that it is now proposed to give some bibliographical account. It

is not proposed to deal either with rubrical directions, or with organizational services such as the consecration of bishops and ordination of priests; or with extracts, translations, epitomes intended for the private use of the laity: though the much desired bibliographical introduction to the history of Christian private worship and devotion would certainly embrace much that was liturgical or quasi-liturgical in form. For such a task separate treatment is demanded. The pity is that Dom André Wilmart is no longer with us to write such an introduction to the devotional side of the Christian religion.

The earliest reference to the existence of the Christian religion in Britain occurs in Tertullian. That Father, writing about the year 208, says that the Gospel had found its way into parts of Britain which had not been opened up by the Romans. The faith and worship may have been brought by missionaries from Gaul, since three bishops—from London, York and Lincoln—were present at the Council of Arles in 314. When the Roman power weakened in the fifth century, the British Church maintained its vigour, remaining in communion with the Church of Gaul and the Church of Rome. From the middle of the fifth century onward, the Teutonic, that is, Anglo-Saxon, invasions gradually isolated the Britons, and no vestige of the books used in the services of the British Church has come down to us.

#### THE SACRAMENTARY

All the service-books in use in the districts of Western Europe evangelized by missionaries from Rome were in the Latin language. It is even probable that Latin was used in Spanish and other Churches while Rome was still using Greek. It is known that rites, apparently independent of Rome, were in use among the Franks and Visigoths. But the service-books in use in Spain, in Gaul, in Ireland, and in Scotland and in Britain were equally in Latin. Gradually these variations from the Roman rite were abandoned. The Roman rite was accepted, not because it was better, but because it was Roman. The principle that rite follows patriarchate developed first in the East where the important centres

of civil administration were numerous. The most important book, the *Sacramentarium* or *Liber Sacramentorum* (to give it the title found in the oldest MSS.) containing the supreme Rite of the Mass and the ritual of other sacraments, rarely came into the hands of the people. It was, by its nature, the priests' book. The congregation probably seldom saw, except at a distance, the gathering of papyrus leaves upon which the earliest Sacramentaries were written. The history of the early Roman rite is lost with these papyri; even the history of its transmission in the centuries after the conversion of Constantine is most obscure, but there can be no doubt that in Rome by the fourth century the words of its most sacred portion had been long regarded as settled. When the sheets of papyrus gave way to the quire of vellum or set of folded sheets, or codex, or book, the text may have become more familiar to certain congregations. It would have been a codex or book that St Augustine brought to Canterbury.

Almost certainly, it would have been a plain book, having little or no decoration; in fact little display other than certain large letters. The custom of beginning a collect with a large initial capital, equal in depth to two lines of the text, is ancient; so also is the custom of indicating the great solemnity of certain portions of the Eucharistic service by giving them a still larger initial letter, of sometimes four or six lines in depth. The use of red ink (hence the term 'rubrics') to distinguish the instructions from the text early became a convention. In all probability the Sacramentary that St Augustine brought possessed these scribal characteristics. The book would have consisted of four parts, namely—(1) the Canon of the Mass together with the few variations proper to certain seasons that it was permissible to make within the action; (2) the proper collects, commemorations and lessons appropriate to the varying time of the year; (3) a set of collects, etc., appropriate for the feasts of particular saints; and, lastly, (4) another set of collects, etc., for certain classes of saints, such as bishops, martyrs, confessors, virgins, etc. Possibly there were added ordination services, blessings of churches, houses, persons and objects. Moreover, St Augustine, who received his

episcopal consecration at Arles, probably possessed notes of the services held in Gaul at which he had assisted during his journey to the coast of Kent. Aethelbert, King of Kent, had for his Queen Bertha, the daughter of Charibert, a Frankish king, whose consort, Ingoberg, was a Christian. Bertha brought with her to England, as chaplain, Bishop Liutprand, who, doubtless, had with him a collection of liturgical books according to the standards of the Frankish Church. The mass-book of the Franks and probably of Liutprand differed in important details from that current in Rome. The origins of the rite are lost in obscurity but appear to have been independent of the Roman patriarchate, and St Augustine asked the Pope's directions on the desirability or otherwise of standardization. St Gregory's reply was a liberal one. St Augustine should select from the liturgies of Rome, Gaul or any other Church whatever should seem to him to be pleasing to God and useful for the 'ecclesia Anglorum'. There is no evidence, however, that St Augustine compiled anything like a national liturgy for the English; and as he certainly introduced the singing of the purest Roman chant, it is more probable (see below, p. 20) that he authorized his monks to make copies of the Roman Sacramentary and to use only that Rite. But this we do not positively know, for no book of this period has come down to us.

If, as is likely, the master-copy of the Sacramentary brought by St Augustine was written in some centre immediately dependent upon Rome, it would, as has been said above, be a plain book. It is not easy to get a clear idea of the appearance of the early Sacramentaries. While the texts of the earliest known—the Leonine, the Gelasian, and the Gregorian—Sacramentaries have been carefully transcribed, printed and edited by competent scholars, only a page or two of photographic facsimile is presented. An exception is the model edition (1917) of a mass-book produced in France early in the eighth century, now known from the place of its discovery by Dom Mabillon, as *The 'Bobbio' Missal*. In addition to a transcription and a commentary by Dr E. A. Lowe, the edition includes papers by Dom Wilmart and the Rev. H. A. Wilson. But the unique feature of the edition is the third volume,

which is a complete photographic facsimile of the original codex, made possible by Dr J. Wickham Legg. The decoration of this Frankish mass-book is crude but it represents a logical application of utilitarian principles: that the scribes should indicate the nature and significance of collects and solemn prayers by large coloured initial letters in graded sizes; they should emphasize the distinction between the text giving the words said, and that giving instructions when and how they were to be said or sung, by writing the former in black and the latter in red ink. In the modern transcripts, printed typographically, the initials are usually indicated conventionally, that is, without grading. Hence, minute indications which nevertheless reveal developments in the history of the Canon of the Mass are overlooked. In the case of the 'Bobbio' Missal, for instance, reference to the facsimile makes plain what does not appear from the printed text, namely—that the initial letter T of the portion of the great prayer of consecration beginning 'Te Igitur' is not only six lines in depth, but is the largest initial letter used in the book. The 'Bobbio' Missal may be accepted as the type of Sacramentary used by a travelling missionary. It has all the appearance of a utilitarian production. It would be useful if at least the Canon of the Mass in all the old Sacramentaries were reproduced photographically. Meanwhile, there are available the small specimen photographs in the late Fr. Adalbert Ebner's *Quellen und Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum* (1896). To these may be added the few illustrations that occur, for example, in the Abbé Leroquais's *Missels et Sacramentaires* (1935) and in Dr E. Heinrich Zimmermann's *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (1916). The last named provides a score or more full-size illustrations of four Sacramentaries of sumptuous type of the eighth century: the so-called 'Missale Francorum', the 'Missale Gallicanum', the 'Sacramentarium Gelasianum' and the 'Sacramentarium et Martyrologium' of Gellone and others. The initial T to 'Te Igitur' in the Gellone MS. occupies nearly three-quarters of a page and is in the form of the Christus Crucifixus, with an angel over each half of the cross-bar which, in the whole, serves as a top stroke of the capital.



## THE PSALTER

The most suitable separate book for use in public worship, and the most familiar of liturgical books and second in importance to the *Sacramentarium*, was the *Psalterium*. With our separate prints of each of the four Gospels, the Psalter is still the only portion of the Bible used by Christians as a single book. The devotional expressions of Judaism—psalm-singing and lections from sacred books—were with great deliberation continued by the early Christians. Their recitation of psalms and canticles at regular hours of the day is mentioned by St John Chrysostom (347-407), but the practice began generations earlier. Something of the kind was much more ancient among the Jews. 'Septies in die laudem dixi tibi' says the psalmist in Ps. cxix: though it is not necessary to suppose that his seven hours were ever as organized as they came to be in Rome. The early Christians of a prayerful turn of mind first of all commemorated, privately but ritually, that is, precisely and regularly, the Christian mysteries at the recognized points which divided their day-time (which began at dawn) into three canonical 'hours' regulated by the sun, corresponding to five parts of three hours each. At the third hour (say 9 a.m.), they commemorated the condemnation of our Lord: at the sixth (noon), His crucifixion: at the ninth (in the afternoon), His death. The scheme, as will be seen, was later elaborated. The mysteries of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord were the chief, and probably the only, mysteries commemorated by the Christians up to the year 300. The essentials of the commemoration lay in the reading of the psalms and portions of the scriptures selected for their appropriateness to the specific matter of the day's prayer, and the recitation of an ecclesiastical equivalent to a 'Thought for the Day' which later, probably in the time of Pope St Leo the Great (440-461), became condensed into the very solemn and very terse prayers known as collects. They are introduced with the versicle 'Dominus vobiscum', to which the people reply 'Et cum spiritu tuo'.

But the early Christian commemorations were threefold.



First, as has been said, they daily remembered the Passion, the times fitting easily into the normal Roman routine. The custom itself, it has been seen, was originally Jewish. A second important Jewish custom that the Christians adopted was the division of time into periods of seven days. The idea of counting by the week is oriental, not occidental; and it is evident from the New Testament that Christians in the apostolic age continued the Jewish method of reckoning. Every first day of the week, the Lord's Day or Sunday, they called to mind the Resurrection. Thirdly, other historic incidents in the life of our Lord came to be celebrated on days corresponding with what was thought to be their anniversaries.

#### THE KALENDAR

These customs inevitably brought into existence a third necessary liturgical book—the *Kalendarium*. Feasts gradually became more numerous as the Church expanded numerically and geographically. To take first the feasts of our Lord (which, however, were not the earliest to be annually recalled), the events of Easter were among those most anciently kept throughout the Church. It is probable that Pentecost was anciently commemorated by Christians. Both feasts have a Jewish basis. The Epiphany, too, is primitive in certain regions. The commemoration of the Ascension may have taken place before the end of the third century. The establishment of any feast of Christmas cannot be traced before the fourth century. But from the very earliest times, the memory of martyrs was preserved. It may seem a little odd that the anniversary of the death (or as the early Christians said, the 'birthday') of a martyr was kept by the Church as a whole even before feasts of our Lord had been established. But present-day Christians and Jews in Europe who have come under the hammer of nazi and atheistic persecution, or witnessed it, or even read of it attentively, will understand. The blood of the martyrs under the Roman Emperors which became the seed of the Church spontaneously created among the

survivors a feeling that could only be satisfied by annual commemoration. It was also an ancient practice in some Churches to keep the anniversary of the natural death of a bishop. Thus, in sum, the Christian Churches in various places preserved lists of names and dates which recalled to the minds of the faithful the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord and other principal events in His earthly life, the memory of the apostles and missionaries who preached the word to them, of the disciples who suffered for their faith, and the deaths of the bishops their chief pastors.

Although the celebration of anniversaries was a very old custom, all feasts, as has been seen, could not have been equally ancient. The Church at Rome found it advisable, probably between the years 200 and 300, to bring its own customs into relation with those of the great or metropolitan Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, etc. The Church at Rome accepted some of the customs of these sees and rejected others. Thus the seasons of preparation and penance were incorporated in the Roman Kalendar. Easter and Christmas were both heralded by penitential seasons. Advent is not so ancient as Lent, which is of very early institution. The original simple weekly and annual commemorations were thus fitted into an elaborate annual routine. The Roman Kalendar in time became a highly complicated book. In mature form it arranged daily, weekly and annual celebrations on particular dates, to which the anniversaries of events in the life of our Lord, and commemorations of martyrs, bishops and other persons respectively, were affixed; and, in addition, it marked the seasons of Advent, Lent and Pentecost. The development of the *Kalendarium* was slow, occupying between three and four hundred years.

#### THE 'HOURS'

During the same period, after 313 when the conversion of Constantine made divine service a public and no longer a private act, the Church of Rome codified in an authoritative 'Horarium' the scheme for the daily recitation of a portion of the

psalter in seven canonical instalments, or 'Day Hours', and the whole of the psalter in seven days of such 'Hours'. Lauds was said at dawn, Terce at nine, Sext at noon, None at three and Vespers at six. Prime at six and Compline in the evening were later added (perhaps under monastic influence) as morning and night prayers, and for monks there was an office of Matins in the middle of the night. The commemorations in their authorized forms, comprising the reading of psalms and appropriate passages from both halves of the sacred scriptures, accommodated in the course of the year the bulk of the Bible. Portions of the works of the Fathers were added during the fifth century. Metrical hymns were frowned upon as being unapostolic; they never secured place in the office as recited in Rome until the twelfth century. Thus matured a systematically arranged layout or 'Cursus' of psalms and prayers. In its last stage the Psalter was written out separately and combined with the *Kalendarium*.

In the Roman Church, the canonical recitations were completed by the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The old Eucharistic service was long; it had developed with extreme conservatism. The persecutions inevitably kept it private, and though its words were scriptural and simple, it was, by its nature, an action; it therefore possessed a stately and simple ceremonial. To the reading of the gospel there was given a special degree of solemnity, but the words and action of consecration and act of communion formed the most sacred portions of the service. So much was very remote in origin. The development and organization of public Christian worship was, it has been said, greatly assisted by the conversion of Constantine (Emperor, 306-337). The mass was given majesty in the new big churches of Rome built by the Emperor but the ceremonial remained simple even in the Lateran basilica, Constantine's most splendid gift to the Church. Later the Rite was grievously confused by the barbarian invasion. Nevertheless the service-books of the Church of Rome containing the texts of the words, and directions how and when to say them did not lose their currency and, moreover, they continued to be rigidly conservative.

## SECOND CREATIVE PERIOD

### FIFTH TO TENTH CENTURY

#### THE GREGORIAN SET OF SERVICE-BOOKS

By the sixth century it may be said that the *Sacramentarium*, *Psalterium* (i.e. the psalms set out in the order of the Bible), *Kalendarium* and other books of the Church of Rome were recognized as authoritative by other Western Churches. Two other groups of Western Liturgies, i.e. the Frankish or Gallican and the Mozarabic or Hispano-Gallican, long existed by the side of the Roman. Both these groups, with the Ambrosian or Milanese rite, exhibit (i.e. in MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries and later, which are all that have come down to us) tokens of Eastern influence. It is possible, some think, that the Frankish and Mozarabic rites came originally from the East to the West through Milan. But there can be no doubt that the Roman rite was used in many places in the West before the eighth century. The idea of uniformity in the singing of mass necessarily waited upon the emergence of a greater degree of general liturgical systematization and, as has been said, the extension of the principle that dioceses should follow the rite of their primatial or patriarchal see.

An important step in crystallization of the cycle of prayer and devotion into the Divine service as it substantially exists in the West to-day was taken between the fifth and the sixth century. St Benedict (480-543) founded the monastery of Monte Cassino in 529 and then designed the Rule for his monks. The Benedictine Rule legislated for the prayers of the monks and gave what ranks as the oldest surviving programme of the complete scheme of singing the 'Hours'. Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) accepted the '*Cursus divini officii*' of St Benedict's Rule and, on the basis

of it, edited a complete set of official liturgical texts, with chants. The Pope, however, did not impose upon the clergy of Rome the Benedictine scheme in all its details. The non-monastic office, for instance, which was used in the chief basilicas, was not altered, and did not include hymns. Even after 583, when the Lombards swept down upon Monte Cassino and destroyed it and the monks were refugees in the City of Rome, they did not by their example change the old Roman rite; though, as some think, they gave it the extra service, Compline, after Vespers.

As St Gregory left them, these texts when arranged in groups may be said to correspond to books that are known to us to-day as:

*The Order and Canon of the Mass*, with the Sanctorale and Temporale, that is, with the collects and lessons proper to the Saints, and to the Seasons.

*The Divine Service*, that is, Psalter in its Order of Weekly recitation with the canticles, anthems, prayers, lessons, disposed according to the canonical Night Hours of Matins, with its Nocturns and Vigils, the Day Hours of Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline.

*The Kalendar.*

*The Ritual or Order of the Administration of the Sacraments*, that is, of Baptism, Penance, Matrimony, the Visitation of the Sick; with The Order of Occasional Offices, such as the Burial of the Dead, the Blessing of Women.

*The Pontifical*, such sacraments as Confirmation and the conferring of Holy Orders; the Rite of the Consecration of Churches; to which were added certain Blessings and Exorcisms. The book would also include the baptismal marriage and penitential rites at which the bishop would pontificate.

The whole were collected out of the *Liber Sacramentorum* or *Sacramentarium* and the *Ordo*, which supplemented the mass-book with detailed descriptions and instructions for the conduct of

ceremonies. The Roman *Ordines* became the model for directories of episcopal functions in the dioceses of the West.

All these texts were written, arranged and bound up for the use of the several persons concerned in the service or action, that is, the bishop, the priest, the deacon, and the singers.

Naturally the cost of providing books was extremely great; something immense by our standards and by no means every church would possess all of them. The Gregorian service-books were not, as such books now are, complete digests of everything said or sung at the service by everybody. The celebrant of the Holy Sacrifice used the Sacramentary, the deacon who read the gospel had a book for that purpose.

The singers probably had books of their own. The chant they sang is doubtless ancient, but little is known of it until after the period of the persecutions. During the repression under Diocletian the Christians were required to deliver up for destruction all their liturgical books. Doubtless only the most important books would have justified the Christians in taking the risks involved in hiding them away. The melodies, like the Psalms and so much else, were memorised. After 313 when Christian worship was once more permitted and the liturgy, or parts of it, were openly rendered, the choirs no doubt reverted to the use of books. Those singers (but originally the psalms, or portions of them, were sung *solo*) from the choir who stood on the step ('gradus') of the pulpit by the lectern used yet another book, the *Graduale*. The chant, which came to maturity through St Gregory's initiative and which bears his name, was divided into books appropriate for the use of cantors and choirs. This is the arrangement that still obtains in the Eastern Church. In the West there is early evidence of a tendency to amalgamate books. But these signs do not seem to be clearly visible before the tenth century.



# THIRD CREATIVE PERIOD

## TENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURY

### THE GREGORIAN SERVICE-BOOKS IN ENGLAND

When St Augustine (Archbishop of Canterbury, 597-604) came to England in 596, he brought with him (says Bede) other liturgical codices in addition to the several copies of the *Sacramentarium*. Later there was organized the transcription of a considerable number of books besides the Sacramentary and the Bible: an *Evangeliarium*, or Gospel book; a *Passionarium*, that is, Martyrology; a *Psalterium*; books corresponding to what we know to-day as *Rituale* and *Pontificale*; also the books of the chant, the *Antiphonale* and the *Graduale*. No doubt, too, St Augustine's monks carried with them small compendious sacramentaries like the 'Bobbio' Missal (see p. 11) and a small gospel book, apt for missionary use. St Mellitus (Archbishop of Canterbury, 619-624) in 601 brought from Rome for the use of St Augustine a collection of some nine books which, while according to a fifteenth-century writer were in his time kept at Canterbury, have completely disappeared. In 602 when St Augustine strove to bring the Church of the Britons (see above, p. 9) into communion with the Church of the English and thus, once more, into relation with the Western Church, numerous disciplinary differences became apparent. It is not possible here to discuss the causes which had led the Britons, after the middle of the fifth century, to diverge from the customs of the rest of the Church. Their mass-books were of the Frankish type. The details are to be found in the pioneer work of Canon F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881). The Celtic divergences which occasioned friction with the Anglo-Saxons were chiefly those of discipline and seasonal custom. Reconciliation took place in 664 at Whitby



when the Britons submitted to Roman custom. In the meantime the conversion of Edwin, King of Northumbria, had resulted in the appointment of a bishop, established at York. Paulinus had been sent from Rome to this country in the year 601. With his appointment as Bishop of York the greater part of England was organized ecclesiastically. Canonically speaking, English Christianity was strictly dependent upon Rome; but its very existence equally strictly depended upon the conversion and stability of Ethelbert and Edwin. The dependence of Christianity in these islands upon the conversion of its kings and the willingness of their subjects to follow them was, it is hardly necessary to say, the complete reverse of the situation in the heart of the Roman empire. In Rome Christianity was the religion of the proletariat; Constantine went over to the masses. In England Christianity became the religion of kings; the masses were compelled to accept it. Some of the later English kings compelled their subjects to give up Christianity. They were followed by other kings who reversed the process. The religious experience of the English, therefore, was essentially different from that of their Roman brethren.

It was natural for the Church of the English to be organized territorially on the basis of the old Roman administrative system. England's two ecclesiastical Provinces corresponded with the boundaries of the northern and southern kingdoms. This division rendered impossible the future development of one 'Ecclesia Angliae'. United action of the two Provinces was out of the question, for discussion could take place only under the chairmanship of a Papal Legate. Hence only when the Archbishop of Canterbury (or York) acted as legate could he claim the obedience of his brother. This legatine authority was an expedient that was often resorted to, but the spirituality continued to be organized in two convocations, i.e. two jurisdictions, both owning their spiritual authority to the Pope and their temporalities to the King. Such a dualism combined, with the claims of the King, and the number and size of the monastic houses, to necessitate much papal regulation. These circumstances, in the whole, destroyed



the possibility of a united, strong Episcopate, whose unity was so nationally respected as to be able to confront a tyrannical dynasty. But the crisis through which the 'Ecclesia Anglorum' or 'Ecclesia Anglicana' was to pass during the reigns of William I, Edward I, Henry III and, worst of all, of the Tudors, could not have been foreseen in the seventh century, when Europe was not stabilized and Christianity not yet received in many parts of the Continent. All these political factors in course of time influence the position of the liturgy.

#### THE BOOKS IN EVOLUTION

With the expansion of Christendom there proceeded naturally the subdivision of the liturgy into sectional books. The recitation of the hours in whole or part, for instance, gradually attracted, as it still does, the devotion of the broad mass of literate and earnest Christians, lay as well as clerical, women as well as men. The division of the office into day and night hours brought separate books into existence. Thus, while the *Sacramentarium* remained a book reserved strictly to priests, books of the Divine Office became available in principle to everybody. The only difference was that whereas the laity, then as now, had their choice in the matter, the clergy were gradually brought under a discipline which bound them to recite the whole of it. Nevertheless, it did not rapidly become convenient for the devout cleric to recite out of choir a daily office that depended upon the Kalendar. The existence of part-books, corresponding to the roles of the persons concerned in the service, was only an obstruction to single persons whose devotion prompted them to recite the whole office. It meant their synthesizing and reading all the parts of all the participants. For an individual devotion, as distinct from collective obligation, to recite the office, it became a serious contradiction of the object and purpose of the 'opus Dei' that there should exist no single book containing everything every single person desiring to recite the office would want. For a choir to say the office needed a library of books as big as St Augustine's, and more. They would require a Psalter and Antiphoner for

psalmody, Responsorial for responses; a Bible, or extracts from it in the form of a Lectionary or Gospel book, a Passional and a Homiliary for Lessons; a Collect book, Kalendar, and perhaps a separate Hymnal also. A guide to the rubrics, or some manual of directions, would also be required to fulfil the obligation correctly. Obviously a library of these dimensions—involving great labour in its compilation, and money for it—limited the saying of the office to canons, secular and regular, of cathedral chapters, members of monastic communities and those rectors and vicars of parishes who were of more than ordinary means. The 'opus Dei' remained a choir office. The correct singing of the office was a first charge upon the time of every religious order and the books for it upon their means. For the convenience of the simple parson, the travelling monk and the devout layman, one book, embodying the whole service, would be required.

It was the same thing with the Eucharistic service. The confused semi-barbaric state of the West during the period between St Gregory (590–604) and Hadrian I (772–795) postponed every sort of standardization. Towards the end of the eighth century a notable step was taken. In 781 Charlemagne appointed our fellow-countryman, Alcuin of York, to supervise the writing of standard texts of the Church services for use throughout his dominions. The basis was Gregorian. The old Frankish rite was virtually suppressed in favour of that of the Roman patriarch. Alcuin, in doing this, added an appendix of his own to the Gregorian Sacramentary, thus perpetuating many of the Frankish customs. But liturgical order was introduced all over the Frankish Empire and the work was carried on by Charlemagne's son, Lewis the Pious, and Lewis' son, Charles the Bald, both of whom encouraged Christian worship, perhaps with rather more statecraft than piety. The Frankish innovations which they sponsored were finally, and not very happily, authorized at Rome and find place to-day in the contemporary edition of the *Missale Romanum*. By the ninth century services in the Frankish dominions had become more elaborate. The elaborations mainly concerned certain ceremonies attached to the Eucharistic service.

Assimilation to the Roman rite became the practice in Spain in the eleventh century. Finally, the Mozarabic rite, like the Ambrosian, was reserved to the one centre—Toledo in the one case and Milan in the other.

As the gradual settling of all Western Europe increased the understanding of Christian public worship, it also professionalized it. In primitive times the Eucharist was only offered by and for an heroic few and that on Sundays. The bishop had the authority to celebrate on other days at his discretion. In the third century, Wednesday and Friday were the liturgical days of the Church in certain parts. Later, every day had its Eucharist. Later it became usual in certain regions for priests to say, and for the faithful to attend, the Eucharistic service as a frequent devotion rather than as a solemn weekly commemoration and great privilege. That in these days the faithful, however devout, possessed mass-books with which to follow the service is again out of the question. What they followed was not a form of words but an action of the hands. The odd thing is not that the laity did not possess books but that, not possessing them, they allowed the builders (and they always require control, for every profession is more or less a conspiracy against the laity) to put up churches which compelled the priest to show the people, not a view of his sacrificing hands, but the expanse of his back which hid them. Small wonder that, quite apart from contemporary doctrinal considerations, in the thirteenth century the priest had to raise the Host above his head. However, the liturgical knowledge that the laity possessed, and there is no reason to think it was pitifully small, was derived from their own participation in the rites and from the knowledge that came from direct or indirect family connexion with the members of the clergy and also with their own children who participated in the service of the altar and the choir.

But in the tenth century the *Sacramentarium* was still a book designed to enable one person, that is, the bishop or priest, to say and do his part in the Eucharistic service. The mass would require for its due rendering a deacon, a sub-deacon, a clerk and a choir of singers. But when in a more or less stable Christendom it

became very common for the priest, for the purposes of serving his devotion and that of his people, and incidentally accepting a stipend for himself, undertook all these several functions, a new kind of mass-book came into use. Bishops too recognized that it was unreasonable to forbid a priest the privilege of conducting, or the laity of assisting, at the service of the mass on the ground that two or three other ministers and a choir could not be assembled at the church. They saw fit to permit the priest himself to recite the parts of the service that had earlier been sung by the choir and by his assistants. Thus came into canonical existence the 'Missa bassa', as distinct from the 'Missa alta', and a new sort of book. There came into existence, too, the priest who, to use the present-day trade language, was a 'piece-hand'; that is, he was paid for the masses he said. These great but slow changes—the development occupied a period from the sixth to the tenth century—transformed the *Sacramentarium* into a combination of *Sacramentarium*, *Collectarium*, *Lectionarium* and *Graduale*. The compendium came to be known as the *Missale* or *Missale plenarium*. It was the model, or at least the predecessor, of another amalgamation.

In the eleventh century a similar treatment of the *Kalendarium*, *Psalterium*, *Legenda*, *Homiliarium* and *Martyrologium* brought them all into one book, *i.e.* the *Breviarium*, or Breviary. No substantial change in the several structures was made. The recitation of the whole office, though simplified by the substitution of one book for a library, did not thereby become a light task.

#### THE FRIARS AND THE LITURGY

In the twelfth century there was no central authority in Rome organized for the purpose of securing liturgical unity, and therefore direct papal regulation was an impossibility. The beginnings of liturgical unity came with the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars. They, essentially travellers, were first instructed to say the Breviary according to the custom of the diocese in which they were, for the time being, following their respective Rules. The Franciscans, originally in Italy and later outside the

peninsula, were directed always to follow the order used in the pope's chapel or 'curia'. From the twelfth century this had been shorter than the office said in the old Roman basilicas such as St John Lateran, while the office said in St Peter's differed from that of the other basilicas. Not long after the stabilization of their Breviary, the Friars were granted further modifications, all in the direction of reducing the burden of recitation, whether in or out of choir. The practicality of the final Franciscan scheme was well regarded by the popes and their advisers; and, in effect, what Innocent III (1198-1216) had assented to under restrictions was recognized by his successors as becoming increasingly popular. Parish churches in Rome were eager to use it. At this time four or more versions of the office were being recited in Rome: (1) the shortened pre-Franciscan curial office, (2) the still shorter Franciscan office, (3) the old protracted office maintained with the full ceremonial appropriate, as at the Lateran, to an ancient 'schola cantorum', and (4) the office sung by the Canons of St Peter's. This was a situation that could hardly be justified. The age-long liturgical toleration of the popes was about to diminish. In 1280 Nicholas III (1277-1280) adopted the Franciscan Breviary for the Curia. He did more: in 1277 he enacted what amounts to an 'Act of Uniformity' for the Diocese of Rome and he imposed it also upon the basilicas, even upon the Cathedral of St John Lateran, 'omnium ecclesiarum Urbis et orbis mater et caput', which held out until the time of Gregory XI (1370-1378).

In the meantime, the order of friars preachers, founded by St Dominic (1170-1221), had found itself in the same inter-diocesan position as the Friars of St Francis, only to a greater extent. The Dominican friars spread faster than the Franciscans. Hence the first sons of St Francis to visit England found a lodging with the sons of St Dominic. Aymo of Faversham, who, in his capacity as Minister General of the Franciscans, was one of the first to secure papal permission in behalf of his subjects to abbreviate the Divine Office, was intimate with the English Dominicans, but the attitude of the two fraternities towards the office was different. St Dominic began his ecclesiastical life as a priest; and

as a canon he was closely attached to the office. But when he founded the order, his liturgy was not to be what it had been for the other religious orders, i.e., an end in itself, but the means to the special objective of his Friars: preaching and instruction. St Dominic and his followers were not, like the Franciscans, labouring in Italy against materialistic Catholics but in France against heretics. At first, the Dominicans, like the Franciscans, used the breviaries of the dioceses in which they were staying. This was soon found unsatisfactory. Experience proved that a strict rule of life is helped by a strict rule of liturgy; but it was not easily achieved. It was not so natural for St Dominic as for St Francis to follow the simplified liturgical use of the papal curia. Rather it was natural for the Dominicans to simplify the use received in the French dioceses. The liturgical norm agreed upon in 1245 by a committee of four Dominicans—one French, one German, one Italian and one English—was objected to by the London chapters; but the revision made at Metz in 1251 was accepted and was approved by the Holy See in 1267, i.e. a decade before Pope Nicholas III adopted for the Roman secular clergy the Franciscan breviary. Thus the Dominicans, who still use this rite, may rightly be said to possess the liturgy in an older form than the Roman curia, the Roman basilicas or the Franciscan order; or, to come to modern times, the mass of the clergy. The Franciscan 'breviaria itineraria portatilia' won wide favour. The portable Breviary of the fourteenth century is divided, for better convenience and ease of carrying, into four parts corresponding to the winter, spring, summer and autumn quarters. In England the book was more often called the *Portetorium*, later in the thirteenth century *Portiforium*, later still *Port-hors*, a form which seems to have originated when breviaries were written in a format so small that it would permit of their being carried about, like the portable altar-stones. This is the layout that is familiar to-day. Each seasonal part includes the Kalendar and the Psalter, arranged 'hour by hour' and 'day by day' so as to admit of its entire recitation in one week. To the *Psalterium* there are added the week-day hymns, lessons, versicles and responds, and those for the

proper commemorations of the feasts of our Lord, of the Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and other Holy Women, feasts of our Lady which occur during the Season, and those appropriate for the seasons of Advent and Lent, etc. In feasts of highest rank, 'proper' rather than 'common' matter is provided. It is of the essence of the Divine Office that, beside the lives of our Lord himself, of the Apostles and of other great luminaries of the Church, it should offer those who recite it an opportunity to commemorate events and persons familiar to them from their own localities. The people eagerly memorialized those saints who glorified God by their lives in the provincial dioceses or in the communities of which those obliged to recite it were the subjects.

#### LOCAL ENGLISH PECULIARITIES

The responsibility of seeing that the clergy duly and correctly recited their office devolved upon the bishops, and the abbots and generals of religious orders. Churchwardens of parish churches had the duty of providing the Missal, Psalter, Passional, etc. These books were written at a local centre and included the customs in local favour and the commemorations of locally or domestically famous persons. The particular diocesan *Missale* and *Breviarium*, etc. is described in the inventories of medieval libraries as *ad usum Romanae curiae*, *ad usum Sarum*, *ad usum Eboracensem*, *ad usum Herfordensem*, etc. They are 'uses', i.e. variations of the Roman rite with the Roman Kalendar extended by local appendices and supplements.

The reconciliation of the dates with the commemorations of universal and local feasts, which not infrequently fell upon the same day, and their octaves was a source of difficulty. Rules for precedence were established by which the psalms, lessons and hymns, etc. for certain local feasts enjoyed complete recitation, with a fraction, usually a collect and response, from the office of an internationally known saint. Since early times the Christian Kalendar had been steadily increasing in complexity, and was to go on doing so. To medieval folk it became as difficult as Bradshaw's time-table is to moderns. Nor can all the complica-



tions introduced in the early and late Middle Ages be said to have been solved at the Council of Trent, or by the revision of Pius X, whose reform will be mentioned in due time. The *usus* of a large rich diocese possessing a fine collection of relics and with the money to pay a first-class *ceremoniarius* was often adopted by the bishop of another smaller diocese. If the music, the customs and ceremonies of a given use were considered by those with a taste for that sort of thing to be of particular splendour, well arranged and complete, the books containing them tended to be copied far and wide. In such a way as this the use of Salisbury Cathedral acquired in the thirteenth century a certain eminence and was followed in many parts of England, and, to a great extent, abroad. Many of its distinctive characteristics were of Norman origin. The custom of counting Sundays after Trinity instead of after Pentecost is one instance, and the Dominican *usus*, also northern French in origin, followed the same computation, and still does. Bishops were always jealous of their local uses; many dioceses, despite the Council of Trent, printed uses of their own until the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, during the early and the late Middle Ages the absence of any centre expressly organized for the purpose made impracticable the production of carefully checked standard liturgical texts. It was otherwise in the late Middle Ages with the Bible and certain scholastic works, whose texts were the basis of lectures and examinations at the universities. Thus, in the thirteenth century, the authorities of Paris and Oxford found it possible to supervise the text of Aristotle.

But the number of universities was not to be compared with the number of dioceses; to these had to be added the number of religious orders. The texts, therefore, of the *Missale* and *Breviarium*, and extracts made from them for the use of servers, parish clerks and choirs, were subject to wide variation. The Congregation of Sacred Rites charged with the examination and correction of additions to liturgical books was only established by Pope Sixtus V in 1588. Distance and expense would make difficult any such plan as that a commission of Cardinals or Bishops should have oversight of corporations or that guilds of scribes should undertake to



copy only from authorized Roman exemplars. The powers in this matter of diocesan bishops were certainly excessive. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York were not even vested with liturgical authority over the whole of their respective provinces. The authority the local scribes looked to was the local 'ordinary', the bishop of the diocese. The 'Ecclesia Anglorum' or 'Ecclesia Anglicana' still consisted, in the thirteenth century, of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York established in the time of Gregory the Great and his successor. They were still canonically and liturgically separate. The first held to the books of Sarum and Hereford, and the second to a 'Use' in its own name, the 'sancta et insignis ecclesia Eboracensis'. Apart from the diocesan customs, separate and overlapping already mentioned, something like one-third of the parochial churches of England were served by the regular orders, with customs of their own. Of the two archiepiscopal sees and nineteen suffragan sees, six bishops—Winchester, Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich and Rochester—were elected by the cathedral prior and the monks of the monasteries thereto attached. Carlisle was elected by the canons regular of St Augustine; York, London, Salisbury, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln and Chichester were elected by the conjoint suffrages of Benedictine monks and secular canons. The Welsh sees—St David's, St Asaph's, Bangor and Cardiff—were secular. Canterbury, too, was purely Benedictine. It could not sponsor a national use without suppressing its own. In 1206 the election of the Archbishop was vested by Innocent III in the Benedictine chapter, and he refused a claim from the suffragan bishops of the Province to have a voice in it. In this connexion it should not be forgotten that the conversion of England had been effected by monks and that the monasteries of the country were as old as English Christianity itself; nor that the King's will was a governing consideration in the appointment of archbishops and bishops. The mass and office sung in the monastic cathedrals was the monastic use, full of minor differences from the contemporary secular Roman rite. Hence, there was no national English liturgy, no national 'use'. Instead there were almost as

many 'uses' as there were secular cathedrals and regular orders. But the decrees of the English Councils make very clear the basis of the secular uses. The *Kalendarium*, the *Sacramentarium* and the *Divinum Officium*, received directly from the Roman Church, were the liturgical norm of the Southern Province; and the same obedience was given by the Northern Province. As required by St Augustine, the Synod of Whitby (664), the Council of Clovesho (747), the Canons of Aelfric (*ca.* 1006) and finally by the Canon Law, so the books used in the services remained. They were, but for the local variations, the same as those in use on the continent. From the beginning, there had been *the Church in England* and not *a Church of England*. The Church in England still consisted of two provinces.

#### LATE MEDIEVAL SERVICES

In the Northern Province, so far as secular parochial churches were concerned, the Sarum use was customary in many places; the York books never enjoyed the circulation in the far north that the Sarum secured in the south. That the Aberdeen use is a Scottish variation of Sarum, not of York, is eloquent of 'geo-ecclesiastical' jealousy. In the Province of Canterbury, Sarum was not universal. A southern use which counted numerous supporters was that of Hereford, the ceremonies of whose cathedral were strongly influenced by those of Rouen. Higden in his 'Polychronicon' written in the fourteenth century undoubtedly exaggerates when he says that the Salisbury customs were followed nearly throughout England, but he is correct in saying that they penetrated into Wales, Scotland and Ireland. So widespread a distribution was much helped doubtless by the convenience of the *Salisbury Ordinale* and *Consuetudinarium*, which together formed not so much a liturgical book as a clear directory of public worship appointing to every man his part in the various services and processions, all of them complicated, that occurred in the ecclesiastical year. Together, these books dealt with both the liturgy and the ritual of the services. We have noted an increase in the taste for ceremonial. Musical additions were made to the

variable portions of the mass, long hymn sequences were brought in, the 'Kyrie' was extended by insertions. The movement towards figured music may have been slow, but by Wyclif's time, say 1375, figured music or 'prick'-song was the thing in 'snob' churches. Musicians and choirs had persuaded themselves, as their fellows do to-day, that a musical congregation listens to them and that only an unmusical congregation wants to sing. It was cheaper for the musicians to buy extracts than to get copies of a complete *Graduale*. Liturgical 'specials' were gathered together in the *Processionale* and the musical extras in the *Sequentiarium*.

In the same century a new, so to say 'separate', *Manuale* was invented in order to extract and bring together between one pair of covers the occasional offices which English calligraphical custom was placing in the Missal as an appendix. The *Manuale* thus became the English equivalent of what was known on the Continent as the *Agenda, Ordo Administrandi* or *Rituale*. It contains the services for Baptism, Marriage, Visitation of the Sick, Death, Burial and a large number of blessings, that is, of the house, all sorts of persons including children, travellers, and household objects, the giving of which lay within the power and discretion of priests. Blessings reserved to bishops who gave them solemnly, that is, at Mass, were collected into the *Pontificale* (or earlier *Benedictionale*), with the texts required by other and more important episcopal functions. Here are to be found the order for the consecration of a church, for the making of priests, deacons and all subordinates of the ministry. The *Pontificale* which Durandus edited at the end of the thirteenth century was definitive.

There were other supplementary services which, formerly added at the back of the *Missale* or *Breviarium*, were written and bound between separate covers. The *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis* was an office said by those to whom the full office of the *Breviarium* was an impossible task. It is first mentioned as a distinct devotion late in the tenth century and spread quickly in France, Germany and England. It appears to have been

unknown in Rome until the time of Innocent III (1198–1216). Considering the degree of literacy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the book was a common possession; and that it had pictures made it, no doubt, a desirable companion, even to those who could not read. The text consisted of psalms for a shortened scheme of the canonical hours, with hymns and responses dedicated to our Lady. The Litany of the Saints was an item in the earliest known English text—it occurs also during the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century the seven penitential psalms and the Office for the Dead (that is, the Breviary office) are found added.

The book was known in England as the 'Prymer' and is so referred to in a well-known passage in Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale* (c. 1386) which describes the 'litel clergeon seven years of age' who was at school: 'This litel child, his litel book learninge / As he sat in the scole at his prymer / He *Alma Redemptoris* herde singe / As children learned hir antiphoner.' This boy was doubtless learning his Latin as well as his prayers and his chant. In the fifteenth century the *Prymer* was transcribed in the vernacular, owing to the enterprise, one supposes, of the booksellers, who had professional reasons for watching the growth of literacy in English. Doubtless even larger numbers of this 'extra-liturgical' book would have been produced if the cost of materials and of transcription had been less. At last the invention of paper acted as a strong encouragement to the production of cheap books.

#### SERVICE-BOOKS IN PRINT ABROAD

The invention of printing was welcomed by the bishops. Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, hailed the 'Gutenberg' Bible as the product of a 'divine art'. The Psalter appeared very soon after the Bible. The great *Codex Psalmorum* of Fust and Schoeffer, which appeared in 1457, was printed for the use of the secular clergy of Mainz. This was a 'noted' text, that is, it contained the chant for the antiphons, though the notes were written by hand. Two years later a second *Codex* was printed for the Benedictines of the Abbey of St James at Mainz. Many religious orders in

Germany showed their eagerness to engage in the new art. The Benedictines of Augsburg installed a press in 1472, their brethren of Bamberg in 1474, and those of Blaubeuren in 1475. Both priests and people were encouraged to take an interest in printing. The Bishop of Würzburg granted 40 days' indulgence to purchasers and users of copies of the Missal printed by Georg Reyser of that city, the cathedral of which was famed for its choir. His remarkably fine *Missale speciale secundum chorum Herbipolensem* was printed in 1495.

The first printed edition of the Missal was the *Ordo Missalis secundum consuetudinem Romane Curie* and it appeared at Milan in 1474. It was a folio, on paper. The book is composed in two columns throughout. Space for a scribe to write in the music was allowed for. The Canon, or the solemn portion of the Rite, agrees naturally with the medieval precedent, that is, it begins with the Preface, which is displayed in the form used in the ancient Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, the 'Te Igitur' is rendered conspicuous by an initial letter six lines deep—in agreement, for example, with the Missal which Thomas Preston finished for Westminster Abbey in 1384. This last example is a little singular, for usually the Sarum Missals emphasized the beginning of the Preface according to another convention which occurs in some Sacramentaries of the tenth century. The early Missals printed for the German dioceses and for the German congregations of the Benedictine Order followed, in many typographical respects, the first printed edition of the Roman Missal, and employed a handsome round black-letter or 'textus rotundus' for the composition. The book seems to have been used by other printers as an 'editio typica', since most German Missals of the fifteenth century reproduced not only the text but the typography. Hence the fine Missals of Georg Reyser, of Würzburg, Ehrhard Ratdolt, of Augsburg, and many others were not composed in the German but in the Italian form of black-letter. In some instances an interesting departure was made: a Missal, the body of which was printed in round black-letter, included a canon composed in a much larger black-letter, pointed and condensed in the northern

style. It is likely that the text of the Canon used and fingered every day was printed and sold separately for binding in with manuscript Missals which already existed and which had been transcribed in the northern ('textus quadratus') style. In the Latin *Missale* the essence of the Eucharistic Rite, the Canon, is preceded by a section entitled 'Ordo Missae' (Milan) or 'Ordinarium Missae' (Sarum). The 'Ordinarium' comprises a number of accretions of which the most important are the psalm, 'Judica me', then a general confession, the 'Kyrie', the 'Gloria in Excelsis', the 'Credo' and next a number of important prayers. The most sacred portion, at the end of the 'Ordinarium', begins silently with the 'Oratio super oblatum' and ends with the celebrant's saying audibly ('dicit sacerdos excelsa voce' said the old Gregorianum) the conclusion 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum'. There follows the ancient dialogue 'Sursum Corda', 'Habemus ad Dominum', etc., which introduces the Preface. Space for the notes of the Prefaces, the 'Pater Noster' and the words of dismissal continued to be allowed for long after the solution of the typographical problem was known. The practice was frequent in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The problem of printing the chant, however, had been solved in 1476, when Ulrich Hahn printed in Rome an edition of the *Missale secundum consuetudinem curie romane* in which the chant was expressed typographically; the staves being red and the notes (of the simple square-headed 'virgula' form) in black. This was a great advance upon the same printer's edition of the *Missale* printed in the previous year which provided only blank space for the music.

#### LITURGICAL BOOKS PRINTED FOR USE IN ENGLAND

Elsewhere as the scribe still had his job and ruled and wrote in the music, so he also executed the decorative initial letters. The provincial printer, it seems, found that the variations of the chant made it economical to leave the task of contributing the music to scribes employed by the London booksellers. In the first Paris printed Missal of Sarum use, executed by Guillaume Maynyal in 1487 for William Caxton, the music is thus left; so

also in 1492, when Martin Morin of Rouen printed a handsome Missal of Sarum use, the music, even for the 'Exultet', is in manuscript, though it may be noted in this example that the staves are printed. The Marriage Service, though more conveniently given in the *Manuale* (or book of occasional offices), was also normally included in the Missal, where it may be found preceding the 'missa pro sponso et sponsa'. The portions of the mass which are set to music and had been written separately for choir purposes were often of folio and even of larger size. The complete musical text in the large size required for choirs presented a maximum difficulty to printers. The Sarum *Antiphonarium* was printed only in 1519: the *Graduale* only in three editions from 1527 to 1532. Extracts of the most frequently used portions were printed earlier and more frequently and in smaller formats.

The Sarum *Processionale* contains the music for the special services, such as those for Holy Week. Some twenty-four recorded editions were printed between 1502 and 1558. The Antwerp printed edition of 1523 embodies many curious and efficient diagrams which indicate by symbols (tonsure, candle, book, etc.) the positions and tasks of the officiating ministers and servers.

For private devotion as well as for church use the *Psalterium* was in demand. A beautiful edition is that printed 'per Guillelmum Faqz, Regium impressorem: in celeberrima urbe London, 1504'. Wm. Faques, later Fawkes (but he was really a Frenchman), as his colophon indicated, was printer (1503-1508) to King Henry VII, by whose command this Psalter was printed. The *Psalterium*, however, suffered from the popularity of the *Horae* and the *Prymer*, and only ten editions of it, printed between 1503 and 1530, are recorded. The Radcliffe Collection includes an edition by Kingston and Sutton, London, 1553. Of the *Horae ad usum Sarum* an immense number of editions was printed. At least 250 are recorded between 1478 and 1559 printed here and abroad, principally in Paris. The last editions, mentioned at pp. 52-3 were handsomely printed.



## FOURTH OR MODERN PERIOD

### SIXTEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURY

#### PRINTED MISSALS WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

We must content ourselves in passing with a mere mention of the importance to England of the Paris editions of the liturgical books and of the engravers who produced them; in particular of Antoine Vérard, whose *Heures à l'usage de Paris* (1487) and *Heures à l'usage de Poitiers* (1488) initiated a new style in the production of books that, for the want of a better term, we must describe as the late Gothic manner. A technical novelty in the design was the printer's use of borders engraved in sections which could be used in varying combinations. Vérard's most famous book of this class, his *Heures à l'usage de Rome*, was printed in 1488. A near contemporary of his, Philippe Pigouchet, printed a large number of Sarum *Horae* in a similar style. The title-pages of the later Paris breviaries and hours abound with commendations of the quality of the illustrations to be found within. The Venetian printers probably set this style. Their city, the most important centre of the book trade, was full of craftsmen of several nations. The fame of Aldus carried his romans and italics to France, and the printers of Paris exerted themselves to bring their typography into correspondence with the best and most saleable Venetian examples. The trade of that city profited by its reputation for fine illustrations to recommend their books on account also of their type. Hence Lucantonio Giunta, who printed in 1510 a fine *Pontificale*, advertises that it is composed 'perpulchris characteribus'. References to pictures in French title-pages are often more explicit. Thus Thielmann Kerver (he deserves high rank as an advertiser) published a *Breviarium Romanum* which, he says, is 'pervenustis imaginibus et tempori et sanctis congruentibus

decoratum'. Before leaving the *Horae* and the *Prymers*, which are a study in themselves as has been said, it should be noted that they maintained and even broadened a tradition of liturgical illustration which began with the illumination of the manuscripts and which, in typography, might otherwise have perished, at least in the north. The fifteenth-century German and Italian missals contain one full-page illustration of a Calvary on the left-hand page facing the 'Te Igitur'. Initial letters to that prayer, portraying the sacrifice of Isaac, or some other appropriate biblical subject, are to be encountered in the German missals, for example, of Stuchs and Drach, as may be conveniently seen, if I may be permitted to refer to it, in my *German Incunabula* (London, 1929). As befitted Venice, the acknowledged centre of the book-trade, its printers and publishers showed great enterprise in the provision of illustrated editions, as the Prince d'Essling documents so richly in his *Les Missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600* (Paris, 1896). The first illustration in a printed mass-book occurs in the Roman missal of Ottaviano Scotti (Venice, 1481). Among the fine books produced during the period were illustrated editions of the Bible; the Malermi Bible of 1490 and 1493, printed by L. A. Giunta, was the most famous. The editions contain a large number of cuts whose style exerted a wide influence. The Parisian publishers of liturgical books quickly responded to the example of the Malermi Bible and vied with one another. A fine *Missale ad usum Parisiensem* was printed by Jean du Pré in 1481 and a still more successful *Missale ad usum Verdunensem* quickly followed from the same press. It contains a magnificent cut of the Mass of St Gregory and a variety of smaller blocks of such subjects as the Presentation of our Lord in the Temple. This fine work, however, did not come wholly from the hands of French engravers. Du Pré explains in his Missal for the Diocese of Limoges that he had been assisted 'per Venetos arte impressoria magnificos et valde expertos'. He says too that this missal was actually printed 'Venetica forma'.

The first printed edition of the Sarum *Missale* (Michael Wensler, Basel, 1486) contains a cut of the Christus Crucifixus.

Another early edition (Martin Morin, Rouen, 1492) follows the Paris tradition and offers more woodcuts. Most of the cuts in the English missals of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are copied or borrowed from other French originals. The Christus in Wynkyn de Worde's *Sarum Missale*, printed for him by Julian Notary and Jean Barbier in 1498, originally appeared in Pierre le Rouge's Missal for the Diocese of Tours in 1492. The finest missal printed in England was the Sarum book completed by Richard Pynson in London in January 1500-1. It was printed at the expense of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury (1486-1500), and contains a fine Calvary facing the 'Te Igitur' and many good head pieces and borders with dotted background, in the French style, with horizontal and side pieces. Another fine missal by Pynson was produced in 1504. The printer succeeded William Faques as Royal Printer in 1508. He published another handsome missal in 1512. It was the last edition printed in London for forty-three years.

#### THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND HENRY VIII

For imperialistic, dynastic and personal reasons, impossible to discuss here, King Henry VIII determined to repudiate his Queen Katharine. In 1527, this, the King's 'great matter', had become urgent. Henry was prepared, if need be, to abrogate any law, ecclesiastical or civil, in order to marry Anne, sister of his former mistress, Mary Boleyn. As he saw it, the need would arise were the Pope to decide that Henry's marriage to Katharine was valid. Henry's answer was that he alone would be master in his own country and that in every matter, sacred as well as secular, he and not the Bishop of Rome had jurisdiction over England and over all its estates. The Convocation of Canterbury was compelled to accept Henry VIII as 'Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England' on 11 February 1531. York, like Canterbury, allowed silence to be construed as agreement. Together they paid £120,000 in fines. Thus ceased the existence of the 'Church in England' and began to exist a 'Church of England'. In 1532, Parliament, under Henry's pressure, enacted a bill concerning payments

to Rome that referred in its preamble to 'that part of the said body politick called the Spiritualitie, now usually called the English Church'. Two years later the Act of Supremacy provided that 'The King our Sovereign Lord shall be taken accepted and reputed the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England'. In 1532 Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died and Thomas Cranmer was appointed. In January 1533, the King married Anne, the marriage being declared null and void by Rome a few months later. On 11 July 1533 the Pope excommunicated Henry. In September Elizabeth was born. In Rome on 23 March 1534 the Pope declared that the marriage of Henry to Katharine was valid. In Westminster the Act of Succession was passed on the same day. Logically enough the Act of Supremacy followed in June 1534. The King had decided that he was 'the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, called "Ecclesia Anglicana".' What else the King was minded to do was unknown; but that he meant business was proved to all in 1535, when he cut off the heads of St John Fisher and St Thomas More on 22 June and 6 July respectively.

The Act of Supremacy had merged in one royal and national institution the two Provinces of Canterbury and York and placed that single body under Henry's direct and sole jurisdiction. It was not then clearly seen what, if any, doctrinal changes would be required or how far the existing service-books would need to be altered. The Reformation that was taking place was vaster than anybody realized. Among the immediate consequences of the Act of Supremacy was the injunction of 1539 whereby a Bible in English was to be set up in every Church. In 1542, Cranmer forced Convocation to amend service-books and thus the first Church of England service-book came into existence.

#### THE ENGLISH RITE

The original liturgical book of the English Rite was a breviary in Latin: *Portiforium secundum usum Sarum noviter impressum et plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano pontifici falso adscriptum omittitur, una cum aliis que Christianissimo nostri Regis*

*Statuto repugnant.* It was printed in two volumes by Edward Whitchurch in London, 1541, and there was another edition in 1543. The language, the form and the matter were traditional enough. What was new and English was the deletion of any reference to the name, position or existence of any Pope. The printers, Whitchurch and Grafton, were soon given the royal privilege to print all the service-books of the country. It was their exclusive right. They probably paid a good round sum for their privilege, which was assignable.

Henry's privilege to Whitchurch and Grafton was dated 28 January 1543. It was, incidentally, an essay in tariff reform. The patent recites that 'where in tyme past it hath been usually accustomed; that theis bookes of divine service, that is to say, the masse-book, the antyphoner, the himptuall, the porteaus and the prymer, both in Latyn and in Englyshe of Sarum use, for the province of Canterbury, have been printed by Strangiers in other and strange countreys, partly to the great losse and hindrance of our subjectes, who both have the sufficient arte, feate, and treade of Printing, and by imprinting such bookes myght profitably and to thuse of the commonwelthe be set on worke, and partly to the setting forthe of the bysshop of Rome's usurped authoritie ... We of our Grace especiall have granted and given privilege to our wel-biloved subjects, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, citizeins of London, that they and their assignes, and noon other persons...have liberty to prynte the bookes abovesaid.' The 'usus', it must be observed, which the *Portiforium* of 1541-1543 claimed to represent, was still 'secundum Sarum'. It was rather a royal, national, English use, the first instalment of measures toward one kingdom, one prayer. The idea of a national use was not new. A generation earlier William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, had persuaded James IV of Scotland to encourage two Edinburgh booksellers, Chapman and Millar, to purchase from France the printing equipment necessary for the production in Scotland of a national Scottish Use. The patent granted to the two printers in 1507 is clear on the point: '...it is divisit and thocht expedient be us and our

Consall, that in tyme cuming Mess bukis, Manualis, Matyne bukis and Portuus bukis, efter our awin Scottis Use and with legendis of Scottis sanctis as is now gaderit and ekit be ane Reverend father in God, and our traist consalour William Bishop of Aberdene and utheris, be usit generaly uithin al our Realme allsone as the sammyn may be imprentit and providit and that na maner of sic bukis of Salisbury Use be brocht to be sauld uithin our Realme in tyme cuming.' The first Scottish Breviary came out in 1509. It was, according to the colophon, designed to serve 'non solum ad ecclesiae Aberdonensis verumeciam ad tocius ecclesiae scotticanae usum'. This was thirty-three years before the appearance of Henry VIII's *Portiforium*. What was new in Henry's book was the suppression of all reference to the Pope's jurisdiction or even existence. Other significant English innovations quickly followed.

In 1542 Cranmer informed Convocation that it was the King's will that the service-books be further reformed, and a committee was appointed to make more radical suggestions. It was further ordained that old mass-books, antiphoners and grayles existing in the Church of England should be newly corrected, reformed and castigated from all mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, from apocrypha, legends, orations, collects, versicles and responses. Next that the names of Saints not mentioned in Scripture, or authentical doctors, be abolished. In 1544, as an instalment towards radical revision, a Litany in English was brought out. The enthusiasm in the country for these measures may be judged from the enactment of seven years later when absolute destruction of all the old books was ordered. There were to be 'abolished' and 'extinguished' all Antiphoners, Processionals, Missals, Grayles, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Diurnals and Ordinals. The new editions of all these was retarded by political causes and a series of new Prymers ended in a conservative text which restored the Office for the Dead. A volume of *Devout* (English) *Prayers and Collects* for private devotion was published in 1547. Cranmer at this time was still busy with a revision of the Breviary and a Processional, the drafts of which were dis-

covered by Edmund Bishop in 1888. They never reached the printer.

#### THE 'ORDER OF THE COMMUNION', 1548

Henry died in January 1547 and was succeeded on 28 January by Edward VI, who was a minor. The reforming party, led by the Lord Protector Somerset, had ready a programme of far-reaching liturgical innovations. Somerset, the builder of Somerset House with the revenues and stones from suppressed and desecrated churches, was one of the leaders of the ambitious new rich class, interested in the subjection of the spirituality to the temporality, that is, incidentally to his own class. Compline in English was sung in the Royal Chapel on 11 April, and the authority of the episcopate invaded by a royal edict ordering the reading of homilies every Sunday. Royal visitations, also appointed by the edict, suppressed the Hours of our Lady and certain Hours from the Office of the Dead. In November English was introduced into the mass, the 'Gloria', 'Credo' and 'Agnus Dei' being so sung. Next, communion in both kinds was ordered. This restoration, or innovation as it then seemed, naturally set before the reformers the task of drafting the necessary words and rubrics. The *Order of the Communion*, a thin quarto, was completed by Richard Grafton and dated London, 1548, on 'the eyght daye of Marche', that is, in time to be ready by Easter. The text embodied English devotions of no great novelty. But the Royal Council, headed by the Protector Somerset, did not intend to halt here the work of revision. The lighting of candles on Candlemas, the imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the carrying of palms on Palm Sunday, of kneeling to the Cross on Good Friday, were among the ceremonies that were to be abolished. These suppressions were followed by an order to destroy all images in any church or chapel. Matins, mass and evensong entirely in English were sung at St Paul's in May 1548. On 4 September the Protector instructed the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses of the University of Cambridge to follow the use of the Royal Chapel, 'until such time as an order be taken and prescribed by



his Highness to be universally kept throughout the whole realm'.

THE 'BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER', FIRST EDITION, 1549

The Act of Uniformity, thus promised, was carried at the end of January 1549, and the first edition of *The booke of the common prayer and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the use of the Churche of England*, was completed by Edward Whitchurch, '[Die vij] mense Martii' and by Richard Grafton 'the viii daye of Marche', 1549. The word 'common' distinguished the prayers from those said in private. It was, in the circumstances, a well-drafted title, leaving aside any hard and fast definitions, for example, of the 'Churche'. What Cranmer himself believed is evident from his project to convene a 'godly synod' in London who, with Melanchthon, Bucer and John à Lasco, should together draw up the Liturgy to be adopted by all the Protestant Churches of Europe. A Great Protestant International would be the answer to the Council of Trent in session since 1545. Cranmer was the man to make the compromises necessary to such an end. However, Melanchthon could not come and the synod was not held. Much correspondence between Cranmer and the Reformers resulted. Melanchthon, who evidently knew Cranmer, exhorted him to remember that 'in the Church it is more proper to call a spade a spade than to throw ambiguous expressions before posterity'. But Cranmer had to get his *Booke* published. Among other editions that were rushed out was one printed 'Wigorniae in officina Ioannis Oswaeni, mense Julii'. This printer had the patent for printing books in Welsh but he was not a Welshman and printed only Melanchthon and Calvin in Latin. Oswen's edition, though in English, was intended for the population of Wales, who could not read the language. In 1551 an edition, also in English, was published in Dublin by Humphrey Powell for the benefit of the Irish, who also could not read the language. It was intended that they should learn it. A principal object of the policy behind the Act of Uniformity was the unification of the realm, its people

and their language. Henry VIII's act of 1536 compelled the Welsh to give up their language. The English, Cornish, Welsh and Irish were all, clergy and laity, to pray publicly in one way from one book. Before the Reformation the people, as a whole, had hardly followed the liturgy word for word. Henceforth every inducement to do so would be given them. As for singing, they should have the psalms, for Cranmer was no hand at turning Latin hymns into English that was singable; no hymns to be sung at the daily or Sunday services have ever appeared in what was known to later generations as 'our incomparable liturgy'.

The new substitute for the old range of liturgical books was designed to be a light burden on the parish funds. A *Manuale* and *Processionale* would together cost seven shillings. They would not be wanted. The old *Missale* cost more than double. The *Book of Common Prayer* was printed in black only, on cheap paper, at a cheap price. 'The King's maiestie', read the promulgation, 'strictly chargeth and commandeth that no manner of person do sell the present booke unbounde above the price of ii shyllinge and ii pence the piece. And the same booke in paste or in boardes not above the price of three shillings and VIII pence the piece.' It was, indeed, very necessary for service-books to be cheap if parishes were to afford such costly things as the English Bible, a desk to put it on and a chain to keep it there. Also the revenues of the bishoprics were being reduced for the enrichment of Somerset and his class. They took rich deaneries unto themselves, too. The whole 'spiritualitie' was now enslaved to the 'temporalitie'. Such measures were not popular. Nor was the campaign in favour of the English language as popular as might have been expected. The Irish and Welsh were not keen upon using one language, not their own, for the one new service. The many revolts against the new book, in Cornwall, Devon and elsewhere, were more or less easily suppressed—save in Ireland, which was never 'gleichgeschaltet'. Yet even in England in 1549 it was once more necessary to order the defacing or destruction of all the old church-books, lest 'the keeping whereof should be a let to the usage of the said Boke of Commenne Prayers'.

Additions to the English rite were in preparation. In March 1549 Grafton printed a new pontifical (or rather an extract): *The forme and maner of makyng and consecratyng Archebishoppes, Bishoppes, Priestes and Deacons*. A new choir-book appeared in 1550: *The Book of Common Praier, noted* (by John Merbecke) which 'conteyned so much of the Order of Common prayer as is to be song in Churches'. A new *Psalterium* came out entitled *Psalter or Psalms of David, corrected and poynced as thei shal be song in Churches after the translacion of the greate Bible*. It was intended to serve as some sort of *Directorium*, since it included 'all that shall apperteigne to the clerkes to saie or syng'. A second edition of this compendium of extracts from the Missal, Kalendar, Breviary, Manual, Psalter and Pontifical was published in 1552. Its title-page then read *The Boke of common prayer, and administration of the Sacramentes and other rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande*. The book was backed solely by the Authority of Parliament which enacted that it should come into use on 1 November 1552. The second Act of Uniformity enforcing the book recited its merits and lamented that notwithstanding these, 'a great number of people in divers parts of this realm following their own sensuality' abstained and refused to come to their parish churches for the common prayer. Compulsion under pain of ecclesiastical censures was announced.

There were important changes. The new Act of Uniformity said that there had arisen, 'in the use and exercise of the foresaid common service in the Church heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same'. What had happened was that the papists, taking advantage of Cranmer's newly drafted rubrics, interpolated the Holy Communion with prayers from the Missal and conducted the service almost as though no change had taken place. This sort of thing was going on regularly at St Paul's Cathedral under the nose of Ridley, the Reforming Bishop of London. Parish priests all over the country were celebrating the mass, 'commonly called

the Holy Communion', but not the Holy Communion commonly called the 'mass' as statute required. Now Cranmer had to 'call a spade a spade'. He took Bucer's advice against the 'never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated-mass'. Bucer was a Strassburg reformer of the thorough-going type who was given the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. The word 'mass' was everywhere removed in favour of 'holy communion'; 'altar' was called 'holy table'. Altars were removed and tables substituted in a different position. Prayers in the communion service that had followed the arrangement of the Latin rite were rearranged and edited. Prayers for the dead were expunged. At last it was quite impossible for papists or anybody else to pretend any longer that the Holy Communion was the mass. The *Boke* continued in use until the boy-King died on 6 July 1553. His funeral was conducted by Cranmer according to its provisions.

#### A CATHOLIC QUEEN

The new sovereign, Queen Mary, was the issue of the marriage of Henry VIII and Queen Katharine of Aragon. She had perforce remained faithful to the old religion. Nobody, let alone a queen, can easily pronounce herself a bastard. With her authorization, Gardiner, of Winchester, celebrated for Edward VI a Latin requiem mass according to the Sarum use. In parish churches both Latin and English formularies were used simultaneously for some months. But in the autumn an Act repealed all the late enactments regarding the Pope and his religion. It was excepted that an English lesson be read at Matins and Evensong on Sundays and holidays and that the English Litany of 1544 (it had been familiar in the vernacular Prymers current before Henry VIII's time) should remain in use. With this exception the country returned to the use of the old books. In effect these appear to have been mainly of Sarum use, which may then have come to be regarded as the national use of the Church of England as absolved by Cardinal Pole and reconciled to Rome. No York Missal or Manual was printed during the reign of Mary; and unless we are to believe, which may be possible, that no appreciable number

of York Missals was in fact destroyed by the orders issued during Edward's reign, we are forced to conclude that the Breviary of Sarum use was adopted in most places. A York *Processionale* was printed by Kingston and Sutton in 1555; the two principal uses therefore may be said to have been countenanced by Mary and Pole. Cranmer was executed in 1556; his effort was revolutionary: to make the matter and form of the sacraments and the design and detail of Christian worship intelligible to the greatest number of the English nation. The idea and its execution were rooted rather in will than in what we call 'scholarship'. Anyhow, revision from the historical point of view was out of the question in his case and in his time. Such respect as men were prepared to give any religious documents was purely pragmatic. Zwingli had an elementary notion of the value of early liturgical MSS.; but generally speaking, there was very little documentation on the subject of liturgical history available. Luther's antagonist, Johann Cochlaeus, had brought out his *Speculum antiquae devotionis* at Mainz in 1549. The book collected the treatises on the mass of Amalarius of Metz, Honorius of Autun and others.

From the beginning of the Middle Ages, say St Gregory's time, liturgy had been accepted as something alive and vital. Passages of prose and verse were adopted and adapted into the public service with complete freedom. Only in Rome was stress laid on the past. But even Rome accepted novelties in the course of time and under pressure. Liturgical liberalism was the rule. In this respect Luther was a medievalist. His *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 was a vernacular translation of the Roman rite and he expressly recommended the different portions of the Lutheran Church to make such adaptations in it as they might find convenient. This was the standpoint of St Gregory's answer to St Augustine's question concerning the liturgy to be drawn up for the Kentish converts. In the Middle Ages neither the priest nor the people who assisted in public worship were aware that they were using forms which were 'historic' or 'classical'. Bishops had the right and liberty to suit themselves in matters of detail. Cranmer took the leading ecclesiastical hand in reversing this medieval

individualism. What centuries of Christian experience, the decrees of councils and canon law had put into the liturgy, he took out; in the place of freedom as to detail he provided strict uniformity. It was all done upon the scantiest knowledge. Such documents as he had before him consisted of the Sarum and York books, the several *Kirchenordnungen* issued by the German Reformed communities, books of, or extracts from, Greek liturgies and, apparently, from the Mozarabic liturgy. But Cranmer's work was done before 'liturgiology' or 'liturgics' had been invented. Cranmer showed courage here.

The word liturgy, as a description of a service in church, is as old at least as St Clement's letter to Corinth (*ca.* 96), but it does not occur in the Latin middle ages. No such word as *liturgia* is to be found in Du Cange or in the 'Medieval Latin Word-List' prepared under the direction of the British Academy (Oxford, 1934). It seems to have gone out with the knowledge of Greek and only to have come back with the Renaissance. In 1558 there appeared from the press of Arnold Brinckman at Cologne a thin 16mo of a hundred pages or so in which a Flemish humanist George Cassander (1513-66) assembled texts concerning the Eucharistic service collected from scripture, the fathers, the decrees of early councils, the old Roman 'ordines' and the medieval writers which illustrated the development of the mass. Cassander was a Catholic eirenist. His aim was to bring Catholics and Protestants together by showing both the antiquity and beauty of the liturgy. His book, in effect, was a repertorium of sources and a bibliography; it was entitled *Liturgica. De Ritu et Ordine Dominicæ Coenæ Celebrandæ, quam celebrationem Graeci Liturgiam, Latini Missam appellant, ex variis monumentis et probatis scriptoribus collecta*. He also brought out studies on hymns (1556) and collects (1560). Cassander deserves to be remembered as the first to establish the study of 'Liturgics' on a scholarly basis. The English word 'liturgy' became familiar in the next century and the word 'liturgiology' not until the nineteenth century when J. M. Neale used it in the title of his *Essays* published in 1863.

Cassander was followed by Claude de Sainctes, Bishop of

Evreux, who brought out the first collection of Eastern liturgies. His *Liturgiae sive missae sanctorum patrum* was published at Antwerp in 1562. A work that would have been of the greatest interest and service to Cranmer, could he have seen it, was the Fleming James de Pamèle's (Jacobus Pamelius) *Liturgica Latinorum*. This work provides texts of the old Roman, Ambrosian and Mozarabic liturgies. Notably, the learned Canon of Brussels and later Bishop of St Omer prints a transcript of the Gregorian Sacramentary he had made from MSS. he had traced at Cologne, Ghent and Utrecht. The contributions of Pamelius (1536-87) were of the greatest importance; with those of Cassander who was his countryman and correspondent, they initiated modern liturgical scholarship. The first edition of *Liturgica* was published at Cologne in 1571, a score of years after work had been finished on the *Book of Common Prayer* by Cranmer.

Cranmer was still alive when Queen Mary's initial act of repeal was passed in 1553. It restored 'all such divine service and administration of the sacraments as were most commonly used in the realm of England in the last year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII' and no persons were any longer to be impeached for 'using of the old divine service'. Thus was restored the liturgical *status quo* of 1547. In 1554 the Queen's injunctions to the Bishops required that 'all manner of processions be used frequented and continued after the old order of the Church in the Latin tongue'. Article 17 required examination to be made of 'all school masters and teachers of children' and, if they were 'suspect in anywise', the officials were 'to remove them and place Catholic men in their rooms'. The word 'Catholic' is now first regularly used in Episcopal injunctions. Bonner's 1554 articles for the Diocese of London enquire for particulars of those 'ordained schismatically, and contrary to the old order and custom of the Catholic Church'. The adjective 'Catholic' in English must have struck Mary's generation of laymen as a novel description of their religion. The Latin word was familiar in the Nicene creed at mass and it was known in the English of the Apostles Creed which was frequently included in the appendix



of the *Prymer*. To civil and canon lawyers it had been known in England since the eighth century. Prayer 'pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica' occurs in the oldest extant mass-books; to theologians it meant orthodox and authoritative in the sense common to Western Christendom. That is also what Cardinal Pole meant by the word. It is safe to say that the overwhelming majority of Europeans still think that the adjective 'Catholic' describes that which is orthodox and authoritative in the West. There is no doubt that was what Mary meant and intended. She was bent on reviving the old religion, including the old books. Article 55 of Bonner's articles of 1554 asks whether the things underwritten (which are to be found at the cost of the parishioners) be in the church: it is to wit, a legend, an antiphoner, a grail, a psalter, an ordinal to say or solemnize divine office, a missal, a manual, a processional. Mary's act of repeal of 1554 restored the ecclesiastical *status quo* of 1539.

In consequence the liturgical books were corrected. Bonner's instructions of 1542 to the Archdeacons of the Diocese of London to 'provide and see, that in all missals, portasses, and other ecclesiastical books used for service in the Church, the Pope's name be restored and placed again in every one of them as they were wont to be, and likewise the name of the blessed martyr St Thomas of Canterbury...'. The restoration applied also to the old ceremonial, as may be seen from Bonner's instructions (1555) to the Dean of his cathedral that the medieval *Usus Sancti Pauli* was in future to be followed. On Saint Andrew's day, throughout the country, a solemn procession was ordered by the Act of 1554 to be kept 'for a remembrance and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the reconciliation of this Church of England from schism to the unity of the Catholic Church and to the Pope's Holiness, Christ's General Vicar and Supreme Head of the same Church on Earth'. The form of words was due to Cardinal Pole. The proper of mass for the day of remembrance includes the special and explicit collect:

Deus qui hoc regnum a catholicae ecclesiae unitate et obedientia  
Satanac malitia alienatum ad eandem sub Philippo et Maria regibus

per Romani pontificis et Sedis Apostolicae legatum totius regni consensu singulari benignitatis tuae privilegio venerasti: concede quaesumus; ut tanti beneficii semper memores in verae religionis cultu et Catholicae Ecclesiae unitate atque obedientia te protegente constanter perseveremus, utque reliqui populi qui ab ea recesserunt ad eandem nostro exemplo revertantur. Per Dominum.

The 'Catholics', it would seem, had now gained the upper hand. They produced a number of handsome service-books in London, although it has to be admitted that the Paris and Rouen editions were superior. A particularly interesting edition, with illustrations, or, as the French called them, 'histoires', is the Paris *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarisburiensis nunc recens typis elegantioribus exaratum, historijs novis, varijs ac proprijs insignitum*: printed 1555 in folio by Jean Amazeur for Guillaume Merlin. It contains a large cut of the Mass of St Gregory at the First Sunday in Advent; a very considerable number, with some repeats, of small, column-width blocks illustrating the gospel for Sundays and principal feasts; smaller, half-column cuts at the head of lesser feasts. There are two full pages at the Canon. The Radcliffe copy of this missal was in use at Canterbury in Cardinal Pole's time, as witness the inscription on the title-page: 'Hic liber pertinet ad summum altarem in ecclesia Christi Cantuariae.' The same Paris printer and publisher was responsible for one of the last breviaries printed for the English trade: *Portiforium seu Breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum: nuper summa diligentia emendatum*, of 1556. There is a copy in the Radcliffe Library. It came out either immediately preceding or following the printing in London of John Kingston and Henry Sutton's *Portiforium seu Breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum: accuratissime castigatum, cum multis annotatiunculis ac litteris Alphabeticis, Evangeliorum et Epistolarum*. Both were handsome quartos.

An interesting but barren development occurred in the Marian *Prymer*, i.e. the 'extra-liturgical' book already noted (see p. 33). The Radcliffe Library possesses a copy of *An Uniform and Catholick Prymer in latin and english with many godly and devout prayers newly set forth by certain of the clergy with the assent of the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole his grace*. The book was

printed by John Wayland in 1555 and the description 'Catholick' in the title used to distinguish it from the reformed primers. The word 'Catholick' undoubtedly meant just that in 1555. Pole's *Catholick Prymer* printed a larger number of vernacular prayers than any earlier editions. The title word 'Uniform' clearly points to the existence of a plan of some sort to standardize religious education, but nothing more seems to have been done at the time. Prymers of York use continued to be printed in London and imported from abroad. Sarum Prymers predominated. A fine specimen, also printed by Wayland in 1555, is *The Prymer in Latin and Englishe after the use of Sarum*. The large and handsome titling type here used to head the front page and sectional pages is of curious typographical interest: it is identical with the historic type used by Schönsperger of Augsburg for the magnificent *Liber Horarum* he printed in 1513 for the Emperor Maximilian.

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE LATIN RITE, 1558

The last printed English Hours, the *Prymer in English and Latin after Salisbury use: set out at length with manye Godly prayers and goodly pictures, etc.*, was a 16mo printed by the assigns of John Wayland, London, 1558, the 10th of August. The last London editions of the *Manuale* were those of Kingston and Sutton and of Thomas Raynalde, both of 1555. The clergy at that time were still using editions of the *Antiphonale* printed not later than 1520, a *Graduale* not later than that of 1532 and a *Festivale* of the same year. The very last liturgical book of the Latin rite set up in England was the *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis nunc recens typis elegantioribus exaratum* completed by John Day in 1557. In 1558 Queen Mary died, on 17 November; so also did Cardinal Pole. The Catholics forthwith lost the upper hand.

#### THE 'BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER', THIRD EDITION, 1559

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne she, as the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, promptly repudiated the authority of the Pope and re-established Cranmer's book.

The *Book of Common Prayer* had not, in fact, died with

Edward VI. During Queen Mary's reign the exiles at Frankfort, Strassburg, Zürich, and elsewhere, continued to use the book which had been legally in use in England from 1 November 1552 until the death of the King, nine months later. Disputes at Frankfort led in 1555 to the drafting of a compromise liturgy. The exiles formed the more radical wing of the anti-Catholic movement. Their cause was forwarded by William Cecil, author, it is not doubted, of a certain 'Device for the Alteration of Religion'. This business-like document was a programme for the putting down of the 'papist sect'. Of the Committee of eight, appointed by Elizabeth to decide the form of her edition of the Book of Common Prayer, four were exiles. Cecil's 'Device' was difficult to put through. The Government failed to pass its bill through the Lords in March. In April they succeeded, narrowly. The house, of less than fifty members, passed the Bill by the small majority of three. Not one spiritual peer voted for it or for the Prayer-Book. The new edition was virtually identical with that of 1552. The Act of Uniformity legalizing it repealed the former Acts passed by Queen Mary 'to the great decay of the due honour of God and discomfort to the professors of the truth of Christ's religion'. As in the first Act of Uniformity (of 1549) the penalties upon any Parson or Vicar using any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form or Manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper, openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, Administration of the Sacrament, etc. or derogate or deprave the 'said book', were the loss of his benefice and six months' imprisonment for the first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second offence and imprisonment for life for the third offence. It was enacted that 'the books concerning the said service shall, at the costs and charges of the parishioners, of every parish, be attained and gotten before the Feast of the nativity of St John Baptist' 1559. A compromise of feeling was sought. The Queen's 'injunctions' of the same year expressed the desire 'that her people should live in charity towards God and man' and that she willed and 'straitly commands all manner her subjects to forbear all vain and contentious disputations in matters of religion, and not to use in despite or rebuke

of any person those convitious words, "papist", or "papistically heretick", "schismatic", or "sacramentary" or any such like word as reproach'. The Church was defined authoritatively. The Royal Injunction thus tackled the 'Catholic Church': 'Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Church of England and Ireland.' The definition was doubtless drafted with a view to encouraging the Catholics. So much is clear if Elizabeth's form is compared with Edward VI's promulgated in 1547: 'You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's Church, and especially etc.' But the order in the identical Injunction to root up monuments of superstition made it obvious that Elizabeth's introduction of the word 'Catholic' was equivocal. It certainly did not bear the meaning given to it in Mary's time, rather the opposite. The 'old' practice was superstition according to the new Act of Uniformity. And as the Act was strictly enforced it was found that the 'Catholic men' in many parts of the country were very slow to give up the 'old service'. Years later the Queen's commissioners, travelling through the land for the express purpose of securing uniformity and to put down disturbances, found the old service-books still esteemed. In 1566 Parker visited All Souls College, Oxford, and ordered the destruction of all their old service-books as being, like shrines and stained glass windows, also to be destroyed, the 'monuments of superstition'. An inventory of 'monuments of superstition', drawn up in 1567 by the Commissioners of the Diocese of Lincoln, testifies to the hunt and destruction of 'papistically books, mass-books, processioners, manuels, portes, latten books, and legends and such fayned fables, grailes, couchers, antiphoners, hymnalles and all such peltrie of the Pope's sinful service'. Such thorough action marked the end of all the service-books which had 'remained in the Church since the death of the late Quene marye'. The scattered Catholic communities who continued to use, privily, the old rite were henceforth legally known by the Lutheran appellation of 'Papists' or 'Popish Recusants'.

A second body, inspired by the theologians of Frankfort, Zürich, Geneva and Amsterdam, also refused the Elizabethan service. The danger to herself of sects that denied to civil magistrates any share in ecclesiastical power was obvious to Elizabeth. It was the last thing Henry VIII, Edward VI or Queen Elizabeth could tolerate. Their idea was to organize a national religion as a buttress for national politics, in particular to make it independent of Spain or its ally and dependent, the Papacy; to claim religious obedience to themselves as directly appointed by God over Church and nation. The scriptural doctrine of the 'priesthood of the laity' sounded well enough to Henry VIII and Edward VI when it struck at the root of clerical privilege. But the Independent claim that all true Christians were not only priests, but kings, sounded ill to Elizabeth's ears. Moreover, Fr. Diego Laynez, S.J., the leader of the Society of Jesus at the Council of Trent, reaffirmed the principle that all power sprang from the people. He added that even if power be distributed among the officers of the State the people did not thereby deprive itself of sovereignty. Could the people take back what the people had given? These were, indeed, new ideas and questions. The English, who since the coming of St Augustine had been willing to take their religion from their monarchs, were showing signs of throwing off that authority; and, upon the basis of an 'open' Bible, claiming to discover for themselves the truths of religion. The Independents were numerous and ardent. Their refusal of the royal right to ordain and compel the form of public prayer accorded with their judgement of the tenor of scripture, their right to interpret it and their duty to obey only kings who correctly interpreted it. Thus was asserted a principle that led, in due time, to the establishment of Parliamentary democracy and, later, to a severe modification of the royal prerogatives concerning the Established Church and the *Book of Common Prayer*; also to the right of Parliament to a veto upon changes. But Elizabeth would nip all this in the bud. Her plans for the standardization of worship throughout the country were, despite the opposition, not to be abandoned. She proceeded to coerce, by fining and imprisonment,

all objectors whatsoever. Civil magistrates were sent round the country to see that the *Book of Common Prayer* was used and frequented in the cathedrals and churches as the law directed. The opposition, divided as it was between conservative and radical extremes which could never meet, was, if not suppressed, at least deprived of political power. The position of the royal religion and the royal Church seemed assured; Elizabeth's edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* continued in use without change from May 1559 to March 1603, when the Queen died. The Royal Reformation, it seemed, had triumphed. The Catholics had lost much and gained nothing from Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570. Thereby they became traitors to the Queen's Majesty. But there remained the opposition which was not papist and which, though driven underground, had by no means been suppressed. On the contrary. At the Queen's death, the monarchy which had weakened the Church in order to strengthen itself and the subservient aristocracy possessed of ecclesiastical property were both strongly menaced by independency. The Independents were not aristocrats; they represented the middle class. The Papists represented no distinct class and, though numerous, were completely ineffective.

#### JAMES I, 1603

It was inevitable that appeal should be made to the authority to which the new King, his Council and his Church themselves appealed as against Popery. It was inevitable too that the monarch, claiming to be Supreme Head, or Supreme Governor, should demand to be accepted as being the appointee of Almighty God. James's idea, following his self-interest and his divine duty, was to protect himself by protecting the royal Church. 'Being by God's Ordinance', he gave out in the Canons of 1603, 'according to Our just Title, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of the Church, within these Our Dominions, We hold it most agreeable to this Our Kingly Office, and Our own religious Zeal to conserve and maintain the Church committed to Our Charge'. So the nation was instructed by their Scots king,



who had little knowledge of the English and no intention of abating his own prejudices for their benefit. As the Independents could not discover any 'Divine Right' in Scripture, they held firmly to the principle of separating Church from State, religion from politics. This again was new. If conditions should bring success to such a doctrine, a revolution would result. The Tudor Reformation, it would be said, had been the mere manipulation of reformed ideas, devised in order to transfer the papal prerogatives to the Tudor monarchy, a pretext for the confiscation of monastic property, and a means for the complete amalgamation of spiritual with national policy. James attempted to counter such possibility of revolt with his Divine Right of Kings, his Royal Church and a new enactment of the Common Prayer. The proclamation of James authorizing the Book is dated January 1604. It expressed disappointment with the result of the Conference at Hampton Court between the Bishops 'and those that dissented' from 'the state of religion here established'. Conformity from all was enjoined. The Proclamation concluded by recognizing 'how necessary it is to use constancy in the upholding of the public determinations of states'. The Prayer-Book would stand, said James. His doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, and his favourite text, 'no Bishop, no King', comprised James's complete faith. In that faith he died on 27 March 1625.

With the reign of Charles I there began the first stage of a decisive struggle between the monarchy and the people of England for authority—alike over religion and policy. Charles I ascended the throne with ideas of kingship that were no whit less exalted than his father's. It remained to be seen whether the mass of politically mature and effective Englishmen in the mid-seventeenth century would be as ready as their forefathers to take their religion from their King and cease controversy upon it at his order; or whether, following the Scots, they would diminish the power, religious and civil, of the monarch by destroying his system of Church Government and his *Book of Common Prayer* as the sole form of public worship. The Stuart attitude towards Puritanism was exactly that of Elizabeth, and

Charles I, like his father, believed in the maxim, 'no Bishop, no King'. The English Puritans were not minded to reject either part of this challenge. They had long been waiting to contest the Elizabethan settlement. The House of Commons, less interested in religion or theological controversy than in the limitation of the episcopal and royal privilege, was on their side. Late in 1641, Charles was forced to consent to a bill excluding bishops from the House of Lords. On 8 April 1642 there was published a declaration that 'The Lords and Commons do declare that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the Church'. The King was at York. On 22 August he raised his standard at Nottingham. His 'war aims' included the affirmation that 'nothing but the preservation of the true Protestant religion, invaded by Romanism, Anabaptism and Libertinism, &c.' could induce him to 'take up defensive arms'. The King's army was furnished with a *Soldiers' Prayer Book*, a manual based upon the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Parliamentarians naturally sought the aid of the Scots. Their price was the advance of Presbyterianism. In January 1643 the abolition of Episcopacy was voted by both Houses. Six months later the Westminster Assembly of Godly and Learned Divines wrestled with the task of revising the beliefs of English Christians. The Scots joined in. The Solemn League and Covenant against Episcopacy implied a movement towards the assimilation of the ecclesiastical systems of Scotland and England. Early in 1644 both Houses of Parliament subscribed to the Covenant, and in October the Westminster Assembly approved the issue of a *Directory for the Publike Worship of God*, throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. It enjoined orders of service without prescribing fixed forms; it was not a liturgical book.

SUPPRESSION OF THE 'BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER', 1645  
Archbishop Laud, as the chief agent of Charles and his Church, was brought to trial in March 1644. He avowed he was as innocent of any thought to blemish 'the true Protestant religion as established in the Church of England, as I was when my mother

first bare me into the world'. But the Lords passed Laud's attainder and on the very day that they accepted the *Directory*. Archbishop Laud and the *Book of Common Prayer* were sentenced on the same day. Once again the clergy felt obliged to dissemble. They made shift with abbreviations and interpolations so that the Prayer-Book service was said without its appearing to be said. And Laud was buried according to the Prayer-Book service.

The execution was the starting-point of a peace move. But Charles would not agree to abandon Episcopacy, nor the Scots to accept it. 'Let my condition be never so low'; then said Charles, 'I resolve, by the grace of God, never to yield up this Church to the Government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents.' Nevertheless, his situation later was such that he was glad, with the support of the Bishops of London and Salisbury, to engage himself to establish Presbyterianism for a period of five years. This curious undertaking was offered if the other side would agree to the return in due time of a 'regulated episcopacy'. Charles later suggested the establishment of Presbyterianism for a period of three years. The Cromwellian army began to lose patience with this man who was, in their view, only the Chief Officer of the State. On 30 January 1649 he was executed. He was buried by the Bishop of London, according to the order in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The public use of the book was illegal; all public worship in England was Presbyterian, and the repressive methods applied to dissenters by Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth were now applied to those remaining faithful to the *Book of Common Prayer*. But Cromwell having executed the King could take to himself the monarch's ecclesiastical position. There would be an end to faction. This may not have been a Stuart or Presbyterian solution, but it was a Tudor or totalitarian one and it would be imposed. The Protector ordered on 24 November 1655 that, as from 1 January 1656, no ejected clergyman should teach privately or use privately the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Papists had been dealt with earlier. Two-thirds of their property was expropriated for the benefit of a fund to

provide stipends for preachers of the pure gospel. The strong man died in 1658, one hundred years after the accession of Elizabeth and what seemed to be the finally successful imposition of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

NEW EDITION OF THE 'BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER', 1662

The Restoration under Charles II in 1660 gave the English another change in religious authority and practice. After he was proclaimed King on 8 May 1660, an Act was duly passed which reinstated all the clergy deprived during the Commonwealth. Charles's restoration of the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* followed, and with it a number of concessions to the Puritans in the spirit of his declaration of tolerance made at Breda before he set sail for home. The King, in an effort toward unifying the country, established a Royal Commission of twelve state bishops and twelve independent anti-state divines, with authority to advise upon a revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The object was to settle the religious dispute between Protestants on terms agreeable to both parties. As it turned out, the objections of the Puritans were overruled. On 19 May 1662, a new Act of Uniformity, which in fact marked the final break up of religious unity in England, imposed the revised book. This is the text which with few changes forms the authorized *Book of Common Prayer* to-day. In the light of subsequent experience, the act and the text symbolised capital errors of judgement. The royal Church forfeited a national position when it failed to include dissenters either by persuasion or persecution.

JAMES II, 1685

A quarter of a century later there was a chance that the *Book of Common Prayer* would be suppressed for a second time: this time in favour of the Latin rite. The 'Revolution' of 1688 was the consequence of the rejection by Parliament of James II's plan to repeat Queen Mary's act of restoring the old religion. The time had gone by for the English again to change their religion at the bidding of a monarch. James's plan, so far as it affected

the printing of liturgical books, will be noticed presently. The English rite was strengthened by the 'Revolution', but the circumstances gave the book a slightly different position. The new King and Supreme Head of the Church of England, William, Prince of Orange, was a Dutch Calvinistic Presbyterian. He confirmed the Parliamentary policy of toleration for Protestants. This was the end of the Tudor conception of one folk, one prayer. A number of Anglicans, regarding themselves as bound by their oath to King James II, declined to take the oath of Allegiance to King William. Upon being deprived they formed the community known as the Non-Jurors. Their existence, too, was tolerated. Most of them used the Prayer-Book of 1662 reprinted by James II, though some preferred the first book of Edward VI. In 1718 the body printed its own liturgical book, arranged by Jeremy Collier: *A Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the first English reformed Common Prayer Book: together with offices for Confirmation, and the Visitation of the sick* (London, James Bettenham, 1718). Later Non-Jurors advanced towards *The Order of the Divine office of the Orthodox British Church: containing the Holy Liturgy, the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Penitential Office, together with other occasional offices as authorized by the Bishops of the said Church to be used in Public Assemblies of the Faithful* (London, 1734). A final production was the *Divine Office containing directions for the canonical Hours of Prayer at Lauds, Tierce, Sext, None and Compline; to be used by all religious and all the Clergy* (Manchester, 1761).

#### THE ORANGE SETTLEMENT: WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689

Meanwhile the Coronation of the King and Queen had duly taken place. Parliament, while insisting upon the insertion in the Coronation Oath tendered to them by the Archbishop of Canterbury of a more precise definition of the national Church as 'the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law', did not alter the *Book of Common Prayer*. The book of 1662, despite efforts recorded below, remains the book officially sold by the King's Printers and the University Presses; and, although it is no longer

the national or obligatory form of public worship, it does represent the liturgical form actually used in England by a majority of those using any liturgy of English or derived 'Use' (the word, dropped in 1559, was restored in 1662). There had been significant changes in the authority imposing the book. Whereas the Elizabethan Prayer-Book had been settled by the Queen and Cecil and agreed to by Parliament, Charles II's Prayer-Book, i.e. the 'Book Annexed' to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, had been settled by himself with the subsequent assent of Convocation and of Parliament. The 1662 book, therefore, enjoys ecclesiastical authority. In James II's reign, however, Parliament acted in religious matters in opposition both to the Church and to the Crown. But the successive revisions in 1552, 1559, 1604, 1662 have left intact the principal implications of the original 1559 book, the work principally of Cranmer and Bucer. The essentials of that book were the abolition of papal jurisdiction, the turning of the mass into the holy communion, the removal of images, services for the dead and the complete suppression of the invocation of saints. Finally the whole, except the titles of the psalms and canticles, was in English and there were no hymns or sequences in any daily or Sunday services. The issue in 1560 of a sort of *Horae* similar to Edward VI's *Primer* of 1551, and in 1627 of Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions in the Practice of the Ancient Church called the Houres of Prayer* failed to bring back the (perhaps) eighth-century 'Iam lucis orto sidere'. Not only had the Latin rite been destroyed; it had been generally forgotten and all taste for even some parts of it lost.

#### POSITION OF THE LATIN RITE IN ENGLAND, 1558-1688

The position of the service-books of the Latin rite in England had absolutely changed since Queen Mary's death. By the Act of 1558, which restored to the Crown its jurisdiction over 'all manner of persons within her realms, whether ecclesiastical or civil, so as no foreign power have or ought to have any superiority over them', there was abolished all 'foreign power repugnant to the same'.

The Act annulled the right to conduct worship, public or private, from the Latin missal. Further, it was a penal offence for all over sixteen years of age to be absent from the parish church on Sundays and holidays. Royal commissioners toured the country to see that the old books were destroyed and the new *Book of Common Prayer* substituted. Fines were enforced upon persistent absentees, known as 'Recusants'. In 1568 the gradual extinction of the old doctrine, the old worship and the old books moved William Allen to found at Douai a college to train priests for the mission. In England they and those they ministered to surreptitiously used Paris, Sarum, and any other editions they could discover of the missal and manual. No choir books were necessary since no service could be held except secretly. At the English Hospice in Rome it was the custom to use the Sarum books until 1569 and at Douai until 1576. In 1604 Laurence Kellam printed at Douai a text of the Manual according to Sarum, but with the title customary in the Paris form: *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi, Matrimonium Celebrandi, Infirmos ungenti, Mortuos Sepeliendi. Ac alii nonnulli Ritus Ecclesiastici juxta usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*. This is a quarto printed in red and black, rather roughly but with red rubrics in traditional style, though in roman letter, which was a novelty in an English liturgical book. The increasing severity of the laws against saying mass, and the increasing efficiency of their application, testified to by the deaths of one hundred and forty men from Douai, inevitably reduced the size of the liturgical books to be carried at great risk. In 1610-11 Kellam printed a 12mo with the title *Manuale sacerdotum, hoc est Ritus Administrandi sacramenta Baptismi ... iuxta usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*. Probably at St Omer there was produced in 1623 and again in 1626 a small octavo mass-book designed for the use of missionaries of the Society of Jesus: the *Missale Parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia, Scotia, et Ibernia itinerantibus*. There was also published in the same format the *Ordo etiam Baptizandi, aliaque Sacramenta ministrandi, et Officia quaedam Ecclesiastica rite peragendi, Ex Pontificali, et Rituali Romano, jussu Pauli PP. Quinti editis, extractum*. The title-page of these books



carries the woodcut emblem of the English Jesuits. The *Ordo* provides the Marriage Service in the Sarum text, and other occasional services. An even smaller (2½ in. by 4½ in.) book was printed at Toulouse in 1678, chiefly for the benefit of missionary priests working in Ireland: *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta et officia quaedam Ecclesiastica rite peragendi. Ex Rituali Romano, jussu Pauli Quinti edito extractus in usum sacerdotum qui Ecclesiasticis Missionibus funguntur.*

A slightly larger (3 in. by 5 in.) book of similar purpose was printed in London in 1686. This was executed by the royal printer during the reign of James II. He had already by his own sign manual ordered a salary of £1000 a year to be paid to the two Archpriests in authority over the English papists. The new ritual was doubtless printed at their instance. The *Ordo Baptizandi Aliaque Sacramenta Administrandi et Officia quaedam Ecclesiastica Rite peragendi. . . . Pro Anglia, Hibernia, et Scotia*, though a scrubby little book, has the merit of being, with the exception of the preliminary pages of the 1636 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, the first piece of liturgical printing in the antique red and black style which had been produced in London since Queen Mary's reign. The printer, Henry Hills (well known to be a rascal), had acquired the royal patent in 1670 and, as the successor of John Bill II and Christopher Barker III, he presided over the King's Printing House at Blackfriars, now the office of *The Times*. Hills, having originally been Oliver Cromwell's printer, became a papist late in life and printed the *Ordo* in 1686. In the following year Hills printed the *Officium B. Mariae Virginis* in Latin and the *Office of the B.V. Mary in English To which is added the Vespers or Evensong in Latin and English as it is sung in the Catholic Church upon all Sundays and principal Holy Days, etc.* In 1688 the mob attacked Hills and the King's Printing House, and 'spoiled his Formes, Letters, &c., and burnt two or three hundred reams of paper'. Hills retired to St Omer, where he died in 1689. The experiment of printing Latin liturgical books in London then came to an end and the Recusants continued to depend upon foreign printed books.

The usual Paris books had long been familiar in the houses of the few English families faithful to the Latin rite. The Radcliffe copy of the *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi* printed (with chant) by Jacques Kerver in 1575 was formerly at Ingestone Hall, the seat of the Petre family; the Wordsworth copy of Kellam's 1610-11 Sarum Manual was a 'Tichborn' possession. By the end of the seventeenth century the old Sarum books at the English colleges abroad and in the surreptitious places of worship in this country had been supplanted by the Tridentine texts. The missals and breviaries printed at Antwerp in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the successors of Plantin remained long in use.

These books, like those who used them, were few; they were seldom or never seen by the English public in the eighteenth century. The prosecution for saying mass in England took place as late as in 1771. The rite in direct continuity with that brought to Canterbury by St Augustine which had been proscribed by the Act of Uniformity of 1559 was permitted thereafter. Permission to the papists to have mass came as a direct result of the surrender of General Burgoyne to General Gates at Saratoga in October 1777. In desperation Lord North turned for help to the Highlanders, as famous for their reliability and valour as for their devotion and fidelity to the Latin mass. Their terms for military service oversea, transmitted by Bishop Hay to Lord North, included the right for themselves and their co-religionists throughout Great Britain to have and to hear mass according to the use of their forefathers for hard on a thousand years. Further, the 'papists' were now legally to be described as the 'Roman Catholics'; though not until 1793 did they cease to be 'papists' in the Speech from the Throne. The way was open for the Emancipation Act of 1829 by which political freedom was added to the religious freedom conceded in 1778. Emancipation in England coincided with the beginnings of a complex of movements inspired by a holy fear of the French Revolution, and a romantic love for the things of the past which included a new sentiment of interest concerning the old religious forms. The eighteenth century ended on a conservative note.

The most significant liturgical studies carried out in the century were those of Dom Martin Gerbert (1720–93), Abbot of St Blaise in the Black Forest. He followed his two encyclopedic volumes *De cantu et musica sacra a prima Ecclesiae aetate usque ad presens tempus* (1759) with his great *Monumenta veteris liturgiae alemannicae* in two volumes (1776, 1779). Gerbert's discovery at Zürich in 1762 of the long-lost St Gall codex containing the text of the mass according to the Gelasian, Gregorian and Ambrosian rites, entitles him, with his other work, to rank inferior only to Mabillon.

Notable technical improvements in typography had been effected in England during the period. In type founding Caslon in 1726 at last created a healthy branch of the craft in England. The *Book of Common Prayer* was set up at Oxford and Cambridge and in London by the owners of the King's Patent. Typographical history, so far as English liturgical books are concerned, was made at Cambridge in 1760–3 when John Baskerville printed at the University Press a 12mo and an 8vo edition of the *Common Prayer*. These were very finely composed in types of Baskerville's own design, cutting and casting and printed upon paper made according to his specification. These editions raised the *Book of Common Prayer* to its highest level of presentation and made it superior in that respect to any continental production. As in Bibles and Almanacks, however, price was the chief permanent trade factor, and Baskerville's editions, as the most expensive, were unable to hold their own against the competition of low priced editions. Some improvements in trade work, nevertheless, followed. Baskerville's successor at Cambridge, Archdeacon, was responsible for a number of neat editions printed after 1766.

#### NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONSERVATIVE REACTION

The events of 1789 and their aftermath confirm the view that, for mankind as a whole, religion, whatever else it may be, is necessarily a reaction to world events, or, in other words, politics—if you prefer, Providence. A strong revival of interest in liturgy

occurred in France. A young priest of the diocese of Le Mans, Prosper Louis Pascal Guéranger, took the first practical step towards a restoration in France of Benedictine life, destroyed by the Revolution, by purchasing in 1832 the old Priory of Solesmes, fallen into disuse, like all French religious houses. There, as a monk, he began in 1840 his *Institutions Liturgiques*. The congregation of Solesmes has since bestowed upon the French Church and upon the world at large a great number of critical works on the text, music and execution of the services. One of Dom Guéranger's followers and translators, James Laurence Shepherd, who became a Benedictine in 1843, later worked as chaplain at the Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation at Stanbrook, which enclosed a community of English Benedictine nuns, whom he interested in the liturgy and whose publications and translations continue to enrich its study.

#### ENGLISH GOTHIC REVIVAL

Independently, the English romantic passion for the past had created the movement known as the 'Gothic revival'. To Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, one of its early apostles, Gothic architecture alone was Christian, the classical style was pagan. Under his direction the movement extended beyond civil architecture to the building and decoration of churches, in the Gothic style, to the design of the ornaments and vestments, to the recovery of music and ceremonial used therein. At Grace Dieu Manor, a thirteenth-century priory inherited by Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, and reconditioned by him with the assistance of Pugin, the recovery of the ancient Sarum Ritual was begun. As early as 1839 de Lisle was urging upon his co-religionists that the 'English [Papist] Bishops have full power to command the restoration of our glorious old Sarum Rite'. In the same year, when Pugin's wife followed him (five years after his own conversion) into the Church of Rome, Dr Rock, the antiquary and author of the *Church of Our Fathers*, in conducting the 'Forma reconciliandi conversum' intoned the 'Veni Creator Spiritus' 'in the old Salisbury Chant'. At the end of the 'Miserere' the sub-deacon lighted

a large wax taper ornamented in the style of the fourteenth century and which rose out of a bouquet of rare flowers. It was decorated in the lower part by three splendid scrolls written in gothic 'textus quadratus'. The upper portion of the taper was ornamented with a wreath of brilliantly coloured flowers. Above them, attached to a golden string, was suspended a small scroll, also lettered in gothic text surmounted by an emblazoned device of the Archangel St Michael overcoming Satan. With this lighted taper in her right hand, Mrs Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin read her recantation of Protestantism. Dr Rock's discourse elucidated the symbolism of the taper, adjured the convert to so let her light shine before men, etc., etc., and pointed to the wreath of flowers as a type of the future reward of the just made perfect. These and similar ritualistic acts of ceremony and symbolism made a deep impression at the time. The ceremony just described took place in Lord Shrewsbury's private chapel at Alton Towers in 1839.

De Lisle's chapel was frequented by a number of Anglican visitors who were connected, more or less directly, with the *Tracts for the Times*, that had begun to appear in 1833 and were making no small stir. One of the group, the Rev. J. R. Bloxam, was an enthusiastic student of the liturgy. Another was the Rev. Charles Seager who, in 1838, published a neat quasi-liturgical piece intended for private use entitled *The Daily Service of the Anglo-Catholic Church* (Oxford, 1838). In 1841, Seager, Bloxam and R. Williams organized, on a subscription basis, a scheme for reprinting the Sarum Breviary. The complete programme was an ambitious one, that is, to follow the reprinting of the complete Breviary by editions of the Missal, the Processional, the Pontifical and the Manual. The Breviary was to be printed in Belgium and published in France. The whole enterprise, however, seemed to be too far in advance of Anglican opinion, and it was abandoned after the publication of the first part: *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Officia Antiqua: Portiforii seu Breviarii Sarisburiensis fasciculus primus... ex antiquis editionibus* (Brussels printed; London, J. Leslie 1842). The movement, indeed, with which the *Tracts for the Times* was

connected exercised a doctrinal rather than a liturgical, devotional or artistic influence. The Rev. John Mason Neale, the Anglican scholar who had cooperated with G. H. Forbes in 1855 in an edition, still esteemed, of the Gallican liturgies, was intimate with Ambrose de Lisle and a frequent visitor to Grace Dieu; Forbes also, but he disliked ceremonial and used to say that the young Anglicans got the taste for it from de Lisle.

The Oxford Movement, as an English reaction against the French Revolution and English Reform, viewed with alarm the diminution of the privileges (the word is Keble's) of the Anglican Church and the threat of similar measures in the future. They particularly disliked the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832, but it was the decision of the Government in 1833 to reduce the Bishopricks of the Established Church of Ireland that decided Keble and others who were to become leaders of the Oxford Movement to make their protest.

The Government's proposal to divert these ecclesiastical revenues to general educational purposes was regarded by the Oxford Movement as a sacrilegious attack upon the privileges of the spirituality in England that were rightly attached to its position. The rights and privileges of the Church were not conferred by the State in virtue of its establishment; its establishment by the State was due to the rightful claims it possessed as a 'Branch' of the Church of Christ. It was claimed that the Church of England, however constituted or regulated by the Act of Uniformity, existed by the ordinance of God and not at all because Parliament had its own reasons for establishing it. To fortify this claim the Movement went behind 1688 with its 'settlement' of the 'Protestant Reformed Religion established by law'. The Movement recognized that the Act of Uniformity enacted the *Book of Common Prayer* as the only formulary for public worship in this country. Keble and Newman were not in the least interested in the origins of that book, or in Cranmer's, Melancthon's or Bucer's motives. It was enough for them, as for the Caroline divines, that its text, in their opinion, bore the interpretation they now wished to put upon it. The Prayer-Book had

to be as 'Catholic' as any service-book in use by the body emancipated by the Act of 1829; it must be obeyed as such. For them, the liturgical character of the *Book of Common Prayer* did not prove the Anglican Church to be 'Catholic'; rather the Anglican Church being 'Catholic', its Prayer-Book was a 'Catholic' liturgy. Properly interpreted, therefore, it was not a 'Protestant' book. It was correct as it stood. The Church of England, on this reckoning, was as 'Catholic' as the French or Spanish Churches; or, for that matter, the Byzantine. In fact it was more 'Catholic' as freer from error than the Church of Rome. It was no part of the early Tractarian programme to attempt to back up the 'Catholic' character of the Prayer-Book by reviving old ceremonial. However, prayers and ceremonies that had been honoured in England down to the thirteenth century began to exercise a fascination on others. It was admitted that faults may have existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There might, some Tractarians began to think, be faults too in the *Book of Common Prayer*, though these disappeared when the text was correctly interpreted; so too in the case of the 39 Articles. Some of these points were argued in Newman's Tract No. XC published in 1841. There was a marked inclination to distinguish the new position from that of the papists; and when Newman edited a volume of Latin hymns they were selected chiefly from the current Parisian and obsolete Sarum Breviaries. Palmer always refers to the English papists as 'the Romish sect in England'. Newman's tract on the Breviary uses the word 'Romanistic'; it would be as well if the sect were not left in sole possession of the old liturgy, as its beauty gave their controversialists an advantage. It had been the habit of controversialists on the side of the Establishment to describe the English rite as 'Our Incomparable Liturgy', but it was not now denied that the Breviary was full of 'excellence and beauty', particularly the hymns.

From an interest in the old hymns, it was but a step to a revival of interest in the old tunes. The study of plain-chant was directly helped, as will be noted later, by the gothic revivalists. In 1843



James Burns (the founder of the publishing firm of Burns and Oates) issued *The Order of Daily Service, the Litany and Order for the Administration of The Holy Communion, with Plain-Tune according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland*. These are quartos, uniform in style, bordered on every page with wood-engraved head, side and tail strips. The text is printed in black-letter throughout, with the rubrics and the staves in red. The music, edited and adapted for the rite of 1662 by William Dyce, is that of Merbecke's *The Book of Common Praier, noted, 1550* and adapted to the rite of 1662. The whole is a fine piece worthy of a place in any collection of printing. The publication was followed a year later by *The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany* and separately the same year *The Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion*, also according to the same use. The same year Toovey published for the Rev. Albany J. Christie *The Day Hours of the Church with the Gregorian Tones*. Rivington brought out also in 1844 the *Hymnarium Anglicanum, or the Ancient Hymns of the Anglican Church, translated from the Latin of the Salisbury Breviary and fitted to the tunes used in Churches*. In the next five years there were as many editions of the Day Hours. Thus a section of the English public once more became familiar with long-forgotten forms of prayer and intercession.

#### ENGLISH INTEREST IN LITURGICAL HISTORY

Little real knowledge of the history of the liturgy from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries was available in England. Scientific study of the subject had been almost confined to Frenchmen (Ménard, Mabillon, Martène, all Benedictines), the German Benedictine Gerbert, and Italian scholars (Muratori and Zaccaria), to name those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In England, it was the custom to regard the old service-books from the antiquarian point of view, as monuments of printing. As their texts were not studied, Dibdin, while appreciating their typographical excellence, completely misunderstood their several purposes. His confusion of the Breviary with the Missal is only one of the many blunders on the liturgy made in the course of the second 'day' of

his *Bibliographical Decameron*. A correct but brief outline of the nature of the old service-books is contained in William Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae* which was first published in 1832. But Palmer's was virtually an eighteenth-century book, being based upon Martène and Zaccaria. William Maskell's *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* may be said to have initiated modern English study of the subject. The book was published most handsomely by William Pickering in 1844, and began, at the Chiswick Press, a style of liturgical printing which in the course of half a century produced many fine specimens. Maskell's first work, still of great use, prepared the way for the same author's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, or occasional offices of the Church of England according to the ancient use of Salisbury, the Prymer in English and other prayers and forms with Dissertations and Notes*, in two volumes, also published most stylishly, in 1846, by Pickering in combination with the Chiswick Press. Black-letter is agreeably used for headings, and the text is composed in the pure roman style distinguished by the employment of the large well-designed and well-engraved initial letters, the property of the Chiswick Press. Maskell's scholarship was, for the period, profound. Unlike Palmer, he was not only a scholar but a collector. Maskell, with his considerable means, had in the course of years made a superb collection of old English service-books, which included fine specimens of Salisbury, Hereford and other missals, breviaries, manuals, primers, etc. With these in his possession, he wrote the three volumes of his *Monumenta Ritualia*, the scientific value of which was confirmed nearly 40 years later in 1882, when it was reprinted at the Clarendon Press. From Maskell, it should be added with gratitude, English liturgical scholarship has gone from strength to strength.

#### NEW EDITIONS OF LITURGICAL BOOKS

The Chiswick Press also printed for Pickering a set of magnificent folio reprints of 1549, 1552, 1604, 1662 and 1843 editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, composed throughout in black-letter, printed with the rubrics in their traditional colour. These books,

printed upon vellum, form a collection of rare impressiveness. A Pickering edition of Merbecke's *The Book of Common Praier, noted*, reprinted in red and black, with the original music, was printed in 1844. In quality of design and typography it rivals the 'plain-tune' edition that James Burns had brought out in 1843.

The revival of plain-chant was rather a product of the Gothic revival than of the Oxford Movement. It was sponsored by the small group of papists led by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. From 1830, in de Lisle's Manor at Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire, the Latin mass was sung without the fiddles and secular music customary in the 'emancipated' churches, and strictly according to the Gradual, Vesperal, Processional and Antiphonal kept in that chapel. The Emancipation Act of 1829 was quickly followed by the printing of Latin books for the use of the clergy. In 1830 Dr F. C. Husenbeth with the firm of Bacon and Kinnebrook at Norwich produced the first edition of the Breviary printed in England since 1556. It was a 32mo of over 1000 pp. neatly printed in red and black. The Breviary was in four parts; the layout purely English, i.e. on Sarum lines, or, as the title-page says, 'suis locis interpositis sanctorum Angliae' and not, as in the continental editions, with an appendix of local commemorations. The press of J. Shrimpton, of Oxford, for the publishers, James Toovey, in 1846 (three years after Christie's *Day Hours, Noted*), printed a little Graduale entitled *The Chorister's Companion, containing a selection of chants and prose from the Graduale of the Catholick Church*. This is a full quarto, with red stave lines and red rubrics. The text is that of the Latin rite, finely set in what the compiler, de Lisle, regarded as an authentic Christian letter-form. It compares typographically with Burns's edition of Merbecke and, with it, may stand as the first-fruits of plain-chant typography executed in England since the production of John Day's *Sarum Missal*, London, 1557.

A very handsome specimen of old-style printing, with plain-chant, but printed in black only, with rubrics in italics, is to be found in *The Psalter, or Seven ordinary Hours of Prayer according*

to the use of *The Illustrious and Excellent Church of Sarum*, printed by Joseph Masters in 1852. It was edited by J. D. Chambers, who heads a long line of Anglican ecclesiologists who were laymen. The book is a small quarto of 450 pages and includes, besides the Psalter and Hours, hymns and other devotions from ancient English sources, an excursus upon the important variations between the York and Hereford uses.

The first recorded separate edition of Compline, in English only, 'according to the Use of the Church of England', appeared from the press of Masters in 1854. It was followed in course of time by a multitude of separate such editions of, or selections from, the old Breviaries. They were generally announced as compiled from sources that were 'Ancient English', or extracted from the 'ancient' liturgy of the 'Western Church' or adapted from the 'Ancient Sarum Use'. It was not until 1889 that there appeared an edition of the *Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary* in English, and this was announced as 'chiefly after the Use of Paris'. It is unnecessary further to document the progress of the movement within the Church of England towards supplementing the *Book of Common Prayer* with the hours, devotions, orisons, etc., from the Breviary.

The publication of extracts from Sarum and other missals of the Latin rite was not marked by the same energy. Although in 1844 Pickering had issued a prospectus of a *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum, reprinted from the first known edition printed at Rouen, 1492*, the book itself seems not to have appeared. The Englishing of Eucharistic pre-Reformation rites and devotions may have presented certain difficulties to the Anglicans. Nor was it clear what purpose, private or public, would be served by translating them. Maskell's works had for their principal object the bibliographical study of liturgical books. Although then an Anglican, he expressed the opinion that by comparison with the old services the *Book of Common Prayer* was marked by deficiencies that were neither few nor inconsiderable; but that, although generally speaking, much that was 'holy, just and true' had been suppressed by the Edwardian and Elizabethan

reformers, he did not consider it his business as a simple clergyman to make suggestions for a general change in the conduct of services.

#### THE LATER 'OXFORD' MOVEMENT

The next generation, however, pushed forward a development that might, in any case, have been expected. The later Tractarians had acquired a strong taste for ritual. Some thought, too, that by reintroducing ceremonial, corporate reunion with Rome would some time become a practical possibility. Philip Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service* (Oxford, 1855, 1870, 1893), insists against William Palmer that the order, form and substance of the Prayer Book Communion as at first revised are those of the English variety of the Western Office. For the instruction, apparently, of Tractarians with an appreciation of the liturgy, 'J. P.' published in 1858 a *Directorium Anglicanum*. Its purpose was to accommodate the rubrics of the Holy Communion Service of the *Book of Common Prayer* to the ceremonial of the mass in the Sarum Missal. He did not, however, vary the text of the 1662 Prayer-Book. 'J. P.' seems to have been a pioneer, so far as ceremonial is concerned, of the 'ancient use of the Church of England'. There was a demand for a second edition of the *Directorium*. It was seen through the press by the Rev. Frederick George Lee, an accomplished historian and antiquary. His edition is a handsome production of the Chiswick Press and printed in red and black; like the 'plain-tune' books of James Burns and William Dyce, it is quarto in format. Lee's next publication was a departure in several respects. He produced in 1867, with Thomas Bosworth and the Chiswick Press, a magnificent *Altar Service Book*. It was in folio, with broad margins, and attempted to display the text of the Prayer-Book rite of the Holy Communion as it would have been done by a sixteenth-century London, Rouen or Paris printer of books of the Latin rite. 'Following Catholic precedent', says the editor, a 'precedent which obtained as well in the Plantain (*sic*) editions of the *Missale Romanum* as in the various editions of the pre-Reformation

English Missals and is retained in the Oriental Missals, an engraving has been placed opposite the Canon.' The design of the Christus Crucifixus is by N. H. J. Westlake, later well known for his designs of Stations of the Cross. The type is large, handsome and correct. The plain-chant was doubtless specially imported from the Continent. The fine initial letters in general use at the Chiswick Press were added to. At not a few points in the book, that is, at the opening of the several sections of the rite, new capitals were designed to illustrate the liturgical position of the celebrant. The book is a singularly fine piece of printing, setting a standard above that of the already distinguished Pickering and Chiswick Press liturgical work. At the time of its execution it probably deserved to rank as the finest piece of liturgical printing in all Europe.

#### THE STYLE OF LITURGICAL BOOKS PRINTED ABROAD

Liturgical printing on the Continent had participated in a general degradation caused principally by the over-rapid mechanization due to the eager exploitation of the steam press invented in 1814. The service-books of the Latin rite, with the rest of the trade in France, Germany and Italy, suffered equally with everything else. In France the neo-Gallican movement of the seventeenth century, with its multiplication of local uses which it had been the intention of the Council of Trent to suppress, created a condition of affairs that destroyed the magnificent style of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The dioceses could not afford to print proper missals and breviaries and rituals in the correct style, any more than they can to-day. The Bishop of Vienne, in the interest of his curés' purses, followed the typographical principle of the *Book of Common Prayer* and authorized the printing of cheap service-books for his diocese in black only, with the rubrics in italic. Any money that was available for decorating the books was spent upon the provision of baroque copper-plate vignettes, head and tail pieces with occasional full-page plates: a style that was not given up until the end of the eighteenth century. In Italy and Germany books were plainer than the French; they were clumsy,

but at least they were printed in true red and black liturgical style. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the invention of the lithographic press popularized throughout the printing trade a species of romantic ornamentation which overflowed into liturgical printing. This represented another weakening of the sound old traditions. In Germany, the native country of Senefelder and his invention, missals were composed in the solid narrow-bodied roman types of the period, and relieved with initial letters whose heavy structure, outlined with a thin black rule, was festooned with calligraphic flourishes. In Italy the taste was not dissimilar. The missals of both countries preserved what had been accepted as the essential details of the Roman sacramentary, that is, the text was in black and the rubrics in red. There was a picture of the Crucifixion facing the 'Te Igitur'; the words of institution and consecration were in large type. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the conservatism of Spain alone maintained in some sort the old Plantin tradition. The rest was squalor.

It was equally against a decadent typographical presentation of the liturgy, among other abuses mentioned above, that Dom Guéranger protested by his life and works. His *Institutions Liturgiques*, which include three chapters on the design, publication and correction of liturgical books before and after the invention of printing, was not unavailing. The influence of the *Institutions* was responsible for a great improvement in the physical production of books of the Latin rite. The improvement was permanent. The books of the present day, as produced by the publishers to the Holy See, may at least be said to be creditable. The creation of a sound liturgical style, at once traditional in essentials and contemporary in details, is not an easy matter. The artistic problem cannot even now be said to have been solved. The French editions remain the least satisfactory. The editions of Desclée of Tournai, resolutely gothic in style, though printed in roman type as regards their body, are excellent pieces of design. Some of the small folio missals and folio pontificals are worth collecting. The two brothers Henri and Jules Desclée formed the



Société de St Jean l'Évangéliste in 1882. They had already given sanctuary to the Benedictines driven from Beuron by Bismarck's 'Kulturkampf' and had built the Abbey of Maredsous in gothic style. Turning to the creation of a printing office with the ambition of publishing editions of the liturgy in accordance with what they deemed the highest standards of Christian art, they set to work with great deliberation. Men and machinery were imported from England. The types chosen were 'old style', of the kind that would have been approved by Pickering. The illustrations to the liturgical productions are revivals of the cuts in Kerver's and Pigouchet's *Horae*, published in Paris in the middle of the sixteenth century. The German editions, that is, those of Pustet, of Ratisbon, then began to improve. Those published since 1883 (when the Redemptorist Father Schmalzl began to contribute his illustrations) are worth attention. The books of Dessain, of Malines, combine a diluted early nineteenth-century type of illustration with a type-page pleasantly composed in a good old style roman. The typography of the Vatican Press has been steadily improving in recent years. Unfortunately Rome has never, since Blado at least, possessed a good, not to mention fine, typographical style. Paolo Manuzio of Rome, who printed the first edition of the Tridentine text of the Breviary, was a distinguished printer, but he was easily surpassed by Plantin of Antwerp. Part of the explanation for the poverty in design of the Vatican editions lies, doubtless, in the fact that neither the printing office set up by Sixtus V in 1587, nor the amalgamation of it by Pius X with the *Typographia Polyglotta*, in 1910, has ever organized itself to print and publish the liturgical books for all those, in whatever country, who are bound to follow the Latin rite. It was sufficient in Rome to get the text of the rite printed accurately. The hurry inevitable in all 'first editions' did not assist the design, and the re-impressions were necessarily made from the original compositions and in the same style. The rendering of the liturgy in monumental form could be left to other hands. It would be difficult, therefore, to discover in the Vatican liturgical works of the early or middle nineteenth century anything equal

to Dr Lee's *Altar Service Book* of 1867. That book, so far as its typography is concerned, might well pass for a Plantin edition of the *Missale Romanum*.

#### THE PRINTING OF ANGLICAN LITURGICAL BOOKS

The *Altar Service Book* gave nothing but the text of the Rite of Holy Communion according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland. It was, however, the sort of book likely to encourage something more important than a reversion to pre-Reformation standards of liturgical typography. To accommodate the Rite of Holy Communion in the *Book of Common Prayer* to the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass as printed in the missal whence the Anglican liturgy was derived, and to produce the whole in the style of a London or Rouen book of the mid-sixteenth century, was a task undertaken in 1870, some three years after the appearance of Dr Lee's *Altar Service Book*. The Rev. Orby Shipley's *Ritual of the Altar*, however, is best seen in the second edition, of 1878. This is a quarto, finely printed in red and black at the Chiswick Press, in what had now become the customary style for Anglican books of this character. The plain-chant is excellently presented. Numerous handsome diagrams illustrate the long section describing the ritual acts. The gothic title-page, spotted with Maltese crosses, is ruled across and round with red. The *Ritual* is probably the first separate publication of the Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion which included 'directions for the Sacred Ministers' and the 'Ritual Music'. It was, in fact, what would now be sold as an Anglican 'Missal'. The numerous similar publications which followed the publication of Shipley's *Ritual* include a *People's Mass-Book* with the 'complete Devotions, literally translated, of the ancient Liturgy of the Western Church' (London, 1874). A *Ceremonial Guide to Low Mass*, brought out in 1883, may be mentioned. The practice of interpolating was responsible for the issue of a stream of books designed to meet the demand for such a combination of the Latin mass with the Order of Holy Communion, within one pair of covers. Several editions were published in the 'seventies and

'eighties of *The Priest to the Altar or aids to the devout celebration of the Holy Communion, chiefly after the Ancient English Use of Sarum*. Though perhaps not specifically intended for use by the celebrant at the Eucharistic service, it appears to have been so used. In addition to an interpolated and conflated text, it contains the 1549 Rite, the Communion office of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the Communion office of the Church of America. These several uses are printed in red and black, with some typographical ceremony. All were intended to serve a practical, and not merely academic, purpose.

#### LITURGICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN ENGLAND

Fifty years had now passed since Palmer's *Origines Liturgicae* (1832) re-introduced the study of liturgy to England. The outlook of the new generation which had arisen was limited to a considerable extent by its view of the *Book of Common Prayer* and its sources. Led by Christopher Wordsworth (1848-1938) and Francis Procter (1812-1905), and given bibliographical inspiration by Henry Bradshaw, a group specialized in work on the Breviary and its variations in England. The academic study of the Breviary had lagged. Despite the superficial notion that somehow or other 'Sarum' had always been the national English use, they were not the first books to be republished. The Aberdeen Breviary was edited (badly) by the Rev. W. J. Blew in 1854. The York Manual, and the Sarum, were reprinted in 1875 by W. G. Henderson, who also edited, in 1882, the Sarum Processional. The York Breviary was edited by Lawley, in two volumes, in 1880 and 1883. The reprint of the Sarum Breviary, unsuccessfully projected in 1841 by Seager and Bloxam, was at last brought out by Christopher Wordsworth and Francis Procter at the University Press, Cambridge, in three volumes, 1879, 1882, 1886. Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* and three volumes of his *Monumenta* were reprinted in a revised and enlarged edition at the Clarendon Press in 1882. A brief yet, because systematic, important, exposition, modestly described as a 'Note on Medieval Service-Books', by Henry Bradshaw, who also contributed por-

tions to Wordsworth's introduction to the Sarum Breviary of 1879, was published in 1881. Christopher Wordsworth followed Maskell's lead and in his time—he lived to his ninetieth year—became the leading English authority on medieval liturgies. The volume on *The Old Service Books of the English Church* which Wordsworth wrote in collaboration with Henry Littlehales, is the best initiation to a difficult subject. Wordsworth's intimate association with Henry Bradshaw was of benefit to both. It is very fortunate that his considerable and carefully chosen library of texts, documents, and specialist studies of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries will be available at the Radcliffe Liturgical Library to research students of the period. The study of the old chant was forwarded by the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society established in 1888. Reproductions, with editorial apparatus, of manuscripts of the Sarum Graduale and Antiphonale were circulated to members in the early years of the Society, which is still active.

The study of the Missals proceeded perhaps more slowly. After the *Hereford Missal* was reproduced by W. G. Henderson in 1874, and the Irish manuscript known as the *Drummond Missal* was edited by G. H. Forbes in 1882, little in comparison with the study of the York Breviary and Manual and the Sarum Breviary was achieved. The most significant contribution to the early history of the mass, to which reference will be made later, was the Rev. H. A. Wilson's edition of the 'Gelasianum'. Francis Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, with its valuable summary of the pre-Reformation service-books, published in 1889, was amplified in 1901 by the Rev. W. H. Frere. Scientific study of the Missal in England began at the same time, when, as a memorial to the Cambridge librarian who had done so much to clarify the study of late medieval service-books, the Henry Bradshaw Society was founded. Its initial publication, made in 1891, was the first part of the *Missal of Westminster Abbey* edited from the codex written in 1388 for Abbot Litlington. The Society has since published a series of editions of Sacramentaries and Missals (not to mention other liturgical books) which give

this country a uniquely high rank in this respect. Before the end of the nineteenth century the Society issued (1893, 1896) to members the completing two parts of the Westminster Missal: the eleventh-century manuscript from Canterbury (or Winchester, some argue) known as the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, edited by the Rev. H. A. Wilson in 1896; the thirteenth (or early fourteenth) century book known as the *Rosslyn Missal*, edited by the Rev. H. J. Lawlor in 1899.

Meanwhile the Rev. W. H. Frere (later Bishop of Truro), who had edited the Winchester Troper for the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1894 and the Sarum Graduale for the Plainsong Society in the same year, and next the Sarum Antiphoner, was publishing from the University Press, Cambridge, the *Use of Sarum* in two volumes which comprised the *Consuetudinarium* (1898) and the *Tonale* (1901), the latter having the chant. Frere's work was based upon the manuscripts, a valuable list of which he drew up and published with the Plainsong Society in two volumes (1901, 1932). Frere's work benefited from the use of the camera. Paleography, which as a science owes its origin to Dom Mabillon, was at this time making great progress, here and on the Continent, owing to the cheapening of photography. The vast *Paléographie Musicale* of the Benedictines had been begun at Solesmes in 1889. Continental work of the period had for some time been taking the early centuries for its field of study.

#### LATER CONTINENTAL RESEARCH

German and French scholars had been greatly stimulated by the publication in 1870 of Monsignor Probst's *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*—the first instalment of the author's life work which dealt with the mass from the beginnings to the eighth century. Probst's theories concerning the supposed changes in the arrangement of the prayers of the mass have been much discussed, and his applications to the Roman Canon of typical German methods of documentary analysis have been utilized by many scholars. In France, Monsignor Louis Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (1889) brought these highly technical questions

into a new light, and the English translation published in 1903 drew the attention of English readers to the critical methods that were being applied on the Continent. Since the beginning of the century numerous and valuable contributions to the criticism of the primitive liturgies have been made by English scholars. The cataloguing and collation of the manuscripts of sacramentaries was an essential task which had been begun by Léopold Delisle in his *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* (1886). In 1889 Fr. Adalbert Ebner, who had some assistance from Edmund Bishop, went to Italy for the purpose of making a census of MSS. of this kind. His valuable *Quellen und Forschungen*, which makes a very significant contribution to the history of sacramentaries, was not published until 1896. He was anticipated, in one department, by Anton Springer's *Bilderschmuck in den Sacramentarien des frühen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1890). Springer's *Bilderschmuck* is still of great value for his analysis of the pictorial and symbolic conventions of the early mass books. By this time the critical history of the liturgy was well established. The introduction of continental methods into English scholarship was largely due to Edmund Bishop (1846-1917). Bishop had been interested by the Marburg professor, Ernst Ranke, in German methods applied to the study of history, and by Theodor Kliefoth, a Lutheran ecclesiastic, then publishing at Schwerin a voluminous series of articles on the origins of Lutheran formularies. The essence of the method lay in the cataloguing of all the manuscripts of a given text, and the establishment of critical standards to be applied to their dating and testing. Bishop's paper on *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, read to a small group at Archbishop's House, Westminster, in 1899, has since taken its place as a classic statement of the essential nature of a Rite in which, as was well known, much non-Roman symbolical matter had in the course of centuries been incorporated. But Bishop's masterly digest of the syncretic process and his clear analysis of the several traditions as they co-exist in the present Roman rite was a uniquely important event. Bishop's debut in historical studies was made by his discovery of a new document bearing upon Berengarius of Tours published in the *Historisches*

*Jahrbuch* volume for 1880. His first contribution to liturgiology was a paper on the origins of the Feast of the Conception of Our Lady, printed in the *Downside Review* for April 1886. Bishop was, and remained all his life, closely associated with the Downside Benedictines. In 1888 he made a signal contribution to the sources of the Book of Common Prayer by his discovery among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum of Cranmer's drafts of a reduced and revised Breviary; but his main work, of which more will be said, was the elucidation of the history of the medieval missal in the light of personal investigation of the MSS.

It is not to the point of the present sketch to attempt a general bibliography of modern work in liturgical science; and, in any case, no good purpose would be served by the repetition of what has already been well done in Abbot Cabrol's *Introduction aux Études Liturgiques*, which tabulates specialist works down to the year of publication, 1907. We may not, however, pass over certain English and French publications, in the main those of the Henry Bradshaw Society, the Rev. H. A. Wilson's edition of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, the Rev. H. M. Bannister's *Missale Gothicum*, and Sir George Warner's *Stowe Missal* (1906-15). The Rev. H. A. Wilson, as has already been said, published through the Oxford Press in 1894 a text of the *Gelasian Sacramentary* and the Rev. C. L. Feltoe had published at Cambridge in 1896 an edition of the *Leonine Sacramentary*. These English scholars had thus put liturgiologists in possession of the texts that are essential to the study of the missal in its early period. This represents a very considerable achievement, for the *Leonine Sacramentary* had not been reprinted since L. A. Muratori's reproduction of Giuseppe and Francesco Bianchini's 1741 text; the 'Gelasianum' had been printed by Thomasi in 1680 and reprinted by Vezzosi in 1748; the 'Gregorianum' had been first printed by the Benedictine Ménard in 1642 and reprinted by Muratori with the other two Sacramentaries in his *Liturgia Romana Vetus* of 1748. That was the position before Wilson and Feltoe went to work. Hence, with all the dissertating by Probst and his (in point of time) followers, Drews, Baumstark and



others, scholars now had before them a set of the texts which made it possible for them to work systematically. There followed more discussion about methods to be applied in this branch of study, and by 1903 the productivity of scholars had so far progressed that the Solesmes Benedictines, exiled by the French Radicals, in Farnborough, and in particular Abbot Cabrol (1855-1937) and Dom Henri Leclercq d'Ornancourt were encouraged to initiate that great enterprise the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. The first volume, 1598 columns, was completed in 1907. The *Dictionnaire*, which has now reached the letter P, is, since the death of Abbot Cabrol, under the sole authority of Dom Leclercq, a native of Belgium, a man of massive strength and energy in more than one respect, whose work shines even by comparison with that of his brethren, as may be seen in the *Dictionnaire* itself and the *Bibliographie des Bénédictins de la Congrégation de France*.

PROJECT TO REVISE THE 1662 'BOOK OF  
COMMON PRAYER'

In England interest in the history of the liturgy naturally continued to be limited to those professionally concerned with it. In the Church of England much thought was given to a project, of which account is taken below, to revise the Prayer-Book. Fifty years ago the greater part of the population of this island were still accustomed to worship according to the *Book of Common Prayer* in the text of 1662. It was the only legal standard of public worship in the Church of England, but by the 'nineties the revivalists on the one hand and the rationalists on the other had not only produced theories of liturgical interpretation but expressed them in Sunday and other services. The liturgical revivalists themselves were in disagreement as to what should be revived. The condemnation of Anglican ordinations as invalid by Leo XIII in 1896 led incidentally to re-assertion of English liturgical particularism and the renewed study of purely insular ritual and ceremonial. In 1897 the Society of St Osmund revised the basis of its membership and as the Alcuin Club studied the ceremonial of Sarum. This authoritarian-anti-quarian movement

encouraged 'The English Use' (i.e. the Use of the Church of England), and found concrete expression in *The English Liturgy*. It was the Office for Holy Communion according to the Prayer-Book, with the music necessary to the minister, edited by G. H. Palmer, and Epistles and Gospels pointed for singing, together with additional collects, etc., allowed by a group of bishops. The Editors, W. H. Frere, Percy Dearmer and S. M. Taylor, produced a very fine book. The type was a satisfactory bold roman, the rubrics were in red, the initial letters, headpieces and tailpieces, designed by Laurence Housman, although a little precious to our eyes, stamp the volume as a genuine piece of contemporary design made before 'artistic' typography relapsed into the archaistic. The plain-chant for the prefaces is printed in red and black from line-blocks. The book was printed by T. & A. Constable, Edinburgh in 1903. In the same year the Rev. Dr Vernon Staley brought out with the De la More Press an octavo *Altar Service Book* printed in very fine style with line-decorations in the text appropriate to the feasts of the Anglican Kalendar. The book is very attractive and has more grace than *The English Liturgy*. The Canon is printed in large type and in red and black.

The official dress of the Prayer-Book continued to be that given it at the privileged presses. Its form marked it for what it was: a print annexed to a statute- or blue-book. The technique of first-class liturgical printing in England was still confined principally to the Chiswick Press, favourably known for its liturgical printing since Pickering printed Maskell's works there in 1844. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Cambridge, jointly with the Queen's Printers, published the photographic facsimile of the 'Book Annexed' which had been lost during the period 1819-67. In the 1890's the Rev. Dr J. Armitage Robinson (at the time canon of Westminster) came into active association with the Cambridge University Press on its liturgical side. Robinson combined a good knowledge of the requirements of the parish clergyman with first-class scholarship. He made a close comparison of the then existing Cambridge standard copy of the

*Book of Common Prayer*, with the photographic reproduction of the MS. 'Book Annexed' and revealed the fact that the standards of the privileged presses, while all equally based on the Sealed Books, showed considerable divergence. Upon this, the Syndics determined upon a revision of the Cambridge standard and appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Robinson. The new standard, first printed in 1896 in a Great Primer Super Royal 8vo. edition, was a book for the use of Ministers. It had the benefit of rubrics in red.

In 1902 Cambridge produced, under the direction of Armitage Robinson, a fine folio edition of the Holy Communion, with red rubrics and ornamental initials, printed on hand-made paper. This edition was used at the Coronation of Edward VII. During the same period Cambridge produced a small quarto Ordinal, printed in red and black, with ornamental initials, printed on hand-made paper.

In 1911 the University Press at Oxford, by employing their ancient 'Fell' types for the purpose, brought out an *Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper*, in a style not hitherto attempted at one of the privileged presses. In the following year Oxford published a complete folio *Book of Common Prayer*, printed in red and black. The setting and printing of both these exceptional editions are highly successful; no chant was attempted. While there was a probability of a new text being authorized, it was, perhaps, inevitable that the official printers should, generally speaking, continue to print in the old official 'blue-book' style.

An ambitiously produced folio 'lettered after the manner of the tenth-century English scribes, and decorated with specially designed initials and tailpieces' was published by Mowbray in 1920. The title, though long, is worth quoting: *The People's Missal. A Catholic Altar Book after the Sarum Use with Private Devotions from other Ancient Sources, National and Universal. For English-minded folk, both Clerical and Lay: containing a supplement of intercessions and various prayers arranged systematically according to each day in the week: directions also for English Ceremonial at a Solemn Eucharist.* The compilation of 'The Missal' was the work

of the Rev. E. A. L. Clarke, A.K.C. Books of this sort possessing the authority of 'English-minded' clergymen are used simultaneously with the *Book of Common Prayer*, copies of which are available to congregations in the editions issued by the privileged presses. The practice of interpolation from the Roman rite continued: it met and continues to meet with criticism from within the Church of England. Some critics held the Tractarian view and considered that the *Book of Common Prayer* not only preserved the essentials of Christian worship according to the Latin, but to the Greek rite. There were others of a different cast of mind who objected to the revival of the doctrines cast out by the framers of the Anglican liturgy and which would be brought back if the worship of the Established Church were reconstructed upon the lines favoured by the interpolators. It seemed to these, also, better to amend, if necessary, the Prayer Book rather than encourage 'great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm'. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1904 to enquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England, to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable there and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite, etc. The Commission, reporting in 1906, condemned the interpolation of the prayers and ceremonies belonging to the Canon of the Mass and a great many other features characteristic of the Roman rite as inconsistent with and subversive of the teaching of the Church of England as declared by the Articles and set forth in the Prayer Book. The practices, they said, were calculated in the aggregate to 'change the outward character of the service from that of the traditional service of the Reformed English Church to that of the traditional service of the Church of Rome'. The legalisation of a revised text of the *Book of Common Prayer* was pointed to as the remedy to the use of illegal liturgical worship in the Church of England. It was hoped at the same time to secure the greater elasticity which recognition of the comprehensive nature of the Church of England seemed to demand.

The task of revising the 1662 book, however, occupied a period of some twenty years. An immense literature was brought into being, some of it of great and permanent value. The Rev. Canon F. E. Brightman's monumental, indeed encyclopedic, two volumes on *The English Rite* (1915) form as complete and final a statement of the sources and development of the Prayer-Book as may be imagined. The work of revision was not hurried. It was not until 1927 that the long discussion came to an issue. The Church of England Assembly then passed a resolution to lay an approved text before the King. But first the new book needed to go through the Lords; it was passed. The Commons, however, were not so easily pleased; the book was defeated. The Church Assembly accepted the criticism but not the defeat; they resolved to seek authority to use the new book when amended as the Commons specified. But the introduction of a measure to this effect was also defeated in the Commons, whereupon the Church decided to print the amended book for 'information', without any claim to authority. The book entitled *The Book of Common Prayer with the additions and deviations proposed in 1928* was duly printed and copyrighted by the privileged presses on behalf of the Press and Publications Board of the Church of England. The Holy Communion according to the 1928 rite and also to that of 1662 are combined in a special quarto edition printed at Oxford to the design of Mr J. H. Arnold, who, with the late Bishop Frere, arranged the chant for the Prefaces, the printing of which is in red and black. The whole book is a highly satisfactory production.

Having failed to secure the approval of Parliament, the 1928 book did not become law. It was necessary, therefore, for the privileged presses to add the caution (which was composed in bold type) that 'The publication of this Book does not directly or indirectly imply that it can be regarded as authorized for use in churches'. That several thousand copies of it and of a small folio edition, all printed at the privileged presses, are annually sold prove that the 1928 book is firmly established in certain parts of the country.

Meanwhile offshoots from the Church of England were accustoming their congregations to forms of worship derived from the English rite. The Unitarian body are early examples of this practice, which now counts much larger bodies as fellows in this respect. The Unitarians in the eighteenth century worshipped in this way. In the nineteenth century Robert Wallace produced for his congregation at Chesterfield a *Form of Prayer* in 1826. G. B. Brock, of Swansea, published a revised Book of Common Prayer for his Unitarian congregation in 1847. *Special Services of Public Worship for the Use of the Churches of Christ* is a Unitarian rite published at Wakefield in 1859. It was natural that members of the Established Church who weakened under the surprise and strain of nineteenth-century science and criticism—Stopford Brooke, formerly Chaplain to Queen Victoria, is the type—should take over to the Unitarian body customs of the Church they had gone out from. The Unitarians, holding the view that God alone dealt with man, seem to have thought themselves as justified in dropping the 'Gloria Patri' as the Anglicans were in suppressing the 'Ave Maria'. So, at any rate, Dr Martineau would have argued. The extension of the liturgical idea of worship to other nonconformist bodies came later.

A pioneer in this course was the Rev. Dr John Hunter of Glasgow, who later introduced liturgical forms into a West End church. But as his successor the Rev. W. E. Orchard once said, whatever worship Mayfair may patronize it is not likely to be Congregationalist. Dr Orchard created for the Weigh House Church an eclectic rite which he printed at Oxford under the title *Order of Divine Service for Public Worship* (1919). Dr Orchard submitted to Rome in 1932. The *Book of Common Order 1928 for Use in Services and Offices of the United Free Church (of Scotland)* is not intended to be used as a liturgy, nor is there any obligation to follow, scrupulously or in exact detail, the orders it supplies. The aim of the book is to express the general Presbyterian mind upon the elements desirable in services. Of use to the compilers were John Knox's *Book of Common Order of the*

*Church of Scotland* (1561); the *Westminster Directory for the Public Worship of God* (1645); the *English Presbyterian Directory* (1921); Orchard's *Order of Divine Service for Public Worship* and *The Liturgy of the [Catholic Apostolic] Church*. The *Free Church Book of Common Prayer and of the Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites, Ceremonies and Services of the Christian Church* goes further in the direction of standardization than the *Book of Common Order*. It provides 'Orders of Worship' for ten services and four Litanies. There are, in addition: 'A Short Morning Order of Worship, commonly called Prime' and 'A late Evening Order, commonly called Compline'. There are two orders of the Eucharist, besides the occasional services; the book is put forth as an aid to the conduct of religious services rather than as a service-book in its own right.

Besides the great Free Churches, there are several small bodies whose services were regulated from their foundation by liturgical forms. The Catholic Apostolic Church had drawn largely upon the books of the Latin rite and upon the *Book of Common Prayer*. The earliest print of its liturgy is dated 1843, but I have not been able to inspect it, and my knowledge is of much later copies. The Latin language was occasionally used for the *Quicumque vult*. In 1865 or perhaps earlier (the books are not dated) the [Catholic Apostolic] Church printed at the Chiswick Press a remarkably handsome quarto edition of its formularies with the title of *The Liturgy and Services of the Church*. I have put the title of the Church in square brackets since it is difficult to ascertain its status. The Rev. Edward Irving did not himself so describe the organization he created, and that organization which continued to worship with the forms set out in *The Liturgy* neither uses the description in the title-page nor refers to it in the body of the book. It would appear that in 1854 or so a census clerk who, when making his return, asked a worshipper at the Newman Street Church the name of his religion was told that he worshipped 'as a member of the Catholic and Apostolic Church'. The books of the Church are uniformly well printed at the Chiswick Press. The copies printed upon vellum are now



rarely to be met with. As is well known, the liturgy is eclectic. It has been acknowledged that as a collection of prayers its merits impressed the compilers of the *Scottish Book of Common Order*.

In 1892 *The Liturgy of the Holy Eucharist according to the Use of the National Catholic Church of Italy* was published. The British Museum copy of the liturgy is lost and I regret to say that I have no particulars of the Italian Catholic Church and cannot say why its service was printed in English. The Evangelical Catholic Church printed at Oxford in 1903 an *Order for Vespers or Evensong daily throughout the Year*. I know no other order of worship for this Church until 1920 when, 'under the authority of the Bishop of Mercia, &c.', Mr Basil Blackwell published the *Order of the Ministration of the Lord's Supper, or Mass for the Use of Evangelical Catholics and others who refuse to recognize any division in the Church of Christ*. This service is a compilation from Anglican, Catholic Apostolic, Greek, Syrian and Roman sources. Almost simultaneously, that is, in 1919, there was published the *Liturgy according to the Use of the Liberal Catholic Church*. The volume was printed in Sydney, N.S.W., for use there and in churches in this country. A new edition (or a new work, I am not sure) entitled the *Ordinance of the Liberal Catholic Church* was published at Reading in 1927. The avowed object of the Liberal Catholic Church in its liturgy is to eliminate 'all reference to fear, misery, damnation and other blasphemous and nauseating misrepresentations of the Divine Love while keeping all the chief features of the ancient [chiefly Roman] liturgies intact'. The Eucharistic Rite of the Church, the offices of Prime, Vespers and Compline are printed with the plain-chant in modern notation. The belief of these hierarchies and congregations is that orders, vestments, a liturgy, ritual and ceremonial are all necessary to a Church and wherever found or however procured make any Church 'Catholic'.

#### THE LATIN RITE IN ENGLAND SINCE 1688

The liturgical books of such Churches draw extensively upon those of the Church of Rome. These had remained virtually

the same as in the sixteenth century. Changes in the books of the Latin rite had, however, occurred during the past hundred and fifty years. It is now our duty to record some of these. The changes have affected both general and provincial books. We will take the latter first. The Latin Church in this country was, as has been seen, emancipated as regards the saying of mass in 1778, and politically in 1829. As the Act enabled mass to be said openly, a restoration of liturgical observance gradually took place. A widespread degradation of ceremonial had inevitably attended the saying of mass on dressing-tables and chests of drawers. Freedom brought into the public view the body called by Palmer in the second volume of his *Origines Liturgicae* (1832) 'the Romish sect in England' and since legally called—not without intent to secure a controversial advantage—'Roman Catholics'. Its chief pastors in England, though of course in episcopal orders, were known as Vicars Apostolic. They exercised the functions of bishops and drew up any liturgical or quasi-liturgical forms that were necessary. Thus it was by authority of the Vicars Apostolic of the several districts into which the English mission was divided that there was first printed the quasi-liturgical service of the Latin rite known as Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The *Ritus Servandus in solemnī expositione et benedictione ssmi. sacramenti adiectis hymnis et litanis et orationibus quae in ipsa expositione et in aliis quibusdam sacris ritibus adhiberi solent* was first printed in this country in 1849 by Richardson, of Derby.

In 1850 the Vicars Apostolic were suspended by the Bull of Pius IX, which divided England into dioceses ruled by bishops, designated in accordance with the names of their sees. All have the right to compile the supplements to the Missal and Breviary which memorialize the feasts of locally famous martyrs and confessors, etc., and to publish them with the approval of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The books of the Latin rite, printed here though they may be, are required to accord with those printed at or authorized by Rome, that is, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. The English 'Roman Catholic' hierarchy, as a body under the presidency of the Archbishop of Westminster, has approved edi-

tions of the *Ritus Servandus* published in 1889 and 1893 by Messrs Burns and Oates. A revised and enlarged book, a splendid piece of typography designed and printed by Mr Bernard Newdigate at the Arden Press, Letchworth, was published in 1912 and officially added to in 1927. It includes among its preliminaries a rescript certified with a reproduction of the device of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. When, however, in 1915, Messrs Burns and Oates published a new edition of the provincial *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta*, i.e. the manual of occasional offices of the Latin rite, the sanction of Rome was not required. Sarum vestiges, principally in the section 'De Matrimonio' and the other sections in which the vernacular is used, are retained. The sub-title to the *Ordo* expressly says that it originated 'ex antiquo rituali anglicano', a phrase to be found as early as the 1759 edition. The colophon to the 1915 edition restates the book's provincial authority: 'Explicit ad Dei laudem liber ritualis apud Anglos usitatus....' This notable book, 'Oxoniae typis universitatis praelo datus', is composed in the 'Fell' types of the Oxford Press to the design of Mr Francis Meynell, later famous as the director and designer of the Nonesuch Press. The *Ordo* is rubricated in the correct style for official liturgical books of the Latin rite, thus restoring the style last seen in Hills's *Ordo* of 1686. On the half-title there is a device of the arms of St Thomas of Canterbury with the petition NOS NE CESSES THOMA TUERI engraved by Eric Gill. The 1915 *Ordo* was another sign of the revival of liturgical printing for which Mr Bernard Newdigate and Mr Francis Meynell are chiefly responsible, and respect for which they had stimulated among the monsignori by the very fine *Ritus Servandus* of 1912. The artistic movement of which these books were examples was inspired by the calligraphic teaching of Edward Johnston and the typographical teaching of Emery Walker and Cobden-Sanderson, which reaches back to William Morris. The quasi-liturgical books undertaken later by Messrs Burns and Oates are too numerous to be mentioned here. The Latin-English editions of the *Roman Missal*, the *Day Hours of the Church*, and the *Prymer* with introductions by Dr Adrian

Fortescue, Dom Fernand Cabrol and Fr. Herbert Thurston, S.J., which were published under the title of 'The Liturgy for Lay-folk' between the years 1913 and 1920, may be cited. All are printed in the traditional style.

The first world war brought to an end this consistent effort to restore to Latin liturgical books a measure of the decency which was theirs as a matter of course in England down to the sixteenth century. The effect of Messrs Burns and Oates's example, however, remained. At Ditchling, in Sussex, for instance, a group of Dominican Tertiaries engaged in various arts, among them printing, brought out a text of the Hours of our Lady as the tertiaries were used to sing them in their chapel. The *Horae Beatae Virginis Mariae iuxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum jussu editae MCMXXIII* excels the very high quality of Dominican typography already established in Desclée's editions of their rite and chant, the printing of which was authorized under the generalship of Fr. Hyacinth Cormier, O.P. The Ditchling *Horae B.V.M.* is a fine quarto, printed in red and black, and gives the complete chant. The hours are distinguished by wood engravings cut by Eric Gill. All the editions just referred to of the Latin rite, and extracts from it, published in this country were provincial. But the historic firm of Burns and Oates, founded by James Burns in 1834, publisher of Dyce's edition of the *Book of Common Prayer Noted* in 1844 which re-established plainsong in the esteem of Anglicans, were honoured in 1925 with the title of 'Printers to the Holy See'. They did not at once undertake the publication of the Missal, Breviary, Ritual or Pontifical. It will be convenient to refer later to a recent announcement by the firm.

#### CHANGES AT ROME

Notice needs to be taken of the changes affecting the universal Latin liturgy since the Council of Trent and affecting the printers and publishers charged with the task of correctly printing it. Neither the Holy See nor the Sacred Congregation of Rites claims for itself or sells to others a 'privilege' or 'patent' to print the books of either the Latin or the Greek rite. The phrase 'Jus

proprietas vindicabitur' implies a claim to the arrangement of the text, not to the words themselves. The 'Sanctae Sedis apostolicae et S. Rituum Congregationis Typographi' undertake to submit their work to the castigation of the authorities, to correct the text, and to offer to the clergy only the correct text. Notice, private and public, is usually given of important changes. It was known for years that Pope Leo XIII was considering important changes in the disposition of the Tridentine psalter.

In the edition of the Breviary issued according to the revision of the Council of Trent in 1568 and imposed by authority of St Pius V (1566-1572), the old, perhaps pre-Benedictine, but at least seventh- or eighth-century Roman, disposition of the psalter was, with certain exceptions, maintained and the general structure of the Franciscan edition as adopted by Pope Nicholas III in 1277 was preserved. The ideas of Cardinal Quiñonez which appealed to Paul III did not please his immediate successors: they had to wait for acceptance by Leo XIII and Pius X. The real faults of the medieval Breviary were not faced. The disturbing element, the number of Saints' days, was but lightly touched: some were reduced in rank, others were dropped. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) made his great reform in the Kalendar in 1582 which had consequences in the Missal and Breviary. The new edition of the Vulgate, prepared by Sixtus V (1585-1590), came out in 1590, and the scripture portions in the Missal and Breviary were required to correspond. Changes of a similar nature were required by the revision of the Vulgate made by Clement VIII (1592-1605). The general rubrics were further corrected by Clement VIII in 1602, and again thirty years later by Urban VIII, who also reformed, or rather deformed, the text of the Breviary hymns by bringing them under the classical rules of prosody. All these revisions, however, were only of a minor order: they did not make the Breviary as practical as the times required.

The fathers of the Vatican Council urged, among other requests, the necessity of thoroughly reforming the Breviary, by making a revision of the historical lessons and providing a new disposition of the psalms. Leo XIII (1878-1903) made rubrical changes in

1882, 1893 and 1897, but these admittedly were of a temporary order, for he had it in mind to create a commission on the Breviary, with wide terms of reference. In 1902 Monsignor Duchesne, Mgr. Wilpert, Mgr. G. Mercati, Fr. (later Cardinal) Ehrle, S.J., and others were appointed to revise the lessons from the historical and liturgical points of view.

But Leo XIII died, and the commission with him. Pius X became Pope on 4 August 1903, and at once appointed a new and larger commission instructed to deal immediately with what he considered to be the really urgent tasks. They were those which the Council of Trent had shirked, that is, (1) the reduction of feasts to the point at which it would be possible, in fact and not merely in theory, to permit (2) the recitation of the whole psalter once a week. The commission, under the chairmanship of Mgr. Pietro La Fontaine, secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, had its report ready within seven years. The new psalter was approved by Pius X and published by him in 1911. At the same time the Pope created a new Commission to study the criteria of the admission of new saints into the Universal Kalendar, the critical revision of the rubrics and the preparation of new common offices, etc. This work has still to be finished. The instalment published by Pius X is the only one published.

His Apostolic Constitution 'Divino afflatu', dated 1 November 1911, explicitly admitted that while the weekly recitation of the entire psalter was the ancient law and practice of the Church, due obedience to it had become a practical impossibility. The Sunday and ferial (or normal) weekday offices had been superseded by the special feasts of the many new saints added, in the course of centuries, to the Kalendar. The result was that many psalms were hardly ever recited and others were repeated wearisomely. The new psalter was imposed as from 1 January 1913, and printers were adjured to follow the text of the authentic edition which 'in Nostra typographia Vaticana adornari et indidem evulgari jussimus'. The new arrangement was binding upon all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other prelates of churches not excluding the Cardinal Archpriests

(Archipresbyteri) of the patriarchal basilicas of the city of Rome. It represents, in fact, a thorough handling of the problem. One of the reasons why the festal office had so often, and for so many centuries, been said, whenever possible, in preference to the ferial office was that its psalms and lessons were shorter. The holiday was a holiday from a portion of the 'onus diei' which normally falls upon those under the obligation. The new psalter prescribes the invitatory and the hymn of the feast, the psalms of the feria, the scriptural lesson of the feria and the historical lesson from the feast, a plan originally suggested in the Breviary of Cardinal Quiñonez, printed at Rome by Antonio Blado in 1535 and which secured a certain limited use with the approval of Pope Paul III. A number of new regulations were at the same time made to govern the precedence of feasts in the Missal. For the future, Sunday was hardly ever to be displaced by a Saint's day. The whole of these changes are set out in Canon Edmund Burton and the Rev. Edward (now Bishop) Myers's *New Psalter and its Use* (1912). For a practical approach to the correct saying of the Breviary of Pius X, Fr. Sheppard's *Simple Guide to the recitation of the New Breviary* (1920) may be referred to. So much for the Breviary.

Pius V's Missal was published two years after the Breviary, that is, in 1570. The text was virtually a reprint of the Milan edition of 1474, which itself was little more than a reproduction of the book used in most of the churches in Rome in the period 1150-1250. It was not the only rite, or rather use, obtaining in Rome, but it was, as the 1474 book specified in its 'incipit', the *Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem Curiae Romanae*, otherwise the 'Use' of the Pope's Chapel. The 1570 book changed its title to *Missale Romanum*, and it was imposed upon the canons of St Peter and of the Lateran, the two principal churches which had time out of knowledge used a rite of their own. The new title meant that Pius V had determined upon his own act of uniformity. The bull 'Quo primum' of 1570 prescribed the Missal of the Council of Trent as the sole standard for secular churches and permitted regulars to retain their peculiarities only if they could be shown



to possess a tradition of at least two centuries. Thus the Dominicans, for instance, maintained their customs.

No changes of importance have occurred in the Missal since the Council of Trent. The Kalendar reforms of Gregory XIII, and the Sixtine and Clementine revisions to the Vulgate text of the Bible which were applied generally, had their due effect upon the Missal. The rubrics were revised under Urban VIII (1623-1644) and by Leo XIII (1878-1903) in 1884. Four new Prefaces have since been added, all during the last quarter of a century. The *Prefatio de S. Joseph Sponso B.M.V.* and the *Prefatio Defunctorum* were added in 1919. The text of the latter is that of the old ninth-century Frankish rite. In 1927 the completely new Feast of our Lord Jesus Christ the King, introduced by Pius XI, contains a Preface proper to it. In 1929 a Preface for the Feast of the Sacred Heart of our Lord was added. No changes of importance have been made in the remaining books of the Latin rite. The text of the *Martyrologium* is that of 1584; of the *Pontificale* of 1596; of the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum* of 1600. The Roman Church was slow to accept the separation from the *Missale* of the occasional offices. The familiar *Rituale Romanum* is of seventeenth-century origin. Its most widely circulated forerunner was Alberto da Castello's *Liber Sacerdotalis nuperrime ex libris sancte Romane ecclesie et quarundam aliarum ecclesiarum... collectum atque compositum* of Venice, 1523, and many later editions. A similar book, the *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem sacrosancte Romane ecclesie*, a later (Venice, 1564) compilation, prepared the way for Santorius's private venture of a *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum* which, though printed in Rome in 1584, did not succeed in getting into circulation for many years later. Meanwhile Castello's *Sacerdotale*, revised to accord with the Decrees of Trent, appeared in new editions (Venice, 1585, 1587). The *Rituale Romanum*, now the standard book, appeared under the authority of Pope Paul V in 1614. Many extracts have been separately printed. The *Rituale Romanum*, though used in England, does not supersede the Anglo-Latin *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta*. The style of production of the *editiones typicae* of the official service-

books of the Roman rite has been maintained. All are printed with red rubrics. The quality of execution may be said to have improved, but the typographical standards of the Vatican could well be higher.

#### LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN LATIN LITURGICAL PRINTING

Two fine examples of modern liturgical printing, the production of which necessitates the inclusion of pages of the chant, are to be seen in the Mass for the Dead, both large folios, produced in Germany. One, designed by the Benedictines of Maria-Laach (suppressed by the Nazis in 1941), was printed at the Bremer Press, a private press established at Munich by Dr Willi Wiegand, for the production of fine editions. The Press also printed a large quarto missal in two volumes; a division which entailed the duplication of the 'Ordo' and 'Canon' and the rendering of the book inconveniently bulky. As a production it is more striking than successful. A second missal 'pro Defunctis' comes from the firm of Pustet, of Ratisbon, and is also a fine example of printing. In both the chant is magnificently set out. It remains, therefore, that the best liturgical work is still done on the Continent. Apart from Dr Lee's *Altar Service Book* 1867 and *The English Liturgy* 1903, a first-class printing of the music of the liturgy is difficult to find. It is not required of the University Presses, since the music is not prescribed in the Act of Uniformity. *The Prymer* which Messrs Burns and Oates published in 1919 contains the antiphons and psalm tones for the Office of the Dead. Mr Francis Burgess and the De la More Press have produced some correct and attractive pieces, but they can hardly be said to be extensive either in number or in volume. Mr Alexander Moring, however, should be saluted as a fine craftsman in liturgical and other lines working, when the big presses were less concerned than, happily, now, for the restoration of the highest typographical standards. Mr Moring's *Altar Music* printed and published by himself at the De la More Press in 1904 is a collector's piece. The production is intended to supplement Provost Staley's octavo *Altar Service Book* noticed at p. 87.

A quarto print of *The Music of the Preface and the Proper Prefaces* was published in 1936 as a supplement to the special edition of a portion of the 1928 Book mentioned on p. 90.

Ditchling *Horae* of the Blessed Virgin Mary, according to the Dominican rite, is the best example I have seen of English liturgical-music printing. The St Dominic's Press also produced a Choir Book, folio in format, which provides notation in very majestic size.

It is too much to hope that in the present circumstances any English publisher will be found to produce a worthy piece of musico-liturgical typography. It remains, therefore, highly satisfactory that Messrs Burns and Oates, Printers to the Holy See, should have recently announced a new edition of the Roman Breviary in Latin, printed according to the *editio typica* approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, for publication during 1943-1944. The book is in process of composition at the University Press, Cambridge. From pages of it that I have been privileged to inspect, the edition may be expected to compare favourably with the finest work done at Tournai, Ratisbon, Tours or Rome. It is to be hoped that this enterprise will be followed by the publication of a *Missale* fit to rank with the London editions of Pynson and Day and the finest Paris editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

#### THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGLICAN LITURGICAL PRINTING

A number of fine Anglican books have been produced in recent years. The Society of St Peter and St Paul was founded in 1910, for the production of liturgical books for the use of members of the Church of England. The Society's editions reproduced the Prayer Book rite, with such other supplementary matter from the Roman Rite as had become customary in certain Churches of the Establishment. The general style of the production of these 'missals' is highly attractive. The printer's ornaments of the Baroque period are very effectively used, and the typographical resources of the Chiswick and other

Presses ingeniously employed by the designer, Mr Samuel Gurney.

More recently, up-to-date methods of type designing and casting have been applied to the production of cheap editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* and of the Bible. Inspired by *The Times*, which, in 1929–1932, procured a design of its own, the privileged presses commissioned several founts of type fashioned to secure the greatest measure of legibility in the narrow space of a Prayer-book column. The opportunity was taken to re-design the composition of the text, to clarify the italic rubrics, and at Cambridge, by the omission of paragraph marks, and by judicious spacing, to help the convenient use of the book. To-day the public has a wider and better choice of editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* produced at low prices than ever before in the history of that book.

The improvement in the design of Anglican liturgical books was again exemplified in the *Order for the Coronation of their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth*. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl Marshal were glad to abandon the old 'blue-book' precedents. The authorized editions by the three presses were set in accordance with the historic conventions visible in liturgical books printed before the breach with Rome. The most recent example of fine Anglican liturgical typography is *The Order of Solemn Entrance*, i.e. for the opening of the Nave of Liverpool Cathedral in 1941, printed at Cambridge. The *editio maior* of this Rite is a demy folio, printed correctly in red and black and employing magnificent large initials to distinguish the several most solemn portions of the service. The production may take rank as one of the finest pieces of liturgical printing for the Church of England executed in this country and is comparable with the first edition of Mr Newdigate's and Mr Francis Meynell's *Ritus Servandus* in 1912. It must be added that the latter, unlike the Liverpool service-book, includes a few lines of chant.

## THE PRESENT DAY

### SUMMARY

#### FREE CHURCH ADAPTATIONS OF THE ENGLISH RITE

There is no sign as yet that the extension of liturgical worship to the Free Churches has led to an appreciation of ancient liturgical music. The *Free Church Book of Common Prayer* (1929) does, however, preserve the old Latin titles in its Psalter. The Psalms themselves are pointed in accordance with Anglican chants as in the *Psalms newly pointed* (S.P.C.K.). It may not be too fanciful to expect, in the future, that some Free Church congregations may discover the utility of the Gregorian chant just as they have realized the utility of prayers from the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Mass-books. In such a case we should, in due time, see the production of a Free Church Psalter, the music of which would correspond with that introduced into England by St Augustine. An echo of Newman's appreciations, without his apprehensions, is to be found in the Rev. Dr Nathaniel Micklem's *Prayers and Praises* just published. Dr Micklem, who is a Congregationalist, commends the Roman obligation to recite the Breviary daily and the Anglican to recite Morning and Evening Prayer. He himself in his younger days said 'the Hours (that is, Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline) and I derived real help from this'. He admits, too, that it might have been better for his soul had he maintained the practice. It is more than probable that many individual Christians in England of no particular 'persuasion' privately sustain their devotion by material drawn from the Hours of the Roman Breviary and the prayers in the Roman Missal, and the Anglican Prayer Book.

In public worship, at the present time, it would appear that the liturgical books used in connexion with the eucharistic rites of the principal Christian Church in the country comprises:

1. The fully authorized *Book of Common Prayer* printed according to the 1662 text.
2. The same Book with the additions and deviations of 1928, unauthorized by the House of Commons, but approved by the Anglican bishops, Convocations and the Church Assembly.
3. The Books, such as *The English Liturgy*, which provide the Prayer-book Rite of Holy Communion with additional musical matter extracted from Sarum sources.

In addition there are the 'interpolated' uses of the English rite embodied in:

4. The Books, such as the *Priest to the Altar*, the *English Missal*, the *Missale Anglicanum*, which are a conflation of the Rite of Holy Communion according to the Prayer-book of either (a) 1549 or (b) 1662; and the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass according (a) to the ancient *Missale ad usum Sarum* and (b) to the modern *Missale Romanum*. These 'Missals' are compiled by committees or individuals, who regard themselves as ministers of a Church that is a 'branch' of the Western Church equally with, for example, the Church of France.

In the churches and chapels belonging to religious societies a similar diversity of use no doubt prevails. It was natural for sisterhoods based upon the model and rule of the Sisters of St Vincent de Paul or of St Francis de Sales to assume as an obligation the recitation of the Breviary. The Rev. J. M. Neale's translation of the office for the East Grinstead Sisters was posthumously published in 1870. For the use of the Devonport Sisters an English version of the *Breviary according to the Renowned Church of Salisbury* translated from Kingston and Sutton's London edition of 1555, one of the last Sarum Breviaries published in the reign of Queen Mary, was printed in 1885. Recently (1921) a Monastic Breviary, for the use of the Wantage Sisters, was printed in two volumes at the University Press, Oxford.

In the great Free Churches, besides the *Free Church Book of Common Prayer* already mentioned, several formularies derived from the English rite are used in the several denominations. The Wesleyan Methodists use a fuller book, or rather books.

5. *The Book of Offices, being the Orders of Service authorized for use in the Methodist Church*, together with the *Order for Morning Prayer* (1936), is their Sacramentary, or Mass Book. It contains the Orders for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, for Baptism, for Matrimony, for the Ordination of Candidates for the Ministry, for the Ordination of Deaconesses, and for the Burial of the Dead, etc.
6. *Divine Worship, approved by the Conference for optional use in Methodist Churches* (1935), is a volume of services for morning and evening, with prayers for seasons and special occasions. There is, for example, the Office for the Dedication of a Church. An admirable set of Collects beseeching the Divine blessing upon the Church, the nation and the work of men in authority over both, complete this book, one of the fullest I know in the English language.
7. The Congregational Churches use *A Manual for Ministers*. It has a Foreword by the Rev. Dr S. M. Berry; the book is dated 1936.

The Baptists employ a volume of prayers and addresses which the editor offers as suggestions to his brother-ministers.

8. *The Minister's Manual containing Orders of Service for Marriage, Dedication of Infants, Baptism of Believers, Communion of the Lord's Supper, Burial of the Dead* and other occasions now in its second edition. It was arranged by the Rev. M. E. Aubrey, C.H., with assistance from the Rev. Dr F. Townley Lord and the Rev. Hugh Martin, and its 'status' is, one may suppose, still that of a piece of private enterprise. The book is not dated.

The *Minister's Manual* represents a minimum of liturgical observance. Nevertheless, the Marriage Service contains survivals



from the Sarum use. So far, the Baptist book is evidence of the conservatism of the mass of the English people when left to themselves. There is no evidence in the sixteenth century that the people wanted their service-books changed. Their religion was altered for them by the monarchs. Henry VIII made them Anglican in 1531; Edward VI forced them into a more up-to-date and Protestant brand of Anglicanism in 1549; Queen Mary turned them back to Popery in 1553; Queen Elizabeth back again to Protestantism in 1559. Parliament made Presbyterians of them in 1643 and Charles II Anglicans once more in 1662. In 1688 the English, growing tired of changing their religion at the will of their monarch, changed their monarch rather than put up with any more of it. Since then their religion has been 'Protestant', that is, a religion chosen by the individual according to his personal 'feeling'. Thanks principally to the nonconformists a great number of the English have believed in parliamentarianism, republicanism, democracy and, always, in optimism. Some theologians hold that, even at Geneva, the ultimate appeal of Calvin was to the people as the actual sovereign authority. The Stuarts certainly hated the Presbyterians, with the Baptists, who were, and are, Calvinists. What is certain is that after 1688 the English, purely as Parliamentarians, took it in hand to manage their own religious doctrines and practices. And as they did this they became convinced that to do so was sound politics. By the end of the next century religion was no longer politics; rather, politics was religion. Wesley's preaching and hymn singing fitted perfectly into the English scheme of religion—if anything English in the realm of religion can be said to be a scheme. It meant a revival of religion but not a revival of doctrinal definition or of systematic thinking. It was the forerunner not of theological dogma but of democratic reform. For optimism is essential to ecclesiastical and political democracy, while a readiness to qualify it is a necessary preliminary to acceptance of a 'Supreme Governor' of the Church, whether Pope or King. To-day the Liturgy is growing in esteem for reasons in part theological and in part literary. A national factor is absent as yet, and those who use

English liturgical forms necessarily dispute among themselves the authority by which they use them.

#### LITURGICAL RATIONALE

This book has considered liturgical books dispassionately and purely from the bibliographical point of view, as documents on the practice of religion by the English destined, let us say, for inclusion in the library of an institute of historical studies. The collection and study of such documents is easily justifiable on such grounds, as has already been claimed, at page 4 in the introduction. It is also justifiable on scientific grounds. It is obvious, too, that their study is justifiable on literary grounds.

But the fundamental reason why missals and breviaries have been used in England, and continue in use, is not merely that they contained a noble heritage and a wealth of devotion in beautiful and poetic form. They continued in use during the centuries because these virtues had won establishment by authority. The eucharistic and choir offices were the authorized versions of private prayer that had become common prayer. Whereas private prayer binds the individual conscience, common or public prayer binds that of all who share it. That 'binding' is the contribution which authority makes to prayer. A liturgy can only be a liturgy in so far as it binds more than the individual. The individual Christian offerings have to be gathered, and thus become the offering of a Christian community conscious of its public recognition as the Church Militant. This can only be done by authority exercised in behalf of the united community. Therefore, when that consciousness of unity does not exist and the power to authorize a liturgy is disputed, as it is in England, the essential, i.e. common or community, value of liturgical expression is proportionately lessened.

Simultaneously with the decay of institutional religion, which has been conspicuous in the spiritual history of England during the last half century, there has occurred in the minds of Christians and non-Christians alike a great weakening of belief in the principle of Church establishment. Notwithstanding, it is safe to

predict that in Protestant England 'there will always be a Liturgy' and that, however far revision may go, the resulting liturgies will recognizably derive from the *Book of Common Prayer* which itself reaches back to the Roman rite. The discussion that produced the suggestions made in the Anglican 1928 book and the additions carried into effect in the Free Church and Methodist Books prove—to use the words of Tract 75—that 'there is so much of excellence and beauty in the Services of the Breviary' that constant recourse will be made to it and other liturgical books of the Roman and other ancient rites.

#### LITURGICAL VARIETY

For these and other reasons, a growing variety of Protestant liturgical observance is to be looked for. This need not, necessarily, be feared. A wide margin of variety is a condition of healthy religious life. Indeed, experience proves that a liturgy deprived of the power to accept accretions and to depart from uniformity is as good as dead. The Act of Uniformity is dead. There never was much chance of survival of the Act, if only because the directions in the rubrics of the *Annexed Book* are insufficient in number and ambiguous in meaning. One of the consequences of the *Book's* lack in provision for the exigencies of life is an increase in the use of specially drafted forms for national occasions of prayer and intercession. Hence, while there can be no doubt that some measure of control is necessary if the growth of new forms and ceremonies are not to multiply at the expense of the older, a reasonable toleration is essential.

Liturgical particularism can, as the medieval story makes plain, become a great abuse. So far as the country as a whole can be regarded as partly Christian and mostly Protestant, the need for a liturgical authority must remain. In the absence of a statutory body, religious communities will naturally look for an example to follow. Thus there would appear to be a place in Protestant England for a recognized centre, preferably a cathedral, of liturgical practice. It would be singularly appropriate, therefore, if a cathedral, preferably a new foundation, should exercise a liturgical

function in the twentieth century analogous to that of Salisbury Cathedral in the fourteenth century. It might be possible thus to protect the Liturgy from individualist, antiquarian and artistic cranks whose tendency to turn the Liturgy into a hobby imperils the appeal of public worship to healthy minds.

If, then, it is justified to build a cathedral as a supreme shrine of the liturgical worship of God, embodied in a supreme offering of architectural craftsmanship, it is surely fit to build in its precincts a library for the instruction of man in the history, art and craft of worship. In the past there has been much thinking and re-thinking of the dogmatic position taken up by all Christian communities; and it cannot be doubted that the conditions of the post-war period will impel thought concerning the basic ideas of Christianity; and also upon the principles of Christian worship. If the foregoing bibliography proves anything, it is that opposition to 'Manuals and Handmaids of Devotion, the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgist clapt together and quilted out of Scripture' has not been maintained by Milton's descendants. History, in fact; proves that the liturgy has come to stay. But, from the contemporary standpoint, it is not so plain that the liturgy has yet come to life. Perhaps there has been overmuch 'quilting out of Scripture' and overlittle use of the vital and creative contacts of daily worship with daily life. There has, perhaps, been overmuch concern with revivalism, e.g. of the Uses of Sarum, of Lyons, or of Toledo, and overlittle new expression of contemporary needs.

The building of a library, even a library for liturgy, will hardly avail to our salvation if it leads only to the publication of quartos on the liturgical colours of the fourteenth century and monographs of the purely archeological sort. As the bibliography proves, there has been no shortage of scholarship during the last two centuries and our sketch of liturgical history will have been very little to the purpose if it should lead only to a mere 'escapist' study of the old service-books. There are other than antiquarian purposes to be served which the genius of the liturgy permits and encourages. If we are right in thinking that the liturgy has a

future as well as a past, we have reason to count ourselves fortunate that the elasticity of the responsorial element in the liturgy makes it easy for public worship of that kind to participate more and more closely in the general social impulse so characteristic of our time. The elements for a syndicalisation of liturgical worship, i.e. a restoration of contact with the crafts, are not lacking.

#### ROMAN PRECEDENTS

The current *Rituale Romanum*, for instance, provides hundreds of blessings for every 'blessed' occasion and thing which the layman *qua* layman experiences and needs in his, or her, life. But, while the *Rituale* is not rich with vocational blessings, the religious and social value of secular work is recognized. The Reformation and the rise of industrialism carried through the destruction of guild-life; and with these changes went the abandonment of guild services. These had been drawn from the current books of the Roman rite; as may be seen, for example, from the anniversary services on the Feast of St John, held by the Parisian Printers, whose guild holds full continuity with the medieval Guild of Illuminators and Scribes. But these services contained no more specific mention of printing and books than was implied in the choice of patron saint and feast day. The Roman rite makes much more explicit vocational provision for the many services appropriate to religious orders and congregations, both contemplative and active. And there seems no reason why, for instance, if the Carmelites are given an indult for their specific offices, the Catholic members of the W.R.N.S. should not have something of the kind. The difficulty lies, as may be imagined, rather in the drafting of the text, than in the provision of the 'Imprimatur' for the printing. It is a question of appointing somebody willing to act on the truism that secular workers in groups are capable of actions to which as individuals they would seldom rise. Lottin, the historian of the Paris Fraternity of Printers, Scriveners and Binders, well says that although men, in their private lives, conflict with the discipline they claim to respect, they never associate together professionally without placing themselves explicitly

under the sanction of religion; as, for example, Lottin mentions his own confraternity which had for its patron 'Monseigneur S. Jean l'Evangeliste'. On the eve of the Saint's feasts of May 6 and December 27, they attended Vespers and next day High Mass. The Confraternity was keen enough on the details of the services to stipulate with the ecclesiastical authorities that the Mass should be sung solemnly 'à haute voix', and that the celebrant, with the deacon and subdeacon, should be robed in the best vestments, and use the best books; all of which the Confraternity bound themselves to supply. It is satisfactory to be able to add that a London Guild of workers in the printing and publicity trades of London has organized itself under the patronage of St John and attends mass on May 6 annually. It cannot be doubted that the Guild would be grateful for the opportunity of compensating with an appropriate stipend a chaplain who, by acting in the capacity of what the trade calls a 'copy-writer', would render the Guild's petitions into phrases befitting the craft and the occasion.

It is obvious that a rite which already authorizes blessings with proper collects and responses as a *benedictio navis*, and *viae ferreae*, and *telegraphi*; also of *officinae librariae et machinae typographicae*, of *machinae itineri aereo destinatae*, and of *machinae ad excitandam lucem electricam*, will not refuse it to services drafted by and for mariners, book-sellers, printers, telegraphers, air-pilots, electricians; in short for separate and 'direct' services for men and women organized according to their occupations and crafts.

#### ANGLICAN 'DIRECT' LITURGICAL SERVICES

Signs are not wanting of contemporary adaptations of ancient liturgical principles to Anglican services. The adaptations referred to do not, to be sure, conform with the Act of Uniformity. That Act requires all services supplementary to the *Book of Common Prayer* to be arranged solely from the elements of that Book. The sterility of a liturgy handicapped in these days by the Acts of 1549, 1552, 1559 and 1662 needs no more emphasis than is implied by Archbishop Lord Lang's speech at Bristol on the occasion of the rehallowing of St Mary Redcliffe on November 3, 1933.

He then drew attention to the advantage of a special service that was not a 'mutilation of evensong'. More recently, his successor has laid stress upon the need for the Church of England to welcome its people by means of specially written 'supplementary' services.

In fact highly successful services expressing the intercessions and thanks of particular groups of men and women banded together in work of social value have been held. I have before me several admirable examples, well enough printed, of offerings of worship which are the result of consultations with those who were closely associated with the avocations which the services were designed to commemorate, *e.g.*, the fathers of a metropolitan City, the Naval and Merchant heads of a great Port, the chiefs of the R.A.F., the leaders of Civil Defence and wardens of A.R.P. services. Such services, whose responses and litanies were drafted under the supervision of an authorized and instructed liturgist, with the help of the laymen concerned, expressed the worship and held the human attention of the several congregations for which they were arranged. To the essential requirements, *i.e.* of liturgical propriety and dignity of language, there was added vocational appropriateness. There was, it will be noted, little real novelty in the functions. The combination of thankoffering and petition is as old as the Temple and the Synagogue. The novelty consisted in the officers and men of the Royal Navy and Merchant Navy being given the direct opportunity to assist in the drafting of the collects and responses. On the occasion of the special Liverpool service held in 1930 affirming the Port's Kinship with the Sea, the praises of God were sung by men who had the best of reasons for appreciating the significance of the responses. The value of such a service that has been written in direct contact with those who have experienced the needs for which liturgical petition is made needs no apology. Vocational services so drafted have survived the test of use in a large building and that, not in one year only, but in several.



## PRESENT DAY VOCATIONAL SERVICES

### THE BEGINNINGS

Twenty years ago, a service of thankoffering was held for men of the sea in the cathedral of a port from which the ships go out. A fine congregation of officers and men of the Royal Navy paraded. The chaplains and choirs sang handsomely to the accompaniment of coughs from the officers and the men. The select preacher faced a congregation whose attitude was respectful rather than attentive.

Next year the same thankoffering was made. The failure was equally plain. Somebody at the time disposed of the service by describing it as a function at which 'nothing real happened'. The failure promised to be as customary as the service itself but for the fact that one of the clergy was 'lunched' by some of the mariners. He asked them if, in the experiences in their lives, they were spontaneously moved to feel thankful to God. Yes, all men of the sea had cause, from time to time, to ejaculate a thankoffering; and so, at another meal-time, written thankofferings were forthcoming. At a later meeting agreement was reached that there should be two prayers: the official one, read by captains at sea, should first be read by a captain; and a second prayer, leading up to the Lord's Prayer, should be said by all. Strings of collects were never favoured, but the thankofferings and petitions as drafted became a permanent part of the revised service.

In the course of years the Benedictions of the Sea have increased in number, and in degree of correspondence with the vocations of the men. Thus the mainstay of the Service was what was said and sung by men with experience of the ships and the sea. The choir was dispensed from the task of singing elaborate responses and the single anthem was relegated to a position in the preparation. The sermon gave place to a business-like gathering-together of

reflections which culminated in the seamen's petition to God, for help in relating their whole life with beauty of the sea and all to His love and His providence. The form was easy to follow. It is here reprinted, with a few omissions, from the original text:

A SERVICE FOR OFFICERS AND MEN OF  
THE ROYAL NAVY

*PREPARATION: An anthem will be sung:*

AN ANTHEM OF THE SEA

BEHOLD the sea itself,  
And on its limitless heaving breast, the ships.  
And out of these a chant  
For the sailors of all nations,  
Whom fate can never surprise nor death dismay.  
All brave captains  
And all intrepid sailors,  
And mates,  
And all that went down doing their duty.

O MY brave Soul!  
O farther sail!  
    O farther sail!  
O daring joy, joy, joy,  
Are they not all the seas of God?  
O my brave Soul!  
    O farther,  
    Farther sail!

¶ *After the Anthem a short address by the Chaplain of the Port will be given, first saying:*

UNTO our minds give freedom and uprightness.

All: Give freedom and uprightness.

*The Chaplain:* Let strength and courage lead o'er land and wave.

All: O'er land and wave.

*THE ACKNOWLEDGMENTS to be read by all, seated; a space for silence between each.*

AT THY CALL, O GOD, men first ventured upon the moving waters, lakes, rivers, oceans, in rudely fashioned boats, learning the elements of sea craft.

GOD WE PRAISE for their hard gained knowledge and skill, for the courage which led them to essay longer voyages from lakeside to lakeside, headland to headland, out to the mouths of estuaries; until, impelled by strange inner impulse, some seaman set the bows of his craft towards the seaward horizon and, with steadfast eager eyes, steered onward to the far unknown.

WE FOLLOW that first ocean voyager, seeker of new lands, forerunner of the great line of seamen—of many nations these—who began the diuturnal battle with the sea, its tempests, its calms, its infinite incalculable moods, its lurking dangers, its ceaseless tides, ever seeking knowledge of the world beyond.

WE FORGET NOT the evils that oft-times marred the greater glory of man's conquests of the sea.

R<sup>y</sup>. From greed, from meanness and from cruelties, deliver us, good Lord.

TERRIBLE and magnificent is the sea in its proof through the ages of man's courage and strength, his endurance, his stern self-reliance, his gradual mastery of sea craft, his widening skill in ship construction, his dawning knowledge of science, of astronomy, meteorology, and engineering; his inventions, recordings, questings; his gatherings of infinite sums of knowledge and resource, bringing into being the great fleet of ships that sail the oceans of the world to-day.

MAGNIFICENT the unswerving fortitude, the enduring loyalty, the selfless sacrifice, of the men of the Royal Navy, who, true to the heritage of the centuries, and in fulfilment of their chosen duty keep watch over the great sea lanes for the passage of our Merchant Fleet, safeguarding the true freedom of the seas for the ultimate world brotherhood of mankind.

¶ *Then all shall sing a hymn of the sea.*

### *THE AFFIRMATION OF DUTY*

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, WESTERN APPROACHES, shall be conducted from his stall to the place of the exhortation, and addressing the whole company he shall say:

WE of this BRITISH NATION, founded in Sea Tradition, are gathered in our Cathedral Church to remember before ALMIGHTY GOD our duty to all who serve in the Royal Navy and Merchant Navy, their ships, and the men who sail them through all the seas and oceans of the world, through the hazards of war and tempest, climate, reef and shoal, in the convoying of victory and the establishing of a new and steady interchange of the world's resources, a fuller understanding of its peoples and nations: and to Pray for grace to do our duty, watchful at our posts, adventuring in the spirit of ungrudging service with our Sovereign Lord the King.

¶ *Then all the people shall sing:*

GOD SAVE THE KING

*The Commander-in-Chief shall continue:*

Thus may this Act of Prayer strengthen the Vigilance and Sacrifice of those on Sea and those Ashore, deepen our understanding of the Just and Righteous Will of GOD, and bring nearer the Day of Final Victory.

¶ *When the Commander-in-Chief has spoken, the Dean shall begin the Petition, all joining with him and saying:*

OUR FATHER

*After which the Official Prayer will be said by all:*

○ ETERNAL LORD GOD, who alone spreadest out the heavens, and rulest the raging of the sea; who has compassed the waters with bounds until day and night come to an end: Be pleased to receive into thy Almighty and most gracious protection the persons of us thy servants, and the Fleet in which we serve. Preserve us from the dangers of the sea, and from the violence of the enemy; that we may be a safeguard unto our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King GEORGE, and his Dominions, and a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions; that peoples of the world may in peace and quietness serve thee our God; and that we may return in safety to enjoy the blessings of the land, with the fruits of our labours; and with a thankful remembrance of thy mercies to praise and glorify thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *After a Hymn has been sung, the Scripture will be read by the Rear-Admiral, Flag-Officer in Charge:*

THE SPIRIT OF GOD moved upon the face of the waters.  
T And God divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament.  
And the gathering together of the waters called he seas.  
The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly: but yet the Lord, who dwelleth on high, is mightier.  
He layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters.  
He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind.  
His way also is in the sea, and his paths in the great waters; and his footsteps are not known.  
They that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters; these men see the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep: how he maketh the storm to cease so that the waves thereof are still: and so he bringeth them to the haven where they would be.

I WAS in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice.  
And the voice was as the sound of many waters.  
And I turned to see the voice that spake with me;  
And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying: Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them.  
And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God. On either side of the river was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

¶ *Following the Scripture the men of the sea, all seated, will say THE BENEDICTIONS OF THE SEA; the responses will be made by the Chaplains standing at the Altar:*

ALL Honour and Glory be unto Him who Created the Sea.

Ry. Blessed be God.

BLESSED be the glory of the Lord in this our sea-encompassed earth.  
In the blessings of the snows,  
The rain, and the dew,  
Which fall upon the mountain and plain,  
Hill and valley.

Ry. Blessed be the Ruler of our Sea-encompassed Earth.

BLESSED be the Giver of the waters,  
The myriad springs,  
The countless brooks.  
Small and mighty rivers,  
Lakes and inland seas,  
Bays, creeks and channels,  
Oceans and outer seas.

Ry. Blessed be the Giver of the Waters.

BLESSED be God for our ships, great and small.  
Blessed the craftsmen who build, and those who send them forth.

Ry. Blessed be God for all Ships, Great and Small.

BLESSED are the families of mankind  
By the ceaseless cleansing tides of the ocean,  
Their rhythmic ebb and flow.  
By the steadfast currents and streams.

Ry. Blessed the Cleansing Tides.

BLESSED the great constant winds of the oceans.  
The trade winds, monsoons,  
The south encircling forties,  
The northern westerlies.

Ry. Blessed the Constant Winds.

BLESSED the unending beauty of the seas and oceans,  
The ineffable, wondrous colour of sky, cloud and sea;  
The birds, the fishes, the sounds.  
The view of distant coast and hinterland from a ship's deck,  
The breathless loveliness of a tropic dawn,  
The cold blue grandeur of the iceberg.

Ry. Blessed the Beauty of the Sea.

BLESSED the calms of the ocean;  
Blessed also the storms and tempests,  
Which throughout the ages have challenged man's strength,  
Cradled his skill,  
Called forth his vigilance, endurance and courage,  
His sacrifices of self for the common good.

Ry. Blessed every Sacrifice of Self for the Common Good.

BLESSED the headland, the lighthouse,  
The mountain, the Cathedral tower,  
The point of departure on a long trans-ocean voyage.  
Blessed the first sight of land,  
The emerging of a mountain from the clouds,  
The looming of the light of a city at night,  
The flashing beam of a lighthouse,  
The tree-tops rising over a clear horizon,  
The land-fall at the voyage's end.

Ry. Blessed the Land-fall at the Voyage's End.

BLESSED the sure traditions of the great seamen of the past.  
Their brave deeds, sung and unsung;  
Blessed in the heritage they have left behind.

Ry. Blessed be God for Valiant Traditions.

BLESSED be the Name of the ever-present God  
In the spirit of the whole body of seamen to-day.  
The admirals, the captains, the commanders, all officers, all ratings,  
All sailors, stewards, engineers, mates and masters, all ranks, of all ships.

Ry. Blessed be God for Men of Duty in all Ranks, of all Ships.  
And Blessed the Freedom and Righteousness that shall Prevail.

¶ *All shall say together the prayer of Nelson:*

MAY THE GREAT GOD WHOM I WORSHIP grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in anyone tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British Fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him that made me, and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself and the just cause which it is entrusted to me to defend. Amen. Amen. Amen.

¶ *The Service will end with A BLESSING given by the Bishop.*

A recent example of a service constructed from traditional elements, and drafted by a number of the men of the Fighter and Bomber Commands, *i.e.* of the vocations it was intended to consecrate, was held in connexion with the 25th anniversary of the R.A.F.



A member of Fighter Command who co-operated in the drafting of the service laid stress upon the policy of the Royal Air Force to avoid singling out the exploits of individuals. It was assumed, he said, that they derive their individual inspiration and courage from the source of tradition embodied in the Service as a whole—the tradition of air-crews and ground-crews alike. In a Service like the Royal Air Force all depend on all. The pilot and the air-crew are the spear-point of the Royal Air Force, but they depend for their thrust upon the zeal and efficiency and spirit of all ranks. Battles are won in the air, but the weapons of victory are forged in the aircraft factories, in the workshops and maintenance units, by the fitters and the flight mechanics, the armament and signals staffs, by efficient administration in all departments—in fact, by every member, airman and airwoman, whose heart and zeal are in their daily job, however obscure and seemingly unimportant it may seem to be.

## JUBILEE SERVICE FOR THE ROYAL AIR FORCE

### ADDRESS

#### THE PREPARATION

V. If I climb up into heaven, Thou art there;

R. If I take the wings of the morning, Thou art there also.

V. If I go to the uttermost parts of the sea, Thou art there also;

R. And thy right hand shall hold me.

#### A PSALM

**I** WILL LOVE THEE, O LORD, my strength; the Lord is my rock, and my defence: my Saviour, my God, and my might, in whom I will trust, my buckler, the horn of my salvation, and my refuge.

He bowed the heavens, and came down: and it was dark under his feet. He rode upon the cherubims, and did fly: he came flying upon the wings of the wind.

He shall deliver me from my strongest enemy: and from them which hate me.

¶ *To be read by all in silence:*

THERE is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon. The Air Service has its own advantages, its own trials, and its own marks of distinction. The air service still flourishes; its health depends on a secret elixir of immortality, which enables a body to repair its severest losses. The name of this elixir is tradition, and the greatest of all the achievements of the air service is that in a very few years, under the hammer of war, it has fashioned and welded its tradition, and has made it sure. Critics who speak of what they have not felt and do not know have sometimes blamed the air service because, being young, it has not the decorum of age. The Latin poet said that it is decorous to die for one's country; in that decorum the service is perfectly instructed. But those who meet the members of a squadron in their hours of ease, among gramophones and pictorial works of art suggestive of luxury, forget that an actor in a tragedy, though he play his part nobly on the stage, is not commonly tragic in the green-room. If they desire intensity and gravity, let them follow the pilot out on to the aerodrome, and watch his face in its hood, when the chocks are pulled away, and he opens the throttle of the engine. No Greek sculpture is finer in its rendering of life and purpose. To see him at his best they would have to accompany him, through the storm of the anti-aircraft guns, into those fields of air where every moment brings some new trial of the quickness of his brain and the steadiness of his nerve. He is now in the workshop where tradition is made, to be handed down as an heir-loom to the coming generations. It will not fail to reach them. The Royal Air Force is strong in the kind of virtue that propagates itself and attains to a life beyond life. The tradition is safe.

### THE ACCLAMATION

#### HYMN

'Praise the Lord. Ye heavens, adore him'

¶ *The Air Vice-Marshal shall bid the celebration of the Royal Air Force, first saying:*

God Save the King

WE are assembled in our Cathedral Church to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the Royal Air Force, child of the military Royal Flying Corp and of the Royal Naval Air Service, now

equally potent with the Navy and the Army; to call to mind that no modern battle could be begun, continued or concluded on land or sea without its aid; to rejoice that as an independent instrument the Royal Air Force may do again, perhaps this year or next, what the independent Air Force did in 1917. It may hurry this war to its conclusion. And as our country was saved by our fighting pilots in 1940, so, with the help of God, it shall now be saved by our bomber and coastal pilots.

So let us praise our famous men. Let us commemorate with praise the pilots and air-crews, front gunners, rear gunners, observers, navigators, and wireless operators of the Royal Air Force. Let us honour those who devise our aerial strategy. Let us acclaim those airmen and airwomen who detect with science and vigilance the approach of the enemy by day and by night. Let us extol the ground-crews with all those who by their devotion and skill on the ground make possible the exploits of their comrades in the air. Let us acclaim, let us commemorate, let us congratulate, let us give praise to God for the makers of our tradition and the unseen distributors of the secret elixir of the Royal Air Force.

¶ *Then shall the Choir and people sing:*

WE take up the task eternal, and the burden, and the lesson,  
Conquering, holding, daring, venturing, so we go to the unknown ways,  
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

ALL the pulses of the world, all the joyous, all the sorrowing, these are  
of us, they are with us;  
We to-day's procession heading, we the route for travel clearing,  
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

ON and on the compact ranks, with accessions ever waiting, we must  
never yield or falter,  
Through the battle, through defeat, moving yet and never stopping,  
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

¶ *The whole Company of the R.A.F. shall say:*

### THE BENEDICTIONS

BLESSED art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe who hast hallowed us by thy commandments to deliver the oppressed, to give liberty to the captives and to give strength to the weary.

¶ *The Dean and members of the Chapter shall make the responses.*

BLESSED the call of duty in the air and blessed the need therefore of fine human qualities.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED the call for courage, and initiative to which there is no parallel and blessed the call for physical perfection and dexterity.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED the call for mental gifts whose multiplicity and ingenuity are like to the aircraft armament, wireless, oxygen plant and the complicated panel of the machine.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED the airman's quiet and efficient fulfilment of his duty.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED the reluctance to speak of self and blessed the modesty after gallant performance.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED the ready patriots who without looking for reward offer their lives and their limbs.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

¶ *The Choir shall sing 'One of our Machines did not Return':*

So to the entrance of that fiery gate,  
Borne by no current, driven by no breeze,  
Knowing no guide but some compelling fate,  
Bold navigators of uncharted seas,  
Courage and youth went proudly sweeping by,  
To win the unchallenged freedom of the sky.

¶ *The whole company shall continue:*

BLESSED even in the dangers of taking off in the half light.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED even in the adventure of night flight.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED in the groping efforts, the finding of the bandits, day and night, sneaking in through clouds and protectively coloured.

Ry. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED in the cold patrol of the wastes of the sea.

R7. Blessed the call of duty.

BLESSED, for ever blessed, the finding of the lost, after descent into the sea by parachute.

R7. Blessed be God in every coming of the deliverer, blessed the most sure promise of the coming of the Son of righteousness with healing in his wings, even he who taught us to say: OUR FATHER

*which the whole company shall say together.*

¶ *The Service will end with a Reading from Scripture, the Collect and the Grace.*

### CONCLUSION

The main elements in the design of the two specimens just given originated twenty years ago. During the interval the response to other acts of worship of similar type designed for different constituencies proved wider than had been expected. The 'direct' method thus used has, in fact, already renewed the appeal of liturgical forms to many members of the defence, transport, medical, scientific and other national services. The experience justifies the hope that, if recognition were similarly extended to specific metropolitan trades, much of the lost contact between religion and work might be regained. To-day, with between one-third and one-half of the total population concentrated in three or four increasingly gigantic towns, the task of Christian evangelization is rendered vaster than ever. But total war has compelled us to ask ourselves *why* we are doing *what* we are doing; and the work of all, whether in or out of uniform, has acquired a purposefulness that sets labour above the old level of a mere means to a livelihood. It is the part of responsible Christian leadership to see that in the return to old peace-time avocations the new sense of purposefulness is not lost.

The new sense, as vague as it is widespread, is equivalent to that of the ancient prayer, 'May the Brightness of the Lord our God be upon us, and direct the works of our hands; yea, the labour of our hands do Thou direct'. The average man's prayer to-day may be implicit, even wordless, but it surely betokens a desire for an act of consecration that can most suitably be

realized in special Services, direct in method, liturgical in form, and appropriate in matter, and symbolizing social and national recognition of the trades of peace.

No doubt there will be more than one opinion about the choice of words for, and regarding the dogmatic completeness of, the benedictions, petitions and responses which constitute supplementary vocational services existing. It is reasonable, however, to expect a fair measure of agreement regarding the suitability of the method exemplified (in the specimens given above), when used in the correct conditions, to give expression to some of the compulsive forces generated by the unexampled experiences through which the nation is passing.

In sum, it may be said that future liturgical discussions will differ in motive and object from those of the recent past. The Anglican Dean's comparison of liturgiology with stamp-collecting implies scorn for the frivolity he thought recognizable in men who satisfied an appetite for ceremony-mongering and dressing-up while evading the real problems of Christian worship. It now looks as if the millinery and play-acting stage has been passed. Liturgiology can no longer be identified with a programme to restore public worship into conformity with such conventions as east-windows, oak screens, elongated chancels and four-poster altars. To-day there is a new realization by those who profess a religious affiliation that public worship needs to be made more vital for more people. Moreover, there is a new realization on the part of those who make no religious profession that the retention by the Christian religion of its present influence in this country requires the expression of its faith and worship in contemporary terms. To the problem of giving appropriate form to new offerings of adoration, dedication and thanksgiving, the old services with their antiphonal and responsorial structure offer a source of practical, perhaps governing, inspiration. Here, then, is to-day's final justification for the study of Prayer Books and the literature of Prayer Books.

## POSTSCRIPT

The presumption in undertaking a compilation, even of the present limited range, in war-time is obvious. And like most writing in these days, the work has been sandwiched in between jobs of very different character; and had to be done at speed if it were to be done at all. In such circumstances, errors of omission and commission must disfigure the pages, in addition to the many arising from personal shortcomings. The work was done in the autumn and spring of 1941-2, and the last section added in 1943.

An unwillingness to send readers to books I have not sometime personally handled, combined with the prudent closing of libraries, and war damage to others, has been responsible for some omissions. In the great raid of May 10th, 1941, the British Museum was struck, and its liturgical collection was one of the sections which suffered most. On the same night I lost my copy of Cabrol and Leclercq, *D.A.C.L.* and other related works. Earlier, the British Museum Department of Manuscripts was evacuated, and with it went the collection of facsimiles. For this reason I have not been able to inspect a number of important reproductions such as Dom Mohlberg's facsimile of the *Missale Gothicum*.

The editorial decision to bar footnotes has made it desirable to group at this end of the book my acknowledgements to the persons and books upon which my compilation has drawn and to which latter I think enquirers might well refer.

The most ancient surviving liturgical book, or rather portion, is the fifth or sixth century Frankish Lectionary at Wolfenbüttel. It is described and illustrated in Dom Alban Dold, O.S.B., *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche* (Beuron, 1936). There should be read in conjunction with it Dom Germain Morin, O.S.B., 'Le plus ancien monument qui existe de la liturgie gallicane' in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, LI, I (Vatican, 1937). References to, and illustrations of the scripts used in, Sacramentaries



and Lectionaries before the ninth century are given in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latinae Antiquiores*, I Vatican City, II Great Britain and Ireland, III Italy (Ancona-Novara) published at Oxford (Clarendon Press, 1934-1938).

For collections of the documentary sources of the first creative period of the Missal, F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* (Paris, 1902, 1911), should be referred to. Of these two volumes, covering the period from the apostolic age to the peace under Constantine, the first begins with a long treatise on the relations, in point of liturgy, between the synagogue and the church. The authors provide a complete digest of all previously published studies on the development of the rites of baptism, the eucharist, the cult of the dead, etc.

For the second creative period, that is, from the time of St Gregory the Great to the death of Charlemagne, there are the editions of the Leonine, Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries referred to in the text. Edmund Bishop's comments on them in his posthumously (Oxford, 1918) published volume of collected papers, *Liturgica Historica*, should be read. Dr Lietzmann has since (1921) printed an edition of a reconstructed text of the Gregorian Sacramentary in the series issued by the Verein zur Pflege der Liturgiewissenschaft, a society organized on the lines of the Henry Bradshaw Society, and published in Münster i. W. A compact and lucid introduction to this period is the Rev. J. H. Srawley, *Early History of the Liturgy* (Cambridge, 1913). A shorter sketch is contained in the Rev. A. B. Macdonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church* (Edinburgh, 1934). The history of these two early formative periods is covered in the articles anamnèse, anaphore, canon, communion, eucharistie, messe, élévation and many others in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*.

For the third, or late medieval, creative period, that is, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, the best books have been mentioned in the text. There might be added J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries* (London, 1877),

which is still of some value, and Canon Daniel Rock, *Church of Our Fathers* in the edition revised by G. W. Hart and W. H. Frere. The origin and development of the Dominican and Franciscan liturgies are treated in D. A. Mortier, O.P., *La Liturgie Dominicaine*; I. *Idées historiques* (Bruges, 1920); Hugo Dausend, O.F.M., 'Der Franziskanerorden und die Entwicklung der Liturgie' in *Franziskaner-Studien*, XI, pp. 165-178 (Münster i. W., 1924), and A. Le Carou, O.F.M., *L'Office Divin chez les Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1928).

For the modern period, the sixteenth to twentieth century, F. Cabrol, *La Messe en Occident* (Paris, 1932), English tr. *The Mass of the Western Rites* (London, 1934), is of particular value. Chapter XI of that work sets forth the developments in tabular form, as they took place, of the mass during the early and the medieval and modern periods. This is the only place I know in which the changes between the late medieval Roman mass and the Tridentine reform are plainly exhibited. It enables one to see how conservative Rome was in the sixteenth century. Although the later medieval exuberances were pruned, the opportunity of taking the mass back to the early Roman rite was not seized; in other words, no violence to existing custom was done in the name of liturgical purity, antiquarian propriety, etc. The rite, in consequence, remained, and remains, the medieval universal Latin rite rather than the primitive local Roman rite.

A very convenient single volume treatment of the mass from the early to the modern period, which well resumes the theories of Probst, Baumstark and others on the textual history of the Canon, tells the history of the missal during the Middle Ages and gives an account of developments since the Council of Trent, is Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass* (London, 1912). An excellent short but clear outline of the doctrinal history of the mass exists in E. C. Ratcliff, 'Christian Worship and Liturgy', contributed to K. E. Kirk, *The Study of Theology* (London, 1939). This paper, which deals also with worship and liturgy in the reformed bodies, concludes with a valuable, because select, bibliography.

For the Kalendar, Monsignor L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886); J. P. Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum* (Münster i. W., 1924); W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*; I. *The Kalendar* (London, 1930), should be referred to. Bishop J. H. Dowden, *The Kalendar* (Cambridge, 1910), is a convenient introduction to the subject.

Both Friars Minor and Friars Preachers had a pronounced interest in the doctrine of Holy Trinity. The feast itself, the first to be consecrated to a dogma (as distinct from a person or an event connected with a person), is as old as Alcuin; recognition was refused at Rome for over 500 years. The Dominicans as an order of theologians naturally supported the feast—it was seen as the occasion for an annual course of sermons upon the dogma—and they counted their Sundays after it instead of after Pentecost as the Roman rite did and does. The provincial council of Arles held in 1260 sanctioned the celebration of the feast; thus it came into Normandy and thence into the Sarum use which also follows the Dominicans in counting the Sundays after Trinity. The French Franciscans also propagated devotion to the mystery and celebrated its feast in 1260 in their convent at Narbonne. John Peckham, our Franciscan Archbishop of Canterbury (1279–1292), composed for use as a private devotion an office in honour of the mystery. The feast was only made ecumenical by Rome in 1334. The Calendar of the *Book of Common Prayer* continues the Sarum custom of numbering Sundays after Trinity. Abbot Cabrol's paper on 'Le culte de la Trinité dans la Liturgie et l'Institution de la fête' in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, XLV, pp. 270–278 (Rome, 1931) is valuable.

The sources of the Breviary have been studied by Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du Breviaire romain* (Paris, 1893; 3rd edition, refondue, 1911), and, independently by Suitbert Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg i. Br., 1894). The decoration of the Psalter has been studied in great detail by D. D. Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter* (N.Y., 1940), whose book also tabulates the studies on the Gorleston, Luttrell and other illuminated psalters made in recent

years by M. R. James, S. C. Cockerell, E. Millar and others, and treats, incidentally, of the use of the psalter. The memorial volume entitled *Walter Howard Frere* (Alcuin Club, 1940) is a collection of the learned writer's papers on liturgical and historical subjects. The book includes studies on the York and Exeter uses and notes the connexion between English and Norman uses. The Holy Week rites of Sarum, Hereford and Rouen are compared in Edmund Bishop's paper with that title in *Liturgica Historica*. Dr J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916), is based upon three of the earliest known manuscripts of the fourteenth century. Chr. Wordsworth, *The Tracts of Clement Maydeston* (London, 1894), is very valuable for the study of late English medieval customs. A good deal of work remains to be done before our knowledge of the suppression of the old rites used in the several churches of Rome in favour of the modern Franciscan model is at all precise. Fr. Le Carou, whose *La Liturgie au XIIIe siècle chez les Frères Mineurs* (Paris, 1931) is the most detailed, does not take account of the *Breviarium Fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudinem romanae curiae* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 4162 A), which was described by Prof. Michel Andrieu in his article 'Le missel de la chapelle papale à la fin du XIIIe siècle' that appeared in the *Miscellanea Ehrle* (II, pp. 374-376) which was published in 1924. A later work by the same writer, 'L'Ordinaire de la chapelle papale' in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (XLIX, pp. 230-260, Rome, 1935), advances solid reasons for believing that the Paris MS., though written in 1365, is a direct copy of an original of the beginning of the thirteenth century. What is wanted before the matter can be decided is the text of the Paris manuscript and this is promised by F. Columban Fischer, O.F.M.

The reception of the invention of printing is described in the preliminary portion of Monsignor Marius Besson, *L'Église et l'Imprimerie dans les anciens diocèses de Lausanne et de Genève jusqu'en 1525* (2 vols., Geneva, 1937-8). Mgr. Besson, Bishop of Fribourg, Lausanne and Geneva, is well known as the editor of the

*Revue Charlemagne*, and his book is splendidly produced and illustrated, a fine example of the skill of a group of nuns at Fribourg who composed and printed it. The earliest printed editions of the Breviary have been exhaustively studied in E. D. Goldschmidt's 'Der Brevierdruck des XV. Jahrhunderts' which appeared in *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, Vol. VII. The beginnings of the printing of liturgical music are traced and illustrated in P. Rafael Molitor, O.S.B., *Deutsche Choral-Wiegendrucke* (Ratisbon, 1904). It was P. Molitor who discovered in 1901 a unique copy of Ulrich Hahn's edition of the Missale (Rome, 1476) which contains the first printed chant. Otto Kinkeldey, 'Music Printing in Incunabula' in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVI, 1932, is a short but first-rate introduction.

For Henry VIII and the establishment of the Anglican Church, see Sir William Holdsworth, *History of English Law* (London, 6th ed., 1938, Vol. I, pp. 590-1). For the early history of the *Book of Common Prayer* there should be consulted F. A. Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *Edward VI and the B.C.P.* (London, 1890); J. Wickham Legg, *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (London, 1915); Canon C. H. Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1926). I have borrowed from Mr Smyth—for whom Cranmer is a hero—Melanchthon's advice to the Archbishop to 'call a spade a spade'. Miss Constance Garrett's *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge, 1938) describes the part played by the London bankers in financing the English members of the Protestant International, then dispersed to Frankfurt, Strassburg, Zürich and Geneva; who, it was designed, should eventually return to England properly instructed in reformation theology and tactics. Miss Garrett's analysis of the social stratification of the Protestant emigrants reveals that out of a total of 450, the country gentry formed the greatest single class. There were only 67 priests. The general history of the *Book of Common Prayer* is given in detail by F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite* (London, 2 vols., 1915). A useful publication since issued is *Liturgy and Worship*, published by the Society for Promoting

Christian Knowledge (London, 1932), which includes among other papers 'Anglican Adaptations of some Latin rites and ceremonies' by the Rev. K. D. Mackenzie and a short history of Prayer-Book Revision by the editor, the Rev. W. K. Lowther Clarke. In addition the *Catalogue of the J. H. Benton Collection illustrating the History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Boston, Mass., 1932) should be consulted. For the ecclesiastical changes as they affected the parishes, W. H. Frere and W. M. Kennedy's *Visitation Articles and Injunctions 1536-1575* (London, 3 vols., 1910) is essential. A useful introduction to the connexion between the Prayer-Book and its sources is Dr H. B. Swete's *Church Services and Service Books before the Reformation* (London, 1896, 1912). The participation of Thomas Goldwell, Marian Bishop of St Asaph, in the work of liturgical reform at the Council of Trent is described and documented in T. E. Bridgett and T. F. Knox, *True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1889), pp. 234-248. The position of the Catholics under Elizabeth is described by a neutral writer (N. H. Baynes, *Cambridge Ancient History*, xii, p. 657) as comparable with that of the Christians in the persecution under Decius. The best account of the missals and manuals used by the English Catholics in penal times is Herbert Thurston, S.J., 'English Ritualia' in *The Month* (cxxxvi, July, 1915). For the position of the English *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta* after the appearance and promulgation in 1614 of the *Rituale Romanum*, see Philip Hughes, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* (London, 1942), p. 327.

The nonconformist origins of democracy are traced in G. P. Gooch, *Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1898). An interesting treatment of the 'Priesthood of the Laity' by a Professor of Dogmatic Theology at a papist seminary is to hand in Canon G. D. Smith, *The Clergy Review*, Jan. 1942. The article is a useful exposition of the doctrine of the Council of Trent and its relation with the liturgical movement.

The extension of the Continental liturgical movement to England has recently revived interest in what its leading ex-

ponents describe as *The High Church Tradition* of Anglican liturgical expression. The Rev. G. W. O. Addleshaw, author of a book (London, 1941) with that title, while pointing out the spiritual value of the contemporary Continental movement, urges a return here to the Caroline divines, as the true source of inspiration for an Anglican liturgical revival. This follows from his view that the *Book of Common Prayer* is not a mere vernacular and partial edition of the Pre-Reformation Latin rite, but an independent native rite. Hence, too, the Prayer-Book liturgy requires for its perfect presentation churches designed for its celebration. Those built in the seventeenth century are to his taste.

A number of periodicals are of value to the study. The *Revue Bénédictine* was established in 1884, at Maredsous, with the assistance of such ripe scholars as Dom Germain Morin. The Dominican *Analecta sacri ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome) contains articles and studies upon the Rite of the Order. The *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (Rome, 1887- ) is a magazine of general archeological and practical studies of the Roman and allied rites. The Benedictines of Maria-Laach began in 1921 their *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, which reviews and analyses the contents of the liturgical output of the twelvemonth. The annual deals also with the printed proceedings at liturgical weeks and with the devotional aspects of liturgical worship. The first issue of the *Jahrbuch* provides a valuable bibliography of the history of liturgical studies by Dom Odo Casel. Fr. Guardini contributed to the same year's (1921) issue a critical article on systematic method in liturgical science. It remains to add that the *Jahrbuch* issues a decennial general index.

A useful addition to the apparatus of the enquirer is the Index to Vols. I-XXX, the *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford, 1899-1929), published in 1932. It lists *s.vv.* Breviaries, Liturgica, Sacramentaries, etc., the literature of the period as reviewed by E. Bishop, E. Brightman, R. H. Connolly, W. H. Frere and many other first-class specialists. The present writer is indebted for



assistance to all these as well as to Dr Ludwig Eisenhofer's revised edition (1932) of Dr Valentin Thalhoffer's *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*. A systematically arranged general introduction to the study, completed with full and up-to-date bibliographical apparatus, is to hand in the first two of a projected five-volume work by the Louvain professor of Liturgy, Dr C. Callewaert: *Institutiones Liturgicae*, I. *De S. Liturgia Universim* (Bruges, 1919); II. *De Breviarii Romani Liturgia* (Bruges, 1939).

The liturgies issued by the lesser Reformed bodies have been passed over more rapidly in the text than is warranted by the degree of interest of the books themselves. Elliott Peaston's *The Prayer Book Reform Movement* (Oxford, 1940) describes the attempts made during the eighteenth century to furnish the Unitarians with a suitable version of the Anglican rite. The same writer's 'Nineteenth Century Liturgies' in *The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, VII, 3 (October, 1941) chronicles the Unitarian adaptations of the Anglican rite down to 1913, when the Northgate Chapel, Halifax, issued its own service-book. It would not appear that the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches has authorized a Book of Unitarian Common Prayer for use uniformly throughout their body. Recent Free Church studies of the Liturgy and the liturgical movement include the Rev. J. E. Rattenbury, *Vital Elements of Public Worship* (London, 1936).

The 'direct' vocational services at Liverpool referred to at pp. 112 ff. are to be classed as a modern adaptation of the tradition set up by the state service of supplication against the plague of 1562-3, for which see *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth* edited by W. K. Clay for the Parker Society (Cambridge, 1847). It is proposed to discuss in another volume of this series the structure of national services and the history of their use—and, as regards certain anniversary services, their disuse. The oldest sources of supplementary services are, perhaps, to be found in the Litany of the Saints, principally, and other

contents bound up with the *Prymer*, which, though based upon the Breviary services, were, like the Litany itself, originally intended for use as private devotions.

The text of the *Prymer* cited by Henry Littlehales (2 vols., London, 1891-2) is authoritative, but Bishop's paper in *Liturgica Historica* should not be missed. The bibliography of the *Prymer* by Canon Edgar Hoskins treats also of the reformed editions of Henry VIII and later sovereigns, and carries the account of editions down to the eighteenth century and beyond. Canon Hoskins also tabulates the editions of John Austin's *Devotions in the Antient Way of Offices* (Paris, 1668) of which many editions, including Protestant adaptations, are recorded. Austin's book is a sort of vernacular 'Day Hours'. Another collection of quasi-liturgical devotions publicly used by the English Catholics is the authorised *Manual of Prayers*. The title of this book reaches back to Rouen, 1583, when its contents, then arranged for private use, drew upon the Fathers, St Edmund of Canterbury, the Sarum *Horae B.M.V.*, Lanspergius, Blosius, St Thomas More, and many other sources. In the course of time the devotions became more liturgical in form and more public in character; litanies being a principal type of the new matter. The now familiar litany of Loreto first appeared at this time. An important constituent of the *Manual* is Richard Whitford's (for whom see F. Procter and E. S. Dewick, *The Martiloge*, Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1893) 'Jesus Psalter' which was included in the sixteenth-century editions. It still appears in the 1886, 1922 and 1942 editions. While the present *Manual* contains public supplementary services, these are devotional for the most part, giving acts of penitence, thanksgiving for forgiveness and for temporal blessings, petitions for graces and favours. They are, in fact, public but informal devotions for the devout framed in less disciplined terms than is usual in the official liturgical books. Their authority is not Roman but local, i.e. English and Welsh. The language of the Roman rite, according to some, is apt to be too restrained. The opinion has been expressed that the collects and

prefaces of the Roman rite tend to be laconic and need enrichment. But there are solid reasons for discouraging the practice of adding new proper prefaces of the length that the piety of some leads them to desire. Edmund Bishop's paper on the Roman rite, in *Liturgica Historica*, has some good paragraphs on this point. Notwithstanding, Dom Denys Buenner (*L'ancienne Liturgie Romaine et le rit Lyonnais*, Lyons, 1934, pp. 51-68) has it that the Roman rite continually speeds up the expression of prayer by its reduction of collects into a couple of lines, which, clear and well balanced though they are in form, seem dry and puritanical (so the Dom says) in substance compared with the rich and solemn cadences of the old Gallican collects, and its prefaces so full of imagery, etc.

For the listing and grouping of the liturgical books themselves, the enquirer should first turn to Henry Jenner, 'The Liturgical Books of the Latin Rite' in *The Library* (1892) and the entry 'Liturgies' in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1899), the three parts of which are, or used to be, sold separately. No better way of mastering the complexities of liturgical cataloguing exists than by studying this entry, some 200 columns (and many more in the contemporary B.M. general catalogue) for books of the Latin rite and more for books of the English rite, not counting those of English derived rites drawn up by the other Reformed Churches. Finally, a very useful dictionary of terms exists in a work of Fr. Joseph Braun, S.J. (the learned author of the authoritative works on the history of the Christian altar and the vestments used in the services): *Liturgisches Handlexikon* (Ratisbon, 1924).

The liturgical books of the present-day Roman rite and the conditions and rules of their use according to Canon Law are described in P. C. Augustine, *Liturgical Law* (St Louis, Mo., 1931). As to the Roman missal, there is an excellent description of it, and a summary of the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites concerning it in J. O'Connell, *The Celebration of Mass: A Study of the Rubrics of the Roman Missal* (London, 1941, I, § 1).

Dr Hanns Bohatta of Vienna has made in his *Liturgische Drucke und Liturgische Drucker* (Ratisbon, s.d.) a very useful collection of notes concerning the official printers of the books of the Roman rite. Dr Bohatta's publication was designed as a 'Festschrift' for the jubilee of the famous firm of Pustet, printers to the Holy See, at Ratisbon in Bavaria. It is illustrated with reproductions and naturally pays particular attention to the Pustet house—lately sequestered by the Nazis and turned into a munition works. For the composition and design of Liturgical books the paper of Mr Berkeley Updike in *The Dolphin* (New York, vol. III, 1938) may be referred to. Although Mr Updike does not enter into detail, his general observations upon the setting out of books for use in public worship are well worth the attention of those responsible for their printing and publication. Those who have examined Mr Updike's edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* printed for the Protestant Episcopal Church of America will acknowledge his title to write on the subject of liturgical printing.

To this list of writings personal acknowledgements should be added. Bishop Myers kindly lent me volumes from his reference collection. Sir Frederick Radcliffe allowed me access to his own collection of liturgical books. The Dean of Liverpool welcomed flying visits to the temporary quarters provided for the Radcliffe Liturgical Library. To Canon J. H. Srawley of Lincoln I am indebted for looking over the text. The Rev. W. J. Anderson, of the Archdiocese of Westminster, gave me in speech and writing the opportunity to benefit from his deep and first-hand knowledge of early Sacramentaries. Canon R. B. Fellows of Westminster Cathedral lent me books from his collection. Several friends elucidated for me the distinctive positions taken up by certain groups within the Established Church. I am grateful to Mr W. Wrede and to members of the staff of the Cambridge Press for saving me from numerous errors of fact and date. Finally, I record my gratitude for the conversation and correspondence I enjoyed in years past with friends now, alas, dead: Edmund Bishop, Abbot Cabrol, Dr Adrian Fortescue and Fr. Herbert Thurston, S.J. *R.I.P.*

# INDEX

## OF AUTHORS & PRINTERS

- Alcuin Club, 86, 131  
 Amalarius (of Metz), 48  
 Amazeur, Jean, 52  
 Ambrose, Saint, 8  
 Archdeacon (printer at Cambridge), 67  
 Arden Press, 95  
 Arles, Council of, 9, 130  
 Augustine, Saint, 10, 11, 20,  
 31, 48, 66, 104  
 Austin, John, 136  
 Aymo of Faversham, 26  
 Bacon and Kinnebrook  
 (printers of Norwich), 74  
 Bannister, Rev. H. M., 85  
 Barbier, Jean, 39  
 Barker III, Christopher  
 (printer of London), 65  
 Baskerville, John, 67  
 Batifol, Pierre, 130  
 Bäumer, Suitbert, 85, 130  
 Baumstark, Dr A., 129  
 Baynes, N. H., 133  
 Becket, St Thomas A', 95  
 Benedict, St, 17  
 Berengarius (of Tours), 84  
 Berry, Rev. Dr S. M., 106  
 Berthold, Archbishop of  
 Mainz, 33  
 Besson, Mgr. Marius, 131  
 Bianchini, Giuseppe and Fran-  
 cesco, 85  
 Bill II, John, 65  
 Bishop, Edmund, 42, 84, 85,  
 128, 131, 132, 134, 136,  
 137  
 Blado, Antonio, 79, 98  
 Blew, Rev. W. J., 81  
 Bloxam, Rev. J. R., 69  
 Bohatta, Dr H., 138  
 Bonner, Edmund, 50, 51  
 Bosworth, Thomas, 76  
 Bradshaw, Henry, 81, 82  
 Bradshaw (Henry) Society, 82,  
 83, 85, 128, 136  
 Braun, Fr. Joseph, 137  
 Bremer Press, Munich, 101  
 Bridgett, T. E., 133  
 Brightman, Rev. Canon F. E.,  
 90, 132, 133  
 Brinckman, Arnold, 49  
 Brooke, Stopford, 91  
 Bryennius, Bishop P., 2  
 Bucer, Martin, 44, 46, 63, 70  
 Buenner, Dom D., 137  
 Burgess, Mr F., 101  
 Burns, James, 71, 74, 76, 96  
 Burns and Oates, 72, 95, 96,  
 101, 102  
 Cabrol, Abbot, 85, 86, 96, 128,  
 129, 130  
 Callewaert, Dr C., 135  
 Calvin, John, 107  
 Casel, Dom Odo, 134  
 Caslon, William, 67  
 Cassander, George, 49, 50  
 Castello, Alberto de, 100  
 Caxton, William, 35  
 Cecil, William, 54, 63  
 Chambers, J. D., 75, 128  
 Charlemagne, 23  
 Charles I, 58, 59, 60  
 Charles II, 61, 63, 107  
 Charles the Bold, Duke of  
 Burgundy, 23  
 Chiswick Press, 73, 76, 77, 80,  
 87, 92, 93  
 Christie, Rev. A. J., 72, 74  
 Chrysostom, St John, 13  
 Clement VIII, 97  
 Cochlaeus, Johann, 48  
 Collier, Jeremy, 62  
 Connolly, Dom H., 3, 134  
 Constantine I, 10, 15, 16  
 Cormier, Fr. Hyacinth, 96  
 Cosin, John, Bishop of Dur-  
 ham, 63  
 Cranmer, Thomas, 40, 42, 44,  
 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53, 63, 70, 85  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 61, 65  
 Dausend, H., 129  
 Day, John, 53, 74  
 Dearmer, Percy, 87  
 De la More Press, 101, 102  
 de Lisle, Ambrose Phillipps,  
 68, 70, 74  
 Delisle, Léopold, 84  
 Desclée, Henri, 78  
 Desclée, Jules, 78  
 Dessain, H., 79  
 Dewick, E. S., 136  
 Dibdin, Thomas, 72  
 Dold, Dom Alban, 3, 127  
 Dominic, St, 26, 27  
 Douai College, 64  
 Dowden, Bishop J. H., 130  
 Du Cange, Charles, 49  
 Duchesne, Mgr. L., 17, 83, 98,  
 130  
 Ebner, Fr. Adalbert, 12, 84  
 Edward VI, King, 43, 47, 48,  
 54, 55, 107  
 Ehrlé, Cardinal, 98  
 Eisenhofer, Dr L., 135  
 Elizabeth, Queen, 53, 55, 56,  
 57, 63, 107  
 Elphinstone, William, 41  
 Essling, Prince d', 38  
 Falkner, Mr J. M., 4  
 Faques, William, 36, 39  
 Feltoe, Rev. C. L., 85  
 Fischer, F. Columban, 131  
 Fisher, St John, 40  
 Forbes, G. H., 70, 82  
 Fortescue, Dr A., 96, 129  
 Francis, Saint, 26, 27  
 Frere, Rev. W. H., 82, 83, 87,  
 129, 130, 133, 134  
 Gamurrini, Gian Francesco, 3  
 Garret, Miss C., 132  
 Gasquet, F. A., 132  
 Gerbert, Dom Martin, 67, 72  
 Gill, Eric, 95, 96  
 Giunta, Lucantonio, 37, 38  
 Goldschmidt, E. D., 132  
 Goldwell, Thomas, 133  
 Grafton, Richard, 41, 43, 44, 46  
 Gregory I (the Great), 6, 11,  
 17, 18, 23, 48  
 Gregory XI, 26  
 Gregory XIII, 97, 100  
 Guardini, Fr., 134  
 Guéranger, Prosper Louis  
 Pascal, 68, 78  
 Hadrian I, 23  
 Hahn, Ulrich, 35, 132  
 Hart, G. W., 129  
 Hartel, Wilhelm von, 3  
 Hauler, Edmund, 3  
 Hay, Bishop, 66  
 Henderson, W. G., 81, 82  
 Henry VII, King, 36  
 Henry VIII, King, 39, 40, 43,  
 45, 47, 50, 107, 132, 136  
 Higden, Ralph, 31  
 Hills, Henry, 65  
 Hippolytus, St, 3, 7  
 Holdsworth, Sir W., 132  
 Honorius (of Augsburg), 48  
 Hoskins, Canon E., 136  
 Hughes, Rev. Philip, 133  
 Hunter, Rev. Dr J., 91  
 Husenbeth, Dr F. C., 74  
 Innocent III, 30, 33  
 Irving, Edward, 92  
 James II, King, 57, 58, 61, 63,  
 65  
 James IV, King, 41  
 Jenner, Henry, 137  
 Katharine, Queen, 39, 40, 47  
 Keble, John, 70

- Kellam, Laurence, 64, 66  
 Kennedy, W. M., 133  
 Kerver, Jacques, 66, 79  
 Kerver, Thielmann, 37  
 Kingston, John, 52  
 Kingston and Sutton, 48, 52, 53,  
 105  
 Kirsch, J. P., 130  
 Knox, John, 92
- La Fontaine, Mgr. P., 98  
 Lang, Archbishop Lord, 103,  
 112  
 Lasco, John à, 44  
 Laud, Abp, 59, 60  
 Lawlor, Rev. H. J., 83  
 Laynez, Fr. Diego, 56  
 Le Carou, Fr., 129, 131  
 Leclercq, Dom H., 86, 128  
 Lee, Dr F. G., 76, 79, 80, 101  
 Legg, Dr J. Wickham, 4, 12,  
 31, 131, 132  
 Leo I, 13  
 Leo XIII, 86, 97, 98, 100  
 Leroquais, Abbé, 12  
 Leslie, J., 60  
 Lewis the Pious, 23  
 Lietzmann, Dr, 128  
 Litlington, Abbot, 82  
 Littlehales, H., 82, 136  
 Liutprand, Bishop, 11  
 Liverpool Cathedral, 103  
 Liverpool Cathedral Liturgical  
 Library, 138  
 Liverpool vocational services,  
 113, 135  
 Loewe, Mr Herbert, 6  
 Lotin, A. M., 111  
 Lowe, Dr E. A., 11, 128  
 Luther, Martin, 48
- Mabillon, Dom, 11, 72, 83  
 Mainz: Abbey of St James, 34  
 Manutius, Aldus, 37  
 Manutius, Paulus, 79  
 Maredsous, Abbey of, 79  
 Maria-Laach, Benedictines of,  
 101, 134  
 Martène, 72, 73  
 Martyr, Justin, 7  
 Mary, Queen, 47, 48, 50, 53,  
 55, 61, 63, 107  
 Maskell, William, 4, 73, 75, 81,  
 87  
 Masters, John, 75  
 Maximilian, Emperor, 53  
 Maynyal, Guillaume, 35  
 Melanchthon, Philipp, 44  
 Mellitus, St, 20  
 Ménard, Dom, 72, 85  
 Merbecke, John, 46, 72, 73, 74  
 Mercati, Mgr. G., 98  
 Meriin, Guillaume, 52  
 Meynell, Mr Francis, 95  
 Micklem, Dr N., 104  
 Mohlberg, Dom, 127  
 Molitor, P. R., 132  
 Monte Cassino Monastery, 17,  
 18  
 More, St Thomas, 40  
 Morin, Dom Germain, 3, 127,  
 134  
 Morin, Martin, 35, 39  
 Moring, Mr A., 101, 102
- Mortier, D. A., 129  
 Morton, Cardinal, 39  
 Muratori, L. A., 72, 85  
 Myers, Bishop, 99, 138
- Neale, Rev. J. M., 49, 70, 105  
 Newdigate, Mr B., 95, 103  
 Newman, Cardinal, 70, 71, 104  
 Nicholas III, Pope, 26, 27, 97
- Orchard, Rev. W. E., 91, 92  
 Oswen, John, 44  
 Oxford Movement, 70
- Palmer, G. H., 87  
 Palmer, William, 71, 73, 76,  
 81, 94  
 Pamelius, Jacobus, 50  
 Parker, Matthew, 55  
 Parma, Duke Robert of, 4  
 Paul III, 97, 98  
 Paul V, Pope, 101  
 Paulinus, Archbishop of York,  
 21  
 Peaston, Elliott, 135  
 Peckham, Archbishop J., 130  
 Petre family, 66  
 Pickering, William, 73, 74, 75,  
 87  
 Pigouchet, Philippe, 37, 79  
 Pius V, Pope, 57, 97, 99  
 Pius IX, Pope, 94  
 Pius X, Pope, 29, 79, 97, 98, 99  
 Pius XI, Pope, 100  
 Plainsong and Medieval Music  
 Society, 82, 83  
 Plantin, Christopher, 80  
 Pole, Cardinal, 47, 48, 51, 52,  
 53  
 Powell, Humphrey, 44  
 Pré, Jean du, 38  
 Preston, Thomas, 34  
 Probst, Monsignor, 83, 85, 129  
 Procter, Francis, 81, 82, 136  
 Pugin, Augustus W. N., 68, 74  
 Pugin, Mrs A. W. N., 69  
 Pustet, printers of Ratisbon,  
 79, 101, 138  
 Pynson, Richard, 39
- Quiñonez, Cardinal, 97, 99
- Radcliffe, Sir F., 4, 138  
 Radcliffe Liturgical Library, 4,  
 36, 52, 66, 82, 138  
 Ranke, Ernst, 84  
 Ratcliff, Rev. E. C., 129  
 Ratdolt, Ehrhard, 34  
 Raynalde, Thomas, 53  
 Reyser, Georg, 34  
 Richardson (printer of Derby),  
 94  
 Ridley, Bishop of London, 46  
 Robinson, Rev. Dr J. A., 87, 88  
 Rock, Daniel, 68, 69, 129  
 Rome: Cathedral Church of  
 St John Lateran, 26; English  
 Hospice, 64  
 Rouge, Pierre le, 39  
 Royal Air Force Service, 121  
 Royal Navy Service, 115
- Saintes, Claude de, 49  
 St Dominic's Press, 102
- Santorius, G. F., 100  
 Schoeffer, Peter, 33  
 Schönsperger (of Augsburg), 53  
 Scotti, Ottaviano, 38  
 Seager, Rev. C., 69, 81  
 Shepherd, James Lawrence, 68  
 Sheppard, Fr., 99  
 Shipley, Rev. O., 80  
 Shrewsbury, Lord, 69  
 Shrimpton, J., 74  
 Sixtus V, 79, 97  
 Smith, Canon G. D., 133  
 Smyth, Canon C. H., 132  
 Société de St Jean l'Evan-  
 géliste, 79  
 Society of Jesus, 64  
 Society of St Osmund, 86  
 Solesmes, Priory of, 68  
 Somerset, Lord Protector, 43,  
 45  
 Spencer, Earl (1758-1834), 4  
 Springer, Anton, 84  
 Srawley, Rev. J. H., 128, 138  
 Stanbrook: Abbey of Our  
 Lady of Consolation, 68  
 Sutton, Henry, 52  
 Swete, Dr H. B., 133
- Taylor, S. M., 87  
 Temple, Archbishop, 113  
 Thalhofer, Dr V., 135  
*The Times*, 65, 102  
 Thurston, Fr. Herbert, 96, 133  
 Toovey, James, 72, 74  
 Typographia Polyglotta, 79
- Updike, Mr D. B., 138  
 Urban VIII, 97, 100
- Vatican Press, 79  
 Vêrard, Antoine, 37  
 Verein zur Pflege der Liturgie-  
 wissenschaft, 128  
 Vienné, Bishop of, 77
- Walker, Emery, 95  
 Wallace, Robert, 91  
 Wareham, Archbishop of Can-  
 terbury, 40  
 Warren, Canon F. E., 20  
 Wayland, John, 53  
 Wensler, Michael, 38  
 Wesley, John, 107  
 Westlake, N. H. J., 77  
 Westminster, Archbishop of, 95  
 Whitchurch and Grafton, 41, 44  
 Whitford, R., 136  
 Wiegand, Dr W., 101  
 William, Prince of Orange, 62  
 Williams, R., 69  
 Wilmart, Dom André, 9, 11  
 Wilpert, Mgr., 98  
 Wilson, Rev. H. A., 11, 82, 83,  
 85  
 Wolfenbüttel, Frankish Lec-  
 tionary at, 3, 127  
 Worde, Wynkyn de, 39  
 Wordsworth, Chr., 66, 81, 82,  
 131  
 Würzburg, Bishop of, 34
- Zaccaria, Antonio, 72, 73  
 Zimmermann, Dr E. H., 12  
 Zwingly, H., 48

# INDEX

## OF PRAYER BOOKS & LITERATURE

- Altar Music* (Moring), 101  
*Altar Service Book* (F. G. Lee), 76, 79, 80, 101  
*Analecta sacri ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum*, 134  
*Antient Way of Offices, Devotions in the* (Austin), 136  
*Anglican Adaptations of some Latin rites and ceremonies* (K. D. Mackenzie), 133  
*Antiphonale*, 20, 36, 53  
*Apostles, Teaching of the*, 2  
*Apostolic Tradition*, 3, 7  
*Ave Maria*, 91
- Benedictionale*, 32  
*Bibliographie des Bénédictines de la Congrégation de France*, 86  
*Bilderschmuck in den Sacramentarien des frühen Mittelalters* (Springer), 84  
*'Bobbio' Missal, The*, 11, 12, 20  
*Book of Common Order 1928... United Free Church (of Scotland)*, 91  
*Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland*, 92  
*Book of Common Prayer*, 102, 103, 109, 112; 1549, 44, 73; 1552, 46, 73; 1559, 56, 57, 63, 64, 67; 1604, 58, 59, 60, 61, 73; 1636, 65; 1662, 61, 62, 63, 73, 86, 105; 1760-3, 67; 1843, 70, 71, 73; 1911, 95; 1912, 88; 1928, 90, 105; Ctanmer, 50; Episcopal Church of America, 138; Free Church, 92, 104, 106, 109; Welsh, 44  
*Book of Common Prayer, Catalogue of the Benton Collection illustrating the*, 132  
*Book of Common Prayer, History of the* (Procter), 82  
*Book of Common Prayer Noted* (Dyce), 96  
*Book of Common Praier, noted* (Merbecke), 46, 72, 74  
*Breviaire romain, Histoire du* (Batiffol), 130  
*Breviarii Sarisburiensis... Ecclesiae Anglicanae Officia Antiqua...*, 69  
*Breviarium*, 29, 32, 37  
*Breviarium Fratrum Minorum Secundum... romanae curiae*, 131  
*Breviary according to the Renowned Church of Salisbury*, 105  
*Brevierdruck des XV. Jahrhunderts, Der* (E. D. Goldschmidt), 132  
*Breviers, Geschichte des* (Bäumer), 130
- Caerimoniales Episcoporum*, 100  
*Cambridge Ancient History*, 133  
*Cantu et musica Sacra a prima Ecclesiae aetate usque ad presens tempus, De* (Dom M. Gerbert), 67  
*Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth, True Story of the* (Bridgett and Knox), 133  
*Catholic Prymer* (Pole), 53  
*Celtic Church, Liturgy and Ritual of the* (Warren), 20
- Choral-Wiegendrucke, Deutsche* (Molitor), 132  
*Chorister's Companion... The*, 74  
*Christian Worship in the Primitive Church* (Macdonald), 128  
*Church of Our Fathers* (D. Rock), 68, 128, 129  
*Church Services and... Books before the Reformation* (Swete), 133  
*Codex Psalmorum* (Fust and Schoeffer), 33  
*Codices Latinae Antiquiores* (Lowe), 128  
*Communion, Order of the*, 43  
*Communion Office... and the Visitation of the Sick* (Non-Jurors), 62  
*Consecratoryng Archebishops, Bishops, Priestes and Deacons, The forme and manner of making and*, 46  
*Consuetudinarium*, 31, 83  
*Coronation of... King George VI... Order for the*, 103  
*Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (C. H. Smyth), 132  
*Cranmer's Liturgical Projects* (Wickham Legg), 132
- Daily Service of the Anglo-Catholic Church, The* (C. Seager), 69  
*Day Hours Noted* (A. J. Christie), 74  
*Day Hours of the Church with the Gregorian Tones, The* (Christie), 72  
*Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (G. P. Gooch), 133  
*Deutsche Messe*, 48  
*Device for the Alteration of Religion* (Cecil), 54  
*Devout Prayers and Collects*, 42  
*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Cabrol and Leclercq), 86, 128  
*Didache*, 2, 7, 8  
*Didascalia apostolorum*, 3  
*Directorium Anglicanum* (J. P.), 76  
*Directory for the Publike Worship of God*, 59, 60, 92  
*Divine Office... to be used by all religious and all the Clergy* (Non-Jurors), 62  
*Divine Office of the Orthodox British Church... to be used in Public Assemblies of the Faithful* (Non-Jurors), 62  
*Divine Worship... use in Methodist Churches*, 106  
*'Divino afflatu' (Pius X)*, 98  
*Drummond Missal*, 82
- Ecclesiae Anglicanae Officia Antiqua...*, 69  
*Edward VI and the B.C.P.* (Gasquet and Bishop), 132  
*English Liturgy, The* (Dearmer and others), 87, 101, 105  
*English Rite, The* (Brightman), 90, 132  
*English Ritualia* (Thurston), 133  
*Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 127, 130, 131, 134  
*Essays* (Neale), 49  
*Evangeliarium*, 20



- Festivale*, 53  
*Forma reconciliandi conversum*, 68  
*Franziskaner-Studien*, 129  
*Free Church Book of Common Prayer...*, 92,  
 104, 106  
*Gelasian Sacramentary*, 11, 82, 85, 127  
*Graduale*, 19, 20, 32, 36, 53  
*Gregorian Sacramentary*, 11, 85, 127, 128  
 \*Gutenberg' Bible, 33  
*Hereford Missal*, 82  
*Heures à l'usage de Paris*, 37  
*Heures à l'usage de Poitiers*, 37  
*Heures à l'usage de Rome*, 37  
*High Church Tradition, The* (Addleshaw),  
 134  
*Holy Communion...*, *the Priest to the Altar...*,  
 81, 105  
*Homiliarium*, 25  
*Horae ad usum Sarum*, 36  
*Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 32  
*Horae Beatae Virginis Mariae...* MCMXXIII,  
 96  
*Hymnarium Anglicanum...*, 72  
*Jesus Psalter*, 136  
*Journal of Theological Studies*, 134  
*Kalendar, The* (Dowden), 130  
*Kalendar, The* (Frere), 130  
*Kalendarium*, 14, 17, 18, 25, 31  
*Kirchenordnungen*, 49  
*Legenda*, 25  
*Leonine Sacramentary*, 11, 85  
*Liber Horarum* (Schönsperger), 53  
*Liber Pontificalis* (Duchesne), 130  
*Liberal Catholic Church, Liturgy according to  
 the use of the*, 93  
*Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*,  
 75  
*Liturgia Romana Vetus*, 85  
*Liturgia Universim, De S.* (Callewaert),  
 135  
*Liturgiae alemannicae, Monumenta veteris  
 (Dom M. Gerbert)*, 67  
*Liturgiae sive missae sanctorum patrum  
 (Claude de Saintes)*, 50  
*Liturgia. De Ritu et Ordine Dominicae  
 Coenae...* (Cassander), 49  
*Liturgica Historica* (Bishop), 128, 131, 137  
*Liturgica Latinorum* (Pamèle), 30  
*Liturgicae, Institutiones* (Callewaert), 135  
*Liturgical Books of the Latin Rite, The  
 (Jenner)*, 137  
*Liturgie au XIIIe siècle* (Le Carou), 131  
*Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahr-  
 hunderte* (Probst), 83  
*Liturgie Dominicaine* (Mortier), 129  
*Liturgie gallicane, Le plus ancien monument...*  
 (Morin), 127  
*Liturgie Romaine et le rit Lyonnais, L'ancienne  
 (Buenner)*, 127  
*Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche, Das  
 älteste* (Dold), 127  
*Liturgies, Nineteenth Century* (Peaston), 135  
*Liturgiewissenschaft, Jahrbuch für*, 134  
*Liturgik, Handbuch der katholischen* (Thal-  
 hofer), 135  
*Liturgiques, Institutions* (Dom Guéranger), 68,  
 78  
*Liturgiques, Introduction aux Études* (Abbot  
 Cabrol), 85  
*Liturgische Drucke und Liturgische Drucker  
 (Bohatta)*, 138  
*Liturgisches Handlexikon* (Fr. J. Braun), 137  
*Liturgy, Early History of the* (Srawley), 128  
*Liturgy, Studies in Early Roman* (Frere), 130  
*Liturgy and Services of the Church*, 92  
*Liturgy and Worship* (S.P.C.K.), 132  
*Liturgy for Layfolk, The*, 96  
*Liturgy of the [Catholic Apostolic] Church*, 92  
*Liturgy of the Church of England, The Ancient  
 (Maskell)*, 73, 81  
*Liturgy of the Holy Eucharist... Church of  
 Italy*, 93  
*Liturgy... of the Liberal Catholic Church*,  
 93  
*Manual*, 136  
*Manual for Ministers, A* (Congregational),  
 106  
*Manuale*, 32, 36, 53  
*Manuale Sacerdotum...*, 64  
*Marian Exiles, The* (Garrett), 132  
*Maritimo, The* (Procter and Dewick), 136  
*Martyrologium*, 25, 100  
*Mass, The* (Fortescue), 129  
*Mass, The Celebration of* (O'Connell), 138  
*Messe im Occident, La* (Cabrol), 129  
*Methodist Church, The Book of Offices...*, 106  
*Methodist Churches, Divine Worship... use  
 in*, 106  
*Minister's Manual...*, *The* (Baptist), 106  
*Miscellanea Ehrle*, 131  
*Missal, Drummond*, 82  
*Missal, English*, 105  
*Missal, Hereford*, 82  
*Missal, The 'Bobbio'*, 11, 12, 20  
*Missal, The Peoples...* (Rev. E. A. L.  
 Clarke), 88  
*Missal, The Sarum* (Wickham and Legg), 131  
*Missal of Robert Juniièges*, 83  
*Missal of Westminster Abbey*, 82  
*Missale* (Sarum), 38, 39  
*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarisburi-  
 ensis* (Amazeur), 52  
*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarisburiensis  
 (Day)*, 53  
*Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae Ec-  
 clesiae Sarum...* (Pickering), 75  
*Missale ad usum Parisiensem*, 38  
*Missale ad usum Sarum*, 105  
*Missale ad usum Verdunensem*, 38  
*Missale Anglicanum*, 105  
*Missale Francorum*, 12  
*Missale Gallicanorum*, 12  
*Missale Gothicum*, 85, 127  
*Missale Parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia,  
 Scotia, et Ibernia itinerantibus*, 64  
*Missale [Romanum]*, 23, 29, 32, 35, 38, 76, 80,  
 99, 100, 105  
*Missale Romanum, Quellen und Forschungen  
 zur Kunstgeschichte des* (Fr. Ebner), 12  
*Missale secundum consuetudinem curie romane  
 (Hahn)*, 35  
*Missale speciale secundum chorum Herbi-  
 polensem*, 34  
*Missalis Secundum consuetudinem Romane  
 Curie, Ordo* 34, 99  
*Missel de la chapelle papale... XIIIe siècle,  
 Le* (Andrieu), 131  
*Missels et Sacramentaires* (Leroquais), 12

- Missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600*  
 (Prince d'Essling), 38  
*Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* (Cabrol and  
 Leclercq), 128  
*Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae...*  
 (Maskell), 73, 81  
*Monumenta veteris liturgiae alemannicae*  
 (Dom M. Gerbert), 67  
*Music Printing in Incunabula* (Kinkeldey), 132  
  
*New Psalter and its Use* (1912), 99  
  
*Office Divin chez les Frères Mineurs au XIIIe*  
*siècle, L' (Le Carou)*, 129  
*Office of the B. V. Mariae Virginis...*, 65  
*Officium B. Mariae Virginis*, 65  
*Order of Divine Service for Public Worship*  
 (Orchard), 91, 92  
*Order of the Administration of Holy Com-*  
*munion, with Plain-Tune...*, 71  
*Order of the Daily Service and the Litany,*  
*The*, 72  
*Order of the Divine Office of the Orthodox*  
*British Church...* (Non-Jurors), 62  
*Order of the Ministration of the Lord's*  
*Supper... Use of Evangelical Catholics*, 93  
*Order of Vespers... for the Evangelical*  
*Catholic Church*, 93  
*Ordinaire de la chapelle papale, L' (Andrieu),*  
*131*  
*Ordinale* (Salisbury), 31  
*Ordinance of the Liberal Catholic Church*, 93  
*Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta* (1915), 95  
*Ordo Baptizandi Aliaque Sacramenta...*  
 (1686), 65  
*Ordo etiam Baptizandi, aliaque Sacramenta...*  
 (1623), 64  
*Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Duchesne), 83  
*Origines Liturgicae* (Palmer), 73, 81, 94  
  
*Paléographie Musicale*, 83  
*Passionarium*, 20  
*People's Mass-Book*, 80  
*People's Missal, The...*, 88  
*Peregrinatio Silvae*, 2  
*Polychronicon* (Higden), 31  
*Pontifical, The*, 18, 20, 37, 100  
*Portiforium*, 27, 40, 41, 42, 52  
*Prayer, Form of* (1826), 91  
*Prayer Book Reform Movement* (Peaston),  
 135  
*Prayers and Praises* (Mickletham), 104  
*Prayers, Manual of* (1583, 1943), 136  
*Presbyterian Directory, English*, 92  
*Priest to the Altar or aids to the devout cele-*  
*bration of the Holy Communion...*, *The*,  
 81, 105  
*Principles of Divine Service* (Freeman), 76  
*Prioress's Tale*, quoted, 33  
*Private Devotions... called the Hours of*  
*Prayer, Collection of* (Cosin), 63  
*Processionale*, 32, 36, 48  
*Prymer, The*, 33, 50, 52, 53, 101, 136  
*Psalmorum, Codex*, 33  
*Psalms newly pointed* (S.P.C.K.), 104  
  
*Psalter, or Seven ordinary Hours...* (1852), 74  
*Psalterium*, 13, 17, 20, 25, 27, 36, 46  
  
*Revue Bénédictine*, 134  
*Ritual of the Altar* (Shibley), 80  
*Rituale [Romanum]*, 20, 100, 101, 111, 133  
*Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum* (Santorius),  
 100  
*Ritus Servandus...*, 94, 95, 103  
*Roman Rite, The Genius of* (the Bishop), 84  
*Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England*  
 (Hughes), 133  
*Rosslyn Missal*, 83  
*Rubrics of the Roman Missal, A Study of the*  
 (O'Connell), 138  
  
*Sacerdotale ac Consuetudinem sacrosanctae*  
*Romane ecclesiae*, 100  
*Sacerdotalis [Liber]...* (da Castello), 100  
*Sacra Institutio Baptizandi... Insignis Ec-*  
*clesiae Sarisburiensis* (1604), 64, 66  
*Sacramenta...*, *Ordo Administrandi*, 65, 95,  
 101  
*Sacramentaires, Mémoire sur d'anciens*  
 (Delisle), 84  
*Sacramentarium*, 10, 13, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 31  
*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, 12  
*Sarum Graduale*, 83  
*Sarum Manuale*, 66  
*Sarum Missale* (Day's), 74  
*Sequentiarium*, 32  
*Service Books of the English Church, The Old*  
 (Wordsworth and Littlehales), 82  
*Soldier's Prayer Book* (1642), 59  
*Special Services of Public Worship for the Use*  
*of the Churches of Christ* (1859), 91  
*Speculum antiquae devotionis* (Cochlaeus), 48  
*Stadtrömische christliche Festkalender...*  
*Der* (Kirsch), 130  
*Stowe Missal*, 85  
  
*Theology, The Study of* (Kirk), 129  
*Tickhill Psalter, The* (Egbert), 130  
*Tonale* (Sarum), 83  
*Tracts for the Times*, 69  
*Tracts of Clement Maydeston, The* (Words-  
 worth), 131  
  
*Unitarian Historical Society, Transactions of*  
*the*, 135  
*Use of Sarum*, 83  
*Usus Sancti Pauli*, 51  
  
*Veni Creator Spiritus*, 68  
*Visitation Articles and Injunctions* (Frere and  
 Kennedy), 133  
*Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Zimmermann),  
 12  
  
*Winchester Troper* (Frere), 83  
*Worship and Liturgy, Christian* (Ratcliff), 129  
*Worship in the thirteenth and fourteenth cen-*  
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