

Part Three

SOURCES AND RATIONALE OF THE OFFICES

V

THE CALENDAR AND LECTIONARIES

I. THE CHRISTIAN YEAR

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR is a most valuable possession of a teaching Church. The recurrent pattern of seasons and festivals rehearses and dramatizes the doctrines of the faith. The definite plan for the reading of Holy Scripture in the accompanying lectionaries furnishes a broad and balanced foundation for the word of exhortation, above individual predilections.

The Church Calendar is composed of the interlacing of two systems of commemorations: the one fixed to the dates of the Roman solar year; the other movable according to the weeks and months of the Hebrew lunar cycle.

2. THE MOVABLE FEASTS

The root-stock of the Hebrew religion seems to have been a worship of a moon-god.¹ The Sabbaths consequently denoted the quarters of the moon: at first roughly determined by observation, but soon conventionalized to every seventh day. At the time of our Lord, the second and fifth days (Monday and Thursday) were kept as fasts;² the seventh as a day of rest and worship. The annual feasts were the

¹Cf. Gore, *A New Commentary of Holy Scripture* (Macmillan, N. Y., 1928), I. 48b.

²Cf. Luke 18:12.

Passover, the night of the full moon nearest the spring equinox: agriculturally, distinguished by the sacrifice of unleavened bread (the first-fruits of barley) and a spring lamb, and historically identified with the deliverance out of Egypt; Pentecost, marking the end of wheat harvest; and Tabernacles, at the final ingathering of wine and olives in September.

From the beginning the Apostles observed the first day of the week³ as the distinctive bond of their fellowship, in addition to their accustomed devotions in the Synagogue; but as the inevitable schism became complete, the Sabbath was dropped, while the Sunday remained, in conscious opposition to the Sabbath.⁴ The weekly worship of Christians was readily acceptable to Gentile converts, because of the prevalence throughout the Empire of the astrological or planetary week (itself of Syrian origin) with the days dedicated to the influence of sun, moon, and five planets, whose names still survive in all modern European tongues. As early as the *Didaché* the midweek days of fasting and special devotion were transferred to Wednesday and Friday—again in deliberate competition with the Jews.⁵

We hear of Easter as early as the year 115 (Xystus I); and Irenæus († 202)⁶ and all the first of the Church Fathers bear witness to the annual observance of the Passion, Resurrection, and Pentecost, as already of immemorial antiquity in their day: there seems little doubt that they had been celebrated from the beginning. The disputes as to the date of Easter were eventually settled by the adoption of the Alexandrian computations, which reckoned it as the Sunday after the full moon following the spring equinox. These ecclesiastical rules may show a maximum variation of three days after

³Cf. Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10.

⁴Cf. Ignatius *Ep. ad Magnes.* 8, 10 (P.G. 5. 669). ⁵C. 8.

⁶Eusebius *H.E.* v. 23, 24 (P.G. 20. 489 ff.; Schwartz 488 ff.).

the astronomical full moon, but correct themselves in their cycles, and display an approximate accuracy through the centuries.⁷

The season of Lent⁸ leading up to Easter developed gradually. The first notices in Irenæus,⁹ Tertullian,¹⁰ and Hippolytus¹¹ speak of a commemoration of the Passion on Good Friday and Easter Even, in a fast which might occupy some forty hours. During the third century this fast was extended to the whole of Holy Week in many places.¹²

The Council of Nicæa (Canon 5) is the first witness for a Lenten period of forty days. This in the beginning was not a fast, but primarily a season of special devotion before Easter, particularly associated with the intensive preparation for the Easter Baptisms.¹³ But the scriptural analogy of the forty-day fasts of Moses, Elijah, and of Christ in the wilderness, brought in the idea of a fast throughout the period. This, however, did not become universal until late in the fifth century.

The reckoning of the Forty Days, and their relation to the original Fast of the Passion, were sources of much diversity. In general the East counted Lent as exclusive of Holy Week, and began it on the Monday before the first Sunday in Lent; the West, as exclusive only of Good Friday and Easter Even,

⁷In 1582, when the Calendar Reform was adopted under Gregory XIII, a fixed Easter was considered, but not adopted. Recently the League of Nations has revived the project; and for England an anticipatory enabling Act of Parliament was passed in 1928.

⁸The English term is an Anglo-Saxon word meaning simply *Spring*. The Greek *Τεσσαρακοστή* and the Latin *Quadragesima* (> French *Carême*) mean literally *Fortieth (day)*, formed on the analogy of *Πεντηκοστή* = *Quinquagesima* = *Fiftieth*; in both instances however the expressions were applied to the whole season included within their termini.

⁹Eusebius, *H.E.* v. 24 (P.G. 20. 502 f.; Schwartz 490 ff.).

¹⁰*De Jejunio* 2, 13, 14 (P.L. 2. 1006, 1023, 1024; CSEL 20. 275, 291, 293); *De Oratione* 18 (P.L. 1. 1284; CSEL 20. 192).

¹¹§ 29, *ed.* Easton, 52.

¹²Funk, *Die Entwicklung des Osterfastens*, Kirchengeschichtl. Abh. I. 250.

¹³Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 242, 244 n. 1; Proctor and Frere, 329.

and extending from I Lent to Maundy Thursday. But when Lent had everywhere come to be regarded as a fasting season, the demarcation between Lent and the Passion Fast disappeared. Then, as Sundays were not fasted in the West, and in the East Saturdays also (save Easter Even) were exempted, the whole period before Easter comprised only 36 actual fasting-days in both regions.

Accordingly, various expedients were attempted to fill up the supposed measure of due devotion. Ætheria toward the end of the fourth century found a Lent of eight weeks at Jerusalem.¹⁴ The Council of Orléans in 541 discountenanced the custom of some to prolong the "Quadragesima" to a "quinquagesima" or "sexagesima."¹⁵ It is only a conjecture that there was ever a nine-weeks' Lent, extending back to Septuagesima.¹⁶ Nevertheless, when about the end of the sixth century both Rome and Constantinople added the present three pre-Lenten Sundays as a sort of "penumbra of Lent," it was by way of reconciling divergencies, and retaining a reminiscence of the former extreme extensions of the season, after the manner of the prehistoric beaches above the Great Salt Lake.

In Rome, the pre-Lenten Sundays acquired a particular color as war-time supplications, having seemingly been inserted shortly after the invasion of the Lombards in 568.¹⁷ Rome also made up a precise term of forty fasting-days, by adding the four days beginning with Ash Wednesday, probably toward the end of the reign of Gregory the Great († 604).¹⁸

The "Easter Holidays" are as old as the *Apostolic Consti-*

¹⁴27:1 (Heræus 34; McClure 57).

¹⁵Canon 2; Duchesne, *op. cit.*, 245.

¹⁶Proctor and Frere, 330 n. 2.

¹⁷Grisar, *Das Missale im Lichte römischer Stadtgeschichte* [Bib. 90], 10.

¹⁸Grisar, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I. 773.

tutions, which decreed a rest for slaves through the Octave.¹⁹ This book also mentions a week of rejoicing after Pentecost.²⁰ But for both these festal seasons a *liturgical* commemoration is not provided beyond the middle of the week in our earliest sources.

The time between Easter and Pentecost was kept from the first as a festal season; but the explicit commemoration of the Forty Days of the Risen Life was not in evidence before the fourth century; and in the West the Sundays after the Easter Octave were not provided with proper services before the seventh century at the earliest.

Some of the observances connected with Easter were added at Jerusalem in the fourth century, in the form of local pilgrimages to the Holy Places on the anniversaries of the events; namely the procession with palms on the Sunday opening Holy Week, the Institution of the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday, the veneration of the Cross and Three Hours' devotions on Good Friday, and the festival of the Ascension on the fortieth day after Easter.²¹ These spread promptly to the rest of the Church; except the Palm Sunday ceremonies, which were welcomed in Gaul in the eighth century, and incorporated in the Roman rite in the ninth; and of course the Three Hours, which were reinvented in the seventeenth century, and are still a popular, not a liturgical, devotion.

The Rogation Days, which supply a sort of three-day Lent before Ascension Day, were introduced in Gaul about the year 468 by Mamertus of Vienne as times of solemn litany-supplications against calamity. They were first recognized by the Council of Orléans in 511, and adopted at Rome under Leo III (795-816)²² in a form modeled on the petitionary proces-

¹⁹*A.C.* viii. 33 (P.G. I. 1133; Funk I. 538).

²⁰*Ibid.*, v. 20. 14 (P.G. I. 900; Funk I. 299).

²¹30-42 (Heræus 38-46; McClure 64-85).

²²Grisar, *Das Missale*, 90.

sion of the already existing Roman day of the "Greater Litanies" on April 25²³—*i.e.*, as a vernal supplication for the harvests of the ensuing year.

The Ember Days²⁴ of the four seasons are now the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after I Lent, Whitsunday, September 13, and III Advent. Of these, the December, Whitsuntide, and September days are ancient,²⁵ assimilating former pagan agricultural festivals in Italy, marking respectively the times of winter sowing, summer reaping, and autumn vintage. Influenced by the precedent of the fourfold system of Jewish fasts, as recorded in Zech. 8:19, Leo the Great (440-61) added the Lenten days.²⁶ Since the time of Gelasius (†496) the Ember Days have been appropriated to be the stated times of ordination. There was considerable variation as to the precise time for observing these seasons, especially the Whitsuntide set; the present dates being finally settled by Gregory VII in the year 1078.²⁷ The three days in each season are a special development of the liturgical days once kept every week: the Friday fast being prolonged over the following day, and the Saturday service being a solemn Vigil leading to the Eucharist on the early hours of the Sunday—leaving the Sunday without other liturgical observance until the eighth century.

The Octave of Pentecost has been celebrated by the Eastern Church from early days as the commemoration of All Saints. Our present Epistle for Trinity Sunday has in fact survived from a temporary adoption of this Eastern custom in the West.²⁸ The Gospel however is that chosen for the Octave of Pentecost; the earlier Epistle being retained as sufficiently in

²³Eisenhofer I. 556.

²⁴From medieval *Quatember* < *Quattuor tempora*.

²⁵Tradition attributes them to Callistus (†233): Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1886-92), I. 141.

²⁶*Sermo* 19. 2 (P.L. 54. 186).

²⁷Eisenhofer I. 484.

²⁸Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* [Bib. 88], III. 30.

harmony with it. Beginning at Liège in the tenth century, this service was celebrated as the festival of the Holy Trinity. England and northern Europe numbered the following Sundays until Advent after Trinity, not Pentecost—as do the Dominicans and Carmelites, and the Lutherans, to this day. Trinity Sunday was adopted at Rome in 1334, in such a way as to extinguish the first Sunday after Pentecost, and to dislocate the entire sequence.²⁹

3. THE IMMOVABLE FEASTS

The days assigned to fixed dates of the civil year have various origins. The earliest of them to appear were the anniversaries of the death of the martyrs.³⁰ After the Peace of the Church, we have the days of the dedication of churches and of the translation of relics. Some festivals, for which there was obvious need and popular demand, were filled in by precarious speculation and far-sought inference; others, in which the people have never displayed the faintest interest, like the lesser Apostles, were supplied in the course of time for the sake of logical completeness. Lastly, the chronologists and calendar-makers, who were disposed to regard a blank space in their lists as a professional affront, succeeded in finding some authority somewhere for the missing dates: and some of these were eventually adopted into liturgical use.

(a) Christmas and Related Feasts

The outstanding example of the inferential method is in the assignment of the Nativity of our Lord. Of the actual date not a particle of evidence has survived. But in the first half

²⁹Although all Sundays of the year belong to the sequence of movables, the dominical office as such was of such late development that its treatment is deferred to §4 below.

³⁰The establishment of the first such festival to be recorded is found *ca.* 158 in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 18 (P.G. 5. 1044).

of the fourth century we find the West celebrating December 25, and the East January 6.⁸¹ Whence were they derived?

It is true that the Romans kept December 25 as the mid-winter solstice under the name of "The Birthday of the Unconquered Sun"; and also that January 6 was celebrated at Alexandria as the birthday of Osiris. It is scarcely conceivable that these pagan festivals could have been the prime origin of these dates for celebrating Christ's Nativity—though once the Christian dates had been suggested independently, a desire to supplant the heathen observances might have been a potent influence for their adoption.

A brilliant speculation of Duchesne's offers a possible explanation of the source of the divergent dates on an identical basis. It appears that at the beginning of the third century March 25, which was the official (though no longer the exact) date of the Vernal Equinox according to the ancient Roman reckonings, and which was commonly reputed to mark the date of the creation of the world, was conceived to have been the date of the Crucifixion. This is attested by Tertullian⁸² and Hippolytus,⁸³ and eventually spread throughout the world.⁸⁴ It seems also that the Montanists,⁸⁵ starting likewise from a supposed creation on the Equinox, which they accounted to be March 24, figured that the first paschal full moon after the creation fell on April 6; and (assuming a mystic cycle which had brought all things back to a new beginning) adopted that date for their commemoration of the Crucifixion.

⁸¹Christmas is recorded in the Philocalian Calendar in 336; January 6 or 10 as the festival of the Baptism of our Lord among certain Basilideans is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria († ca. 220), *Stromata* i. 21 [145.6-146.1] (P.G. 8. 888; Stählin 90), and by the end of the third century was established among the orthodox: cf. *L. & W.* 210.

⁸²*Adv. Judæos* 8 (P.L. 2. 656).

⁸³In his Paschal Table: cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 262.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Sozomen *H.E.* vii. 18 (P.G. 67. 1472 f.).

Duchesne then offers the pure assumption, to which indeed no ancient author bears witness, but which is in accord with the "symbolical" considerations underlying all these computations, that the men of that time may have further identified the commencement of the Incarnation with the day of the Lord's death. Certainly nine months from these known observances of March 25 and April 6 would furnish precisely the dual celebrations of the Nativity on December 25 and January 6 which are in question.

By a characteristic compromise, East and West eventually accepted each other's festivals, both agreeing to keep the Nativity on December 25, and with January 6 devoted to the visit of the Magi in the West, and to our Lord's Baptism in the East. The Epiphany is attested in the year 361 in Gaul,⁸⁶ and by the end of the century was observed throughout the West. Christmas was advocated in the *Apostolic Constitutions* about the middle of the fourth century,⁸⁷ and adopted at Antioch before 380,⁸⁸ though not received at Jerusalem until about 430.⁸⁹ The Armenians, whose schism occurred ca. 365, keep January 6 as their commemoration of the Nativity to this day.

The feasts of St. Stephen and St. John the Evangelist may have been fixed before Christmas was, since they are kept by the Armenian Church, which rejects Christmas. It does not appear that they have anything to do with the celebration of the Nativity; though medieval authors sought ingenious justifications for these commemorations of what they called these "Companions of Christ." The Innocents' Day, on the other hand, was certainly suggested by the Nativity; being first attested in the Carthaginian Calendar in the fifth century.

⁸⁶Ammianus Marcellinus *Hist.* xxi. 2.

⁸⁷*A.C.* v. 13 (P.G. 1. 857; Funk I. 269); cf. *LEW* xxix. 23.

⁸⁸St. Chrysostom *In diem Natal.* 1 (P.G. 49. 351). ⁸⁹Eisenhofer I. 566.

The Nativity of St. John Baptist, fixed six months before Christmas by inference from Luke 1:36, was known to St. Augustine in North Africa at the end of the fourth century.

January 1 was originally observed at Rome as the Octave of Christmas, with a special commemoration of the Blessed Virgin. Through the eighth century it was still known only as the "Octave of the Lord." As late as the seventh it was kept as a fast, in protest against the license—which indeed still exists—of the pagan celebration of the New Year. Its Gospel was originally Luke 2:21-32; emphasis upon the Circumcision first appearing in Spain in the sixth century, through the detaching of Luke 2:23-32 for use with the new festival of the Purification.

The Purification on the fortieth day after the Nativity⁴⁰ was celebrated at Jerusalem toward the end of the fourth century,⁴¹ established by Justinian for the Eastern Church in 542, became current in Gaul, and made its way to Rome through the "Gelasian" tradition of central and southern Italy⁴² at the end of the seventh century.

Although the Annunciation appears as a potential *date* early in the third century, and though, as we have seen, it may have been the parent of Christmas itself, yet it was the latest of four liturgical festivals of the Virgin to come from East to West. It likewise entered by the "Gelasian" door; the "Gregorian" books did not give proper scriptures for it until the time of Alcuin's revision at the end of the eighth century.⁴³

The Lenten precedent of a season of preparation for a great festival was applied to Christmas in the sixth century in Gaul, eventually taking the form of the so-called "St. Martin's Lent," comprising six Sundays⁴⁴ following his feast on

⁴⁰Luke 2:22; cf. Levit. 12:2, 4.

⁴¹26 (Heræus 34; McClure 56).

⁴²Frere, *op. cit.*, I. 94.

⁴³*Ibid.*, II. 65; III. 39.

⁴⁴Both the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic rites still retain these six Sundays in Advent.

November 11. In the seventh century the observance of Advent is traceable in some of the Roman lectionaries in the form of five Sundays, counted backward from the Nativity.⁴⁵

(b) *Saints' Days*

In commemorating individual Saints, the Early Church by no means began with those mentioned in Scripture, but with the anniversaries of local Martyrs, kept at the shrines of their tombs. Thus it has been truly said that the early Roman Calendar was "the *sanctorale* of the cemeteries."⁴⁶ Its original purpose was to indicate the *place* where an official service was to be held on a given day. Subsequently, as Dr. Frere points out, the services at the cemeteries were gradually abandoned, and the Calendar became a guide to what service to say in a parish church, and thus "the Curia's directory became the parish priest's Calendar."⁴⁷

In the early Roman martyrologies and sacramentaries alike these commemorations were few, usually those of outstanding and city-wide significance. But as time went on, the extensive blank spaces of the liturgical Calendars were filled up with great numbers of early martyrs from the current books of acts of the Saints; and the extension of the Roman rite carried these commemorations of obscure Roman martyrs throughout the world. The English books had over a hundred such, many of whom the modern Roman use has displaced by later worthies and expunged without a trace.

After the days of the Persecutions, other heroes of the faith were remembered. And a few Saints of world-wide celebrity were adopted in the various regional Calendars; though it is

⁴⁵Our last Sunday after Trinity is still properly the fifth Sunday before Christmas, and entitled to the term *The Sunday next before Advent* applied to it in the American book of 1892, and adopted in the recent English and Scottish revisions.

⁴⁶Dowden, *The Church Year and Kalendar* [Bib. 86], 24.

⁴⁷Frere, *op. cit.*, I. 29.

only in modern times that the great communions have made any real point of giving a comprehensive view of the length and breadth of the Universal Church, and seeing that all nations were represented by their outstanding saints.

It is interesting to note how slowly the list of those "scriptural" commemorations was filled up, which the Anglican Church has retained, under the apparent impression that they were primary and primordial. SS. Peter and Paul were attested by the Philocalian Calendar of 336 as having had their relics translated in the year 258. We have seen that the feasts of the two Saints John and of the Holy Innocents appeared in the fourth and early fifth centuries. The cult of St. Andrew dates from the dedication of his church under Simplicius (468-83);⁴⁸ that of SS. Philip and James from a rededication about 561; Michaelmas also from a dedication of the sixth century, attested in the "Leonine" Sacramentary. St. Thomas first appears in the "Gelasian" Sacramentary at the end of the seventh century. All Saints supplanted the festival of the obscure St. Cæsarius,⁴⁹ which had hitherto occupied November 1, through the dedication of the oratory chapel of All Saints in St. Peter's Basilica by Gregory III (731-41).⁵⁰ The Mixed Sacramentaries of the ninth century contributed SS. Mark, James, Bartholomew,⁵¹ Matthew, Luke, and Simon and Jude, as well as the Conversion of St. Paul, which had been kept in Gaul from the fifth century. St. Matthias appears in the lectionaries of the eleventh century.⁵² St. Barnabas, whose "Invention" at Cyprus had been observed in the

⁴⁸Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 283.

⁴⁹Frere, *op. cit.*, I. 136 ff.

⁵⁰The pseudo-Bedan Martyrology of ca. 780 mentions the festival, which may have been current in England from that time. Gregory IV secured its adoption for the Holy Roman Empire under Louis the Pious in 835.

⁵¹Note that Christmas, Annunciation, and St. John Baptist gave a precedent for putting important days on the 24th and 25th of the month, which was followed for Saints' Days in five other months of our Calendar.

⁵²Frere, *op. cit.*, II. 187, 202, 219; III. 70.

East since 478, was not commemorated at Rome before the twelfth century.⁵³ The Transfiguration of our Lord was an Eastern festival in the time of St. John Damascene in the eighth century; but it was not officially adopted at Rome until the year 1457.

4. THE SUNDAY CYCLE

The old Roman services began as essentially a festal cycle, in which Sundays as such were not considered or supplied with proper services, but were left to an *ad libitum* use of prayers and lections.

The cardinal festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday first acquired Octaves, and afterward by successive stages certain associated seasons. The "Leonine" collection in the early seventh century (mutilated for the early months, including Easter) gives no Sundays but Whitsunday and its Octave. As late as the end of the eighth century, when Hadrian sent his official service-book to Charlemagne as a model for the churches of France, this usage of the papal court provided only for the Sundays on the Octaves of Easter and Whitsunday, and in the seasons of Advent, Pre-Lent, Lent, and the Ember-tides (our present Trinity IV and XVIII); none were prescribed for the seasons following Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Whitsunday.

The development of the Sunday cycle is to be traced in the Epistle- and Gospel-books from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, in the "Gelasian" manuscripts from the end of the seventh century, and in the varying combinations of the latter with the "Gregorian" tradition in the "Mixed" Sacramentaries after the eighth century.

⁵³A reference to this day had been inserted in Florus' addition to Bede's Martyrology in the eighth century; so the eventual observance of the festival probably illustrates the influence of the calendar-makers upon liturgical use.

This evolution began by providing undesignated masses and lections in blocks, for use at need and discretion. Thus the "Gelasian" Sacramentary, with no proper masses for any Sundays after Epiphany or Whitsunday, supplied eight after Easter, and sixteen for unspecified Sundays. In the earliest known lectionaries of the seventh century, the Gospel list⁵⁴ gives ten Sundays following Epiphany—too many to be a survival from the sixth century, before Pre-Lent was instituted—obviously with the intent that the overplus should be employed where required; while the Epistle list,⁵⁵ with four lections in sequence from Rom. 12-13 after Epiphany,⁵⁶ similarly furnishes ten Sundays after Easter, with lections chosen from the Catholic Epistles, and has no Sundays at all after Whitsunday, but instead offers no less than forty-two selections of "unappropriated" Epistles arranged in regular scriptural order.⁵⁷

When in the ninth century this *ad libitum* material began to be assigned to the Sundays of the year, the "Gregorian" tradition in both sacramentaries and lectionaries followed the old Roman use as found in the "Leonine," and did not treat the Sundays in a separate section of movable feasts, but, true to its fundamental and original character as a festal cycle, interwove them as best it could with the Calendar of immovable commemorations—precisely as we still do with the feasts and Sundays from Christmas to Epiphany. The whole latter portion of the season after Whitsunday was tied to outstanding festivals, with one Sunday before and

⁵⁴The Rheims Capitulary: Frere, *op. cit.*, II. 2 ff.; Klausner, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum* [Bib. 93], 13 ff.

⁵⁵The Würzburg Epistles, in *Revue Bénédictine* XXVII. 41-74, and *D.A.L.* VIII. 2285 ff.

⁵⁶These seemingly were at first for days within the Octave, as the Würzburg list gives them without title, while later lectionaries appropriate them to the Sundays: cf. Frere, *op. cit.*, III. 29 §3.

⁵⁷Frere, *op. cit.*, III. 33 ff.

six after "The Apostles" (SS. Peter and Paul, on June 29), five after St. Lawrence (August 10), and six after St. Cyprian (September 14). Thus the variation of Sundays added because of an early Easter did not come at the end of the series, as at present, but at the beginning, between the Octave of Whitsunday and June 29, and avoided displacing the services of half the year with the same wide swings as Easter.

The archetype of the "Gelasian" books,⁵⁸ on the other hand, on reaching France toward the end of the seventh century, had there undergone a rearrangement which segregated its components roughly into three sections of the *Temporale* or movable feasts, the *Sanctorale* or fixed days, and the masses for special occasions. When the Sundays after Whitsunday were added to these books, they were divorced from the Saints' Days which had dated them, and naturally were numbered in an unbroken sequence. This "Gelasian" numbering eventually prevailed over the "Gregorian" arrangement in the "Mixed" Sacramentaries; and the whole "Gelasian" classification, adopted in the Franciscan Missal, was accepted at Rome early in the fourteenth century, and so became standard in the Missal of Pius V in 1570.

The older material was utilized for this new sequence by adding Trinity I-III before the "Ember" Sunday, Trinity IV,⁵⁹ intercalating the autumnal "Ember" Sunday at Trinity XVIII, and interposing Trinity XX and XXI. In the Gospel list, the old Epiphany IX was used for Trinity XX; Trinity II was new; the others were appropriated from former ferial use. In the Epistles, Easter VII-IX were used for Trinity I-III, and Easter X for Trinity V; and Trinity VI-XVII and XIX-XXIV were taken from the first part of the former

⁵⁸Eisenhofer I. 64.

⁵⁹The Whitsuntide Ember Days were late in acquiring a definite relation to the Church Year, having originally been celebrated the first week in June, and North Europe being very reluctant to admit them to the Octave of Whitsunday, and hence interposing the new Sundays before the "Ember" Sunday.

“unappropriated” list of Epistles—giving something approaching a system of reading in course.

Such was the evolution which produced our present order of liturgical worship through the Sundays of the year, and the assignment of those salient passages of Scripture read at the Eucharist which we now regard as basic to all other lectionaries. There is no plan of the whole; and the attribution of the liturgical lectionary to St. Jerome was a myth of the ninth century.⁶⁰ The fact is that the Celebrant, the Epistoler, and the Gospeller were three different functionaries, using three separate books: and the Sacramentary, the Epistle-Lectionary, and the Gospel-Capitulary pursued three independent and not even simultaneous lines of development. Hence apart from the great days and seasons, there is no connection between the Epistle and the Gospel, save such as might exist between any two portions of Scripture; and none between either and the Collect of the day.⁶¹

In view of the almost haphazard manner in which the Sunday lectionary grew, it is surprisingly adequate. But it is not perfect. To this day our Gospel for the Sunday before Advent, St. John’s “Feeding of the Five Thousand,” duplicates that of the fourth in Lent (though the modern Roman has removed this repetition), and is further paralleled in a “concord” of St. Mark’s “Four Thousand” on Trinity VII.

⁶⁰Frere, *op. cit.*, III, 73 ff.

⁶¹In very few cases are the reasons now discoverable for the assignment of the Scriptures on any ordinary day or Sunday. *E.g.* Sexagesima had its “Station” at St. Paul’s basilica, and to the present day the Roman rite preserves a mass of St. Paul on this occasion; though 1549 removed the particular reference from our Collect. Trinity V. retains the service before the festival of June 29, and is equally a mass of St. Peter. III Lent was a “Mass of Scrutiny,” with emphasis on the instruction of the Catechumens in its Epistle, and upon their exorcism in the Gospel. IV Lent had its “Station” at the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme; whence the beautiful reference to “Jerusalem which is above” in the Epistle. Passion Sunday recalls a time when the Lenten preparation for Easter was only a fortnight long, and devoted entirely to a commemoration of the sufferings of our Lord.

Another concord exists between St. Luke’s “Great Supper” on Trinity II and its doublet of St. Matthew’s “Marriage Feast” on Trinity XX; and yet another between St. Matthew’s “Centurion’s Servant” on Epiphany IV and St. John’s version of the same incident, under the title of the “Nobleman’s Son,” on Trinity XXI. Epiphany VI parallels Advent II.

Some selections both of Epistles and Gospels which seem less happy have been emended in various recent Prayer Book revisions, as we shall see. While such changes are sentimentally regrettable, as putting sister branches of the Anglican Church out of step with each other, and with the Western traditions of some eleven hundred years, on certain occasions, yet plainly there is nothing in the history of our liturgical lectionaries which entitles them to more respect than their intrinsic merits deserve; and it is quite within the competence of any National Church to make such further improvements as may be demanded in the lessons for our cycle of Sundays.⁶²

5. ANGLICAN CALENDARS

The Calendars of the regional English uses at the time of the Reformation were very full, embodying the old Roman list in a most ample form, together with their own commemorations of English saints, a considerable number of Gallican names, and a very fair representation of the outstanding figures of the Universal Church, ancient and medieval.⁶³

⁶²So Dr. Klauser remarks: “[A knowledge of the origins of the liturgical lectionary] may show the ways on which a *perhaps necessary further development and revision* of the present [Roman] system of lessons should proceed.” (*Op. cit.*, xxiii.)—A better selection of Gospels for the prime festival of Easter, as well as for its Octave on Low Sunday, would seem to be imperative; *cf.* Easton and Robbins, *The Eternal Word in the Modern World* [Bib. 87] 127 f., 132.

⁶³Thanks largely to Bede’s early interest in the Calendar, the pre-Reformation commemorations of the English Church were more comprehensive than those of any other down to very recent times.

The first Prayer Book reduced the number of fixed Holy Days provided with a proper liturgical observance to twenty-five, all scriptural—five festivals of the Incarnation,⁶⁴ fourteen of Apostles and Evangelists, the Precursor John Baptist, the Protomartyr Stephen, the Holy Innocents, Mary Magdalen, All Angels, and All Saints. A number of the lections of these feasts, which had originally been drawn from the "common" of various classifications of saints, were reassigned for more specific appropriateness.

In the rest of the list, there was preserved a sort of outline of the riches of the Church's history, by retaining in black letters in the tables of the Calendar the names of a certain number of the pre-Reformation commemorations. This selection (which is far from satisfactory historically) seems to have been made roughly on the basis of picking out those days which had nine lessons at Matins in the Sarum Breviary.

The assignment of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and other variables in 1549 closely followed the Sarum order,⁶⁵ with some lengthening or shortening of the selections. All services were made uniform with two lections, dropping the ancient third "prophetic" lesson which had survived on Ember Wednesdays, Good Friday, and two other Wednesdays in Lent; likewise the plural lessons of the Ember, Easter, and Whitsun Vigils. The three communions on Christmas were reduced to two; on the other hand Easter was provided with an extra celebration. Easter Even, following Gallican and Ambrosian precedent, was transformed from the Easter Vigil to a commemoration of our Lord's Burial. The proper services of Easter and Whitsun weeks

⁶⁴The two festivals mentioning the Virgin were originally so accounted, and in fact so remain.

⁶⁵*i.e.*, the older and more lucid North-European sequence of the "Gallican" regions, avoiding later Roman confusions.

were curtailed to the first two days. Rogation and Ember Days, and Vigils, were not mentioned at all.

The Prayer Book of 1552 eliminated St. Mary Magdalen, and the first communion on Christmas and the second on Easter. 1662 added a Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, with a service portraying the final and supreme Epiphany of the Second Coming, yet equally suitable to a Second Sunday before Advent—in which place indeed it is used with twelve of the possible dates of Easter, while it is needed at Epiphany VI with only four dates. This book also restored the Rogation and Ember Days, and the Vigils of sixteen festivals, to a kind of "black-letter" status, by enjoining their observance, but omitting to supply proper services for them.

The American books since 1785 have had a special service for Thanksgiving Day. Our revision of 1892 restored the extra celebrations on Christmas and Easter, and added the festival of the Transfiguration. 1928 provided for an Octave for the feasts of Epiphany and All Saints, a Second Sunday after Christmas, an added celebration on Whitsunday, the festival of the Dedication, and the observance of Independence Day; gave a single service each for use in the Rogation and Ember seasons, and a Common of Saints; and supplied a Eucharist at a Marriage or a Burial.

The recent English and Scottish books comprise all these American services except the added service for Whitsunday, and of course that of Independence Day, and carry these principles much further, providing, with almost the condensation of lectionary-tables, proper Scriptures, and in some cases Collects, for each of the Rogation Days, more of the Ember seasons, every day in Lent, the remainder of the Easter and Whitsun weeks, and several classes of the Common of Saints; as well as four minor festivals of the Virgin,

St. Mary Magdalen, St. John at the Latin Gate, the Beheading of St. John Baptist, Holy Cross, All Souls, the Name of Jesus, an Octave of All Saints' dedicated to the Saints, Martyrs, Missionaries and Doctors of the Church of England, and the Vigil of Christmas; votive services for a Patronal, Missions, Synods, and the Institutions of Baptism and Holy Communion. For all these, the lections in general follow Sarum, but with considerable freedom.

All the latest revisions—though it is possible that their sponsors were still laboring under the delusion that they were tampering with the work of St. Jerome—have effected some necessary alterations in the traditional liturgical lectionary. All have offered substitutes or alternatives to the Epistle on the Circumcision; have displaced the Epistle of St. Jude, assigned in 1549, from SS. Simon and Jude, since few modern scholars believe its authorship is rightly attributed; and given the "Prodigal Son" in lieu of the "Unjust Servant" on Trinity IX. The English book offers an alternative to the Epistle for Trinity XIII. The American gives a new Gospel, St. Mark's account of the Baptism of Jesus, on Epiphany II, and transfers the Gospels for Epiphany II and III to Epiphany III and IV, so as eliminate the unedifying "Gadarene Miracle" on the last-named day; offers the old Sarum Gospel as an alternative on Maundy Thursday; and removes the "Tribes of Israel" from the Epistle on All Saints', continuing the lection to the end of the chapter.

6. THE LECTONARIES OF THE DAILY OFFICES

According to Cranmer's Preface to the Prayer Book of 1549, the systematic and comprehensive reading of the Holy Scriptures to the people was a prime objective—even the chief

raison d'être—of the book. That this system has greatly fostered the assimilation of the intellectual and moral implications of the faith in the Anglican churches, is beyond question.

In the First Prayer Book, the Lectionary for the choir offices was essentially a system of reading in course, not by topic, following the secular Calendar throughout the year. Sundays, as such, had no Proper Lessons. Only five Holy Days had their full set of four Proper Lessons; Easter had three; twelve feasts had two, and four had one. All other days took the lessons appointed for their date, in a sequence wherein the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha, was read straight through at Mattins and Evensong in alternate chapters (with Isaiah however occurring out of course beginning November 28 to coincide with Advent), and with the New Testament read through thrice, the Gospels and Acts at Mattins, the Epistles at Evensong.

In 1559, proper First Lessons were added for all Sundays and Holy Days,⁶⁶ and a few other properes were added. The assignment of this new Sunday course was by the traditions of the old Sarum use, where Isaiah was begun at Advent Sunday, Genesis at Septuagesima, the Kings after Trinity, Ezekiel after October 28. The 1559 Lectionary however did not stop the reading of Isaiah with the end of Advent, but continued it through the Epiphany season; Genesis was carried on with the rest of the Heptateuch in order to Trinity II; the four books of Kings from Trinity III to XIII were succeeded by a selection of Prophets, including Ezekiel begun on Trinity XVI; and from Trinity XXI the year was concluded with readings from Proverbs. The First Lessons for Saints' Days were selected chiefly from the Wisdom literature

⁶⁶Except, strangely enough, Ash Wednesday, and Monday and Tuesday in Holy Week, which therefore had no properes whatever until the first American Prayer Book.

—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Job—assigned *seriatim* as the days occurred in the Calendar.

This schedule of 1559, unaltered in 1662, formed the basis of the Lectionary of the first American Prayer Book of 1789. This book for the first time filled in complete sets of four Proper Lessons for all Sundays and Holy Days. It followed its English forbear in the Advent-through-Epiphany reading of Isaiah, the conclusion of the Trinity season with Proverbs, and the Wisdom-literature lections for Saints' Days; but between Septuagesima and Ascension it substituted selections from the Prophets in a rough order, and began Genesis on Trinity Sunday.

The Second Lessons at Morning Prayer from Advent to Easter were chosen from the Gospels to bring out the teaching of the day. The method of reading in course was resumed with the book of Acts from Easter I to Trinity X, and salient chapters from the Four Gospels in order from Trinity XI. At Evening Prayer throughout the year, selected chapters from the Epistles were taken in strict sequence.

The ferial scheme of 1789 was virtually the same as 1559, except that the Gospels and Acts were read through only twice.

The revision of 1892 kept the plan of 1789, except that on the Sundays of Advent the first chapters of St. Luke were read at Morning Prayer, and selections from Revelation at Evensong; and the Saints' Day lessons were reassigned for appropriateness of subject, abandoning the course from the Wisdom literature, and eliminating all but three lessons from the Apocrypha. The ferial schedule of 1892 read the entire New Testament through both morning and evening, save that beginning December 14, Revelation was read at both services alternately. And there was an entirely new course of optional lessons on a new plan, assigned to the ecclesiastical

rather than the civil year, for the Forty Days of Lent, and the Rogation and Ember seasons.

This book also incorporated two provisions adopted by General Convention in 1877, which allowed the minister to take either morning or evening lessons in a church which did not have both services; and also to substitute the lesson from the Gospels on the same day of the month for the invariable selections from the Epistles at Sunday Evening Prayer. In form, this last was an outright reversion to the standards of the Church of England, which had no Second Lessons for Sundays. The motive may have been that the closely reasoned passages of the Epistles make difficult reading, and still more difficult sermon-topics, for tired clergy on Sunday evenings; as well as that a peaceful evening congregation is hardly the most suitable audience for the more intellectual phases of the faith. In any event, "too many Epistles" has been a frequent complaint of the clergy against every Lectionary from that day to this.

All the recent revisions, American, Scottish, and English, have revised the Lectionary on a new basis, abandoning outright the structure of the secular year which had prevailed since 1549, and returning to the pre-Reformation practice of following the Church Year.

A chief object of this move was to prevent the regular weekday course of Bible-reading from being superseded on too many occasions. By the old method, the fixed Saints' Days were excluded from this ferial course, which flowed around them without omission; but the Scriptures assigned to the calendar days were subject to being set aside by the incidence of all Sundays and movable *feriæ*, which, in America, included the new Lenten sequence, and amounted to no less than 109 days of the year. By the new system, the daily course is fitted into the framework of these movables, and can

conflict with less than twenty-five immovable feasts in any year.

In 1877 it was established that the Lectionary, though in fact an integral and indispensable part of the Prayer Book, is considered to exist, and legally may be modified, by the authority of a single General Convention. Accordingly, during the long process of the last American revision, many ambitious schemes of reading were tried out. For the round of Sundays, a plan published by Bishop Slattery in 1925 was in use from that year, and was adopted into the book of 1928.

This Sunday schedule entirely abandoned the former methods of reading in course, in favor of the "topical" principle, utilizing the office lessons to illuminate the liturgical Scriptures of the day with subtle side-lights and ingenious applications—all executed with such delicacy and finesse as to be rather beyond the comprehension of many of the clergy who used it. Its faults were duplications and omissions—too much secondary "history," too many minor passages from the Gospels, many of them repeated over again in parallel form, the smallest representation from the Epistles of any modern lectionary⁸⁷—in other words the lack of the very sort of comprehensive plan which is at the basis of the method of reading in course. It proved inadequate in scope; and as a result of persistent objections, in 1934 General Convention again threw the matter open to the use of trial lectionaries, beginning in 1936. Further analysis of details would therefore be futile; it must suffice to discuss a few principles.

⁸⁷The shift in the proportion of emphasis will be clear from this table:

	1892	1928
Heptateuch and Historical Books	49	70
Prophets and Wisdom Literature	65	40
Selections from the Gospels	41	84
Remainder of the New Testament	73	26

(The latter lectionary provides for two less possible Sundays than that of 1892.)

All systems recently proposed and now under the test of use are alike in offering separate courses for Sundays and movable feasts, and for other days. This recognizes the underlying fact that few people can attend weekday services; few more perhaps read the Bible systematically for themselves; and not many habitually attend more than one service on Sundays. The lessons at Sunday Morning Prayer are probably heard by twice as many people, on the average, as even those at the Holy Communion; by at least four times as many as those at Evening Prayer; and the weekday course can supplement any deficiencies of the Sunday schedule in the case of perhaps one individual in a thousand.

Therefore it is desirable to choose the most valuable sets of lessons in all Scripture for the Sunday mornings, in a series balanced and complete in itself; with a similar course of second choices for Sunday evenings. The Sunday morning series should not duplicate any passages preëmpted by the Epistles or Gospels at the Communion Service which supercedes Morning Prayer at least once a month in the average parish, and whose lections are therefore brought into the same sequence. If it may seem superfluous to insist that both the scope and value of a given series are impaired by duplicating the same lesson at different dates—even in the form of a "concord" of parallel passages from different Gospels—it may be pointed out that this is a fault from which no lectionary since the seventh century has been entirely free.

One of the questions to be settled by experiment and experience is to what extent it is desirable that a Sunday lectionary be on a "topical" basis, and to what "in course." The latter method has the merits of continuity of interest and cumulative effect. But these values are readily lost if the passages are not strictly consecutive—and within the compass of a Sunday series there must be much omission. Such schemes

are very readily constructed; but all offered hitherto have been distinctly wooden, and have included much indifferent matter because their aim was historical sequence and completeness rather than edification.

In the liturgical lectionary, the Scriptures are chosen topically in the seasons from Advent to Epiphany, and Septuagesima to Trinity, which embody the great Christian commemorations of the events of our Lord's life; but the "green" Sundays after Epiphany and Trinity are still essentially what they were at their origin—common Sundays: they carry no distinctive note and proclaim no indispensable message; and they take their Epistles in course. The English lectionary of 1928 follows exactly this precedent for all the office lessons.⁶⁸

The determination of an official Lectionary is an important task, which bespeaks the coöperation of the members of the Church. The reading of prescribed Scripture, reflecting the Church Year, is the groundwork of the Church's teaching. This feature of our services has added a *lex legendi* no less important than the *lex orandi* to the attaining of a just and full *lex credendi*. Upon those mathematical-looking tables depends quite as much of the intelligent well-being of the Church as upon the text of the Prayer Book itself. The assignment of the Lessons of Scripture "appointed to be read in Churches" is in fact a supreme function of the Teaching Office, whose importance cannot be overstated.

7. THE PSALTER

Just as English hymns did not exist before the Reformation, so the forms of Greek poetry had never been introduced

⁶⁸The English list has one excellent feature, in that almost every Sunday service provides an alternative of a selection from the Gospels for each from the rest of the New Testament.

into the services of even the Hellenistic synagogues. But the Church found the Jewish Hymnal of the Psalter ready to its hand at the beginning, and has used it throughout Christian history. Later, the Church developed its own hymns, which acquired fixed positions in the Offices, and even at times invaded the text of the Eucharist; they supplemented but never supplanted the use of the Psalter.

It is remarkable that these songs of from two to three thousand years ago are still so adequate to Christian worship. The Hebrew religion, however truly the "Mother Church" of the Christian confession, was both theologically and ethically undeveloped. The Psalter does not contain full expression of some Christian ideas, and it does contain passages incompatible with Christian ideals. The Imprecatory Psalms voice a justifiable moral indignation in such terms of a primitive hatred and vengeance as we hesitate to use. The Psalms entirely lack an adequate expression of the faith in immortality: there is no sufficient psalm for the burial of those departed in the faith of Christ, nor for the feast of Easter. Yet the appropriateness of those assigned to Christmas, Epiphany, Good Friday, and Ascension Day is almost startling. They contain a genuine prophetic element, in that the Jews' anticipations of the figure of the Suffering Servant, and of the Anointed King, were wonderfully fulfilled in Christ; so that to a Christian some psalms mean not less, but far more, than they could to any Jew. Whatever their shortcomings, they can never be displaced, because they are great religious literature, and they have said some things once for all.

In the Sarum Breviary, the entire Psalter was, in theory, recited every week. Fixed psalms were assigned to all the Hours but two; those undesignated were said in course,

Psalms I-110 at Matins, and 111-150 at Vespers. Practically, however, Saints' Days, with their Proper Psalms, interfered so often that the weekly recitation was seldom accomplished.

Cranmer desired to restore the complete and systematic recitation. Accordingly, the First Prayer Book appointed the Psalms in order in alternate selections to Mattins and Evensong during the thirty days of the month. This ignored appropriateness: it apportioned every one of the old Compline Psalms to Mattins, imported some incongruous notes into such fixed festivals as Epiphany, Purification, and All Saints', and made it equally probable that a given group of psalms might be read on Good Friday or on Trinity Sunday. There were Proper Psalms for Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday; but all other days whatever took those assigned to the day of the month.

The revision of 1662 added Proper Psalms for Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. These six occasions were carried into the first American book of 1789. 1892 added ten festivals, and 1928 six more days and seasons, as well as ten lists for Special Occasions, and extended the use of Propers to eves and octaves, and in some cases apparently to seasons.

All the American books also have striven for a more flexible and appropriate use of the Psalter on other occasions. There were ten "Selections" for optional use at any time in 1789, and twenty in 1892; and 1928 further provided that the minister might choose "one or more" of the psalms appointed for a feast, or of the day, or from the Selections, and might moreover use a section or sections of any psalm now so divided. This now arms the officiant with large discretion to fit the Psalter into the rest of the service. Psalms, or parts of psalms, considered to be undesirable, may be entirely eliminated from use. A single short psalm or division of a long

one will suffice; reducing the portion from the Psalter, if desired, to the dimension of the other Canticles.

The latest revision also offered a new optional *Table of Psalms for the Sundays of the Church Year*. This was adopted, virtually without examination, from the original proposal of the Convocation of Canterbury.⁶⁹ Considerably modified versions of the same scheme are in the latest English and Scottish books.

All forms of this Table divide the year into two portions, taking the Psalms by topic to fit the teaching of the day from Advent to Trinity, and reading them in course in an only slightly modified numerical order on the Sundays after Trinity. There are many duplications, the American Table using thirty-eight psalms twice, fifteen thrice, two four times, and one five times. Fifteen are omitted altogether. Nine of the eighteen psalms which the Roman Breviary of 1913 assigns to Compline with some appositeness, are allotted to Morning Prayer. The 119th Psalm at Evensong on five Sundays of Lent is nothing less than a blight on evening congregations which are perhaps larger than at any other time of the year. The portions average twenty-four verses for Morning and thirty-four for Evening Prayer, as against forty-two in the course for the days of the month. These might with advantage be still further shortened by a general re-assignment which would eliminate duplications. The problem of the very long psalms, of which eight exceed forty verses, might be met by using them in sections, as our general rubric provides in principle, and as they are employed in the new Roman Breviary.

A system of Proper Psalms for Sundays, closely coordinated

⁶⁹The one point where the English origin of this Table shows an actual conflict with American standards is in the reading of the "Creation" Psalms on Septuagesima, whereas the American Church has never begun Genesis until Trinity.

with the corresponding course of lessons, is certainly desirable. And when the Church shall have been enabled to settle upon a Lectionary which meets with enough general satisfaction to be made permanent, then this Sunday Table should be revised to correspond.

VI

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

I. "COMMON PRAYERS"

THE ORDERS FOR Morning and Evening Prayer represent the Church's provision for devotional services which do not include the celebration of the Sacraments. They are called the "Choir Offices" precisely because they are not performed at the Altar. They are "Common Prayer"—social public worship—in the strict meaning of the term. The rubrics allude to them as "Divine Service" in a special sense, implying that their purpose is to offer the aspirations of the participants to God, rather than to confer some specified benefit upon a recipient.

Such "general" services exist in all religions, and consist of the same inevitable elements—hymns, lessons, instructions, and prayers. There is no necessary sequence of these constituents,¹ although there are inherent principles of rhythm and climax which govern all forms, from the services of the ancient Hebrew Synagogue to the present-day "Morning Worship" of the "Free Churches."

All such services in any particular Church constitute an Order rather than a Rite: that is, while their congregational character requires an agreed framework, virtually every part may vary with the occasion within that framework. Hence they have never displayed such fixed ritual forms as those which in the case of the eucharistic liturgy furnish so many

¹*Cf.* p. 15 f.

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

historical landmarks through quotations by contemporary authors. The whole question of the origin and development of the "Hours of Prayer" is therefore obscure; and it is possible only to give an account of the present state of opinion as to their probable evolution.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOURS

The ultimate inspiration of these services was the already established custom of private devotions among the Jews. Prayers morning, afternoon, and evening were fundamental and have so remained throughout the history of Judaism. No specified hours were set for these prayers, but the third, sixth, and ninth—especially the last—were particularly favored.² Prayer at midnight³ or seven times a day (Psalm 119:62, 164) was most unusual among the Jews but—perhaps under the influence of Psalm 119—soon became a Christian rule. The *Didaché*, to be sure, contented itself with the Jewish custom,⁴ but the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus definitely commanded the observance of the seven-fold schedule as of obligation upon all Christians individually.⁵ It is also indicated that a morning assembly for instruction in the church was held on occasion.⁶ A passage in the Ethiopic version speaking of a daily meeting of the congregation for the *Agapé* and vesper prayers seems to be an early addition to Hippolytus' text.⁷

This "Church Order" was very widely circulated, and enjoyed a profound influence throughout the Church. It is very probable that as a result of this influence at least the

²Acts 2:1, 15; 3:1; 10:3, 9, 30. On Jewish prayer customs see Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, v. 2. 696-702 (Munich: Peck, 1924).

³Acts 16:25.

⁴*Didaché* 8:3.
⁵Easton, *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, 54-6. Note the association of the third, sixth and ninth hours with the events of the Lord's Passion.

⁶*Ibid.*, §36. 1, p. 54.

⁷*Ibid.*, 58 f.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOURS

larger congregations everywhere increasingly came to observe some of the "Hours of Prayer" together and in common. Certainly by the middle of the fourth century the latest "Church Order," the *Apostolic Constitutions*, shows the evolution complete, with daily Morning and Evening Prayer, and with other Hours also observed in church.⁸

This rereading of the evidence in the light of the recently identified *Apostolic Tradition* removes the old accusation that the Hours were "invented by the monks"; it now appears that they were rather a legitimate growth in the Church as a whole. It is true however that from the time that the ascetics banded together in communities, they held a leading place in the observance and development of this form of worship.

Even in monastic use, the morning and evening services always held a place of primary importance. The Egyptian monks of the fourth century had no other services. Those of Palestine however added a midnight service and the three Day Hours to form a cycle of six. John Cassian at Bethlehem (ca. 388) saw the introduction of the new dawn office of Prime—perhaps following St. Basil (†379), whose "Rule" for the monks of Pontus and Cappadocia had added Prime and Compline to the Palestinian six to form the schedule of eight Hours which the Eastern Church still observes.

In the West, there is no clear evidence for any public offices in the fourth century except the Vigil services—expanded forms of the *Pro-Anaphora* used on the eves of the great days to usher in solemn celebrations of the Eucharist after midnight. This custom began with Easter, and soon spread to other Sundays and festivals.⁹

By the beginning of the sixth century however the Roman Church seems to have acquired the six hours which had

⁸A.C. viii. 34 ff. (P.G. I. 1136 ff.; Funk I. 541 ff.).

⁹Proctor and Frere, 348.

already been in use in Jerusalem in the time of Ætheria (ca. 385), *i.e.* the Vigil or Matins, Lauds, Terce, Sext, Nones, and Vespers. Of these however the Day Hours were used only on Sundays and festivals.

The plan and material of this Roman "secular" use, embodying the weekly recitation of the Psalter, seem to have been the basis of the monastic Rule of St. Benedict, composed ca. 530. Benedict required Terce, Sext, and Nones every day, and filled up the Eastern cycle of eight Hours by adding Prime and Compline on a mutually parallel plan, designed respectively for the daily Chapter or business-meeting of the monks, and for the hour of retiring. Lauds and Vespers were still Benedict's principal services, again on a homologous basis.

The subsequent history of the Hours is of action and reaction between monastic and secular uses, and Roman and "Gallican" spheres of influence. The Benedictine cycle was adopted by the Roman clergy, and provided with a systematic musical setting of the Gregorian chant. Thanks largely to the excellence of this music, the Roman use spread over western Europe, combining with the simpler forms already in use there, and undergoing considerable abbreviation in the process. The Gallican shortening of the services in turn made its way to Rome. In the eleventh century the first attempts were made to gather the whole services, formerly in many books for the various participants, into a single volume, the first Breviary. By the twelfth century, the Roman clergy, under the pressure of administrative duties, instituted a further curtailment, especially of the Lessons, in what was known as the *modernum officium*.

The active order of the Franciscans in 1223 adopted this Modern Office. Their revision of 1241 saw a still further shortening; and finally in 1277 a Franciscan pope, Nicholas

III, established this ultimate recension for the Roman court, and imposed its use on the Roman obedience throughout the world.¹⁰

In the resulting form of the Hours before the Reformation, the Psalter was—in theory—rehearsed every week, the Psalms being sung in course from day to day at Nocturns and Vespers, but being invariable at all other Hours. However, the course was continually broken into by the multiplied "double" festivals and their octaves. The Holy Scriptures were still read systematically at Nocturns; in the other hours the lesson, though still called a "Chapter," had been reduced to a single text, usually taken from the Epistle of the mass for the day. Prime and Compline had a fixed "Chapter," and a fixed Collect.

The principal hours¹¹ were alike in that most of their substance was devoted to the Psalter, rising to the climax of the service in a proper Canticle—the *Te Deum* at Matins, *Benedictus* at Lauds, *Quicumque Vult* at Prime, *Magnificat* at Vespers, and *Nunc Dimittis* at Compline. Lauds and Vespers displayed their primordial and central character in that on weekdays, when the most ancient form of these offices was preserved, they concluded with *Preces* or petitionary responsive versicles of a special and historic type, constituting nothing less than an extended litany of general intercession. The likeness is striking with the morning and evening prayers of the *Apostolic Constitutions*;¹² which in turn undoubtedly represent a separate use of the *Pro-Anaphora* of the Liturgy.

By the time of the Reformation in England, the principal hours were accumulated and recited continuously at two

¹⁰For further details of this development, cf. E. C. Ratcliff, "The Choir Offices," in *L. & W.* 257 ff.

¹¹The "Little Hours" of Terce, Sext, and None, consisted of little else but Psalms and Collect.

¹²viii. 35–39 (*P.G.* i. 1137 ff.; *Funk I.* 543 ff.).

periods of the day: the Nocturns of Matins, together with Lauds and Prime, in the morning, and Vespers and Compline in the evening. These two services were actually attended to a considerable extent by the laity, and were popularly called "Matins" and "Evensong." The formation of the two Anglican offices from the existing materials thus offered no innovation in fact, or even in name.

3. THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF 1549

The dominant objectives of Archbishop Cranmer in dealing with the voluminous and complicated matter of the medieval Breviary were these: to set forth services which should be the common possession of all the people, instead of a monopoly of the monks and clergy; to preserve the two public services to which the people were accustomed; to restore the systematic singing of the Psalter and reading of the Scriptures, by assigning the Psalms in sequence to the days of the month, and the whole Bible in course to the dates of the civil year; to shorten and simplify the elaborate and lengthy "accumulated" services by eliminating an infinity of minute details varying with the occasion; and to retain the most outstanding and inspiring features of the old services.

Hence in consolidating the old offices of Matins, Lauds, and Prime to form the new order of "Mattins," and of Vespers and Compline to make "Evensong," the following elements were omitted: the concluding passages of Matins and Vespers; the introduction, Psalms, and conclusion of Lauds, Prime, and Compline; the Invitatories which had been used in a complicated manner to interpolate the *Venite*; all Antiphons of Psalms and Canticles; all Blessings and Responds of Lessons; and the proper Office Hymns in each Hour. The remaining materials were combined, or rather interwoven, as follows:

FOR MATTINS:

From Matins:

The introductory Lord's Prayer, with which all the Hours began, but now said aloud and in full.

"O Lord, open thou my lips," etc., proper to Matins alone.

"O God, make speed to save me," etc., common to all Hours.

Gloria Patri.

"Praise ye the Lord,"¹³ (without response), or

"Alleluia"¹⁴ in Paschal Time.

Ps. 95, *Venite.*

The Psalms, sung in course.

The First Lesson.

The *Te Deum*, formerly festal, now for use except in Lent.

From Lauds:

The *Benedicite*, from Sunday

Lauds, for use in Lent.

The Second Lesson.

The *Benedictus.*

From Prime:

The "Athanasian" Creed *Quicumque vult*, now for use on six feasts.

Kyrie Eleison, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Suffrages.¹⁵

The Collect of the Day.

A "memorial" Collect for Peace.

The Collect for Grace (the Fixed Collect at Prime).

Mattins ended abruptly here without conclusion of any sort.

¹³Perhaps suggested by the "Laus tibi Domine Rex æternæ gloriæ" used in Lent.

¹⁴Formerly appended to the *Gloria Patri* except in Lent.

¹⁵The actual text of these Suffrages was not that of Prime nor even the ampler form of ferial Lauds, but that of the Bidding Prayer used every Sunday before High Mass, and therefore the version best known to the people.

FOR EVENSONG:

From Vespers:

From Compline:

The introductory Lord's Prayer.

"O God, make speed," etc.

Gloria Patri.

"Praise ye the Lord"

or "Alleluia," as in Mattins.

The Psalms, in course.

The First Lesson.

The *Magnificat*.

The Second Lesson.

The *Nunc Dimittis*.

Kyrie, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Suffrages; as in Mattins.

The Collect of the Day.

A "memorial" Collect for Peace.

The Collect for Aid against Perils (the Fixed Collect at Compline).

Evensong also ended without conclusion.

4. THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF 1552

In the Second Prayer Book, the titles "Mattins" and "Evensong" were changed to Morning and Evening Prayer, except in the Lectionary, where the old designations remain in the Prayer Book of the Church of England to this day.

In this book, the penitential introduction to the two services now appeared, consisting of one of eleven penitential Sentences,¹⁶ followed by the Exhortation, General Confession, and Absolution.

¹⁶Chiefly derived from familiar "*Capitula*" of the various Hours in Lent.

A mutual confession and absolution had occurred amid the *Preces* toward the end of Prime and Compline in the Sarum service. Both versions of Cardinal Quiñones' revised Roman Breviary removed them from that place, and inserted them at the beginning of Matins only. Cranmer undoubtedly had this precedent in mind; but it is probable that he was also influenced by the *Liturgia Sacra* of Valérand Pullain,¹⁷ whose structure of Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution was identical with that now adopted.

The text of these forms represents a fusing and recasting of material from many devotional sources—Pullain, Laski, and Hermann on the Protestant side; and on the Catholic, St. Florus of Lyons, St. Avitus of Vienne, and the staunchly orthodox manuals, the "Bishop's Book" or *Institution of a Christian Man* of 1537, and the "King's Book" or *Necessary Doctrine* of 1543.¹⁸

The *Alleluia* in Paschal Time, and the restriction of the *Benedicite* to an alternative in Lent, now disappear from this and all subsequent Anglican books. After all, there is nothing distinctively penitential about the *Benedicite*—its Sarum use was festal;—and on the other hand, the exclusively festal use of the *Te Deum* was a very late development: in monasteries, preserving the most ancient uses, it was sung the year round; and Quiñones assigned it to all feasts, even in Advent and Lent.

As the Puritans objected to the use of the Gospel Canticles, Psalm 100, *Jubilate Deo*, Psalm 98, *Cantate Domino*, and Psalm 76, *Deus misereatur*, were offered as alternatives to the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis* respectively.

¹⁷Pullain came to Glastonbury in 1550 with his congregation of French Protestant refugees. His *Liturgia Sacra* was published in Latin in London, February 23, 1551.

¹⁸E.R. I. 130 and clviii.

The place following the *Benedictus* which the *Quicumque Vult* or "Athanasian Creed" occupied on the six festivals when it was used, as well perhaps as the analogy of the Communion Office, were responsible for rescuing the Apostles' Creed from its awkward position after the *Kyries* in 1549, where it had been said kneeling together with the Lord's Prayer, and placing it after the *Benedictus*, to be said standing. The minister was directed to stand up for the Collect of the day, with its preceding *preces* and following memorials—*i.e.* to take the same posture as at the Collect in the Communion, to which this was a sort of liturgical reference.

Evening Prayer was further assimilated to the morning office by adding the Versicle, "O Lord, open thou our lips," formerly peculiar to Matins.¹⁹

The rubric to the *Quicumque Vult* added eight Saints' Days to the occasions on which it was to be used, ensuring that it would be repeated practically every month in the year.

5. THE REVISION OF 1662

Most of the changes in 1662 were adopted from the Scottish book of 1637. These were the addition of the scriptural doxology to the introductory Lord's Prayer, and of the response, "The Lord's name be praised," after "Praise ye the Lord"; rubrics requiring the Priest to stand at the Absolution, and for all to stand at the first *Gloria Patri*; and the major feature of rounding out Morning and Evening Prayer as complete services of worship by appending the so-called "Five Prayers"—for the King, the Royal Family, the Clergy and People, the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, and the Grace—after the Third Collect, with permission to intercalate an Anthem

¹⁹Originally this Versicle had a particular significance at Matins, since in monastic use these were the first words spoken aloud at that service, breaking the "Great Silence" observed since the previous Compline.

before them: all to be used when the Litany was not said after Morning Prayer, and always at Evening Prayer.²⁰

The suggestion for this last addition lay in the petitionary *Preces* or Suffrages after the Creed;²¹ its effect was to bring the Offices into line with their primitive form in the early Church,²² by supplying a sort of General Intercession logically indispensable to the Church's Common Prayers.²³

The book of 1662 further extended the scheme of this Intercession with the *Prayer for All Conditions*,²⁴ which was printed in the section of Special Prayers, with a rubric indicating it was "to be used" when the Litany was not said. This rubric, probably meaning "which may be used at discretion," has in fact been interpreted as mandatory. The prayer is modeled upon the Prayer for the Church in the Communion, omitting matters already covered in the "Five Prayers," giving a special turn to the supplication for the Peace of the Church in view of the unreconciled elements of Dissent which the Church of the Restoration had inherited from the recent days of the Commonwealth, and supplementing the formal petitions of the "Five Prayers" with some intimate and touching supplications for those in distress of whatever sort.

A corresponding *General Thanksgiving* in the section of Special Thanksgivings,²⁵ with no special rubric, also made its way into general use as providing a distinctively *eucha-*

²⁰The Prayer for the King appeared in the Litany in 1559, and was a condensation of a form in a private collection of devotions printed in 1545; that for the Royal Family was in the Prayer Book of 1604; that for the Clergy and People, first in the Litany of 1544, was a translation of a "Gelasian" collect; the Prayer of St. Chrysostom, also in the 1544 Litany, translated a Latin version of the Byzantine rite published in 1538 (see *E.R.* I. lxvii); and the Grace first appeared in the Litany of 1559.

²¹See p. 139.

²²See p. 160.

²³See p. 139.

²⁴Composed by Dr. Peter Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and later of Ely.

²⁵Attributed to Edward Reynolds, a conforming Presbyterian, Bishop of Norwich.

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

ristic note, and satisfying a religious instinct that no order of worship is complete without this highest, purest, and most acceptable form of prayer.

Beside these major matters, there was a good deal of dotting of *i*'s and crossing of *t*'s in the rubrics—some of it more meticulous than intelligent. And Bishop Wren was responsible for a tiny but mischievous change in the last sentence of the Absolution. Originally this had read with reference to what preceded: "He pardoneth and absolveth all those who truly repent. . . . Wherefore we beseech him to grant us true repentance," etc. But Wren's "Wherefore *let us* beseech him," etc., seems to point forward, as if to some further and future action: which unhappily is apparently supplied by the first Lord's Prayer, which follows here, but which originally began the service, said by the officiant alone, in as purely private and purely prefatory a use as the corresponding prayer in the Communion. Bishop Cosin seems to have taken Wren's alteration in this sense, for he sponsored the rubric directing the people to repeat the first Lord's Prayer with the minister.

The effect of this upon the structure of the Church of England service was perhaps too slight to be perceptible. The real consequence ensued in the next century, when the makers of the first American Prayer Book wished to eliminate one of the two occurrences of the Lord's Prayer: and because the first one seemed to them so anchored in its context, they sacrificed the second from its central and climactic place at the heart of the concluding prayers.

6. THE FIRST AMERICAN PRAYER BOOK OF 1789

The abortive English draft of 1689 contributed these features to the Daily Offices of the first American book a century

FIRST AMERICAN PRAYER BOOK

later: the use of the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the whole portion of Psalms instead of after each Psalm; the substituting of Psalms for the Canticles at Evening Prayer; and the printing of the Psalm *Jubilate* before the *Benedictus*.

The equally fruitless American experiment of 1785 proposed the following, also incorporated in our first national rite: Proper Second Lessons for Sundays and Holydays; the principle of Selections of Psalms; "general" Sentences prefixed to the penitential list; the *Gloria Patri* or the *Gloria in Excelsis* at the end of the whole portion of Psalms; an evasion of the "hell" clause in the Apostles' Creed; shortening of the Suffrages after the Creed, and elimination of the Lesser Litany and the Lord's Prayer at this point; and an avoidance of repeating the Collect for the day twice in combined Morning Prayer and Holy Communion.

The Prayer Book of 1789 displayed a number of alterations of the parent English book of 1662. The most obvious of these, and the ostensible reason for an American book, was the prayer for civil rulers. In this prayer, which, as in the English service, was the same at both Morning and Evening Prayer, "the President of the United States, and all others in authority," was substituted for the King; with some little toning down of "royal" epithets.

Incidentally, the rubric directing the omission of the concluding prayers if the Litany was to follow, was put after this prayer instead of before, in Morning Prayer. It is said that at this time George Washington, who lived eight miles from a church, did not attend evening service; and the Litany being habitual after Morning Prayer, it was in response to his expressed desire to hear the Prayer for the President read that the rubric was given this position: so that until 1928 this irregularity in the morning service bore witness to the fact that the first President of the country was a Churchman.

Further alterations were made of phrases in the *Te Deum*, the Third Collect in both services, and the prayers for Clergy and People, and for All Conditions. With few exceptions, these were judicious and demonstrable improvements.

Throughout the rubrics of both services, "Minister" was substituted for "Priest" wherever it occurred, save at the Absolution, to permit the recitation of the services by a Deacon or Lay-Reader, with the exception of this one sacerdotal element.

The *Venite* was amended from Psalm 95 to Psalm 95:1-7 and 96:9 and 13. On Easter, and six other occasions, it was to be supplanted by proper Anthems.²⁶

The "hell" clause in the Apostles' Creed might either be omitted, or supplanted by the paraphrase "He went into the place of departed spirits," if "any Churches" desired to do so. While canonists are of the opinion that the latter expression means not any local congregations, but a unit not less than a diocese, the mere existence of the explanation and permission was enough to quiet objection, as was the case with the Sign of the Cross in Baptism; and the matter seems never to have been tested.

There were also a number of omissions: of the introductory versicles, "O God, make speed to save us. *R. O Lord, make haste to help us*";²⁷ of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, and of all but the first four verses of the *Benedictus*; of all Suffrages after the Creed except the first and last, in both services; of the Anthem after the Third Collect; of the interpolation for special intercessions in the prayer for All Conditions and the General Thanksgiving; and of the Lesser Litany and Lord's Prayer after the Creed. This last was a somewhat

²⁶These latter were *centos* from the Proper Psalms for their days, and necessitated the use of a neutral Selection with them.

²⁷This once began all the Hours; eliminating it left only the Versicle once proper to Matins alone.

serious liturgical blunder: it omitted the proper congregational Lord's Prayer from its central and climactic place, such as it occupies in all other prayerbook offices, in order to retain the form which was and is merely prefatory. It was, however, the logical sequel of the mistakes made by Wren and Cosin in 1662.

On the other hand, the book offered several additions and alternatives. Three "general" Sentences were prefixed to the exclusively penitential group. The germ of the present Proper Sentences for the Christian Seasons appeared under the Thanksgiving-Day service. The shorter Absolution from the Communion was given as an alternative to the one already in the offices; and the Nicene Creed to the Apostles'.²⁸ Psalm 92:1-4, *Bonum Est*, was supplied for choice instead of the *Cantate*, to make up for the excision of the *Magnificat*, and Psalm 103:1-4 and 20-22, *Benedic, Anima Mea*, was similarly added to the *Deus Misereatur*, in lieu of the *Nunc Dimittis*. The prayer for All Conditions, and the General Thanksgiving, were transferred from the Special Prayers and Thanksgivings, and added to both services.

Further flexibility in combination with other services was introduced by rubrics providing for the omission of the Collect for the day from Morning Prayer, and of the introductory Lord's Prayer and the Creed from the Communion, when the two services were used together.

7. THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1892

Although it was a desire to bring the daily offices into harmony with the needs of the modern age which was in the

²⁸The Proposed Book of 1785 had eliminated the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds entirely, and confined the Apostles' to Morning Prayer to avoid duplication in the combined services. In response to strong objections from the Church of England, the book of 1789 reinstated the Nicene Creed *both* in the Offices and the Communion, as a sort of disclaimer of heretical intent; but refused to restore the Athanasian Creed even to a place in the book.

forefront of the objectives of the revision sponsored by Dr. Huntington, the actual changes in these services effected in 1892 were few and conservative.

The only new matter adopted was the system of "Proper" Sentences for festivals and seasons at the beginning of both services—carrying out the idea of those supplied for Thanksgiving Day in 1789;—and a new Prayer for the President²⁹ at Evening Prayer.

There were however several enrichments in the form of restorations of matter eliminated in 1789 from the English original. The *Benedictus* was again printed in full, but with provision for omitting all but the first four verses except upon the Sundays in Advent, and once more followed, not preceded, by its alternative, the *Jubilate*; and at Evening Prayer the *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and the Suffrages after the Creed,³⁰ were restored, as was the original form of the Third Collect, and the permission for an Anthem after it. The permission to *omit* the "hell" clause in the Creed was dropped. The optional commemorations were reinstated in the prayer for All Conditions and the General Thanksgiving.

The principle of *flexibility* was much extended. At Morning Prayer, when the Holy Communion was to follow, the minister might omit the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, passing directly from the Sentences to the Lord's Prayer, intercalating "The Lord be with you. *R. And with thy spirit.* Let us pray." On any weekday, the new short Invitation, "Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God," might be substituted for the Exhortation; and the service might end with the Grace after the Third Collect. At Evening Prayer, the Invitation might be used instead of the Exhortation on any day; and on weekdays the Invitation, Con-

²⁹Adapted from the first Collect for the King at the Communion in all the English books.

³⁰With two small changes of phrase.

fession, and Absolution might be omitted; and at any time the service could be concluded after the Third Collect with any "Prayer or Prayers taken out of this Book."

Further proposals of this revision which failed of adoption in 1892, but were successful in 1928, include the short alternative Absolution at Evening Prayer; the permission to omit the *Venite* on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday; the *Benedictus es, Domine* as an alternative to *Te Deum* or *Benedicite*; and the change of the break in Morning Prayer to the place after the Third Collect instead of after the prayer for the President.

8. THE REVISION OF 1928

At our last revision, a careful recension was made of the opening Sentences of both Morning and Evening Prayer. Nine of these were omitted, eight added, and five transferred. The scheme of Proper Sentences adapted to the Christian Seasons, adopted in 1892,³¹ was carried to its logical conclusion by reducing the ten penitential Sentences which had survived in 1892 to three each in Morning and Evening Prayer, and absorbing them under the season of Lent; and those in the service for Thanksgiving Day, which, as we have seen, pioneered in this development, were now transferred to this portion of Morning Prayer.

The Seasons may now be further emphasized by the optional use of Invitatories³² prefixed to the *Venite*.

The Canticle *Benedictus es, Domine*,³³ is offered as a further alternative after the First Lesson. There is still nothing

³¹The latest English and Scottish books have incorporated this use of Sentences for the seasons.

³²They are more in the form of medieval Antiphons. The old Invitatories had preserved in this place a very ancient form of Antiphon, whereby the whole and the half phrase were interpolated between successive verses of the *Venite*.

³³Dan. 3:52-56 (*Vulg.* and *LXX*), Song of the Three Holy Children 29-34 (English Apocrypha), preceding our *Benedicite*. *Benedictus Es* is sung daily in the Mozarabic office.

penitential at this point; but its simplicity makes it an excellent substitute at any time for the length of the *Benedicite* and the musical difficulty of many settings of the *Te Deum*.

At Morning Prayer, a new Prayer for the President is given as an alternative to the old slightly altered Collect for the King, in which the Church prays for the temporal and eternal welfare of the President in personal terms still reminiscent of royalism. The Prayer Book Commission proposed this prayer as a substitute, not an alternative; but it is understood that the sympathies aroused by the tragic collapse of President Wilson, which had occurred shortly before the time this portion was before General Convention for action, influenced the Convention to retain the old prayer, precisely because it was personal.

At Evening Prayer, in lieu of the old alternative borrowed from the Communion, a new Absolution is given from the Sarum rite.³⁴ Perhaps by contrast with Cranmer's fulness, it seems somewhat abrupt, especially in its conclusion. This might be remedied by appending "through Jesus Christ our Lord," to elicit the people's *Amen*.

There were also a number of alterations in the rubrics affecting the details of the services.

The *Venite* may now be omitted on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, to which its joyful note is not appropriate.³⁵ Psalm 95 may be used instead of the *Venite* at any time, instead of "when it is used in the course of the Psalms, on the 19th day of the month." The "course of the Psalms" having fallen into tacit desuetude in many quarters as the base of the Sunday services, it is nevertheless desirable to substitute Psalm

³⁴This short Absolution, as well as a simplified Confession, is offered as an alternative at both Morning and Evening Prayer in the English and Scottish revisions.

³⁵The English *Deposited Book* allows the omission of the *Venite* on any day except Sundays and Holy Days.

95 for the *Venite* whenever it is followed by Psalm 96, two of whose verses it borrows. Psalm 95 may also be used to provide a penitential ending for the *Venite* in Lent, as the *Book Annexed* of 1886 proposed.

The rubric before the Suffrages after the Creed has been changed to read "*the People* [instead of *all*] *devoutly kneeling*." This legalizes the following of the custom of the Church of England, where the Suffrages and the Three Collects are said by the priest standing.

The change of the break in Morning Prayer from after the Prayer for the President to after the Third Collect, brings Morning Prayer into symmetry with Evensong, and into conformity with the services of the rest of the Anglican Communion, at the sacrifice of that interesting peculiarity of the First American Prayer Book,³⁶ whose value, however, was apologetic rather than liturgical.

The rubric permitting the congregation to say the General Thanksgiving with the minister was a concession to an already established and increasing parochial custom.³⁷ It was a hopeful sign that the people desired to take a corporate vocal part in this "eucharistic" element of the service, in the same manner in which they had been required to participate in the "penitential" portions. The principle of self-activity in a truly congregational service, in which all have their share, which had been so nearly eliminated by the use of a dead language, and almost extinguished in the days of the "duet of parson and clerk," is again a living influence in this spontaneous initiative of a devout and intelligent laity.

But the most important changes in 1928 were in the general rubrics, whereby the offices were made far more flexible, and adaptable to particular purposes.

³⁶p. 111.

³⁷Such a rubric first appears in the Irish Prayer Book of 1878. The English Book of 1928 adopts a like provision.

At Morning Prayer, the Exhortation may be replaced by the short Invitation at any time, instead of only on weekdays. The outright omission of Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, formerly permitted when the Communion was to follow, is now extended to use when the Litany follows, and also, without these restrictions, to "any day, save a Day of Fasting or Abstinence."⁸⁸

Under the last-named conditions, an entirely new option is introduced, of going absolutely from the Sentences to "O Lord, open thou our lips"; it being provided that the Lord's Prayer, thus eliminated here, is to be inserted in the Suffrages after the Creed; or may be completely omitted from Morning Prayer, if the Litany follows.

The salient point of this option is more than a shortened service: it is a tentative and experimental approach at the discretion of the minister toward undoing the blunder of 1789 which eliminated the wrong occurrence of the Lord's Prayer, and restoring that prayer to what is unquestionably its rightful place in the service.⁸⁹

Both these permissions at Morning Prayer—simply to omit the Confession, etc., or also to transfer the Lord's Prayer—are open at any time without restriction at Evening Prayer. And authority to close the Office at any time in any manner after the Third Collect, which 1892 granted for Evensong, is now extended to Morning Prayer.

Combining these rubrics at the beginning and end, it appears that on any Sunday morning it is possible to say the office with the same brevity, and on almost exactly the same lines, as in 1549. Whether it is advisable to do so at a principal

⁸⁸By definition, this exception does not apply to any Sunday, even in penitential seasons.

⁸⁹The English book specifies that the minister shall kneel for the Lord's Prayer, and stand up for the following Suffrages and Collects. Our rubric not covering this question, there is some conflict of usage at this point.

service, is another matter. The minimum outline of Morning Prayer has assimilated to itself elements—penitential, intercessory, and eucharistic—indispensable to a complete service of worship; and eliminating them all, as the rubrics allow the minister to do, has been known to provoke the comment on the part of the laity: "That isn't Church; it's just a short service!"

The provision of the so-called "Shortened Services Act" of 1872 of the Church of England, permitting the use of any one Lesson followed by any one Cantic, is now applied to our Evening Prayer by a rubric before the *Magnificat*. A similar rubric before the *Te Deum* allows the minister to pass at once to the Holy Communion, after any one Cantic of Morning Prayer has been said following the First Lesson.

The combination of all the rubrics referring to the permissible management of Morning Prayer when the Communion is to follow gives the following minimum schedule: a Sentence; "The Lord be with you," etc.; the Lord's Prayer and *Preces*; the *Venite* and a Psalm; an Old-Testament Lesson; and a Cantic serving as an Introit to the Holy Communion.⁴⁰ This furnishes the Communion with a full choral introduction, supplementing the rather abbreviated and slighted *Pro-Anaphora* of modern times with the ancient Prophetic Lesson and further psalmody.

The 1928 rubrics for the first time make optional instead of mandatory the use of the "Ante-Communion" with Morning Prayer when there is no celebration. The custom had indeed fallen into general disuse, there being few churches where Morning Prayer is the normal principal service which do not also have an early celebration, which sufficiently

⁴⁰Rubric, Prayer Book p. 10: "The Minister . . . after any one of the following Canticles . . . may pass at once to the Communion service."

fulfills the requirement. But mission churches in charge of a Deacon seldom get a celebration oftener than once a month—perhaps still more infrequently in sparsely settled regions. To preserve even a framework and a reminder of the fundamental sacramental worship of the Church, it seemed desirable to permit the use of the “Ante-Communion” by a Deacon; and this was done in 1928.

In using the “Ante-Communion” with Morning Prayer, the various alternative rubrics must be strictly constructed. The permissions available “when the Holy Communion is immediately to follow” do not apply to the “Ante-Communion”: and any attempt to cut corners will result in a mutilated service. Morning Prayer must be said intact through the Collects, the only possible omissions being the Exhortation, and the Confession and Absolution except on penitential weekdays, and the Collect of the day; the position of the Lord’s Prayer of course being optional. The service should be terminated with the Blessing immediately after the Gospel.⁴¹

9. RATIONALE AND USE

All the recent revisions of Morning and Evening Prayer are outstanding in their reconciliation of the immemorial but antithetical desires for *enrichment*, and for *brevity*, by applying the peculiarly Anglican principle of *flexibility*. This principle, signalized by the words *may* and *or* in the rubrics, has been increasingly characteristic of the Anglican books since the beginning. The officiant may now choose among a wealth of alternative forms, to adorn the offices with dignity and splendor, or to conform them to the season or the occasion; or by omission he may reduce them to their briefest

⁴¹A Deacon should of course substitute the Grace, or the concluding supplication of the Penitential Office.

essentials, and make them available “when two or three are gathered together” in a mission service, as well as appropriate for the solemnities of cathedrals.

The services begin with a Sentence appointed for the season, which gives a sort of key-note to the office, such as formerly the Antiphons did to the Psalms. Then follows a preparation of humility and contrition. This is optional save on penitential weekdays; but perhaps should hardly be habitually omitted from principal services on Sundays.

The heart of these offices consists of the reading of Scripture and the singing of canticles of praise, alternating in an inevitable rhythm. In this part, a selection from the Hymn-book of the Jewish Church leads to a portion from the Jewish Scriptures; and this is followed by a canticle glorifying God the Creator, and either expressly or by a natural Christian interpretation leading our minds on from the Old Covenant to the New. Then a reading from the Christian Scriptures is succeeded by a song of praise for the mercies of the Redemption. All this teaching of the Word of God is summed up in the Creed.

The services are concluded with the Prayers, in three divisions: first, the commemoration of the central liturgical worship of the Church, in the Collects of the day; then a general Intercession, which may be as comprehensive or as specific as desired; finally a corporate act of Thanksgiving, and a Blessing. Intercession and Thanksgiving are optional; but, as has been suggested, their omission does not leave a complete service of worship, and is hardly advisable unless this lack is to be made up by a following Litany or Communion.

The Prayer Book assumes that the Communion Office shall be the central service of the day, by directing that announcements, sermon, and offertory shall occur at that time. Yet it explicitly indicates (p. 73) that offerings may be received at

other services, providing for the collection and presentation of the alms with the use of the Offertory Sentences and Anthems. The general rubrics (p. xi) also allow hymns before and after services and sermons. It is taken for granted that sermons and announcements may be used where needed. From these permissions, express and implied, custom, without explicit direction, has evolved the familiar structure of hymn, announcements, sermon, offertory sentence and anthem, and presentation of alms; to which the analogy of the English use of the Ante-Communion has appended the concluding "Table Prayers," Benediction, and recessional hymn.

In their fullest form, therefore, Morning and Evening Prayer are complete services, embodying every element of worship—penitence, instruction, praise, intercession, thanksgiving, exhortation, oblation, and benediction. These services are contemplative rather than dramatic, forms of words rather than actions. They claim a genuine exercise of the mind and heart; they have shown themselves particularly expressive of the characteristic Anglican spirit of active personal participation, with none of the phase of passivity which accompanies the administration of the Sacraments: they have no *ex opere operato* quality at all.

In time past, it has been regrettable that Morning Prayer so largely tended to supplant the Eucharist, which it so adequately supplements. But it would be a pity if in our day it should in turn be wholly supplanted as far as the general congregation is concerned. The extreme flexibility in length and content of the Choir Offices, their adaptability to congregations and occasions, their variability in almost every part, responsive to the notes of the Christian Year, and especially the very comprehensive repertory of Holy Scripture which they present to the people, make them invaluable media for the Ministry of the Word.

NOTE ON THE *TE DEUM*

The Canticle *Te Deum Laudamus* merits a detailed note. Formerly attributed by tradition to SS. Augustine and Ambrose, its authorship is now, following Dom Morin, commonly ascribed to Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana in Dacia in the fourth century. Its order and ideas are Eastern, but its language is Western, resembling early Gallican forms. Its latinity is very archaic, contemporary with the Canon of the Roman mass. It embodies a quotation from St. Cyprian.⁴²

Originally it consisted of the first two sections, as now printed in the Prayer Book; which some MSS, and the oldest musical settings, actually preserve. In these sections the Scripture citations are from the Old Latin version, before Jerome.⁴⁸

The third section consists of Suffrages, taken from the Psalter and the Eastern liturgical litanies. This part seems to have been written originally in Greek, and appended to the *Gloria in Excelsis*. Such a form of the *Gloria*, with the Suffrages added, appears in the Alexandrine Codex of the Scriptures in the fifth century. The Scripture citations of this portion in the Latin version are from the Vulgate.

About the beginning of the sixth century, both *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis* were sung in the morning office of Cæsarius of Arles. But in that century, the *Gloria* was admitted to the mass—but shorn of the Suffrages which had accompanied it in the Office. Not unnaturally, these were now added to the end of the *Te Deum*.

This Hymn, by common consent the climax of devotional inspiration outside Holy Scripture, is nothing less than a *paraphrase of the Liturgy*. As far as mere impassioned words can go, apart from the sacrificial action of the Eucharist, it is a Liturgy in itself. Following the order of the early Eastern Church, it contains a Preface and *Sanctus*; a *Post-Sanctus* praising God for his revelation under both dispensations, leading to an account of the

⁴²Proctor and Frere, 381 n. 2.⁴³*Ibid.*, 383 n. 1.

MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER

Incarnation and Redemption; and in conclusion, properly liturgical Intercessions for the benefits thereof.

On occasion, the *Te Deum* is used as an independent service complete in itself, being sung at celebrations of national rejoicing as a most solemn and exalted expression of thanksgiving to God.

VII

THE LITANY, AND OTHER SUPPLICATIONS

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE LITANY FORM

ALL PUBLIC PRAYER is a coöperative act between the appointed minister who voices aloud the Church's supplication on behalf of all, and the attendant congregation who make those supplications their own. There is a real problem of "leading in prayer," so as to secure and maintain the participation of the people, that with heart and mind they may follow in the path wherein the minister directs their steps. The two methods most effective for this end have been, first, to offer some kind of "Bidding," proposing the particular "intention" or subject of the petition; and second, to encourage some sort of response from the hearers.

The simplest form consists of a prayer or chain of prayers, each voicing a single petition, each preceded by a "Bidding" which serves as its announced title, each followed by the assent, "So be it," by the people. This method is native to the Egyptian, Roman, and "Gallican" rites. It is admirably illustrated by the *Orationes Solemnes* of the Roman Good Friday Intercessions. It has left its vestige in the habitual "Let us pray" before Collects.

A more elaborate form arose in Syria, probably in the first part of the fourth century.¹ Instead of the simple parallelism

¹St. Basil of Cæsarea (†379) in his *Ep.* 207 (*P.G.* 32. 764), attests that diaconal litanies were in use in his time, though they had not been employed in the days of St. Gregory "Thaumaturgus" (†254). The first description of such litanies is in Book II of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Funk I. 165; *LEW* 30.19); the first complete texts in the Liturgy of Book VIII (Funk I. 478 ff.; *LEW* 3 ff.).

of Biddings and Collects, it offers an essentially *periodic* structure, the Deacon proclaiming the entire series of suffrages of a General Intercession, the whole being summed up at its conclusion by a compendious Collect by the Bishop.

Perhaps in the beginning this Syrian order was like the "Gallican" form known as the Bidding Prayer, such as that on p. 47 of the present Prayer Book, where the proclamations addressed to the people are not interrupted by any response. But such responses naturally arise from the fervor of enthusiastic worshippers, and are spontaneously interjected into the course of a long supplication. The Byzantine rite to this day has such ejaculations, "To thee, O Lord!" "Grant it, Lord!" as well as those more familiar to us, "Lord, have mercy!" and the primordial "*Amen*," in a manner identical with those heard in a modern revival-service.

It seems that the early development of responsorial psalmody at Antioch furnished a pattern whereby this voluntary participation might be adopted and regularized, reduced to a definite ritual order and rhythm, by directing the response, *Lord, have mercy*, after each suffrage announced by the Deacon, like the recurring answer, "For his mercy endureth for ever" in Psalm 136. This transformed a mere Bidding Prayer to a Litany.

2. WESTERN LITANIES

From Syria, the device of liturgical litanies spread to other rites where it was not native—the Ethiopic, Gallican, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Celtic, and Roman.

In France the litany-form must have been in common use for some time before Mamertus in 468 instituted the Rogation Days for its solemn performance.

At Rome, a litany was employed at the exordium of the eucharistic liturgy in the century preceding Gregory the

Great. In 529 the Council of Vaison attested the litany-response of *Kyrie Eleison* as being already in use in Italy. And Gregory (590–604), speaking of the *Kyries*, said that they were employed in the ferial services (*in missis quotidianis*) to the exclusion of some other form which, he implied, included them, which would otherwise be found at this point.² This other matter can hardly have been anything but a Litany. We know that at this time the festal use was to sing a litany in solemn procession to the church where the papal mass was held on the days of the "Stations";³ and a litany prefatory to the Eucharist has continued to be used on the Vigils of Easter and Whitsunday, at ordinations,⁴ and at the dedication of churches.

The early Roman litany was probably very much of the form of that still sung at Milan⁵ on the first Sunday in Lent, and the closely parallel form entitled *Deprecatio S. Martini pro populo* in the Stowe Missal.⁶ This primitive Gallico-Roman form represents a slightly confused arrangement but a literal translation of an unmistakably Antiochene original. The Celtic version is as follows:

With our whole heart and our whole mind, let us all say: Lord, hearken and have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

For the peace which is from above, and the tranquillity of our times;

(*Response to each Suffrage: Lord, have mercy.*)

For the holy Catholic Church which is from one end of the earth to the other;

²Fortescue, *The Mass* [Bib. 68], 233 f.; Eisenhofer I. 198 d).

³The *Liber Pontificalis* first mentions the Station-Days in the pontificate of Hilary (461–8).

⁴The Litany still occupied that position as late as the end of the seventh century: cf. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* [Bib. 27], 22; though it has since been transferred to a later part of the service.

⁵Probst, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1893), 243.

⁶Warren, *Liturgie and Ritual of the Celtic Church* [Bib. 35], 229.

LITANY AND SUPPLICATIONS

For our Bishop and Pastor N., and all bishops and priests and deacons, and all the clergy;
For this place and those that dwell therein; for our most pious Emperors, and all the Roman army;
For all who are in authority; for virgins, widows, and orphans;
For pilgrims, and those who travel by land or by water, and penitents and catechumens;
For those who bear the fruits of mercy in the holy Church;

O Lord God of hosts, hear our prayers.

Let us be mindful of the holy Apostles and Martyrs, that through their prayers we may merit pardon.

Let us pray that the Lord will grant us a Christian and peaceful end.

And let us beseech the Lord that the holy bond of charity may remain in us.

Let us beseech the Lord to preserve the sanctity and purity of the Catholic faith.

With our whole heart and our whole mind, let us all say: Lord, hearken and have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

This Litany does not have the structure of that known later in the West, consisting as it does of nothing but Intercessions. Both the Celtic and Ambrosian forms are uncertain as to order, both displacing—differently—the petition for Rulers from its original Syrian location, as we shall see later in §6. The Ambrosian version lacks the last section of the Celtic petitions; but embodies the following primitive Syrian suffrages:

For the peace of the churches, the calling of the Gentiles, and the quiet of the people; . . .

For temperateness of the weather, and abundance of the fruits of the earth; . . .

WESTERN LITANIES

For those in captivity, . . . in prisons, in bonds, in mines, and in exile;

For those who are detained by divers infirmities, and those vexed with unclean spirits.

It also concludes with *Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison.*

At the end of the seventh century some such form as these was supplanted at Rome by a rudimentary version of the present *Litany of the Saints*.⁷ But this also was of Syrian *provenance*. Sergius I, to whose pontificate (687–701) it is attributed, was a Greek-speaking pope from the region of Antioch. He is known to have advocated two cults at Rome, that of the Cross, and that of Christ as the Lamb of God.⁸ Now both of these originated at Jerusalem, and left their mark on the local rite of that center, the “Liturgy of St. James,” which was subsequently adopted at Antioch. This Sergian Litany accordingly offered the innovations of the special deprecation, “By thy Cross, *Deliver us, O Lord*,”—the only “obsecration” in this form, and the germ of those we now have—and the inclusion of the *Agnus Dei*, as in the Liturgy.

A collation of the earliest sources, as quoted by Alcuin and the *Stowe Missal*, yields the following common matter, which is offered as representing the primordial form of the Litany of the Saints:

Spare, O Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed, O Christ, with thy blood; be not angry with us for ever.

O Christ, hear us.

Lord, have mercy.

⁷Versions in the *Stowe Missal* (Warren, *op. cit.*, 226, 238 f.), and in Alcuin *Officia per ferias* (P.L. 101. 522 ff.).

⁸He introduced the *Agnus Dei* into the mass; *cf.* p. 173.

LITANY AND SUPPLICATIONS

[Invocations of SS. Mary, John Baptist, Peter and Paul, and other Apostles; of St. Stephen, and a list of Martyrs; of lists of Confessors and of Virgins.]

Be favourable;
Spare us, O Lord.

Be favourable;
Deliver us, O Lord.

From all evil;
Deliver us, O Lord.

By thy Cross;
Deliver us, O Lord.

We sinners
Beseech thee to hear us.

That thou wilt grant us peace;
We beseech thee to hear us.

Son of God;
We beseech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world;
Have mercy upon us.

O Christ, hear us.
Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy.

[The LORD'S PRAYER, Suffrages, and Collect.]

This germinal form shows the Western litany-form quite complete in character and structure, but consisting of only the barest possible outline. Subsequently that outline was filled in with rich detail, for the most part drawn from the Syrian sources that gave it birth, both directly, and through the "Gallican" litanies that were current in the West before it appeared. As an essentially popular and extra-liturgical devotion, its growth was unregulated by any central authority, but everywhere developed local texts, displaying an immense variation in detail, yet preserving a rather remarkable fidelity

WESTERN LITANIES

to the structural principles displayed in the earliest forms, and a retention of some most primitive phrases. Conservative Rome, beginning with the austere simplicity of the Sergian scheme, lagged far behind Northern Europe in the fertility of this development, so that the present Roman Litany seems bald and meager beside other medieval exemplars.

The Syrian origins of the Sergian Litany clear up many problems of the constitution of the surviving Western type. They show that the invocations of the Saints were not a mere medieval corruption, but an accustomed feature of the conclusion of Syrian litanies. One MS of "St. James"⁹ enumerates the Blessed Virgin, the Archangels, St. John Baptist, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs, St. Stephen, and All Saints—obviously the framework that gave rise to the present Roman categories.

Likewise the outstanding *theological* peculiarity of the Western litany is that its body, between the present initial invocation of the Holy Trinity and the final *Kyries*, is distinctively *a Prayer to Christ*. This also is true of the Syrian sources, which typically conclude with some form of the bidding, "Let us commend ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God."¹⁰

Even the Deprecations, sometimes considered a Western peculiarity, echo the Syrian "For the forgiveness of our sins and remission of our transgressions, and for our deliverance from all affliction, wrath, danger, necessity, and uprising of enemies,"¹¹ with a later mention of "bitter death."¹²

The concluding triple *Kyries* are likewise Syrian.¹³ And of course, like all Syrian litanies, the Western form invariably

⁹The *Messina Roll* (*Græc.* 177), in Swainson, *Greek Liturgies* [Bib. 21], 224. The corresponding Litany in *St. James Presanctified* (*Cod. Sinait.* 1040, printed LEW 495) contains a nearly identical list.

¹⁰LEW 40.1, 59a.7, 363.21, 365.3, 391.16.

¹¹LEW 34a.27. ¹²LEW 37a.7.

¹³LEW 48a.22, 38.1, 373a.9.

leads toward and concludes in some sort of summary Collect.¹⁴

3. CRANMER'S ENGLISH LITANY

The Litany had been found in English in the Primers since about the year 1400. Cranmer put forth an official version in 1544: so that the Litany was the first constituent of the English Prayer Book to appear—as it was also the only one to remain in continuous use through the Marian reaction, which interdicted the rest of the Prayer Book.

The relative bareness of the official Roman form was amply filled up by the fact that Cranmer's Litany was an unusual assimilation of rich material from many sources. These were chiefly the Sarum processional litany, the special form for the dying, the particular supplications inserted in time of war, and some details from the uses of York and Westminster; Luther's Latin Litany of 1529, itself a most admirable composition gathering up many valuable features current in northern Europe; the Roman, whether through Luther or Quiñones; and the Byzantine liturgical litanies.¹⁵

Besides details, the Greek forms had an important influence upon the *style* of the Litany. The Latin form proposed each suffrage singly, and extremely briefly—eight of them consisted of only three words, two of two, and one of one! Logically, this taking of one thought at a time, like the beads of a rosary, has its merits; but the rhetorical effect is very fragmentary, and resembles a skiff tossed on a choppy sea. Cranmer, with his sensitive ear echoing with the fuller music of the ampler Greek rhetoric, expanded the jejune terms of the Latin, and combined sometimes as many as five cognate petitions into a single suffrage, with a magnificent vocal result, like the onward roll of ocean-surges.

¹⁴*Cf.* p. 125 f.

¹⁵*E.R.* I. lxx ff., 174 ff.; II. 936 ff.

4. REVISIONS OF THE LITANY

The great number of Invocations of the Saints in later medieval times, which had been reduced to three summary groups in 1544, were eliminated altogether in 1549. In 1559 the uncharitable Deprecation against "the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" was removed; and the Litany concluded with "The Grace." In 1662 the original Lutheran phrase, for "Bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church," was made definite as "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," as against recent Presbyterian usurpations; and to the Deprecation beginning "From all sedition" was added "rebellion" and "schism," in feeling remembrance of all that the Church and realm had lately suffered from both.

The first American book in 1789 emended a few phrases; substituted a suffrage for Christian Rulers and Magistrates for those for King and Royal Family; and gave permission to abbreviate the Litany by omitting the old war-time supplications: but in unfortunate ignorance of the historical structure of the service, made the cut come before the *Kyries*, which robbed the shortened Litany of its proper conclusion and Lord's Prayer. The revision of 1892 contributed the single new suffrage, "That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thy harvest," from Hermann's Litany and the Primer of 1535.

The 1928 book brought the Invocations of the Holy Trinity nearer their Latin originals, dividing them between minister and people instead of repeating them entire, and eliminating the appended "miserable sinners." It added "from earthquake, fire, and flood" to the Deprecation beginning "From lightning and tempest"; and the words "or by air" to the suffrage for those who travel by land or by water. A new Petition for the President was set before that for Rulers generally. The

missing *Amen* was supplied after the prayer "O God, merciful Father";¹⁶ and the misunderstood and misapplied structure of the following Psalm-verse with repeated Antiphon was clarified by rubrics directing the manner of its recitation.

The text of the Litany now comes to an end with the prayer "We humbly beseech thee," as had been the usage in the Ordinal since 1662—omitting the Prayer of St. Chrysostom appended in 1549, the Grace of 1559, and the General Thanksgiving of 1789.

The break for shortening the service by omitting the war-time supplications has now been put after the Lord's Prayer. This is excellent for the use of the Litany as a separate service, and the English revision of 1928 does the same. The English book however takes a further step toward clearing up the historic structure by terminating the Litany with the *Kyries* when the Holy Communion is to follow. The triple *Kyrie Eleison* in fact marks the conclusion of the litany-form as such: whatever comes next is of the nature and purpose of the Litany-Collect. The Lord's Prayer may indeed be used in that capacity, and in fact no more universal a supplication could be devised. But though it had this place in the independent use of the Litany, it does not belong to the *liturgical* connection of this office, where the proper summary prayer toward which it is directed is none other than the Collect of the day.

Fully to restore the ancient and organic articulation of the Litany used as prefatory to the Eucharist would therefore involve going one step beyond the recent English book, and providing for the omission of the introductory parts of the Communion before the Collect when the Litany precedes.

¹⁶Its omission was a pure inadvertence of 1662, which attempted to print the *Amen* after all prayers, some of which, like this, had previously taken it for granted.

This was advocated by Dr. Frere twenty-five years ago;¹⁷ nor is it mere theory, since exactly this arrangement was in use at the Ordering of Deacons from 1550 to 1662, and since to this day the Latin order preserves substantially¹⁸ the primitive structure of the use of liturgical litanies, by directing, on the occasions noted above when the Litany is used as a part of the mass, that the final *Kyries* of the Litany shall be solemnly sung by the choir, coinciding with the *Kyries* of the mass; during which the celebrant goes to the altar, and simultaneously completes the Litany and commences the Eucharist with the Collect of the day.

5. STRUCTURE AND CHARACTER OF THE LITANY

The structural divisions of the Litany have now been made clear in our book by paragraphing and capitals. The *Invocations* of the Holy Trinity are a theological paraphrase of the Western form of *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*, with which the Litany formerly began and ended. "*Remember not*" comprises the old penitential Antiphons; though its latter portion is much more ancient, being embodied, as we have seen, in Alcuin's version of the Sergian archetype. The *Deprecations* are supplications for deliverance from dangers and afflictions; and include two groups of *Obsecrations, i.e.*, adjurations to Christ to spare his people by invocation of the mighty acts of his Redemption. The long section of *Intercessions* forms the main body of the office, and represents the essential contents of the Greek sources. It concludes with invocation of Christ as Son of God and Lamb of God, and the final solemn *Kyries*. At this point the

¹⁷*Some Principles of Liturgical Reform* [Bib. 131], 157.

¹⁸Except for the later interpolation of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, which now interrupts the original order as given above.

original liturgical Litany proceeded at once to the Collect of the day; the independent form interpolated the Lord's Prayer and other prayers and suffrages before the concluding Collects. In the Anglican books, this interpolation contains the solemn supplications in time of war.¹⁹ These last may well be omitted when the Litany is used before the Communion, and in normal times; but they voice a moving heartfelt cry of the faith of Christ's Church out of great tribulation, and are of deep significance at penitential seasons and occasions.

The extraordinary power and appeal of the Litany as a form of words is not approached by any other service. It is a pure flight of the spirit, unaccompanied by any ceremonial or dramatic action. The tenor of its supplication is unique to the Christian religion. Ancient faiths cried for mercy to gods whom they feared: they had no solution of the problem of suffering but avoidance, by the propitiation of dread divinities who inflicted or withheld it by their own caprice. Their despairing petitions contained none of the trust in the prevailing goodness of God's providence which inspires the Litany. On the other hand, popular modern cults attempt to evade and ignore suffering; but they must needs shrink to silence in the presence of irremediable disaster. Christianity alone accepts the fact of suffering as enshrined in the heart of God himself, lifts it up in sacrifice to him, and nails it to the Cross of Christ. The Christian religion alone has power not only to scale the heights, but to descend into the depths; alone among religions, it dares to pray: "In all time of our tribulation; in all time of our prosperity; in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment, *Good Lord, deliver us!*"

¹⁹These are again a prayer to Christ, though confused by an interpolated Collect and psalm-verse addressed to the Father.

6. PRIMITIVE NOTES

Some of the incomparable force of the Litany is due to its reflection of the great distress of nations in the Dark Ages which gave birth to the modern world; more, perhaps, to the direct unaltered tradition that has brought us the very words of the cry of the persecuted Primitive Church.

One of these mint-marks of primitive expression is the interpolation of suffrages for Rulers *between* that for the Universal Church and those for the Clergy and People. This is not a later "Erastianism," nor a mere following of the scriptural pattern of 1 Tim. 2:1, 2. Later liturgies indeed commemorated "our most religious and Christ-loving,"²⁰ "divinely-preserved, orthodox"²¹ Kings; but the earliest age prayed for Rulers of the *pagan* State, not as grateful supporters and nursing-fathers of the Church, but as potentially its chiefest enemies and the most deadly dangers to its very existence. The petition for Kings was therefore a vital part of the supplication *for the peace of the Church*. "That they may be peaceably disposed toward us" is the keynote of this suffrage in the earliest available form in the *Apostolic Constitutions*,²² and appears in effect in the Alexandrian rite,²³ in Justin Martyr,²⁴ in the letter of St. Clement of Rome,²⁵ and is implicit in 1 Tim. 2:2 and elsewhere in the New Testament.

Another primitive note is the petition for Prisoners and Captives. The *Apostolic Constitutions* makes it clear that this was originally a prayer for those in bonds "*for the Name of*

²⁰LEW 55.12.

²²LEW 21.25.

²³LEW 114.27; cf. 166.2.

²⁵1 Cor. 59-61 (Quasten, *Monumenta* [Bib. 14], 331 ff.); quoted in translation, Warren, *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church* [Bib. 16], 168.

LITANY AND SUPPLICATIONS

*the Lord.*²⁶ The Middle Ages kept it alive because of the perils of travel and commerce from pirates, highwaymen, and slavers; and to this day it is sometimes thrown into poignant relief by the activities of bands devoted to criminal violence. It is a strange and dramatic fact that *the same suffrage* in our Litany includes the earliest as well as the latest thing in the history of the Christian Church, and carries our minds back through the entire perspective from the days of air-transport to the days of the Persecutions!

Our tender and touching petition for "fatherless children, and widows," is historically a vestige of a primitive list of All Estates within the Church, wherein Widows and Orphans were included together with Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons, Readers, Singers and Virgins,²⁷ as persons enjoying an organic official standing in the Christian community, and as entitled to its support.

7. HOMOLOGUES OF THE LITANY

Such primordial features help to give the Litany the incisive, vivid, concrete character which distinguish it from the *six other* forms of Intercessory Prayer in the Prayer Book.

The Prayer for the Church in the Communion Office, originally identical with the matter of the Litany, is an old coin that has passed through many hands, and been abraded by the attrition of the ages, till it has been worn smooth and dim, while the Litany still shines sharp from the die.

The Bidding Prayer is another doublet, which at times may profitably be substituted for the Litany, as covering the same cycle of thought, but without any penitential color, and indeed with some positive "eucharistic" notes. It has the incidental advantage that it may be heard sitting instead of

²⁶LEW 11.19.

²⁷LEW 10.16-32.

OTHER FORMS OF THE LITANY

kneeling, and the disadvantage that it enlists no coöperation until the final Lord's Prayer. As it stands, it is a little copious and rhetorical; but it is offered as a model and a framework for free individual lines of supplication, with an unlimited opportunity for pastoral intercession, and creative liturgical experiment.

The sequence of prayers after the Third Collect of Morning and Evening Prayer is also moulded upon the structure of the Litany, with successive petitions for Rulers, Clergy and congregations, and All Conditions, especially the afflicted. These prayers indeed were arranged, and in part composed, to cover the ground of the Litany when that office is not said, and are omitted when it is to follow.

Likewise it is not accident that the Suffrages after the Creed at Evening Prayer constitute a brief but perfect Litany in themselves, with petitions embracing a paraphrased *Kyrie Eleison*, the State, the Clergy, the People, the Peace of the Church, and the sanctification of all. These Suffrages are the survivals of a much longer series, whose structure was clearly devised to fill the office of a litany-intercession.²⁸

Family Evening Prayer also has an Intercession, copied after those in the Communion and the daily offices. And "*A General Intercession*" in the supplement to Family Prayer offers an interesting version, wherein the supplications for the ancient categories of the Faithful are adapted and extended with the widest charity and the most developed social conscience to the needs of all those who suffer inequality in the complexities of the modern industrial State.

8. OTHER FORMS OF THE LITANY

A brief specialized *Litany for the Dying*, along the lines of the Sarum *Commendatio Animæ*, is found in the Visita-

²⁸Proctor and Frere, 392.

tion Office. It includes a literal rendering of the *Kyries*—"Lord, have mercy, *Christ, have mercy, Lord, have mercy.*" This is the form in the English Alternative Order of the Communion of 1928; and Bishop Dowden had recommended it thirty years before to restore "the large *indefiniteness* of the original."²⁹

The Litany and Suffrages for Ordinations is a new composition, and an entirely specialized form, containing only appropriate Intercessions between the abbreviated Invocations and the *Kyries*, followed by the Lord's Prayer, suitable *Preces*, and a summary Collect. The structure is excellent, the choice of ideas nearly equally so, but the expression is distinctly prosaic.

9. THE "LESSER LITANY" AND THE LORD'S PRAYER

The Litany has also a special historical relation to the manner of the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in all the offices of the Church, through its final *Kyries*, known as the "Lesser Litany," which precede the Lord's Prayer in the Litany itself, and originally served to introduce it in every other place where it was used *congregationally*, save in the Communion, where it had a special Prologue.

This clearcut use of 1549 was gradually modified in successive editions by a number of adventitious changes, the chief of which was the appending of the "scriptural" doxology in three places in 1662. The resulting situation in the first American Prayer Book was that the Lord's Prayer, concluding with the doxology, appeared in the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Communion Office, and Family Prayers; and introduced by the Lesser Litany, with no doxology, in the Litany and the Visitation of the Sick and of Prisoners. While

²⁹*The Workmanship of the Prayer Book* [Bib. 75], 71.

the remaining instances of the Prayer possessed neither *Kyries* nor conclusion, these prominent examples served to suggest an entirely new *rationale*, which became widely accepted after 1892 added Burial and the Penitential Office to those provided with *Kyries*—namely, of two separate uses of the Lord's Prayer: one in a "eucharistic" sense, marked by the final doxology; and the other "petitionary" or "penitential," distinguished by the Lesser Litany and the absence of a doxology.

This theory is strictly modern, and peculiar to the Church in America. Yet it is not inappropriate, and has sufficed to bring order out of a considerable confusion and diversity of use in the later Anglican books. It was made "official" and uniform in 1928 by adding the doxology in all places where the Prayer was not preceded by the Lesser Litany.³⁰

It is significant that after all the changes the primitive reverence for these *verba Verbi* has been preserved, and the principle maintained that the Lord's Prayer should never be used abruptly and without some sort of dignified introduction in congregational worship. It is prefaced by some form of the traditional Prologue in the Communion, the Bidding Prayer, the Offices of Instruction, and the Office of Institution; by the Absolution (whose revision in 1662 made it bear an apparent reference to the following Lord's Prayer) in the normal place for its occurrence in Morning and Evening Prayer; by the special Bidding, "Seeing now," in Baptism; by "Let us pray" in Confirmation, Marriage, and the optional place in Morning and Evening Prayer; and by the *Kyries* in the three Litanies, the Penitential Office, Visitation, and both

³⁰With the inadvertent exception of the Churching Office. In this place 1662 had added the doxology *to a form prefaced by the Kyries*; 1789 had cancelled both doxology and *Kyries*; and 1928, to carry out its plan for "petitionary" uses of the Lord's Prayer, should have restored the Lesser Litany here. In this one place the Lord's Prayer now lacks *both* introduction and doxology.

Burial Offices. Only in Family Prayers is the principle ignored; though it is not quite obvious why liturgical propriety should not be observed even in a "private" service, where two or three are gathered together.

IO. COLLECTS

As has been intimated, every Litany looks forward to a concluding Collect as its *terminus ad quem*, and the necessary final resolution of its essentially "periodic" structure. This Litany-Collect strictly fulfills the original meaning of the Gallican term, *Collectio* or *Collecta*, for this type of prayer, in that it gathers up or *collects* the accumulated suffrages of the Litany's Biddings to Prayer and the resultant secret "intentions" in the hearts of all, in a sort of generalized conclusion.

Yet Collects existed as a characteristic Western and Egyptian form of prayer before the Syrian litany-form was imported. In this use they "collected" the intentions of a pause for silent prayer after their individual Biddings. Especially was this the use, and the term, throughout the "Gallican" orders. The word *Collect* was never really naturalized in purely Roman regions, and when for a time it was adopted, it was given another sense, in the phrase *Oratio ad collectam*, that is, "the Prayer over the people gathered together" to go in procession to the church of a papal Station.

As we shall see later,³¹ it appears that throughout the West the Eucharist was originally celebrated in the form which has survived in the "Gallican" rites, in that the whole Liturgy consisted of a definite series of Collects, each with its proper subject and purpose, but each variable with the occasion. About the middle of the fourth century, however, the Roman rite transformed its sequence of Consecration Prayers into an

³¹Pp. 166, 168.

invariable "Canon," consisting still of a chain of Collects, but no longer, with some small exceptions, subject to change or substitution. Outside this Canon four prayers were left as typical "Gallican" variables, before the Lections, at the Offertory, after the Communion, and at the final benediction of the people.³²

Of these, the most significant was the first, which the Roman rite calls simply *Oratio—The Prayer*—of the mass, and which we know as the "Collect of the day." This prayer is much older than Litanies, and corresponds to Serapion's "First Prayer of the Lord's Day,"³³ and an equivalent Collect of the later Alexandrian group.³⁴ But this Collect of the day was assimilated to be the concluding Collect of the introductory Litany of the sixth century in Rome. This is the reason why most of our present liturgical Collects are such very general prayers for God's mercy and grace. For modern use, it might be desired that more of them were more distinctive and incisive.

When, however, the prefatory Litany fell into disuse, the Collect was again in a position of particular prominence, and received considerable emphasis as carrying a sort of key-note of the particular service in relation to the Christian Year. The English Church went a step further. Inheriting the term "Collect" from the "Gallican" tradition of Northern Europe, it invented the idea that the purpose of the Collect was to "collect" the import of the liturgical scripture of the day, especially the Epistle, which it immediately precedes. Indeed, many post-Reformation Collects were deliberately written to do so.

Some fifty-seven liturgical Collects were translated from the Latin in the First Prayer Book, as against twenty-four

³²The *Oratio*, *Secreta* or *Super oblata*, *Postcommunio*, and *Super populum*.

³³*J.T.S.* I. 1. 99.5; Funk II. 158; Wordsworth, 80.

³⁴*LEW* 113.14, 147.20, 202.20.

newly composed. Of the latter, thirteen were for Saints' Days—on the whole, an extremely competent and edifying piece of work, replacing a mechanical and uninspiring ringing of changes on the theme of the merits and prayers of the Saints. As in the Litany and the Communion Office, the translations were more liberal than literal; while retaining much of the simplicity and directness of the originals, their dry bones were *clothed upon* with the lineaments of life.

While only one new Collect was composed in 1552, one in 1637, four in 1662, one in 1789, and one in 1886, the revision of 1928 furnished no less than fifteen—for Eucharists on the Second Sunday after Christmas, the first four days of Holy Week, an early celebration on Whitsunday, the Ember and Rogation Days, Independence Day, the feast of the dedication of a Church, a marriage, and two each for Burials and for any Saint's Day not provided with a proper service. 1928 also revised the Third Collect of Good Friday, and the Collect of St. Luke's Day.

It is coming to be realized that a Collect, presenting a single profound and universal petition within its brief compass, is as exacting an art-form as a sonnet. It is free poetry, where thoughts, instead of words, rhyme in definite strophe-patterns. It has underlying principles of prose-rhythm, which are beginning to be explored.³⁵ To be sure, some of the original exemplars, Latin and English, have rhetorical awkwardnesses which only devotional familiarity has made tolerable to our ears. New Collects, or other short prayers, certainly should not imitate their defects.³⁶ Indeed not a little of the new matter in all recent Anglican revisions leaves something to be desired toward the attainment of the Collect's

³⁵*Cf. L. & W.* 808 ff.

³⁶*E.g.* the last-minute addition of a modifying participial clause in the apodosis, which ought to offer a clear-cut conclusion. This infelicity, not unknown in the older prayers, was especially numerous in the new matter of 1928.

difficult but indispensable ideal of a balance of force and facility, emotion and restraint.

II. SPECIAL INTERCESSIONS

The now considerable collections of special prayers are an outgrowth of the Collects devised before the Reformation for "votive" offerings of the Eucharist for the needs of current occasions or particular individuals. Even funeral Eucharists, which survived in 1549, were eliminated in 1552, to be restored only in 1928, along with provisions for a celebration at a marriage. Otherwise, votive intercessions have existed only as "commemorations" inserted into the public offices.

Even these have been of slow growth. The First Prayer Book had prayers only for Rain and Fair Weather. 1552 added supplications for times of Dearth, and War and Plague. 1604 temporarily balanced the account with four corresponding Thanksgivings. 1662 contributed prayers for Ember Days and Parliament, as well as "All Conditions" for Morning Prayer without the Litany, with a parallel General Thanksgiving, and a thanksgiving for Restoring Public Peace at Home. The first American Prayer Book brought in prayers for a Sick Person and Sick Child, Persons going to Sea, those under Affliction, and Condemned Malefactors; and thanksgivings for Delivery from Childbirth, Recovery from Sickness, Safe Return from Sea. The Prayer for Convention dates from 1799. 1892 added prayers for Unity, Missions, and Rogation-tide, and a thanksgiving for a Child's Recovery from Sickness.

This entire accumulation was exactly doubled in number in the 1928 book, which added eighteen new prayers, as well as a Collect to the section of Occasional Collects (now transferred to this division of Special Prayers), the Bidding Prayer,

and twenty-three more new forms in the appendix after Family Prayers.

All this evidences a spirited and determined attempt to bring the worship of the Church up to date, and adapt it to current needs—with perhaps the hope that these prayers might also serve to guide and inspire the devotions of the people, and make the Prayer Book not only an official ritual of public worship, but a really popular manual for personal use.

The new material displays a significant reflection of the problems and aspirations of the time that brought it forth. A developed *political* conscience and a democratic idealism speaks in the prayers for a State Legislature and for Courts of Justice, and in the really magnificent general supplication For our Country. A new *social* purpose is expressed in the prayers for Christian Service, for Social Justice, and for Every Man in his Work; as well as the intercessions in the appendix, for Those in Mental Darkness, for a Blessing on the Families of the Land, for all Poor, Homeless, and Neglected Folk, and “A General Intercession.” The growing sense of *international* fellowship appears in the prayer for the Family of Nations. Interest in *education*, religious or secular, is voiced in the supplications for Schools, Colleges, and Universities, for Religious Education, for Children (with another in the appendix), and for Those about to be Confirmed. Primarily *religious* objectives appear in Laud’s forceful prayer for the Church, a new alternative prayer for Missions,³⁷ and one for the Increase of the Ministry; as well as the general intercession of the Bidding Prayer, and the Roman Collect for Unity. *War-time* influences are shown by the prayers in Time

³⁷The admirable conclusion of this prayer in the *Second Report* of the Prayer-book Revision Commission (1919) was regrettably abandoned in favor of that adopted.

of Calamity, for the Army, for the Navy, and for Memorial Days.

Most of the remaining devotions in the appendix are largely for spiritual graces, and are personal and mystical in tone. Some however are of great value for landmarks and emergencies in individual lives, such as those for One about to undergo an Operation, for the Absent, for a Birthday, and for an Anniversary of One Departed. This last is one of the finest of the prayers for those who have entered into life eternal, whose inclusion was a notable contribution of the revision of 1928; and, together with other vital petitions for Christian Stewardship (“for Faithfulness in the Use of this World’s Goods”), and for Joy in God’s Creation, should make an occasional telling appearance in public worship, and should by no means be suffered to slumber unused in the appendix.³⁸

It would be desirable that the second of the votive Collects on p. 49 (“Assist us mercifully”) should have restored to it the title and use of a prayer “For Those about to Undertake a Journey”—it was in fact the Collect of the old Mass for Travelers.

For the place and manner of the use of the occasional Prayers and Collects, see the *Note* appended at the end of this chapter.

12. THE PENITENTIAL OFFICE

From medieval times the Latin Church has had a Penitential Office for occasional use, consisting of the recitation of the Seven Penitential Psalms, with appropriate prayers. The Sarum rite employed this form as a preface to the Liturgy on Ash Wednesday, beginning with a sermon, and after the

³⁸Such prayers, however, should not be adopted as an *invariable* constituent of any service: *cf.* p. 295.

Psalms presenting the Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, suffrages, seven collects, and a solemn Absolution of the people; then proceeded to the Blessing of Ashes and the mass.

Cranmer rejected "sacramentals" (the blessing of inanimate things, outside the actual celebration of the Sacraments), such as candles on Candlemas, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday, holy water on Easter Eve. But though this elimination of other seasonal ceremonies reduced the Liturgy to a dead level of uniformity throughout the year, the beginning of Lent was too pivotal to be left unmarked by some special office: and for it he devised the Communion Service still in use in England.

For the sermon of the Sarum use he substituted long homily-exhortations, and appended the "Comminations," a chain of denunciations in Old-Testament terms of the wrath of God against violators of the moral law. Then followed the penitential Psalm 51, the Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, suffrages, a collect, the summary prayer "O most mighty God," and "Turn thou us" to be sung as an Anthem. Since 1552 the last-named has been recited congregationally.

The First American Prayer Book eliminated the Communion Service, but directed the three last prayers to be said at the end of Morning Prayer on Ash Wednesday. 1892 reconstituted the Penitential Office as at present, beginning with Psalm 51. 1928 removed such expressions as "vile earth and miserable sinners"; thus liberating this telling act of penitence from morbid preoccupations with a supposed vitiation of human nature or futile luxury of grief over an irrevocable past, and brought it into line with the Church's teaching in the General Confessions and elsewhere as to the essentially *constructive* and *forward-looking* value of penitence, in renouncing past errors in order to embrace and enable the righteous future.

NOTE ON THE USE OF THE OCCASIONAL PRAYERS

There has been a good deal of confusion in the use of the occasional prayers, which has not come to an end in our book of 1928.

The Occasional Collects (p. 49) were offered in 1549 to terminate the "Ante-Communion" service when there was no celebration. To this use they were perfectly adapted, consisting mostly of just the sort of universal summary and benedictory supplications as constituted the ancient Collect *Super Populum* at the end of the Liturgy.³⁹ 1552 added the permission to use them after the Collects of Morning or Evening Prayer (*i.e.*, after the "Third Collect,") or the Communion (the Collect of the day), or the Litany ("We humbly beseech thee"): that is, as votive "Memorials." The American books do not use them with the "Ante-Communion," and do not mention the Litany. As a matter of fact, these prayers are well known and widely used—as choir-prayers, and sermon-prayers, and to open meetings, and sometimes as so-called Postcommunions⁴⁰—but in their rubrical place as "Memorials" they are not needed, and practically never used. 1928 moved these Collects from the end of the Communion Office to a place after the Special Prayers, where they could more easily be found for particular uses; but omitted to provide them with a more constructive rubric.

The Special Prayers were appended to the Occasional Collects in 1549. 1552 inserted its four occasional prayers in the Litany, before "St. Chrysostom," for optional use "if the time require." 1662 constituted the present separate section, with the rubric "to be used before the two final prayers of the Litany, or of Morning and Evening Prayer." Now in 1662 "the two final prayers . . . of Morning and Evening Prayer" were counted as "St. Chrysostom" and "The Grace"; so that this book simply extended the existing use of these intercessions from the Litany to the daily offices.

³⁹See p. 216.

⁴⁰Such a use is explicitly authorized in the latest Scottish book, and permitted in the English.

LITANY AND SUPPLICATIONS

The first American Prayer Book kept this rubric unaltered; but it inserted "All Conditions" and the General Thanksgiving in the text of Morning and Evening Prayer. And as popular interpretation had come to regard "The Grace" not as a prayer, but as a blessing, it became customary to insert Occasional Prayers not before "St. Chrysostom," but *before the General Thanksgiving!* Accordingly the presence of special prayers after the general Intercession was justified by saying that "generals should come before particulars"—an entirely fictitious and absolutely erroneous *rationale*, since in fact the particular prayers for Rulers, and for Clergy and People, come before the final compendious prayer specially composed to gather up all the rest of the matter of the universal intercession of the Litany.

1892 however adopted this mistaken convention into law, by directing the Occasional Prayers "to be used before the General Thanksgiving, or, when that is not said, before the final Prayer of Blessing or the Benediction"; and in like manner the Special Thanksgivings after the General Thanksgiving.

1928 corrected this for the Special Prayers, specifying that they were "to be used before the Prayer for all Conditions of Men," etc.; but left the rubric for the Special Thanksgivings unaltered.

It will be noted that 1892 gave the further alternative "before the final Prayer of Blessing or the Benediction"—which in 1928 was made to read "before the final Prayer of Thanksgiving or of Blessing, or before the Grace." This action of the earlier book adopted the popular interpretation of the rubric of the last prayer of the ordination-services,⁴¹ as justifying the use of so-called "Post-communion Collects," and sanctioned the use of the Occasional Prayers at that point in the service. Special Intercessions, however, are not proper matter for either Postcommunion or *Super Populum* Collects; the conclusion of the Communion Office is an entirely irrational and inorganic place for them: and the rubrics of the 1928 communion service directed specifically that they should come after the Creed. The change of rubric before the Special Prayers, altering "the Benediction" to "the Grace," was intended

⁴¹See p. 216.

USE OF OCCASIONAL PRAYERS

to effect the same end of abolishing this illegitimate use of intercessions in lieu of "Postcommunions"; but the rubric is not lucid and definitive, and under cover of it some clergy still persist in the now outlawed customs of 1892.