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Founded in the Year of Our Lord 1890

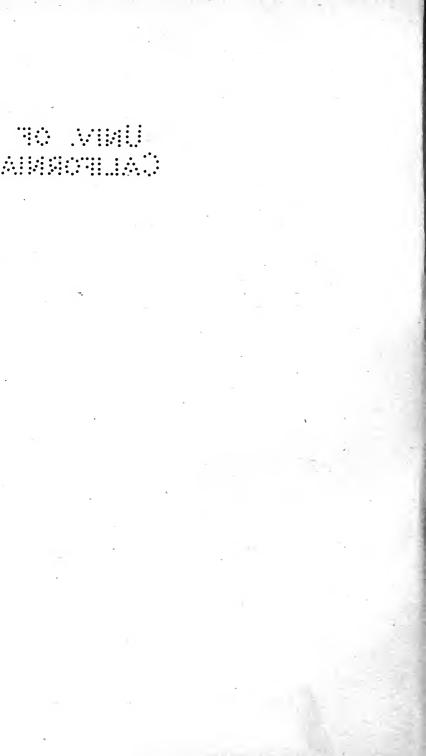
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Church of England. Liturgy and situat

THE ORDER OF THE COMMUNION, M. OF 1548.

A facsimile of the British Museum copy C. 25, f. 15.

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS.

										PAGE.
Introductio	on	•••	•••		•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	vii
FACSIMILE	OF TH	e Brit	ush M	USEUM	и Сору	C. 25	, f. 15)	to fo	ollow	xliv
Appendix	I. – Co	mparis	on of 1	reading	gs	•••	•••	•••	•••	3
Appendix	II.—T	he Lati	n and (Germa	n versi	ons	•••	•••	•••	
Appendix 1	II.—Tl	ne Mas	s of Ea	aster 1	Day, 15	;48	•••	•••	•••	29
Appendix	IV.—Th	ne Ord	ler of t	he Co	mmuni	on and	the C	onsult	ation	
of A	Archbish	op He	rmann			•••				47
Index			•••		•••		•••		•••	53
Additio	NAL PI	ATES						to fe	ollow	56

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ADDITIONAL PLATES.

I.-British Museum, C. 25, f. 16 (title-page). " (fol. B. i, verso). II.— ,, ,, " " (colophon). III.— •• " " " C. 25, f. 12 (title-page). IV.— ,, " (fol. B. i, verso). V.---,, " ,, " (colophon). VI.— ,, ,, ,, VII.-Durham, University Library, xvii, E. 19 (title-page). " " (fol. B. i, verso). VIII.— ,, ,, ,, IX.— " (colophon). •• ,, ,, ,, X.—Durham, Cosin Library, F V, 2 (fol. B. i, verso). XI.—Bodleian Library, Arch. Bodl., A. I, 57 (title-page). " (fol. A. vi, verso). XII.— ,, ,, ,, ,,

THE appearance of the Order of the Communion in March, 1548, had been preceded by the passing, in December, 1547, of an Act of Parliament,¹ in which provisions of very different kinds are curiously linked together. The first portion of the Act, after a prelude on the virtuous intentions of the king and his desire to govern his subjects by methods of clemency, indicates that "some bridle of fear" is necessary for certain persons, described as "men most contentious and arrogant for the most part or else most blind and ignorant," by whom "things well and godly instituted" are "perverted and abused," and that this tendency is especially apparent "in matters of religion and in the great and high mysteries thereof, as in the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, and in Scripture, the Supper and Table of the Lord, the communion and partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ." It proceeds, after a statement as to the institution of the Eucharist, to declare that the Sacrament has been "of late marvellously abused" by " unreverent and ungodly " disputations and reasonings, and by " such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed." It therefore enacts that any persons who after the first day of May, 1548, shall by words or otherwise deprave, contemn, despise or revile the Sacrament shall suffer fine and imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and directs the mode of proceeding against offenders.²

¹ The statute I Edw. VI. cap. 1. It is printed in Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of the History of the English Church*, 1896, p. 322.

² The effect of this may seem at first sight to be the giving of full liberty of speech to the revilers for four months or more. But this was probably not intended; and the gap was filled within a few days after the passing of the Act by a proclamation, forbidding irreverent and indecent discussions as to the Sacrament, and the use

The second portion of the Act declares that it is more agreeable to the first institution of the Sacrament, and to the common use and practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church, that the Sacrament "should be ministered to all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine than under the form of bread only"; and "that the people being present should receive the same with the priest than that the priest should receive it alone."1 It therefore enacts that the Sacrament shall "be hereafter commonly delivered and ministered unto the people within the Church of England and Ireland, and other the King's dominions, under both the kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise require"; that the priest shall, at least one day before he ministers the Sacrament, exhort those who are present to prepare themselves to receive it; and that on the day appointed, "after a godly exhortation by the minister made," declaring the benefits of receiving worthily and the peril of receiving unworthily, "to the end that every man shall try and examine his own conscience before he shall receive the same," the minister "shall not, without lawful cause, deny the same to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it."

It is not always easy to trace in the Parliamentary Journals of the time the exact steps by which particular measures passed into law. But there can be little doubt that this Act was the result of a combination of two bills, of which one was intended to repress the growing irreverence towards the Sacrament, the other to provide for the administration of the Sacrament to the lay people "under both the kinds." The Parliament met on

of irreverent language concerning it (examples being cited in unnecessary quantity), under severe though unspecified penalties. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv, p. 18.) This was doubtless meant to supply the necessary "bridle of fear" for the time. By the proclamation preachers were prohibited from using, on the subject of the Sacrament, till a further definition of doctrine should be made, any terms not employed in Scripture.

¹ It may be noted that the practice of "five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension" is alleged for ministration in both kinds; no precise period is assigned for the duration of the other primitive usage. November 4th, 1547. The Journals of the Lords show that a bill "for the Sacrament of the Altar" was read in that House on November 12th, again on November 15th, and twice on November 17th. On November 26th, a bill "for the receiving of the Sacrament *sub utraque specie*" was read and delivered to the Chancellor, Lord Rich. On December 3rd, a bill "pro Sacramento" was read and committed to the Protector. The committing of the bills seems to have been utilised for their combination, which may perhaps have been the purpose for which they were committed.

On December 5th, a bill "pro Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi" was read in the Lords, and committed to two judges, Marvin and Portman. This was probably the bill resulting from the combination of the two measures, and the same which was read on December 7th, when it is described as a bill "pro sacrosancto Sacramento Altaris." On December 10th it appears again, as a bill "pro sacrosancto Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi": it was then read and approved "communi omnium procerum assensu," with five dissentients. These were the Bishops of London (Bonner), Norwich (Rugg), Hereford (Skip), Worcester (Heath), and Chichester (Day). Cranmer and nine other Bishops who were present¹ appear to have assented to the passing of the bill. In the Commons its progress was rapid : it was read a first time on the same day on which it was passed by the Peers; the second reading followed on December 13th, and the third on December 14th. On December 17th it appears once more in the Journal of the Lords, where it is recorded that a provision to be annexed to the bill was sent to the Commons, "the which the Commons would not receive, because the Lords had not given their consent to the same."2 On the same day

¹ These were the Bishops of Durham (Tunstall), Ely (Goodrich), Salisbury (Salcot), St. David's (Barlow), St. Asaph (Parfew, otherwise Wharton), Carlisle (Aldrich), Bristol (Bush), Lincoln (Holbeach), and Rochester (Ridley).

² There is nothing to show the nature-of this provision. The part of the bill relating to communion in both kinds appears to have received no addition or alteration after it was engrossed.

the bill was read once more in the Commons, and passed by them.

The Convocation of Canterbury met on November 5th, the day after the meeting of Parliament. After the election of the Prolocutor, the Lower House, on November 22nd, agreed upon four petitions, which were presented to the Upper House, but to which, apparently, no answer was ever returned. One of these petitions was that the clergy of the Lower House, according to the ancient customs of the realm and the tenor of the King's writ for the summoning of Parliament,1 might be "adjoined and associated " with the House of Commons, or else that statutes and ordinances concerning matters of religion and ecclesiastical causes might not be passed without their "sight and assent." On November 30th, while the Lower House was still awaiting an answer to its petitions, the Prolocutor brought forward, in a session which is said to have been "anticipated," a document described as "the form of an ordinance," which he stated that he had received from the Archbishop, as to communion under both kinds. He himself and fifteen other members, out of fifty-eight who were present, signed the document in question. On December 2nd (probably the day to which an adjournment had been made on November 25th) the proposal made in the "anticipated" session was approved viva voce by all who were present, without expression of dissent.²

It is uncertain what the "forma cuiusdam ordinationis" may have been which was produced on November 30th, and received a somewhat irregular assent on December 2nd. But it may be conjectured that it was a draft or summary of the bill which had been introduced in the House of Lords on November 26th, to which an objection may have been raised on the ground that the Convocation had had no opportunity of expressing an opinion

¹ The reference is to the clause "Praemunientes" in the writ by which the Bishops were summoned to Parliament.

² The methods of assent by subscription which had been applied on November 30th and was afterwards employed in a later session in the expression of an opinion on the marriage of priests was apparently abandoned in this session.

on the principle involved. If this had been the case, or even in the absence of such an objection, it is probable that the promoters of the bill may have thought it desirable to obtain from Convocation some declaration which might further the progress of their measure. It would appear that the document to which the clergy were asked to assent was not the form which was afterwards issued as the Order of the Communion, but something of the nature of an "ordinance"; and its character perhaps, rather than its contents, may have been the cause of the method employed for the declaration of assent on December 2nd. For on December 9th, in urging the Bishops to take steps for the fulfilment of two of the petitions presented on November 22nd, the Lower House pointed out that under the Act of the Submission of the Clergy they were unable, without licence from the King, which they had not received, to enact any canons or ordinances, and desired that such licence might be obtained.¹ It is likely that the Lower House, having their position thus in view, would avoid the adoption, by their usual methods, of any form of "ordinance," regarding such a course as one which might involve them "in pain of peril promised," and would rather indicate their assent in some less regular and formal manner which could not be described as "enactment."2

It is clear that Convocation did not move in the matter at all till after the bill "for the receiving of the Sacrament *sub utraque specie*" had made its appearance in Parliament. And whatever the document proposed to the Lower House may have been, the assent given to it on December 2nd had not, and was understood by the House not to have, any legislative effect. Of

¹ The terms of the address may be seen in Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii, p. 473, where they are cited from the Stillingfleet MS. 1108.

² Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop, whose account of the proceedings in Convocation is here followed with regard to the sequence of events, seem inclined to think that the method adopted was chosen as an easier means of obtaining assent, when an attempt to obtain subscriptions by surprise on November 30th had failed. That is quite possible; but the circumstances seem to account for the method, apart from any idea of manipulation. See, however, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. 1890, pp, 74-77.

the proceedings of the Upper House there is no record. Nothing suggests that the Bishops were asked to express any opinion on the matter of communion in both kinds, save in the House of Lords. It is true that Strype refers to this Convocation certain sets of questions touching the Mass, to the first of which answers seem to have been desired from seventeen Bishops. The second set of questions are answered only by three. The third set, which Strype describes as a reply by Cranmer to the answers of the three Bishops, has no answers appended.¹ It is only in this third set that any mention is made of the question of communion in both kinds, and it is there referred to as a point already determined. The third set of questions may not have been drawn up for some time after the first set was framed. There must, indeed, have been some interval between the two, to allow of the preparation of the answers to the first set, the propounding of the second set, and the making of the answers which elicited the third. But the absence of any reference to the subject in the first series of questions seems clearly to point to its having been drawn up at a time when the views of the Bishops on the matter of communion in both kinds had already been ascertained. The purpose of the questions was apparently to obtain a declaration of their opinion on certain other matters which had not yet been brought into prominence, but which emerged when the Act for communion in both kinds had been passed, and

¹ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, Book ii, ch. 4. The first and second sets or questions, with the answers in full, may be seen in Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (Collections, Part II, Book i, No. 25): he does not print the third set of questions, which may be found in Cranmer's *Remains* (Parker Society, 1846). The fact that Bishops of the northern Province (Holgate of York, Aldrich of Carlisle, and Tunstall of Durham) are among the respondents to the first set of questions, suggests that they have no special relation to the Convocation of Canterbury. The seventeen respondents include all the Bishops who were present in Parliament on November 26th, 1547, with two exceptions (Chambers of Peterborough and Bird of Chester); they include all who were present on December 10th, with the addition of Holgate ot York and Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield. The six Bishops who answer jointly are the five dissentients of December 10th with the addition of St. Asaph. The second series of questions seems to have been addressed only to Skip, Day, and Heath, for purposes of annoyance.

when it became necessary to consider what directions should be given for carrying out its provisions, and expedient to consider how far it might be safe to make those directions a means of further change.

It would have been possible in this way to require that the opportunity of receiving should be given at every mass to others besides the priest; and to this point some of the questions seem to be directed. Others, if taken together, seem to contemplate the possibility not only of substituting English for Latin throughout the whole service of the Mass, but of making, by means of the introduction of a vernacular service, such changes in the rite and ceremonial as might bring the Mass into conformity with an ideal conception of its nature as it was "by Christ's institution." But the answers of the Bishops must have been felt to be on the whole adverse to these changes. On the question whether the custom by which the priest alone received the Sacrament should continue, only two, Cranmer and Ridley, express, without qualification the view that a return should be made to the custom of the primitive Church. The other Bishops who answer, while they agree that it is desirable that others should communicate with the priest, agree also in the opinion that the priest should not be hindered from celebrating and communicating by the lack of devotion on the part of the lay people,¹ to which, in reply to another question, most of them had rightly attributed the origin of the prevailing custom. On the question, "whether, in the Mass, it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand," two only, Holgate and Holbeach, are unreservedly in favour of the use of English throughout the Mass: Goodrich is in favour of it, but is open to argument²: Aldrich is prepared to submit himself to his "superiors and

¹ Holbeach, who generally agrees in his replies with Cranmer and Ridley, makes a qualification of this sort, though in less distinct terms than Tunstall, Goodrich, Bush, and the six who answer together.

² "Haec iam mea est opinio, sed sic ut auditis melioribus cedam."

betters," wishing for that which may be "most to the quiet edification of Christian people"; but he evidently doubts as to the expediency of the change. Bush thinks that a difference from "all other regions" is to be avoided ; "therefore, if it may stand with the King's Majesty's pleasure, I think it not good to be said all in English." Cranmer thinks that English should be used "except in certain mysteries, whereof I doubt": Ridley, that the Mass should be in English, and be said audibly, but that the part which relates to the Consecration might be "spoken in silence." The six who answer together reply, "To have the whole Mass in English, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient." Tunstall's view is that Latin, as the common tongue of Western Christendom, should be used in the mysteries of the Mass, "being the common prayer of the whole Church," but that "certain prayers might be in the mother tongue, for the instruction and stirring of the devotion of the people."

The weight of opinion was thus clearly against the introduction of a vernacular service; and the answers to the question, "Wherein consistent the Mass by Christ's institution," were not such as to encourage any attempt to construct a purely Scriptural service. If such an attempt had been contemplated, it was now abandoned; and the plan adopted was that suggested by Tunstall, to which it was apparent that none of the respondents were likely to object, unless on the ground that it was but a single step in the direction which some of them desired to take¹: it was probable that objectors of this sort might be reassured if suggestions were made to them that further changes would be made in the future. The result of this policy is to be seen in the Order of the Communion.

The rubrics of the *Order* imply that the parish priest will "minister the Communion" not at every mass, but from time to time, upon cccasions of which he is to give notice to his

¹ The objections made to the use of English by Bush and the six who answer together are against its adoption for the whole service.

parishioners. For this purpose a form of exhortation, urging them to due preparation, is provided for his use: he is not, however, restricted to this particular form. On the day appointed no change is to be made in any rite or ceremony of the Mass, save that the communion of the people is to follow immediately after the communion of the priest, and that certain English forms are to be used in connexion therewith. These consist of exhortations, setting forth the necessary qualifications for worthy receiving, and the peril of receiving unworthily, an invitation to make confession to God and the Church, a form of confession, followed by an absolution and by certain "comfortable words" of Scripture, a prayer before reception, to be said by the priest in the name of the communicants, the forms of administration, and a benediction of the communicants after reception.

These English forms supply a need which parish priests had formerly had to meet as best they could: the need, namely, of assisting the devotions of their people before communion. That some analogous forms were at least occasionally employed when communion was about to be administered appears from a specimen preserved in the Harleian MS. 2383, and printed by Maskell.¹ This consists of an English exhortation, warning those intending to communicate not to go to "God's board" without faith, contrition and charity, and a form of confession in English to be repeated by them after the priest, followed by an absolution in Latin and English. Nor was the interpolation of a confession and absolution before communion unknown in those cases in which lay persons were communicated in the course of the Mass. Thus in the "Little Device" for the coronation of Henry VII., it is directed that after the communion of the celebrant the King and Queen "shall say their Confiteor, all the prelates answering, Misereatur, and the Cardinall saying

¹ Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol. iii, p. 408 (ed. 1882). The script of the MS. seems to be of a date somewht later than 1500.

Absolutio[nem].^{"1} John Burckard's Ordo Missae of 1502 directs that if any are to be communicated the priest is to communicate them immediately after he has himself received, "servato ordine de tempore et modo communicandi populum in presbiterali dato."² The Sarum Missal and Manual do not contain any directions on the matter : but the use of the *Confiteor* and the absolution was most probably observed though not enjoined. On the other hand, the introduction of English forms in the course of the Mass was an innovation, and the forms which were introduced were themselve new.

The communion of a considerable number of persons in both kinds of course involved the consecration of a larger quantity of wine than had been required while the chalice was taken by the priest alone. Hence there was a special direction that the largest chalice, "or some fair and convenient cup or cups" should be used. This seems to contemplate the use of vessels not specially intended for this purpose, and not previously consecrated : and such use would have been a departure from the former practice. The uncertainty as to the quantity of wine which might be required led to a further direction, as to what should be done if the amount consecrated proved to be insufficient for the communion of the people. In this case the priest was to prepare and consecrate a second or even a third chalice, or more, if need were, beginning at the words " Simili modo," and ending at the words "effundetur in remissionem peccatorum." In this direction, the rubric probably followed the rule laid down in the "Cautelae Missae" for the possible case of a priest who found, after the

¹ L. G. Wickham Legg, *English 'Coronation Records*, p. 237. The "Device" for Henry VII. is probably derived from an earlier document of the same character. The mention of the queen does not suit the case of Henry VII., for his marriage did not take place till after his coronation, and his queen was not crowned till some months after the marriage.

² See Burckard's Ordo in Tracts on the Mass (H.B.S., vol. xxvii), p. 164. In the Sacerdotale of 1537, where the form for communion of the people is given at length, it includes the Confiteor, absolution, Domine non sum dignus, etc., the words of administration, two collects of thanksgiving and a blessing.

whole of the form of consecration had been said, that there was no wine in the chalice. If the omission was observed before the priest had received the Body, he was directed to put wine and water in the chalice, and begin again at the words *Simili modo*. The same course was allowed if the omission was observed after he had received the Body; though in this case it was deemed more fitting to consecrate another host with the chalice, beginning at *Qui pridie*, he might, for the avoidance of scandal, consecrate the chalice alone, using only those words which were necessary for that purpose.¹ The case to be provided for was a new one; but the provision made for it was on the analogy of existing practice.

A marked departure from the existing rule, however, is to be found in the form of exhortation to be used in giving notice of the communion. Here the parishioners are bidden to confess their sins to God, and invited, if their conscience be troubled, and they lack comfort or counsel, to make confession also to a priest and receive absolution from him. But it is left to their own judgement whether they shall "use the auricular and secret confession to the priest" or "be satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Church." The use of this form of exhortation, as has been already said, was not made obligatory on the priest, who might, at his discretion, use any like form. But it is clear that the intention of the makers of the *Order* was that confession to a priest should not be required as a necessary condition of communion; and the provision contained in the Act which enjoins that

¹ See Missale Sarum, ed. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861-83), col. 652, 653: Missale Romanum, 1474, H.B.S., vol. xxxiii, p. 372. In the Pupilla Oculi of John de Burgo, the direction, in all cases where the Host has been already consecrated before the lack of wine is discovered, is that the priest should begin at Simili modo; and the same point is indicated in the general direction given in Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests, p. 59 (Early English Text Society) The Pupilla Oculi seems to contemplate the use of the words, "Ilace quotiescumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis," in addition to these prescribed in the Order of the Communion, but regards the words there prescribed as the necessary form. Its direction that in such cases the consecration of the chalice should be effected as secretly as possible may be taken to imply that elevation would not be used.

ORDER COM.

communion should not be refused to any who humbly desire it, "without lawful cause," was probably meant to have this effect.¹

The prospect of further changes was distinctly suggested in the Order of the Communion itself, and still more distinctly in the Proclamation which prescribed the use of the Order and which was prefixed to it in the printed copies. In the Order itself the rubric which prescribed the mode of its combination with the Mass directed that there was to be no "varying" in any rite or ceremony of the latter "until other order shall be provided." In the Proclamation, the motive pointed out to the King's subjects for "obedience and conformity" to "this our ordinance and most godly direction" is the hope of further measures of the like sort -- " that we may be encouraged from time to time further to travail for the reformation and setting forth of such godly orders as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion." They are bidden "in the meantime to stay and quiet themselves with this our direction," and are assured that the King "knows what by God's word is meet to be redressed," and that he has "an earnest mind" (by the advice of Somerset and his Council) "with all diligence and convenient speed to set forth the same, as it may most stand with God's glory, and edifying and quietness of our people." It was in fact made clear that the "most godly direction" was not meant to be permanent : and the action of the Council and of the local Visitors was such as to inspire confidence rather in the reality of the desire for further change than in the sincerity of the exhortations to orderly conformity and to the avoidance of "unseemly and ungodly diversity."

Thus further advances were made in various churches, as it would seem without any definite authorisation, yet without interference from authority in the way of repression. The Grey

¹ The Grey Friars' Chronicle (Camden Society, 1852, p. 55) records the introduction of the *Order* thus: "At Ester followyng there began the commonion, and confession but of thoys that wolde, as the boke dothe specifythe."

Friars' Chronicle¹ notes that after Easter, 1548, the service in English was begun in St. Paul's and in divers parish churches. Wriothesley's Chronicle states that in May, 1548, "all the service" in St. Paul's and in other London churches was in English, "both mattens, masse and evensonge," thus at once supporting and explaining the record in the Chronicle of the Grey Friars. It further states that at the obit of Henry VII, on May 12th, at Westminster, the whole mass was sung in English, "with the consecration of the Sacrament also spoken in English, the priest leaving out all the canon after the creede save the Paternoster, and then ministering the communion after the Kinge's booke."2 The use of English in the service of the Mass is further attested by the record of a payment to "the Scolle Mr of Polles for wrytyng of the masse in Englysh" in the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, for the year 1548,³ and also, by the record, in Cranmer's Register, of the consecration of Robert Ferrar as Bishop of St. David's, which states that the Archbishop and the other Bishops present communicated " consecrata in lingua vernacula sacra Eucharistia."4

The substitution of English for Latin, even on the supposition that the vernacular form was an exact and literal translation of the Latin Canon,⁵ seems hardly consistent with the rubric of the

¹ Grey Friars' Chronicle (Camden Society, 1852), p. 55. Part of the statement, including the mention of St. Paul's, is inserted in the margin of the MS. The change at St. Paul's is attributed to action of the dean, William May.

² Wriothesley's Chronicle, vol. ii, p. 2 (Camden Society, 1877). The use of English for Mattins and Evensong certainly suggests the substitution of some simpler form of service for the breviary offices. The statement as to the mass at Westminster on May 12th seems to point to the substitution of an English form of consecration for the Latin canon, which was thus "left out," though the *Pater noster* (probably because it was part of the English form) was retained.

³ Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill (edited by W. H. Overall), p. 67.

⁴ The extract from the Register, printed in the appendix to Courayer's work on the English ordinations, is reprinted in the appendix to Estcourt's *Anglican Ordinations*, p. xxvii. The consecration of Ferrar took place at Chertsey, on September 9th, 1548.

⁵ Coverdale's version, printed by Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* (with annotations for which Coverdale was probably not responsible), may have been prepared for such a purpose ; but its date is uncertain.

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Order of the Communion which prohibits the "varying" of any "rite" of the Mass. As to ceremonial, both the Chronicles already cited record that at Whitsuntide, 1548, censing was "put down" at St. Paul's.¹

Another feature of the new use of St. Paul's, adopted also in the London parishes which followed the example set by the cathedral church, was the disuse of the Mass except in conjunction with the Order of the Communion.2 This change, going beyond what was definitely laid down either in the Act or in the rubrics of the Order, was no doubt in accordance with the wishes of Cranmer and those who acted with him. It would seem that it was the rule adopted in the King's Chapel, which, there is some reason to think, may have supplied the pattern for the other innovations already mentioned. And it is to be noted that the use of the King's Chapel was a model to which Somerset, probably acting with the concurrence of the Council, referred as a standard in directions sent to Colleges in the two Universities. His letter to the University of Cambridge, addressed to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Colleges, enjoins that they are to use in "colleges, chapels or other churches" till an order is prescribed for the whole realm, or for them in particular by Visitors specially appointed, "one uniform order, rite and ceremonies in the mass, matins and even-song and all divine service in the same to be said or sung, such as is presently used in the King's Majesty's Chapel, and none other." The order thus prescribed was sent with the letter, on September 4th, 1548.3 At Oxford, some months earlier, in the beginning of June, it would appear that the use of the King's Chapel had been already adopted at Christ Church, where Cox, the King's almoner, was Dean; and it was being urged upon Magdalen College by a letter from Somerset, in which no definite directions were given, but the "commendable beginning" made by Cox was held out as

¹ Grey Friars' Chronicle, p. 56: Wriothesley's Chronicle, vol. ii, p. 2.

² Wriothesley's Chronicle, vol. ii, p. 2.

³ Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, ed. 1890, p. 147.

an example which the College would do well to follow. The College stated that in consequence of this letter the President, with the consent of all the officers, had "appointed" in the place of the "publick and high masse" the use of "the Order of the Communion, and Divine service thereunto belonging, in all poynts in the same order and forme as is used in the King's Majesty's Chapple. The other masses, as lady masse and morrow masse, they have stayed till eyther the visitation shall alter them, or else the King's Majesty with his most honorable Consail (who only have authority to dispense with their othes) shall command them the contrary, and send them his most gracious warrant."

From this it would appear that in adopting, so far as they did adopt it, the use of the King's Chapel, the President and officers of Magdalen were actually giving effect to the suggestion that they should imitate the "commendable beginning" made at Christ Church; that this "commendable beginning" included some changes in the Mass beyond the mere introduction of the *Order of the Communion*,² and that the imitation of it in all points would have involved the suppression of all masses in which the *Order of the Communion* was not employed. Thus the use introduced by Cox at Christ Church, while it seems to

¹ J. R. Bloxam, *The Register of St. Mary Magdalen College*, vol. ii, pp. 301–2. The President at this time was Owen Oglethorpe, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. The daily "Lady mass" and "Morrow mass" were enjoined by the Statutes of the College, to which the President and Fellows were bound by oath. Their view seems to have been that they were not departing from the Statutes in adopting the use of the King's Chapel in the high mass, but that they could not without some distinct injunction, or dispensation from their oath, "alter" the other daily masses. The statement that they had "stayed" these masses seems to mean that they had suspended their observance ; but it may, perhaps, signify that they kept them as they were. The usual payments for these masses appear in the College accounts for the year.

² The Order of the Communion would doubtless have been sent to Magdalen by the Bishop of Winchester, of whose diocese the college was a part, in March, 1548; it is very unlikely that its introduction was deferred until the arrival of Somerset's letter in June, though it probably was only used occasionally before the changes which followed on the receipt of that letter.

have been identical with the use of the King's Chapel,¹ seems also to have borne at least a distinct resemblance in certain important matters to the use which was introduced in St. Paul's and elsewhere in London.

By the time when Somerset sent his letter to Cambridge in the beginning of September, the idea of one uniform order for the whole Kingdom had apparently been revived and favourably considered. There is a clear suggestion of such an order as a thing which may be looked for. By the end of September this idea has taken more definite shape, and steps are being taken to realise it. The Proclamation of September 23rd, for a general inhibition of preaching,² states that the King "minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout this his realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, so far as God should give grace (for which cause at this time certain bishops and notable learned men, by his highness' commandment, are congregate) hath by the advice aforesaid [i.e., of the Protector and the Council] thought good . . . at this present and until such time as the said order shall be set forth generally throughout his Majesty's realm," to prohibit all preaching, "to the intent that the whole clergy in this mean space might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God for the better achieving of the same most godly intent and purpose." It is no doubt this Proclamation to which the Grey Friars' Chronicle refers as coinciding with a session of Bishops and others at Chertsey.³ The work of preparing the Prayer-Book of 1549, so far as that work was done by any gathering of "Bishops and notable learned men," was being actually taken in hand, and with the preparation of the Prayer-Book the history of the Order of the

¹ It is not impossible that Cox may have had a special share in determining the character of the services of the King's Chapel. Whether that were so or not, he would probably be ready to adopt the use of the King's Chapel, in so far, at least, as it warranted him in the introduction of innovations.

² Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iv, p. 30.

³ Grey Friars' Chronicle, p. 56. The date, as originally given in the Chronicle, does not tally with that which Wilkins, following Fuller, assigns to the Proclamation, but an attempt seems to have been made to correct it.

xxii

Communion, as a separate liturgical form, may be said to end. Most of the contents of the *Order* were incorporated, with little change, into the new Liturgy.

We have seen that the Order of the Communion was not, so far as appears, either prepared or sanctioned by the Convocation or set forth by its authority. It was issued by the authority of the King, as a consequence of the Act providing for communion in both kinds. It was forwarded to the Bishops by the Council, with letters enjoining each Bishop to distribute copies to every parson, vicar, and curate within his diocese,¹ and to endeavour to secure the obedience of the clergy to the proclamation directing its use throughout the realm. This proclamation, which in the printed copies of the Order is placed next after the title page by way of preface, says nothing of the manner in which the Order had been prepared. The letters to the Bishops assert that the King had "caused sundry of his majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates and other learned men in the scripture, to assemble themselves for this matter, who after long conference together have with deliberate advice finally agreed upon such an order . . . as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you."2 This statement may perhaps represent the actual facts of the case, but no evidence, except the statement itself, is to be found which shows that such an assembly took place, or supplies any information as to the persons by whom the Order was framed. Its contents, indeed, may be said to show traces of the process of construction by a committee including persons of different opinions, but they are such as to be consistent with the probability that Cranmer was mainly responsible for the form.³

¹ One of the existing copies of the *Order* (that in the University Library at Cambridge) has added to it the manuscript direction for its use with which it was sent to the Curate of Aston. The order is given, not by episcopal authority, but "in the King's name," and a direction for the removal of images is combined with that for the use of the book. ² Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv, p. 32.

³ See Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, ed. 1890, p. 93, note. The authors' remark that "it would almost seem that the

- As to the source from which the Order was drawn, it has been said that it is based upon the "Consultation" of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne. There are certain points of resemblance, and these are sufficient to show that the "Consultation" was used in the composition of the Order, which is more closely related to it than to any other Lutheran document. But the parallel forms in the "Consultation" were intended for use before the Mass began, not for the precise purpose which the Order of the Communion was intended to serve. The portions of the Order which show most resemblance to the "Consultation" are the "comfortable words" and the forms of confession and absolution. The use of the "comfortable words" seems to have been suggested by the "Consultation," which provides a selection of passages from Scripture, of which one was to be recited by the pastor after the confession and before the absolution. But the passages selected in the "Consultation" include some which are omitted in the Order, and do not include the words from St. Matthew which the Order places first. The confession and absolution of the Order, while they borrow certain phrases from those of the " Consultation," are really more closely related to the ancient forms which appear in the Missal as a part of the preparation of the priest and his assistants before the beginning of the Mass, and which were also used, as we have seen, as a preparation for communion in the case of its administration to communicants other than the officiating clergy in the course of the service.¹

As we have seen, the letters issued to the Bishops by the Council on March 13th, 1548, speak of "long conference" in the preparation of the *Order*. But its composition, if it had not been taken in hand before the "long conference" took place,

action of two minds working with different intentions is to be traced in the composition," seems to be justified. But it must be remembered that Cranmer himself was still in two minds.

¹ See p. xv, above. A further comparison of the forms of the *Order* with those of the *Consultation* will be found in Appendix IV.

must have been completed somewhat rapidly. The book appears to have been printed some days before it was issued to the Bishops ; and the actual work of printing a number of copies sufficient for distribution throughout all the parishes of England¹ must have occupied a large part of the interval between the passing of the Act on December 17th, 1547, and March 8th, 1548 (the date of the printed copies) since the whole work was apparently carried out in one printing-office.

The book was probably issued unbound, and it is perhaps hardly matter for wonder that out of the large number of copies issued only a very few survive. Mr. James Parker, in 1877, knew of only six copies.² Mr. Maskell, some years later, says that "scarcely more than five or six copies are known to exist." He actually mentions only four.³ Enquiries made with a view to the preparation of the present volume have somewhat enlarged the list of known copies, which is given on p. xxvi.

It is clear from the variations in the printed copies that the early issues of the book included several distinct impressions; but the later reprints, of which there are several, do not show evidence of the existence of any early impression which is not represented in this list. The earliest reprint, that in Hamon L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices* (1659) is evidently derived from the copy now in the Bodleian Library.⁴ The

¹ The Act and the Proclamation both contemplate the use of the Order throughout Ireland also : but there does not seem to be any actual evidence of its circulation there.

² Introduction to the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, p. xix.

³ Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, ed. 1882, p. lxxii. Of the four which he mentions, one (in the British Museum) is not in Mr. Parker's list, having no doubt come to the Museum after Mr. Parker had examined the two copies which he found there.

⁴ The pages of this copy (57) have been divided and marked with a view to the use of the book as printer's "copy." The division, signatures and foliation indicated by the marks correspond exactly with the division of the text in the first edition of L'Estrange's work, and with the signatures and foliation of that edition. Further, a note added at the end of the text in 57, in a seventeenth century hand, which seems to be that of L'Estrange, in which the details of the printer's name, date, and place of printing are supplied, has been reproduced in L'Estrange's edition as though it were an integral part of the original. The details

Library or Owner.	Press mark.	Symbol.	Remarks.		
British Museum	C. 25. f. 15	15	Acquired in 1859 : formerly belonged to Robert Daly, Bishop of Cashel. The original of the accom- panying facsimile.		
British Museum	C. 25. f. 12	12	Acquired in 1858, from the Rev. T. Lathbury.		
British Museum	C. 25. f. 16	16	Acquired in 1876.		
University of Cambridge	Syn. 7. 54. 13	13	Formerly belonged to John Hackett, Bishop of Lich- field.		
St. John's College, Cam- bridge.	A. 6. 17 –	17	Arms of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (after- wards Archbishop of York).		
St. Paul's Cathedral	38. D. 30	30	_		
Mr. A. H. Huth		Н	-		
Cosin Library, Durham	F. V. 2	2	Title mutilated.		
Dr. E. Freshfield	_	F	Mutilated. Lacks title.		
University of Durham	XVII. E. 19	19	Formerly Dr. Routh's.		
Bodleian Library	Arch. Bodl. A.	57	Not known in 1838,		
	I. 57.		but known in 1852.		
Mr. Christie-Miller			Not collated.		

spelling is modernised, and there are some errors of reproduction. The reprint in Bishop Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, etc. (1661),

is apparently taken, also with modernisation of spelling, and with some errors, from a copy agreeing with 12, or perhaps

in the note are no doubt derived from one of the dated impressions, but its form is not the same as that of the colophon of the dated copies. The date at which 57 came into the possession of the Bodleian Library cannot be accurately ascertained. It was not known there in 1838, when Dr. Cardwell published the first edition of his *Two Liturgies*, but was there in 1852. Its present (and only) press-mark is of a date about 1864. There does not appear to be any record of its purchase, and it seems most probable that it had been found, at some time between 1838 and 1852, bound up or mixed with other pamphlets in some collection already in the Library, or in some miscellaneous volume of which the contents are not distinguished in the purchase lists.

with 2. That in the fourth volume of Wilkins' Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae (1737) is taken from Sparrow, with one or two additional errors, introduced by way of correction. That in the first edition of Cardwell's Two Liturgies of Edward VI. (1838) is derived from 19, which was then in the possession of Dr. Routh, the President of Magdalen College, Oxford¹; in his third edition (1852) the editor added some variants from 57, which was then in the Bodleian Library; and variants taken from his reprint of 19 were added to the text included in the reprint of L'Estrange's work published in 1846 as part of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology. Dr. Routh's copy was followed also in the text contained in the edition of the Liturgies, Primer and Catechism of Edward VI. issued by the Parker Society in 1844. In this edition a list of variants noted in 13 is added. Mr. W. K. Clay, who printed a text of the Order in his Book of Common Prayer illustrated (1841), does not mention the source from which he drew; but it appears from internal evidence that his text is in the main derived from Cardwell's Two Liturgies, and therefore from 19, though it incorporates emendations derived from Sparrow or Wilkins. A reprint in the Surplice, included also in a volume of tracts reproduced from that journal (Vol. I, part i, 1846) is derived from Sparrow. A recension appended to the edition of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., by Mr. H. B. Walton (1869 and 1883) is based upon 57, with corrections made by the aid of the two Durham copies, 19 and 2. All these reprints are in modernised spelling. Mr. Maskell, in the third edition of his Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England (1882) published a more exact reprint of the text of 12. There also exists a reprint, page for page, of the same text, without printer's name or date.

Of the twelve copies included in the list, the first ten and the

¹ Dr. Routh's copy, with the rest of his printed books, passed at his death, in 1854, to the University of Durham under a deed of gift executed by him in 1852.

last¹ all bear the name of Richard Grafton as printer, and the date of March 8th, 1548. They are all in quarto form, consisting of ten leaves, including the title.² The eleventh copy (57) is in octavo form, and consists of twelve leaves, the last of which is blank. It has no colophon, and no indication of the name of the printer or the place or date of printing, save that supplied by the MS. note already mentioned.³ The date of March 8th, 1548, is probably that at which the first copies were ready for issue, but not the actual date of all the copies on which it appears. It is clear from a comparison of the copies that the whole text was set up in quarto form at least four times, and that part of it, at any rate, was set up a fifth time; and there is reason to think that some time elapsed between the printing of the earliest and that of the latest of the quarto copies.

One of the five settings of the type is represented by 15, another by 16, a third by 19. Each of these contains a certain number of errors which do not appear in the other seven quarto copies which have been collated throughout. These seven, which are on the whole correctly printed, are divided into two groups, one consisting of five, the other of two copies. Those which form the larger group (that is to say, 12, 13, 17, 30 and H) are all printed from the same setting of the type, though there are a few slight differences among them, consequent upon adjustments made during the progress of the work of

¹ This copy has not been collated for the present work, and is therefore not included among those referred to in the following pages. From information which has been kindly supplied by Mr. R. E. Graves it appears that it belongs to the same class of copies as 12, and that it agrees with 12 throughout, very closely, if not absolutely, in respect of those differences which distinguish 12 from the other copies of the group.

 2 The title is imperfect in 2 and is wanting in F. It may be added that the copies 17, 30 and 19 are bound up with other contemporary tracts. This was also the case with 13.

³ The description of the Order of the Communion as "a booklet of only three or four leaves" (Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, ed. 1890, p. 89), is evidently not intended to be exact. It is rather a statement as to the bulk of the contents of the book than as to the precise form in which it was issued.

xxviii

printing. The other two copies (2 and F) are also for the most part printed from the same setting as the larger group; but in them the pages which form one side of the second sheet (B i *verso*, B ii, B iii *verso* and B iv) are printed from formes belonging to another setting differing from that represented by the same pages in the copies of the larger group.

In all the four settings of sheet A represented by 15, 16, 19 and 12, the title page has a border made up of four blocks. The borders are not identical, but each of the four contains one or more blocks common to others. The block which forms the upper part of the border in 15 does not appear in any of the rest; nor do the side blocks of the same border, but the lower part appears in 16 and in 19. The blocks which form the sides of the border in 12 and 16 appear also in 19, but are there inverted; the upper part of the border is also the same in these three settings.¹

Again, all four settings of the sheet have an ornamental E on the *recto* of the second leaf, and an ornamental F on the *verso* of the third. It will be seen from the facsimile that in 15 these two letters are similar in design; in 16 and 19 another pattern is employed; the two blocks resemble one another, but differ both in size and in design from the two which are used in 15. In 12 and the six copies which agree with it, the E is of the same pattern with that of 15, and the F of the same pattern with that of 16 and 19. There are, in each case, some slight irregularities in the edges of the impressions, which show that the E of 15 corresponded exactly with that of 12 and its allies,² and that the E and F of 16 corresponded exactly with those of 19, while the F of these two copies also corresponds exactly with that which appears in the seven copies represented

¹ The borders are reproduced in the present volume : see the title-page of the facsimile of 15, and Nos. I, IV, and VII of the additional plates.

² The white line which runs across the impression of the E in 15 (see facsimile) does not appear in 12 or the other copies of the large group. It is due, not to any irregularity in the block, but to a crease in the paper, which has marred the impression in 15.

by 12. If the blocks used for these letters were engraved, the similarity can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that the same block which was used for the E of 15 was used also in setting up the type of 12 and the six other copies which agree with it, and that the same block which was used for the F of 16 was also used for the type of 12 and its allies, while the pair of blocks used for 16 were used also for 19. In this case it would seem most likely that the settings which use the same blocks were not concurrent-that is, that while 15 may have been concurrent with either 16 or 19, these two were not concurrent with one another, and that the setting represented by 12 was not concurrent with any of the other three settings; for even if we assume that the four settings were standing in type at the same time, space being left for the block-letters, which were shifted from one set of formes to another, it would not have been possible to print off copies of sheet A at the same time from any two settings in which the same block was required.¹ The need for simultaneous use of formes in which the same blockletters were required might have been avoided, no doubt, by varying the order in which the sheets were worked at different presses; but such an arrangement would have been troublesome in practice. It is, however, possible that the blocks were not engraved, but cast, and that the exact resemblances are due to irregularities in the moulds; in this case the evidence of the block-letters would not be of any force against the hypothesis. that printing may have been carried on concurrently from the various settings.² It is clear that two settings of a portion

¹ The resemblances of the blocks used for the borders of the title pages are not so distinct as to warrant any decided inference as to the repeated use of the same block, even if it were certain that these blocks were engraved.

 2 Mr. A. W. Pollard, who has kindly examined the block-letters of the three British Museum copies (12, 15, 16) informs me that he is strongly of opinion that they are printed from engraved blocks : he adds that there is no clear evidence of the use of cast blocks for such letters at the date when the *Order* was printed. He believes the F of 16 to be a later impression of the block than that of 12 : if this is the case, it would seem to follow that these two settings of the sheet were standing in type together; for as we shall see there is reason to believe that the setting represented by 12 was prepared later than that represented by 16.

XXX

of sheet B were standing in type at the same time, since one of them is represented in two, and the other in five copies, being combined in each case with four pages common to all seven.

There are, however, some other points which may help to determine the relation of the different settings. These are concerned with the distribution of the matter in the pages, with the presence or absence of certain errors, and with the variations of spelling and punctuation.

The division of the matter between the pages is the same in all the quarto copies save 16 and 19: in 16 the difference of distribution only affects the pages containing the Proclamation; the division of the *Order* itself is the same, page for page, as in 15 and the other seven copies. In 19 the divergence extends to the greater part of the pages; and in some other respects 19 is found to stand by itself. We may leave it for the present on one side, and consider those copies which agree, page for page, so far as the *Order* is concerned, in the division of their contents. It may be convenient to begin with that page (fol. B i *verso*) of which this volume contains a facsimile from each of the various settings.

If we compare the facsimile of this page in 15 with that of the corresponding page from 16 (Plate II), it will be seen at once that the two differ considerably in the manner in which their contents are distributed into lines; they are clearly, in this respect, independent of each other; and the independence of the two copies is further shown by the fact that each of them has an erroneous reading which does not appear in the other; 15 reads "hath a warrant" for "hath no warrant"; and 16 reads "prepare, lesse and consecrate" for "prepare, blesse and consecrate."¹ Again, the text differs in two places where it may be uncertain which copy is right; 15 reads "shall contynue still," where 16 has "shal yet continue styll"; and 15 has "wyne, with soome water put vnto it," where 16

¹ This error has been corrected with a pen in 16.

INTRODUCTION.

(probably rightly) omits the comma after the word "wyne." The spelling of many words differs;¹ and 15 uses capitals for the first letters of several words, where 16 has lower case letters.

If we turn to the facsimile of the corresponding page of 12 (Plate V), it will be seen that in the distribution of the lines in the lower portion of the page, this copy differs both from 15 and from 16, while in the portion printed in larger type the distribution is line for line the same as in 16, down to the last two lines of the paragraph, where the crowding observable in the tenth line of 16 is avoided in 12 by carrying a word on to the next line. In the corresponding page of 2, on the other hand (Plate X), the distribution, throughout the page, is line for line the same as in 15.

Both 12 and 2 avoid the errors already noted as occurring in 15 and 16, and also avoid the misprint of "Chalite" for "Chalice" which appears in 16, and supply the word "the' before "communion" in line 11, where 16 omits it. But in respect of the insertion of "yet," and of the omission of the comma after "wyne," 12 follows the model of 16, while 2, like 15, omits "yet" and inserts the comma. Again, 12 agrees with 16, and 2 with 15, in respect of the initial letters of the words " Church," " Charity," " Rite," " Ceremony," " Mass," " Altar," "Communion"; and in regard to the spelling of particular words, it may be observed that in a large proportion of the instances in which 15 and 16 differ, the spelling of 15 is adopted in 2, and that of 16 in 12. Thus, in two cases where 16 and 12 have "satisfyed," 15 and 2 have "satisfied," and in two cases where 16 and 12 have "them," 15 and 2 have "theim." Other instances are "mennes" in 15 and 2, where 16 and 12 have

¹ The question of spelling seems, at least in these two copies, to have been left very much to the discretion of the compositors. The spelling is in both copies very variable; the same word is not by any means always spelt in the same way even in the same page. It may be said that in 16 the use of "y" for "i" and the use of a final "e" are both very frequent. These features are less marked in 15, which, on the other hand, tends to an archaic spelling of certain words.

xxxii

"mens"; "provided" as against "provyded"; "blisse" as against "blesse"; "faire" as against "fayr"; and "doen" as against "done."¹

Turning to the other pages which in each copy make up the rest of the same side of the sheet with B i verso (B ii, B iii verso, B iv), it may be seen that in these pages the arrangement of the larger type in 12 agrees, line for line, with that of 16. In the rubrics on fol. B iii verso and B iv, there is an apparent agreement with 15 as against 16; but this does not extend beyond the number of the lines and the number of the words in the first line of each rubric. The rubrics, in each case, occupy one line less in 12 than in 16. The result (and probably the purpose) of this arrangement has been to leave a larger space on each of the two pages between the rubric and the first line of the larger type. On the other hand, throughout these three pages, the arrangement of 2 is almost exactly the same as in 15. Both in 2 and in 12 the errors of 15 and 16 are avoided; and here again, in the great majority of the points of difference between 15 and 16, it will be found that 2 agrees with 15, and 12 with 16.2

These facts seem to suggest that the two settings represented in these pages of 12 and 2 were both produced later than those represented by 15 and 16. They suggest further the probability that in setting up the type from which the pages in question were printed the compositor of 12 used a corrected copy of the impression represented by 16, and the compositor of 2 a corrected copy of that represented by 15. Each compositor, probably, while having a tolerably free hand in the matter of

¹ There are in the page (apart from cases of evident error in one or other) about 50 points of difference between 15 and 16. In about 40 of these it will be found that 12 agrees with 16 and 2 with 15. In some instances where 15 and 16 agree, 2 also agrees, while 12 differs.

² Taking the four pages together, and leaving out of count the cases where the difference is due to such an error as would pretty certainly be corrected in a second edition, the total number of points of difference between 15 and 16 may be stated as 190. In about 75 per cent. of these instances 12 agrees with 16; in about 19 per cent. it agrees with 15; in rather more than 5 per cent. it differs from both. The agreement of 2 with 15 is perhaps rather more constant than that of 12 with 16.

ORDER COM.

С

INTRODUCTION.

spelling, would be influenced by the copy from which he was setting up the type; the differences between 12 and 16 on the one hand and 2 and 15 on the other are probably due either to the correction of an archaic spelling in the "copy," or to the personal tendency of the compositor.

If we turn next to the remaining four pages of the sheet, which make up its other side (fol. B i, B ii verso, B iii, B iv verso) and compare 12, 15, and 16 we find the same symptoms, with an important difference.¹ The arrangement of the pagematter in 12, throughout the four pages, corresponds very closely with that of 15, differing at several points from that of 16. Here again the errors, or most of the errors, of 15 or 16 are avoided in 12. With regard to the variations of spelling and punctuation, in a large majority of the cases where 15 and 16 differ, 12 agrees with 15.2 Thus the facts with regard to these four pages, while they seem, as in the case of the other four, to indicate a close connexion between the setting represented by 12 and that of one of the earlier impressions, seem clearly to point to the impression represented by 15 as that which furnished the "copy" for the pages of 12. In other words, it appears that the "copy" for one side of the sheet of 12 was most probably a corrected copy of the same impression as 16, that for the other side a corrected copy of the same impression as 15; and that the pages which are peculiar to 2 and F were most probably set up by the aid of a corrected copy of the same impression as 15.

Thus the sheet as it appears in 2 and F is in a sense more homogeneous than that which is found in the copies of the larger group, being derived throughout from one of the two earlier impressions: and it might seem to follow that the mixture of formes belonging to two different settings, which has certainly taken place in the copies of one of the two groups, is

 1 In these pages 12 and 2 are alike; the pages have been printed from the same type in both copies.

² The number of points of difference between 15 and 16, reckoned as before, are in these four pages about 150. In about 60 per cent. of these 12 agrees with 15; in about 30 per cent. with 16; in the remainder it differs from both.

xxxiv

to be seen in the larger group, represented by 12. But this does not seem to be really the case.

In the various settings represented by 15, 16, and 12 two patterns of the lower case letter "w" appear to have been used. They may be seen close together in line 2 of fol. B i of 15, where the "w" of "with" is of one pattern and that of "worlde," of the other. In one, the left-hand and middle of the three upright strokes of the letter are almost equal in height, in the other the left-hand stroke is higher than the other two. In 15 and in 12 both of these patterns are used, that with the high middle stroke being much more frequent in 15 than in 12: in 16 this pattern is used exclusively; and it is used exclusively also in the four pages peculiar to 2 and F, which are thus clearly marked as being of a different setting from that of the other pages of these copies. The effect produced by the frequent use of this pattern of "w" is very noticeable²: the mixture of pages in which it is frequent with those in which it is rare would certainly suggest to anyone who considers the pages of 2 and F that the whole of sheet B, as it stands in those copies, has not been printed from the formes of one and the same setting of the type. On the other hand, in 12, and in the copies of the larger group, this "w" is nowhere so freely used as to affect the general aspect of the page; and the whole of sheet B is in this respect uniform in appearance.

It appears, moreover, that the same difference which has been found to distinguish the two sides of sheet B in 12 and the kindred copies may be traced also in the pages of sheet A of the same copies,³ perhaps less distinctly than in sheet B, but with sufficient clearness to suggest that the use made of the carlier impressions as "copy" for the later setting extended to sheet A.

¹ In 15 the pattern with the high middle stroke is to the other in the proportion of about 3 to 4; in 12, of about 1 to 4. In both settings the proportion of the two patterns varies considerably in different pages: in 12 the pattern with the high middle stroke is never in a majority on any page, and in some pages it does not occur at all; but it is found in both portions of sheet B.

² This may be seen by a comparison of Plate V, in which it does not occur, with Plate X, in which it is the only form used.

³ The whole of this sheet is common to 12, F and 2.

INTRODUCTION.

And here again the "spheres of influence" of the two earlier settings correspond with the division of the pages of 12 between the two sides of the sheet. In fol. A ii *recto* both the earlier impressions seem to have been used, but that represented by 16, which is predominant in the latter part of this page of 12, was apparently used also in fol. A iii *verso* and A iv *recto*: the influence of the setting represented by 15 is predominant in fol. A ii *verso*, fol. A iii *recto* and fol. A iv *verso*.¹ The apparent exception presented by fol. A ii *recto* is such as to require a few words of explanation.

In this page 16 differs from 15 in the amount of its pagematter, which is less than in the page of 15. In this point 12 agrees with 15. In the arrangement of the first twelve lines, and in some points of spelling in the first eight lines, 12 also agrees with 15. From the thirteenth line to the end of the page it differs in the arrangement of its lines both from 15 and from 16, and after the first eight lines its spelling and punctuation tend to agree with 16 as against 15. The reason for this variation is probably to be traced to the fact that 12 and 15 employ the same block for the ornamental letter E. The block used in 16 is larger, and hence the amount of matter in 16 is less than in 15 or in 12. The employment of the block used in 15 naturally determined the amount of the page-matter in 12, and it also affected the length of the seven lines abutting upon the block, and therefore the contents of the line following them. The compositor, in setting up these lines for the page of 12, would naturally give special attention to that one of the two earlier impressions which contained the same block-letter which he used; and hence came the close agreement in these lines between 12 and 15. Once he was clear of the block-letter, he probably worked from the impression represented by 16: if he had continued to use the other, the page of 12 would most likely have been arranged throughout line for line as that of 15. But his use of 16 in the

xxxvi

¹ In the last two pages of the sheet the predominant influence of 16 in the one case and 15 in the other is shown rather by the character than by the number of the points of agreement.

latter part of the page, while it is indicated by the correspondence with 16 in matters of spelling and the like, would not result in conformity with 16 in the matter of the contents of the lines, since the amount of matter to be included in the page was not the same as in 16.

In sheet C the arrangement of the page-matter, including the colophon, is practically the same in 12 and the copies allied to it as in 15.¹ Throughout the first two pages of the sheet, the seven copies agree with 15 in the great majority of those cases in which 15 and 16 differ in matters of spelling and punctuation. In the third page the balance is nearly even, but here also the probability seems in favour of the belief that the setting up of the type has been aided by the use of a copy agreeing with 15.

It has been already mentioned that the seven copies which are in the main printed from the same type show certain small differences among themselves, due to the adjustment or correction of the type in the intervals of printing. In sheet A there is one such variation on fol. iii recto, where in five of the copies (H, 12, 30, 2, and F) there is rather too much space between the words "all " and " thinges " in line I, and between the words " knowe " and "bothe" in line 2. This irregularity is rectified in 13 and In sheet B the points of difference are more numerous. 17. There is no need to say more of the peculiarity of 2 and F with regard to the four pages already mentioned, but it may be noted that in the head-lines of the corresponding pages three of the other five copies (12, 30, H) show the spelling "ordre." The same three have a capital C in the word "Communion" in the head-line of fol. ii recto. In the other two copies (13, 17) the head-lines are uniform throughout the sheet. It is probable, therefore, that the copies of the sheet in 13 and 17 were printed later than those in 12, 30, and H. A third point of variation is

¹ One point of difference, affecting the last lines of fol. C ii *recto*, will be discussed later.

c 2

INTRODUCTION.

at the end of the first line of fol. iii *recto.* Here in some of the copies there is some irregularity of spacing. In all, perhaps, the "y" and "n" of the word "contynuall" are separated by too wide an interval, but in H the last letter of the line is set apart from that which precedes it, and the hyphen which should follow it is displaced. In 12 and 2, while this letter and hyphen are rightly placed, there is a gap after the "a" of "contynuall." The remaining four copies avoid both these lapses, and therefore probably here represent a state of the type later than that existing at the moment when the page of H or those of 12 and 2 were printed.

The correction in this side of the leaf was probably made before that in the head-line of the verse, for in 30 the correct adjustment of the spacing on the recto is combined with the uncorrected head-line on the verso. It is also likely that the state of the type represented by the pages of 12 and 2 is earlier than that shown by the page of H, since the chance of the last letter of a line being displaced in adjusting a word preceding, is, on the whole, greater than that of disturbance to the letters of a word in the middle of the line in adjusting the letters at the end of the line. Thus it may be inferred that the order of printing the several copies of the sheet, as regards the recto side, was 12 or 2, H, 30 or F, 13 or 17; as regards the verso, 12, H, and 30 probably preceded 13 and 17. The place which 2 and F may have taken in point of time is uncertain, since the verso is in their case printed from another setting of the type. But the inference is, of course. doubtful, and the importance of the question apparently very slight.

In sheet C the points of difference are two. One is in the head-line of the first page, where 13 and 17 begin the word "Communion" with a capital, the other five with a lower case letter. The other is more notable. It occurs on fol. ii *recto*, and concerns the last lines of the final note or rubric. Here 13 has

xxxviii

and wythout any leuacion or lyftyng.

The other six copies all have

and wythout any

leuacion or lyf-

tyng vp.

The omission of the last word is peculiar to 13, and is no doubt the result of an error rectified before the other copies of the sheet were printed. It will be seen by a comparison of the facsimile of 15 that the arrangement of lines in 13 is on the same model, except that the word "vp," which in 15 stands in a line by itself, has been omitted. The absence of the word may have been caused by an accidental displacement of the letters, but as a stop is inserted after "lyftyng," it is perhaps more likely that the word was left out by the compositor, who found that he had not room for another line below that consisting of the word "lyftyng," while to place the word in the same line with "lyftyng" would have made that line too long, The arrangement followed in the other six copies, that of dividing the word "lyftyng" and putting back its first syllable to the preceding line, was probably adopted to secure a satisfactory graduation in the length of the last lines of the page, and to avoid too near an approach to the margin. It resembles to some extent the arrangement found in 16, but the evidence of 13 shows that of 15 to have been the original model.¹

In spite of the variation caused by this error and its correction, and apart from the correction in the head-line of fol. i *recto*, the seven copies of the sheet seem to have been printed from the same setting of the type. The copy which appears in 13 was no doubt struck off before the other six. That of 17 was probably the next in order of time. The others present no indication of their order of printing.

¹ It was probably preferred to the arrangement of 16 because the latter, in which the last line but two is partly in italic, partly in gothic type, has a rather irregular appearance.

These variations are very slight, but they suffice to bring about the result that no two of the seven copies are in exact agreement throughout. Two (2 and F) are separated from the rest in respect of the four pages peculiar to them, and from one another in respect of the spacing on fol. B iii *recto*. Of the rest, three (12, 30, and H) differ from the other two in respect of the head-lines of four pages, and from one another in respect of the spacing in the first line of fol. B iii *recto*.¹ The remaining two (13 and 17) differ from each other in the last lines of the final note. No single copy embodies all the corrections made in the progress of the work of printing; 17 comes nearest to doing so, but retains the capital C in the head-line of fol. C i *recto*.

There remain two copies, 19 and 57. Of these the former does not follow any of the other quarto copies, either in pagearrangement or in details of spelling and punctuation. It avoids the more obvious errors which are to be found in 15 and 16, and also some errors of punctuation which have passed from these earlier settings to the later ones; but it has a certain number of errors peculiar to itself. Its spelling is, on the whole, more uniform than that of any of the other copies, but occasionally shows resemblances to 15, with which it agrees in certain readings, and these facts may perhaps suggest that it was printed from a setting of the type in which a corrected copy of the setting represented by 15 was used. As compared with the other copies, it shows a tendency towards ornament; the text has two additional block letters, and the title, though marred by the awkward or careless placing of the blocks which form its border, seems to have aimed at a better artistic effect than that of the other designs. It may perhaps be conjectured that 19 represents a setting later than those from which the other quarto copies were printed, prepared for sale and not for official distribution.

If 19 may be said to be an ornamental impression, it is hardly possible to say the same of 57, though it also has a larger

¹ In these points Mr. Christie-Miller's copy agrees with 12.

number of ornamental letters than any other copy, save 19. Its title is quite without ornament, and the type and workmanship are poorer than those of any of the other copies. Mr. James Parker, noting the absence of printer's name and date, suggests that 57 was perhaps the first copy issued, remarking that certain errors which it contains "seem to show an early impression, as these words are corrected later." He suggests that Whitchurche may have been the printer.¹ Mr. Maskell thinks that it was "intended for the use of people in the congregation and not for the priest."² If so, it was probably issued later than the copies intended for circulation to the clergy; and a comparison with the quarto copies suggests that it is not really the earliest impression. It is apparently set up, not very intelligently, from an uncorrected copy of the impression represented by 16, to which it owes the errors specified by Mr. Parker, and also some others.3 These include mistakes, such as "dyaection" for "dyrection," which could hardly have been repeated by a good workman, for the case is not one of merely mechanical reproduction; the spelling of 57 does not by any means exactly agree with that of 16, but shows aberrations peculiar to itself. On the whole, it seems most likely that 57 is a later edition than the others, produced by the aid of a copy of one of Grafton's impressions, but not in Grafton's workshop---in other words, that it represents a "pirated" edition, brought out to meet a popular demand for copies which probably followed on the issue of the Order.

That there would be such a demand in England might be expected; but the demand was apparently not limited to England. We learn from a letter of Miles Coverdale to Calvin, written on March 26th 1548, that the book, within little more than a fortnight from the date of printing, was on sale in the fair at Frankfort, where "many persons were desirous of obtaining

¹ Introduction to the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, p. xix.

² Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, ed. 1882, p. lxxiii.

³ Mr. Parker was not acquainted with 16, which was acquired by the British Museum only a short time before the publication of his work.

INTRODUCTION.

it."¹ Coverdale had translated it into German and also into Latin, the latter version being perhaps specially intended for Calvin's benefit. Both versions, apparently, were forwarded to Calvin, together with Coverdale's letter, which suggests that he should take steps for their publication. Whether Calvin acted on this hint or not, we cannot say : there is an extant German version which may possibly be Coverdale's ; the extant Latin version is apparently not by him, but by Alexander Aless. Both are printed in Appendix II. of the present volume, where some further account of the two versions may be found.

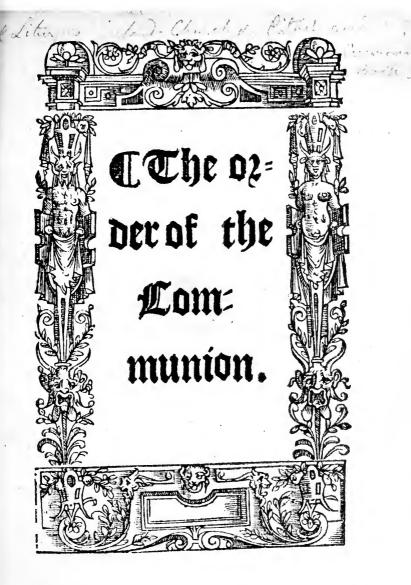
With regard to the plan of this edition of the Order of the Communion, very few words will suffice. The copy selected for reproduction (Brit. Mus., C. 25, f. 15) was chosen partly on the ground of its condition, partly because it appeared, from internal evidence, to represent one of the earliest impressions, partly because it had not been used in any existing reprint. The additional plates have been chosen for the purpose of showing the titles and colophons of the various impressions, and of furnishing specimen pages which illustrate their typography and their variations of spelling and punctuation. It has been thought unnecessary to append to the text any explanatory notes, since, while the forms contained in the Order are of such a kind as to need little in the way of commentary, that need is fairly supplied by the existing commentaries on the Book of Common Prayer, and the changes which have been made in the forms in their incorporation in the Prayer Book of 1549 and in the subsequent revisions may be easily traced in Mr. James Parker's First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. The first section of the Appendix contains such a comparison of readings as may suffice to show the more notable variations of the different copies of the Order; the second contains the German and Latin versions. In the third section an attempt has been made to show to readers who may not be very familiar with

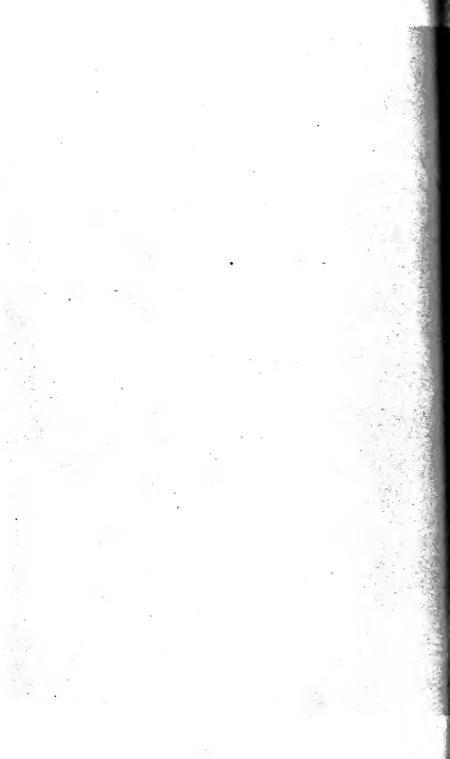
¹ Coverdale's *Remains* (Parker Society, 1846), p. 525.

the subject the character and order of the service resulting from the combination of the *Order of the Communion* with the mass for a particular day: the day selected for this purpose is Easter Day, on which the *Order* was first used. The last section deals with the question of the relation between the forms contained in the *Order* and those of the *Consultation* ot Archbishop Hermann of Cologne.

In conclusion, I would desire to express my gratitude for the kindness and courtesy with which facilities have been given, both by the authorities of the various libraries and by the private owners, Dr. E. Freshfield and Mr. A. H. Huth, for the inspection and use of the copies of the *Order* included in the list : to Dr. Fowler, the custodian of the Cosin Library at Durham ; to Mr. R. E. Graves ; to Mr. Francis Jenkinson, Librarian of the University of Cambridge ; to Mr. Falconer Madan, of the Bodleian Library, and to Mr. A. W. Pollard, of the British Museum, my thanks are also due for their assistance in dealing with questions relating to various points of detail ; and I must once more record my especial gratitude to Dr. Wickham Legg and to the Rev. E. S. Dewick for their unfailing kindness and most valuable help throughout the progress of the work.







The proclamation.



Dward by the grace of God kyng of Englad Frauce and Frelande, Defendoz of the faithe, a of the churche of Eu aland and Arcland merthes. fupzemehed:to all and finqu= ler our louing lubicetes, Gre-

tyna: for lo muche as in our high Court of Par liament lately holden at Weftminfter it was by bs with the concent of the lozdes spirituall and temporall, and Commons there affembled molte godly and agreably to Christes holy institucion enacted, that the molie blilled Sartament of the body a bloud of our labio2 Chailt. Mould from thensfurth be commoly delivered and ministerd unto al perfones with in our realme of England and Irelande, and other our dominions buder bothe kyndes, that is to fay, of bread and wyne, (except necessitie otherwates require)least euerp man phantalyng and deuilyng a londry way by hpm felfe in the pfe of this molte bliffed Sacra ment of bnitie, there might thereby arile any bu femely and bngodly diuersitie : Durpleasure is by thaduile of our molte dere bucle the duke of Somerlet aquernour of our persone, and 1920= tectoz of al our Realmes, dominions & subjectes and other of our privey counsarie, that the sayd bleffed Sacramet be ministred buto our people only after such fourme and maner as hereafter, by our aucthozitie, with thaduice befoze mencio= 3.11. ncdis

The proclamation.

ned is set furthe and declared : Willyng euery man with due reucrence and chirftian behaueoz to come to this holpe Sacramente and moffe bleffed Communion, left that by the buworthy receiving of to high mysteries, they become giltie of the body and bloude of the Lozde, and fo eate & drinke ther awne dampnacion: but rather dilt= gently tripng themfelfes that they may fo come to this holy table of Challe. and fo be partakers of thys holy Communion, that they maye dwell in Challe, and haue Challe dwellpng in theim: And also with suche obedience and conformitie to receaue thys oure ordinaunce, and moft godly direction, that we may be encouraged from time. to tyme, further to trauell for the reformation a fetting furthe of suche godly ozders, as mape bee moste to godes glozy, the edifiying of our subie= ctes, and for thaduauncemente, of true religion. Whiche thing, wee (by the healpe of God) mooste earneftly entend to bring to effecte: willying all our louing subjectes in the meane tyme, to stape and quiet theim lealfes with this oure direction, as men content to folowe aucthoritie(according to the bounden duty of subjectes. A not enterpri= lying to roune afore, and to by their rathenes, be= come the areatest hynderers of fuche thynacs, as they more arrogantly then godly, wolde feme by their awne private aucthoritie) molte both to fet fozwarde. Wee woulde not haue oure subiectes fo muche to millike oure Judgement, fo much to miltrufte our zeale, as though we cyther coulde not difcerne what were to be done.oz woulde not do all

The proclamacion.

do all thinges in due tyme: God be prayled, wee knowe bothe what by his woorde is metc to bee redreffed, and have an erneft minde by the adulfe of our moste dere bucke, and other of our privy Counsail, with al diligence and covenieut spede so to sett furthe the same, as it may e moste stand withe godes glorp, and edefining and quietnes of our people: Whiche wee doubt not but all our obedient and louging subjectes, well quietly and reue= rently tary for

God laue the Kyng.

The ozder of the communion.



yite the personne, Aicar, oz curat, the next Sonday oz ho= lyday, oz at the leaft, one day befoze he fhall minister the Communion, shall geue war=nyng to his parishioners, oz thole whiche bepzesent, that

they prepare them felfes therto, fairing to theim openly and playuly as hereafter followeth, or fuch lyke.

Ere fredes, and you elpecially, bpon whole loules I haue cure and charge, byon dave nert 7 doe ented by Godes grace to offer to all such as shalbe there godly dispoled, the most cofoztable Sacramet of the body and bloud of Christ, to be taken of theim in the remembraunce of his most fruictful and glozious passi= on: 13y the which paffion, we have ob teigned remission of our sinnes, and be made partakers of the kyngbome of heuen, wherof, we be allured & aller= teigned if we come to the laid Sacras ment, with hartie repentaunce of out offences.

The order of the Communion.

offences, ftedfaft faith in Godes mereve, and earnest mynde to obey godes wyll, and to offend no moze: wherfore our dutic is, to come to these holy mis steries with most harty thakes to be acuen to almightye God, for his infinite mercy and benefites, geuen & be= stowed byon bs, his buwoithye feruauntes, for whome he hath not only acuen his body to death and fled his bloud, but allo doth vouchelaufe in a Sacrament and mifterye, to geue vs his layd body and bloud fpiritually, to fede and dynke byon. The which Sacrament, being to divine and holy a thyng, and to confostable to theim which receaue it worthely, & fo dauns gerous to theim that will prefume to take the fame bulbozthely, my duti is to exhort you, in the meane lealon, to confyder the greatnes of the thynge, and to learche & cramyne your awne confciences, and that not lightlic, noz after the maner of dyffimulers with god:2But as they which flould come toa

The ozder of the Communion.

to a molt godly and heavenly banket not to come, but in the mariage gar= met required of God i (cripture, that you may to muche as lyeth in you, be found worth i to come to such a table: The Wayes and meanes therto is.

Fyrst that you be truly repentaute of your former eucl life, and that you confesse with an bufayned hart to almightie god your lynnes & bukynde= nes towardes his Maiely coinitted eyther by wyll, worde or dede, infir= mytye or ignoraunce, and that withe inwarde folowe and teates, yoube= wayle your offeces, and require of als mightie god, mercy, and pardon, p20= miling to him, fro the botome of your hartes, thamendment of your former life. And emonges al others, Jam comauded of God, especially to moue & exhort you, to reconfile your felfes to your neighboures, whome you haue offended, oz who hathe offended you, putting out of your hartes, all hatred and

The order of the Communion.

and malice against them, and to be in loue and charyte With all the worlde e to forgene other, as you wolde that God fhould forgene you. And if ther be any of you whole colcience is trou= bled fgreued in any thing, lackyng comfort or counsaile, let him come to me oz to some other dyscrete & lerned prieft taught in the lawe of God, and confelle and open his lynne and gricf fecretlye, that he may ereceaue luche aboltlie counfaile, aduile, and confort that his conscience maye be teleued, and that of bs as a minister of God & of the church, he maye receaue cofoste and absolution, to the satisfaction of his mynd and auoyding of al scruple and doubtfulnes: requiring fuche as shalbe fatilied with a generall con= fession, not to bee offended wih them that both ble, to their further fatils fiving thauriculer and secret colessio to § prieft, northole allo which think nedeful oz couenient foz the quietnes of ther awne colciences, particularly 215.i. th

to open ther lynnes to the puck, to be offended, with them whiche are latilfied with their humble confession to God, and the generall confession to the Churche: But in al these thinges to folowe and kepe the rule of Charitie: and enery matto be latisfied with his awne conscience, not undging other mennes myndes or actes, where as he hath awarrant of Gods woord for the lame.

The time of the Communion , Malbee imme= diatly after that the pricit him felfe hath receiued the Sacrament , without the variying of any other Bite og Ceremony in the Maffe(Untill other ozder Malbe prouided)but as heretofore bfually the prick hath boen with the Bacranient of the body, to prepare, bliffe and confectate fo muche as will ferue the people: fo it ihall contynue full after the same maner and fourme, saue that he fal bleffe and confecrate the biggeft Chalice oz foome faire and connement Cup og Cuppes full of wome, with foome water put onto it. And that daic, not drinke it bp at himfelfe, but takying one onely suppe oz draught, leue the refte vpon the Aultare couered, and turne to theim that are difa poled to bee partakers of the Communion, and that thus exhorts theim as foloweth.

Derely

The ozder of the communion.

Derely beloued in the lozde, ye commyng to this holy comunion, muste confider what fainct Paule Writeth to the Cozithians, how he exhozteth al parlones deligetly to trye and eras mine them felfes, oz euer thei pzelume to eate of this bread or drinke of this Cuppe, for as the benefite is great.if with a true penitent harte, and lively faith we receue this hold Sacrament (for then we spiritually eate the flesh of Chrifte an drinke his bloud: Then we dwell in Chaik and Chaik in bs, webe made one with Chuft & Chuft with vs)lo is the daunger greate.if wee receive the lame, bn worthely, for then we become gilty of the body and bloud of Christ our sauior, wee cate & dinke our awne dampnació (becaufe we make no difference of the Lordes body) we kidle Gods Wrath ouer bs we provoke him toplage bs with de= diverie difeates and fondit kindes of death, Judge therefoze youre felfes, (brethren) that pe bee not judged of 2B.U. the

2

The ozdzer of the comunion.

the Lozd : let your mynd be withoute desire of synne : Repent you trulie foz your lynnes palle, haue an erneft and nucly faith in Thrift, our faulour : be in perfect charitie with all men, fo thall ye be, mete partakes of these hos ly misteries: 25ut aboue all thynges poumuste geue most humble & hartie thankes to God the father, the sonne and the holy ghose, for the redemtio of the world, by the death and passion of our laufor Chiff both God & man who did humble him felfe even to the death byon the croffe for bs mileras ble finners, liyng in darknes and the hadowe of death, that he might ma= ke us the children of God, and craite bs to euclaftyng life. And to thende that we choulds always remember the excedyng loue of our Mafter and only fautour Jelus Chult thus doig for bs, and the innumerable benefis tes whiche by his precious bloud the= dyng, he hath obterned to bs, he hath left i these holy misteries as a pledge ofhis

The ordre of the communion.

of hys loue, and a contynuall remembraunce of the lame, his alone bleffed body and precious bloud, for vs spiritually to fede vpon, to our endles comforte and confolation. To hym therfore with the father and the holigholt, let vs geue, as wee are most bounden, continual thankes, submitting our selfes wholy to his holy wyl spleasure, and studiyng to serve him in true holynes and righteonsnes all the dayes of our life. Amen. Ewen the priest thall say to them which be redy to take the Sacrament.

If any man here be an opé blasphemer, an aduouterer, i malice, ozenny ozany other notable cryme, zbe not truly sozy therefoze z carnestlye myn= ded to leaue thesame byces, oz that doth not trust himself to be recoryled to almightie God, z in charytie with all the worlde, let him yet a whyle be= wayle his sumes z not come to thys holy table, lest after the takig of this moste blessed breade, the deuelt enter 25.iý, into

The order of the Communion. into hym as he did into Judas, to ful fill in hym all iniquitie, and to bryng hym to defiruccion, bothe of body and loule.

Here the priest shall paule a while, to le if any man will with drawe hym felfe: and if he perceiue any fo to do, then let him common with hym priuely at convenient leasure and se whether he can with good erhoztacion, bring him to grace: nad after a litle paule, the priest shall saie.

You that do truly and earneftly repent you of your lynnes and offences committed to almightye GDD, and bee in love and charitie with youre neighbours, & intend to leade a new life, and hartely to followe the commaundementes of God, and to walke from hensfurthe in his holy waies, drawe nere, and take this holy Sacrament to your comforte, make your humble confession to almightie Godand to this holy Churche, here gathered to gether, in hys name, mekely knelyng bpon your knees. Then

The didie of the communion. Then that a generall confession beemade in the name of all those that are mynded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of theim, or els by one of the ministers, or by the ipricit hym felfe, all knelyng humbly byon ther knes.

Almightie God, father of our lozde Jelus Chrifte, maker of all thynges, indge of all menne, we knowlege and bewaile our manifold lines and wic= kednes, whiche we from time to time moste greuously have committed by thought, woorde, and deede, againste thy divine Maiettie, prouoking moste iustely, thy Wrathe and indignació against vs : we dooe caneffly repent, and be hartely lozy, for thele our mildoynges: The remébraunce to them is greuoule buto bs, the burthen of them is intolozable, haue mercy bp= on bs , haue mercye bpon bs, molte merciful father, for thy fonne our lord Jelus Chalteslake: Forgeue bsall that is past, and graunt that we maie euer hereafter, lerue and pleale thee. in newnes of life, to the honoure and glozy

The ordre of the Communion.

glorye of thyname, through Jelus Thrift our Lorde.

Then Mall the prieft, fland bp and tur= npng hpm to the people, fay thus.

Dur bleffed Lozde, Who hath left power to his Church, to abfolue penitet symersfrom their symes, and to redore to the grace of the heusily father suche as trulie beleue in Christ, haue mercy byon you, pardon and delyuer you from all symes, confirme and strength you in al goodnes, and bring you to enerlasyng life.

Then thall the priest stande by, and turnyng him toward the people, say thus,

Here what confortable woordes our fautour Chuft faith to all that trulye turne to hom.

Come buto me all that tranail and be heavy loden, and I chall refreche you. So God loued the world, that he gaue his only begotte fonne, to thend that all that beleve in him, chould not perifhe, but have life everlacting.

Here allo what S.Paule faith.

This is a true laigng, and worthy of all

The order of the communion.

of all men to be embraced and receasued, that Jelus Chuft came into this world to laue lynners.

Beare allo what S. John faith.

Y fany man lynne, we have an ads notate with the father, Jelus Chult the righteous, he it is that obteyned grace for our lynnes.

Then thall the prick knele doune & faye in the name of al them that thall receaue & Communion, this prayer folowyng.

WE do not prelume to come to this thy table (D mercyfull Lord)tru= ting in our awne ryghteoulnes, but in thy manyfold and greate mercyes: we be not Worthie fo muche as to ga= ther bp the cromes buder thy table: But thou arte the fame Lord, whole propertye is alwayes, to have mercy: Graunt bs therefore gracious Lord fo to eate the fields of thy dere fonme Jefus Christ, and to drynk his bloud in these holy milteries, that we maye continually dwell in hym, and hem bs, that oure fynful bodyes, maye bc C.j. made

The order of the comunyon.

made cleane by his body, and our foules walhed through his molt precious bloud. Amen.

Then thall the priest rife, the people still reue= centlie kneling, and the priest thall deliver the Communion, sirst to the ministers, if any be ther present, that they maie be redy to helpe the priest and after to the other. And when he doth deliver the Sacrament of the body of Christe, he shall lay to every one, these wordes following.

The bodye of oure Loide Jelus Chult, which was geven for the, preferve thy body buto everlallyng life.

And the prick delivering the Sacrament of the bloud, and gewing every one to drinke once and nomore, that faye.

The blud of oure Lorde Jelus Christ, which was thed for the, preferue thy foule but o everlasty ng life.

If there be a deacon or other priest, then shall he rolowe with the Chalice, and the priest mininistreth the bread, so shall be for more expedicion minister the wone, in forme before writen.

Then that the priest, turnyng him to g people. Iet the people depart with this bleffing.

The ozder of the communion.

The peace of God Whiche passeth all buderstandyng, kepe your hartes and myndes in the knowlege and loue of God, and of his sonne Jesus Christe, our Lordes

To the which the people thal aunswere. Amen.

Acte, that the breade that thalbe confectated thaibe fuche as heretofore hath bene accustomed and curry of the faid confectated breades thalbe broken in twoo peces, at the least, or more by the diference of the must be readed and in parte, then must not thinke less to be received in parte, then in the whole, but in eache of theim the whole body of our faujour Jelu Christ.

Pote, that if it doth to chaunce, that the wone halowed and confectate dooth not fuffice or bee pnough for them that dooe take the Communion, the prieft after the firste Cup or chalice be emptied, may go again to gaultare, and reue= rentlie, and deuoutlie, prepare, and confectate an other, and to the thirde, or more lykwife, begyn= ning at these woordes. Simili modo, postquam ce= natum est, and endyng at these wordes, qui pro uobis& pro multis effundetur in remissionem pecatoru, and without any leuacion or listing by,

C Implinted at London, the vin. daye of Marche, in the second yere of the reigne of our sourreigne lorde kyng Edrvard the. V1: By Rychard Grafton printer to his moste royall Mas iestic. In the yere of our Lorde.

M.D.XLVIII.

24 MA 59

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum folum.

APPENDICES.

I. COMPARISON OF READINGS.

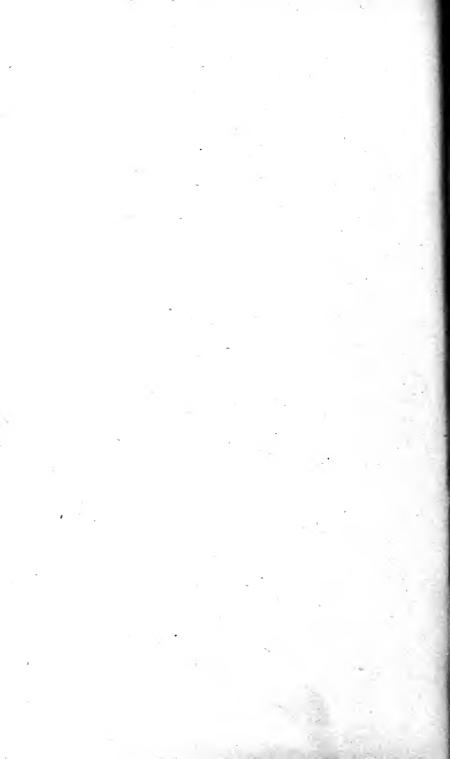
II. THE LATIN AND GERMAN VERSIONS.

III. THE MASS OF EASTER DAY, 1548.

IV. THE ORDER OF THE COMMUNION AND THE CONSULTATION OF ARCHBISHOP HERMANN.

ORDER COM.

В



APPENDIX I.

COMPARISON OF READINGS.

The following list of variations noted in the different copies is not intended to include all the points of difference in spelling or punctuation. To do this would very greatly lengthen the list, and would hardly serve any useful purpose. So far as these points are concerned, the general character of the various impressions may be sufficiently estimated by the pages reproduced in facsimile. Two classes of variations seem to be worth special notice: (1) those which are clearly due to an error of the printers, and are recorded to indicate the amount of such error in the several impressions; (2) those which affect the sense or grammatical construction of the phrase in which they occur.

The text of 15 has been taken as the standard, the references being to the page and line of the facsimile. Those of its readings which are clearly due to error are printed in italic type. The symbol 12, where it occurs, covers all the copies which agree with 12 throughout; for the pages common to 2 and F, the symbol 12 = 2 is used: for those peculiar to 2 and F, the symbol 2 covers both copies. Where the reading seems to have been affected by the division between two lines, an upright stroke marks the point at which this division occurs.

fol. A ii. recto.

l. 27. al our Realmes] – al 19.

28. other of our] - of 57.

fol. A ii. verso.

l. 2. chirstian] christian 16, $L_2 = 2$, 19; chrystian 57.

- 3. to come to] so come to 16.
- 4. lest that by] lest thei by 19.
- 5. they become] they 19.
- 12. conformitie] confirmitye 57.
- 13. ordinaunce. and] ordinaunce, and 16, 12 = 2, 19; ordynaunce, and 57.
- 22. direction] dyaeccion 16; dyaection 57.
- 24. subjectes, and not] subjectes,) and not 12 = 2; subjectes) and not 16, 57, 19.

B 2

م د _ر د د د ه م د د د د د م د د د

- 31. we eyther] we rather 57.
- 32. woulde] woulne 16.

fol. A iii. recto.

- l. 6. furthe] furtd 16.
- fol. A iii. verso.
 - l. 2-3. holyday] hosy day 16; holy day 12 = 2; holy daye 57; holy daie 19.
 - 9. followeth] folowed 16.
 - 23. wherof] wherefore 19.
- fol. A iv. recto.
 - l. 13. spiritually,] spiritually : 19.
- fol. A iv. verso.
 - l. 2-3. banket | not to come,] banket : | not to come : 16; banket | not to come : 57; banket : | not to come, 12 = 2; bāket, not to come, 19.
 - 6. meanes] meane 16, 57. therto] thserto 16.
- fol. B i. recto.
 - l. 22. thauriculer] tharticuler 16, 57.
- fol. B i. verso.
 - l. 10. a warrant] no warrant (ail).
 - 12. of the Communion] the 16, 57.
 - 13. blisse and consecrate] lesse, and consecrate 16, 57; blesse and consecrate 12; 2, 19 as 15.
 - 19. shall] + yet 16, 57, 12; 2, 19 as 15.
 - 21. Chalice] Chalite 16.

23. wyne, with] wyne wyth 16, 12; wine with 57, 19; 2 as 15. fol. B ii. *recto*.

- l. 4. how he] how, he 16, 57, 12; 2, 19 as 15.
 - 7. this bread] his bread 16.
 - or] and 16, 57, 12, 2; 19 as 15.
 - 8. benefite] benefte 16.
 - 9. true] truely 16, 57, 12; 2, 19 as 15.
 - 12. an] and 16, 57, 12, 2; 19 as 15.
- 22. de-] all omit.

24. death, Judge] death. Judge 16, 57, 12, 2; death : iudge 19. fol. B ii. verso.

- l. 2. of synne] to synne 16, 57, 12 = 2; 19 as 15.
 - be, mete] be mete 16, 57, 12 = 2; bee, mete 19. partakes] partakers (all).
- 18. shoulde alwaye] alwaye shoulde 16, 57.

fol. B iii. recto.

1. 8. bounden] bound 16, 57. continual] continually 57.

16. an aducuterer] -an 16, 57, 12 = 2; 19 as 15.

fol. B iii. verso.

l. 6. and] annd 16.

9. nad] and 16, 57, 12, 19; and | and 2.

22. this] his (all).

fol. B. iv. recto.

- 1. 4. ipriest] priest 16, 12, 2; Prieste 19; Priest 57.
- 15. eanestly] earnestly, 2, 19, 57; earnestlye 16; earnestlie 12.

17. to] of (all).

fol. B iv. verso.

l. 3. priest, stand vp, and] Priest, stande vp, and 16; Priest stand vp, and 19; Priest stand vp, [- and] 57; 12 = 2 as 15.

15. toward] to 19, 57.

19. loden] laden 16; loaden 57.

20. loued] loueth 16.

22. all that beleue] - that 57.

fol. C i. recto.

l. 9. priest] Priieste 19.

11-12. this thy table] - thy 57.

fol. C i. verso.

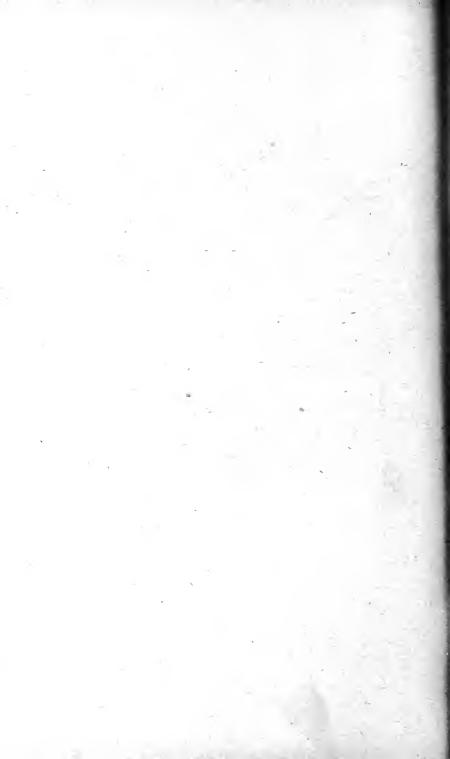
l. 2. soules] soulas 19.

' 19. vnto] to 19.

21-22. mini | nistreth] ministreth 16, 57, 12 = 2; ministereth 19. fol. C. ii. recto.

1. 4. of his] in his 19.

29-30. lifting vp.] lyftyng. [- vp] 13.



APPENDIX II

THE LATIN AND GERMAN VERSIONS.

The Latin version here reprinted is contained in a small book in octavo form, without printer's name or date.¹ A note appended to it is signed by the translator with the initials A.A.S.D.TH. which are probably to be interpreted as signifying "Alexander Alesius, Scotus, Doctor Theologiae."

Alesius (otherwise Aless, Ales or Alan) was a Scottish scholar of some distinction. He had been a Canon at St. Andrews,² whence he had fled in 1532: after some wanderings in Germany, he came to England as the bearer of a letter from Melanchthon to Henry VIII., and for some years enjoyed the patronage of Cromwell and of the King. On the fall of Cromwell he withdrew to Germany, and settled first at Frankfort and afterwards, in 1543, at Leipzig, where he seems to have been still resident in 1548, though he probably returned to England in that year or in the year following, when he was employed to translate into Latin the English Prayer-Book of 1549.

His rendering of the Prayer-Book is notoriously inexact: that of the *Order of the Communion*, though it does not depart so widely from the original as his version of the Prayer-Book, is by no means free from inaccuracy. It sometimes omits, sometimes adds, and occasionally alters the sense. Thus in his rendering of the Proclamation, he inserts in the King's title words intended to make it less objectionable to those for whom his translation was intended.³ On the other hand the words which allow an exception in case of necessity to the rule that the

¹ The copy used is one in the Bodleian Library which formerly belonged to Mr. W. Maskell. There is another copy, apparently of the same impression, in the British Muscum.

² That is, probably, not one of the Austin Canons of the Priory, who served the cathedral church, but one of the prebendaries or secular canons of the collegiate church of St. Salvator; for he is said to have been *appointed* canon, and the head of the chapter, from whom he made his escape, was "Provost" and not "Prior."

³ "Of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head," becomes, in the Latin version, "Ecclesiae *Christi* in Anglia et Hibernia summum *sub ipso* in terris caput." The note appended to the translation, which is mainly an apology for the action of the King in issuing the *Order*, shows the motive of the change. sacrament should be ministered in both kinds are left out. Again, the words "this our ordinance and most godly direction" have rather more than their proper force given to them by the rendering "hanc nostram immo Dei ordinationem."¹

Such changes as are involved in rendering the words "to almighty God" by "erga Deum Patrem omnipotentem et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum" or "his blood" by "suum preciosum sanguinem," or "not to come but in the marriage garment required of God in Scripture " by "accedere cum veste nuptiali, quam Christus in evangelio requirit," or "of the Church " by "Ecclesiae Domini nostri Iesu Christi" may be regarded, perhaps, merely as instances of rather free handling of the original. But this is hardly the case with all the passages in which the Latin adds to or alters the words of the Order. Thus "God's mercy" is "misericordiae Dei nobis propter Christum gratis oblatae": "so shall ye be meet partakers" becomes "ita enim efficiemini vere participes": the expressions of the confession are strengthened in rendering "manifold sins and wickedness" by "multiplicia peccata et innumeras iniquitates," and "from time to time" by "subinde per omnem vitam." In the final rubric, the direction that the "breads" are to be broken "by the discretion of the minister" receives a certain gloss by the omission of any mention of the minister's discretion and the substitution for it of the words "iuxta institutionem Christi": while the same remark may be made as to the rendering of "and without any levation or lifting up" by "sine tamen elevatione et adoratione aliqua."

Still more serious, perhaps, are some of the variations in those parts of the first exhortation which deals with the question of confession to the priest. Here "some other discreet and learned priest" is rendered "aliquem alium doctum et providum virum": while the character of the exhortation to mutual charity of those who do and of those who do not think it needful to "open their sins to the priest" is materially altered by the attribution of "imbecillitas" to the one class and of "firmitas" to the other.²

¹ The addition of a date and place to the Proclamation may, perhaps, suggest that the translator had before him, not only the copy of the Proclamation which appears in the *Order*, but another copy dated at Westminster; but the vagueness of the date which he gives points rather to his having added a date to make his document look more complete.

² This method of dealing with the original is all the more noteworthy if it is considered in connection with the title prefixed to the Latin version of the *Order*, where it is represented as containing the "formula confessionis faciendae in regno Angliae."

Some passages again are dealt with rather by way of paraphrase than of translation, and in these cases the paraphrase sometimes omits points contained in the original, or introduces phrases which are not represented in the English. Instances of this class are to be found in the long rubric giving instructions as to the use of the *Order*, and in the preface which introduces the "comfortable words."

The translation is not a faithful one: it can hardly be regarded as quite an honest one: but it is perhaps all the more interesting on that account, since it shows at what points the translator thought it desirable to adapt the *Order* to suit the views of those upon whom he no doubt wished that it should produce a favourable impression. And it is to be observed that here, as in his translation of the Prayer-Book, Aless sometimes uses a terminology older than that of the English form, The "breads" are "hostiae": the "ministers" are "ministri altaris."

Two copies of a German version, both without printer's name or distinct indication of date, are in the British Museum. They differ in spelling, and in a few words where the variation is no doubt due to an error of the printer in one or the other¹; but the differences between them are less than those between the different settings of the original. The translation, which seems to be made directly from the English, is a faithful one : a single use of "Gemeind" as the equivalent of "Church" may be worth recording, as practically the only instance in which the terms of the original are not fairly represented, so far as the rendering of the Order is concerned. In the Proclamation there is to be found here also a modification of the King's title, which is expressed by the words "auff Erdtreich vnter Christo das oberste Haupt der Kirchen inn England vnd Ireland." In some places the translator seems to have misunderstood the force or construction of the English, though the sense he gives is in most cases a possible one as the words stand.² The title, naturally, is not an exact reproduction of the English form : but the German rendering may be said only to add what was necessary to show the character of the book, and keeps nearer to the English than that of Aless.

¹ Thus one copy reads "allerseligsten," where the other has "allerheiligsten"; one has "zugedeckt" where the other has "gedeckt."

² "How he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves" is rendered, "wie er alle Menschen fleissig vermanet, sich selbs zu prüfen vnd erinneren"; and "for us miserable sinners, lying in darkness and the shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God," becomes "für vns armen sündern, vnd ist in finsternis vnd schatten des tods gelegen, auff das er vns zu kindern macht."

/ORDO¹ DI-STRIBVTIONIS

SACRAMENTI ALTARIS SUB VTRAQUE SPECIE, ET FORMVLA CONFESSIONIS FACIENDAE IN RE-GNO ANGLIAE. HAEC LONDINI EVVL-GATA SUNT OCTAVO DIE MARTII, ANNI

M.D.XLVIII.

/EDICTVM REGIS. EDVARDVS

Dei beneficio rex Angliae, Galliarum et Hiberniae, defensor fidei, et Ecclesiae Christi in Anglia & Hibernia, summum sub ipso in terris caput, uniuersis & singulis dilectis subditis nostris Salutem.

CUM IN SUPREMIS regni nostri comitiis postremò habitis Vuestmonasterii in regia nostra, à nobis ex unanimi consensu omnium ordinum, & statuum regni nostri ad gloriam Dei, et iuxta institutione Domini nostri Iesu Christi sit decretum, & inter acta

A. I.

¹ In reproducing these Latin and German versions the spelling and punctuation of the original text is followed. The copy of the German which has been used is that bearing the press-mark C.25.g.4.

comitiorum Regni relatum, Vt uenerabile Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi distribuatur uniuersis et singulis incolis Angliæ & Hiberniæ, ac aliarum prouinciarum nostrarum sub utraque spe/cie, hoc est, panis & uini, ne quilibet apud se [A. 2. v. singularem quandam formam & rationem administrationis excogitaret, & ex diuersa administratione uenerabilis Sacramenti, quod est Symbolum unitatis, oriretur indecens & perniciosa discordia. Placuit nobis ex consilio carissimi auunculi nostri, ducis Somersettensis, custodis corporis nostri, & protectoris omnium regnorum nostrorum, & aliorum qui nobis sunt à consiliis, ut uenerabile Sacramentum administretur populis nostris hac tantum forma & ratione, quæ nostra autoritate & consilio eorum, quos comemorauimus, est expressa & declarata. Optamus enim unumquenque debita qua decet reuerentia, & Christiana circumspectione accedere ad hoc sanctissimum Sacramentum, & beatissimam communionem, ne indigna perceptione tantorum mysteriorum seipsum reum peragat corporis et sanguinis Domini, & edat ac bibat iudicium sibi ipsi, sed multo magis /quemlibet diligenti sui ipsius [A. 3. examine sic accedere ad sanctissimam mensam Christi, ut possit particeps esse communionis & beneficiorum ipsius, & in Christo manere, ac habere Christum in se habitantem.

Præterea etiam cupimus omnes ea animorum consensione, & qua debent submissione hanc nostram imò Dei ordinationem excipere, ut nos sua obedientia subinde magis ac magis inuitent, ad alacrius suscipiēdam curam & cogitationem ulterioris reformationis, & promulgationis huiusmodi ordinationum, quæ ad gloriam Dei, ędificationem subditorū, & incrementum ueræ religionis pertineant.

Nos Deo uolente ad has res perficiendas summum studium & diligentiam sumus adhibituri, interim autem uolumus & cupimus, ut subditi nostri hec sibi de nobis persuadeant, & quietis animis sint. Vt qui sponte sequantur autoritatē, ut æquum est, ac decet subditos, non præueniant /nec præuertere conentur, ne eorum nimia festinatio [A. 3. v. his rebus maximo sit impedimento, dum aliqui arroganter magis quàm piè uolunt uideri, propria autoritate, præpropere has res promouere. Nolumus enim subiectos nobis usque adeo contemnere iudicium nostrum, nec tantum diffidere nostro zœlo, quasi aut nesciremus discernere quid agendum sit, aut nollemus ea efficere, tempore ad hæc destinato.

Nam scimus (sint Deo gratiæ) et quæ iuxta suum uerbum opus habent reformatione, & seria cogitatione nobis proposuimus cum consensu carissimi auunculi nostri & aliorum cōsiliariorum nostrorum omni diligentia, & acceleratione qua conuenit eadem promouere ad gloriam Dei, & ædificationem ac quietem populi, quæ, ut nihil dubitamus,

APPENDIX 11.

omnes obedientes, & dilecti subditi nostri reuerenter à nobis expectabunt.

Datum Vuestmonasterii in regia nostra mense Martio, Anni 1548. Domine saluum fac Regem, &c.

/ORDO

COMMUNIONIS.

PRIMO PASTOR Ecclesie, aut eius Vicarius proximo die dominico aut festo, uel ad minimū prid e communionis significabit suis parrochianis, uel eis qui tum aderunt, ut sese præparent ad communionem, hæc quæ sequuntur aut similia istis manifestè & clarè pronuncians.

Dilecti in Domino, & uos nominatim, quorum salus animarum mihi demandata est. proximo die N. constitui Deo uolente, offerre omnibus eis, qui ad hoc sese apparare uelint, sacramentum plenum consolationis, hoc est corpus & sanguinem Christi, ut id percipiant in recordationem gloriosæ, & summet frugiferæ passionis ipsius, per quam obtinuimus remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, & participes facti sumus [A. 4. v. cœlestis regni, de quibus certi efficimur, si accedamus ad Sacramentum cum uera contritione de peccatis nostris, & firma fiducia mis_ricordiæ Dei nobis propter Christum gratis oblatæ, & cum certo proposito præstandi obedientiam erga præcepta Dei, & non perseuerandi in peccato. Est igitur officij uestri accedere ad Sacramentum cum pectore pleno gratiarum actionis erga Deum patrem omnipotentem, & Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, pro infinita sua misericordia & beneficijs exhibitis, ac præstitis nobis indignis seruis suis, pro quibus non solum tradidit corpus suum ad mortem, et effudit suum preciosum sanguinem, uerum etiam dignatus est in Sacramento, et mysterio dare suum corpus & sanguinem spiritualiter in cibum & potum. Quod sacramentum cum sit res diuina & sacrosancta, ac plena consolationis eis, qui id digne percipiunt, & sit res plena periculi ad hoc /indigne accedere, [A. 5. officij mei est, uos exhortari, ut consideretis interim rei magnitudinem, & ut exploretis, ac probetis conscientias uestras neque hoc leuiter, aut hipocritarum more, qui Deo mentiuntur, sed ut illi, qui debent ad diuinum, & cœleste conuiuium accedere, cum ueste nuptiali, quam Christus in Euangelio requirit, ut possitis quantum humana sinit fragilitas inueniri digni hac cœna, ad quam hac, uia & ratione est adeundum.

Primo, ut uos ex animo pœniteat anteactæ malæ uitæ, & quod corde non ficto, confiteamini Deo omnia peccata uestra, & ingratitudinem

[A. 4.

erga suam Maiestatem, uoluntate, uerbo, facto, aut ex infirmitate, & ignorantia, & cum dolore, & lachrimis deploretis peccata uestra, & petatis à Deo misericordiam, & ueniam, promittentes ei ex animo emendationē prioris uitæ.

Sed inter cætera debeo ex præcepto Dei uos commonefacere & ex/hortari, ut reconciliamini eis quos offendistis, & a quibus [A. 5. v. estis offensi, eijcientes ex animis, iram, odia, & indignationem aduersus eos, & ut diligatis omnes, ac ignoscatis uniuersis, sicut uultis Deum uobis ignoscere. Quod si inter uos quispiam sit, cuius conscientia grauatur, aut offenditur aliqua in re, aut qui cupit consolationem & consilium, is ad me ueniat, uel aliquem alium doctum & prouidum uirum, peritum in lege Domini, & confiteatur secreto suum peccatum. ut possit institui, & recipere consolationem spiritualem, & a nobis tanquam Dei, & Ecclesiæ Domini nostri Iesu Christi ministris accipere consolationem, & absolutionem, qua possit sese consolari, ut conscientia sit libera ab omni dubitatione. Cæterum eos, qui suis mentibus satisfaciūt generali confessione, hortamur, ne offendantur eorum imbecillitate, qui ut suis satisfaciant conscientijs, utuntur auriculari confessione ad sacerdotem, ac uicissim hos/ipsos, qui iudicant [A. 6. opus esse, aut utile, ut quietas habeant conscientias, uti confessione priuata, ne offendantur eorum firmitate, qui sibi satisfaciunt humili ad Deum, et generali ad Ecclesiam confessione, & in omnibus huiusmodi rebus sequantur, & seruent regulam dilectionis Christianae. Et quilibet uideat ut sua sibi satisfaciat conscientia, non iudicet aliorum mentes, & actiones in his, de quibus non habet expressum uerbum Dei.

DE TEMPORE

COMMUNIONIS.

Tempus communionis erit immediate, postquam sacerdos sumserit Sacramentum, absque mutatione cuiuscunque ritus, aut ceremoniæ in missa, donec prospectum, & constitutum fuerit à nobis de alio ordine. Vt igitur antea consueuit sacerdos præparare hostias, & consecrare totidem, quot populo sufficiunt. Sic nūc faciat per omnia, hoc excepto, quòd /sacerdos consecrabit maiorem calicem, uel pulcram [A. 6. v. aliquam & conuenientem pateram plenam uino, cui admixtum sit paululum aquae, neque debet sacerdos solus exhaurire calicem, sed postquam ipse ex eo bibit, porrigere quod reliquum est, eis qui petunt communionem, ad quos conuersus, utetur hac exhortatione.

Dilectissimi fratres in Domino, qui acceditis ad sacram $\sigma vv\alpha \xi iv$, meminisse debetis, quid sanctus Paulus scribat ad Corinthios, & quomodo commonefaciat omnes, ut diligenter sese probët & explorent, priusquam de hoc pane edant, & bibant de hoc calice. Quandoquidem sicut beneficium ipsum per se maximum est, si ex animo uerè cōtrito, & uiua fide hoc sanctissimum Sacramentum accipiamus (nam sic spiritualiter manducamus corpus Christi, & bibimus eius sanguinem, & in eo manemus, & ipse in nobis habitat, ac ipse nobiscum, & nos cum eo unum efficimur) ita ingens est periculum, si id /indignè accipiamus, tunc enim efficimur rei [A. 7. corporis & sanguinis Christi seruatoris nostri, edimus & bibimus nostram condemnationē, quia non discernimus corpus Domini, et accersimus nobis iram Dei, & prouocamus, ut nos flagellet diuersis plagis, & uarijs generibus mortis.

Quare fratres uosipsos iudicate, ne à Domino iudicemini, eijcite ex animis studium peccandi, pœniteat uos seriò præteritorum peccatorum, toto pectore confidite seruatori nostro Christo, diligatis omnes homines ex animo. Ita enim efficiemini uerè participes horum mysteriorum, sed ante omnia necesse est, ut maxima cum humilitate, & ex corde agamus gratias Deo Patri, & Filio & Spiritui sancto, quod redemit mundum per passionem & mortem seruatoris nostri Christi, ueri Dei & ueri hominis, qui se humiliauit usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, pro nobis miseris peccatoribus, habitantibus in tenebris & in umbra mortis, /ut nos efficeret filios Dei, & hæredes uitæ æternæ, ad hunc enim finem, [A. 7. v. ut semper memores essemus infiniti amoris, magistri, & unici seruatoris nostri Iesu Christi, & innumerabilium beneficiorum, quæ per effusionem præciosi sui sanguinis nobis obtinuit, reliquit in his sacris mysterijs quasi pignus amoris, Et perpetuum μνημόσυνον suum proprium corpus benedictum, & preciosum sanguinem, ut ex his spiritualiter pascamur, et haberemus æternam consolationem.

Ei igitur unà cum Patre & Spiritu sancto agamus gratias, ut merito debemus, & humiliemus nosmetipsos, ac subijciamus eius sanctissimæ uoluntati, & studeamus ei obsequi in uera sanctitate, & iustitia omnibus diebus uitæ nostræ.

Tunc sacerdos dicet illis qui sunt parati ad accipiendum Sacramentū.

Si quis hic sit palam blasphemus, /adulter, laborans odio, [A. 8. & inuidia, uel alio quopiam crimine manifesto, nec de illo dolet ex animo, neque serio proponit id deserere, uel qui non credit se Deo reconciliatum esse, aut non rediuit in gratiam cum proximis, is aliquandiu deploret adhuc peccata sua, nec accedat ad hāc sacram mensam, ne post acceptionem huius sacrosancti panis, diabolus intret in eum, sicut fecit in Iuda, ut sit in eo efficax ad perpetrandam omnem iniquitatem, & ut pertrahat eum tam ad corporis quam animi exitium.

Hic quiescet paulisper Sacerdos, ut uideat utrum quispiam seipsum subtrahat à cœna, quod si perspexerit, hunc oportuno tempore conueniat, & cum eo secreto colloquatur, & periculū faciat utrum possit eum per exhortationem lucrifacere Christo, & paulo post dicet Sacerdos.

Vos qui uerè et seriò doletis de peccatis uestris, per quæ Deum of/fendistis, et reconciliati estis proximis, et proposuistis [A. 8. v. inchoare nouam uitam, & obsequi præceptis Dei, & iuxta ea dirigere omnes uestras actiones, huc accedite propius, ut percipiatis sanctissimum Sacramētum ad uestram consolationem, & humiliter confiteamini Deo omnipotenti, & Ecclesiæ suæ hîc congregatæ in ipsius nomine genu flectentes cum omni submissione.

Tunc fiet generalis confessio nomine eorum, qui uolunt communicare, uel per eorum aliquem, uel per unum ex ministris altaris, uel per ipsum Sacerdotem omnibus interim flectentibus genua.

Omnipotens Deus, pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, conditor omnium rerum & iudex uniuersorum mortalium, nos confitemur & deploramus nostra multiplicia peccata, & innumeras iniquitates, quas subinde per omnem uitam contumaciter desi/gnauimus [B. 1. cogitatione, uerbis, facto contra diuinam maiestatem tuam prouocantes iustissimam iram & indignationem tuā aduersus nos. Vere enim ex animo dolemus, & serio nos pœnitet de peccatis nostris, eorum commemoratio est nobis acerbissima, illorum grauitatem ferre non possumus, miserere nostri misericordissime Pater, propter Filium tuum dominum nostrum Iesum Christū, condona nobis peccata praeterita, & benigne concede, ut semper posthac seruiamus, & placeamus tibi in nouitate uitae ad laudem & gloriam nominis tui, per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

Tunc eriget se Sacerdos, & conuersus ad populum sic loquetur.

Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui suam potestatem dedit Ecclesiae, ut absoluat pœnitentes à peccatis ipsorum, & reconciliet cœlesti patri eos, qui suam fiduciam collocant in /Christum, misereatur [B. r. v. uestri, remittat & condonet uobis omnia peccata uestra, confirmet & corroboret uos in omni bono opere, et perducat ad æternam uitam.

Sic stans conuersus ad populum dicet, audite, quomodo Christus inuitat ad se peccatores, & eos consolatur, uerbis omni consolatione plenissimis.

Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, & onerati estis, & ego uos requiescere faciam. Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat, sed habeat uitam æternam.

Audite etiam quid sanctus Paulus dicat.

APPENDIX II.

Fidelis sermo et omni observatione dignissimus Christus Iesus uenit in hunc mundum, ut saluos faceret peccatores.

Et Ioannes inquit.

Si quis peccauerit, aduocatum ha/bemus apud patrem Iesum [B. 2. Christū iustum, & ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris.

Tunc genu flectet Sacerdos, & nomine eorum qui uolunt communicare sic orabit.

Non audemus accedere ad hanc mensam tuam ô misericors domine, fiducia iustitiæ nostræ, sed in multitudine miserationum tuarum, neque enim sumus digni, ut colligamus micas de mensa tua, sed tu es ille idē dominus, cuius semper proprium est misereri, Concede igitur misericors domine, ut sic edamus carnem filij tui, & bibamus eius sanguinem in his sacris mysterijs, ut perpetuo habitemus in eo, & ipse in nobis, ut nostra corpora peccatis inquinata munda fiant perceptione sacratissimi corporis eius, & nostræ animæ lauentur præcioso sanguine ipsius. Amen.

Tunc surget sacerdos populo ad/huc genu flectente, & [B. 2. v. porriget Sacramentum primo ministris, si qui uoluerint communicare, ut postea iuuent eum in administratione Sacramenti.

Et cum exhibet Sacramentum corporis utatur hac forma orationis.

Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quod traditum est pro te, conseruet corpus tuum, & perducat animam tuam in uitam æternam.

Et cum porrigit Sacramentum sanguinis, sic orabit.

Sanguis domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui pro te effusus est, conseruet animam tuam ad uitam æternam.

Si affuerit Diaconus, aut alter Sacerdos, is priorem qui porrigit corpus domini, sequatur cum calice, quem continuo exhibeat. His finitis uertet se sacerdos ad congregationem, quam cum hac benedictione missam faciet.

/Et pax Dei, quæ exuperat omnem sensum, conseruet corda [B. 3. uestra, & mentes uestras in cognitione, & amore Dei, & filii sui domini nostri Iesu Christi.

> Cui respondebit populus, Amen.

Et est obseruandum, quòd panis consecratus eiusdem erit formæ, qua antehac fieri consueuit, & quælibet hostia consecrata frangetur in duas aut tres partes, iuxta institutionem Christi, accepit & fregit ac distribuit. Nemo autem existimare debet minus cum parte panis, quàm cum tota hostia, sed cum utraque integrum corpus Christi accipi.

Præterea obseruandum est, quòd si uinum consecratum non sufficiat

omnibus communicātibus post primum calicem, aut primam pateram exhaustam, reuertatur ad altare, & reuerenter alteram, aut tertiam si o/pus fuerit, consecret, repetens uerba simili modo postquam [B. 3. v. cœnatum est &c. usque ad finem, qui pro uobis & pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum, sine tamen eleuatione, & adoratione aliqua.

PIO LECTORI.

CVM huius ordinationis decretum & indicatio uenisset in manus nostras scripta lingua Anglica, mihique legenti uisa esset digna, quæ à quamplurimis cognosceretur, impendi aliquot horas conuersioni illius in linguam Latinam, & curaui hæc edi, ut innotescere etiam alijs gentibus & nationibus possent. Cum autem sit uere Regia uirtus studium pietatis & religionis, in hoc Rege adhuc teneræ ætatis illud ita elucescens omnium admirationem meretur. Et cum nulla Religionis ueritas extra uerbum Dei, quod nobis ijs literis, quas sacras uocamus, declaratur, reperiatur, In hanc partem Regis & populi Anglicani curam cogitationemque intendi, ut Euangelium Christi, in quo omnium, de quibus uoluntas Dei promulgata | fuit, avakeda alwois continetur, pure [B. 4. & plane doceatur, & ritus instituti à Christo et ab Apostolis ut custodiantur, profectò & Deo ipsi in primis gratum, & sanctis Angelis iucundum est & omnibus pijs, cum maximam læticiā, tum nonnullam consolationem affert. Cedit igitur ueritas iam pulsa illis luculentis sedibus Asiæ, Africæ, atque Europæ etiam, & se in hæc ultima loca terrarum confert. Ita nimirum occulto consilio Dei hæc disponente, ut longius etiam sub occasum et septemtriones doctrina cælestis propagetur. Ob hoc igitur beneficium nos etiam gratias agere Deo par est. Nam quod quidem fortasse cum alia in hac ordinatione repræhendent, tum indignabuntur Regem secularem, ut uocant, id est, plane laicum, hanc curam suscipere & audere in Ecclesia aliquid constituere, ac se etiam huius caput profiteri, de eo iam alij ante hoc tempus, cum à quibusdam acerbe exagitaretur, grauiter disseruerunt. Non est hæc cura atque cogitatio aliena, à Regib. quid in Ecclesia Christi fiat ac geratur, sed ad eos potius propriè pertinet, tanquam custodes legis diuinæ, præsertim alijs negligentibus. Videre enim hac in parte onus et miseriam populi neque alleuare ac succurrere, profecto regium non est, nequid dicam uehementius. Sed de his non disputabo. Qu'id caput se uocat sui cœtus Ecclesiastici in regno proprio, id & con/suetudine & usu linguae [B. 4. v. Gentis minus durum est huic populo. Neque non scit in illa, quamuis tenera ætate ipse, neque ignorant profecto opt. & doctiss. & religionis ORDER COM.

17

Christianæ amantiss. uiri omnium ordinum & conditionum circum eum, solum Christū unicum esse caput Ecclesiæ suæ. Sed est nihilominus quisque Princeps sui populi caput, populus autem certe Anglicus Christianus est, ut in hac forma sermonis incōmoditatis nihil insit, nisi aliquid à calumniæ maleuolentia fortassis inuehatur, à qua cum nihil tutum esse possit, neque sit amoletum συκοφάντου δήγματοs, ut ait Comicus, feret nimirum æquo animo obtrectationem inuidiæ ac odii hic Rex, & gaudebit se cum Deo ipsi satisfacere puerili conscientia sua, tum omnium bonorum ac piorū studia mereri, et contra omnes improbitatis aduersationes enitetur ad consequendam perfectionem uirilem in Christo Iesu, unà cum ætate constante, ad quam eum perducat, & in ueritatis cultu, amore, studio, benigne conservet AEternus Pater filii coæterni Domini nostri Iesu Christi unà cum Spiritu sancto, solus, uerus, omnipotens, iustus, misericors Deus, cui laus, honor, uictoria sempiterna. AMEN.

A.A.S.D.TH.

/DIE ORDNUNG DER [fo. A i. HEILIGEN COMMUNION BEY DES

HERRN Nachtmal, wie solches noch zur zeit, inn den Englendischen Kirchen gehalten wird.

M. D. XLVIII.

/KÖNIGLICHER MAIESTAT EDICT. [fo. A ii.

FDWARD, VON GOTTES GNADEN König in England. Franckreich vnd Ireland, Ein Beschirmer des Glaubens, vnd auff Erdtreich vnder Christo das oberste Haupt der Kirchen in England, vnd Ireland, Allen vñ jeglichen vnsern lieben Vnderthanen, vnsern Nach dem auff vnserm Reichstag jetz newlich zu Grusz zuuor. Westmünster gehalten, es ist durch vns, mit willigung der Herren-Geistlichen vnd Weltlichen, vnd Stenden des Reichs (die da versamlet warend) Gottseliglich vnd nach der Heilige Einsatzung Christi, verordnet worden, das das allerheiligst Sacrament des Leibs vnd Bluts Christi vnsers Heilands, sol von nun an menniglichen in vnserm Reich England vnnd Ireland, vnd andern vnsern Herschafften, vnder beiderlev gstalt, nemlich, des Brods vnnd Weins (die not erfordere denn anders) gemeintlich ausgeteilt vnd dargereicht werde. Darumb auff das nicht ein jeder bey sich selbs einen sondern weg Phantasier vnd. erdencke, im brauch dises allerheiligesten Sacramenten der Einigkeit, dadurch den ein vngebürlich vnd Gottlose zweispalt entstehn möchte, Vnser will ist, mit Rath Vnsers freundlichen liebe Vetters des Hertzoge von Somerset, Gubernatoris vnserer Personen, vnd Schirmherrn vber aller vnserer Reichen, Herschafften vnnd Vnterthanen, auch mit bewilligung der anderer in vnserm innerlichsten Rath, Das das gedach/te Heilig Sacrament, vnserm Volck dargereicht sey, allein nach [fo. A iizder form vnnd weise, die hiernach durch Vnser Authoritet, mit - vorgemelter bewilligung, dargethon vñ angezeigt wird: Vnd ist Vnser

C 2

meinung, das ein jeder kome zu diesem Heiligen Sacrament, vnd allerseligsten¹ Communion mit gebürlicher Reuerentz vñ Christlicher geschickligkeit, auff das sie durch vnwirdig niessung der hohen Geheimnussen, nicht schuldig seind an dem Leib vnd Blut des Herrn, vnd also essend vnd trincken jnë selber das Gericht, Sonder viel mehr sich selber fleissig probiern, vnd also zu diesem Tisch Christi komen, das sie dieser Heiligen Communion theilhafftig werdë, in Christo bleiben, vnd Christus in jnen. Desgleichen auch mit solcher gehorsam vnd gleichförmigkeit, dis vnser Ordnũg vnnd Göttliche Direction anzunemen, das wir dadurch verursacht werden von zeit zu zeit, desto mehr vns zu befleissigen der Reformation, vnd andere Göttliche Ordnungen zu machë, die fürnemlich der Ehren Gottes, der auffbawung vnserer Vnderthanen, vnd die ware Religion zu befürdern, dienen werden. Vnd solchs (mit Göttlicher hilff) haben wir vns fürgenommen mit höchstem ernst ins Werck zu bringen.

Demnach ist Vnser will vnd meinung, das in mittler zeit alle vnsere lieben Vnderthanen rüwig seien, vnd mit dieser vnser Direction sich zu frieden stellen, als Leut die gern der Oberkeit² volgen (wie denn Vnderthanen schuldig seind zu thun) vnnd nicht freuenlich vorn an zu lauffen, auff das sie durch jre vermessenheit, die ding am allermeist nicht hindern, die sie mehr freuenlich denn Göttlich (durch jren eignen sondern gwalt) fürwenden in der grössesten hitz zu fürdern. Wir wolten vngerne, das vnsere Vnderthanen sollend jnen lassen vnser vrtheil so viel missfallen, oder vnserm eifer so wenig vertrawen, als ob /wir nicht wissten zu vnderscheiden, was zu thun were, Oder [fo. A iii alle ding zu rechter zeit nicht thun wolte. Gott sey lob, wir wissend ja wol, was sich gebürt durch sein Wort zu Reformieren, vnd sind auch ernstlich gesinnet (mit bewilligung vnsers freundlichen lieben Vetters, vnd anderer vnserer innerlichsten Räthen) mit allem fleis vnd gebürlicher eile, solchs also zu fürderen, wie das selbige zur ehr Gottes, auch zur auftbawung vnd fried vnsers Volcks auffs aller meist dienen mag. Wir zweiffeln auch nicht, alle vnsere gehorsame vnd lieben Vnderthanen werden auff solchs in der stille vnd mit ehrerbietung warten.

VIVAT REX.

¹ In the other copy "allerheiligsten."

² In the other copy "Obrikeit."

/DIE ORDNUNG DER HEILIGEN [fo. A iiiz. COMMUNION, BEY

des HERRN Nachtmal.

ZVm Ersten, Der Pfarrherr oder Seelsorger, auff den nechsten Sontag oder Feiertag (oder zum wenigste ein tag dauor eh er die heilige Communion darreicht) sol seine Pfarkinder, oder die da zugegen seind, vermanen vnd warnen, das sie sich darzu schicken, vnd sol jnen diese rede (oder deren gleich) wie hienach volget, offentlich vnd klerlich fürhalten.

Lieben freund, jr in sonderheit, deren Seelsorger vnd Fürsteher ich bin, Auff den N. tag nechst zukünfftigen, hab ich mich1 fürgenomen mit Göttlicher hilff, das aller tröstlichst Sacrament des Leibs vnd Bluts Christi, allen denen die sich Gottseliglich darzu schicken werde, darzureichen, auff das solchs von jnen zur gedechtnus seins allerfruchtbarlichsten vnd herlichen leidens empfangen werde, Durch welchs leiden vnd sterben, wir die verzeihung vnserer sünden erlangt haben, vnd des Himlischen Reichs theilhafftig worden seind, Des werden wir nun gwisz vnnd versichert, so wir zu diesem Sacrament komen mit hertzlichem leid für vnsern missethaten, mit vestem glauben in die barmhertzigkeit Gottes, vnnd mit ernstlichem fürsatz dem willen Gottes gehorsam zu sein, vñ nicht mehr zu sündigen. Darumb seind wir schuldig zu diesen heilige geheimnussen also zu komen, das wir dem Allmechtigen Gott auffs aller hertzlichst dancksage, von [fo. A iv wege seiner vnendlicher barmhertzigkeit vñ wolthaten, die er vns seinen vnwirdigen knechte gegeben vn mitgetheilt hat. Vm dern wille er hat nicht allein seinen Leib in den todt hingegebe, vnd sein Blut vergossen, Sonder im auch lassen gfallen, in einem Sacrament vnd geheimnus, vns denselbigen Leib vnd Blut geistlicher weise, zur speisz vnd tranck zu geben.

Welchs Sacrament, nach dem es so ein götlich vñ heilig ding ist, auch so tröstlich denē die es wirdiglich empfangen, vnd so gfarlich denē die es vermessen vnwirdiglich zu nemē. Darumb bin ich schuldig, euch in mitler zeit zu erinnern, auff das ir die grösz des handels bedencken, ewre eigne gwissen probiern vñ erforschen, vñ solchs auch

¹ In the other copy " mir."

nicht leichtfertiglich, auch nicht wie die, die gleisznerey mit Gott treiben, sonder als die jenigen, die zu dem Allergötlichsten vnnd Himlischen Bancket komen sollen, vnd nicht anders zu komen, dann inn der Hochzeitlicher kleidung, die Gott in der Schrifft erfordert, Auff das jr, so viel in euch ist, zu diesem Tisch zu komen, wirdig erfunden werden. Der weg auch vnd mittel darzu, ist diese.

Zum Ersten, das jhr ware rew vnnd leid tragen von wegen ewers alten bösen lebens, vnd das jr dem Allmechtigen Gott bekennen mit getrawem hertzen, ewre sünd vnd vndanckbarkeit wider seine Maiestat gethon, mit willë, wortë ođ werckë, durch schwacheit ođ vnwissenheit, Vnd das jr mit innerlichë miszfallë vnd schreië ewre sünde beweinë, barmhertzigkeit vnd /gnad von dem Allmechtigen Gott [fo. A ivv begeren, vnnd jm verheissen von grund ewers hertzens ewre vorige leben zu bessern. Vnnd vnder alle andere, ists mir von Gott befohlen, euch in sonderheit zu vermanen vnnd bitten, das jr euch mit ewern Nachbawren versünen wöllen, dem jhr leids gethon, oder der euch beleidiget hat. Vnnd thund aus ewrem hertzen allen neid vnnd hass wider sie, auff das jr liebe habt gegen alle Welt, vnd andern leuten verzeihen, wie jr wolten, das euch Gott verzeihen solt.

Vnd so jemands gewisse vnder euch inn etwan einem ding angefochten vnd vnrüwig ist, on trost vnd rath, der kome zu mir, oder zu einem andern bescheidenen vnd verstendigen Priester, in Göttlichem Gesatz gelerten, vnd dem selbigen bekenne er seine sünde vnd thue seinen mangel auffheimlich, vñ also empfahe solchen geistlichen rath, vnderweisung vnd trost, das seine gewisse ergetzt werde, vnd das er mag von vns, als von dem Diener Gottes vnnd der Kirchen, trost vnd absolution empfangen, dardurch denn sein hertz vernüget, vnd alle aberglaub vnd zweiffelung vermeidet werd. Wer auch an einer gemein bekentnis vernügung hat, den wil ich gebeten haben, sich nicht zu ergern an dem, der zu seiner fürdernus, der Orenbeicht vnd heimlicher bekantnus braucht gegen dem Priester. Widerumb, wer sich lasst duncken, es sey jm von nöten, vnd nicht vnfüglich zum fried seines eignen gewissens, seine sünde in sonderheit dem Priester auffzuthū, der erger sich nicht an dem, der an der vnderthenigen bekantnus gegen Gott, vnd an der ge/meine beicht der Kirchen [fo. B i eine vernügung hat. Sonder in allen solchen dingen, volgen vnd halten die Regel der lieb, vnnd ein jeder an seinem eignen gewissen ein vernügung haben, vnnd anderer leuten hertzen oder wercken nicht zu vrtheilen, Nach dem er darzu keinen gewissen bescheid hat aus Göttlichem Wort.

Die zeit der Communion, sol sein, gleich nach dem der Priester

selbs das Sacrament entpfangen hat, on verenderung anderer Breuchen oder Ceremonien inn der masse (bis man mit ander ordnung versehen werde) Sonder wie der Priester gewontlich bis hieher gethon hat mit dem Sacrament des Leibs, zu bereiten, segnen vnd consecrieren so viel dem Volck dienen will. Also sol es noch bleiben nach der selbigen weise vnd form, ausgnommen das er segnen vnd consecrieren sol den grössesten Kelch, oder ein schön vnd geschickt Trinckgeschir, oder mehr deñ ein voll Weins, mit etwas Wassers darzu gethon. Vnnd an dem tag sol er selb nicht alles austrincken, sonder einen drunck allein nemen, vnd das vberig auff dem Altar lassen stehn gedeckt,¹ vnd also sich wenden zu denen die geschicket seind der Communion zu geniessen, vnd in volgender weise sol er sie vermanen, vnd sagen.

Jr geliebten im HERRN, dieweil jr komend zu dieser heiligen Communion, so müssen jr bedencken, was der heilig Paulus an die Corinther schreibt, wie er alle Menschen fleissig² vermanet, sich selbs zu prüfen vnnd erinneren, eh sie sich vermessen von diesem Brot zu essen, vnd von diesem Trinckgeschir zu trincken. Denn wie die wolthat gros ist, so wir mit waren rewigen hertzē vnd lebendigen glaubē dis heilig Sacrament entpfangen (denn also essend wir Geistlich /das [fo. B iz Fleisch Christi, vnd trincken sein Blut, ja wir bleiben inn Christo, vnnd Christus in vns, wir seind eins worden mit Christo, vnnd Christus mit vns) Also ist die gefarligkeit gros, so wir solchs vnwirdiglich entpfangen. Denn mit der weise werden wir schuldig an dem Leib vnd Blut Christi vnsers Heilands, ja wir essend vnd trinckend vnser eigne verdamnus, darum das wir nicht vnderscheidē den Leib des HERRN, Wir zündě den zorn Gottes an vber vns, wir reitzen jn, vns zu plagen mit vielerley siechtagen vnd tödtlichen kranckheiten.

Darumb lieben Brüder, richtend euch selber, auff das jhr von dem HERRN nicht gerichtet werden, lasst ewre gemüt sein on begirde zu sündigen, Habt ware rew vnd leid von wegen ewer sünden die vergangen seind, Habt einen ernsthafften vnnd lebendigen glauben in Christum vnsern heiland, Seit volkomen in der lieb gegen jederman, also werde jr gschickt sein dieser heiligen geheimnussen zu geniessen. Vor allen dingen aber müssen jr gantz vndertheniglich vñ hertzlich danck sagen, Gott dem Vater, dem Son, vnnd dem heiligen Geist, von wege der erlösung der Welt, durch den todt vñ leiden vnsers Heilands Christi, der war³ Gott vnd Mensch ist, vñ sich selbs ernidrigt hat bisz zum todt am Creutz für vns armen sündern, vnd ist in finsternis vñ schatten des tods gelegen, auff das er vns zu kindern macht, vnd zum

¹ In the other copy "zugedeckt." ² The other copy omits "fleissig."

³ In the other copy "warer."

APPENDIX 11.

ewigen leben erhöhet. Vnd auff das wir allwege eingedenck sein sollend der vberschwencklichen lieb vnsers einigen Heilands vnd Meisters Ihesu Christi, der vnns solchs gethon /hat, Vnd das wir auch [fo. B ii nicht vergessen solled der vnzeligen wolthaten, die er vns durch sein Blutuergiessung erworbe hat, Darumb (zum vnderpfand seiner lieb, vnd zu ewiger gedechtnus derselbige) hat er vns in diesen heiligen geheimnussen, sein eignen heiligen Leib vnnd theures Blut gelassen, dadurch wir geistlich gespeiset, vnd endlichen ergetzt vnd getröstet werden sollen. Dem nun mit dem Vater vnd dem heiligen Geist, lasst vns, wie wir ja schuldig seind, ewig danck sagen, vns selber auch seinem heiligen willen vnd gefallen vnderwerffen, vnd vns befleissigen, jm in warer heiligkeit vnd gerechtigkeit alle tag vnsers lebens zu dienen, Amen.

Hie sol der Priester sagen, denen, die bereidt seind das Sacrament zu entpfangen.

Ist jemand hie ein offentlicher Gotslesterer, Ehebrecher, in neid oder hass, oder andern schandlichen lastern, vñ tregt des nicht ware rew vnd leid, ist auch nicht ernstlich gsynnet solche laster vnd schand zu lassen, Oder so er nicht vertrawet das er dem Allmechtigen Gott versünet sey, oder ist nicht in der lieb gegen alle Welt, Der selbig beweine seine sünd noch ein weil vñ kome nicht zu diesem heiligen Tisch, auff das nach entpfahung dieses aller heiligsten Brods, der Teuffel fare nicht in jm, wie inn Iudas, alle vngerechtigkeit in jm zu erfüllen, vnd in die verderbnus beid leib vnd seel zu bringen.

Da sol der Priester ein klein weil still haltë, zu sehë ob sich jemand eussern will. Vñ so er solchs erfart, sol er mit jm redë in das verborgë zu glegner zeit, vñ versuchë ob er jn /mit guter vermanung [fo. B iiv zur besserung bringen. Vnd nach dë der Priester ein wenig still gehaltë hat sol er also sagë.

Jr die jr in der warheit vnd mit ernst, rew vnd leid tragen vber ewre sünde vnd missethaten, gegen dem Allmechtigen Gott begangen, vnnd die jr in der lieb seind gegen ewren Nachbauren, habend auch einen fürsatz, ein new leben zu füren, den gebotten Gottes hertzlich zu volgen, vnd hinfurt in seinen heiligen wegen zu wandlen. Machet euch herzu, vnnd empfahet dis heilig Sacrament zu ewrem trost. Bekennet ewre sünde vndertheniglich dem Allmechtigen Gott, vnd seiner heiligen Gmeind hie in seinem Namen versamlet, vnd knewet demütiglich auff ewren knewen.

Da sol ein gmeine Beicht gmacht werden, im namen aller deren, die sich fürgenommen haben die heilige Communion zu empfahen, entweders durch dere oder der dienern einen, oder durch den Priester selbs, Vnd sollen alle demütiglich auff jre knew fallen. Allmechtiger Gott, ein Vater vnsers Herrn Ihesu Christi, ein Schöpffer aller dingen, ein Richter aller Menschen, Wir bekennen vnnd beweinen vnsere manigfaltige sünden vnd boszheiten, die wir für vnd für wider deine Götliche Maiestat auffs aller schwerest begangen haben, in gedancken, worten vnd wercken, dadurch wir denn haben deinen zorn vnd vngenad¹ wider vns selber billich angereitzt. Es rewet vns mit ernst, ja es ist vnns von hertzen leid, das wir also miszgehandelt haben. Die gedechtnus vnserer sündē ist vns beschwerlich, jr last ist vntreglichen. Erbarme dich vnser, erbarme dich vnser, aller gnedigster Va/ter, vmb deines Sons vnsers HErrn Ihesu Christi willen. [fo. B iii Verzeihe vns alles das vergangē ist, vnd verleihe, das wir hinfort dir allwegen dienen vnd wolgefallen mögen in einem newen leben, zur ehren vnd herligkeit deines Namens, durch Ihesum Christum vnsern Herrn.

Da sol der Priester auffstehn, sich zum Volck wenden, vnd also sagen.

Vnser lieber Herr, der seiner Kirchen den gewalt gelassen hat, die busfertigen jrer sünden zu erledigē,² vnd zu der gnad des Himlischen Vaters die wider zu bringen, die da warlich in Christum glaubē, Erbarme sich ewer, verzeihe vnnd erlöse euch von allen sünden, stercke vnd krefftige euch in aller Gottseligkeit, vnd bring euch in das ewig leben.

Da sol der Priester auffstehn, sich zũ Volck wenden, vnd also sagen, Höret wie tröstliche wort redet Christus vnser Heiland, allen denen, die sich warhafftiglich zu jm bekeren.

Kompt her zu mir, alle die jr mühselig vnnd beladen seit, vnd ich wil euch erquicken. Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet, das er seinen eingebornen Son gab, auff das alle die an jhn glauben, nicht verloren werden, sonder das ewig leben haben.

Höret auch was S. Paulus sagt.

Das ist je gewiszlich war, vnnd ein thewr werdes wort, das Christus Ihesus komen ist in die Welt, die sünder selig zu machen.

Hörend auch was S. Joannes sagt.

Ob jemand sündiget, so haben wir einen fürspre/chen³ [fo. B iii*v* bey Gott, Ihesum Christum den gerechten, vnd der selbig ist die versünung für vnser sünd.

Da sol der Priester auff seinen knewen, im namen aller deren, die die heilige Communion empfangen werden, diese nachfolgende gebet ausreden.

¹ In the other copy "vngnade."

² In the other copy "entledigen."

³ In the other copy "Fursprecher."

O barmhertziger Herr, wir vermessen vnns nicht zu diesem deinem Tisch zu komen, aus vertrawe auff vnser eigner gerechtigkeit, sonder in deinen manigfaltigen vnd grossen barmhertzigkeite, Wir seind nicht wirdig die Brosamlin vnder deinem Tisch zu samle, Du aber HERR bist der selbig, des eigenschafft ist allwegen sich zu erbarmen. Verleihe vns darumb O gnediger HERR, das Fleisch deins geliebten Sons Ihesu Christi also zu esse, vn sein Blut in diesen heilige Geheimnussen also zu trincke, das wir für vnd für in jm bleibe, vnd er¹ in vns, auff das vnser sündlicher leib durch seine Leib gereinigt, vnd vnser seele durch sein theurest Blut gewaschen werde, Amen.

Da sol der Priester (dieweil das Volck noch demütiglich auff jhren knewen sitzt) die Communion darreichen, erstlich den Dienern, so etliche da zugegen seind, auff das sie gefördert werden, andern zu helffen,² Darnach sol ers den andern austheilen. Vnd inn dem er das Sacrament des leibs Christi darreichet, sol er einen jeden mit diesen worten ansprechen.

Der Leib vnsers HERREN Ihesu Christi der für dich hingegeben was, erhalte deinen leib inn das ewig leben.

Der Priester auch so er das Sacrament des Bluts darreichet, vnd einem jeden nur ein mal vnd nicht öffter zu trincken gibt, sol also sagen.

/Das Blut vnsers HERRN Ihesu Christi, das für dich [fo. B iv vergossen ist worden, erhalte dein seel in das ewig leben.

Ist aber ein Diacon oder ander Priester vorhanden, so sol er mit dem Kelch volgen, Vnd wie der Priester das Brot austheilet, also sol er in der voriger³ weise (die sach desto bas auszufüren) den Wein auch darreichen.

Darnach sol sich der Priester zum Volck wende, vnd sie hingehn lassen mit diesem segen.

Der fried Gottes, welcher allen synne vberschwebet, erhalte ewre hertzen vnnd gmüter⁴ in der erkantnus vnd lieb Gottes, vnd seines Sons Ihesu Christi vnsers HERRN.

Dem sol das Volck antworten,

A M E N.

Das Consecriert Brod sol sein, wie bisher gewonlich ist worden, vnd ein jeglichs vnder den gedachten Brodē, sol inn zwey stuck zum wenigesten getheilet werden, oder mehr, nach bescheidenheit des Dieners, vnnd also dargereicht. Man sol auch nicht meinen, das

¹ The other copy omits "er." ³ In the other copy "vorigen." ² Apparently reading "to help the rest."
⁴ In the other copy "gemüte."

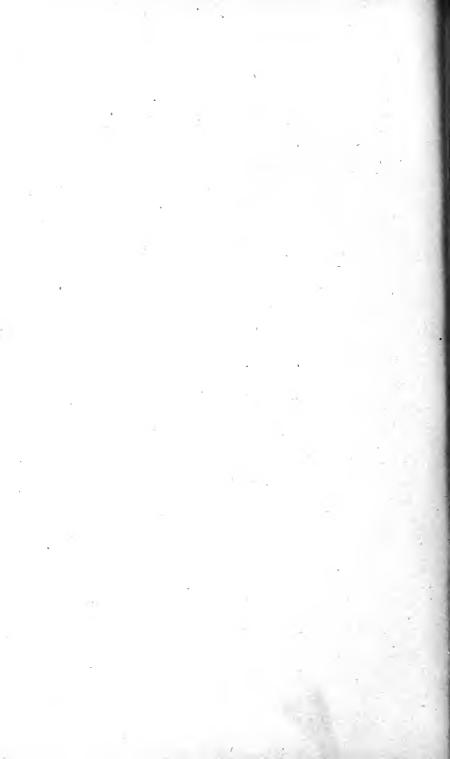
26

weniger entpfangen wird in einem stuck, deñ in dem gantzen Brod, sonder in jrer jetlichê¹ der gätz leib vnsers Heiläds Ihesu Christi.

Begibt es sich also, das der gesegnet vnd Consecriert Wein, nicht genugsam ist denen die die Communion entpfangen, so mag der Priester, nach dem das erst Trinckgschir oder Kelch lehr wird, zum Altar widerumb gehn, vnd mit reuerentz vnd andacht ein ander Trinckgeschir, vnd also das dritte vnd mehr desgleichen bereite vñ Consecrieren, vnd an diesen worten anfahen, Simili modo postquam cænatum est, vnd mit den worten enden, qui pro uobis & pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum, Vnnd das on alle leuacion oder auffhebung.

Ende.

¹ In the other copy "jeglich."



APPENDIX III.

THE MASS OF EASTER DAY, 1548.

THE Order of the Communion, which was to be used for the first time on Easter Day, 1548, was to be combined with the Latin Mass: beyond its insertion, there was to be no "varying of any other rite or ceremony in the mass." It seems to be worth while to show what the Easter service resulting from this combination would have been, in those churches which followed the use of Sarum, by setting out at length the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, inserting the *propria* of the day, and the portions of the Order of the Communion which would be employed,¹ and omitting such parts of the contents of the Ordinarium Missae as are not applicable to the Easter Mass,² and by taking account of such "varying" as had already begun before the date at which the Order of the Communion was issued, and as may be regarded as certain or likely to have found place, at least in some churches, in the service of the day.³

The changes which had already been introduced were due partly to the Injunctions issued in the summer of 1547, partly to the action of the Visitors appointed in the same year, and partly to the tendency to liturgical experiment. The Injunctions had directed that the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass should for the future be read "in English and not in Latin"; the Visitors had in some places enjoined the total

¹ The exhortation which stands first in the *Order* would, of course, not be used on Easter Day, except with reference to some future day; it would have been read, for the purpose of the Easter Mass, on some day in the week preceding.

² The text of the *Ordo Missae* and Canon are taken from the breviary printed by Whitchurche in 1541, as approximating to the time at which the *Order of the Communion* was issued. The *Ordo Missae* is (as in the parallel section of early breviaries) somewhat abridged from the *Ordinarium* contained in the Missal; but its variations, except that affecting the special mention of the Pope in the Canon, are of no special significance. The matters which are omitted in it, but included in the rubrics of the Missal, are indicated in the footnotes. The *propria* are of course taken from the Missal. In spelling and punctuation the standard of the sixteenth century books is not followed.

³ An attempt to exhibit the character of the service in the period during which the Order of the Communion was in use has been made by the late Mr. W. J. Blew (*The second year of the reign of King Edward VI.* 1877). But Mr. Blew's method differs in some respects from that which is followed here, and his purpose seems to have been polemical rather than historical.

APPENDIX III.

disuse of Sequences; and the practice of singing certain parts of the Mass in English had already been introduced, apparently without any definite authorisation at all. Thus in the Mass of the Holy Ghost, before the opening of Parliament on November 4th, 1547, the Gloria in excelsis, Creed, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei "were all songen in English." What the English forms thus employed may have been, we may see from a set of manuscripts now in the Bodleian Library, which contain a musical setting of these portions of the Mass, with English words, evidently of a date earlier than that at which the Prayer-Book of 1549 was set forth, since the versions differ from those contained in that book.² The text of the English forms given in the notes which follow is taken (with modernisation of spelling and punctuation) from the first volume of this set. For the Epistle and Gospel, it has seemed best to follow (with like modifications) the version of the liturgical Epistles and Gospels issued in the time of Henry VIII., since it follows the text of the Missal where that is modified, for liturgical purposes, from the ordinary Vulgate text, and is therefore perhaps more likely to have been used than the version of the Great Bible.³

It must be borne in mind, that the rubrics of the Sarum Ordinary contemplate throughout the presence and assistance of a number of ministers greater than that which would be available in most parish churches. In many cases, probably, the priest would be assisted by persons acting as Deacon and Subdeacon: but in many his only assistant would be the Clerk. In some cases the Clerk would be a person in Holy Orders; in others he would not: and the nature and extent of his assistance in the service would depend on his position in this respect.

PRAEPARATIO AD MISSAM.

Sacerdos volens accedere ad altare induat se sacris vestibus dicens, Veni, creator Spiritus, Mentes tuorum visita, etc.

N. Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.

¹ Wriothesley's Chronicle, vol. i, p. 187 (Camden Society, 1875).

² On these MSS. (Mus. Sch. E. 420-422), see a paper by the Rev. W. H. Frere in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. i, pp. 233-5.

³ The copy of the version of the Epistles and Gospels of which use has been made is one in the Bodleian Library, bound up as an appendix to the King's Primer printed by T. Petyt in 1543. The differences of rendering in the Great Bible of 1541 are shown in the footnotes. It is assumed that the direction of the King's Injunction, which certainly seems to forbid the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in Latin, was followed literally. But it is possible that in some cases both languages were used, as they were in the coronation mass of Queen Elizabeth. R. Et renovabis faciem terrae.

Oratio. Deus cui omne cor patet, omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum : purifica per infusionem sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri, ut te perfecte diligere et digne laudare mereamur. Per Christum.

Deinde sequatur antiphona Introibo ad altare Dei. Ps. Iudica me Deus, et discerne. Totus psalmus dicitur cum Gloria. Deinde dicitur antiphona. Introibo ad altare Dei ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne. Sed libera.

Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus : quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.

Confiteor Deo, beatae Mariae, omnibus sanctis, et vobis, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa : precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos, et vos, orare pro me.

Ministri respondeant, Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra : liberet vos ab omni malo; conservet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat aeternam. *Sacerdos*, Amen.

Et postea dicitur Confiteor, quo dicto dicat sacerdos Misereatur, ut supra. Deinde dicat sacerdos, Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium verae poenitentiae et emendationem vitae, gratiam et consolationem sancti Spiritus tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus.

Ministri respondeant, Amen.

Deinde dicat sacerdos \mathcal{V} . Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. Qui fecit [caelum et terram]. Sit nomen [Domini benedictum]. Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.

Oremus. Aufer a nobis, Domine, quaesumus, omnes iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mentibus mereamur introire. Per Christum. *Tunc se erigat sacerdos, et osculetur altare, et hoc in medio : et signet se in facie sua, dicens.* In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Deinde incipiat officium, usque Gloria in excelsis Deo.¹

¹ The more extended rubrics of the Missal provide for the beginning of the *Officium* by the rulers of the choir during the preparation of the priest; for the entry of the priest and ministers at the beginning of the *Gloria Patri*: for the saying of *Confiteor*, *Misereatur*, and *Absolutionem* at the altar step; for the kiss given by the priest to the deacon and subdeacon before he goes to the altar; for the saying of *Aufer a nobis* at the midst of the altar; for the censing of the altar by the priest, and of the priest by the deacon, and for the bringing of the book of the Gospels by the subdeacon for the priest to kiss. Thereafter the priest, at the

APPENDIX III.

AD MISSAM.

Officium. Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia : posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia : mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia.

Psalmus. Domine probasti me et cognovisti me : tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam. Gloria Patri.

Kyrie eleison (ter). Christe eleison (ter). Kyrie eleison (ter).

Gloria in excelsis Deo.¹ Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam, Domine Deus, rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite, Iesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Iesu Christe, cum sancto Spiritu, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

Oratio. Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti : vota nostra quae praeveniendo aspiras etiam adiuvando prosequere. Per eundem.

Lectio epistolae beati Pauli apostoli ad Corinthios.²

Brethren, purge the old leaven,³ that ye may be new dough, as ye are sweet bread. For Christ our Easter lamb⁴ is offered up for us. There-

right-hand corner of the altar, says the *Officium*, Psalm, *Gloria Patri*, and *Kyrie* (which have in the meantime been sung by the choir), and then begins the *Gloria in excelsis* at the midst of the altar, continuing it with his *ministri* at the right-hand corner. This order would be observed in the greater churches.

¹ The English form begins with the first words which would be sung by the choir. Probably, even where it was used, the priest would begin the *Gloria in excelsis* in Latin, and continue his own recitation of it in the same tongue. The English version is as follows : And peace on earth, and unto men a good will. We praise thee, we magnify thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks unto thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly king, God the Father omnipotent. O Lord the only begotten Son, Jesu Christ, O Lord God, the Lamb of God, the Son of the Father, which takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Which takest away the sins of the world, precive our supplications. Which sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy upon us. For thou only art holy, thou only art highest, Jesu Christ, with the Holy Ghost, unto the glory of God the Father. Amen.

² The sources of the Epistle and Gospel were probably announced in English.

³ In the Great Bible, the mark indicating the beginning of a liturgical epistle is placed before the words "Purge therefore the old leaven."

4 G.B., "Christ our passover."

fore let us keep holy day, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of maliciousness and wickedness, but with that¹ sweet bread of pureness and truth.

Gradale. Haec dies quam fecit Dominus : exsultemus et laetemur in ea. \mathcal{N} . Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus : quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.

Alleluia. N. Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.

Sequentia. Fulgens praeclara rutilat per orbem etc.²

Evangelium : secundum Marcum.³

⁴Mary Magdalene and Mary Iacobi⁵ and Salome bought odours⁶ that they might come and anoint Iesus.⁷ And early in the morning the next day after the Sabbath day,⁸ they came unto the sepulchre, when the sun was risen : and they said one to another,⁹ Who shall roll us away the stone from that door¹⁰ of the sepulchre. And when they looked, they saw how¹¹ the stone was rolled away, for it was a very great one. And they went into the sepulchre, and saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and they were abashed.¹² And he said unto them, Be not afraid ; ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified : he is risen ; he is not here ; behold the place where they put him. But go your way, and tell his disciples, and namely Peter, he will go¹³ before you into Galilee : there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.

¹ G.B., "the."

² The omission of all sequences had been enjoined in 1547, by the Commissions of Visitors, at Canterbury (Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 56, ed. 1890), and at Winchester (*Documents relating to the Foundation of the Chapter of Winchester*, ed. by G. W. Kitchin and F. T. Madge, p. 180). Probably the omission was not limited to these cathedral churches.

³ The Injunctions for Lincoln Cathedral, issued in April, 1548 (Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, part ii, p. 594), direct that the deacon is to say, before the Gospel, "This Gospel is after the Evangelist " naming the chapter; the choir is to answer "Glory be to God for it." After the Gospel, the deacon is to say "Thanks be to God, and God save the King." Possibly this usage may have already been adopted in some churches before the issue of the Order of the Communion.

⁴ In the Great Bible, the mark which indicates the beginning of a liturgical gospel is placed at the beginning of the chapter so as to include the words, "And when the Sabbath was past."

- ⁵ G.B., "Iacob."
- 7 G.B., "anoint Him."
- ⁹ G.B., "said among themselves."
- ¹¹ G.B., " how that."
- ¹³ G.B., "and Peter, that he goeth." ORDER COM.
- ⁶ G.B., "sweet odours."
- ⁸ G.B., "the first day of the sabbath."
- ¹⁰ G.B., "the door."
- 12 G.B., "afrayed."

33

[Symbolum Nicaenum.]

¹Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula : Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis, et incarnatus est de Spiritu sancto ex 'Maria virgine, et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. prophetas. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

Postea sequatur, Dominus vobiscum, [R. Et cum spiritu tuo.] et Oremus. Deinde dicitur offertorium.

Offertorium. Terra tremuit et quievit dum resurgeret in iudicio Deus: alleluia.

[Post offertorium vero porrigat diaconus sacerdoti calicem cum patena et sacrificio, et osculetur manum eius utraque vice.] Ipse vero accipiens calicem diligenter ponat in loco suo debito super medium altaris : et inclinato parumper elevet calicem utraque manu, offerens sacrificium Domino, dicendo hanc orationem.

Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator offero in honore tuo, beatae Mariae, et omnium sanctorum, pro peccatis et offensionibus meis, pro salute vivorum, et requie omnium fidelium defunctorum. In nomine Patris [et Filii et Spiritus sancti.] Acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo hoc sacrificium novum.

¹ The Nicene creed not being available in any authorised English translation, it would seem that, where the creed was sung in English by the choir, the Apostles' creed according to the version printed in the Primer of Henry VIII. was substituted for it. The priest, in such cases, probably sang the first words of the Nicene creed in Latin, and continued to recite it, while the choir sang: The Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth : and in Jesu Christ, his only Son, our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary ; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, buried, and descended into hell ; and the third day he rose again from death ; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty : from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

Dicta oratione reponat calicem et cooperiat cum corporalibus, ponatque panem super corporalia decenter ante calicem vinum et aquam continentem, et osculetur patenam et reponat eam a dextris super altare, sub corporalibus panem cooperiens.¹ His itaque peractis eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris et abluat manus dicens,

Munda me, Domine, ab omni inquinamento mentis et corporis, ut possim mundus implere opus sanctum Domini.

Ablutis manibus sacerdos revertat se ad altare ad divinum officium exsequendum. Deinde revertat se, et stans ante altare, inclinatoque capite et corpore, iunctis manibus dicat.

Oratio. In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur, Domine, a te : et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo, ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi, Domine Deus.

Et erigens se, deosculetur altare a dextris sacrificii, et dans benedictionem ultra sacrificium, postea signet se dicens, In nomine Patris etc.

Deinde vertat se sacerdos ad populum : et tacita voce dicat, Orate pro me, fratres et sorores, ut meum pariterque vestrum acceptum sit Domino Deo sacrificium.

Responsio clerici privatim. Spiritus sancti gratia illuminet cor tuum et labia tua : et accipiat Dominus digne hoc sacrificium laudis de manibus tuis pro peccatis et offensionibus nostris.

Et reversus ad altare sacerdos dicatOremus.

Secreta. Suscipe, quaesumus, Domine, preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiatae mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medelam te operante proficiant. Per Dominum.

Quibus finitis, dicat sacerdos aperta voce, Per omnia saecula saeculorum, manibus non lev ttis donec dicitur Sursum corda.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et iustum est.

Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et u'bique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus. Et te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac die gloriosius praedicare, cum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi, qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum

¹ The rubrics of the Missal provide for the censing of the oblations by the priest, of the priest by the deacon, and of the choir by an acolyte.

35

thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes.

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua : osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domine : osanna in excelsis.¹

Deinde confestim manibus iunctis et oculis elevatis incipiat Te igitur clementissime Pater, corpore inclinato donec dixerit ac petimus.

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Iesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus Hic erigens se sacerdos osculetur altare a dextris sacrificii dicens uti accepta habeas et benedicas Hic faciat sacerdos tres cruces super calicem dicendo haec + dona, haec 🕂 munera, haec 🕂 sancta sacrificia illibata. Factis signaculis super calicem elevet manus suas ita dicens. Inprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famulo tuo N.º et antistite nostro N., id est proprio episcopo tantum,³ et rege nostro N., et dicuntur nominatim. Sequatur, et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus. Hic oret pro vivis. Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumadstantium; quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio : pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae tibique reddunt vota sua aeterno Deo vivo et vero. Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum carnem. Sed et memoriam venerantes inprimis gloriosae semper virginis inclinando parumper dicat Mariae genitricis eiusdem Dei et Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri. Pauli, Andreae, Iacobi, Ioannis, Thomae, Iacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Sixti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Ioannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¹ The English version, in the MS. already cited, is as follows : Holy, holy, holy, Holy, holy, o Lord God of hosts. Heaven and earth are replenished with thy glory. Osanna in the highest. Osanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Osanna in the highest. Osanna in the highest.

² So in the Breviary of 1541. If this is not due to a printer's error, it would seem that though the Pope's title, "papa nostro," was omitted, he was still mentioned by name.

³ This rubric does not, of course, exclude the previous mention of the Pope. It occurs in the earlier Sarum books no less than in those which omit the Pope's title.

Hic respiciat sacerdos hostiam cum magna veneratione, dicens, Hanc oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias : diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Hic iterum respiciat hostiam, dicens. Quam oblationem tu Deus omnipotens in omnibus quaesumus Hic faciat tres cruces super utraque, cum dicat bennedictam, ascrifptam, raftam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Hic faciat crucem super panem, dicens Cor+pus Hic super calicem et San+guis Iunctisque manibus, dicens fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Hic erigat sacerdos manus et coniungat, postea tergat digitos et elevet hostiam dicens Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in caelum Hic elevet oculos suos ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem Hic inclinet se, et postea elevet paululum, dicens tibi gratias agens be # nedixit, fregit Hic tangat hostiam, dicens deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. Et debent ista verba proferri cum uno spiritu, et sub una prolatione, nulla pausatione interposita. Post haec verba inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam, et postea elevet eam supra frontem, ut possit a populo videri; et reverenter illud reponat ante calicem in modum crucis per eandem factae. Et tunc discooperiat calicem et teneat inter manus suas, non disiungendo pollicem ab indice, nisi dum facit benedictiones tantum, ita dicens. Simili modo posteaguam caenatum est, accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi Hic inclinet se, dicens, gratias agens, bene + dixit, deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic elevet sacerdos parumper calicem, ita dicens. Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et aeterni testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hic elevet calicem usque ad pectus vel ultra caput, dicens, Haec quotienscumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis. Hic reponat calicem et fricet digitos suos ultra calicem propter micas, et cooperiat calicem. Deinde elevet brachia sua in modum crucis, iunctis digitis, usque ad haec verba, de tuis donis.

Unde et memores Domine nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, eiusdem Christi Filii tui, Domini Dei nostri, tam beatae passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis, offerimus praeclarae maiestati tuae de tuis donis ac datis *Hic quinque cruces fiant :* sed tres pr.mae cruces super hostiam et calicem, dicendo, hostiam pu #ram,

APPENDIX III.

hostiam san + ctam, hostiam immacu + latam, quarta super panem tantum dicendo pa + nem sanctum vitae aeternae, quinta super calicem, dicendo, et ca + licem salutis perpetuae. Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech, sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. Hic sacerdos corpore inclinato et cancellatis manibus dicat, Supplices te rogamus usque ad haec verba, ex hac altaris participatione : et tunc erigat se deosculans altare a dextris sacrificii, et faciat signum crucis super hostiam et calicem, et in facie sua, cum dicit omni benedictione caelesti.

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae : ut quotquot *Hic erigens se osculetur altare a dextris sacrificii, dicens*, ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui *Hic faciet signum crucis super hostiam, dicens,* cor \pm pus *deinde super calicem, dicens,* et san \pm guinem sumpserimus, omni *Hic signet se in faciem, dicens,* be \pm nedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

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

Hic percutiat pectus suum semel, dicens, Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus, cum Ioanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Caecilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis : intra quorum nos consortium non aestimator meriti, sed veniae, quaesumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum. Non dicitur Amen. Per quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas Hic ter signet calicem, dicens sancti & ficas, vivi & ficas, bene & dicis et praestas nobis, Hic discooperiat calicem, et faciat signaculum crucis cum hostia quinquies, primo ultra calicem ex utraque parte illius calicis, secundo calici aequale, tertio infra calicem, quarto sicut primo, quinto ante calicem per ip+sum et cum ip 4 so, et in ip 4 so est tibi Deo Patri omnipo 4 tenti in unitate Spiritus +sancti omnis honor et gloria, Hic cooperiat sacerdos calicem et teneat manus suas super altare usque dum dicitur Pater noster, ita dicens Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere *Hic accipiat diaconus patenam, eamque a dextris* sacerdotis extento brachio in altum usque Da propitius discoopertam teneat. Hic elevet sacerdos manus, dicens.

Pater noster qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra. sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Chorus dicat Sed libera nos a malo. Sacerdos privatim Amen. Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris, et intercedente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genitrice Maria, et beatis apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea cum omnibus sanctis Hic committat diaconus patenam sacerdoti, deosculans manum eius, et sacerdos deosculetur patenam ; postea ponat ad sinistrum oculum, deinde ad dextrum ; postea faciat crucem cum patena ultra caput : et tunc reponat eam in locum suum, dicens, Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adiuti et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi, Hic discooperiat calicem, et sumat corpus cum inclinatione, transponens in concavitate calicis, retinendo inter pollices et indices, et frangat in tres partes. Prima fractio dum dicitur Per eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, secunda fractio, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, Hic teneat duas fracturas in sinistra manu et tertiam fracturam dextera manu in summitate calicis, ita dicens aperta voce Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Chorus respondeat, Amen. Hic faciat tres cruces intra calicem cum tertia parte hostiae, dicendo, Pax Domini & sit sem + per vo + biscum. Chorus, Et cum spiritu tuo.

Ad Agnus Dei dicendum accedant diaconus et subdiaconus ad sacerdotem, uterque a dextris, diaconus propior, subdiaconus remotior, et dicant privatim. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi dona nobis pacem.¹ Hic cruce signando deponat dictam tertiam partem hostiae in sacramentum sanguinis, sic dicendo.

Haec sacro sancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam aeternam promerendam et capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¹ The English version of *Agnus Dei*, as it appears in the MS. already cited, is as follows: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, Grant us thy peace, grant us thy peace, grant us thy peace. Antequam pax detur, dicat sacerdos.

Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeterne Deus, da mihi hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi ita digne sumere ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere, et tuo sancto Spiritu repleri, et pacem tuam habere : quia tu es Deus solus, et praeter te non est alius, cuius regnum et imperium gloriosum sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Hic osculetur sacerdos corporalia in dextra parte, et summitatem calicis, et postea diaconum, dicens, Pax tibi et ecclesiae Dei. Responsio. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Diaconus a dextris sacerdotis ab eo pacem recipiat, et subdiacono porrigat. Deinde ad gradum chori ipse diaconus pacem portet rectoribus chori, et ipsi pacem choro portent, uterque suae parti, incipiens a maioribus.¹ Post pacem datam, dicat sacerdos orationes sequentes priuatim, antequam se communicat, tenendo hostiam duabus manibus.

Deus Pater, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui ductus misericordia unigenitum tuum pro nobis ad infima mundi descendere et carnem sumere voluisti, quem ego indignus hic in manibus meis teneo, *Hic inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam, dicens*, te adoro, te glorifico, et tota mentis ac cordis intentione laudo, et precor, ut nos famulos tuos non deseras, sed peccata nostra dimittas, quatenus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo puro corde et casto corpore servire valeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Domine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris cooperante Spiritu sancto per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me, quaeso, per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et hunc sanguinem tuum, a cunctis iniquitatibus meis et ab universis malis; et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis, et a te nunquam in perpetuum separari permittas, salvator mundi, qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine Iesu Christe, sacramentum, quod

¹ In parish churches it was commonly the duty of the clerk to "bring down the pax." The injunctions given to the clergy and laity of the Deanery of Doncaster by the King's Visitors, which perhaps belong to the year 1547 or 1548, direct that he shall say, "standing without the church door." "This is a token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and man's conscience. Christ alone is the peace-maker, which straitly commands peace between brother and brother." See *The Clerk's Book of* 1549 (H.B.S., vol. xxv), pp. xxxv, 94. The term "church door" may, as there suggested, be a misreading for "choir door." But in any case it indicates not the outer door of the church but that in the screen, by which the clerk, coming from the choir, would enter the body of the church.

licet indignus accipio, non sit mihi iudicio et condemnationi, sed tua prosit pietate corporis mei et animae saluti. Amen.

Ad corpus dicat cum humiliatione antequam percipiat.

Ave in aeternum sanctissima caro Christi, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi sit mihi peccatori via et vita. In nomine \mp Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Hic sumat corpus, cruce prius facta cum ipso corpore ante os. Deinde ad sanguinem cum magna devotione dicat.

Ave in aeternum caelestis potus, mihi ante omnia et super omnia summa dulcedo. Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi prosint mihi peccatori ad remedium sempiternum in vitam aeternam. Amen. In nomine & Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Hic sumat sanguinem, quo sumpto inclinet se sacerdos, et dicat orationem.¹

Gratias tibi ago, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore et sanguine Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi: et precor ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostrae quod sumpsi indignus peccator non veniat mihi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem pro meritis meis, sed ad profectum corporis mei et animae salutem in vitam aeternam. Amen.

Immediately after the priest himself hath received the Sacrament ... he shall ... leave the rest upon the altar covered, and turn to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion, and shall thus exhort them as followeth.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to this holy Communion must consider what Saint Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, or ever they presume to eat of this bread or drink of this cup; for as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart, and lively faith, we receive this holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, we be made one with Christ, and Christ with us), so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we become guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation (because we make no difference of the Lord's body), we kindle God's wrath over us, we provoke him to plague us with diverse diseases, and sundry kinds of death. Judge therefore yourselves,

¹ The prayer which follows, being closely connected with the priest's own reception of the Sacrament, was probably not intended by the framers of the *Order* of the Communion to be deferred till after the communion of the people.

brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord: let your mind be without desire of sin: repent you truly for your sins past: have an earnest and lively faith in Christ our Saviour : be in perfect charity with all men: so shall ye be meet partakers of these holy mysteries. But above all things you must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and Man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross for us miserable sinners, lying in darkness and the shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus doing for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious bloodshedding he hath obtained to us, he hath left in these holy mysteries, as a pledge of his love, and a continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed body and precious blood, for us spiritually to feed upon, to our endless comfort and consolation. To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, let us give, as we are most bounden, continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. Amen.

Then shall the priest say to them which be ready to take the Sacrament:

If any man here be an open blasphemer, an adulterer, in malice, or envy, or any other notable crime, and be not truly sorry therefore, and earnestly minded to leave the same vices, or that doth not trust himself to be reconciled to Almighty God, and in charity with all the world, let him yet a while bewail his sins and not come to this holy table, lest, after the taking of this most blessed bread, the devil enter into him, as he did into Judas, to fulfil in him all iniquity, and to bring him to destruction both of body and soul.

Here the priest shall pause a while, to see if any man will withdraw himself . . . and after a little pause, the priest shall say :

You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins and offences committed to almighty God, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, and heartily to follow the commandments of God, and to walk from henceforth in his holy ways, draw near, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to his holy Church, here gathered together in his name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

Then shall a general confession be made in the name of all those that

are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us : we do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry, for these our misdoings : the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burthen of them is intolerable ; have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake : forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Then shall the priest stand up, and turning him to the people, say thus.

Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his Church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life.

Then shall the priest stand up, and turning him toward the people,¹ say thus.

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

Come unto me all that travail and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you. So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced and received, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.

Hear also what Saint John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, he it is that obtained grace for our sins.

Then shall the priest kneel down, and say in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion, this prayer following.

We do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies :

¹ So in the *Order of the Communion*: but the words "stand people" are superfluous, being repeated from the preceding rulric.

we be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table : but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always, to have mercy : grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood in these holy mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood. Amen.

Then shall the priest rise, the people still reverently kneeling, and the priest shall deliver the Communion, first to the ministers, if any be there present, that they may be ready to help the priest, and after to the other. And when he doth deliver the Sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to every one these words following.

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

And the priest delivering the Sacrament of the blood, and giving every one to drink once and no more, shall say,

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

If there be a deacon or other priest, then shall he follow with the chalice, and as the priest ministereth the bread, so shall he for more expedition minister the wine, in form before written.

Then shall the priest, turning him to the people, let the people depart with this blessing.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

To the which the people shall answer, Amen.¹

Eat sacerdos ad dextrum cornu altaris cum calice inter manus, digitis adhuc conjunctis sicut prius, et accedat subdiaconus, et effundat in calicem vinum, et resinceret sacerdos manus suas, ne aliquae reliquiae corporis et sanguinis remaneant in digitis vel in calice. Post primam ablutionem dicitur huec oratio.

Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus ; et de munere t'mporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

Hic lavet digitos in concavitate calicis cum vino infuso a subdiacono : quo hausto sequatur oratio.

¹ It is not clear whether the people were intended to depart from the church at this point, not waiting till the ablutions had been completed and the remaining prayers of the Mass had been said. Possibly the intention was that they should withdraw from the part of the church where they had been "disposed" with a view to communion, and wait till *Ite missa est* was said.

Haec nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine; et caelestis remedii faciat esse consortes.

Post perceptionem ablutionum ponat sacerdos calicem super patenam, ut si quid remaneat stillet. Et postea inclinando se dicat, Adoremus crucis signaculum, per quod salutis sumpsimus sacramenta.

Deinde lavet manus : diaconus interim corporalia complicet. Ablutis manibus, et redeunte sacerdote ad dextrum cornu altaris, diaconus calicem porrigat ori sacerdotis, si quid infusionis in eo remanserit resumendum. Postea vero dicat cum suis ministris communionem.¹

Communio. Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus, alleluia : itaque epulemur in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

Deinde facto signo crucis in facie vertat se sacerdos ad populum, elevatisque aliquantulum brachiis et iunctis manibus dicat, Dominus vobiscum. Et iterum revertens se ad altare dicat, Oremus. Deinde dicat postcommunionem.

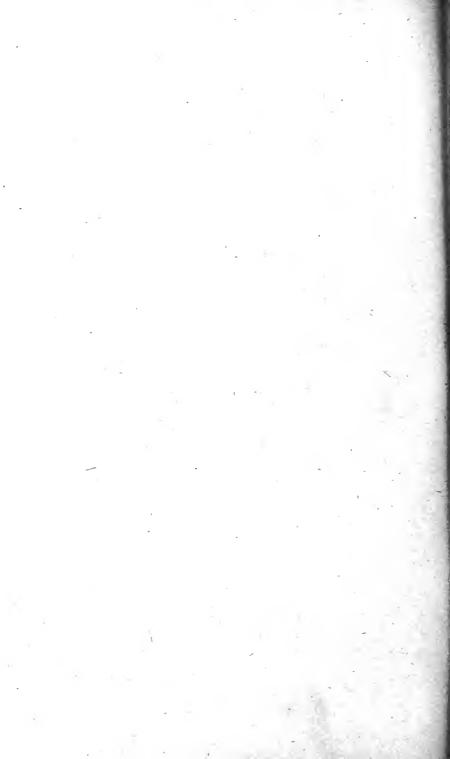
Postcommunio. Spiritum nobis, Domine, tuae caritatis infunde ; ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti, tua facias pietate concordes. Per Dominum.

Finita postcommunione, factoque signo crucis in fronte, iterum vertat se sacerdos ad populum, et dicat Dominus vobiscum. Deinde diaconus, Ite, missa est. His dictis sacerdos, inclinato corpore iunctisque manibus, tacita voce coram altari in medio dicat hanc orationem.

Placeat tibi, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meae : et praesta, ut hoc sacrificium, quod oculis tuae maiestatis indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile, mihique, et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli, sit, te miserante, propitiabile ; qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Qua finita, erigat se sacerdos, signans se in facie sua, dicens In nomine Patris etc. Et sic, inclinatione facta, eo ordine que prius accesserunt ad altare in principio missae, sic induti, cum ceroferariis et caeteris ministris redeant......Sacerdos vero in redeundo dicat evangelium, In principio.

¹ The *communio* was probably sung previously by the choir during the communion of the clergy and people.



APPENDIX IV.

THE ORDER OF THE COMMUNION AND THE CONSULTATION OF ARCHBISHOP HERMANN.

It has been already stated in the Introduction (p. xxiv supra) that the Consultation of Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, appears to have been employed in the work of preparing the Order of the Communion. The fact has frequently been noted by writers on the history and sources of the English Prayer Book, and is discussed at some length by Dr. Jacobs in his work on the Lutheran Movement in England.¹ Dr. Jacobs is inclined to complain that Anglican writers are content to trace a connection between English forms and those contained in the Consultation without referring to the earliest forms, prepared for local use by various prominent Lutherans, on which the forms of the Consultation are themselves dependent. In regard to the Order of the Communion, however, there seems to be, at any rate, a considerable probability in favour of the view that these earlier Lutheran forms exercised their influence on the English forms not directly, at least for the most part, but through the medium of the Consultation, of which an English version was published before the end of 1547. It may be added that Dr. Jacobs seems rather to overestimate the influence of the Consultation upon the Order: the departures from the model which it supplies are not without significance; and it seems to be worth while to show here in more detail the extent of the agreements and differences between those portions of the two documents which supply the clearest evidence of the use of the one by the compilers of the other.

The greatest part of the contents of the Order of the Communion was intended, as has been already said, for use in the Mass; the parallel forms in the Consultation were for use before the Mass, and intended as a preparation for the whole service. This preparation, according to the plan laid down in the Consultation, is divided into two

¹ H. E. Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and its Literary Monuments. Revised ed., 1892. parts. The first of these is to take place in the evening before the day appointed for the Communion. At this time the people are to be gathered together in the church, a preliminary office being sung while they are assembling. This consists of one or more psalms, with an anthem or hymn, the Magnificat, and some suitable collect. When the people have come together, a psalm is to be sung in German, after which follows a lesson concerning the Eucharist, either from the Gospels, or from the tenth and eleventh chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel is specially mentioned as a passage which may be read. After the lesson, there should follow an instruction of the people, and two forms of exhortation are supplied, which may be used for this purpose. Then follows prayer for the necessities of the congregation, and especially for those about to communicate, the private prayers of the people being terminated by a prayer said by the minister for the intending communicants. This ends the public service : the ministers are to confer with individual communicants after its close.

Dr. Jacobs states that the two exhortations which stand first in the Order of the Communion are "constructed after the model" of the two forms provided in this preliminary office, of which the first "was taken from the Cassel Order of 1539," while the second "is the Nürnberg Exhortation of Volprecht (1524)." What may be called the third exhortation of the Order of the Communion ("If any man here be an open blasphemer," etc.) he says, "follows the idea of the conclusion of the Cassel exhortation, where the offences against each commandment are briefly enumerated, and those guilty of such sins, and impenitent, are urged not to come to communion." The warning in the Order of the Communion, however, does not follow this method: it is parallel to the latter part of the first exhortation in the Consultation only in so far that they are both warnings against coming to communion in a state of sin and without repentance: the language of the two is different throughout. Nor can it fairly be said that the other portion of the "Cassel exhortation" bears any close relation to the first exhortation of the Order of the Communion, or that the form which the Consultation draws from Volprecht bears any real resemblance to the second exhortation of the Order of the Communion, save that the two both refer to St. Paul's words as to the need of self-examination.

With the second part of the preparation provided in the *Consultation* the resemblances become somewhat more distinct. Their extent and character may, perhaps, be best exhibited by printing this preliminary

1 Op. cit. pp. 241, 242.

office from the *Consultation*, setting side by side with it the parallel forms of the *Order of the Communion*, and by the use of italic type for the matter common to the two. For this purpose it seems best to use the English version of the *Consultation*, modernising the spelling and punctuation both of that version and of the *Order of the Communion*.

THE CONSULTATION.

When the people be come together unto this ministration . . . the minister which shall administer the Lord's Supper, when he shall come to the altar, shall make a confession in the name of the whole congregation, and that in the Dutch tongue, which all may understand, after this sort.

Almighty everlasting God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the maker of all things, the judge of all men, we acknowledge, and we lament, that we were conceived and born in sins, and that therefore we be prone to all evils, and abhor from all good things; that we have also transgressed thy holy commandments without end and measure, in despising thee and thy word, in distrusting thy aid, in trusting ourselves and the world, in wicked studies and works, wherewith we have most grievously offended thy majesty, and hurt our neighbours. Therefore we have more and more buried ourselves into eternal death. And we are sorry for it with all our hearts, and we desire pardon of thee for all the things that we have committed against thee; we call for thy help against sin dwelling in us and Satan the kindler thereof. Keep us that we do nothing hereafter against thee, and cover the wickedness that remaineth in us with the righteousness of thy Son, and repress it in us with thy Spirit, and at length purge it clean out. Have mercy upon us, most gentle father, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Give and increase thy holy Spirit in us, ORDER COM.

THE ORDER OF THE COMMUNION.

Then shall a general confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Almighty God, father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us : we do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry, for these our misdoings : the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable: have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake : forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Then shall the priest stand up and turning him to the people say thus :

Our blessed Lord who hath left power to his church, etc. [see p. 50].

which may teach us to acknowledge our sins truly and thoroughly, and to be pricked with a lively repentance of the same, and with true faith to apprehend and retain remission of them in Christ our Lord, that dying to sins daily more and more, we may serve and please thee in a new life, to the glory of thy name, and edifying of thy congregation. For we acknowledge that thou justly requirest these things of us, wherefore we desire to perform the same. Vouchsafe thou, O father of heaven, which hast given us a will, to grant us also that we may study to do those things with all our hearts which pertain to our health, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Hear ye the Gospel. John iii.

God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that all which believe in him should have life everlasting.

Or I Tim. i.

This a sure saying, and worthy of all embracing, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Or John iii.

The father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands; he that believeth in the Son hath life everlasting.

Or Acts x.

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

Or 1 John ii.

My little children, if any have sinned, we have a just advocate with the father, Jesus Christ, and he is an atonement for our sins.

When the pastor hath showed to the people one of the said Gospels, he shall say further :

Because our blessed Lord hath left this power to his congregation, that it may absolve them from sins, and restore them into the favour of the heavenly father, which being repentant for their sins do truly believe in Christ the Lord. I, the Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith to all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me all that travail and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you.

So God loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

Hear also what St. Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy op all men to be embraced and received, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the father, Jesus Christ the righteous: he it is that obtained grace for our sins.

[Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all minister of Christ and the congregation declare and pronounce remission of sins, the favour of God, and life everlasting, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all them which be sorry for their sins, which have true faith in Christ the Lord, and desire to approve themselves unto him.

After this, where clerks or scholars shall be, they shall sing somewhat in Latin taken out of the holy Scriptures, for an entrance or beginning. sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life.]

Dr. Jacobs describes the confession of the Order as an "adaptation" of that in the Consultation, and the absolution of the former as a "free rendering" of that in the German version of the latter.¹ A comparison of the forms as they stand above will probably suggest that these terms are somewhat misleading. It is clear that the forms in the Consultation were used in the composition of those in the Order: but it is also clear that they were used with discrimination. The resemblance of the confession of the Order to that of the Consultation consists in its adoption of striking, but unessential, phrases: the portions of the form of the Consultation which are discarded constitute a much more important element of its contents. So again, while the absolution of the Order follows at first the model of the formula in the Consultation, it departs from it at the most important point in favour of the kindred formula supplied by the Sarum Missal.

The difference in the number and position of the "comfortable words" has already been noted; but here it is clear that the general idea is derived from the *Consultation*, and the use of the passage "Come unto me," etc., may have been suggested by the application which is made of the words in one of the exhortations of the *Consultation*.²

To the insistence, in the general directions of the *Consultation*, on the importance of admonishing the people to give heed to the words "given for you" and shed for you," rather than to the presence of the words "which was given for thee," "which was shed for thee," in the forms of administration contained in that composition, Dr. Jacobs is

¹ Op. cit. p. 242. The resemblance of the absolution in the Order to the English version of the Consultation is perhaps more marked than its likeness to the German.

² See *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, by John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, 1899, p. 26.

inclined to attribute the introduction of these words into the English forms of administration in the *Order of the Communion*.¹

There is nothing in the *Consultation* answering to the prayer "in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion," which in the *Order* immediately precedes the communion of the people. This prayer seems to be in the main an original composition: but its opening phrases perhaps owe something to a prayer preparatory to communion, which appears in some early editions of the Roman Missal, and which is retained (as an *Oratio ante Missam*) in the Roman Missal of the present day. The prayer in question begins as follows :---

"Ad mensam dulcissimi convivii tui, pie Domine Jesu, ego peccator de propriis meritis nihil praesumens, sed de tua confidens misericordia et bonitate, accedere vereor et contremisco."²

The benediction after communion, again, seems to be independent both of the *Consultation* and of the forms which lie behind it. The language of the formula is, of course, in the main scriptural: but no previous instance seems to be found of the employment of the precise form in which the words of scripture are here combined, or of the use for the same purpose of any formula very closely resembling that which ends the *Order of the Communion*.

¹ Jacobs, *op. cit.* p. 242. He refers, however, to the Nürnberg Order, which was doubtless known to Cranmer, as the source to which the use of the words is really to be traced.

² See Further Studies in the Prayer Book, by John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, 1908, pp. 336-8.

INDEX.

References in Roman numerals are to the pages of the Introduction, references in Arabic numerals to those of the Appendices. Entries in Italic type indicate Liturgical forms.

Absolutionem et remissionem, xvi, 31. Adoremus crucis signaculum, 45. Agnus Dei, 39. sung in English in 1547, 30. English version, 39. Aldrich, Robert, Bp. of Carlisle, ix, xii, xiii. Aless, Alexander, xlii, 7. Almighty everlasting God, the Father, 49. Almighty God, Father of our Lord, 43, 49. Aston, copy of Order sent to, xxiii. Aufer a nobis domine, 31. Ave in aeternum caelestis potus, 41. Ave in aeternum sanctissima caro, 41. Barlow, William, Bp. of St. David's, ix. Because our blessed Lord, 50. Bird, John, Bp. of Chester, xii. Bishop, E., xi, xx, xxiii, xxviii, 33. Bloxam, J. R., xxi. Bonner, Edmund, Bp. of London, ix. Brethren, purge the old leaven, 32. Burckard, John, xvi. Burnet, Gilbert, Bp. of Salisbury, xii. Bush, Paul, Bp. of Bristol, ix, xiv. Cambridge, Somerset's letter to, xx. Canterbury, sequences disused at, 33. Capon [or Salcot] John, Bp. of Salisbury, ix. Cardwell, Edward, xxvi, xxvii. Cassel, Order for, of 1539, 48. Censing, 31, 35. suppressed at St. Paul's, 1548, xx. Chambers, John, Bp. of Peterborough, xii. Chertsey, xix, xxii. Christ Church, Oxford, Changes at, in 1548, xx sqq.

Christie Miller, Mr., xxvi, xxviii, xl. Clay, W. K., xxvii. Communicantes et diem, 36. Communion in both kinds, Art for, vii sqq. Communion, Order of the :--changes involved in its introduction, xiv sqq. use of, xix sqq. how issued, xxiii. how prepared, xxiii, xxiv. copies of, xxv, xxvi. classification and differences of copies, xxvii sqq. comparison of readings, 3 sqq. reprints, xxv sqq. on sale at Frankfort, March, 1548, xli. translations of, xlii, 7 sqq. text of Latin version, 10 sqq. text of German version, 19 sqq. Confession, change as to, xvii. Confitemini Domino, 31, 33. Confiteor, 31. use of, before communion, xv. Consecration, form of, repeated, xvi. "Consultation" of Abp. Hermann, xxiv, xliii, 47 sqq. Convocation of Canterbury, proceedings in, in 1547, x sqq. Corporis et sanguinis tui, 40. Coverdale, Miles, Bp. of Exeter, xix, xli, xlii. Cox, Richard, Dean of Christ Church, xx sqq. Cranmer, Thomas, Abp. of Canterbury, ix, xii, xiii, xiv, xix, xxiii, 52. Credo in unum Deum, 34. Creed sung in English in 1547, 30. Apostles', substituted for Nicene, 32. English version of, 32.

Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, 7.

Daly, Robert, Bp. of Cashel, xxvi.
Day, George, Bp. of Chichester, ix, xii.
Dearly beloved in the Lord, 41.
Deus cui onne cor patet, 31.
Deus Pater fons et origo, 40.
Deus qui hodierna die, 32.
"Device" for coronation of Henry VII., xv.
Dewick, E. S., xliii.
Dixon, R. W., xi.
Domine Probasti, 32.
Domine lesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, 40.
Domine sancte pater omnipotens, 40.
Dowden, John, Bp. of Edinburgh, 51, 52.

Emitte Spiritum, 30. English services in 1548, xix sqq. English used in the Mass, 1547, 1548, xix sqq., 30 sqq. Estcourt, Canon, xix. Et renovabis, 31. Et te quidem omni tempore, 35.

Ferrar, Robert, Bp. of St. Davids, xix. Frere, W. H., 30. Freshfield, Dr. E., xxvi, xliii. Fowler, Dr. J. T., xliii. Foxe, John, xix. *Fulgens praeclara*, 33.

Gasquet, Abbot, xi, xx, xxiii, xxviii, 33.
German version of the Order, xlii, 9, 19 sqq.
Gloria in excelsis, 32.
sung in English in 1547, 30.
English version of, 32.
Goodrich, Thomas, Bp. of Ely, ix, xiii.
Gospel; read in English, 19.

how announced and ended at Lincoln, 33. Grafton, Richard, xxviii, xli. Gratias tibi ago Domine, 41. Graves, R. E., xxviii, xliii. Grey Friars Chronicle, xviii, xix, xx, xxii. Hackett, John, Bp. of Lichfield, xxvi.

Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, 33. Haec nos communio, 45. Haec sacrosancta commixtio, 39. Hanc oblationem, 37. Heath, Nicolas, Bp. of Worcester, ix, xii. Hear what comfortable words, 43, 50.
Hear ye the Gospel, 50.
Hermann, Abp. of Cologne, "Consultation" of, xxiv, xliii, 47 sqq.
Holbeach, Henry, Bp. of Lincoln, ix, xiii.
Holgate, Robert, Abp. of York, xii, xiii.
Huth, A. H., xxvi, xliii.

In principio, 45. In spiritu humilitatis, 35. Incense, use of, 31, 35. suppressed at St. Paul's in 1548, xx. Introibo ad altare, 31.

Jacobs, Dr. H. E., 47, 48, 51. Jenkinson, F., xliii. Judica me Deus et discerne, 31.

King's Chapel, Use of the, in 1548, xx sqq. Kitchin, G. W., 33. Kyrie, 31, 32.

Lathbury, T., xxvi. Latin version of the Order, xlii, 7 sqq., IO sqq. Legg, Dr. J. Wickham, sliii. Legg, L. G. Wickham, xvi. L'Estrange, Hamon, xxv sqq. Libera nos quaesumus, 39. Lincoln, mode of announcing the Gospel at, 33. London, variations of services in, 1548, xix. Madan, F., xliii. Magdalen College, Oxford, changes at, in 1548, xx sqq. Marvin, a Justice, ix. Mary Magdalene and Mary Iacobi, 33. Maskell, W., xv, xxv, xxvii, xli, 7. Mass, changes in the, 1547-8, xix sqq., 29, 30. questions as to, xii sqq. order of, on Easter Day 1548, 30 sqq. May, William, Dean of St. Paul's, xix. Melanchthon, Philip, 7. Memento etiam Domine animarum, 38. Misereatur vestri, xv, 31. Munda me, Domine, ab omni, 35. Myrc, John, xvii.

INDEX.

Nobis quòque peccatoribus, 38. Nürnberg, Order for, of 1524, 48, 52. O Lamb of God, 39. Oglethorpe, Owen, xxi. Orate pro me, 35. Our blessed Lord Who hath left, 43, 49, 50. Parfew [or Wharton], Robert, Bp. of St. Asaph, ix, xii. Parker, James, xxv, xli, xlii. Parliament, proceedings in, in 1547, vii sqq. Pascha nostrum, 33, 45. Pater noster, 31, 39. Pax, Delivery of the, 40. Pax Domini, 39. Pax tibi et ecclesiae Dei, 40. Per quem haec omnia, 38. Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas, 45. Pollard, A. W., xxix, xliii. Pope, prayer for the, in Canon of 1541, 36. Portman, Sir William, ix. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, 39. Proclamations, against irreverent talkers, vii. for use of Order of the Communion, xviii, xxiii. for suspension of preaching, xxii. "Pupilla oculi," xvii. Quam oblationem, 37. Qui pridie, 37. Quod ore sumpsimus, 44. Resurrexi et adhuc, 32. Rich, Richard, Lord Chancellor, ix. Ridley, Nicolas, Bp. of Rochester, ix, xiii, xiv. Routh, Dr. M. J., xxvi, xxvii.

- Rugg [or Repps], William, Bp. of Norwich, ix.
- St. Michael's, Cornhill, "Mass in English" at, xix.
- St. Paul's, London, Changes at, in 1548, xix, xx.

Salcot [or Capon], John, Bp. of Salisbury, ix. Sampson, Richard, Bp. of Lichfield, xii. Sanctus, 36. sung in English in 1547, 30. English version of, 36. Sequences disused, 33. Skip (John), Bp. of Hereford, ix, xii. Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of, ix, xviii, xx sqq. Sparrow, Anthony, Bp. of Exeter, xxvi, xxvii. Spiritum nobis Domine tuae caritatis, 45. Spiritus sancti gratia, 35. Strype, John, xii. Supplices te rogamus, 38. "Surplice, The," xxvii. Sursum corda, 35. Suscipe quaesumus Domine, 35. Suscipe sancta Trinitas, 34.

Te igitur, 36. Terra tremuit et quievil, 34. The Blood of our Lord, 44. The Body of our Lord, 44. The peace of God, 44. This is a token of joyful peace, 40. Tunstall, Cuthbert, Bp. of Durham, ix, xii, xiii, xiv.

Unde et memores, 37.

Veni creator Spiritus, 30. Visitors of 1547, xviii, 29, 40. Volprecht, Wolfgang, 48.

Walton, H. B., xxvii.
We do not presume, 43.
Westminster, Mass in English at, 1548, xix.
Wharton [or Parfew], Robert, Bp. of St. Asaph, ix, xii.
Whitchurche, Edward, xli.
Wilkins, David, xxii, xxiii, xxvii.
Winchester, Sequences disused at, 33.
Wriothesley's Chronicle, xix, xx, 30.

You that do truly and earnestly, 42.

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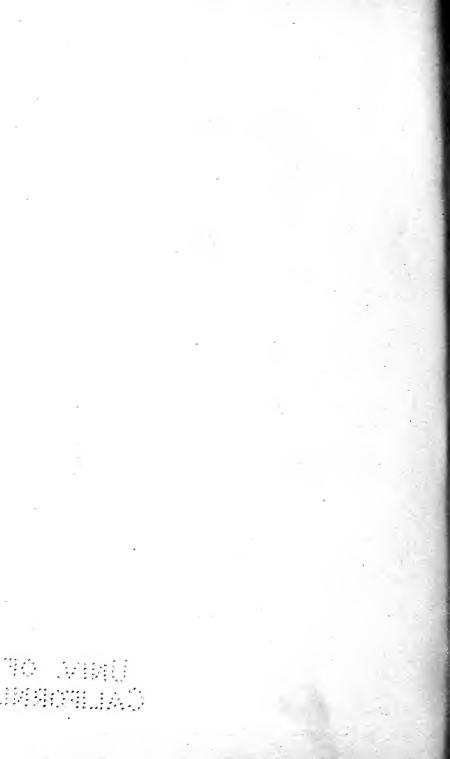
The order of the Communion.

to open their linnes to the prieste, to be offended, with them Whiche are satisfyed wyth their humble confession to God, and the generall confession to the churche: But in all these thinges, to solowe and kepe the rule of charitie: and euerye man to be satisfyed with his alone conscience, not sudginge other mens myndes or actes, where as he hathe no warrant of Goddes worde for thesame.

The tyme of comunion, thalbe immediative after that the priethim felf hath receaued the Sacrament, without the bariyng of anye os ther rite or ceremony in p malle (bntill other) ozder (halbe proupded) but as heretofore ba fually ethe priest hath done with the Sacramente of the bodye, to prepare flelle & confe= crate fo muche as well ferue the people : fo it thal vet continue ftyll after the same maner & fourme laue that he that bleffe and confecrate the byggeft Chalite or some fayr & conueniet Cup or Cuppes full of wyne wyth fome war ter put bnto it. And that dave, not divnke it by all hym felfe, but takynge one onlye fuppe oz draught, leve the reft bpon the aultare co= uered, and turne to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion, Final thus exhorte them as foloweth.

Derely

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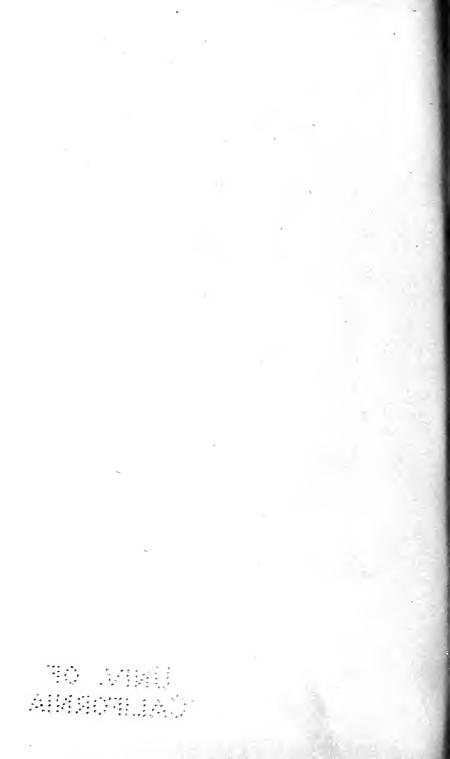
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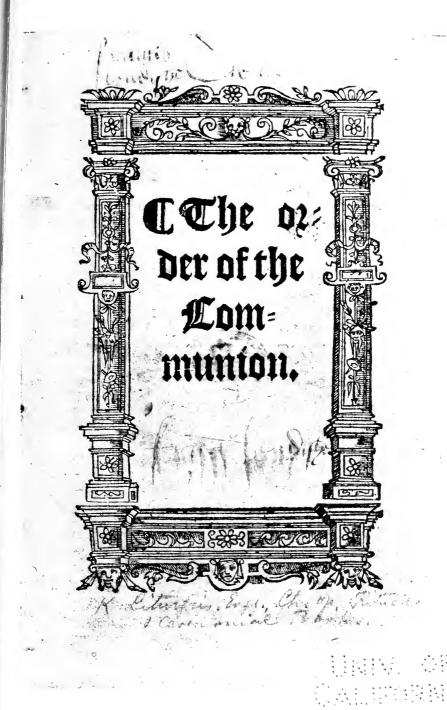
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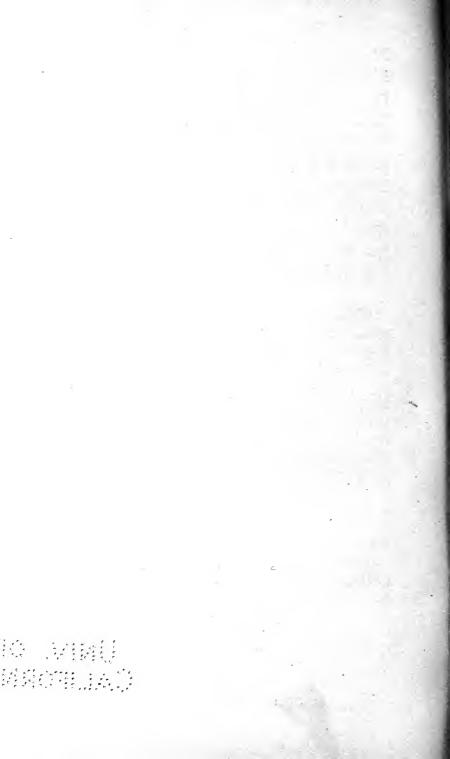
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IV. BRITISH MUSEUM, C. 25. f. 12 (TITLE).



The ozdze of the communion.

to open their lynnes to the priest, to be offended, with them whiche are satisfyed wyth their humble confession to god, and the general confession to the church: 2But in al these thinges, to folowe and kepe therule of charitie: and every man to be satisfyed with his awne conscience, not indginge other mens myndes or actes, wher as he hathe no warrant of Godes worde for thesame.

The tyme of the comunion. Calbe immediatlie after that p prieft himfelt hath reccaued the Sa crament, without the bariying of any other rite oz ceremoup in the maffe(bntil other ozder fhalbe proupded) but as heretofore bluallie the priest hath done with the Sacramente of the body, to prepare, bleffe and confectate fo muche as wyll ferue the people : so it shall yet contynue still after thefame maner & fourme, faue that he fhall bleffe and confectate the byggeft Chalice og fome fave and conucnient Cup of Cuppes ful of wyne with some water put buto it . And that daye, not Divike it bp all hom felf, but takying one onlye suppeor draught, leue the rest byon the aultare coucred, and turne to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion, and thall thus er= hostethem as followeth.

Derely

V. BRITISH MUSEUM, C. 25. f. 12 (fol. B. 1. v.).

iq (yinu Məqtila)

C Imprinted at London,

the eyght date of Marche, in the fecond yere of the reigne of our souereigne lorde kyng Edward the. VI; By Rychard Grafton printer to his moste royall Maiestie. In the yere of our Lorde.

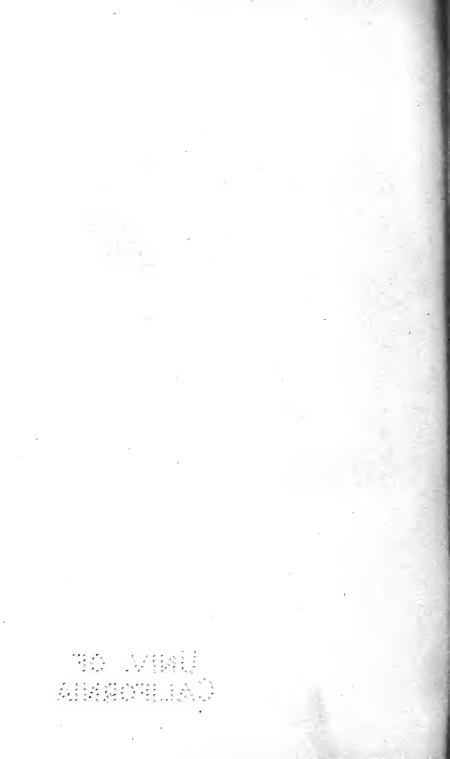
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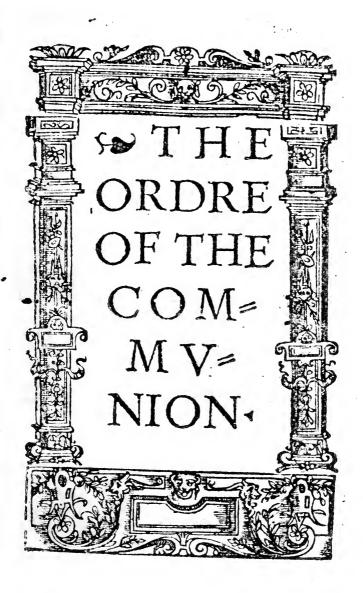
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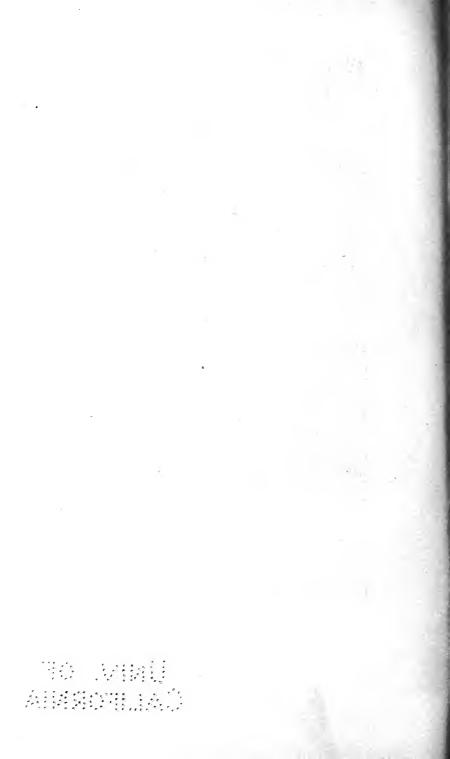
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VI. BRITISH MUSEUM, C. 25. f. 12 (COLOPHON).





VII DURHAM, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, XVII. E. 19 (TITLE).



The order of the Communion.

awne consciences, particularly to ospen their synnes to the Priest, to bec offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Churche: but in all these thynges to folowe and kepe the rule of charitie: and enery mate be satisfied with his awne conscience, not sudgyng other memes myndes or actes, where as he hath no warrant of Gods worde for the lame.

a the tyme of the communion. Chalbe immedia atly after that the Priefte hymfelt hath received the factament, without the variying of any other tite or ceremony in the Maffe(butill other ordre malbee promoed) but as heretofore blually the Buefte hath dooen with the Sacrament of the body, to prepare, bliffe and confectate fo muche as will ferue the people : fo it fhall continue ftill after the fame maner and forme, faue that he fal bliffe and confectate the biggeft chalice of fome faire and convenient cup or cuppes full of wine with fome water put buto it . And that daie,not Dynkeit bp all hymfelt, but takping one onely fuppe oz dzaught, leaue the reft bpon the Altare coucred, and turne to them that are disposed to be partakers of the Communion and Chall thus scholt

VIII. DURHAM, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, XVII. E. 19 (fol. B. I. v.).



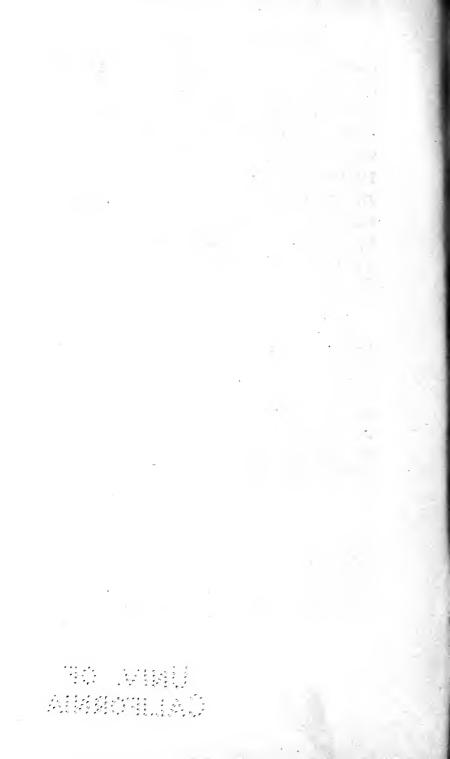
CImpinted at London, the. bis. daye of Marche, in the seconde pere of the reigne of our sousreigne lorde Kyng Edward the sixt: By Richard Graf ton, prin= ter to his moste royalt Maiestie.

In the yere of our Lorde.

M.D.XLVIII.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum folum.

IX. DURHAM, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, XVII. E. 19 (COLOPHON).



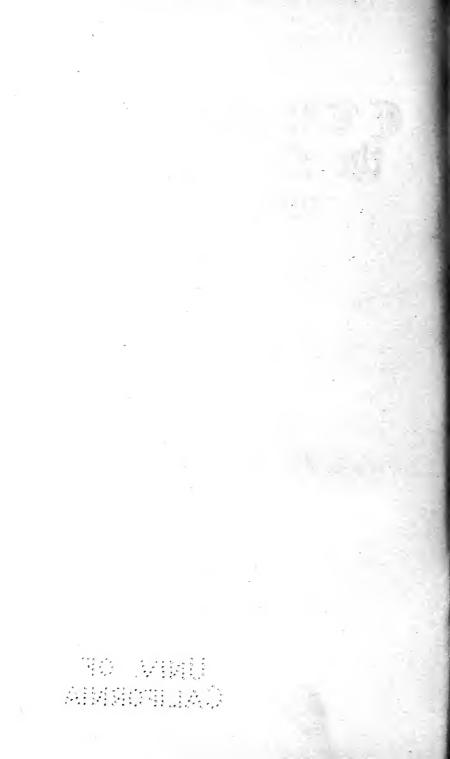
The ordre of the communion.

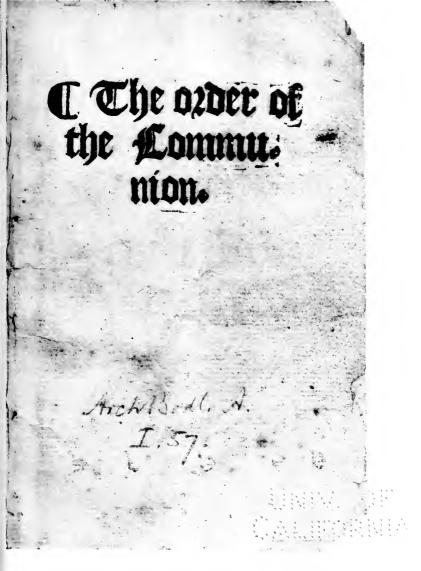
to open their lynnes to the priest, to be offended, with them Whiche are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the generall confession to the Churche: But in all these thynges to folowe and kepe the rule of Chari= tie: and cucry man to be satisfied with his awne conscience, not sudgyng o= ther mennes myndes or actes, where as he hath no Warrant of Gods Word for thesame.

The tyme of the Communion, Malbec imme= diatly after that the prieft hymfelf hath received the Sacrament, without the bariyng of any o= ther Rite oz Ceremony in the Malle (butill other oldie falbe prouided)but as heretotore blually the priest hath doen with the Sacrament of the body, to prepare, bliffe and confectate fo muche as will ferue the people: fo it thall continue fill, after the fame maner and fourme, faue that be that bleffe and confectate the biggeft Chalice or fome faire and convenient Cup or Cuppes full of wone, with some water put buto it. And that daie, not drinke it bp al hymfelf, but takyng one oncly suppe or draught, leve the rest byon the Bultare couered, and turne to theim that are dif= poled to bee partakers of the Communion, and Mall thus exporte theim as followeth.

Derely

X. DURHAM, COSIN LIBRARY, F. V. 2 (fol. B. I. v.).





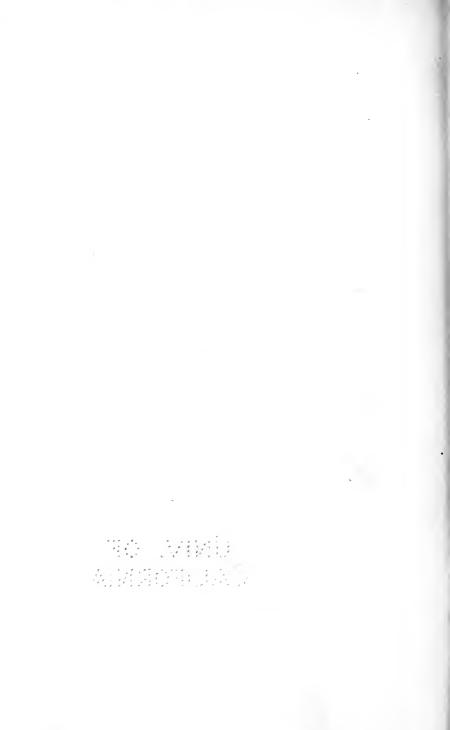
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ije o of Alexandra

The othe of the Communion fellyon not to be offended with them that doeth ble to their further latiffy inge that iculer and secret confession to the prietions those also, which this ke nedeful oz coucnient foz y quietnes of their own collegences, partyculerly to open their linnes to the prieft, to be offended, with them whiche are faty fo fyed with they, humble confession to god, and the general confession to the church: But in al thefe thynges to fos low and kepe the rule of charpte: and energe man to be fatyffped with hos owne confegence not indgynge other mens myndes of actes, where as he bache no warrante of goddes worde for the same.

I The tyme of communid Galbe immediatly after that & pifea bim felf hath receaued & Sa crament.wythout the barfynge of anye other rite or cecemony in & malle(ontyll other orbie Galbe proutded)but as bere to fore blualli the pifea hath bone with the Sacramet of the boz by, to prepare, itle, and confectate comothe as myl fecue the people, fort that yer continue appl where the fame mauet & fourine fame \$ be thall

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