

ALCUIN CLUB PAMPHLET
XIX

LATIN VERSIONS
OF THE
BOOK OF
COMMON PRAYER

By
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Proctor in Convocation



*Agite, veneremur supplices, flexis ante Dominum
Creatorem nostrum genibus. PSAL. XCV. 6.*

FROM PARSEL'S LITURGIA, ED. 1733

Frontispiece

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FOREWORD

THE author of this booklet is deeply grateful to the Alcuin Club for arranging to publish it. He had the duty, as Chairman of the Library Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, to investigate the origin of the Latin Litany used regularly at the Sessions of that Convocation, with the result of finding a number of curious facts which may prove helpful if collected in one cover. And he would also express very many thanks to a number of persons who have given most valuable assistance in his studies. To the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and his Secretary, for the loan of the Latin Service Books still used in the University Church. To the Reverend Professor E. C. Ratcliff, to Dr. F. J. E. Raby, and Dr. F. Brittain, for very valuable information and advice. To the Librarians and/or staff of the British Museum Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Libraries of Lambeth Palace, Westminster Abbey, Christ Church, Oxford, Sion College, and the Church House. And to Dr. Raby for furnishing the photograph from which the frontispiece was made. And specially to the Reverend Dr. G. G. Willis for much help and advice, more particularly in checking references when the author was unable to get personal access to the books in question.

In all Latin quotations the spelling follows that in the book quoted.

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- B.M.Lib. British Museum Library.
- Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- Lam.P.L. Lambeth Palace Library.
- W.A.Lib. Westminster Abbey Library.
- Ch.Ch. Christ Church Library, Oxford.
- Sion. Sion College Library, London.
- Ch.Ho. Church House Library (including Convocation Library).

Latin Versions of the Book of Common Prayer

A. COMPLETE BOOKS

ALTHOUGH normally the Church of England prescribes public worship in this country to be in the 'vulgar tongue',¹ exceptions have been made to this rule for certain privileged persons. There are services in French both in the Channel Islands, and in London and Canterbury, for French-speaking congregations, though this does mean for them the 'vulgar tongue'.² But very soon after the first English Prayer Book appeared it was translated into Latin by Alexander Aless,³ a one time Canon of St. Andrews, and later a Lutheran Professor of Theology at Leipzig. It was believed to have been made for the information of foreign Reformers who knew no English,⁴ but it may

¹ Cf. Article 24. ² P. & F., p. 125, par. 2. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116 ff.

⁴ P.S. Qu.El., p. xxv and n. 2. Also n. 3, quoting Heylin p. 79, and Burnet ii, p. 155.

1551. *Ordinatio Ecclesiae, seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in Florentissimo Regno Angliae, conscripta sermone patrio et in Latinam linguam bona fide conuersa, et ad consolationem Ecclesiarum Christi ubicunque locorum ac gentium, his tristissimis temporibus edita ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto sacrae theologiae doctore. Lipsiae in officina Wolfgangi Gunteri, Anno MDLI.*

B.M. Lib. 221.c.5. Bodl. Th. 4^o. S.1

well have served for the more conservative (but conforming) colleges at the Universities. Any such public use of this translation disappeared under Queen Mary, and the Act of Uniformity in 1559 not only restored the second Prayer Book of Edward VI (with very few, though important, variations), but insisted on all Public Worship being in English with considerable emphasis.⁵

It would seem, however, that some academic bodies approached the Queen with a view to using Latin for their worship, though perhaps for scholastic rather than theological reasons. And the Queen issued Letters Patent authorizing the use of a version in Latin, the first of many later versions, all of which were obviously intended to be used publicly in this country.⁶ This version was made apparently by Walter Haddon,⁷ a brilliant lawyer, but a little more familiar with the Latin used in legal documents than in liturgical worship. He makes a few obvious changes; he omits the petition against 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome', and changes the Name of the Sovereign, but he omits to correct *Regi* into *Reginae*, and in a number of other places he copies Aless in an obvious misprint. But he

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. xii ff.

⁶ P. & F., pp. 118 ff. P.S. Qu.El. pp. 299 ff. See Appendix 1.
1560. Liber Precum Publicarum seu ministerii Ecclesiasticae administrationis Sacramentorum aliorumque rituum et caerimoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana. Cum privilegio Regiae Majestatis.
Bodl. Douce C.P. Lat. e. 1560. B.M. Lib. c.25 f. 18

⁷ Brook, p. 39. P.S. Qu. El., p. xxiv (quoting Heylin—Elizabeth, p. 131—and Collier, ii, p. 463).

also follows Aless more blindly than the Book of 1559 warranted. Thus he gives a Kalendar⁸ with commemoration of a saint on almost every day of the year (only forty-four days are blank—but among them noticeably All Souls' Day; and August 1st has *Petri ad Vincula* in lieu of the rather uncertain 'Lammas', though they probably mean the same thing). He includes, at the Visitation of the Sick, the 1549 rubric about Reservation (permission to take the Sacrament from the Church if there is a Celebration on the same day),⁹ but not that which allows the Priest, having several clinical Communion on one day, to consecrate at the first, and carry the Sacrament therefrom to the other sick folk.¹⁰ Moreover he goes behind 1549, and uses the first half of the Absolution in the Order of Communion 1548. And then adds two forms of Service not to be found in any of the English Books.¹¹ These two forms (A Commemoration of Benefactors, and a Collect, Epistle and Gospel for use at Funerals) seem to have been given a trial run, as a separate copy of them with the quotation from St. Augustine, with the Letters Patent in full before them (and in a larger type and

⁸ P.S. Qu.El., pp. 317 ff. There are scarcely any Saints' Days in 1549.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

¹⁰ P. & F., p. 628. P.S. E.VI, p. 143. This is in 1549 and would have been convenient after 1559, though it is omitted in the English versions 1552 and 1559.

¹¹ P.S. Qu.El., p. xxii (quoting Carte iii, p. 393), says that the 1560 Book was intended also for foreign Reformers, but giving reasons for doubting this. For this form of Absolution *vide infra*, p. 6, n. 20.

pages than the complete book has) is preserved in the Westminster Abbey Library.¹² But the subsequent publication of the whole book, printed also by Reginald Wolf (the Queen's Latin Printer) has a curious variation in the order of Occasional Services.¹³ This looks very much as though the Book was meant only to have the forms needed for academic use, but shortly before the whole Book appeared the Irish Parliament had passed an Act of Uniformity with a provision for using a Latin translation where neither Priest nor people understood English. No attempt was made to provide something in the 'vulgar tongue' in Ireland. And so, rather hastily, the Offices not needed for schools were apparently added on newly-printed sheets in a clumsy order, to satisfy the needs of Irish congregations.¹⁴

So not only was this Latin Prayer Book of 1560 compiled to suit very different users of it, but it is a remarkable instance of the claim to exercise the prerogative right of dispensing with an Act of Parliament at

¹² See Appendix 1. Also P.S. Qu.El., p. xxiii, n. 4, citing Wilkins, *Concilia* iv, p. 217, and Sparrow, *Collections*, pp. 190-205.

¹³ After Holy Communion come the Visitation and Communion of the Sick, Burial, Baptism, Confirmation and Catechism, Marriage, Churching and Communion. No psalms are appointed for a funeral. Psalms cxxvii (sc. 128) and lxvi (67) for Marriage, cxx (121) for Churching, and Psalm 50 (51) for the Communion, but not printed in full in P.S.

¹⁴ P. & F., p. 124, citing Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., p. 260, and also (for more about Ireland) p. 107 and p. 108, n. 1. P.S. Qu.El., p. xxiii, n. 3, for the Irish Act of Uniformity.

will. For there is no provision in the Act of Uniformity of 1559 for Latin services,¹⁵ but in her Letters Patent, *motu proprio* as it would seem, the *Gubernatrix* issued a formal document dispensing with the provisions of that Act as a preface to this Book *Cum privilegio Regiae Majestatis*, authorizing it to be used publicly in specified places, and 'exhorting' all Clergymen to use this Latin version (and *not* any language they may happen to know), seems to suggest that the Queen was feeling her way to a more conservative usage if generally approved. But Cambridge, though given pride of place (here and in some other contemporary documents),¹⁶ would have none of it. Strype tells us that it was given the opprobrious name of *the Pope's Dreggs*, and that on one occasion when it was being read by the Master of Benet College some of the fellows left the Chapel in disgusted protest.¹⁷ And no Latin services have had more than a temporary use in Cambridge. But the Queen

¹⁵ P. & F., p. 49. Dixon, *Hist. C. of E.*, iii, p. 1. Gee & Hardy, *Documents*, lxix. In 1549 the Act of Uniformity allowed private saying of Offices in Greek, Latin or Hebrew; publicly (except Holy Communion) in Chapels of Colleges. The dispensing power caused much trouble under James II. P.S. Qu. El., p. 301, '*constituimus per praesentes licitum esse & permissum nostra auctoritate & privilegio regali . . . cui item pecularia quaedam . . . adjungi praecepimus, Statuto illo praedicto . . . in contrarium non obstante.*' Cf. Appendix 1.

¹⁶ Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, *passim*, especially p. 179, a Star Chamber Decree of 1586; the Act for dissolving Chantries, 1547, and the Act of Uniformity 1549. But the Beggars' Act 1531 and the Act for Feudal Aid 1504 put Oxford first.

¹⁷ P. & F., p. 124 (citing Strype, *Life of Abp. Parker*, p. 269).

issued a Form of Commemoration of Benefactors for University use in 1579, this time in English.¹⁸

Haddon's version is not a very accurate translation¹⁹—for example, the English Book of 1559 uses Priest in eighteen cases for Evensong and Holy Communion, but Minister five times for Mattins; while the Latin begins with *Administrator* (Curate), follows the English with *Minister* at Mattins, and for the rest *Sacerdos sive Minister* once, *Presbyter* once, *Minister* seven times, and *Sacerdos* five times, without any apparent reason for the variation. And for Baptism, where the English uses Priest nearly always, the Latin gives *Minister* throughout. In later editions the two special services were omitted, and (without any known authority) in both English and Latin. *Minister* is almost invariable. Another curious point in this 1560 Latin Book is that the Absolution in the Communion Service is different in its opening from any of the English Books.²⁰ It is borrowed from the Order of Communion 1548 as translated by Aless, with one exception.

¹⁸ P.S. Qu.El., xxiii, n. 4. Statuta, Cap. 50.

¹⁹ There is a full criticism in P.S. Qu.El., pp. xxi to xxxii, and also in P. & F., pp. 117 to 125.

²⁰ P.S. Qu.El., pp. xxviii (end) and xxix (first paragraph)
Aless 1548 *Tunc eriget se sacerdos et conuersus ad populum sic loquetur*, Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui suam potestatem dedit Ecclesiae, ut absoluat poenitentes a peccatis ipsorum et reconciliet coelesti patri eos qui suam fiduciam collocant in Christum, misereatur uestri, remittat et condonet uobis omnia peccata uestra, confirmet et corroboret uos in omni opere bono, et perducatur (+vos 1560) ad uitam aeternam. (+Per Iesum . . .) Cf. Wilson, App. ii, p. 15.

And, most curiously, there are no Psalms in this book!²¹ Also, as in the English Book, the full Passion is given for both Palm Sunday and Good Friday.²²

A few later editions of this Book were issued in 1571, 1572, 1574, 1598, and 1604 (but this last seems to be wrongly dated, as in the component parts 1594 is given—it may be a re-issue with a fresh date on the title page). In these later editions there are some variations of a Puritan nature, and the Psalms are inserted, taken from the German-Latin Bible of Sebastian Münster.²³

When the Prayer Book was revised at the Restoration of Charles II and annexed to the Act of Uniformity, it was clear that a new Latin translation was needed, for the 1560 version was no longer a correct rendering of the English, and the work of preparing it was entrusted to Dr. John Earle, Dean of Westminster, and Dr. John Pearson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The latter gave up the task in 1664, and Dr. Earle became Bishop of Salisbury. Dr. John Dolben, who had succeeded to the Deanery of Westminster, was then appointed, but resigned on becoming Bishop of

²¹ There is the possibility that many old Latin Psalters were available for this purpose, though most of the older books had been destroyed by the Reforming left wing.

B.M. Lib. c.25, f. 18.

²² P.S. Qu.El., pp. 356–358. They are here given with only first and last few words, but the original copy (facsimile) prints them in full.

²³ Published at Basle 1534–35, and used by Coverdale in his translation (still retained for the Prayer Book Psalms). The *Catholic Encyclopedia* 5. 237 calls it Hebrew-Latin. W.A. Lib. Gal. D.1.11 and J.1.19. Liber precum (etc.) Excusum Londini per assignationem Francisci Fiorae, Excudebat Thomas Vantrollerius 1574. (Psalms) Ad Hebraicam veritatem, a Sebastiano Munstero, quam diligentissime versus.

Rochester two years later. There is no record of the appointment of Dr. John Durel, but it seems likely that the work was entrusted to him by the King some time in 1665,²⁴ and in January 1666–67 he consulted Dr. Sancroft (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) about it in a letter still extant.²⁵ The new Latin Prayer Book was published in 1670 under the title of *Liturgia* (Durel modestly calling himself Editor) and printed by Roger Norton, Royal printer in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and on sale by Sam Mearne, Royal Bookseller, in Little Britain.²⁶ On the whole it is a considerable improvement on the 1560 version, though he uses 'presbyter' for the English 'priest' (whereas 1560 used 'sacerdos' frequently but not always where the English had 'priest'). This may have been due to his French education—he would be aware that the Roman Church divided the priesthood into two classes of 'Bishops' and 'Presbyters', and indeed in early Christian writing 'Sacerdos' generally means a Bishop. And

²⁴ Durel was born in Jersey, and from there he went to Merton College, Oxford, at the age of 15. He was ordained in Paris at the Embassy Chapel by the Bishop of Galloway. In 1661 he became Chaplain to the French congregation at the Royal Chapel of the Savoy. He published his French Prayer Book for the use of his flock in 1662. He became Chaplain to the King and Prebendary of Windsor in 1664. In 1669 he was made D.D. 'by virtue of the chancellor's letters read in a full convocation.' In 1677 he was made Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Garter.

²⁵ Bodleian, Tanner MSS.

²⁶ 1670 *Liturgia, seu Liber precum communium* . . . Londini 1670. Bodl. C.P. Lat. 1670, f. 1. B.M. Lib. 3407.a.16. Syon A.351 and D.9.3 A very careful but somewhat biased account of it was published in 1882 by Charles and William W. Marshall, entitled 'The Latin Prayer Book of Charles II'. B.M. Lib. 3406.a.a.a.25 is dated 1669.

Durel in his earlier translation of the Prayer Book into French consistently uses 'prêtre' where the English has 'priest'. Also Durel uses the Vulgate for the Epistles and Gospels, and also for the Psalms.²⁷ Later editions in 1680, 1685, 1687 and 1696 are virtually reprints, but in 1703 there was added what purported to be the Convocation Litany; it gave the correct title but then printed *Pater de coelis* (whereas at that date it was *Pater coelestis*) and referred to the place after the Athanasian Creed for the remainder (where it was Durel's version and not that used in Convocation). This mistake was copied blindly in all the further editions or revisions, and helped to obscure the origin of the form actually used in Convocation throughout the period when these Books were in vogue. In 1713 Thomas Parsel produced a revised edition, but with few changes save the drastic one of substituting for the Vulgate Psalms those in the Latin version by Sebastian Châtillon,²⁸ as well as repeating the error about the Convocation Litany. More editions by Parsel appeared in 1716, 1720, 1727, 1733, 1744, 1759 and 1764. In 1785 a further revision was made by Edward Harwood, and in 1821

²⁷ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 35, 'in hac Latina Editione, sequuti sumus Vulgatam Latinorum Versionem, quemadmodum in Epistolis & Evangeliiis.'

²⁸ Sebastianus Castellio, which is here given the French form familiar by reason of the Admiral murdered in the St. Bartholomew massacre, and his brother, the Cardinal, whose tomb is in the Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, close to where Becket's shrine once stood. W.A. Library C.1.95 Edition of 1727. Sebastian is described by the Catholic Encyclopaedia viii. 48 as a French Huguenot; also stating he died 1563. His version of the Psalms was published at Basle 1551.

another version, a conflation of these, was issued by Bagster & Sons, with yet another edition by J. W. Parker in 1848, giving a few variations from 1560. And Bagsters published a Prayer Book in eight languages.²⁹ But, broadly, all these are more or less the same as Durel's, and the Bagster editions have the Vulgate Psalms. All these many editions testify to a widespread use of a Latin Prayer Book down to Victorian times.

It remains to notice one more Latin Prayer Book—a wholly unofficial volume made by two Priests, then Fellows of University College, Oxford, W. Bright³⁰ and P. G. Medd, and published in 1865. This version (like Dr. Durel's) uses the Vulgate for the Epistles, Gospels, and Psalms, but goes much further in using ancient material, and so is closer to 1560 than 1670. Both 1560 and B. & M. insert *et* at the end of the Apostles' Creed, which is not in the Sarum Books; but 1560 adds *mortale* before *peccatum* in the 3rd Collect at Morning Prayer, and changes *salva* to *serua*, while B. & M. keep exactly to the old wording,³¹ though the modern Roman words are different to an appreciable extent.³² On the other hand 1560 uses the Sarum

²⁹ Bagster's Octoglot includes their Latin version published separately in 1821. Parsel 1706 Sion A.35, L. 34 p.; 1733 Sion A.35, 1c and L. 34, C.

³⁰ Bright was afterwards well known at Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, and as the writer of a number of familiar hymns.

³¹ See Appendix 2.

³² Both an edition of the Roman Breviary in 1874, and a recent *Horae Diurnae* give a different opening and conclusion from that in the Sarum Books.

wording in the Collects;³³ where B. & M. often retranslate from the 1662 B.C.P. But in many cases B. & M. is to be preferred—thus 1560 translates 'Curate' by *Pastor*, but B. & M. as *Parochus*. And throughout B. & M. follow the English carefully in varying from 'Priest' to 'Minister', while 1560 is careless about this. And in the Ordinal (which is not in the 1560 version) B. & M. has 'Ordination of Presbyters' as title, but in the formula of ordination, expressly, *officium et opus Sacerdotis*. This shews a clear distinction in the orders³⁴—*Minister* is the word for the Officiant, though possibly a Bishop, while *Sacerdos* includes a Bishop as Priest *par excellence* but excludes a Deacon, while *Minister* does not. *Presbyter* is only correct when the division of the priesthood into the two higher orders is needed. This is a distinction often blurred in modern reunion schemes. A presbyter is a Priest when he is acting as the deputy of the Bishop as High Priest.

Thus this Victorian version has many points of superiority over both the Elizabethan and Caroline translations, and as such it had a wide vogue among modern scholars. It was reprinted in 1869, 1877 and 1890, and this last edition included the 1549 form for

³³ *St. Andrew's Day*. Aless and 1560 are the same, with one variant, which is noted.

Omnipotens Deus, qui dedisti beato Andreae Apostolo tuo, ut acerbam et ignominiosam crucis mortem duceret sibi pro magna gloria, tribue, ut omnia nobis adversa pro nomine tuo, ducamus profutura, et (et *om.* 1560) ad aeternam vitam conducibilia, per Dominum nostrum.

³⁴ *Ut supra*, p. 6.

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the Eucharist, and the equivalent rites in the Scottish and American Prayer Books. A further edition is reported as issued in 1917, but without the Scottish and American rites. The only time that it was used in public was the accidental printing of the Litany for the opening Service of the Convocation of Canterbury in January 1960.

The time seems ripe for a new edition, which might keep even closer to the Sarum wording, and which would not only have great value for students, but add to the lustre of Drs. Bright and Medd for their painstaking work in producing this admirable translation of the English Prayer Book into the ancient liturgical language.

B. ABBREVIATED BOOKS

HAVING considered Latin versions of the Book of Common Prayer, which contain, more or less, all that is in the respective English revisions, we turn to books containing only certain parts of the Prayer Book selected for special use in particular places.

First of these is one printed by the University Press for private circulation and use in St. Mary's, at Oxford. A copy of the form now in use at the Latin Services was made available for study, and from this we find that there is *Forma Commendationis ante Concionem*, and an ascription *Post Concionem* and the Grace. The former of these is a translation of the Bidding Prayer (Canon 55 of 1604) and the latter of that commonly used in English after Sermons. Then follows the Litany; this is almost exactly that in the 1560 version, only making a freer use of capital letters and commas, and adding a petition for the Royal Family (brought up to date as required) though not adding 'Air' in the petition for those who travel. But the form for Holy Communion, which follows (and completes the book), is taken chiefly from the 1670 version,³⁵ yet with sundry

³⁵ As an example of the Caroline source, the Absolution is (with one word omitted) the same 'Omnipotens Deus, Pater noster caelestis, qui ex summa misericordia peccatorum remissionem promisit (eis 1670) omnibus qui serio atque ex animo poenitentes cum vera fide ad eum se convertunt; Vestri misereatur; peccata vestra omnia condonet, ab iisque vos liberet; vos confirmet et roboret in omni bono, vosque perducatur ad vitam aeternam; per . . .

small amendments of later date. There is an old copy of this book in the Bodleian (Bliss. B.140-1705) entitled *Litania et Ordo Administrandi Coenae Domini. Statuta. Tit. 1* § 2 & 3. Another copy (1777) is in the Sion College Library (C.D. A.35). After the Blessing there is the curious addition of Psalm 117 in rhymed couplets.³⁶

There are a number of Latin Prayer Books, printed at the old Clarendon Press,³⁷ for use at College services in the Cathedral at Oxford, but only two, dated 1615 and 1660, are extracted from the Latin Prayer Book of 1560. They both use the Münster Psalms.³⁸ But in addition they include a number of Metrical Psalms in Latin—five in the earlier book (43, 114, 117, 119—v. 33 and 133). The later book has no less than nineteen (13, 42, 43, 47, 70, 93, 100, 112, 113, 114, 119—v. 33, 122, 123, 128, 131, 133, 137, 149, 150). The use of these is not clear. In the 1594 edition of Haddon's translation (in the Westminster Abbey Library) there is bound up with it a copy of Sternhold and Hopkins'

- ³⁶
1. O gentes omnes undique,
Laudate Dominum;
Illum laudate, populi,
Per orbis ambitum.
 2. Nam ingens est hominibus
Illius bonitas,
Et in aeterna saecula
Jehovae veritas
 3. Sit laus Tri-Uni Domino
Honor et gloria
Ab universo populo
Per cuncta saecula.

³⁷ P. & F., p. 125, n. 1.

³⁸ *Ut supra*, n. 23.

English Psalms in metre, dated 1633,³⁹ which suggests that these were sung in the course of a Latin service somewhere, and so the Latin ones may have been inserted for a similar purpose. But their origin is still obscure.

It is interesting to note that in the Christ Church Book of 1615⁴⁰ the petition for the Royal Family (which was needed after the accession of James I) was not inserted in the Litany as might be expected, but appears as a separate prayer at the end of it. '*Pro Regina & Regia Sobole*' '*. . . ut Annae gratiosissimae Reginae nostrae, Carolo Principi, & Frederico Electori Palatino, una cum Elizabetha uxore, & eorum sobole . . .*' Charles was not created Prince of Wales till 1616, and this form of prayer was not changed until the death of Anne of Denmark in 1619, when the English formula became 'our noble Prince Charles', and so continued till his accession to the throne. Frederick had lost his Palatinate as well as the throne of Bohemia, but King James considered him still *de jure* Elector, though he would not support his assumption of the royal title.

In 1676 a new edition for Christ Church gives the new version with very few changes, but in a further issue in 1689 the Psalms are taken from the *Zurich Bible*,⁴¹ and there are five Psalms in metre (1, 13, 70, 100, 113). In 1726, however, the Münster version was

³⁹ W.A. Lib. Gal. 8.3.9. 1594.

⁴⁰ Bodl. S.L. 96 Th. Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius.

⁴¹ Cath. Ency. 15.372. Published 1543 by Leo Juda and others.

restored, but in one curious feature this edition followed 1689,⁴² in printing, in Psalms 111 and 112 only, the letters of the Hebrew alphabet at the beginning and end of each verse, and at other major stops to make up the required twenty-two.

The Latin services in the Cathedral were discontinued early in 1862. In an octavo copy of the Christ Church Prayer Book dated 1726,⁴³ on the fly-leaf, there are three notes written (the first two by Canon Liddon): 'The English Service was used instead of the Latin Prayers in Christ Church for the first time on Monday, January 27, 1862. Henry G. Liddell, D.D., Dean. C. W. Sandford & G. W. Kitchin, Censors. H.P.L.' 'This book was given me on January 28, 1862, by the Rev. C. W. Sandford, Senior Censor.' 'Given to me by Walter Lock, Fellow of Magd. Coll., & Sub-Warden of Keble Coll., T. Vere Bayne.'

No other College seems to have had specially printed Latin Prayer Books, and, in so far as any Latin Services were held in the Chapels, it must be presumed that copies of the full versions were used; and this may be the reason for the many editions of Parsel's *Liturgia*.

But there is some record at Winchester of Latin Services for the Quiristers held in the Fromond Chantry, and there are two mentions of *Preces* (presumably a Latin form) in Chapel every day at 8 p.m.

⁴² Ch.Ch. Lib., a. 3.129. Allowing for some in more than one of these Christ Church books, the total of Latin metrical Psalms is 22.

⁴³ Ch.Ch. Lib., OQ.8.23.

before retiring to bed, a custom apparently still maintained.⁴⁴

It is, however, at Westminster (not mentioned in the Letters Patent of 1560, although Winchester was) that some more clear evidence is available. For there is a little book of extracts from the 1560 version, still used daily for *Preces in Schola* concluding with *Ire licet*, which seem to have been provided for in the Elizabethan Statutes. And even more worthy of note is the Solemn Commemoration of Benefactors sung in the Abbey on November 17th, 1961 (after a lapse of some years), for this is based on the form provided in the 1560 book; the Psalms are not the same, and various improvements were made by Dr. Rutherford (Headmaster 1883-1901). It includes the metrical Psalm (under the title of Hymn), a Latin form of Commemoration (with an English version printed for those not yet sufficiently learned in the Latin tongue to follow what is being read), and then during the next Hymn a little group of 'the Under Master' and two Queen's Scholars make their way to the tomb of their Royal Foundress and lay roses thereon. Finally the *Te Deum* is sung to a setting by Sir William McKie, based on Tone VII, and the Dean gives the Blessing.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Firth, p. 25, for Quiristers. p. 65 quoting Cook, *About Winchester College* (without date) and p. 67 for modern usage.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 3 for a summary of this Service. All the above information about Westminster usages was supplied by the kindness and courtesy of the learned Librarian of Westminster Abbey.

C. LITANIES USED IN CONVOCATION

WHEN, however, we turn to the use of Latin in the Convocations, as provided for in the Act of Uniformity, 1662, a new problem arises. J. W. Joyce, in his *Handbook of Convocations*,⁴⁶ tells us that Prayers in the Convocation of York are said in English, including the Prayer for Convocation 'translated from the Latin form used in the Convocation of Canterbury'. This is supported by a Form of Prayer in English expressly set forth for use by the Northern Convocation in 1861.⁴⁷ This form apparently was used accordingly until 1937, when an entirely new Latin version of the Litany, largely the work of Dr. H. N. Bate, then Dean of York, was presented to the Synod,⁴⁸ and adopted in these words, 'That the Litany appended to this Report be adopted as the form to be used at the opening of Convocation and on those occasions on which the Litany in Latin is to be said or sung'. Presumably both Convocations claim the right by ancient custom each one to order its own worship without seeking any further authorization.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Joyce, pp. 82-4.

⁴⁷ York Journal of Convocation, 1861, p. 77.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1937. Report 436.

⁴⁹ This right is expressly claimed for and restricted to the Archbishop in the Convocation of Canterbury, according to the notes of an anonymous author (in 1702) on Archbishop Parker's Regulations for his first Convocation in 1562-63, 'there was drawn up by the Archbishop only, and by him alone prescribed, *Forma Precum in utraque Domo Convocationis*'.

In the Convocation of Canterbury the use of the Litany in Latin as an ancient custom is well known, but it was generally supposed that, as in the University of Oxford, it was taken from the Latin Prayer Book authorized by the Queen in 1560,⁵⁰ and this was apparently supported by the incorrect version printed in the later editions of the 1670 translation. But accidentally, at the opening of the present Convocation at St. Paul's in January 1960, the Bright and Medd version was printed in the Order of Service and so used.⁵¹ This led to an investigation by the Library Committee of the Lower House. At first, when it became clear that the Convocation Litany was markedly different from either 1560 (or indeed 1670) it was thought that the Convocation form was a revision of one or other of the alternative possible sources, made in Victorian times. But when copies of the Convocation form were found as far back as 1689, this theory collapsed. Then attention was drawn to an anonymous Book in the Convocation Library (and another copy without title page in the Church House Library) published in 1702 as a 'History of the Convocation of the Prelates & Clergy of the Province of Canterbury' containing two Latin documents⁵²: (1) An order of

⁵⁰ This view was held until the Library Committee (of which he was a member) began to investigate, by the late Dean of Winchester, Dr. N. Sykes.

⁵¹ This was the only time presumably that any of this version was used in public.

⁵² There are no shelf marks in the Library of the Convocation of Canterbury.

proceedings in Convocation; (2) An order for the election of a Prolocutor. In a note to the first of these it was stated that the '*Forma Precum in utraque Domo Convocationis*' was drawn up by the Archbishop only, and by him alone prescribed, and that this ancient Document has received some alterations and additions, at the discretion of our successive Archbishops, without any express Consent or active concern of the Lower Clergy. This book has been quoted as being *A History of English Councils & Convocations* by Humphry Hody, D.D., Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. 1701.⁵³ But it is not the same book, and a pencilled note in the copy in the Convocation Library attributes it to White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough (and probably correctly), but it is also not the Bishop's *Ecclesiastical Synods and Parliamentary Convocations*. 1701.⁵⁴ Our anonymous author prints with extensive notes (1) *Forma sive descriptio Convocationis Celebrandae Prout ab Antiquo observari consuevit . . . duodecimo die Januar' prox' . . . in chorum ibidem ingredi . . . mox incipiunt Preces quibus Spiritus Sancti gratia invocatur, ac Communio subsequitur . . . ac tempore Offertorii . . . Oblationem offerre ex more debent . . . Concionem . . . Latine . . .* and a similar Latin form for the election of a Prolocutor for the Lower House—*Forma Eligendi & Praesentandi Prolocutorem*. The person elected *habitu Doctoratus indutus* is to be presented to the President by *duobus eminentioris Ordinis* (sc. Deans). A note states that these two documents were certainly

⁵³ B.M. Lib. 1123.g.22.

⁵⁴ B.M. Lib. 228.g.30.

drawn up by Archbishop Parker 'for a Rule to himself . . . Jan. 12, 1562 (O.S.), and for a standing Pattern to his successors'. But were these *Preces* the Latin Litany subsequently used?

With the clue that Convocation Prayers were the Archbishop's prerogative, a number of copies of the *Forma Precum* were discovered, three in the Lambeth Palace Library dated 1689, 1700 and 1702, with the appropriate wording for William & Mary, William III and Anne,⁵⁵ three others in the British Museum (1747, 1807 and 1833),⁵⁶ while three more (1741, 1837 and 1847) were in the Catalogue, but had been destroyed by enemy action in 1941;⁵⁷ one more in the Church House Library, dated 1869 and stamped 'St. Paul's Cathedral'. All these, save for changes of Royal Names, were almost exactly the same as the books now in use,⁵⁸ and in the same size and type. Thus it was proved that the same form had been used from 1689, throughout the period when Convocation only met formally, down to the present day; a Form markedly different from the Litany in either of the authorized Latin Prayer Books, and by the sanction of its President in accordance with ancient custom. And further support is given by the action of the Church of Ireland, which in 1704 issued an exactly similar *Forma Precum* for its

⁵⁵ Lam.P. Lib. Also B.M. Lib. 472.a.40, 698 f.1., 3406.c.33. Sion. A. 693, Sh. 5.

⁵⁶ B.M. Lib. 3406.c.34. 3407.c.30. 3406.c.35.

⁵⁷ B.M. Lib. 3405.bb.38. 3405.bb.39. 3405.bb.40.

⁵⁸ The earlier copies begin *Pater coelestis*, and one of 1869 reads Valliae for Walliae . . .

own Convocation, with an interesting prayer for the Lord Deputy appended.⁵⁹

But the period before 1689 is not so clear, and no copies of the *Forma Precum* have been found before that date. The official records were lost in the Great Fire, but Dr. Cardwell recovered from various sources a good deal which he published as *Synodalia*. Our anonymous author also says in one of his notes,⁶⁰ 'The Service and Sacrifice of the Mass was reformed into purer Latin Prayers, a right Communion of the Blessed Sacrament.' Certainly something of the kind did take place in Parker's first Convocation. For the record in *Synodalia* uses the phrase *Sacris peractis* for the Convocation of 1547,⁶¹ and in 1554 (in the absence of Cranmer) *omnia juxta consuetam formam, praesidente episcopo London. peracta sunt*.⁶² In 1555 *episcopi London. pontificalibus insigniis redimiti, sacra peragebantur*.⁶³ And at the first Convocation under Queen Elizabeth (with Bishop Bonner again presiding) it is explicitly recorded *ubi missa de Spiritu Sancto finita*.⁶⁴ For 1562–63, however, we find . . . *decantata fuit per ministros ecclesiae Letania, in sermone vulgari (iuxta morem et ritum in Libro nuncupato the Book of Common Prayers descriptum). Qua finita, ac hymno Veni Creator . . . in vulgari solemniter decantato . . . concionem Latinam stilo venusto . . . ac psalmo . . . in sermone*

⁵⁹ B.M. Lib. 3407.c.29. See Appendix 4.

⁶¹ *Synodalia*, ii. p. 489.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 443.

⁶⁰ Note 4.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 491.

vulgato decantato, celebrata fuit sacra communio per reverendum patrem dominum Edmundum Grindalem, episcopum London., dictusque reverendissimus dominus ac caeteri omnes episcopi praesentes sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini communicabant.⁶⁵ And again in 1579–80 *post dictam Litaniam Anglico idiomate in ecclesia Sancti Pauli*.⁶⁶ In 1584 the old form *Peractis sacris* occurs, but presumably this means the same order as in 1562–63. In 1601 the same is the case.⁶⁷ In 1604, however, there was a change; *decantato per ministros chori praedicti hymno Te Deum laudamus etc. in sermone Anglicano . . . concionem venustam et eloquentem sermone Latino . . . decantato . . . psalmo sive hymno, O Lord, save Thy servant Charles*.⁶⁸ And in 1661 there was a further change. . . . *decantato per ministros chori praedicti hymno Te Deum laudamus etc., lectoque capitulo pro lectione secunda istius diei et aliis precibus matutinis juxta formam liturgiae peractis, et alio hymno O Lord, make Thy servant Charles cantato . . . concionem venustam et eloquentem sermone Latino*—a sort of shortened Morning Prayer.⁶⁹ All the time until the Restoration at the opening Service the Sermon continued to be in Latin as of ancient custom, while all the rest was in English. But at some time or another, and probably soon after, (taking advantage of the permission to use Latin in the new Act of Uniformity) the whole Service came to be in Latin, and it is tempting to think that this change was effected by Archbishop

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 594.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 541.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 635.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 552.

Sancroft, who had had such a leading part in the 1662 revision of the Prayer Book, though there is no contemporary evidence. What is certain is that about 250 years later a completely Latin form consisting of a Processional Psalm (68), Litany, *Veni Creator*, Sermon, and *Gloria in Excelsis* (as a remnant of the disused Eucharist) was regarded as of immemorial antiquity. In 1910 under the chairmanship of Bishop Gore (then of Birmingham) a Committee of the Upper House revised this form, but only textually.⁷⁰ The Procession was the opening act as it had been for so long, but the Psalm of ancient use, 67 (68) (*Exsurgat Deus*) was abandoned, and in its stead Psalms 23 (24) *Domini est terra*, 120 (121) *Levavi oculos*, 121 (122) *Laetatus sum*, and 125 (126) *In convertendo*, all in the Gallican Text and numbering. The *Veni Creator* was to be in the earliest text as given by Julian, and the *Gloria in excelsis* in the ancient form 'as found in the Roman Missal'. This Report was accepted by the Upper House and received the President's authorization.⁷¹ So it continued until 1960, when the Sermon was for the first time 'in the vulgar tongue', and a modern Hymn in the same language was sung in place of the *Gloria in excelsis*. But the Psalms and Litany remained in Latin.

In such manner has the opening Service varied, but the origin of the Latin Litany is not thereby indicated. It is true that the anonymous writer quoted above was

⁷⁰ For debate, see Chron. Conv. *ad loc.*

⁷¹ Chronicle of Convocation, 1910. Upper House Report No. 437.

convinced that it was the work of Archbishop Parker and states 'For the use of the Synod, there was drawn up by the Archbishop (sc. Parker) only, and by him alone prescribed *Forma Precum in utraque domo Convocationis*.' And yet the Litany was certainly in English at the opening Service of that Convocation, and for nearly a century later. It may have been that Parker did not feel able to use the Latin form in St. Paul's (possibly in deference to the views of Bishop Grindal in whose Cathedral the Service was held) and he may not have wished to use the 1560 version owing to the hostility shewn to it in his own University of Cambridge. But there are certain records in *Synodalia* which seem to confirm the view that Parker composed the Latin Litany and used it himself in the course of his first Convocation, and on some later occasions. Thus, only a day or two after the Convocation of 1562—63 had been constituted, in the first Session for business, on January 16th it is recorded, *in domo capitulari ecclesiae cathedralis divi Pauli London. congregati, primum ac ante omnia preces Deo optimo maximo effundebant, dicta publice ac alta et intelligibili voce per ipsum reverendissimum patrem Letania in sermone Latino, una cum collectis assuetis ac oratione synodo provinciali dicenda, noviter (ut apparuit) edita*.⁷² This seems to confirm that the Latin Litany and also the special prayer still used at its conclusion were composed by Parker himself. And, further, in a later Convocation, on April 7th, 1571, . . . *preces*

⁷² *Synodalia*, ii., p. 505.

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*D.O.M. fundebat archiepiscopus, una cum quibusdam orationibus et collectis in sermone Latina in synodis (ut apparuit) dicendis editis.*⁷³ And again in the Session of April 20th, *dictis et recitatis per eundem reverendissimum precibus consue-*⁷⁴ *tis.* So it would seem that we have credible record of Archbishop Parker, not only as the translator of the Latin Litany used in the Convocation of Canterbury ever since, but also as the composer of the traditional Prayer for the Synod, and that he used them both in Latin when presiding over the Upper House. Moreover, when we come to the earliest extant copy of this Litany, it bears the same title as in his Formula for the holding of Convocation—*Forma precum in utraque Domo Convocationis*,⁷⁵ but with the addition of *initio cujuslibet Sessionis solemniter recitanda . . . praeunte in Domo quidem superiori Episcopo novissime consecrato; in inferiori autem Prolocutore.* And the Irish form adds *postquam fuerit electus, approbatus & confirmatus.*⁷⁶

With all this ancient prescription there would have seemed no need for giving permission to use Latin Prayers in Convocation as provided by the Act of Uniformity of 1662.⁷⁷

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, p. 528.

⁷⁵ Lam.P. Lib. 1689.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 529.

⁷⁶ Dublin, 1704.

⁷⁷ A more detailed study of the variations of the different versions of the Litany in Latin cannot be attempted here, but it is hoped that the foregoing account of the Books containing them will be helpful to those interested in ancient usage.

APPENDIX I

IN view of the importance of the 1560 Latin Prayer Book, a fuller account of the Letters Patent, and the two forms of Service not in the English version of 1559, than a note would provide, is given here.

Elizabeth, Dei gratie . . . Regina . . . &c.
Notum vobis esse volumus, quod quoniam intelligimus Collegia utriusque Academiae, Cantabrigiensis & Oxoniensis; Collegium item Novum prope Wintoniam, & Etonense, bonis literis dicata, supplicibus votis petere, ut quo sacrarum literarum monumenta Latina ad uberiores Theologiae fructum eis reddantur magis familiaria eis liceat eadem forma precum Latine uti; . . . constituimus per praesentes, licitum esse & permissum nostra autoritate & privilegio regali, tam Decano & Sodalitio Ecclesiae Christi in Academia nostra Oxoniae, quam Praesidibus, custodibus, rectoribus, magistris & sodalitatibus, omnium & singulorum Collegiorum Cantabrigiae, Oxoniae, Wintoniae, & Etoniae hoc modo precandi Latine uti publice in Ecclesiis & Sacellis suis . . . Cui item peculiaris quaedam in Christianorum funebribus & exequiis decantanda adjungi praecipimus, Statuto illo praedicto de ritu publicarum . . . anno primo regni nostri promulgato, in contrarium non obstante. . . . Eadem etiam formula Latina precandi privatim uti hortamur omnes reliquos Ecclesiae nostrae Anglicanae ministros, cujuscunque gradus fuerint, iis diebus, quibus aut non solent, aut non tenentur parochianis . . . publice . . . recitare. . . . Dat. apud Palatium nostrum

de Westmonasterio, sexta die Aprilis. Anno regni nostri secundo.

D. Augustinus De civitate Dei, libro primo, capite 12, Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatio, quam subsidia mortuorum.

IN commendationibus Benefactorum.

Ad cujusque termini finem, commendatio fiat fundatoris, aliorumque clarorum virorum, quorum beneficentia Collegium locupletatur.

Ejus haec sit forma. . . .

Pater noster . . .

Psalm 144 (145)

„ 145 (146)

„ 146 (147).

Post haec legatur caput 44 Ecclesiastici.

His finitis, sequatur concio . . .

Hac concione perorata, decantetur

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.

Ad extremum haec adhibeantur

Minister. In memoriam aeternam erit justus.

Resposio. Ab auditu malo non timebit.

Minister. Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt.

Reponsio. Nec attinget illos cruciatus.

Oremus.

Domine Deus, resurrectio & vita credentium, qui semper es laudandus, tam in viventibus, quam in defunctis, agimus tibi gratias pro fundatore nostro N., ceterisque benefactoribus nostris, quorum beneficiis hic ad pietatem & studia literarum alimur; rogantes, ut nos his donis ad tuam gloriam

recte utentes, una cum illis ad resurrectionis gloriam immortalem perducamur. Per. . . .

Celebratio coenae Domini, in funebribus. Si amici & vicini defuncti communicare velint.

Collecta (translated from Collect at end of Funeral Service in 1559 Prayer Book), but not agreeing verbally with the 1560 Version).

Epistola, 1 Thess. iiii Nolo vos ignorare . . . sermonibus his.

Evangelium. Joan. vi. Dixit Jesus . . . Omne quod dat . . . in novissimo die.

Vel hoc Evangelium. Joan. v. Dixit Jesus . . . Amen, Amen dico vobis . . . in resurrectionem condemnationis.

From copy in Westminster Abbey Library. X.4.1. It has a few small variations from Parker Society's copy.

APPENDIX 2

THE variants of translation as shewn in the third Collect at Morning Prayer.

Sarum Prime. Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui nos ad principium huius diei pervenire fecisti, tua nos hodie *salua* virtute; et concede vt in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum; nec ullum incurramus periculum; sed semper ad tuam iustitiam faciendam omnis nostra actio tuo moderamine dirigatur. Per . . .¹

1560. Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui nos ad principium huius diei pervenire fecisti, tua nos hodie *serva* virtute, ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus *mortale* peccatum, nec ullum incurramus periculum, sed semper ad tuam iustitiam faciendam omnis nostra actio tuo moderamine dirigatur. Per . . .

1670. O Domine Pater noster coelestis, Omnipotens et sempiternus Deus, qui nos incolumes ad initium huius diei perduxisti, tua nos hodie potenti virtute protege, da etiam ne in ullum hac die peccatum incidamus, aut in ullum periculum incurramus, sed ut singulae actiones nostrae tuo moderamine ita dirigantur, ut quod justum est in conspectu tuo id semper praestemus. Per . . .²

1865. Bright and Medd; Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, aeterne Deus etc., as Sarum.

1821. Bagster. O Domine Pater noster coelestis, Omnipotens et sempiternus Deus, qui nos incolumes ad initium

¹ Brightman, i, 148. Cf. *Breviarium . . . Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth.

² B.M. Lib. 3406.a.a.a.25 is dated 1669.

huius diei perduxisti, tua nos hodie potenti virtute protege, da etiam ne in ullum hac die peccatum incidamus, aut in ullum periculum incurramus, sed ut singulae actiones nostrae tuo moderamine ita dirigantur, ut, quod justum est in conspectu tuo id semper praestemus. Per . . .

1874. Roman Breviary. Prime. Domine Deus omnipotens, qui ad principium huius diei nos pervenire fecisti; tua nos hodie salva virtute: ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum, sed semper ad tuam iustitiam nostra procedant eloquia, dirigantur cogitationes et opera. Per . . .

APPENDIX 3

WESTMINSTER COMMEMORATION

Procession. Angularis fundamentum lapis Christus missus est.

V. Domine, labia nostra aperi; (etc.)

Psalm 148. *Laudate Dominum de coelis.*

„ 150. *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus.*

Lesson (read by the Dean) Ecclesiasticus 44.

Metrical Psalm 117. *O gentes omnes undique (etc).*

Then the Head Master reads the Form of Commemoration.

V. Benedictus Deus in bonis suis (etc.).

Hymn. Gloriosi Salvatoris Nominis praeconia

(While the roses are carried to the Tomb)

V. Sit Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster (etc.).

V. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

R. Sed libera nos a malo.

V. In memoria aeterna erit justus;

R. Ab auditu malo non timebit.

V. Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt;

R. Nec attinget illas cruciatus.

Miserere, quaesumus, Domine, animabus benefactorum nostrorum defunctorum; et pro beneficiis quae nobis largiti sunt in terris praemia aeterna consequantur in coelis; per . . .

Actiones nostras, quaesumus, Domine, aspirando . . .

Illumina, quaesumus, Domine Deus, tenebras nostras . . .

Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, . . .

Te Deum laudamus . . .

Pax Dei, quae superat omnem sensum . . . Et Benedictio Dei . . .

APPENDIX 4

The following is the Prayer for the Viceroy of Ireland in the *Forma Precum* for the Irish Convocation in 1704.

Oratio pro Domino Locum tenente.

Omnipotens Deus penes quem est omnis terrena potestas, te supplices rogamus, ut benedicas Illustrissimo JACOBO ORMONIAE Duci, summo hujus Regni Gubernatori; & faxit Deus ut Gladio a Serenissima Reginae Majestate illi concredito in fide tua & timore utatur, & secundum sacrosanctam tuam voluntatem & verbum; gratia tua illuminet, stabiliat bonitas & conservet providentia; benedicas quaesumus quotquot sunt a Reginae Conciliis secretioribus, ut auxilio tuo Divino freti, Gloriae tuae incremento, Ecclesiae bono, sacrae Reginae Majestatis decori, securitati denique & commodo hujus Regni, in suis deliberationibus consulant. Da haec, Pater misericors, propter Jesum Christum Salvatorem nostrum unicum & redemptorem.