

The Sunday Morning Service of the 'Book of Common Order.'

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LAST year in an article in the 'Annual' entitled "Calvin's Attitude to Public Worship," I made the statement that "the main diet of worship with Calvin does not have its source in the Daily Offices or Choir Services, as has been frequently supposed; nor does it find its origin in the Prone, as Brightman has been led to affirm. It is derived from the Eucharist." It has been suggested to me that this statement might acceptably be elucidated, especially with regard to its significance for early Scottish Reformed Worship. This I therefore propose to do in the article following, as far as space will permit.

It is well known that the 'Book of Common Order,' which was the standard of worship in the Church of Scotland for some eighty years after the Reformation, was in the first instance derived directly from the 'Forme of Prayers,' &c.,¹ used by the English congregation of Marian exiles in Geneva, of which Knox was one of the Ministers. This 'Forme of Prayers,' while first printed at Geneva in 1556, had been compiled almost a year before at Frankfort-on-the-Main in March 1555 by a committee of five

¹ Commonly known as the 'Book of Geneva.'

appointed by the English congregation of refugees gathered at that place. The committee had been instructed to prepare "an order meete for our state and time" as a solution of the quarrel then in progress over the order of worship between the Anglicans and Calvinists of the English congregation at Frankfort. The 'Forme of Prayers,' however, did not prove to be the solution hoped for, and it was never used in Frankfort. Later in the year most of the Frankfort Calvinists withdrew to Geneva, where they were soon joined by other Calvinists from other towns, and an English congregation was formed there. To meet the needs of this congregation, early in the following year (1556) the 'Forme of Prayers' was printed, and used with satisfaction and success as long as the congregation existed. At the accession of Elizabeth the congregation was disbanded, and the returning exiles carried their service book back to England with them, where it was used by the non-conforming Puritans till 1644. Copies also had dribbled into Scotland from 1556 onwards, and were in use in some of the Reformed congregations. In 1560, the first General Assembly directed that "the Sacramentis suld be ministerit after the Order of the kirk of Geneua," and this was confirmed in 1562 by another Assembly. In 1564 a further act was passed "ordaining that every Minister, exhorter and reader shall have one of the Psalm-Books lately printed at Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein, in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the Sacraments." This "Psalm-Book lately printed at Edinburgh" was a slightly revised edition of the 'Forme of Prayers,' commonly known thereafter as the 'Book of Common Order.'

The committee¹ which compiled the 'Forme of Prayers' in Frankfort was composed entirely of Calvinists. As we should expect, therefore, the orders of worship were closely related to those of Calvin. With respect to the Sunday Morning Service, while following Calvin in the main, a certain measure of independence was shown on the part of the compilers. Many other parts of the 'Forme of Prayers' are derived word for word from Huycke's English translation² (1550) of Calvin's Genevan 'La Forme' of 1542 or 1548; but in the Sunday Morning Service, while

¹ The committee consisted of Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Fox, and Cole. ('Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort,' edn. 1846, p. xxxvi.)

² Copy in the British Museum. It has not been reprinted.

Huycke's influence may be seen, he is not verbally followed. Valérand Pullain also, who was Minister of the French congregation of refugees at Frankfort in 1555, appears to have exercised a certain influence over the compilers of the 'Forme of Prayers.' The two congregations were on friendly terms, and were using the same church for worship, so this influence on the part of Pullain was a natural one. Pullain's order of worship was a version of Calvin's 'La Forme,' 1545 (Strasburg), as will later be indicated, and therefore his influence, too, would be of a Calvinistic nature. Thus we find that the general order of the Sunday Morning Service in the 'Forme of Prayers' is practically that of Calvin from 1542 onwards: this will be demonstrated in detail in a table to follow.

With regard to the separate parts of the service, the confession of sins is a translation of Calvin's confession, with a prayer for pardon added, this latter perhaps being remotely influenced by the confession and absolution at Mattins in the 'Book of Common Prayer.' The long prayer, however, which follows the sermon, seems to be entirely a product of the compilers themselves, having no *verbal* relationship to Calvin: at the same time, in actual scope and content it is very closely related to Calvin. There is also a confession of sins based on Daniel ix., which likewise appears to be an independent compilation. Nevertheless, in spite of these slight deviations from Calvin, it remains perfectly clear that Calvin's Genevan Sunday Morning Service was the governing influence and main source of the service outlined in the 'Forme of Prayers.' This is beyond all question of doubt.

The question next arises, from what sources was Calvin's Service derived?

Calvin's service first took form while he was Minister of the congregation of French Protestant exiles at Strasburg from 1538-41. Before Calvin came to Strasburg and was appointed Minister of the French Church, though the congregation had been in existence since 1533, the German magistrates had not permitted them to celebrate the sacraments, but only to have services consisting of reading, preaching, singing, and prayers, so they possessed no printed formulary of worship. But with Calvin's arrival the situation was changed; and permission was given,

as a special privilege, to celebrate the Lord's Supper once a month. Thus it became necessary to have a book of forms embodying the rite they proposed to use. Accordingly, towards the end of 1539 (about a year after his arrival at Strasburg), Calvin published a complete service book, containing a service for Sunday Morning worship, orders for the celebration of the sacraments, various prayers, and a few paraphrases together with some of Marot's metrical psalms. The first edition has unfortunately disappeared, no single copy remaining extant. One copy of the second edition, however, is still in existence, and is now deposited in the Library at Geneva.

This second edition was printed on 15th February 1542 after Calvin had returned to Geneva, under the direction of his successor, Pierre Brully, but it was apparently word for word the same as the first edition. It was entitled '*La manyere de faire prieres aux eglises francoyses,*' &c., and the colophon stated that the book was "*Imprimé à Rome par le commandement du pape, par Theodore Brüz allemant, son imprimeur ordinaire.*" This was, of course, a mere ruse, for the book was actually printed at Strasburg by the printer Knobloch. Also, that it was in point of fact a reprint of Calvin's lost edition is made clear beyond all doubt by Brully's statement concerning it, as follows: "*Ich habe die frantzösischen gesang psalmen, gemeine gebet vnd formular der Sacrament handlungen diser Kirchen alhie, weil keine büchlin mehr vorhanden, widerumb inn Druck verfertigt.*"¹

Calvin's '*La Forme*'² of 1545 (Strasburg edn.), which he had prepared upon request for the use of his old congregation at Strasburg, is really a third edition of his '*La manyere*' above referred to. Apart from the change of title, revision of the spelling, and one or two minor changes, the two books are liturgically identical.

A fourth edition is to be found in Valérand Pullain's '*Liturgia sacra,*'³ London, 1551. Pullain had been a successor of Calvin at Strasburg, but continental troubles had made it necessary for him to seek refuge with his con-

¹ Erichson, '*Gottesdienstord.*,' p. 10.

² Texts of the '*La Forme*' (all edns.) are given in '*Calvini opera,*' VI. ('*Corp. Reform.*,' XXXIV.).

³ For text the original must be consulted. A copy in British Museum.

gregation in England, and there his 'Liturgia sacra' appeared. So far as the forms of service are concerned, it is the same book translated into Latin, embodying a number of small modifications of phrase and order, and with rather fuller rubrics indicating more precisely the exact nature of the rite; and because of these rubrics it is of very considerable value. It was a later edition of Pullain's 'Liturgia sacra,' that of 1554 (Frankfort, whither Pullain had since been forced to remove because of Mary's accession), which was before Knox and his committee when they compiled their 'Forme of Prayers' in 1555, as has been mentioned in a preceding paragraph.

So much for the immediate sources. Whence were these themselves derived?

With respect to the Sunday Morning Service, Calvin leaves us in no doubt whatever, for in his 'Discours d'adieu aux ministres' he writes: "Quant aux prieres de dimanches ie prins la forme de Strasbourg et empruntay la plus grande partie."¹ "La forme de Strasbourg" could only mean the form of service used in the German Church in Strasburg, of which Bucer was a Minister. This form of Bucer's is still in existence, being now deposited in the Library of Strasburg; it is also reprinted in Hubert's 'Straszb. lit. Ordn.' It is entitled, 'Psalter mit aller Kirchenübüg die man bey der Christlichen Gemein zu Straszburg vnd anderswa pflägt zu siingen...' 1539. Since Calvin apparently did not read or speak German,² it would be necessary for him to depend upon someone else to prepare him a rough draft in Latin or French of the German service and prayers, and from this rough draft he fashioned his own order of service and its prayers. In both he did not hesitate to use his own initiative, yet he made no serious departure from Bucer in either phrase or order. An examination of the two orders, apart altogether from Calvin's statement above-quoted, establishes the fact beyond dispute that both service and prayers in Calvin's 'La manyere,' and later his 'La Forme,' were derived *directly* from Bucer's 'Psalter.'

The following table of comparison will serve to demonstrate the close textual connection between Bucer, Calvin,

¹ 'Calv. opera,' IX., 894.

² 'Calv. opera,' XVI., 553.

and Knox. For the sake of brevity, the confession of sins alone is set forth in the parallel columns below, but Calvin's long prayer and the long prayer in Bucer (3rd alternative¹) could be similarly treated,² (as could the post-communion prayers and the rubrics), and again a close textual relationship would be established. The Long Prayer in the 'Forme of Prayers,' as we have said, was not derived from Calvin, but Huycke's translation of Calvin's prayer³ was added to the first Edinburgh edition of the 'Forme of Prayers,' 1562, and retained its place in the 'Book of Common Order.' We now give the confession of sins in the German, French, and English:—

Bucer's 'Psalter,' 1539.	Calvin's 'La Forme' (all edns.).	'Forme of Prayers,' 1556.
Allmechtiger, ewiger gott vnd vatter, wir bekennen vnd ve- riehen,	Seigneur Dieu, Père e- ternel et tout puissant, nous confessons et recon- gnoissons sans feinctise, devant ta sainte Maiesté, que nous sommes paovres pescheurs, conceuz et nez en iniquité et corrup- tion :	O Eternal God and moste mercifull father, we confesse, and acknow- lage, here before thy diuine maiestie, that we are miserable syn- ners, conceived and borne in synne and iniquitie, so that in vs there is no goodnes. For the fleshe euermore rebelleth againste the spirite,
vnd daher geneigt zu allem argen vnd treg zu allem guten, das wir deine heilige ge- bott on vnderlasz übertretten vnd vns selb jimmer mehr verderben,	enclins à mal faire, inutiles à tout bien : et que de nostre vice, nous transgresserons sans fin et sans cesse, tes saintz commandemens. Enquoy faysant, nous acquerons, par ton iuste iugement, ruine et perdition sur nous. Toutefois, Seigneur, nous avons desplaisir, en nous mesmes, de t'avoir offencé, et condemns nous et noz vices, avec vraye repen- tance, desirant, que ta grace subviene à nostre calamité. Veille donc a- voir pitié de nous, Dieu et Pere tresbening, et plein de misericorde, au Nom de ton Filz Iesus Christ, nostre Seigneur.	whereby we contynually transgresse thy holy preceptes, and commaundementes, and so purchase to our selues, through thy iust iudgement, death and damnation. Notwithstandinge, (ò heauenly father) forasmoeche as we are displeased with our selues for the synnes, that we haue committed against thee, and do vnfeynedly repent vs of the same :
das ist vns aber leid		
vnd begeren deiner gnaden vnd hülf ; so erbarme dich über vns, gütigster, barm- hertzigster gott vnd vatter, durch deinen sün, vnseren herren Iesum Christum;		we moste humbly beseche thee, for Iesus Christes sake,
		to shewe thy mercie vpon vs, to forgiue vs all our synnes,

¹ Hubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-108.

² Büchschütz, 'Hist. des lits,' has placed these two prayers in parallel columns, and has clearly established Calvin's dependence upon Bucer.

³ This prayer will be found in Sprott, 'Book of Common Order,' p. 92.

Bucer's 'Psalter,' 1539.	Calvin's 'La Forme' (all edns.).	'Forme of Prayers,' 1556.
verleihe vnd mehre vns deinen h. geyst, damit wir vnser sünd vnd vn- gerechtigkeit inn grund vnser hertzens erken- nen,	Et en effaceant nos vices et macules, eslargis nous et augmente de iour en iour les graces de ton saint Esprit : afin que reconnoissant de tout nostre coeur nostre in- iustice, nous soyons touchez de desplaisir, qui engendre droicte penitence en nous : laquelle nous mortifiant à tous pechez, produise en nous fruitz de iustice et innocence qui te soyent agreables, par iceluy Iesus Christ.	and to increase thy holy spirite in vs : that we acknowlaginge, from the botome of our hartes, our owne vnrightuousnes, may from hensforth, not onely mortifie our sinfull lustes and affections, but also bringe forth such fruites, as may be agreable to thy moste blessed wyll.
jnen gantzlich ab- sterben vnd dir in einem neuen gottsäligen leben gantz- lich wolgefallen.		

The above shows the similarity of matter in the parts ; the table below will indicate the close relationship which exists between the orders :—

'Psalter,' 1539 (Bucer). (German Church, Strasburg.)	'La manyere,' 1542 (Calvin). 'La Forme,' 1545 (Calvin). (French Church, Strasburg.)	'La Forme,' 1542 (Calvin). (French Church, Geneva.) 'Forme of Prayers,' 1556 (Knox, &c.). (English Church, Geneva.)
Scr. sents.—" Our help," &c.	Scr. sents.—do.	Scr. sents.—do. (Calvin only).
Bidding to confession.	Bidding to confession.	Bidding to confession (Calvin only).
Confession of sins (a choice of three).	Confession of sins (do. as 2nd in the German 'Psalter').	Confession of sins (do. as 'La manyere.' In Knox an alternative one from Daniel ix.).
Scr. sents. of remission.	Scr. sents. of remission.	
Absolution.	Absolution.	Prayer for pardon (Knox only, and continued as part of the prayer of confession).
Singing (Ps. 57, or an- other psalm ; the seven words from the Cross, or another hymn ; or the Kyrieleyson and Gloria in excelsis).	Singing (1st Table of the Decalogue ¹ in metre, beginning, " Leve le cœur ").	Singing (Metrical Psalm).
	Prayer (for instruction in God's Law).	
	Singing (2nd Table of Decalogue, during which Minister goes from Holy Table to the pulpit).	

¹ The singing of the Ten Commandments was borrowed from Bucer also. Compare Bucer's description of his own service on a page following.

'Psalter,' 1539 (Bucer). (German Church, Strasburg.)	'La manyere,' 1542 (Calvin). 'La Forme,' 1545 (Calvin). (French Church, Strasburg.)	'La Forme,' 1542 (Calvin). (French Church, Geneva.) 'Forme of Prayers,' 1556. (Knox, &c.). (English Church, Geneva.)
Prayer (Collect for illumination).	Prayer (Collect for illumination).	
Singing (Psalm in metre, during which Minister goes from Holy Table to the pulpit).		
Reading from Gospel and the Sermon.	Reading from N.T. and the Sermon.	Reading from Scriptures and the Sermon.
Apostles' Creed, sung by all.		
Long prayer (choice of three) and the Lord's Prayer.	Long prayer (almost identical with 3rd in German 'Psalter') and the Lord's Prayer in a long paraphrase.	Long prayer and Lord's Prayer (in paraphrase in Calvin).
	Apostles' Creed, sung in metre.	Apostles' Creed, said by Minister alone (with Calvin, sung by people on Communion Sundays).
(Psalm in metre, if no Communion, as in smaller Churches—monthly Communion.)		Psalm in metre.
Blessing (from Numbers) and Dismissal.	Blessing (from Numbers).	Blessing (Numbers), and in Knox from 1 Cor. also.

The above tables indicate clearly the relationship between the Sunday Morning Services of Bucer, Calvin, and Knox ; and they also show at a glance the stages of simplification¹ which they passed through. Of the connection between them there can be no doubt.

The next question that arises, therefore, is, what is the nature and origin of Bucer's rite at Strasburg from which Calvin's (and Knox's) rite is derived ? The answer is to be found partly in its history, and partly in its content.

First, let us explore briefly the history of the rite : this takes us back to the early days of the Reformation. Luther, in his treatise, 'The Babylonian Captivity of the Church' (1520), had declared that a German Mass was necessary if all were to understand and intelligently to par-

¹ This simplification can hardly be regarded, however, as an improvement.

ticipate in the public worship of God, but had hesitated himself to take the step involved in such a drastic uprooting of old tradition. Three years later he published his 'Formula missae,'¹ in which he sought to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of a true eucharist, between what was Scriptural and primitive and that which was later added, and to devise a rite purged of abuses and superstitions which would be in accordance with early Catholic usage. But though urged from many quarters to give a further lead by producing a missal in the vernacular, he was slow and reluctant to comply with the demand, and not till 1526 did he finally print his 'Deutsche Messe.'¹

But Luther had been anticipated by many of his followers, who in varying degrees had begun to celebrate the Mass in German, so that a considerable number of rites, for the most part quite independent of each other, were beginning to spring up. At Strasburg, the first German Mass² was compiled and celebrated by Diebold Schwarz (Theobaldus Niger) on the 16th of February 1524 in the St John's Chapel of the cathedral of St Laurence.

Schwarz's Mass, the actual black-letter MS. of which still exists in the Strasburg Library, is an almost literal translation of the Roman Mass, with certain elements omitted—e.g., the introit and the offertory.³ But the vestments, the holy water, the lavabo, the signings with the cross, the genuflexions, the Nicene Creed, the turnings at the Altar (except that the canon is now said facing the people), the bells, the choir-boys, &c., still remain. The prayers, however, are all said in a loud clear voice; and while much of the familiar ceremonial is still retained, the people are no longer dependent upon it, the bells, and the ecphoneses, to follow the service, for they now hear the whole service in the German tongue, a tongue which they can follow and understand. Thus, this vernacular Mass instituted by Schwarz proved to be a pioneer

¹ The texts will be found in Sehling, 'Evang. Kirchenordn. des XVI. Jahrh.,' vol. i. A convenient summary is given in Brightman, 'English Rite,' i. pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

² Text reprinted in the 'Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst,' 1896, pp. 4-8. Also partly reprinted in Smend, 'Deverste evang. Gottesdienst.'

³ This was no doubt due to Luther's influence; cf. his 'Formula missae.'

which soon brought others in its train to the new realm of evangelical freedom. It was produced and used while the Reformation at Strasburg was still under the influence of Luther, but local judgment was also exercised, and Luther's opinions were in no way regarded as final.

The year following, and from that time throughout the period with which we are concerned, Bucer became more and more the leading ecclesiastical figure at Strasburg, and his influence was increasingly felt. Bucer's theological position, as is well known, may be described as a *via media* between Lutheranism and Zwinglianism. Therefore, his influence on the worship at Strasburg was towards simplification. After 1525 there were occasional rever-sions to Catholic custom—*e.g.*, the introit is restored, and also the lavabo, but on the whole the trend is steadily towards simplicity and a larger freedom. Most of the ceremonial disappears, as do the vestments, genuflexions, responses (except the 'amens'), incense, and candles. For a time the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds stand side by side, the choice of which shall be used being left to the Minister. But before long the Nicene disappears, and the Apostles' Creed alone is used.¹ Soon, too, the psalms, canticles, and creed are thrown into metre, and sung to simple music. A choice appears in the prayers, until by 1539 there are three confiteors and three canons. The service is conducted from the Altar, which is now called the Holy Table, and the Minister ('Pfarrer' or 'Diener' as he is now designated, instead of 'Priester,' as formerly) stands behind the Table, facing the west. The service is no longer known as the 'Teutsche Mesz,' but the Scriptural name of 'Herren Nachtmal' is used. The Epistles and Gospels, while still retained, are not selected according to the old lectionaries, but begin to be read in consecutive passages; and an explanation and instruction follows each reading, the longer instruction following the Gospel as the main sermon. In the earlier period there were two 'sermons,' and almost from the beginning it became a cardinal principle of the Strasburg Reformation that no part of Scripture should be read unless an instruction and explanation followed. Presently the Epistle dropped out

¹ Luther's influence here also played a part; cf. his 'Deutsche Messe.' Also the simplicity and shortness of the Apostles' Creed would help to establish it, while no doubt the idea of its possessing apostolic authority would appeal strongly to the 'Reformed' mind.

altogether, and by 1539 the Gospel alone remained, and the sermon was always based upon it. At other services the Old Testament and the remainder of the New Testament were read and studied. Before long (as in Calvin's and Knox's uses) the reading and sermon were known only as 'the sermon,' but reading of Scripture was always included, and the reading of a considerable passage. It was not the custom then to preach a topical sermon from one text. With regard to the words of institution, they were early detached from the canon,¹ and were read separately after the exhortation following the canon.

Much more detail might be given,² but space does not permit the tracing of each step. The intermediate stage between 1524 and 1539, however, may well be illustrated by Bucer's own description of the Strasburg Sunday Morning Service. It is as follows:—

"When the congregation comes together on Sunday, the Minister (Diener) exhorts the people to confess their sins and to pray for pardon, and on behalf of the whole congregation he makes confession of sins to God, prays for pardon, and pronounces absolution of sins to the believers. Thereupon, the whole congregation sings a few short psalms or hymns of praise. After that the Minister says a short prayer, reads to the congregation a passage from the writings of the Apostles, and as briefly as possible expounds the same. Then the congregation sings again: the Ten Commandments or something else. Then the Minister (Priester) reads (*verkündet*) the Gospel, and preaches the sermon proper. After the sermon the congregation sings the Articles of our belief. Thereafter the Minister says a prayer for the Magistrates and for all men, and especially for the congregation there present, in which he prays for an increase of faith, love, and grace to hold the memory of Christ's death in awe. Then he admonishes those who wish to observe the Lord's Supper with him (*mit ihm das Nachtmal Christi halten wollen*), that they are to do so in memory of Christ, that they are to die to their sins, to bear their Cross willingly, and to be strengthened in faith for what must come to pass when we contemplate with believing hearts what measureless grace and goodness Christ hath shown to us in that He offered up to His Father His life and blood for us upon the Cross. After this exhortation, he reads (*verkündet*) the Gospel concerning the Lord's Supper, as the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, as well as Paul in

¹ In Strasburg the canon was not dispensed with as Luther had done in his 'Formula missae' and 'Deutsche Messe.' It was still retained, though gradually changed, and alternative canons introduced.

² All the liturgies from 1524-1539 are reprinted carefully and concisely in Hubert, *op. cit.*

1 Cor. xi. have described it. Then the Minister distributes the bread and the cup of the Lord among them, partaking of it also himself. Thereafter the congregation again sings a hymn of praise. And after this the Minister closes the Supper with a short prayer, blesses the people and lets them go in the peace of the Lord. This is the manner and custom with which we now celebrate the Lord's Supper on Sundays only."¹

This description indicates what the intermediate stage (*i.e.*, from 1525-) was at Strasburg. The main difference between this service and that of 1539 was that by then the Epistle had dropped out.

We now ask, having examined the history, what is the nature of this Sunday Morning Service at Strasburg ?

The history shows that quite obviously the service is a true eucharist. It was in the first instance an almost literal translation of the Mass. Then it was gradually modified and simplified, but always in the line of the central tradition. The confession of sins was first a translation of the Roman 'confiteor'; then for the sake of freedom and variety, two other confessions were added. The same applies to the great prayer. In the first case it was an almost literal translation of the Roman canon; then for the sake of freedom and variety, two alternative *canons* were added. But in scope, content, and intention, the service still remained a eucharist. To suggest that *only* the vernacular parts of the medieval Mass (which were not a true part of the Mass at all) remained is preposterous, and the statement does not match the historical facts. The Strasburg Sunday Morning Service was a eucharist, celebrated in the vernacular, and devoid of all medieval ceremonial, but still a true eucharist just as the eucharist of the primitive Church was a true eucharist; just as the vernacular eucharist of the Anglican Church to-day is a true eucharist.

It should be noted that at Strasburg at this period communion was celebrated every Sunday Morning except in the small country churches of the district. The service of 1539, therefore, is not completely outlined in the table of parallels on a preceding page, for all that concerns the communion has been omitted. This has been done for the sake of brevity, and to preserve the parallel with

¹ Bucer, 'Grund und Ursach,' chap. ii., v. Hubert, *op. cit.*, p. lxix.

Calvin ; but the fact that the service was a complete eucharist should not be lost sight of.

What happened when Calvin "took and borrowed the greater part of" this Service in 1539? Because of the fact that the Magistrates permitted him to celebrate communion only once a month, it was necessary on other Sunday mornings to omit all that immediately concerned communion in the service. Accordingly, he broke off the canon at the end of the intercessions, and before the consecration; he omitted the words of institution, the communion, and the post-communion prayer. The remainder he retained. The remainder, therefore, was a 'missa sicca' (to quote a medieval parallel), or a 'missa catechumenorum' (to quote a primitive parallel); it was not a Prone,¹ any more than the service enjoined in the first rubric after communion in the 'Book of Common Prayer' is a Prone. It was not conducted from the pulpit, as is the Prone, but from the Holy Table,² the great prayer does not come from the bidding prayers, but from the intercessions and thanksgivings of the canon. This latter is made perfectly clear not only by the history of the rite, but by a rubric after sermon, in Pullain's 'Liturgia sacra,' 1551, which reads as follows:

"Concionem hora spatio absoluit, ac subiecta precatone cōcludit. Admonet autem prius Ecclesiam, si qua sunt digna aut necessaria. Nempe si sponsalia sint, si baptismus, *si quis pauper, aut aegrotus se commendat precibus Ecclesiae*, & caet. eiusmodi. Interea Diaconi duo totam Ecclesiam circumeunt à singulis eleēmosynam postulantes in pauperum vsus: sed cum silentio, ne preces turbent . . ."

There (in the italicised part) we find what remained of the old bidding prayers in the Reformed Church: they took place still as formerly at the collection after the sermon, and *before* the great prayer or canon. In the light of the above rubric and the history of the rite, there can be no doubt on this score. Brightman's suggestion that the great prayer came from the bidding prayer will

¹ For note on the Prone, v. last year's 'Annual,' p. 23; or Brightman, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 1039.

² As we know from the rubrics in the rites themselves (v. Hubert, *op. cit.*) and from contemporary descriptions (v. Herminjard, 'Correspondance,' i. 411-12, quoted in part in last year's 'Annual,' p. 24). Calvin's Strasburg service was also conducted from the Holy Table, as was Pullain's (cf. 'Lit. sac.,' 1551).

not hold water.¹ What we have in Calvin's Sunday Morning Service, and therefore also in Knox's, is no mere "perpetuation of the Prone,"² but a true 'ante-communion' standing in the central Christian tradition.

Calvin himself would have preferred to have a service each Sunday morning which included the celebration of the Lord's Supper; that was his theory of the perfect Sunday Morning Service, as we see from his preface to the Communion Service in his Strasburg 'La Forme,' 1545. There he makes his position and theory clear, writing as follows:—

"We begin with the confession of our sins, adding readings from the Law and the Gospel [sentences of remission of sins] . . . and after we are assured that as Jesus Christ has righteousness and life in Himself, and that He lives for the sake of the Father, so we are justified in Jesus Christ and live in a new life by the same Jesus Christ . . . we continue with Psalms, hymns of praise, the reading of the Gospel, the confession of our faith (the Creed), and the holy oblations and offerings . . . and . . . quickened and stirred by the reading and preaching of the Gospel, and the confession of our faith . . . it follows that we must pray for the salvation of all men (for the life of Christ should be greatly enkindled within us). Now, the life of Christ consists in this, namely, to seek and to save that which is lost. Fittingly, then, we pray for all estates [of men]. And because we receive Jesus Christ truly in this Sacrament . . . we worship Him in spirit and in truth; and receive the eucharist with great reverence, concluding the whole mystery with praise and thanksgiving. This, then, is the whole order and the reason for its administration [in this way]; and it agrees also with its administration in the ancient Church of the Apostles, of the Martyrs, and of the Holy Fathers."³

This most enlightening preface of Calvin's makes it abundantly evident that his intention with regard to the Sunday Morning Service was to perpetuate the early Catholic tradition of a weekly eucharist. More than once he stated it. Before going to Strasburg, he declared it both desirable and proper in the 'Articles' which he prepared in 1537 with the other Ministers at Geneva for the consideration of the Magistracy of the city; he insisted

¹ Brightman, *op. cit.*, i. p. xxxiii., footnote 1; v. also vol. ii. p. 1038.

² In 'Eng. Rite,' ii. 1039, Brightman says: "The substance of the Reformed Sunday Morning Service of Strasburg and Geneva . . . is *only* a perpetuation of the Prone." (The italics are mine.)

³ 'Calv. opera,' vi. pp. 194-6. Calvin's vivid consciousness of standing in the primitive tradition also appears in the title which he gave to his Service Book—viz., 'La Forme des prieres avec la maniere d'administrer les Sacramens . . . selon la coustume de l'eglise ancienne.'

upon the same tradition in the first edition of his 'Institutes' in 1536; and years later, in 1559, he repeated his opinion in his last edition of the 'Institutes,' which he had meanwhile considerably enlarged and revised. It is true that he was never permitted to have his way either in Strasburg or Geneva—the Magistrates of both cities prevented that. But had it not been for this *civil* interference, the eucharist would have been celebrated every Sunday morning in the Reformed Church from the beginning. Throughout his life it was Calvin's fixed desire to restore the primitive practice of weekly communion for all the people, and to abolish the medieval custom of lay communion only once or twice a year.

But he was not permitted by the Magistrates to do so. Therefore, ordinarily he was forced to omit from his service all that pertained directly to the celebration of the communion, and content himself with a service akin to the medieval 'missa sicca'; and thus emerged his regular Sunday Morning Service. But it is folly to call such a service a *Prone*: it was a true 'ante-communion' or 'missa catechumenorum.'¹ There can be no mistaking Calvin's mind and intention with regard to this. And, *as often as civil authority would permit*, it was completed by the addition of the 'missa fidelium' or the full celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Much more evidence might be adduced, but sufficient, I think, has been brought forward to prove the statement made in the first paragraph of this paper. Calvin's Sunday Morning Service is *directly* descended through the Strasburg use from the Roman eucharist; and from Calvin Knox's Service is plainly and indubitably derived. At the Reformation, therefore, the Sunday Morning Service adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the 'Book of Common Order' was a true 'missa catechumenorum,' completed when opportunity allowed by the addition of the 'missa fidelium.'

We ask finally, What is the significance of this view for the Scottish Church of to-day?—and have space only to suggest rather than provide an answer.

¹ As such, of course, it goes without saying that it had no relationship whatever with the Choir Services from which Mattins and Evensong are derived in the 'Book of Common Prayer.'

The significance is of the utmost importance; for it means that in order and content the Church of Scotland's worship on Sunday Mornings was derived from the one central service of the Church. This means that, when seeking to improve Scottish Worship, and at the same time remain true to the Reformed tradition, the order of worship should be based *not* on Anglican Mattins, but on the primitive liturgies of the Church.

Consider, for example, the choice of Scripture Readings. These should not be taken (as now is common) one from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament as at Mattins or Evensong, which are properly *daily* services, with their main aim the reading through each year of the Old Testament once, the New Testament twice, and the Psalms monthly. Rather, the Scriptures should be seen through Christ's eyes, and the tradition of the early Church examined. It will be found then that with regard to the Psalms, selections of the parts most suitable for Christian worship were made and used. It will be discovered also with regard to the Readings, that one thing was always counted essential, namely, that a passage from the Gospels, "the crown of all Scripture" (Origen), should be read. The other passages were chosen from the Epistles, Acts, and Prophets, and, on occasion, from the Law. What could be more central and evangelical? Adapting this ancient tradition to modern needs, we might well have as a rule three Readings of not too great length—one chosen from the Law or Prophets, a second from the Epistles, Acts, or Revelation, and a third always from the Gospels. Thus, year by year, the very heart of the Scriptures would be unfolded before the people's eyes.

With respect to the conduct of the service itself, the devotions should all be conducted from the Holy Table.¹ The true evangelical and Reformed tradition is not to forsake the Holy Table for the pulpit, but to use the Table as a table, and not as an altar. Therefore the minister's proper position, as in the primitive Church, is behind the Table, and facing the people.² Thus in all that we say and do, we are reminded that we are a Christian family, gathered

¹ For an enlargement of this suggestion, cf. last year's 'Annual,' pp. 24-25.

² *E.g.*, as late as the 'Ordo romanus primus,' v. Frere, 'Principles of Religious Ceremonial,' pp. 67-81 (edn. 1904).

in the Name of our Elder Brother in remembrance of Him. And the very *place* reminds us of His death and victory.

And finally, there is the whole march and progress of the service itself. In such a service, events come in their natural evangelical sequence. Calvin has expounded that in his Preface above-quoted. First comes the preparation in confession, praise, and the Word read and preached ; and so the way is opened for the great act of surrender and communion in the Offering and the Great Prayer of Thanksgiving and Intercession following crowned by the Lord's own Prayer, and if the elements be present, the participation by faith of His Body and Blood. And in it all there would be the consciousness (and our people should be taught to understand this) that by following such an order, we were being true to the Church of our Fathers in the glowing days alike of the Reformation and of the primitive Church.

There is surely room for much reflection upon this aspect of the origin of Scottish Reformed Worship, and upon its significance for the Scottish Church of to-day. Could anything more enrich our Scottish worship than a serious consideration of the rock from which we were hewn and the pit from which we were digged ? As Lacheret has written of Calvin's service : " Il peut et doit être amélioré ; il n'a pas besoin d'être transformé." These words apply equally to the Reformed Scottish service.

This paper would not be complete in any sense without a word of mention concerning the 'Reader's Service,' which became so common in Scotland after the Reformation. This service consisted of Readings from the Old Testament and from the New Testament, interspersed by the singing of Psalms, and in some cases it included prayers. This 'Reader's Service' was so called because it was conducted by a Reader, and preceded the Sunday Morning Service proper, which was later conducted by the Minister. Owing to lack of evidence there can be no absolute certainty respecting the origin of this service, but what evidence there is points towards the hypothesis that here we have a remnant of Anglican Mattins. Before 1560 it was already the custom of some of the congregations holding reformed views to use the 'Book of Common

Prayer, 1552.' Then, as now, Mattins to the end of the third Collect was frequently conflated with the eucharist, making one service. The first part could be taken, if desired, by an unordained Reader; the second part would be taken by an ordained Minister. After the Reformation this practice would still continue, and even spread; and though the service of Mattins would cease to be used as it stood in the 'Book of Common Prayer' after the 'Book of Common Order' was adopted by the Church, the essentials would be retained—namely, the Scripture Readings and the Psalms. But the Psalms would be put into metre, and the Table of Lessons would no longer be followed—instead the Genevan custom of consecutive readings would be established—and all responses and suffrages would be deleted. Be it clearly observed, however, that the Reader's Service, whatever its origin, was a thing *distinct and separate* from the Sunday Morning Service proper. The Sunday Morning Service stood complete as outlined in the 'Book of Common Order.'

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