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1 Introduction

This dissertation examines the liturgical language of *Divine Worship*¹, the liturgy approved for use in the Catholic Church in the Ordinariates² created under the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum Coetibus* (2009)³. *Anglicanorum Coetibus*, with its Complementary Norms,⁴ is the “definitive response of the Holy See”⁵ to the repeated requests of Anglicans seeking to “enter into the full communion of the Catholic Church in a corporate manner.”⁶ The liturgical books of *Divine Worship* comprise the

liturgical books proper to the Anglican tradition, which have been approved by the Holy See, so as to maintain the liturgical, spiritual and pastoral traditions of the Anglican Communion within the Catholic Church, as a precious gift nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinate and as a treasure to be shared.⁷

The style of language of *Divine Worship* is immediately distinctive in register, in its use of hieratic English which is consistent with the style of English used in the Anglican tradition, especially as found in the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *King James Bible*. For this reason, this style of English can be referred to as Prayer Book English.⁸ Having examined the

¹ Cf. *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, London 2014; *Divine Worship: The Missal in accordance with the Roman Rite. The Celebration of Holy Mass for use in the Personal Ordinariates established under the Apostolic Constitution Anglicanorum coetibus*, London 2015; *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying*, London 2020; *Divine Worship: Daily Office (North American Edition)*, Palm Beach/NJ 2022; *Divine Worship: Daily Office (Commonwealth Edition)*, The Divine Office for use in the Personal Ordinariates established under the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus*, London 2021.

² An ordinariate is a juridical structure within the Catholic Church similar to a diocese. Membership of a diocese is typically determined by geographical residence, or domicile. Membership of an ordinariate is non-geographical, being based upon some other criteria that is established in the particular law pertaining to the ordinariate.

³ Cf. BENEDICT PP. XVI, *Constitutiones Apostolicae Anglicanorum Coetibus* (4 November 2009), in: AAS 101/12 (2009) 985–990 (Latin text); English translation in: Stephen CAVANAUGH (ed.), *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church. Reflections on Recent Developments*, San Francisco 2011, 233–241.

⁴ CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, *Complementary Norms of the Apostolic Constitution “Anglicanorum Coetibus”*, in: *Daily Bulletin* (9 April 2019). URL: <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2019/04/09/190409a.html> [accessed: 8 October 2022].

⁵ Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, William Levada, wrote to the Bishops of the Traditional Anglican Communion in 2009 indicating that *Anglicanorum Coetibus* was the “definitive response of the Holy See” to their requests, and similar such requests, for unity with the Catholic Church. William LEVADA, Unpubl. letter to the Bishops of the Traditional Anglican Communion from 16 December 2009 (Prot. N. 217/08-30924).

⁶ AC. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 235.

⁷ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 236 f.

⁸ This term is favoured by Clinton Brand, as outlined in his article *Very Members Incorporate*. This article is amongst the most comprehensive recent articles relating to the language of *Divine Worship* and as such is referenced multiple times in this dissertation. Cf. Clinton Allen BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate: Reflections on the Sacral Language of Divine Worship*, in: *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal* 19/2 (2015) 132–154.

language itself, this dissertation then considers pastoral implications emanating from the use of Prayer Book English within *Divine Worship*.

Language is essential to the function of the human mind. A single spoken word is a series of sounds interpreted by the mind to perceive an idea. A collection of words will result in the perception of a more complex idea. Such is the complexity of language that the smallest change of a word, or even an inflection of sound, can completely change the perceived idea. The language of religion is concerned with the ideas of divine things. The principle *lex orandi - lex credendi*, or the rule of praying is the rule of believing, dictates that the way we speak of and with God will affect our perception of God. For this reason, liturgical language is crucial. *Lex orandi - lex credendi* implies that a change in our liturgical language may possibly change our idea of God.

The approval by the Holy See of *Divine Worship* presents the most recent expression of the Roman Rite. To some, *Divine Worship* and its formal hieratic English could appear to be alien, almost a step into the past, with its deliberate use of archaisms and its distinctly old-fashioned cadence. Yet *Divine Worship* does not stand in isolation as some sort of curio, but rather in a stream of tradition from the first English Bibles, Thomas Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* and before.

Divine Worship's particular significance is that it is the most recent expression of a five-hundred year long tradition of praying in English, whilst also an expression of the Roman Rite. At the English Reformation, a deliberate decision was made to no longer pray in Latin, but in English. In the Catholic Church, the English vernacular liturgies were not standardised until the Mass of Paul VI. All of the English liturgical books of the Catholic Church represent a continuing process of learning to pray in English – that is, an ongoing refining of the language we use that creates a perception of divine things within our minds.

As “liturgy” (from ancient Greek λειτουργία, consisting of λειτός [“belonging to the people”, from λείω/λαός, “people”] and ἔργον [“service, work”]) literally means the “work of the people” and also “work for the people”,⁹ liturgy must always be seen in terms of the people, and by extension how the liturgy assists them precisely to be the People of God. It is here that the pastoral dimension of the liturgy is to be found, both in the celebration of the liturgy itself, but also in the *lex vivendi* of the people. Hence, this dissertation is especially

⁹ Cf. Naphtali LEWIS, *Leitourgia* and Related Terms, in: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 3/4 (1960) 175–184 and 6/3 (1965) 226–230. See also Albert GERHARDS – Benedikt KRANEMANN, *Introduction to the Study of Liturgy*, Collegeville/MN 2017, 6–11.

concerned with examining how the particular and distinctive style of English used in *Divine Worship* can be pastorally beneficial.

1.1 Scope and Limits

This doctoral project falls within the discipline of Liturgical Studies, within the aspects of liturgical language and pastoral liturgy. Its scope includes examining the properties of liturgical language. The language of *Divine Worship* is received from the Anglican tradition, so to understand that language in its context, a historical study of the development of sacral English is necessary. This study must be limited in the sense of being relevant to the language of *Divine Worship*, as the history of the English Reformation is of course exceedingly broad. Likewise, the field of pastoral liturgy is particularly broad. This dissertation is not concerned with questions of pastoral theology, except insofar as they are immediately relevant to the research questions. Considerations of pastoral liturgy are limited to what is necessary to address the research questions. This means establishing a context with reference to the language of *Divine Worship* in terms of pastoral liturgy, and as such precisely what is meant when examining its pastoral implications.

1.2 Research Questions and Methodology

So as to situate the language of *Divine Worship* within an historical context, this dissertation will begin with a synopsis of the development of sacral vernacular within England. Firstly, the motivations and socio-political situation relating to the development of the vernacular liturgy in England will be examined. Then, the historical development and properties of the English liturgy will be expounded. In doing so, the language of the *Book of Common Prayer* will be explored in detail. Consideration will be given to the influence of the Anglo-Catholic movement and of music, in particular. The impact of this form of English upon everyday English will be examined. Contrasts will be drawn with the transition from Latin to English within the Catholic Church in the twentieth century.

Having examined and situated the language of *Divine Worship* within the Catholic Church, pastoral implications will be explored. Firstly, aspects of pastoral liturgy that are directly relevant to *Divine Worship* will be examined. Consideration will be given to the principle of *lex orandi - lex credendi*, and, drawing on John Henry Newman's "Theory of Ideas", how the liturgy produces an idea or an understanding of God in the minds of the participants.

Secondly, a qualitative study of a range of regular worshippers within Ordinariate parishes will examine various pastoral questions with respect to the language of *Divine Worship*. This

study will be by means of a written questionnaire. The study will seek to obtain data from a range of demographic and spiritual backgrounds. That is, it surveys a range of ages and including those who have become Catholic through the Ordinariate, former Anglicans who have subsequently joined the Ordinariate, and Catholics who have made their spiritual home within the Ordinariate.

In considering the main research questions of this dissertation, a number of associated questions become evident, which are necessary to address in order to contextualise *Divine Worship* within the life of the Church. These questions are associated with various aspects of the Church's self-understanding.

Firstly, Sacred Tradition is fundamental to the Church's understanding of the handing on both the content and the practice of the faith.¹⁰ Liturgy is not an exercise in creativity, but a self-expression of the Church. This research question will examine how *Divine Worship* is seen in the context of Sacred Tradition – not as a novelty or a rupture, but as a part of the process of *traditio*, or handing on.

Secondly, what is the relationship of *Divine Worship* to the Roman Rite? The Roman Rite of its nature maintains an integrity. It is not a family of rites, but a single rite. How is this integrity maintained with an additional expression?

This question then leads to consideration of the principle of the organic development of the liturgy. Liturgy is understood to develop precisely because it constitutes part of Sacred Tradition. Therefore, according to this principle, *Divine Worship* should be able to be seen not as an innovation, but as an organic development of the liturgy. If this cannot be demonstrated, then any claim to be within the integrity of the Roman Rite cannot stand. This dissertation will critically examine *Divine Worship* with respect to the principles of the organic development of the liturgy.

Finally, in considering the distinctive language of *Divine Worship*, it is necessary also to examine what the Church has said with respect to the ideal of a sacral vernacular. It is then possible to consider how *Divine Worship* meets this vision. Addressing these questions contributes to situating a new expression of the Roman Rite within liturgical history, whilst also examining its practical aspects of meeting a pastoral need.

¹⁰ Cf. SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, *Constitutio Dogmatico de Divina Revelatione Dei Verbum* (18 November 1965), in: AAS 58 (1966) 817–830 (Latin text); English translation in: Vatican Council II, vol. 1, *The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. by Austin FLANNERY, Northpoint/NY 1996, 750–765.

2 Language and the Liturgy

This part will examine questions relating to language in the liturgy. Firstly, it will outline a synopsis of the development and use of English in the Church of England. Then, the introduction of English into the liturgy in the Catholic Church will be examined. Finally, some principles relating to sacral vernacular and the organic development of the liturgy will be considered.

2.1 *English Vernacular in the Church of England*

This section will examine the development of sacral English within England, and especially its use within the liturgy. In doing so, a historical context is established, beginning with religious and political factors that contributed to the introduction of English in the liturgy. Subsequent historical events that were significant to ongoing development of a vernacular liturgy are studied in detail. This section will also examine the linguistic distinctiveness of the English liturgy, and its contribution to the English language.

2.1.1 *Overview of the situation in England prior to the Reformation*

The English Reformation brought about tremendous change to the English church in a relatively short time. The 1549 abrogation of the Latin liturgy and its replacing with the *Book of Common Prayer*, however, meant that the way that both priest and people spoke to God had fundamentally changed. The casual observer of history would likely know of Henry VIII's failed request for a marriage annulment, resulting in a formal break with the see of Rome by means of the 1534 Act of Supremacy.¹¹ Likewise, the casual observer likely knows that Henry's son and heir Edward VI replaced the Latin Liturgy with an English vernacular liturgy.¹² This could lead, however, to a false notion that one day, everyone in England was happily making use of Latin for all things liturgical, and then by order of the King overnight the Church of England began to use English.

Many histories of the English Reformation have been written.¹³ These histories, however, tend to focus on the Reformation in terms of politics and doctrine. This is understandable,

¹¹ Cf. Gerald BRAY (ed.), *Documents of the English Reformation*, Cambridge 1994, 113 f.

¹² Cf. Brian CUMMINGS (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer. The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, Oxford 2011, 1–98; hereafter Texts.

¹³ See, for example, G[eoffrey] J. CUMING, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, London 1969; Arthur G. DICKENS, *The English Reformation*, University Park/PA ²1989; Christopher HAIGH, *English Reformations. Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*, Oxford 1993; Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *Tudor Church Militant. Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, London 2001; Peter MARSHALL, *Reformation England. 1480–1642*, London ²2012; Richard REX, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*

as by the time the English liturgy was promulgated with the Act of Uniformity of 1549,¹⁴ the movement of reform was well advanced in England. In many ways, this process was a process of deconstructing what had been the medieval church in England. Perhaps the standard text on the subject is Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars*.¹⁵ Duffy records the demise of a thriving popular religious movement, which was anything but (as expressed by many Protestant writers of history) a popish continuation of the Dark Ages which kept the people in ignorance and superstition. Interestingly enough, early moves included language, with the first Henrican Injunctions of 1536 requiring incumbents to teach the basic fundamentals of belief (Creed, Ten Commandments, Our Father) in the vernacular.¹⁶ Yet the Ten Articles, which the Injunctions were designed to enforce, betrayed that the process of reform was only just beginning.¹⁷ Whilst not prohibiting them, the Articles spoke guardedly about the use of anything that could be considered to be associated with superstition – the veneration of images, invocation of the Saints, prayers for the dead, these all being things intrinsic to medieval piety. The Injunctions spoke of “the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men’s hearts, may vanish away”.¹⁸ Soon enough, the majority of holydays were prohibited. These were still able to be celebrated privately by the clergy, but the rhythm of medieval religious observance was fundamentally changed by this Act.¹⁹ Then there was the strength of the monasteries. Rich, powerful, and independent religious monasteries were incompatible with Henry’s vision for absolute royal prerogative – they would have to go. Between 1536 and 1541 all religious houses in the realm were suppressed and their land and property confiscated by the crown.²⁰

(British History in Perspective), Basingstoke 2006; J[ohn] J. SCARISBRICK, *The Reformation and the English People*, Oxford 1984.

¹⁴ Cf. BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 266–271.

¹⁵ Cf. Eamon DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*, New Haven 2005.

¹⁶ Cf. BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 177.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 162–174.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁹ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 398, 394 f.

²⁰ See the 1536 Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries in: Henry GEE – William John HARDY (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History. Compiled from Original Sources*, London 1910, 257–268; see the 1539 Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries in: *ibid.*, 281–303; see the 1540 Deed of Surrender of Westminster Abbey in: *ibid.*, 320 f. Cf. MARSHALL, *Reformation England*, 45–48.

In 1546 Cranmer moved against the greatly popular ritual of creeping to the Cross on Good Friday.²¹ Henry tended to vacillate between conservatism and reform, but this ended with his death in January 1547. So too ended the relative restraint in the Injunctions and their royal enforcers. The Edwardian Injunctions of 1547²² codified the destruction.

[T]hey shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables and candlesticks, trundles or rolls of ware, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows or elsewhere within their churches or houses.²³

The Injunctions effectively banned lights, images – including those in glass windows – and encouraged the laity to remove images from their homes. Processions were prohibited, replaced with the English Litany.²⁴ The royal visitors enforcing the Injunctions could effectively choose for themselves how far to apply them. They even ordered the removal of the Rood from St Paul’s.²⁵ The visitations embraced what Diarmaid MacCulloch describes as “gleeful destructiveness”.²⁶ Also in 1547, chantries, which were intrinsic to medieval culture with their emphasis on purgatory and their systemic application of Masses and prayers for the dead, were prohibited.²⁷

In the midst of all of this, it is easy for the process of linguistic reform to be lost amongst the political and doctrinal moments of history. In the grand scheme of things, the introduction of the vernacular liturgy was but one amongst a litany of changes in the worship of the

²¹ Cf. John Edmund COX (ed.), *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Cambridge 1846, 414 f.; John STRYPE, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Wherein the History of the Church and the Reformation of it, During the Primacy of the Said Archbishop, are Greatly Illustrated; and many Singular Matters Relating Thereunto, now First Published (1694.) in three books. Collected Chiefly from Records, Registers, Authentic Letters, and Other Original Manuscripts, vol. 1*, Oxford 1840, 193. See also DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 443 f.

²² Cf. BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 247–257.

²³ *Ibid.*, 255.

²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 253 f.; J. Eric HUNT (ed.), *Cranmer’s First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke’s Book of Common Prayer Noted, 1550*, London 1939, 87–120. See also DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 451 f.; MARSHALL, *Reformation England*, 68.

²⁵ “Item the v. day after in September beganne the kynges vysytacion at Powlles, and alle imagys pullyd downe ; and the ix. Day of the same monyth the sayd visytacion was at sent Bryddes, and after that in dyvers other paryche churches; and so alle imagys pullyd downe thorrow alle Ynglonde att that tyme, and alle churches new whytte-lymed, with the commandmenttes wrytten on the walles. [...] Item the xvij. Day of the same monythe at nyghte was pullyd downe the Rode in Powlles with Mary and John, with all the images in the churche, and too of the men that labord at yt was slayne and dyvers other sore hurtte.” John Gough NICHOLS (ed.), *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London (Camden Society 53)*, London 1851, 54 f. Cf. DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 454; For an account of the 1547 visitations, see MACCULLOCH, *Tudor Church Militant*, 69–74.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁷ For the 1547 Chantries Act see GEE – HARDY, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, 328–357; cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 454.

English people. Of course, for a dissertation on liturgical language, that change is of vital concern!

The development of the English liturgy was a *process* that took place over a period of time.²⁸ This process was influenced by cultural, political, and religious currents, and was far from linear. There was much back and forth, weaving and meandering to be traversed before arriving at a truly English liturgy.

The pre-Reformation period is delineated by an emerging literacy, which was greatly accelerated by the availability of printed material. Prior to the commercialisation of printed books, the question of broadly available peoples' vernacular liturgical books was a moot point. Written matter was in manuscript form, all laboriously written out by hand and tremendously expensive. Few people had access to books. Those who could afford them were primarily from the upper classes. Ordinary people could never afford to purchase them. However, the notion of a dark age preceding the Reformation that ended with (among other things) the proliferation of mass printed vernacular books is untrue. The scholarship of Eamon Duffy and others has demonstrated an established culture of popular devotion, co-existing and indeed nurtured with the Latin Mass at its centre, accompanied by a growing demand for devotional material.²⁹

2.1.1.1 *Lollardy*

It was during the pre-printing phase that what has sometimes been called the “Reformation before the Reformation” of Lollardy took place.³⁰ Lollardy was the first time that a heresy in England had gained any serious traction.³¹ As such, one could expect the official response to be vigorous. The term Lollardy did not refer to a specific group or set of beliefs, but was a general pejorative term simply meaning heresy.³² To say someone was a Lollard was to call them a heretic.

²⁸ Cf. BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 146. “[T]he first BCPs and the original AV did not arise in a linguistic vacuum, but neither did they merely *reflect* or *imitate* a given, pre-existing English vernacular, certainly not everyday speech; rather these books served to *create* and *forge* what would become its own stable, enduring religious language”.

²⁹ Cf. Part I of Duffy's book, “The Structures of Traditional Religion”, in: DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 9–376; Richard REX, *The Lollards (Social History in Perspective)*, Basingstoke 2002, 14 f.; MARSHALL, *Reformation England*, 1–11; Christopher HAIGH, *English Reformations*, 11–39.

³⁰ Cf. Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *The Church of England and International Protestantism*, in: Anthony MILTON (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. 1, Oxford 2017, 316–332, here: 319; REX, *Lollards*, 115–119; DICKENS, *English Reformation*, 46.

³¹ Cf. REX, *Lollards*, 11.

³² Cf. *ibid.*, xii.

One key aspect of Lollardy was its push for the use of vernacular. As the Church was custodian of language in liturgy and Scripture, this could only be seen as a direct challenge to the authority of the Church. One of the leaders of the Lollard “movement” was John Wycliffe, a professor at the University of Oxford. Such was his prominence that the Lollards were also known as “Wycliffites”. Wycliffe saw the Bible as the codification of God’s law. Therefore, to understand God’s law required understanding the Bible, which meant a vernacular translation was necessary.³³ Wycliffe organised the translation of the Vulgate Bible into Middle English, completing the project in 1382. This Bible was of course manuscript, but it was a novelty and was popular among those who could afford it. Owning one of Wycliffe’s Bibles certainly did not imply adherence to anything heretical. Indeed, many high-profile Catholics, even royalty, are known to have owned one.³⁴ Richard Rolle’s English Psalter was also popular amongst the Lollards.³⁵

Lollardy created a situation where it seemed as if the English church was losing control of herself. The Church authorities moved in response. In 1381 Wycliffe was removed from his post at Oxford University. The Oxford Convocation of 1408 forbade the translation of any part of the Bible into English without official approval. Not only did this make Bibles such as Wycliffe’s illegal, but it also meant that devotional material intended for private use, perhaps making use of only a few favourite passages of Scripture, was also illegal.

In the end, such was the reaction against Wycliffe that in 1415 he was posthumously condemned as a heretic, his remains dug up, burned, and cast into the River Swift. So ended the life’s work of John Wycliffe, with his works banned, his books burned, and he himself declared to be excluded from salvation.

The net result, therefore, of Lollardy, was to fundamentally change the nature of devotional works and attitudes toward religious texts in English. From now on, the idea of a vernacular Scripture would be associated with heresy. Scripture itself was to remain exclusively in Latin for the foreseeable future. Devotional works continued to grow in popularity, but they necessarily avoided any possibility of flouting the law or being associated with heresy.

2.1.1.2 The Impact of Printing

In an era of instant access to information, it is difficult to fathom the importance of the mass-market availability of printed material. Yet, to do so is perhaps little different to imagining

³³ Cf. Frederick. F. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, Cambridge ³1979, 13.

³⁴ Cf. REX, *Lollards*, 76, 143.

³⁵ Cf. Helen C. WHITE, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, Madison 1951, 37.

a world without the internet. Perhaps a means to understanding the impact of printed books is to do so in terms of the creation of a new medium and a corresponding new market. In a sense, it is no different to the comparison of a live play and watching a drama on television. Prior to television, a relatively small number of people would have gone to see a play. To see a play would have appealed in particular to certain social groups. The invention of television created a new medium that in time would transcend all social classes, and mean that anyone could view not only plays, but essentially whatever could be imagined and produced. The new medium of broadcast television in turn created demand for content.

As a new medium, printing too created a demand for new content. People who would need to frugally save to purchase a few prized manuscript books for their homes could now afford to buy a goodly number of books. What cannot be stated strongly enough is that this new medium was intrinsically connected to literacy. There was no point being literate unless you had something to read. Conversely, if there is a growing market of affordable material to read, there now exists a motivation for the illiterate to aspire to read that material. Gregory Dix argues that the masses were not only excluded by the use of Latin from intelligent participation in the liturgy, but due to broad linguistic poverty from the secular culture of the time.³⁶

The move towards a vernacular liturgy needs to be seen in terms of a social movement nurtured by a growing availability of printed material.³⁷ It was this social movement which transformed an essentially illiterate society into a literate one. The primers and devotional material of the time were part of this social movement. This was a transformation of the laity from being strictly passive and illiterate observers, to having a very real and intelligent participation of their own in the liturgy.³⁸ Duffy points out that immediately prior to the Reformation, the primer was by far the most popular book, with around 50,000 copies in

³⁶ Cf. Gregory DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, Westminster 1945, 618. Dix continues to argue that a consequence of broad illiteracy is that vernacular languages are not capable of supporting a vernacular liturgy.

³⁷ For further on the history of the printing and its impact, see Peter W. M. BLAYNEY, *The Printing and the Printers of The Book of Common Prayer, 1549–1561*, Cambridge 2022; Richard G. COLE, *The Dynamics of Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, in: Lawrence P. BUCK – Jonathan W. ZOPHY (eds.), *The Social History of the Reformation*, Columbus/OH 1972, 93–105; Mark U. EDWARDS, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*, Berkeley/CA 1994; Lucien FEBVRE – Henri-Jean MARTIN, *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450–1800* (Verso Classics), London 1976; Antje B. LEMKE, *William Caxton – The Beginning of Printing in England*, in: *The Courier* 15/1 (1978) 3–13. Henry R. PLOMER, *A Short History of English Printing, 1476–1900* (Books about Books), London 1915; Tessa WATT, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History), Cambridge 1991.

³⁸ Cf. DIX, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 618.

circulation.³⁹ So in a sense, a perfect storm was now brewing. The previously illiterate masses were thirsting for material to satisfy their growing literacy, whilst the educated and clerical classes were questioning the status quo of the medieval liturgy.⁴⁰ One wonders how things might have developed differently if the official responses to Lollardy had not resulted in the effective condemnation of vernacular translation of the Bible.

Duffy refutes the claims of John Foxe and others that Protestantism was inevitable with the coming of the printing press – that people were uneducated, and that educating them would inevitably lead them away from the errors of popery:

The advent of printing in the 1470s and the enormous surge in numbers of publications after 1505 did not flood the reading public with reforming tracts or refutations of the real presence. Instead [...] there flooded out liturgical books to serve the parish churches, letters of indulgence for hospitals, gilds, and other charities, a vast range of devotional and didactic tracts, designed to promote traditional piety and a better knowledge of the faith and practice of Catholicism, and above all tens of thousands of Latin primers.⁴¹

Material was not produced solely for the edification of the laity. A growing number of resources in English were printed to assist the clergy in their task of teaching the faith.⁴² So rather than printing being an impetus for the laity to turn away from the ignorance perceived by Foxe, it rather served to nourish both laity and clergy alike in the practice of traditional religion.

2.1.1.3 Political Factors

Henry VIII is one of the most well-known of the English monarchs in history. Even though it was he who broke from Rome, in faith and practice he was relatively orthodox. As proponents of reform, Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell bade their time until the death of Henry for the full protestantisation of the English church. Henry, in contrast, had no motivation to be a dogmatic revolutionary. He fiercely defended what he saw as royal privilege, and there were conflicts where he saw the Church encroaching in this area.

Any monarch desires political stability in his realm. There are a number of things that are apposite to stability. The first of these is stability of succession. If a monarch cannot provide an heir, then instability is almost assured on his death. Henry's "problems" in the provision of a successor are well known, as is the role of the Church in Henry's request for an annulment.

³⁹ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 7.

⁴⁰ Cf. DIX, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 619.

⁴¹ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 77 f.; see also Duffy's comment on p. 7.

⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, 62.

The second factor is religious and political stability. In the sixteenth century, a clear distinction between Church and State did not exist, at least not in the way it is generally understood today. Bickering over religious minutiae does not bring about stability. Hence Henry had an interest in the reforming events taking place on the continent, and their implications for his own realm. The last thing a king struggling to shore up his own family succession needs is a storm of religious disputes ravaging his realm.

There are a number of interconnected factors here. The medium of printing meant that information flowed much more freely than before. This was a problem faced not only by the monarchy, but also the Church. Both monarch and Church would order various books to be banned, as seen, for example, in the case of Wycliffe. Political stability was directly connected to religious stability, and religious stability meant that religious unity was necessary within the realm. Different religious observances made unity more difficult to maintain. It was in this situation that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, began to develop a vision for a “common” religious observance. His ultimate goal for the English people was that their liturgy and prayers be celebrated as one, as a truly “common prayer”.

2.1.1.4 The Quest for a “Common” and “Intelligible” usage

A number of factors were obstacles to Cranmer’s vision of a national observance for the English church. Most obvious was the various number of liturgical “uses”. Cranmer makes his thoughts on this well known in the preface to the 1549 Prayer Book:

And where heretofore, there hath been great diversitie in saying and synging in churches within this realme: some following Salsbury use, some Herford use, some the use of Bangor, some of Yorke, and some of Lincolne: Now from hencefurth, all the whole realme shall have but one use.⁴³

Cranmer’s first move to standardise on uses was with the Breviary. In 1542 the Canterbury Convocation made the Sarum Breviary obligatory within Cranmer’s own province of Canterbury.⁴⁴

Another requirement in moving towards a “common” liturgy was that it be truly accessible to the people. This meant availability and intelligibility. That is, something was needed that could be put into the hands of the people which they could use.

⁴³ CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 5. For a detailed comparison of the uses within England see William MASKELL, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England According to the uses of Sarum York and Hereford and the Roman Liturgy arranged in parallel columns with preface and notes*, Oxford ³1882.

⁴⁴ Cf. [David WILKINS (ed.)], *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae ab Anno MCCL ad Annum MDXLV*, vol. 3, London 1737, 861 f.; hereafter *Concilia*. See also Henry Barclay SWETE, *Church Services and Service-Books Before the Reformation*, London ²1930, 51.

The celebration of the medieval liturgy required a large number of books. The actual books used depended on the usage (Sarum, York, and so on) and on the particular point in history. Matters were complicated as these books went through many revisions and variations in compilation. The more notable titles include the Breviary, Missal, Occasional Services, Pontifical, Processional, and the Pie⁴⁵. At the end of the Medieval period, the Breviary was topical because it was in some senses the worst example of the proverbial dog's breakfast that the liturgy had become, but the problem extended to the entire liturgy.⁴⁶ Clearly, the liturgy in its existing state was incompatible with Cranmer's vision for a people's "common prayer". There was no way that people could access the existing collection of books. Even if they could afford them, using them was another matter. Cranmer himself in the preface to the 1549 Prayer Book complained that often more effort was required to find out what to read than the reading itself.⁴⁷ The service books of the English church would need to be simplified and unified.⁴⁸

With the availability of printed books, in time it would be possible for a simplified and unified liturgical book, a book of "common prayer" if you will, to be something that the average person could own. However, printing such a book in Latin would not meet Cranmer's vision for intelligibility in the liturgy. For such a "people's liturgy" to be intelligible, it would need to be in the vernacular.⁴⁹ What was needed was a sacral vernacular – an English that could both be understood by the people, but not be vulgar, but rather in the act of using it be clearly conversing with the Almighty. The preface to the 1545 *King's Primer* puts forth the virtue and necessity of prayer with understanding, stating:

the party that understandeth not the pith of effectualness of the talk that he frankly maketh with God, may be as an harp or pipe, having a sound, but not understanding the noise that itself hath made [...], that men may know both what they pray, and also with what words, lest things special good and principal, being inwrapped in ignorance of the words, should not perfectly come to the mind and to the intelligence of men.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ A directory not dissimilar to a modern day *ordo* that dealt with the permutations of saints and dates so that a Priest could determine what should be celebrated on a given day. For further on the medieval service books, see SWETE, *Church Services*; Andrew HUGHES, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*, Toronto 1982.

⁴⁶ Cf. Richard W. PFAFF, *The Liturgy in Medieval England. A History*, Cambridge 2012, 427. Timothy Rosendale describes the situation as a "wilderness of liturgical texts". Timothy ROSENDALE, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*, Cambridge 2007, 206.

⁴⁷ Cf. CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 5, "many times, there was more business to fynd out what should be read, then to read it when it was founde out."

⁴⁸ Cf. SWETE, *Church Services*, 7.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁰ Edward BURTON (ed.), *Three Primers Put Forth in the Reign of Henry VIII*, Oxford 1834, 440. For the Injunction establishing the use of the King's Primer and no other, see WILKINS, *Concilia*, 875.

Cranmer's vision for intelligibility applied not only to language, but also in note and idea. As such were established what would become two unofficial "principles". In language, the as yet novel concept of prose writing with its one complete idea per sentence was still emerging. In note, the principle of one note per syllable began to develop at a time when music was ever increasingly complex and intricate. In Cranmer's vision, *complexity* was incompatible with *intelligibility*. Intelligibility in language, note, and idea was essential if there was to be a common prayer of the people – a prayer that they could actively participate in rather than being, certainly in Cranmer's mind, passive spectators. These principles were not rigorously pursued, but served as ideological guides for the implementation of Cranmer's vision for a common and intelligible usage for the English people.

With the 1549 Prayer Book the prayers of the English people were unified. As a people, they prayed the same prayers, together, in their own language. For the first time ever, there now existed something that could truly be called *The English Liturgy*.⁵¹ The Prayer Book is the first instructional for the "mass ceremony" of the English people – critical to the very idea of the English church and nation.⁵² As Timothy Rosendale observes, the Prayer Book is the "sacred *nationalized*".⁵³

The development of a sacral vernacular is not something that happened overnight. It is true that with the 1549 Act of Uniformity the Latin liturgy was suppressed and the *Book of Common Prayer* in English mandated. However, various figures, including Cranmer, had been writing in English for quite some time prior to 1549. The English Bible had also been present in all churches for some years by now. The *Book of Common Prayer* marks one extremely important step in the process of the development of a truly English sacral vernacular. It is this process that developed the sacral vernacular that is now treasured by the Personal Ordinariates in the liturgy *Divine Worship*, in their hymnody, in their prayers, in their psalms, in their Scriptures – their very consciousness of language towards God is expressed using this sacral vernacular, a sacral vernacular whose development shall now be examined.

⁵¹ Cf. ROSENDALE, 37. The ritualists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries supported their claims by arguing that the English Liturgy was rooted in the pre-Reformation liturgies of the English church, a claim not without some merit.

⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, 38.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 39.

2.1.2 *The Development of Sacral Vernacular in the English Church*

As already noted, sacral English did not develop overnight, but rather as a process. The earliest uses of English associated with the Bible are glosses, or annotations, in Old English made on Latin texts.⁵⁴ The Psalms, being central to Christian prayer, and the Gospels, were among the earliest parts of the Bible translated into English.⁵⁵ Annie Sutherland identifies the *Metrical Psalter* as the earliest identified complete English Psalter, dating from around the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁶ A manuscript from the first half of the fourteenth century contains a full Middle English translation of the Psalter.⁵⁷ This manuscript is sometimes credited to William of Shoreham, as it contains his poems, but textual analysis seems to indicate the psalms come from a different author.⁵⁸ According to Sutherland, “available evidence points towards its popularity among a devout lay audience with a voracious appetite for biblical learning and instruction in the vernacular.”⁵⁹

Also in the first half of the fourteenth century, Richard Rolle produced an English Psalter. Rolle’s Psalter was accompanied with a commentary, which was interspersed amongst the Psalms. Rolle wrote two commentaries, one Latin and one English. His commentary includes his own interpretations, which vary between the two commentaries.⁶⁰ This Psalter was the most broadly read of the complete Middle English Psalters.⁶¹ Rolle’s Psalter gained popularity with the Lollards, who added their own interpolations.⁶² This again added to the stigma associated with vernacular Bible translation.

⁵⁴ Cf. Astley C. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation (The Language Library)*, London 1973, 19.

⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 19 f.

⁵⁶ Cf. Annie SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages. 1300–1450*, Oxford 2015, 50.

⁵⁷ Cf. Karl D. BÜLBRING, *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter together with Eleven Canticles and a Translation of the Athanasian Creed edited from the only two mss. in the libraries of the British Museum and of Trinity College, Dublin, with Preface, Introduction, Notes and Glossary (Early English Text Society 97)*, London 1879. Sutherland refers to this Psalter as the *Midland Prose Psalter*; SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, 53.

⁵⁸ Cf. Frederic KENYON, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, London 1939, 200.

⁵⁹ SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, 56.

⁶⁰ Cf. Rosamund S. ALLEN, *Richard Rolle. The English Writings*, London 1989, 43, 65.

⁶¹ Cf. SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, 57.

⁶² Cf. Anne HUDSON (ed.), *Two Revisions of Rolle’s English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*, 3 vols. (Early English Text Society O.S. 340, 341, 343), Oxford 2012/2013/2014. For Hudson’s overview of the Lollard interpolations, see vol. 1, clxx–clxxxiv.

The medieval Church, from the mid-fourteenth century, did make use of English in her liturgy.⁶³ In the marriage rite, for example, the exchange of consent between the spouses is given in the vernacular.⁶⁴ This form was retained in the Prayer Book, and today is one of the most resonant phrases of the English Language.⁶⁵ The Sarum Use renders the vows as follows:

I *N.* take the *N.* to my wedded wyf to haue and to holde fro this day forward for better : for worse : for richere : for poorer : in sykenesse and in hele : tyl death vs departe if holy chyrche it woll ordeyne, and therto I plight the my trouthe.

I *N.* take the *N.* to my wedded housbonder to haue and to holde fro this day forward for better : for worse : for richer : for poorer : in sykenesse and in hele : to be bonere and buxum in bedde and at the borde tyll dethe vs departe if holy chyrche it wol ordeyne and therto I plight the my trouthe.⁶⁶

In the York Use the consent is exchanged by interrogation:

N. wylt thou haue this woman to thy wife : and loue her and kepe her, in syknes and in helthe, and in all othe degrese be to her as a husbunde sholde be to his wife, and all other forsake for her : and holde thee only to here, to thy lyves ende? [R.] I wyll.

N. Wylt thou haue this man to thy husbunde, and to be buxum to him, serue him and kepe him, in sykenes and in helthe: And in all other degrese be vnto hym as a wife should be to hir husbunde, and all other to forsake for hym : and holde thee only to hym to thy lyues ende? [R.] I wyll.⁶⁷

⁶³ For a detailed exposition on the use of English in the medieval service books, see Christopher WORDSWORTH – Henry LITTLEHALES, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church (The Antiquary's Books)*, London 1904, 50–55.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kenneth STEVENSON, *Nuptial Blessing. A Study of Christian Marriage Rites (Alcuin Club Collections 64)*, London 1982, 79–81; Mark SEARLE – Kenneth W. STEVENSON, *Documents of the Marriage Liturgy*, Collegeville/MN 1992, 164–178. For further on the background of the marriage rites, see Kenneth STEVENSON, *Worship by the Book*, in: HEFLING, Charles – SHATTUCK, Cynthia (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer. A Worldwide Survey*, Oxford 2006, 9–20, here: 15.

⁶⁵ Cf. CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 5.

⁶⁶ William MASKELL, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae or Occasional Offices of the Church according to the Ancient Use of Salisbury, the Prymer in English and Other Prayers and Forms with Dissertations and Notes*, vol. 1, London 1846, 46. For a comparison of the Sarum, York, Hereford and what Maskell theorises may have been the Bangor form of espousals see MASKELL, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, lxxx–lxxxii*. See also A[rthur] Jefferies COLLINS, *Manuale Ad Usus Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis. From the Edition Printed at Rouen in 1543 Compared with those of 1506 (London), 1516 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), 1526 (Paris)*. (Henry Bradshaw Society 91), Chichester 1958, 47 f.

⁶⁷ MASKELL, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. 1, 45.

Likewise, in the Baptism rite, the charge of the parents and godparents was in English, and parish priests were exhorted to teach their parishioners the formula for emergency baptism, in English.⁶⁸ The Office for the Visitation of the Sick also made use of English.⁶⁹

After the 1534 Act of Supremacy, English church leaders could now implement changes that would have previously been, at best, questionable. Lollardy meant that the Catholic Church had come to see the use of the vernacular in liturgy or Scripture almost as a synonym for heresy. In the new political-religious landscape, this was no longer a factor. Not long after the 1534 Act legislation began to be passed which required the use of vernacular in certain circumstances. Initially, this was for catechetical reasons. Pastors were to teach their flocks such that they could understand at least the very basics of the faith. The 1536 Injunctions, promulgated with the 1536 Ten Articles of Religion, stated that clerics were to

admonish the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, their Paternoster, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in their mother tongue.⁷⁰

Cromwell's 1538 Injunctions strengthened and extended those of 1536. It required the Bible to be made available in English in every parish church:

You shall provide on this side the feast Easter next coming (06 April 1539) one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that you have the cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it.⁷¹

The Injunctions required that the Bible, in English, was to be conveniently available, read, and heard in the parish church, whilst avoiding "contention and altercation", seeking the true sense, and again requiring turning to higher authority where obscure passages are encountered.⁷² Curates were to teach the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments, in

⁶⁸ The charge is as follows: "Goodfaders and goodmoders, and all that be here about, say in the worshyppe of god and our ladye and of the .xii. apostellys, a Paternoster, and Ave Maria, and Credo in Deum. That we maye so mynyster thys blessyd sacrament, that it maye be to the pleasure of almyghty god, and confusion of our gostly enmy, and saluacyon of te sowle of thys chylde.

Godfaders and godmdyrs, of thys chylde whe charge you, that ye charge the fader and te moder to kepe it from fyer and water and other perels to the age of .vij. yere: and that ye lerne or seyt belerned the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Credo, after the lawe of all holy churche, and in all goodly haste to be confermed of my lorde of the dyocise or of hys depute, and that the moder brynge agen the crysom at hyr puryfycation, and washe your hands or ye departe the chyrche." Ibid., 14. The form for emergency baptism, in English, is "I cristene the *N.* in the name of the Fadir, and of the Sone, and of the Holy Gost. Amen." Ibid., 28.

⁶⁹ Cf. Henry LITTLEHALES (ed.), *English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books with Two Coloured Facsimilies from Medieval Prymers* (Early English Text Society ES. 90), London 1903.

⁷⁰ BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 177; cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 398.

⁷¹ BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 179.

⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, 179 f.

English by rote, whilst explaining their meaning.⁷³ The Injunctions required them to interrogate every penitent to ensure they could recite the Creed and Paternoster in English, and that if unable to do so they should not receive Communion.⁷⁴ Curates were required to turn over to the Crown anyone who, amongst other things, hindered the reading of the Bible in English.⁷⁵

The 1536 and 1538 Injunctions appear to establish a clear and inevitable path towards Protestantism and vernacular use within England, yet the reality is somewhat more nuanced. It is not correct to see the Protestant movement within England as a continuous progression. Cromwell was committed to reformation, but Henry was religiously conservative, despite his anti-Roman politics.

Henry himself issued a proclamation in November 1538, which forbade the import of English books without a license and forbade annotated translations of the Scriptures or English translations of the Scriptures that had not been inspected.⁷⁶ Thus, we see a back and forth in the Injunctions. Yet it was this same proclamation that ordered the literal erasure of the cult of Thomas Becket. Some bishops took initiative in taking the Injunctions even further, requiring the Epistle and Gospel to be read in English at Mass.⁷⁷ Around this time, a number of primers appeared which included the Epistles and Gospels in English.⁷⁸

In 1539 Miles Coverdale's *Great Bible* was published. Whilst not the first English Bible to be granted royal approval, this was the first that had been officially commissioned by the crown. Convocation of 1543 ordered that on Sundays and holydays, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, a chapter of the New Testament was to be read in English, and having completed

⁷³ Cf. *ibid.*, 180.

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 181.

⁷⁶ Paul L. HUGHES – James F. LARKIN (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1. *The Early Tudors (1485–1553)*, New Haven 1964, 270–276; cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 410 f.

⁷⁷ Archbishop Lee's Injunctions for the York diocese state "All curates and heads of congregations, religious and other, privileged and other, shall every holy-day read the Gospel and the Epistle of that day out of the English Bible, plainly and distinctly". Walter Howard FRERE (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 2 (*Alcuin Club Collections 15*), London 1910, 46 f.

⁷⁸ Cf. DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 412 f.

the New Testament, to begin the Old.⁷⁹ In 1544, Cranmer's English Litany was approved.⁸⁰ In 1548 the English Communion service was approved.⁸¹

What is seen here is a successive number of events prior to the full mandating of the English liturgy in 1549 that each indicate a motion towards vernacular use within the English church. Attention is now turned to a more detailed exposition of the various contributions towards the development of sacral vernacular in the English church.

2.1.2.1 *Primers*

At minimum, the primer would contain the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the penitential and Gradual Psalms, the Litany and the Commendations of the Dead.⁸² From the early fourteenth century, this core formed the basis of a single prayer book for the laity, in England known as the primer.⁸³ At the eve of the Reformation, there were over 50,000 primers in circulation.⁸⁴ This demonstrates a thirst amongst the laity to be involved and active in the practice of their religion. They were not passive or excluded observers. For them, religion was *popular*, with the primer being the go-to resource. Despite the high cost of manuscript books in the pre-printing-press world, primers were greatly popular among the emerging middle classes.⁸⁵ The primer was an expanded Book of Hours, or *Horae*, which in turn derived from and revolved around the Psalter.⁸⁶ The "parent" of the primer was the expanded Psalter. The primer was the logical successor to the Psalter because the primer met a desire for additional devotional material that the relatively restricted format of the Psalter could not provide.⁸⁷ As far as the market was concerned, the primer provided everything that the

⁷⁹ "It was ordered also, that every Sunday and holyday throughout the year, the curate of every parish church after the Te Deum, and Magnificat, should openly read unto the people one chapter of the New Testament in English, without exposition; and when the New Testament was read over, then to begin the Old." WILKINS, *Concilia*, 863; see also Francis PROCTER –Walter Howard FRERE, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer. With a Rationale of its Offices*, London³1961, 31.

⁸⁰ Cf. HUNT, *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted*, 87–120.

⁸¹ H[enry] A. WILSON, *The Order of the Communion, 1548. A Facsimile of the British Museum Copy C. 25, f. 15* (Henry Bradshaw Society 34), London 1908; HUGHES – LARKIN, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 417 f.

⁸² Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 56, 68.

⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, 57.

⁸⁴ Cf. DUFFY, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 7.

⁸⁵ Cf. SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, 24. For Sutherland's examination of primer ownership, see pages 24–26.

⁸⁶ Cf. PROCTER – FRERE, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 18–20.

⁸⁷ Cf. SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, 17.

expanded Psalter did, plus much more. As an expanded *Horae*, the primer with its devotional focus was far better suited for lay use than the monastic Hours.

As noted earlier, complete Psalters in English appeared around the middle of the fourteenth century. From the turn of the fifteenth century, expanded devotional Psalters begin to appear.⁸⁸ These expanded Psalters provided not only devotional aids, but practical aids in living the life of a good Christian.⁸⁹ The burgeoning desire amongst the laity for devotional aids led to demand for something more than simply an expanded Psalter, and so also around the turn of the fifteenth century English primers emerged.⁹⁰

Unfortunately, the timing was disastrous, for this was the same time that ecclesiastical authority was doing everything possible to erase the perceived threat from Lollardy and undo as best it could the work of the now dead Wycliffe. The fever over Lollardy meant that anything considered Wycliffite in nature was at best suspect, and likely heretical. Lollards had an English Bible and an English Psalter. The logical consequence therefore was that translation of the Scriptures into English was heretical. On January 14, 1408, Archbishop Thomas Arundel enacted Constitutions which effectively made English translation of the Scriptures illegal.⁹¹ From then on, all translations of Scripture were required to have ecclesiastical approval. Technically it was illegal to translate one single verse of the Bible into English. Of course, ecclesiastical approval was *not* given, and thus not only English Bibles and Psalters were illegal, but so too were primers, as they contained Scripture verses. Arundel's Constitutions were a terrible setback for the development of sacral vernacular. Whilst in this still pre-printing age, by modern standards distribution was quite limited, but

⁸⁸ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 37; SUTHERLAND, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, 58 f. Sutherland notes that most of the extant copies of Rolle's *English Psalter* exist as expanded Psalters, with the earliest copies dating from the end of the fourteenth century

⁸⁹ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 37.

⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 67.

⁹¹ WILKINS, *Concilia*, 314–319 (Latin text); English translation: John JOHNSON (ed.), *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England, From its First Foundation to the Conquest, and from the Conquest to the Reign of King Henry VIII*, vol. 2, Oxford 1851, 457–475. The text prohibiting translation reads: "The translation of the text of Holy Scripture out of one tongue into another is a dangerous thing, as blessed Hierome testifies, because it is not easy to make the sense in all respects the same; as the same blessed Hierome confesses that he made frequent mistakes in this business, although he was inspired: therefore we enact and ordain that no one henceforth do by his own authority translate any text of Holy Scripture into the English tongue or any other by way of book or treatise. Nor let any such book or treatise now lately composed in the time of John Wicklif aforesaid, or since, or hereafter to be composed, be read in whole or in part, in public or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication, till that translation have been approved by the diocesan of the place, or if occasion shall require, by a provincial council. Let him that transgresseth be punished as a fautor of heresy and error." JOHNSON, *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, 466–567. For an alternative translation see Alfred W. POLLARD (ed.), *Records of the English Bible. The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611*, London 1911, 79–81. See also BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 20 f.

the Constitutions snuffed out a demand for access to the Scriptures in English that would likely have snowballed as printed matter began to proliferate. The faithful would have to wait, for now, for their devotional thirst for English to be satisfied. For those in England, this would be the sixteenth century, whereas for those in the Catholic Church, the full acceptance of the use of English vernacular liturgy would not come until the twentieth century. It is not difficult to imagine a very different unfolding of history had the use of vernacular not come to be so intrinsically associated with Protestantism and heresy.

The English prohibition did not prevent the production of English primers on the continent. If a publisher thought there was a market, material would be produced. These could be used by English speakers based in Europe. Some would be illegally smuggled into England. Whilst it was illegal to translate the Scriptures into English, devotional material, or even paraphrases were not illegal. A favourite Bible story, for example, could be turned into verse. Hence the catechetical and didactic value of such material could be maintained, without falling afoul of the 1408 prohibition.

Charles Butterworth points out that the primers contained English translations of Bible passages, with these translations predating Coverdale's first complete English Bible of 1535. Butterworth is of the view that these early translations must have had an influence upon the later translations of the Scriptures into English.⁹²

Amongst the earlier English vernacular works designed to accompany the liturgy is the *Lay Folks Mass Book (LFMB)*, with Thomas Simmons producing a critical version for the Early English Text Society (EETS).⁹³ The *LFMB* may have originated from Norman French, in the fourteenth century.⁹⁴ This devotional book used rhyme and verse. The clerical view at the time was that the form of rhymed verse was far superior in its teaching ability than Latin

⁹² Cf. Charles C. BUTTERWORTH, *The English Primers (1529–1545)*, Philadelphia 1953, 2.

⁹³ Cf. Thomas Frederick SIMMONS, *The Lay Folks Mass Book or The Manner of Hearing Mass with Rubrics and Devotions for the People in Four Texts and Offices in English According to the Use of York From Manuscripts of the Xth to the XVth Century with Appendix, Notes, and Glossary* (Early English Text Society 71), London 1879. For an overview of the contents of the *LFMB*, see Ramie TARGOFF, *Common Prayer. The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England*, Chicago 2001, 20–22. Simmons' version of the *LFMB* has been subjected to criticism, however it would seem unfair to apply in reverse modern scholarly techniques to a nineteenth century editor. Furthermore, arguments about theological intent, sources and authorship do not preclude for the purposes of this work the acceptance of the *LFMB* at face value. For further on Simmons' work and a valuable insight into Simmons' world, see David JASPER – Jeremy SMITH, 'The Lay Folks' Mass Book' and Thomas Frederick Simmons: Medievalism and the Tractarians, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70/4 (2019) 785–804; cf. PFAFF, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, 460–462.

⁹⁴ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 118 f.

or even English prose.⁹⁵ The *Lay Folks Mass Book* is not a primer as such, in that it is not based around the Hours, but is focussed primarily on the Mass. It was designed to assist the laity with their own private prayers during Mass, essentially providing a devotional instructional for the laity to use whilst at Mass.

The *Lay Folks Mass Book* was one of three “siblings” produced for the EETS which provide insights into early English texts made available for the faithful. Simmons’ *Lay Folks’ Catechism* was eventually published in 1901, whilst Henry Littlehales edited *The Prymer or Lay Folks’ Prayer Book*.⁹⁶ Littlehales’ work⁹⁷ provides an overview of the common structure and elements of the primer. He then reproduces a manuscript dating from around 1420–1430 which is intended to be indicative of the medieval English primer.⁹⁸ William Maskell reproduces in full a manuscript English primer which he believes to date from no later than 1410.⁹⁹

As printed material replaced manuscript, the strong popularity of the primer and the emergence of a growing middle-class market made the primer a logical choice as a product that would sell well. The first printed English *Psalter* was produced in Strasbourg in 1530, with an expanded devotional version of the same *Psalter* printed around 1540.¹⁰⁰ As works of this type were illegal in England, it was not uncommon for publishers to include a vague, fictitious, or even deliberately false colophon.¹⁰¹ The first printed English *primers* were published around the 1530s. Butterworth identifies a date of 1529.¹⁰² Helen White identifies a date of 1534–1535.¹⁰³

The first printed English primer noted in Hoskins is the Lutheran influenced 1534 Marshall primer.¹⁰⁴ It produced in English things that would have been unthinkable only a few years

⁹⁵ Cf. TARGOFF, *Common Prayer*, 57.

⁹⁶ Cf. JASPER – SMITH, ‘*The Lay Folks’ Mass Book*’ and Thomas Frederick Simmons, 786.

⁹⁷ Cf. Henry LITTLEHALES, *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book* (Early English Text Society OS. 105), Oxford 1895.

⁹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, vii.

⁹⁹ Cf. MASKELL, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. 2, xxxiii.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 39, 42.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 39.

¹⁰² Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *English Primers*, 11–14. Butterworth’s conclusion is on the basis of Foxe and official citations which mention an English primer.

¹⁰³ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 71. White’s conclusion is on the basis of identifiable primers, namely Godfray and the first Byddell-Marshall primer.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Edgar HOSKINS, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books and Primers of the Reformed Roman Use Together with an Introduction*, London 1901, xlv, no. 115. For the Lutheran influence on the *Marshall Primer*, see BUTTERWORTH, *English Primers*, 279–285.

prior.¹⁰⁵ The 1536 Rouen Primer was a Latin-English primer, with English in the centre of the page, and Latin in the margins.¹⁰⁶ In 1538, it was republished bound with a supplement including the Epistles and Gospels in English from the Tyndale Bible.¹⁰⁷ With the 1537 approval of the English Bible in England, it was possible to print primers containing the readings in English. In 1537–1538, a number of primers appeared with the English readings.¹⁰⁸

As the translation of Scripture into English came to be accepted in England, in the lead up to the official approval of English Bibles there was a far greater practical flexibility as to what could be published. From the viewpoint of the reformers, the primer as a carry-over from the medieval Church was something that had to be destroyed. Yet they knew that its great popularity would make this exceedingly difficult. Rather than destroying the primer, the reformers would work first to control and then put the primer to work as a means to distribute their reformed theology. Prayers for the Dead, and other such “superstitions” would be removed. The primers could serve to place reformed theology in traditional clothing.¹⁰⁹ In 1539 Cromwell ordered Bishop Hilsey of Rochester to prepare a primer, known as the *Hilsey Primer*.¹¹⁰ This primer was a first step towards an official religious settlement.¹¹¹

In 1545 the *King’s Primer* was published, which was based on the 1538 revision of the *Rouen Primer*.¹¹² All other primers were abolished. Henry was concerned about disunity, so this primer brought about a uniformity of devotion. It is not difficult to see how things were already moving towards an implementation of a universal common prayer for all the realm. In 1549 it became illegal to use or even own an unofficial primer. Although the 1549 Prayer Book theoretically rendered primers obsolete, there was still a public demand for a private prayer book. Such a book would need to be in accord with the Edwardian religious sentiments of the time, which went much further than those of Henry. This royally approved

¹⁰⁵ For an overview of features of the *Marshall Primer* see BUTTERWORTH, *English Primers*, 59–69.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. HOSKINS, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, no. 124.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 80.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 444; WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 412 f.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 444; WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 234.

¹¹⁰ Cf. HOSKINS, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, no. 143; BURTON, *Three Primers*, 305–436. See also WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 103–118; BUTTERWORTH, *English Primers*, 181–194; DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 445.

¹¹¹ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 103.

¹¹² Cf. *ibid.*, 85 f.

primer was published by William Seres in 1553.¹¹³ Whilst its starting point was the earlier primers, it really was designed to be a companion to the (1552) Prayer Book, and as such anything incompatible with current religious sentiment was removed.¹¹⁴ This primer did not last long, as Mary became Queen in 1553. Mary's official primer, the *Wayland Primer* of 1555, took a middle ground, doctrinally returning to traditional Catholicism, but providing its contents in both Latin and English. The main text was English, with Latin in smaller text in the margins, and there were a number of prayers in English only.¹¹⁵ The *Wayland Primer* was based on the 1536 *Rouen Primer*, which also had a central English text with Latin in the margins.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Cf. HOSKINS, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, no. 200.

¹¹⁴ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 119–121.

¹¹⁵ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 538 f.

¹¹⁶ Cf. WHITE, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 82.

2.1.2.2 *Some Comparative Examples of Language from the Primers*

The Collect for Peace			
c. 1410 Primer reproduced by Maskell¹¹⁷	c. 1420 Primer, Lay Folks Prayer Book¹¹⁸	1545 King's Primer¹¹⁹	1549 Book of Common Prayer¹²⁰
<p>God, of whom ben hooli desiris, riȝt counceles and iust werkis:</p> <p>ȝyue to thi seruauntis pees that the world may not ȝeue, that in oure hertis ȝouun to thi commaundementis, and the drede of enemyes putt awei,</p> <p>oure tymes be pesible thurȝ thi defending.</p> <p>Bi oure lord iesu crist, thi sone, that thee lyueth and regneth in the unities of the hooli goost god, bi alle worldis of worldis. So be it.</p>	<p>God, of whom ben hooli desiris, riȝtful counselis and iust dedes,</p> <p>ȝyue to þi seruauntis þat pees þat þe world mai not ȝyue, so þat oure hertes be ȝouun to kepe þin hestis, and dred of oure enemyes be takun from vs, so þat oure tymes be pesible in þi protectcioun, bi oure lord ihusu crist, þi sone, þat lyueþ wiþ þee, & regneþ god bi alle worldis of worldis. amen!</p>	<p>O God, from whome all holy desyres, al good counsels, and all iust workes do procede,</p> <p>geve unto thy servaunts that same peace, which the world cannot geve, that oure hertes being obedient to thy commaundements, and the feare of our enemies taken away,</p> <p>our time may be peacable by thy protection.</p> <p>Through Christ our Lord.</p> <p>Amen.</p>	<p>O God from whom all holy desyres, all good counsayles, and all iuste workes do procede:</p> <p>Geve unto thy servauntes that peace, which the world cannot geve: that both our hartes maye be sette to obey thy commaundementes, and also that by thee, we being defended from the feare of oure enemies, may passe oure time in rest and quietnesse, through the merites of Jesu Christe our saviour.</p> <p>Amen.</p>

¹¹⁷ MASKELL, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol. 2, 36.

¹¹⁸ LITTLEHALES, *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, 15.

¹¹⁹ *King's Primer* (1545), STC (2nd ed.) / 16034; HOSKINS, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, no. 174.

¹²⁰ CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 16.

Magnificat		
c. 1410 Primer reproduced by Maskell¹²¹	c. 1420 Primer, Lay Folks Prayer Book¹²²	1549 Book of Common Prayer¹²³
<p>Mi soule magnifieth the lorde:</p> <p>and my spirit fulout ioiede in God myn heelthe. For he bihelde the mekenesse of his handmaide: lo, forsothe of this alle kynredeis shulen seie me blessid. For he that is miȝti hath don to me grete thingis: and his name is hooli. And his merci is fro kynrede in to kynredis: to men that dreden him. He made myȝt in his arm: he scatride proude men with the thouȝt of his herte.</p> <p>He sette doun myȝti men fro ceete: and enhauncide meke men.</p> <p>He hath fulfillid hungri men with goodis: and he hath lefte riche men voide.</p> <p>He hauynge mynde of his merci: took up israel his child. As he hath spokun to oure fadris: to abraham and to his seed in to worldis.</p>	<p>My soule magnifieþ þe lord;</p> <p>And my spirit haþ gladid in god, myn heelþe; For he haþ biholde þe meekness of [his] hand maidun; for lo, of þis alle generaciouns schulen seie þat y am blessid. For he þat is myȝti haþ don to me grete þingis; & his name is hooli. And his merci is fro [kyndrede into] kynredeis to me þat dreden him. He made myȝt in his arme; he scateride proude men wiþ þe þouȝt of his herte.</p> <p>He sette doun myȝti men fro sete, & enhaunside meke men.</p> <p>He haþ fulfillid hungry men wiþ goodis; & he haþ lefte riche men voide.</p> <p>He, hauynge mynde of his merci, took up Israel, his child. As he haþ spekun to oure fadris; to abraham & to his seed in-to þe worldis.</p>	<p>My soule doth magnifie the lorde. And my spirite hath rejoysed in God my savioure. For he hathe regarded the lowelinese of hys handmaiden. For beholde, from henceforth al generacions shal cal me blessed. For he that is mightye hath magnified me: and holy is his name. And his mercie is on them that feare him throughpute all generacions. He hath shewed strength with his arme: he hath scattered the proude in the imaginacion of their hartes. He hath put downe the mightie from their seate: and hath exalted the humble and meeke. He hathe filled the hungrye with good thynges: and the ryche he hath sente awaye emptye. He remembring his mercy, hath holpen his servaunt Israel: as he promysed to oure fathers, Abraham and his seede for ever. Glory be to the father and to the sonne and to the holy gost. As it was in the beginning, and is now, and ever shall be worlde without ende. Amen.</p>

¹²¹ MASKELL, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol. 2, 62 f.

¹²² LITTLEHALES, Lay Folks Prayer Book, 29 f. The text in square brackets is in the original.

¹²³ CUMMINGS, Texts, 15.

Psalm 51		
c. 1410 Primer reproduced by Maskell¹²⁴	c. 1420 Primer, Lay Folks Prayer Book¹²⁵	1662 Book of Common Prayer¹²⁶
<p>God, haue merci on me: aftir thig rete merci.</p> <p>And bi the mochilnesse of thy merciful doyngis:</p> <p>do thou awei my wickidnesse.</p> <p>More waishe thou me fro my wickidnesse:</p> <p>and clense thou me fro my synne.</p> <p>For I knowleche my wickidnesse: and my synne is euer azens me.</p> <p>I haue synned to the alone, and I haue do yuel before thee: that thou be iustifiede in thi wordis and ouercome whanne thou art deemed.</p> <p>For lo I was conceyued in wickidnesseis:</p> <p>and my modir conceyued me in synnes.</p> <p>For, lo, thou louedist truthe:</p> <p>thou hast shewid to me the uncertyn thingis and priuy of thi wisdom.</p> <p>Lord, sprengre thou me with ysop</p> <p>and I shal be clensid:</p> <p>waishe thou me</p> <p>and I shal be maad whit more thane snow.</p> <p>zyue thou ioie and gladnesse to myn heeryng:</p> <p>and boonys maad make shulen ful out make ioie.</p> <p>Turn awei thi face fro my synnes:</p> <p>and do awei alle my wickidnessis.</p> <p>God make thou a clene herte in me:</p> <p>and make thou newe a riȝtful spirit in myn entrailis.</p>	<p>God, haue þou merci on me! bi þi greet merci,</p> <p>And bi þi mychelnesse of þi merciful doyngis,</p> <p>do þou awey my wickidnes!</p> <p>More, waishe þou me fro my wickidnesse,</p> <p>and clense me fro my synne!</p> <p>For y knouleche my wickidnes; & my synne is euer azenes me.</p> <p>I haue synned to þee aloon; & y haue don yuel before þee, þat þou be iustified in þi wordis, & ouercome whan þou art demed.</p> <p>For lo! y was conseyued in wickidnesses;</p> <p>and my modir conseyuede me in synnes.</p> <p>For, lo! þou louedist treuþe;</p> <p>þou hast shewid me þe vnserteyn þingis & pryue þingis of þi wisdom.</p> <p>Lord! Sprynge þou me wiþ isope,</p> <p>& y schal be clensid;</p> <p>waische þou me,</p> <p>& y schal be maad whiyt more þan snowe.</p> <p>zyue þou ioie & gladnesse to myn heryng;</p> <p>& bones maad meke schulen ful out make ioie.</p> <p>Turne awei þi face fro my synnes;</p> <p>& do a-vey alle my wickidnessis!</p> <p>God! Makr þou a clene herte in me;</p> <p>& make þou newe a riȝtful spirit in my entrailis.</p>	<p>Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies</p> <p>do away mine offences.</p> <p>Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness :</p> <p>and cleanse me from my sin.</p> <p>For I acknowledge my faults : and my sin is ever before me.</p> <p>Against thee onely have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight : that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged.</p> <p>Behold, I was shapen in wickedness :</p> <p>and in sin hath my mother conceived me.</p> <p>But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts:</p> <p>and shalt make me to understand wisdom secretly.</p> <p>Thou shalt purge me with hyssop,</p> <p>and I shall be clean :</p> <p>thou shalt wash me,</p> <p>and I shall be whiter than snow.</p> <p>Thou shalt make me hear of joy, and gladness :</p> <p>that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoyce.</p> <p>Turn thy face from my sins :</p> <p>and put out all my misdeeds.</p> <p>Make me a clean heart, O God :</p> <p>and renew a right spirit within me.</p>

¹²⁴ MASKELL, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, vol. 2, 84–86.

¹²⁵ LITTLEHALES, Lay Folks Prayer Book, 39 f.

¹²⁶ CUMMINGS, Texts, 512 f.

<p>Caste thou not me awei fro thi face: and take thou not awei fro me thin hooli spirit.</p> <p>zyue thou to me the gladnesse of thi saluacioun: and conferme thou me with the principal spirit. I shal teche wickid men thi weies: and unfaithful men shulen be conuertid to thee. God, the god of myn heelthe, delyuere thou me fro bloodis: and my tunge shal ioifulli synge thi riȝtfulnesse.</p> <p>Lord, opene thou my lippis: and my mouth shal tell thi preisynge. For if thou haddest wolde sacrifice, I hadde zoue: truely thou shalt not delite in brent sacrificis. Sacrifise to god is a spirit troubled: god, thou shalt not despise a contrite herte and maad meke. Lord, do thou benyngneli in thi good wille to syon: that the wallis of ierusalem be bildid. Thanne thou shalt take pleasauntli the sacrificise of riȝtfulnesse, offringis and brent sacrificis: thanne thei shulen putte caluys on thin auter.</p>	<p>Caste þou not me away fro þi face; & take not þou fro me þin hooli spirit!</p> <p>zyue þou to me þe gladnesse of þin helpe; & conferme þou me with þe principal spirit! I schal teche wickid men þi weies, & vnfeipul men schulen be conuertid to þee. God! þe god of myn helpe! delyuere þou me fro bloodis, & my tunge schal iouifulie synge þi riȝtfulnesse.</p> <p>Lord! Opene þou my lippis, & [my] mouþ schal telle þi preisynge. For if þou haddist wolde sacrifice, y hadde zoue: treuli þou schalt not delite in brent sacrificis. Sacrifice to God is a spirit trublid: god! þou schalt not dispise a contrite herte, & maad meke. Lord! do þou benyngneli in þi good wille to sion; þat þe wallis of ierusalem be bildid. Thanne þou schalt take pleasauntli þe sacrificise of riȝtfulnesse, offringis & brent sacrificis; þanne þei schulen putte calues on þin auter.</p>	<p>Cast me not away from thy presence : and take not thy holy Spirit from me.</p> <p>O give me the comfort of thy help again : and stablish me with thy free Spirit. Then shall I teach thy wayes unto the wicked : and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou that art the God of my health : and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness. Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord: and my mouth shall shew thy praise. For thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it thee : but thou delightest not in burnt-offerings. The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit : a broken and contrite heart, O God, shalt thou not despise. O be favourable and gracious unto Sion : build thou the walls of Jerusalem.</p> <p>Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifice of righteousness, with the burnt-offerings and oblations : then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar.</p>
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In the preceding examples an evolution in language is evident. To ears attuned to modern English, the later texts appear much more natural, demonstrating a definitive departure from Middle English. The later texts manifest a much more modern style in terms of rhythm and intelligibility, despite their older orthography. With respect to the older texts, Paul Stanwood

notes, “primers and instructional books are often quite wordy, the language cumbersome and awkward, the translations unused to English syntax and rhythm.”¹²⁷

The *Gloria in excelsis* found in the fourteenth century *Lay Folks Mass Book* is an example of a rhyming versical rendering of a Latin liturgical text. This is clearly not intended to be a direct translation.

Ioy be vnto God in heuen,
with alkyns myrthe, þat men may neuen;
and pese in erthe, alle men vntille,
þat rightwis are, & of gode wille.
we loue þe, lord god almyghty,
and als we blesse þe bisyly.
we worsh[up þe], als worthi es,
& makes [ioy to] þe more & les;
we than[k þe go]ld of al þi grace,
for þo g[rete ioy] þat þou hase,
oure lord, [oure] god, oure king heuenly,
oure god, oure fadir almyghty.
oure lord, þo son of god in heuen,
Ihesu crist, comly to neuen,
oure lord, lamb of god, name we þe,
& son of god, þi fadir fre.
þou þat wostis þo worldis synne,
haue mercie on vs, more & mynne;
þou þat wostis þo worldis wrake,
oure oraier in þis tyme þou take;
þou þat sites on þi fadir right hande,
with merci help vs here lyuande,
for þou art holly, made of none,
bot of þi selue, & lord alone.
þou art þo highest, of wisdam most,
Ihusu crist with þo holy gost,
wonand with þo fadre of heuen,
In more ioy þen mon may neuen;
vnto þat ioy, ihusu, vs ken
thorht prayere of þi modre, amen.¹²⁸

2.1.2.3 English Bibles

It goes without saying that the Bible stands amongst the greatest and most influential works of human history. This is most especially true when considering Western civilisation. Clinton Brand describes the Bible as “the very poetry of God’s presence and action among us”.¹²⁹ The Bible has been used as a primary study aid for teaching language. Even in a

¹²⁷ Paul G. STANWOOD, *The Prayer Book as Literature*, in: HEFLING, Charles – SHATTUCK, Cynthia (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer. A Worldwide Survey*, Oxford 2006, 140–149, here: 142.

¹²⁸ SIMMONS, *Lay Folks Mass Book*, 14 Text B. The text in square brackets is in the original.

¹²⁹ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 151.

society that today is often ambivalent about God, many of the Bible's phrases remain in everyday language.

It is no surprise that a book of such great importance would play such a prominent role in the Reformation, not just on the Continent, but in England also. The Catholic Church jealously guarded the Latin Vulgate Bible as her own, and so, when translations began to appear outside of Church authority, the Church's response was vigorous. It was considered that the Vulgate, written in the dead language of Latin, was a pillar to the *mystery* aspect of the life of the Church. To suggest a vernacular Bible was, it seemed, in some way to attack a mystery of the Church, a mystery concerning the revelation of God. In some senses, the idea of an *English* Bible, rather than the more general concept of a vernacular Bible was even worse. In the fifteenth century, the English language existed almost at the bottom of a hierarchy of languages. Latin was the language of the Church. Since the Norman Conquest, Norman French was the language of nobility. English was the language of the defeated commoners.¹³⁰ As a language it was considered to be by definition vulgar. It was unthinkable that the very breath of the High God could be uttered in the low language of English.

There were, however, a number of problems with the Vulgate. Firstly, none of the original texts of the Scriptures were written in Latin. To access the original Scriptures required scholars who were well versed in Hebrew and Greek, but the association in the West of Latin with scholarly learning meant that Hebrew and Greek were not well known. Secondly, the Vulgate itself had been compiled because of errors with the Latin texts then in circulation. Yet there was a growing awareness of textual problems with the Vulgate itself.¹³¹

Given that the Vulgate itself was a translation, this really begged the question that if one can have a translation into Latin, why not another language? The argument then would be one of authority. Who had control over the Scriptures?

The other main concern was that of translation. The early translator's motivation was to make the Scriptures accessible to the people. Technical accuracy is all very well, but it was necessary not only that the words were understood, but the text comprehended.¹³² The Hebrew authors of the Old Testament were famous for their narrative, but sixteenth century

¹³⁰ Cf. Elizabeth Bell CANON, *Linguistic Ideology and the Pre-Modern English Bible. A Look at Arguments For and Against an English Translation Through the Lens of Sociolinguistics*, in: *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 14/1 (2019) 61–74, here: 67.

¹³¹ This was, at least in part, a motivating factor for Erasmus' revised Latin New Testament. See PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 33–37.

¹³² Even today, despite the best efforts of modern Biblical scholarship, there remain numerous passages of the Bible where the meaning is unclear.

English was not especially suited to prose narrative as English Biblical translations began to emerge. The task of producing an English Bible that was truly accessible to the people would require the translators to remould the English language so as to be able to convey the sense of the original prose narratives.

As previously noted, the earliest efforts at English Biblical translation were primarily glosses and Psalters. Likewise, the first complete English Bible, known as the Wycliffe Bible (late fourteenth century), has been considered. This manuscript Bible was broadly popular, being used by many ordinary Catholics who simply wanted to read the Scriptures in their own language. In recounting the story of the development of the English Bible, there are a few things worth noting about the Wycliffite Bible. It was written in Middle English, and was a fairly literal translation of the Vulgate, favouring Latin word order and construction.¹³³ There was nothing particularly controversial about the translation itself. The problem was that the Wycliffe Bible came to be inseparably associated with Lollardy and therefore heresy. After the 1408 banning of unauthorised translation of the Bible, Biblical translation would be on pause until history once again smiled upon the idea of a vernacular translation. Meanwhile, the Wycliffe Bible would effectively be consigned to the dustbin of history. As such, while the Wycliffe Bible is of course historically important, it does not form part of the “family tree” of the modern English Bible. The concern of this section is to broadly examine some prominent family members and the timeline of the process that resulted in what is called the English Bible.

Tyndale’s New Testament (1526)

By the early 1500s, with Henry VIII on the throne, it was clear that things were changing in the English church. Predicting Henry’s next actions was near impossible, but it seemed that the effective absolute “no” to translation since 1408 was showing signs of weakening. Another important factor was that the landscape of publishing had fundamentally changed. This was the age of the printing press. The presses could produce works in such volume that it was simply impossible to try to eliminate a text by destroying all of the copies.

In 1523, William Tyndale asked Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall of London for permission (as required by the 1408 Arundel constitutions) to translate an English Bible.¹³⁴ Tunstall had a great reputation as a learned man, and Tyndale must have thought that Tunstall would

¹³³ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 15.

¹³⁴ Cf. David TEEMS, *Tyndale. The Man Who Gave God an English Voice*, Nashville 2012, 40–43.

respond favourably to his request. Tunstall, however, was tied up in the affairs of state. Perhaps careerist pragmatism had overtaken scholarly openness of mind.¹³⁵ Permission was not given, so Tyndale therefore decided to go to the continent where he could work on his translation relatively free of impediment. In 1526, he published his translation of the New Testament.¹³⁶ There are two important *firsts* for Tyndale's New Testament. It was the first *printed* English New Testament, and it was the first *modern English* New Testament.

Bishop Tunstall responded by ordering the confiscation of any copies of Tyndale's New Testament, and these were publicly burned at St Paul's Cross. Tunstall engaged a merchant to purchase all available copies on the Continent, probably to the great delight of the printers, who used the money received to print still more copies.¹³⁷

Meanwhile, Tyndale applied himself to translating the Old Testament. The Pentateuch was published in 1530¹³⁸, Jonah in 1531¹³⁹, and a revised version of Genesis in 1534¹⁴⁰. He had translated Joshua to 2 Chronicles by the time of his execution in 1536, but these were not published.¹⁴¹ He also translated sections of the Old Testament where they were used as the Epistle reading in the Sarum calendar. Revised versions of the New Testament were published in 1534¹⁴² and 1535¹⁴³, partly in response to inferior pirated versions that had begun to appear, yet it is the 1534 version that is considered to be Tyndale's finest, and it is this version that is the parent of the subsequent revisions produced by other translators.¹⁴⁴

Tyndale was skilled in languages, being fluent in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Italian, French, and Spanish.¹⁴⁵ It would seem that he was well positioned to be the man of the hour who would imbibe the wave of Bibles being produced on the Continent, and then produce a

¹³⁵ Cf. James F. MOZLEY, *William Tyndale*, London 1937, 38–41.

¹³⁶ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2824; A[rthur] S. HERBERT, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525–1961*. Revised and Expanded from the Edition of T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, 1903. London 1968, no. 2; hereafter DARLOW & MOULE.

¹³⁷ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 37–39.

¹³⁸ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2350; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 4.

¹³⁹ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2788; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 6.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2351; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 8.

¹⁴¹ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 52 f.

¹⁴² Cf. N[orb]ert Hardy WALLIS (ed.), *The New Testament. Translated by William Tyndale 1534, A Reprint of the Edition of 1534 with the Translator's Prefaces & Notes and the Variants of the Edition of 1525*. Cambridge 1938; STC (2nd ed.) / 2826. DARLOW & MOULE, no. 13.

¹⁴³ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2830; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 44.

¹⁴⁵ It would seem that Tyndale learned Hebrew after completing his New Testament translation. There were no options to learn it in England, however there were options on the continent. See MOZLEY, *William Tyndale*, 145.

true English translation. Tyndale was greatly influenced by the achievements of Erasmus and Luther. Luther's German translation had a tremendous influence on the German language itself. Luther's aim was to write "good German" – idiomatic German that would be accessible by ordinary people that would also teach them their own language.¹⁴⁶ Erasmus too saw the Bible as something that should be accessible. For both Luther and Erasmus the Bible maintained in itself a certain literary lowliness and simple eloquence, not in a derogatory sense, but a homeliness because it is the word of God speaking to his people.¹⁴⁷ These ideas can be seen in Tyndale's desire in translating the Scripture to use what he calls "proper English".¹⁴⁸ What Tyndale means by "proper English" was the use of the correct English words to faithfully and accurately transmit the sense and meaning. This was against the common view that English was incapable of expressing the true meaning of the Latin Bible.¹⁴⁹

Tyndale recognised the natural harmony between the original Greek and Hebrew and the possibilities of the English language, saying "the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin."¹⁵⁰ Tyndale's aim was to produce an English Bible translation that would resonate with the English tongue. He achieved this to such a degree that every subsequent translation would owe its note and timbre to Tyndale. As David Teems has said, it was Tyndale who "gave God an English voice".¹⁵¹

For his New Testament, Tyndale gave precedence to Erasmus' Greek New Testament, also using Erasmus' Latin New Testament, Luther, and the Vulgate.¹⁵² His sources for the Pentateuch may have been the Hebrew, assisted with the Vulgate and Paginus. Despite a lack of clear evidence for his Old Testament sources, it is known that Tyndale favoured the use of the original languages where possible.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Cf. David NORTON, *A History of the English Bible as Literature*, Cambridge 2000, 17 f.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 18.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 19 f.; MOZLEY, *William Tyndale*, 82.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 20 f.

¹⁵⁰ David DANIELL (ed.), *William Tyndale. The Obedience of a Christian Man*, London 2000, 19.

¹⁵¹ TEEMS, *Tyndale*, [Subtitle].

¹⁵² Cf. MOZLEY, *William Tyndale*, 81.

¹⁵³ For an examination of Tyndale's dependence on Luther and the Hebrew for his Old Testament translations, see Gerald HAMMOND, *William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 33/3 (1980) 351–385.

Noteworthy Properties of Tyndale's Translation

Astley C. Partridge identifies four fundamental principles of Tyndale's approach. These are:

1. Fidelity to the Greek and Hebrew texts;
2. Impartiality in interpreting Christian doctrine;
3. Relevance of the translated language to the time;
4. Literary suitability of the rendering for reading aloud.¹⁵⁴

The last point, the suitability of the translation for being read aloud is perhaps especially worth noting, not because the others are unimportant, but because this was such a novel idea. Words are no more than a modulation of sounds, and those sounds convey meaning, but it is not as simple as mapping certain sounds to certain meanings. This is because the sounds themselves have a meaning that is more than just the word. This is why it is possible to listen to someone speaking in a foreign language and not understand a word, but from the intonation it is possible to know something about what the person is saying. Dark sounds or low sounds are different to light or high sounds. Rhythm can convey a sense of sing-song frivolity, or the deepest sense of seriousness. The language is far more than just the words on the page. Tyndale recognised this. He knew that substituting one Latin word for a technically correct English one simply could not work, because while the result would be made up of English words, it would not be English as ordinary people understood, and perhaps more importantly, spoke English. Tyndale knew that *heard* language had to *sound* right. In listening, people should not have to stop to process a barrage of words to work out what is being said. Indeed, to do so would be a failure of translation, perhaps not technically, but certainly as far as authentic idiom is concerned. As Partridge notes, Tyndale was sensitive to “the musical potentialities of a new-found language.”¹⁵⁵

It was also true, however, that English, along with the whole world, was in a period of transition. The medieval period was ending. Middle English had passed away, but early modern English was very much still a work in progress. Tyndale knew that it would not do to limit himself to what was popular. It was all very well to want to use English words, but what if the appropriate word did not exist? The sense should not be betrayed by using the wrong word. It would therefore be necessary to create a means to convey the sense. Tyndale did try to use English words, avoiding Latin and French loan words as best he could. The

¹⁵⁴ PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 229.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

importing of Latin terms opened one up to criticism for use of inkhorn terms.¹⁵⁶ David Norton discusses this tension, and Thomas More’s criticism of Tyndale’s English:¹⁵⁷

The English people of the sixteenth century were learning a new English. However simple the language of the Protestant translators may now seem (archaisms apart), it had much in it that the people had to learn before they could understand and appreciate it.¹⁵⁸

Much of this “new English” would be in terms of vocabulary. If there wasn’t a word, then one would need to be created. Teems has compiled a helpful list, with caveats which he explains, of English words first used by Tyndale.¹⁵⁹ Elizabeth Bell Canon has conducted an analysis using modern computer techniques to examine the Tyndale corpus.¹⁶⁰ Canon (and others) have noted the misattribution of terms and phrases. The example given by Canon is an over-appropriation of Latin (or inkhorn) terms to Tyndale.¹⁶¹ Another tendency in misattribution is to fail to follow the family tree through, erroneously attributing a first use to a later reviser. It is most important in the examination of the development of the English Bible to remember that our starting point is essentially Tyndale – the family tree begins with him.

Partridge discusses Tyndale’s use of cadence: “[T]he cadence, or fall of the voice at well-spaced pauses, is a notable feature of Tyndale’s biblical prose, secured by a trochaic or dactylic rhythm in terminal words, especially of rationalizing sentences”.¹⁶² Trochaic means a long-short pattern, while dactylic means long-short-short. Drawing from Partridge’s examples, “agaynst us” and “loved us” are trochaic, while “abyde for it” and “glorified” are dactylic.¹⁶³ Partridge provides a more detailed analysis of the linguistic properties of Tyndale’s translation.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Jamie H. FERGUSON, *The Roman Inkhorn: Religious Resistance to Latinism in Early Modern England*, in: Kevin KILLEEN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, Oxford 2015, 83–97, here: 86.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 26–29. See also PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 41–48.

¹⁵⁸ NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 27 f.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. TEEMS, *Tyndale*, 268–272; see also David CRYSTAL, *The Stories of English*, Bury St Edmunds 2005, 273 f.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Elizabeth Bell CANON, *Buried Treasure in the Tyndale Corpus: Innovations and Archaisms*, in: *Anglica. An International Journal of English Studies* 25/2 (2016) 151–165.

¹⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 154.

¹⁶² PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 48.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 47–52.

Tyndale paid special attention to ensuring that the right word was used in the right place, but his overarching concern was the whole, rather than a slavish restriction to the technical accuracy of the parts. He would therefore translate the one word or phrase differently, as he thought “good English” required.¹⁶⁵ This tendency, however, served as yet more ammunition for his critics who charged that Tyndale was taking dangerous liberties with the very word of God.

Tyndale was both an innovator and an archaiser at the same time; precisely his innovation was in the use of archaic terms.¹⁶⁶ This is seen most evidently in the use of personal pronouns such as *thee*, *thou*, *ye*, and so on. These forms had nearly fallen out of common use by Tyndale’s time. The problem with the modern *you* is that it does not convey a sense of *number*. This must be determined from the context. Tyndale’s desire was to be as faithful to the original texts as possible, and the use of these archaic terms allowed him to do so.¹⁶⁷ Tyndale’s deliberate use of archaisms not only allowed him to solve a technical problem, but also brought a distinctive *sound* to his rendering of English. As Canon says, “Tyndale’s style and especially his archaic grammatical choices were and are a perfect model for a Christian Biblical register”.¹⁶⁸ Tyndale recognised that an English Bible should be accessible and understandable to the ordinary people and to be *good English*. This did not mean that it should be common. Tyndale was the first to establish a notion in English of an archaising style that is used to convey divine truths, certainly the greatest written divine truth being the Bible itself. Archaisms are not intended to convey a sense of *old fashioned-ness* for its own sake, but a sense of timelessness, of a language that is not subject to the fashions or trends of the day. A timeless writing style is particularly suited for conveying timeless truth, immutable truth, the truth of God.

Whilst Tyndale was correct in anticipating a changing of fortunes *vis-à-vis* an English Bible, his efforts had come too early. Tyndale’s translation, no matter what its merits may have been, was seen as an act of rebellion – a very sensitive topic during the reign of Henry. Even the Continent did not provide the safety Tyndale had hoped would allow him to complete his work. He was betrayed in 1535 and executed in 1536. Subsequent translators would for a time need to at the very least *appear* to disassociate their work from that of Tyndale.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 51.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. CANON, *Buried Treasure in the Tyndale Corpus*, 153.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 157 f.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 162.

Coverdale's First Bible (1535)

Miles Coverdale's Bible of 1535¹⁶⁹ is noteworthy for two reasons. Firstly, it was the first complete *printed* Bible. Secondly, it was the first complete *modern English* Bible, Wycliffe's Bible being in Middle English. There is no consensus as to where the 1535 edition was printed, although it would certainly have been on the Continent. Coverdale had moved there in 1528, and spent some time serving as apprentice to Tyndale, assisting him with his Old Testament translation.¹⁷⁰

Coverdale gave his motivation for translating in his prologue: "[I]t greued me that other nacyons shulde be more plenteously prouyded for with the scripture in theyr mother tongue, then we".¹⁷¹ Unlike Tyndale, Coverdale was not a Greek or Hebrew scholar. As such, he did not draw directly from the original languages. He drew from three languages; English, German and Latin. In English, there was only Tyndale, which, of course, was incomplete. From German, he utilised Luther and the 1531 Zurich version. From Latin, he used the Vulgate and Pagninus.¹⁷²

The English style of Coverdale's 1535 translation is heavily coloured by Germanisms. A prominent example of this is the use of compound words that are obviously foreign to the English language. Germanic languages make common use of compound words, which may in part explain the frequency of extremely long words found in the German language. James F. Mozley identifies 140 such words used by Coverdale.¹⁷³ Some of these roll off the tongue relatively easily, with their meaning being clear. For example, *bloodissue*, *bloodguiltiness*, *counselgiver*, *doorpillars*, *righteousmaking*. This cannot be said for all, however, with *unoutspeakable*, and *wintercool* being examples.¹⁷⁴

Mozley identifies five key elements of Coverdale's English style:

1. Germanic idiom.
2. Preference for Anglo-Saxon words rather than Latinate.
3. A number of favourite words and phrases recognisable to Coverdale.
4. Strengthening of vocatives (for example, by adding O, or thou).
5. Use of tush (an exclamation of disapproval).¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2063; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 18.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. James F. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, London 1953, 4 f.

¹⁷¹ POLLARD, *Records of the English Bible*, 203. See also MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 70.

¹⁷² Cf. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 78 f. Mozley gives extensive examples of texts drawn from these sources. See *ibid.*, 79–100.

¹⁷³ Cf. *ibid.*, 101.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 102–104.

Mozley notes that Coverdale embraces an idiom that is somewhat more old-fashioned than that of Tyndale.¹⁷⁶ Tyndale himself had made use of archaisms, whereas Coverdale's old-fashioned usage is with respect to idiom and pronouns.¹⁷⁷ Like his use of Germanisms, this seems to be a deliberate choice that results in a distinctiveness of language.

Coverdale's priorities were different to Tyndale's. Tyndale sought to write what has previously been described as "good English", whilst also being faithful to the original texts. Coverdale, however, was not a Greek or Hebrew scholar. Untied, therefore, to the structure of the Greek and Hebrew, Coverdale was freer to embrace what for him was the best English.¹⁷⁸ So while Tyndale sought to keep a balance between good English and good scholarship, Coverdale sought to express the truth of the Bible in the best way possible within the English language, or as Clive S. Lewis has observed, Coverdale was guided by good taste.¹⁷⁹ In terms of literary appreciation, Coverdale's efforts are revered because of his priority for good taste over technical precision. There is one ostensibly small yet significant area where Coverdale is more precise than Tyndale. This is in his use of varying vocabulary, for which Tyndale had been harshly criticised, especially in the use of ecclesiastically significant words.¹⁸⁰

Henry's (second) wife, Anne Boleyn, was very supportive of the idea of an English Bible, reportedly having had one such Bible (which could only be Coverdale's) in her bedchamber. The draft version of the 1536 Injunctions included a requirement for every parish church to include a Bible in Latin and English.¹⁸¹ It was not to be however, as 1536 was also the year

¹⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 104.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 104 f.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 29 f.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Clive S. LEWIS, *The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version*, in: Clive S. LEWIS (ed.), *They Asked for a Paper. Papers and Addresses*, London 1962, 26–50, here: 34 f.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 31.

¹⁸¹ A copy of the draft Injunctions, with the requirement for an English Bible, is in the Cambridge University Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 10085. The paragraph states "Item that every person or proprietary of any parish church within this realm, that on this side of the feast of Saint Peter ad vincula next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the quire for every man that will, to look and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual good of man's soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the King, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that using a sober and modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same but refer the declaration of those places, that be in controversy, to the judgement of them that be better learned." The Bibliographic information on Early English Books Online states that this manuscript is from 1538, but the manuscript itself is quite clearly dated as 1536. Mozley refers specifically to this manuscript, noting its 1536 date. Cf. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 120 f. The Injunctions without the Bible paragraph are in the Bodleian Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 10084.7.

of Anne Boleyn's execution. It would not be prudent for the Injunctions to include something championed by a recently executed Queen. Therefore, the injunction requiring the placing of an English Bible was removed from the draft, not to return, at least uniformly across the realm, until the 1538 Injunctions.¹⁸² The English Bible remained technically illegal. That being said, still in 1536, Henry gave his verbal authorisation allowing the use of the *Coverdale Bible*.¹⁸³ In 1537, the quarto edition of Coverdale's Bible was the first English Bible to bear the royal license on the title page.¹⁸⁴

The Matthew Bible (1537)

The *Matthew Bible* of 1537¹⁸⁵ is ascribed to "Thomas Matthew".¹⁸⁶ This, however, is a pseudonym. The editor of the *Matthew Bible* was certainly not looking for name recognition. This editor was John Rogers, an associate of Tyndale. After Tyndale's betrayal and death in 1536, Rogers knew that putting one's name to an English Bible was not a life-extending thing to do.

Rogers was very much an editor, rather than a translator, or even a reviser, as there is only one book of the *Matthew Bible* which is his own translation, that being Prayer of Manasses. The remainder is drawn from Tyndale (where available) and Coverdale. Containing significant amounts of Tyndale was yet another reason for subterfuge disguising the texts' true origins. Interestingly, the *Matthew Bible* included Tyndale's translations of Joshua to 2nd Chronicles, which had never been published, but had come into Roger's possession.¹⁸⁷ Although Tyndale had translated Jonah, Rogers selected Coverdale's translation over Tyndale's. The Old Testament "Epistles", which Tyndale had translated, were also not used. In terms of editing, Rogers was very reserved in his approach.

The name Thomas Matthew can be seen as a personification into the one pseudonym the contributors to the *Matthew Bible*; namely Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers. Thus, the translators of the *Matthew Bible* are as follows:

¹⁸² Cf. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 120 f.

¹⁸³ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 56.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2065; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 33.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2066; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 34; *Matthew's Bible. A Facsimile of the 1537 Edition* (Hendrickson Bibles), Peabody/MA 2009.

¹⁸⁶ For detailed background on the *Matthew Bible* and its pre-history, see Ruth MAGNUSSON DAVIS, *The Story of the Matthew Bible. Part 1. That Which We First Received*, British Columbia ²2020.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 53. For an overview of Roger's editorial approach, see MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 148–156.

Pentateuch	–	Tyndale
Joshua to 2 nd Chronicles	–	Tyndale
Ezra to Malachi	–	Coverdale
Apocrypha (excluding Manasses)	–	Coverdale
Prayer of Manasses	–	Rogers
New Testament	–	Tyndale

As a translation, there is nothing in particular to set the *Matthew Bible* apart from what had come before. As already noted, it is mostly Tyndale and Coverdale. Its significance is historical. Cranmer came across the *Matthew Bible* and recommended to Cromwell that he should show the book to the King and seek to obtain his license for it.¹⁸⁸ This license was very promptly granted, and so the *Matthew Bible* joined Coverdale’s 1537 quarto edition in being approved for use in England.¹⁸⁹ As the basis for the *Great Bible*, the *Matthew Bible* would become pivotal in the creation of the first officially translated English Bible.¹⁹⁰

The 1538 Injunctions and the Great Bible (1539)

By 1537, things were moving very quickly. Two complete Bibles had now been printed in English, and both had been given the royal license. Politically, the move towards the vernacular seemed to be snowballing. The pause brought about by the execution of Queen Anne in 1536 would be rapidly overcome. As there now existed legal Bibles, church authorities could, should they choose, mandate them being made available. Thus, from 1537, local Injunctions began to appear requiring English Bibles to be made available, or failing that, a Latin-English New Testament.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ For the text of Cranmer’s letter, see POLLARD, *Records of the English Bible*, 214 f. See also Charles C. BUTTERWORTH, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible. 1340–1611*, Philadelphia 1941, 111.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *Thomas Cromwell. A Revolutionary Life*, New York 2018, 416. Noting the *Matthew Bible*’s direct connection to Tyndale, MacCulloch says: “A translation largely created by the man in whose destruction Henry had connived was now to be placed in every significant church in the realm. It has remained the basis of every English biblical translation until modern times.”

¹⁹⁰ That is, a translation that was made under royal direction, rather than an existing translation which later gained royal license as was the case with the Coverdale and Matthew Bibles.

¹⁹¹ In 1538 Cranmer issued Injunctions to the vacant see of Hereford, which included “ye and every one of you shall have by the first day of August next coming, as well as a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at the least a New Testament of both the same language”. WILKINS, *Concilia*, 843. Also, in 1538 the Bishop of Exeter directed that the clergy should “every Sunday declare sincerely in time and place accustomed, in the English tongue, or in the Cornish tongue, where the English tongue is not used, all or part of the epistle, or gospel of that day, or else the Pater noster, Ave Maria, Creed, and Ten Commandments” and “on this side the feast of All Saints next ensuing [...] provide to have the New Testament both in Latin and in English, and that they do daily confer together at the least one chapter”. *Ibid.*, 844 f. Bishop Lee’s Injunctions included verbatim the deleted phrase from the 1536 Injunctions. Cf. FRERE, *Visitation Articles*, 20. Also see Shaxton’s Injunctions for Salisbury diocese. *Ibid.*, 55. See also MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 167–169.

In 1538, Cromwell published Injunctions for the entire realm. They required pastors by Easter 1539 to provide “one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that you have cure of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it”.¹⁹²

The intention was for this Bible to be used. “[Y]ou shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir and exhort every person to read the same”.¹⁹³ If pastors knew of anyone who hindered the reading of the Bible in English, they were to ensure that person was presented to the King.¹⁹⁴

At the time of the publishing of the 1538 Injunctions, there existed two approved Bibles, the *Coverdale Bible* and the *Matthew Bible*. The requirement for a Bible of the “largest volume” would seem to, however, indicate that Cromwell had something particular in mind. This would be the 1539 *Great Bible*, known as Great because of its large size.

Production of the *Great Bible* was not without its problems. Printing was begun in Paris, but was embroiled in the politics of the time, and the inquisitor ordered printing to be stopped and the printed material seized.¹⁹⁵ What could be salvaged by way of type, paper, and even workers was eventually moved to England and printing continued there.¹⁹⁶ The first copies of the *Great Bible* were not available until April 1539.

The editor of the *Great Bible* was Coverdale, with the *Matthew Bible* to be used as the starting point. Cranmer himself had poured praise on the *Matthew Bible*, writing to Cromwell saying, “I like it better than any other translacion heretofore made”.¹⁹⁷ Cranmer requested the King’s license for the *Matthew Bible* to be “sold and redde of euery person [...] vntill such tyme that we, the Bishops shall set forth a better translacion, which I thinke will not be till a day after domesday.”¹⁹⁸ The *Matthew Bible* was essentially Tyndale and Coverdale, and with Tyndale being dead, that left Coverdale as ostensibly the best man for the job.¹⁹⁹ We have already noted Coverdale’s lack of scholarship and knowledge of the original languages. Comparing him to other translators of his time, Lewis describes

¹⁹² BRAY, Documents of the English Reformation, 179.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 181.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. MOZLEY, Coverdale and his Bibles, 206.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 215.

¹⁹⁷ POLLARD, Records of the English Bible, 215.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. MOZLEY, Coverdale and his Bibles, 201.

Coverdale as a “rowing boat among battleships.”²⁰⁰ In this respect, Coverdale is more accurately seen as an editor and a corrector than a translator as such.

The motivation for the production of the Great Bible was, perhaps, more so political than scholarly. The objective here was to produce an official Bible that was not an adopted child, but created specifically for that purpose. Furthermore, there had been dissension over the *Matthew Bible* from conservatives.

The primary sources of the *Great Bible* which form the starting point for Coverdale’s editorial endeavour are as follows:

Pentateuch	–	Tyndale
Joshua to 2 nd Chronicles	–	Tyndale
Ezra to Maccabees (excluding Manasses)	–	1535 Coverdale
Prayer of Manasses	–	Rogers
New Testament	–	Tyndale

As in the *Matthew Bible*, Tyndale’s Jonah is not used. Prayer of Manasses is almost identical to Roger’s *Matthew Bible* translation.

For correcting the Old Testament, Coverdale used Munster’s new Hebrew-Latin polyglot, while for the New Testament he used Erasmus. He deferred to the *Vulgate* where it had inserted additions.²⁰¹ The bulk of Coverdale’s editing took place over the first two editions of the *Great Bible*. The 1539 edition²⁰² corrected mainly the New Testament and the historical books. In the 1540 edition,²⁰³ the remaining books of the Old Testament received a much more thorough correction.²⁰⁴ As the official Bible of the land, numerous editions were printed, although editions subsequent to the 1540 second edition contained only minor variations.

In terms of the overall literary style of the *Great Bible*, Coverdale was faithful to his brief, which was to use the *Matthew Bible* as his starting point.²⁰⁵ He resisted what must have been a personal temptation to defer to his own 1535 efforts, but rather, as a general rule, gave precedence to Tyndale where extant.²⁰⁶ This *modus operandi* did not overcome Coverdale’s

²⁰⁰ Cf. LEWIS, *Literary Impact of the Authorised Version*, 35.

²⁰¹ Cf. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 221.

²⁰² Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2068; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 46.

²⁰³ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2070; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 53.

²⁰⁴ Cf. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 221 f.

²⁰⁵ Mozley provides an extensive analysis firstly of Coverdale’s faithfulness to the original texts, and secondly his English idiom and style. See MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 225–236 & 236–252.

²⁰⁶ Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 132.

tendency to select texts on the basis of good taste. He also had the ability to be self-critical of his previous work. In the *Great Bible*, Coverdale's tendency towards Germanisms was greatly reduced, even in the sections drawn from his 1535 Bible.²⁰⁷ He continued with the tendency to eschew Tyndale's varying translation of the one word. He avoided the controversial translation of certain words that More had objected so strongly to in Tyndale's translation. Coverdale's familiar strengthening of the vocative was retained.²⁰⁸ For example, *God who* would become *O God who*; *all nations* becomes *all ye nations*.

It should be noted with respect to much of the content of the Old Testament that the source material is Hebrew prose or Hebrew poetry. Coverdale was certainly no Hebrew scholar, as reflected in the weakness of his 1535 Old Testament as far as Hebraisms were concerned. These were greatly improved, because Coverdale was now working from Munster's polyglot, which meant that in making his corrections he had the Hebrew set out before him adjacent to the Latin.²⁰⁹

The crowning glory of Coverdale's propensity towards good taste must be his Psalter. Even today, despite the efforts of many to replace it, the Hebrew verses caressed into English prose by Coverdale's hand are ingrained into the minds of many as *the* Psalms. The Psalms in their original form are the epitome of sacred Hebrew verse. Coverdale's rendering perhaps says something about the man. While his rendering of Biblical *prose* was good, it is only when considering his rendering of *verse* that he stands head and shoulders above all other such attempts in the English tongue. Therefore, in the minds of many, the Psalter is the enduring legacy of Coverdale. Although this may be true from a creative viewpoint, it must not be forgotten that, despite its scholarly shortcomings, it was Coverdale who was responsible for the *Great Bible*; a translation that would not be truly supplanted, at least by an official Bible, until the *Authorised Version* of 1611.

From the 1540 second edition, a preface written by Cranmer himself was included. It was due to this preface that the *Great Bible* was also known as the *Cranmer Bible*. In his preface, Cranmer approbates the reading of the Bible in English, saying, "it is convenient and good the Scripture to be read of all sorts and kinds of people, and in the vulgar tongue, without further allegations and probations for the same".²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Cf. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles*, 102, 236.

²⁰⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 236.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 245.

²¹⁰ Cf. BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 239.

It must be noted here that the *Great Bible* was the first Bible of the Prayer Book. When the *Book of Common Prayer* was published in 1549, the *Great Bible* was the official Bible. Furthermore, the first Prayer Book did not include the readings, nor the Psalter. These would need to have been read from a Bible, which at that time was the *Great Bible*.

The Geneva Bible (1560)

Despite never being approved for official use in England, the *Geneva Bible* of 1560²¹¹ played an important role in the development of the English Bible. During the Catholic restoration under Queen Mary, many reformers fled to the continent. Working in the relative safety of Geneva, it was a group of these Protestant exiles who were responsible for the translation that would become known as the *Geneva Bible*.²¹² After the accession of Mary's half-sister Elizabeth in 1558, England was to be definitively separated from Rome. Elizabeth, however, was not interested in an association with Puritanism. Geneva, on the other hand, was a hotbed of the strongly Reformed ideas that would colour English Puritanism. The *Geneva Bible* contained a large number of notes, many of them which betrayed Puritan sympathies. Furthermore, some Puritan scholars had spoken against the legitimacy of a female monarch. Elizabeth was certainly not going to align herself with a movement that questioned her very right to the throne. Despite Elizabeth's refusal to approve it, the *Geneva Bible* was in many ways a superior translation to the *Great Bible*. The *Geneva Bible* was an extensive reworking of the *Great Bible*, utilising the abundance of scholarship that was available in Geneva.²¹³ Revision was most extensive in the Old Testament books not translated by Tyndale, since these have not been translated directly from Hebrew, but via intermediary languages. The editors sought to bring the text more in line with the original Hebrew text and idiom.²¹⁴ Perhaps anticipating a historical approach to Biblical translation, the editors also acknowledged the Hebrew background of the writers of the New Testament, and as such also embraced Hebraisms in the New Testament.²¹⁵ The *Geneva Bible* resisted archaising tendencies while favouring Tyndale's vigorous style, and anticipated a purer form of English.²¹⁶

²¹¹ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2093; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 107; *The Geneva Bible. A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (Hendrickson Bibles), Peabody/MA 2007.

²¹² Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 163.

²¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, 165 f.; BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 88 f.

²¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 89.

²¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

²¹⁶ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 76.

In terms of popular acceptance, the *Great Bible* had a number of problems. Conversely, the *Geneva Bible* had a number of features absent in the *Great Bible*. As book ownership rapidly grew in England, it was perfectly understandable that *the* book that everyone would want to own was the Bible. The *Great Bible*, however, had not been created for home use. It was great in *size* and great in *price*. It had been designed to meet Cromwell's requirement for an English Bible "of the largest volume." It was meant to be chained to a lectern in a church and used for public Bible reading. It was fundamentally unsuitable for use as a personal Bible.

The *Geneva Bible*, on the other hand, was perfectly suited as a home family Bible. It was quarto in size (9 ½ x 12 inches) and contained a wealth of study notes. Although these notes were decidedly Puritan in their character, they met a desire for people who wanted to learn about the faith at home. Compared to the *Great Bible*, the *Geneva Bible* was smaller, more convenient, more affordable, and contained study notes.²¹⁷ It was the first English Bible printed in Roman type rather than Gothic blackletter, and also the first to include verse divisions.²¹⁸

The *Geneva Bible* very much became *the* Bible of the English people, at least until well after 1611. Even though never approved for use in churches, it captured the imagination of the English people. The success of the *Geneva Bible* indicated that official Bibles still had some way to go if they were to capture the hearts and minds of the English people. It would take the *Authorised Version* of 1611, also known as the *King James Bible*, to displace the *Geneva Bible* from its position.

The Bishop's Bible (1568)

The *Bishop's Bible* of 1568²¹⁹ was a response to the success of the *Geneva Bible*, and the fact that compared to the scholarship of the *Geneva Bible* the *Great Bible* was now hopelessly out of date. The *Bishop's Bible* attempted to be both a family study Bible and a Bible for use in churches. Like the *Geneva Bible* it included study aids.²²⁰ It included

²¹⁷ Cf. Femke MOLEKAMP, *Genevan Legacies: The Making of the English Geneva Bible*, in: Kevin KILLEEN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, Oxford 2015, 38–53, here: 41.

²¹⁸ Cf. Frank E. BRIGHTMAN, *The English Rite. Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, vol. 1, London 1915, clxxv.

²¹⁹ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2099; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 125.

²²⁰ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 26–29. See also PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 84 f.

marginal notes, but without Puritan controversy.²²¹ Unlike the *Geneva Bible*, it persisted with Gothic blackletter text. It included verse divisions, which were generally close to those of the *Geneva Bible*.²²²

As a translation project, the task was assigned to various of the English bishops, with the vision to produce a translation that truly was a translation of the English church. This vision was not realised, as there was no critical evaluation or comparison of the work, neither was the *ratio* sufficient to produce the required uniformity of approach. The result was a fundamentally disunified translation.²²³ Butterworth describes it as a “conglomerate version, since little or no care, apparently, was given to coordinating the output of the sixteen or more churchmen who took part in its preparation.”²²⁴ Despite the provision of a new Psalter, Coverdale’s Psalter from the *Great Bible* continued to be used as the Psalter for the *Book of Common Prayer*.²²⁵ So unloved was the Psalter of the *Bishop’s Bible* that in time it was replaced by Coverdale’s in every edition but one.²²⁶ The *Geneva Bible* was revised to remove Anglican objections, with the result that the *Bishop’s Bible*, even with a substantial revision in 1572²²⁷, never surpassed the *Geneva Bible*, which was generally considered the better translation.²²⁸

Douay Rheims (1582/1609/1610)

The *Douay Rheims* is a translation that even today remains relatively popular, especially in North America.²²⁹ The *Douay Rheims* consists of the 1582 *Rheims* translation of the New Testament²³⁰, and the translation of the Old Testament made at the same time, but not printed in two volumes until 1609/1610²³¹ known as the *Douay Old Testament*. *Douay Rheims* was

²²¹ Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 177.

²²² Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 87.

²²³ Cf. *ibid.*, 86 f.

²²⁴ BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 177.

²²⁵ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 87.

²²⁶ Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 180. The sole edition after 1572 to use the Bishop’s Psalter is STC (2nd ed.) / 2143; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 188.

²²⁷ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2107; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 132. Note the comment in Darlow & Moule that this version included a parallel Psalter comprising the Bishop’s version, and the Coverdale Psalter.

²²⁸ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 88; BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 94.

²²⁹ The popularity of *Douay Rheims* is strongest amongst some Catholic traditionalists, though using the version revised by Richard Challenor in the eighteenth century. See DARLOW & MOULE, nos. 1086, 1089, 1090, 1099, 1156, 1224.

²³⁰ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2884; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 177.

²³¹ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2207; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 300.

a response to the success of Protestant English Bibles and was the first official English Bible of the Catholic Church. English speaking Catholics now had a Bible in their own language that was approved by the Church.²³² Like the *Geneva Bible*, it included notes, was printed in Roman type, and, in a roundabout way, included verse divisions.²³³ Unsurprisingly, given the vigorous defence that the Church had made of the *Vulgate*, *Douay Rheims* was based on the *Vulgate*.

In some senses, the Catholic academics responsible for the *Douay Rheims* made their translation as much a political statement as an English Bible for Catholics. This was how Catholics thought that an English Bible *should* be done. However, the adherence to the *Vulgate* resulted in a translation heavily weighed down with Latinisms and Latinate sentence structure. Therefore, despite the previously noted shortcomings of the *Bishop's Bible*, at least it used English syntax, which could not be said of the *Douay Rheims*.²³⁴

The Authorised Version or King James Bible (1611)

Over four-hundred years after its publication, many people associate the very idea of the Bible in English with the *King James Bible*, or the *Authorised Version*.²³⁵ It has had a tremendous impact on culture. In a world that is increasingly ignorant of matters religious, many of its turns of phrase remain etched into social memory.²³⁶ Many would argue that the *King James Bible* has had more of an influence on the modern English language than any other work.

The project to bring about the *Authorised Version* was in response to a number of factors. By the time of the *Authorised Version*, there were over fifty different translations of the English Bible. The *Bishop's Bible* had failed in its effort to replace the *Geneva Bible*, which remained the Bible of the people. Therefore, there were effectively two rival Bibles.²³⁷ There was clearly a need for a single unifying translation.

However, the *Authorised Version* project did not start out with these problems in mind. By the seventeenth century, Puritans in England were becoming more and more vocal. In 1603,

²³² Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 193. This approval did not extend, of course, to liturgical use as the liturgy was in Latin.

²³³ Cf. *ibid.*

²³⁴ Cf. FERGUSON, *Roman Inkhorn*, 94 f.

²³⁵ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 1.

²³⁶ David Crystal has written an entire book on this subject. Cf. David CRYSTAL, *Begat. The King James Bible and the English Language*, Oxford 2010.

²³⁷ Cf. BRIGHTMAN, *English Rite*, vol. 1, clxxxiii.

750 reformers within the Church of England petitioned the new King, James, with a number of grievances.²³⁸ They sought an official Bible that would be more sympathetic to their own Puritan views. The Hampton Court Conference of 1604 was called in response. If the petitioners thought that in the Scottish James they would find a patron, they were to be sorely disappointed, as James was not sympathetic to their Puritan agenda. Yet James was not one to miss an opportunity. The Puritans had requested a new Bible, and a new Bible they would get. James' vision was for the new translation to be produced by the best university scholars in the land, who would submit their draft to the bishops.²³⁹

On the surface of things, this could look like a re-run of the fiasco that was the *Bishop's Bible*. The King, however, was determined to use the desire for a new Bible to produce a translation of great literary prestige that truly would supplant all that had come before.²⁴⁰ A detailed working *ratio* was produced so that a truly uniform translation would result, which would avoid the fundamental inconsistencies of approach that had beset the *Bishop's Bible* project. Secondly, the work of translation would be done by Biblical scholars, and not the bishops.

Bishop Bancroft of London managed the project, and it was he who appointed the translators, who operated in working groups, each of which would translate a section of the Bible.²⁴¹ The King approved a set of rules, or a *ratio*²⁴², for the translators that would result in a conservative methodology. The *Bishops' Bible* was to be the starting point, with Tyndale²⁴³, Coverdale, Matthew, the *Great Bible*, and the *Geneva Bible* to be used where the wording of the *Bishops' Bible* was considered deficient.²⁴⁴ The proper names, church terms, and chapter divisions of the *Bishops' Bible* were maintained. Marginal notes were restricted to

²³⁸ Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 206. James was the king of Scotland and became the king of England when the two crowns were joined. The Puritans naturally assumed that a Scottish king would be sympathetic to their cause, however they had misjudged James.

²³⁹ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 105.

²⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁴¹ Cf. BUTTERWORTH, *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 207.

²⁴² A draft of the editors and the *ratio* is reproduced by Gilbert Burnet, who was provided with manuscripts by Edmund Borlase. See Gilbert BURNET, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*. Part II, London 1681, Book III, no. 10. The page numbers are inconsistent. The list of editors is on pages 366 and 367. The first page of the *ratio* is on page 368. The second page follows immediately, however is numbered (365).

²⁴³ It is interesting to note Tyndale's name mentioned not only in an official document, but with an instruction to use him as a source. Apparently it was no longer necessary to hide his work behind pseudonyms and the days of ordering all his works to be burned had passed.

²⁴⁴ Although not specifically mentioned in the *ratio* (for obvious reasons), textual analysis indicates that the *Rheims* New Testament was also used as a source.

linguistic clarifications and cross-references. The *ratio* required agreement of all the members of each working group, and there was a procedure to be followed if this could not be achieved.²⁴⁵ On completion of each working group's draft, extensive peer-review among the groups took place, so as to ensure a unified translation. As Partridge observes, "The self-effacement of the method, the thorough centralization, the zeal, and the enlightenment of individual members, were responsible for the merits of the *King James Bible*."²⁴⁶

The Preface (which sadly is no longer included in modern reprints) makes the vision of the editors clear: "Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, [...] but to make a good one better."²⁴⁷ So while the *Bishop's Bible* was the starting work for the revision, the parentage of the *Authorised Version* is to be found ultimately with Tyndale.

The *Authorised Version* was first published in blackletter type in two versions in 1611.²⁴⁸ The *Authorised Version* did not have an official name, simply being entitled "The Holy Bible" on the frontispiece. The same frontispiece stated, "appointed to be read in churches." It is from this statement that comes the name *Authorised Version*. The somewhat better known title of *King James Version* comes from the King who was its patron.

The *Authorised Version* did not automatically displace the *Geneva Bible*, which remained more marketable than the *Authorised Version*. Given the history of the *Bishop's Bible*, the effort that had been put into creating the *Authorised Version*, and its royal patronage, commercial failure was simply not an option. This problem was solved by in effect creating a monopoly. Archbishop William Laud banned the *Geneva Bible*, and from 1644 the *Authorised Version* was the only mass-produced Bible available that could take the mantle of the people's Bible.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Cf. PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 106.

²⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 108. Perhaps the most amazing thing to note of the project is that a revision as mighty in the English language as the *Authorised Version* was truly produced by a committee.

²⁴⁷ William Aldis WRIGHT (ed.), *The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611*, vol. 1, Cambridge 2010, 25.

²⁴⁸ Cf. STC (2nd ed.) / 2216; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 309; William Aldis WRIGHT (ed.), *The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611*, 5 vols., Cambridge 2010. For a discussion on the various 1611 editions, see DARLOW & MOULE, 133. For an analysis of the variations between the editions, see WRIGHT, *The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611*, vol. 1, vii–xxiii.

²⁴⁹ Cf. NORTON, *English Bible as Literature*, 90 f. For Laud's own account of his reasons for banning the *Geneva Bible*, see William LAUD, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, Vol. 4, Oxford 1854, 262 f.

The Language of the Authorised Version

Ever since the Bible began to be translated, there existed a tension between technical accuracy and faithfulness to the original languages, and linguistic resonance with the receptor language. To put it another way, was *taste* or *accuracy* to be prioritised? Was it possible to have a translation that was both faithful to the original text and resonant with the tongue of those speaking it? Tyndale had perhaps come the closest. Coverdale leaned towards taste, but his deliberate deference to Tyndale in the *Great Bible* meant that as a complete Bible, so far nothing had displaced it, at least officially. The *Authorised Version* seemed to, eventually, satisfy most people. Much work in a variety of languages had been done since Tyndale's day, which was now at the disposal of the editors of the *Authorised Version*. Yet their goal was not to create a Bible that was, like so many before, no more than an incremental technical improvement. Their goal was to truly realise Tyndale's vision of *good English*.

The untitled Bible that would become known as the *Authorised Version* has been described as "The Noblest Monument of English Prose".²⁵⁰ As Helen Wilcox says, they "claimed the freedom to exploit the full variety of possibilities in the English language for the expression of God's word";²⁵¹ and, "Mere precision of language is set against the greater value of 'fit' words and the choice of 'commodious' English vocabulary – that is, those words most likely to profit the reader's soul."²⁵² Former Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, Frederick Kenyon, describes the *Authorised Version* as

finer as a work of literary art than any translation either before or since. In the Old Testament the Hebrew tone and manner have been admirably reproduced, and have passed with the Authorised Version into much of our literature. Even where the translation is wrong or the Hebrew text corrupt, as in many passages of the Prophets or the last chapter of Ecclesiastes, the splendid stateliness of the English version makes us blind to the deficiency in the sense. And in the New Testament, in particular, it is the simple truth that the English version is a far greater literary work than the original Greek. The Greek of the New Testament is a language which had passed its prime and had lost its natural grace and infinite adaptability. The English of the Authorised Version is the finest specimen of our prose literature at a time when English prose wore its stateliest and most majestic form.²⁵³

As Kenyon notes, the achievement of Tyndale and the *Authorised Version* is all the more emphasised when considering the original source material. The Greek New Testament

²⁵⁰ John Livingston LOWES, *Essays in Appreciation*, Port Washington 1936, 3.

²⁵¹ Helen WILCOX, *The King James Bible in Its Cultural Moment*, in: Kevin KILLEEN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, Oxford 2015, 455–468, here: 457.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Cf. KENYON, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 233.

wasn't even good Greek. As Harold Bloom says, it was "mostly composed by people thinking in Aramaic or Hebrew but writing in demotic Greek."²⁵⁴ Despite this, Tyndale and his successors were able to produce memorable resonant prose in the English tongue.

It should be recalled that Tyndale had embraced the use of archaism as a device of distinctiveness of language. Subsequent editors had been variable in their faithfulness to this principle, some rejecting it outright. The editors of the *Authorised Version*, however, unashamedly re-embraced the use of archaisms. This is most especially noted in the use of second person singular pronouns such as *thou*, *thee*, *thine*, which by now the use of was becoming established as a mark of sacral English.²⁵⁵ It is important to note that distinctiveness of language through the use of archaisms does not relate solely to vocabulary. Indeed, what makes many of the coinages of the *Authorised Version* memorable is their distinctive syntax, a syntax that would not be used in everyday speech, in the seventeenth century, or today.²⁵⁶

Another of the most obvious properties of the *Authorised Version's* style was the use of Hebraisms, not just in terms of Hebrew phrases, but syntax. Parataxis was frequently used.²⁵⁷ Other examples include the preference for *of* rather than the genitive, *even* to introduce a parallel clause, and the extensive use of *thereof*.²⁵⁸

The *Authorised Version* rejected the false purity of refusing to use synonyms for a single word in the original. In the original sources, rhythm is often used as a device. In rejecting synonyms, the translator is limited as to what rhythmical choices are available.²⁵⁹ This could not have been achieved by slavishly translating one word for another throughout the Biblical text.

These properties are essential to perhaps one of the greatest perfections of the *Authorised Version*, that being its rhythm. The prose rhythm of the *Authorised Version* is such that it approaches metre.²⁶⁰ Rhythm carries a text. It is the difference between labouring through a

²⁵⁴ Harold BLOOM, *The Shadow of a Great Rock. A Literary Appreciation of the King James Bible*, New Haven 2011, 245.

²⁵⁵ Cf. CANON, *Buried Treasure in the Tyndale Corpus*, 162.

²⁵⁶ Partridge gives extensive examples of archaisms in the *Authorised Version*. See PARTRIDGE, *English Biblical Translation*, 115–138.

²⁵⁷ Often seen in the joining of phrases together with "and".

²⁵⁸ Cf. Hannibal HAMLIN, *The Noblest Composition in the Universe or Fit for the Flames? The Literary Style of the King James Bible*, in: Kevin KILLEEN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, Oxford 2015, 469–482, here: 477 f.

²⁵⁹ Cf. George SAINTSBURY, *A History of English Prose Rhythm*, London 1912, 156.

²⁶⁰ Cf. HAMLIN, *Literary Style of the King James Bible*, 478 f.

jumble of words, and a flowing stream of meaning. Rhythm cannot be dismissed as irrelevant because it must be remembered that language is firstly *audible*. To this day, there are spoken languages that have no written text. In this sense, language exhibits musical properties. The music of the words matters. Parataxis allows rhythm to flow where it would otherwise have been broken. Synonyms allow the most rhythmically appropriate word to be selected.

It may seem that not much has here been said about the distinctiveness of the *Authorised Version*. To an extent this is true, and for a very good reason. The *Authorised Version* is the crowning glory of a process of sifting and sorting, refining and purifying, correcting and perfecting that had begun with Tyndale. The genius of the *Authorised Version* is not to be found so much in its text, but rather in its *ratio*. It is the *ratio*, the overall approach, the plan to the process of revision, that resulted in a revision that succeeded where so many others had failed. Without the *ratio* as it was, the *Authorised Version* as we know it would not exist. The *Authorised Version* is essentially Tyndale, completed by Coverdale, filtered through the *Bishop's Bible*, *Geneva*, and *Rheims*. If we were to go down the path of identifying a single genius, it is impossible to select any other than Tyndale. Surely it was Tyndale who put the gold in the ore, and it was the editors who followed him who sifted and purified it.

The Revised Version and the American Standard Version (1895/1901)

The *Revised Version (RV)* was a response to advances in scholarship and the known errors in the *Authorised Version*. The project was to be strictly a *correction* of the *Authorised Version*, with editing limited to rectification of errors. Convocation resolved that American scholars should be invited to be involved in the project.²⁶¹ While the two teams of scholars did collaborate on the project, the delay in appointing the American scholars, and disagreement over the *ratio*, meant that a single revision was not realised, but rather *two* revisions. Therefore, this should be seen as one project that resulted in two outcomes. The *RV* was produced by the British scholars, with the *American Standard Version (ASV)* produced by the American scholars.

The publication timetable was as follows:

<i>RV NT</i>	–	May 1881 ²⁶²
<i>RV OT</i>	–	May 1885 ²⁶³

²⁶¹ Cf. David DANIELL, *The Bible in English. Its History and Influence*, New Haven 2003, 696.

²⁶² Cf. DARLOW & MOULE, no. 2017.

²⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2037.

<i>RV Apoc.</i>	–	May 1895 ²⁶⁴
<i>ASV</i>	–	1901. ²⁶⁵ (The <i>ASV</i> never included the Deuterocanonical books)

The *Revised Version* was popular in academic and educational settings, but in many ways it faced the same problems that the *Authorised Version* had faced with respect to the *Geneva Bible*. By now, the *Authorised Version* was approaching 300 years old, and was well established in the psyche of the broader populace as synonymous with the very idea of the Bible in English. Furthermore, the discoveries and advances in Biblical Scholarship in the twentieth century would well and truly leave the *RV* and the *ASV* behind.²⁶⁶ Although, objectively speaking, the *RV – ASV* project can be seen as a failure, it was a vital stepping-stone to the revision that would become the approved Bible for use in the Ordinariates.

Revised Standard Version (1952)

Development of the *Revised Standard Version (RSV)* began in 1937. This American project aimed to produce a revision of the *ASV* which would

embody the best results of modern scholarship as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and express this meaning in English diction which is designed for use in public and private worship and preserves those qualities which have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature.²⁶⁷

The New Testament was published in 1946.²⁶⁸ In 1952, the *RSV* was published with the Old Testament, along with some revisions to the 1946 New Testament.²⁶⁹ The Apocrypha (Deuterocanonical books) was published in 1957.²⁷⁰ As the *ASV* did not include the Apocrypha, it could not be used as a source. Therefore, the *Authorised Version* and the *ASV*'s non identical twin the *RV* were used as sources for the *RSV* Apocrypha.²⁷¹

In modernising the English of the *RSV*, some of the more distinctive archaising traits of the *Authorised Version* were removed.²⁷² There was a much reduced use of parataxis. The use of *th* in third person singular was replaced by conventional use (for example, *saith* becomes

²⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2061.

²⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2103. The delay in publishing the *ASV* was because of a commitment by the Americans that they would not print their own edition until fourteen years after the first British *RV* printing. See DANIELL, *Bible in English*, 697.

²⁶⁶ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 152.

²⁶⁷ Preface to *The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version*, London 1952, vi.

²⁶⁸ Cf. DARLOW & MOULE, no. 2287.

²⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2304.

²⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2322.

²⁷¹ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 186 f.

²⁷² Cf. Preface to *The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version*, x f.

says).²⁷³ Many Hebraic turns of phrase were eliminated, such as “And it came to pass.” The use of second person singular (*thou, thee*) was greatly reduced, being used only to refer to the divine persons.²⁷⁴

The *RSV*, like the *Authorised Version*, renders a single word in the original languages with a variety of synonyms. This has resulted in a few places where a synonym has been used which unfortunately changes the meaning. Perhaps the most infamous example is Isaiah 7:14, rendered as “a young woman shall conceive and bear a son”. A footnote concedes “virgin” as an alternate, but this most important passage of Old Testament prophecy has been fatally wounded by this translation. While the *ASV* rendered the divine name as Jehovah, in the *RSV* it was rendered as LORD.²⁷⁵ As the *RSV* is an American publication, it unfortunately uses American spelling.

The revisers of the *RSV* recognised the failures of the *ASV* from a linguistic point of view and sought to regain much of the literary beauty of the *Authorised Version*, while producing a modern English translation suitable for both worship and prayer. They “sought to put the message of the Bible in simple, enduring words that are worthy to stand in the great Tyndale-King James tradition.”²⁷⁶ Of the New Testament, the revising committee chairman Luther Weigle said;

The English Revised Version of 1881 and its variant, the American Standard Version of 1901, lost some of the beauty and force which made the King James Version a classic example of English literature. They are mechanically exact, literal, word-for-word translations, which follow the order of the Greek words, so far as this is possible, rather than the order which is natural to English.²⁷⁷

Weigle provides a number of examples of how the *RSV* returns to a natural English word order when compared to the *ASV*.²⁷⁸

In describing the broad approach of the committee to the reality of the changes over time in the English language, Weigle says the Word of God “must not be hidden in ancient phrases

²⁷³ Cf. BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 187.

²⁷⁴ Cf. LUTHER A. WEIGLE, *The English of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament*, in: *The Bible Translator* 3/1 (1952) 8–11, here: 10; BRUCE, *History of the Bible in English*, 187; MILLAR BURROWS, *The Style and Vocabulary of the Revised Standard Version of The Old Testament*, in: LUTHER A. WEIGLE et al., *An Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament*, London 1952, 56–62.

²⁷⁵ Cf. *Preface to The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version*, viii f.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, xi.

²⁷⁷ LUTHER A. WEIGLE, *The Revision of the English Bible*, in: *Religious Education* 41 (Jan 1, 1946) 67–70, here: 69.

²⁷⁸ Cf. WEIGLE, *English of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament*, 8 f.

which have changed or lost their meaning; it must stand forth in language that is direct and clear and meaningful to the people of today.”²⁷⁹

Whilst the *RSV* Bible has limited liturgical use, it has remained popular for educational and study purposes. *The Navarre Bible* is a popular multi-volume commentary based on the Catholic edition of the *RSV*. The well-known Biblical scholar Scott Hahn is editor of the *Ignatius Catholic Study Bible*. English translations of Benedict XVI’s works generally use the *RSV*, as does the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*.

Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition (1966)

The *Revised Standard Version, Catholic Edition (RSV-CE)* was born out of a desire to create a common Bible amongst Christians.²⁸⁰ The project’s aim was not to create a new revision, but to make only such changes as were necessary to adapt the *RSV* for Catholic use: “[T]here are places where, the critical evidence being evenly balanced, considerations of Catholic tradition have favored a particular rendering or the inclusion of a passage omitted by the *RSV* translators.”²⁸¹ Therefore, from the point of view of language, the *RSV-CE* is almost identical to the *RSV*.

Revised Standard Version 2nd Catholic Edition (2006)

The history of the *Revised Standard Version, Second Catholic Edition (RSV-2CE)* is important because this translation is the approved translation used for Scripture readings within the Ordinariates.²⁸² The *RSV-2CE* originated not from a desire to create a new

²⁷⁹ WEIGLE, *Revision of the English Bible*, 69.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Introduction to *The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition*, San Francisco 1966, v f.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vi

²⁸² Cf. Rubrical Directory, *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 125 (no. 22). The *RSV-2CE* lectionary was the first liturgical text approved for use in what would become known as *Divine Worship*. Approval was granted by the CDWDS for the Ordinariate of the Chair of Saint Peter and the Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham on 15 February 2012 (Prot. N. 77/12/L & Prot. N. 78/12/L respectively) and for the Ordinariate of Our Lady of the Southern Cross on 14 February 2013 (Prot. N. 280/13/L). See Hans-Jürgen FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’? The Unity of the Liturgy in the Diversity of Its Rites and Forms, in: *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal* 17/1 (2013) 31–72, here: 61 fn. 121; Hans-Jürgen FEULNER, *Divine Worship. Liturgierechtliche Anmerkungen zu einem neuen Usus des Römischen Ritus*, in: Christopher OHLY et al. (eds.), *Theologia Iuris Canonici. Festschrift für Ludger Müller (Kanonistische Studien und Texte 67)*, Berlin 2017, 329–370, here: 347 fn. 72; and private archive Hans-Jürgen Feulner. For a history of American Biblical translations up to 1971, see Claude J. PFEIFER, *The New American Bible*, in: *Worship* 45/2 (1971) 102–113.

revision, but from the intention of Father Joseph Fessio and Ignatius Press to reprint the existing *RSV-CE* Lectionary.²⁸³

In 1998 and 2002 the Lectionary for Mass for the United States of America was revised, meaning that a simple reprint was no longer possible. Ignatius Press revised the Lectionary according to the new *ordo lectionum* and submitted it to the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (CDWDS, often abbreviated to CDW). The Congregation required a number of changes to the text; and, as these changes were generally formulaic, Ignatius Press applied the changes to the entire Bible.²⁸⁴ For example, “in the original RSV, when there were translation decisions between variants, patristic and liturgical sources were not consulted. The CDW wanted to remedy this and thus made some decisions which differed from the original translators.”²⁸⁵

As this was taking place, *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001)²⁸⁶ was being prepared, and as such, the changes that were made to produce the *RSV-2CE* were in compliance with *Liturgiam Authenticam*.²⁸⁷ “The drafting of LA [*Liturgiam Authenticam*] was taking place at the same time as the RSV was being reviewed. So there was some cross-fertilization and the principles that eventually were expressed in LA were used in reviewing the RSV.”²⁸⁸ Meanwhile, with the approval of the CDWDS, archaic language was removed. This was mostly related to archaic vocabulary.²⁸⁹ When asked why archaisms were removed, Fessio replied: “Because they were archaic.”²⁹⁰

Fessio provided to the author a document from the Ignatius Press archives, which details the changes required and requested by the CDWDS to the *RSV-CE*.²⁹¹ This document reveals

²⁸³ Cf. Joseph FESSIO, comment, September 28, 2008 (9:31 p.m.), RSV vs. NRSV Prologue II, in: Catholic Bibles (blog). URL: <http://catholicbibles.blogspot.com/2008/09/rsv-vs-nrsv-prologue-ii.html> [accessed: 5 June 2020]. The author contacted Father Fessio and confirmed that this blog comment is authentic.

²⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁸⁵ Joseph FESSIO, Enquiry about RSV-CE2, email to the author from 9 June 2020, San Francisco. The author is most thankful to Father Fessio for his assistance.

²⁸⁶ Cf. CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM, Instructio quinta «ad executionem Constitutionis Concilii Vaticani Secundi de Sacra Liturgia recte ordinandam» (ad Const. art. 36) *Liturgiam Authenticam* (28 March 2001), in: AAS 93 (2001) 685–726 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents*, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 527–562.

²⁸⁷ Cf. FESSIO, comment, RSV vs. NRSV Prologue II.

²⁸⁸ FESSIO, Enquiry about RSV-CE2.

²⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ Cf. IGNATIUS PRESS, Catholic RSV Bible, Changes Required and Requested by the CDW, internal document, San Francisco, n.d.

that many archaic words were explicitly requested to be changed by the CDWDS. As noted above, in the editing process it was decided to remove archaisms. The document also reveals that the CDWDS requested many archaic turns of phrase to be modernised. Some examples are:

RSV-CE	RSV-2CE
I pray thee	I beg you
on the morrow	the next day
the thunderings and the lightnings	the thunder and the lightning
gird it on	belt it on
did he bring	he brought
to and fro	back and forth
in the midst of you	in your midst
thou didst bring	you brought
destroy not	do not destroy
I will not henceforth	from now on I will not
hither and thither	here and there
A good wife who can find?	Who can find a good wife?
in travail	with labor pains
hence to yonder place	from here to there
went about	walked

The document reveals that consideration was made to change other archaic turns of phrase and even words, where it was decided to retain the archaism. For example, in Psalm 15:1, *sojourn* is retained. *Gird* and its derivatives are retained in a number of places, whilst it is changed in others. One of Coverdale's more notable Germanic compound words which had survived until now, *bloodguiltiness* in Psalm 51, is changed to *bloodguilt*.

Bibles – Conclusion

There is an increasing tendency in modern Bibles claiming to stand in the *Tyndale–Authorised Version* tradition (*RSV-2CE*, *ESV*) to reject archaisms and to use an English that is in accordance with current usage. The danger is that taken too far this approach becomes

incompatible with this very tradition. It was Tyndale himself who deliberately made use of language that was already becoming archaic so as to specifically create specialised language (*Sondersprache*) for sacred use. The *Authorised Version* unashamedly reembraced Tyndale’s use of archaisms. Indeed, so successful and so great was the impact of the *Authorised Version* upon the English language, that language that was archaic found its way back into common use precisely because of its use in the Bible. It is this approach that gave the *Authorised Version* many of its most memorable turns of phrase, that if put into modern English quite simply lose their power.

We in the twenty-first century (perhaps having watched too many movies) assume that people spoke archaic English all the time. This is not true. From the very beginning of the *Tyndale–Authorised Version* tradition is to be found specialised language embodying a distinction between Biblical English and everyday English. They are *not* the same thing. In part, the *Authorised Version* stood the test of time precisely because of its faithfulness to this tradition.²⁹² Other revisions that, to varying extents, rejected archaisms have not stood the test of time, and are now essentially forgotten as far as actual use as a Biblical translation is concerned. It would seem reasonable to assume that modern translations that have put faithfulness to “current usage” above a genuine distinctiveness of English use will not stand the test of time, and are destined to become simply more out-of-print and forgotten translations. Nothing goes out of date more quickly than “today’s usage.”

2.1.2.4 *A Comparison of Biblical Translations*

Firstly, examination is given to texts originating with Tyndale. In comparing the later revisions, the hand of Tyndale can clearly be seen throughout all of them. As the focus here is on the differences in translation, the orthography has been modernised – with a few exceptions where older forms have been maintained so as to maintain a particular nuance of translation.²⁹³

²⁹² Stephen Prickett describes a “gravitational pull between formal Church English and current colloquial speech that has been the object of the greatest unease among modern translators, who seem unanimous in trying to eliminate that gap and keep up with all the latest linguistic turns.” Stephen PRICKETT, *Language within Language. The King James Steamroller*, in: Hannibal HAMLIN – Norman W. JONES (eds.), *The King James Bible after 400 Years. Literary, Linguistic and Cultural Influences*, Cambridge 2013, 27–44, here: 38 f.

²⁹³ The intention of this comparison is to demonstrate the evolution of use of language through the various translations. In the original copies of the earlier versions, the orthography is especially difficult to understand due to the printing techniques used in the sixteenth century. For example, it was very common to abbreviate words. Often, just ‘t’ would be used for ‘the’. The reader would need to use the context to work out what the word was meant to be. A variety of other symbols that are not used in today’s English

John 1			
Tyndale (1534) ²⁹⁴	Great Bible (1540) ²⁹⁵	Authorised Version (1611) ²⁹⁶	RSV-2CE
<p>In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God: and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it, was made nothing, that was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came as a witness to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light: but to bear witness of the light. That was a true light, which lighteth all men that come into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him:</p>	<p>In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God: and God was the Word. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it: and without it was nothing which was made. In it was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shineth in darkness: and the darkness comprehended it not. There was sent a man from God whose name was John. The same came as a witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light: but was sent to bear witness of the light. That light was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him:</p>	<p>In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him,</p>	<p>In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; all things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for a testimony, to bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him. He was not the light, but came to bear witness to the light. The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made through him,</p>

were used for various abbreviations. To modern eyes unused to such orthography, the text cannot be naturally read, but must be translated before comprehension is possible.

²⁹⁴ WALLIS, *The New Testament*. Translated by William Tyndale 1534, 187 f.

²⁹⁵ STC (2nd ed.) / 2070; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 53.

²⁹⁶ William Aldis WRIGHT (ed.), *The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611*, vol. 5, Cambridge 2010, 200 f.

<p>and yet the world knew him not. He came among his own and his own received him not. But as many as received him,</p> <p>to them he gave power to be the sons of God in that they believed on his name:</p> <p>which were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man: but of God. And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the only begotten son of the father, which word was full of grace and verity.</p>	<p>and the world knew him not. He came among his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him</p> <p>to them gave he power to be the sons of God: even them that believed on his name</p> <p>which were borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man: but of God. And the same word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the only begotten son of the father, full of grace and truth.</p>	<p>and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him,</p> <p>to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth.</p>	<p>yet the world knew him not. He came to his own home, and his own people received him not. But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God, who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God. And the Word become flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only-begotten Son from the Father.</p>
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Hebrews 1:1–4			
Tyndale (1534) ²⁹⁷	Great Bible (1540) ²⁹⁸	Authorised Version (1611) ²⁹⁹	RSV-2CE
<p>God in time past diversely and many ways, spake unto the fathers, by Prophets:</p> <p>but in these last days he hath spoken unto us by his son, whom he hath made heir of all things: by whom also he made the world. Which son being the brightness of his glory, and very image of his substance, bearing up all things with the word of his power, hath in his own person purged our sins, and is seated on the right hand of the majesty on high,</p> <p>and is more excellent then the angels,</p> <p>in as much as he hath by inheritance obtained an excellenter name then have they.</p>	<p>God in time past diversely and many ways, spake unto the fathers by Prophets:</p> <p>but in these last days he hath spoken unto us by his own son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom also he made the world. Which (son) being the brightness of his glory, and the very image of his substance ruling all things with the word of his power,</p> <p>hath by his own person purged our sins, and sitteth on the right hand of the majesty on high:</p> <p>being so much more excellent then the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.</p>	<p>God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the Fathers by the Prophets, Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds, Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high,</p> <p>Being made so much better then the Angels,</p> <p>as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent Name then they.</p>	<p>In many and various ways God</p> <p>spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets;</p> <p>but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom also he created the ages. He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power.</p> <p>When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become as much superior to angels</p> <p>as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs.</p>

²⁹⁷ WALLIS, New Testament. Tyndale 1534, 503.

²⁹⁸ STC (2nd ed.) / 2070; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 53.

²⁹⁹ WRIGHT, Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611, vol. 5, 482.

1 Corinthians 13

Tyndale (1534) ³⁰⁰	Great Bible (1540) ³⁰¹	Authorised Version (1611) ³⁰²	RSV-2CE
<p>Though I spake with the tongues of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as sounding brass: or as a tinkling Cymbal.</p> <p>And though I could prophesy, and understood all secrets, and all knowledge: ye, if I had all faith, so that I could move mountains out of their places, and yet had no love, I were nothing.</p> <p>And though I bestowed all my goods to feed the poor, and though I gave my body even that I burned, and yet had no love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long, and is courteous. Love envieth not. Love doth not forwardly, swelleth not dealeth not dishonestly, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity: but rejoiceth in the truth,</p> <p>suffereth all thing, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth in all things.</p>	<p>Though I speak with the tongues of men and of Angels, and have no love: I am even as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal.</p> <p>And though I could prophesy, and understand all secrets, and all knowledge: ye if I have all faith, so that I could move mountains out of their places and yet have no love, I am nothing.</p> <p>And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body even that I burned, and yet have no love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long, and is courteous. Love envieth not, love doth not forwardly, swelleth not, dealeth not dishonestly seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth,</p> <p>suffereth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.</p>	<p>Though I speak with the tongues of men and of Angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.</p> <p>And though I have the gift of prophesy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge: and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains,</p> <p>and have no charity, I am nothing.</p> <p>And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long, and is kind: charity envieth not: charity vaunteth not it self, is not puffed up, Doeth not behave it self unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth:</p> <p>Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.</p>	<p>If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal.</p> <p>And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains,</p> <p>but have not love, I am nothing.</p> <p>If I give away all I have,</p> <p>and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing. Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right.</p> <p>Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.</p>

³⁰⁰ WALLIS, New Testament. Tyndale 1534, 363 f.

³⁰¹ STC (2nd ed.) / 2070; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 53.

³⁰² WRIGHT, Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611, vol. 5, 385 f.

<p>Though that prophesying fail, other tongues shall cease, or knowledge vanish away, yet love falleth never away.</p> <p>For our knowledge is unperfect, and our prophesying is unperfet.</p> <p>But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is unparfet shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I imagined as a child. But as soon as I was a man, I put away childishness. Now we see in a glass even in a dark speaking: but then shall we see face to face. Now I know unperfectly: but then shall I know even as I am known. Now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three: but the chief of these is love.</p>	<p>Though that prophesying fail, other tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away, yet love falleth never away,</p> <p>for our knowledge is unperfect, and our prophesying is unperfect.</p> <p>But when that which is perfect, is come, then that which is unperfect, shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I imagined as a child. But as soone as I was a man, I put away childishness. Now we see in a glass, even in a dark speaking: but then shall we see face to face. Now I know unperfectly: but then shall I know even as I am known. Now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three: but the chief of these is love.</p>	<p>Charitie never faileth: but whether there be prophesies, they shall fail: whether there be tongues, they shall cease;</p> <p>whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away.</p> <p>For we know in part, and we prophesy in part.</p> <p>But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child:</p> <p>but when I became a man, I put away childish things.</p> <p>For now we see through a glass, darkly: but then face to face:</p> <p>now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known.</p> <p>And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity.</p>	<p>Love never ends; as for prophecies, they will pass away; as for tongues, they will cease;</p> <p>as for knowledge, it will pass away.</p> <p>For our knowledge is imperfect and our prophecy is imperfect,</p> <p>but when the perfect comes, the imperfect will pass way.</p> <p>When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I reasoned like a child, I thought like a child; when I became a man, I gave up childish ways.</p> <p>For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face.</p> <p>Now I know in part, then I shall understand fully, even as I have been fully understood. So faith, hope, love abide, these three; but the greatest of these is love.</p>
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Consideration is now given to the Psalms, which of course were not initially translated by Tyndale but by Coverdale.

Psalm 23			
Coverdale (1535) ³⁰³	Great Bible (1540) ³⁰⁴	Authorised Version (1611) ³⁰⁵	RSV-2CE
<p>The Lord is my shepherd. I can want nothing.</p> <p>He feedeth me in a green pasture, and leadeth me to a fresh water. He quieteneth my soul,</p> <p>and bringeth me forth in the way of righteousness for his names sake.</p> <p>Though I should walk now in the valley of the shadow of death, yet I fear no evil, For thou art with me: thy staff and thy sheepphook comfort me.</p> <p>Thou prepare a table before me against mine enemies:</p> <p>thou anointest my head with oil, and fillest my cup full.</p> <p>O let thy loving kindness and mercy follow me all the days of my life, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.</p>	<p>The Lord is my shepherd, therefore can I lack nothing.</p> <p>He shall feed me in a green pasture, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.</p> <p>He shall convert my soul, and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness for his names sake.</p> <p>Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for though art with me thy rod and thy staff comfort me.</p> <p>Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me.</p> <p>Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full.</p> <p>But thy loving kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life.</p> <p>And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.</p>	<p>The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.</p> <p>He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.</p> <p>He restoreth my soul:</p> <p>he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness, for his names sake.</p> <p>Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.</p> <p>Thou preparest a table before me, in the presence of mine enemies:</p> <p>thou annointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over.</p> <p>Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life:</p> <p>and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.</p>	<p>The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want;</p> <p>he makes me lie down in green pastures. He leads me beside still waters; he restores my soul.</p> <p>He leads me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake.</p> <p>Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for you are with me; your rod and your staff, they comfort me.</p> <p>You prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil, my cup overflows.</p> <p>Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life;</p> <p>and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.</p>

³⁰³ STC (2nd ed.) / 2063; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 18.

³⁰⁴ STC (2nd ed.) / 2070; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 53.

³⁰⁵ William Aldis WRIGHT (ed.), The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611, vol. 3, Cambridge 2010, 82.

Psalm 51			
Coverdale (1535) ³⁰⁶	Great Bible (1540) ³⁰⁷	Authorised Version (1611) ³⁰⁸	RSV-2CE
<p>Have mercy upon me (O God) after thy goodness, and according to thy great mercies, do away mine offences.</p> <p>Wash me well from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I knowledge my faults, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only, against thee have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and shouldest overcome when thou art judged. Behold, I was born in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me. But lo thou hast a pleasure in the truth, and hast shewed me secret wisdom.</p> <p>O reconcile me with Isope, and I shall be clean:</p>	<p>Have mercy upon me (O God) after thy (great) goodness: according unto the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences.</p> <p>Wash me thoroughly³⁰⁹ from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. For I knowledge my faults, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged. Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me. But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts, and shalt make me to understand wisdom secretly. Thou shalt purge me with Isope, and I shall be clean:</p>	<p>Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness: according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions. Wash me throughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my transgressions: and my sin is ever before me. Against thee, thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified when though speakest, and be clear when thou judgest. Behold, I was shapen in iniquity: and in sin did my mother conceive me. Behold, though desirest truth in the inward parts: and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom. Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean:</p>	<p>Have mercy on me, O God, according to your merciful love; according to your abundant mercy blot out all my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin! For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me. Against you, you only, have I sinned, and done that which is evil in your sight, so that you are justified in your sentence and blameless in your judgement. Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. Behold, you desire truth in the inward being; therefore teach me wisdom in my secret heart. Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean;</p>

³⁰⁶ STC (2nd ed.) / 2063; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 18.

³⁰⁷ STC (2nd ed.) / 2070; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 53.

³⁰⁸ WRIGHT, Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611, vol. 3, 110 f.

³⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that in 1662 this is rendered as “throughly”, however the spelling in the 1540 Great Bible is “thorowly”, which phonetically equates with the modern “thoroughly”.

<p>wash thou me and I shall be whiter than snow.</p> <p>Oh let me hear of joy and gladness,</p> <p>that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice.</p> <p>Turn thy face from my sins, and put out all my misdeeds.</p> <p>Make me a clean heart, (O God), and renew a right spirit within me.</p> <p>Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.</p> <p>O give me the comfort of thy help again, and establish me with thy free spirit.</p> <p>Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, that sinners may be converted unto thee.</p> <p>Deliver me from bloodguiltyness O God, though that art the God of my health, that my tongue may praise thy righteousness.</p> <p>Open my lips, O Lord, that my mouth may shew thy praise.</p> <p>For if thou haddest pleasure in sacrifice, I would give it thee, but though delightest not in burntofferings.</p> <p>The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit,</p> <p>a broken and contrite heart (O God) shalt thou not despise.</p>	<p>thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow:</p> <p>Thou shalt make me hear joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice.</p> <p>Turn thy face from my sins, and put out all my misdeeds.</p> <p>Make me a clean heart (O God) and renew a right spirit within me.</p> <p>Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.</p> <p>O give me the comfort of thy help again, and stablish me with thy free spirit.</p> <p>Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.</p> <p>Deliver me from bloodguiltyness (O God) thou that art the God of my health, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.</p> <p>Thou shalt open my lips (O Lord) my mouth shall shew thy praise.</p> <p>For thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it thee: but thou delightest not in burnt offering.</p> <p>The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit,</p> <p>a broken and a contrite heart (O God) shalt thou not despise.</p>	<p>wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.</p> <p>Make me to hear joy and gladness:</p> <p>that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoice.</p> <p>Hide thy face from my sins; and blot out all mine iniquities.</p> <p>Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.</p> <p>Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy Spirit from me.</p> <p>Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation: and uphold me with thy free Spirit.</p> <p>Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee.</p> <p>Deliver me from bloodguiltyness, O God, thou God of my salvation:</p> <p>and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.</p> <p>O Lord open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.</p> <p>For thou desirest not sacrifice: else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt offering.</p> <p>The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit:</p> <p>a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.</p>	<p>wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.</p> <p>Make me hear joy and gladness;</p> <p>let the bones which you have broken rejoice.</p> <p>Hide your face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities.</p> <p>Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me.</p> <p>Cast me not away from your presence, and take not your holy Spirit from me.</p> <p>Restore to me the joy of your salvation, and uphold me with a willing spirit.</p> <p>Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will return to you.</p> <p>Deliver me from bloodguilt, O God, O God of my salvation,</p> <p>and my tongue will sing aloud of your deliverance.</p> <p>O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth shall show forth your praise.</p> <p>For you take no delight in sacrifice; were I to give a burnt offering, you would not be pleased.</p> <p>The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit;</p> <p>a broken and contrite heart, O God, you will not despise.</p>
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O be favourable and gracious unto Sion, that the walls of Jerusalem may be builded. For then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifice of righteousness, with the burntofferings and oblations: then shall they lay bullocks upon thine altar.	O be favourable and gracious unto Sion, build thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifice of righteousness with the burntofferings and oblations, then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar.	Do good in thy good pleasure unto Sion: built thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and whole burnt offering: then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar.	Do good to Zion in your good pleasure; rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, then you will delight in right sacrifices, in burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings; then bulls will be offered on your altar.
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2.1.2.5 *The Book of Common Prayer*

A number of events took place prior to 1549 that were important moves towards intelligibility in the liturgy.³¹⁰ In the late 1530s to mid 1540s, Cranmer had drafted schemes for a revised Breviary.³¹¹ In this work, Cranmer was heavily influenced by the work of Cardinal Quiñones, who in 1535 had produced a revised Breviary of his own.³¹² Meanwhile, Henry VIII had ordered an English litany to be produced, and it was Cranmer who would produce this. This litany, commonly known as *Cranmer's First Litany*, would be a way to unite a congregation, praying together in a language that they could understand. The Litany was published, with note, in 1544,³¹³ and was published almost unchanged in the 1549 Prayer Book. Its most infamous phrase is "... from the tyranny of the bisshop of Rome and all his detestable enormyties [...] Good lorde deliver us."³¹⁴ The exhortation and instruction of the 1544 version is revealing of the motivation for the penning the litany: "[S]o is it thoughte conuenient in this commonune prayer of procession to haue it set furth and used in the vulgar tungue, for styrng the people to more deuotion"; and:

such amonge the people as haue bokes, and can reade, may reade them quietly and softly to them selfe, and suche as can not reade, let them quietly and attentifely giue audience in time

³¹⁰ For an overview, see Walter Howard FRERE, *Edwardine Vernacular Services Before the First Prayer Book*, in: John H. ARNOLD – Edward G. P. WYATT (eds.), *Walter Howard Frere. A Collection of His Papers on Liturgical and Historical Subjects* (Alcuin Club Collections 35), London 1940, 5–21.

³¹¹ For a transcription and analysis of the draft schema, see John Wickham LEGG, *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects*. Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal, 7. B. IV (Henry Bradshaw Society 50), London 1915; The original is in the British Museum, Ms. Royal 7B IV.

³¹² Cf. Diarmaid MACCULLOCH, *Thomas Cranmer. A Life*, New Haven 1996, 221 f. For a critical edition of Quiñones' Breviary, see Johanne Wickham LEGG (ed.), *Breviarium Romanum a Francisco Cardinali Quignonio editum et recognitum iuxta editionem venetiis a.d. 1535 impressam*, London 1888.

³¹³ For a facsimile of the Litany and Exhortation see HUNT, *Cranmer's First Litany, 1544 and Merbecke's Book of Common Prayer Noted, 1550*, 65–120.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 92 f.

of the said praiers, hauing their myndes erect to almyghty god, and devoutly praying in they hartes the same petitions whiche do entre in at their eares, so that with one sounde of the hart, and one accord, God may be glorified in His church.³¹⁵

The instruction directs that the priest's part is to be said "so loude and so playnely, that it maye well be understande of the hearers".³¹⁶ Here is seen a clear theme of devotion through intelligibility. This instruction is omitted from the Prayer Book of five years later, but, by then, its sentiments could likely be taken as a given.

The theme of intelligibility found in the Litany did not relate just to the words, but also to the music. In 1544 Cranmer wrote to Henry advising him of English processions which he had written. In this letter, Cranmer described his principles of liturgical translation: "[I]n mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but, as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly".³¹⁷

Whilst this principle of one syllable per note was not established formally, John Merbecke who had noted³¹⁸ the Litany, and would also note the first Prayer Book, embraced it. Gone were the complex and intricate settings that could only be sung by well-trained musicians. In his introduction to the *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, Merbecke himself describes his principle of using only four different note types.³¹⁹

Another move towards providing resources of intelligibility would be the publishing of the *King's Primer* in 1545.³²⁰ This primer was published initially in English, with English-Latin versions later published, and even one exclusively Latin edition.³²¹ On its publication all other primers were prohibited. Henry's death in January 1547 would greatly accelerate moves toward an Englished liturgy. The Edwardian Injunctions penned by the Lord Protector Edward Seymour and Cranmer were set forth in 1547.³²² Processions were banned, to be replaced with Cranmer's Litany which was to be said or sung before High Mass.³²³ At High Mass, the readings were no longer to be read in Latin, but in English.³²⁴ In November

³¹⁵ Ibid., 86.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ COX, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, 412.

³¹⁸ That is, set to music.

³¹⁹ Cf. HUNT, *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, 22; the facsimile is found on page 123.

³²⁰ For a detailed consideration of the *King's Primer*, see BUTTERWORTH, *English Primers*, 256–275.

³²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 256.

³²² Cf. BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 247–257.

³²³ Cf. *ibid.*, 253 f.

³²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 253.

1547, the opening Mass of Convocation and Parliament used the *Gloria, Credo* and *Agnus Dei* in English.

In December 1547, Parliament passed the Sacrament Act which required the distribution of communion to the people under both kinds.³²⁵ To that end, Cranmer wrote the *Order of Communion*, which was to be inserted into the Latin Mass.³²⁶ Most of the *Order of Communion* would find its way into the 1549 Prayer Book in a refined form, including the Penitential Rite, the Comfortable Words, the Prayer of Humble Access, and the formula of administration of Communion. The *Order of Communion* received a lukewarm response from the clergy, indicating that stronger enforcement of the reforms would be necessary.³²⁷ Currents towards uniformity of use and intelligibility culminated in the 1549 Act of Uniformity.³²⁸ The Act of Uniformity, as the name suggests, mandated a uniform liturgy, that being the *Book of Common Prayer*. For a church whose liturgical observance was fundamentally medieval and expressed predominantly by the Sarum liturgy, the Prayer Book represented a “radical discontinuity.”³²⁹ Some scholars have argued that the *Book of Common Prayer* was simply a remodelling or a revision of the Roman liturgy.³³⁰ The most solemn part of the Mass, previously whispered in Latin by the priest along with the elevation (and worshiping) of the consecrated elements, was gone. The Roman Canon was replaced with a composition of Cranmer’s and any elevation of the elements was prohibited. Herein lay a fundamental difference between the medieval liturgy with its silent prayers, and the Prayer Book liturgy. The Prayer Book liturgy was designed not only to be prayed, but also to be *heard*.³³¹

The structure and contents of the Prayer Book have been recorded a multitude of times and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that to the ordinary worshipper, the *way* that they

³²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 258–262. See also BRIGHTMAN, *English Rite*, vol. 1, lxxi.

³²⁶ For the Order, see MASKELL, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 294–302; Joseph KETLEY (ed.), *The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549, and A.D. 1552: with other Documents set forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI*, Cambridge 1844, 3–8; H[enry] A. WILSON, *The Order of the Communion, 1548. A Facsimile of the British Museum Copy C. 25, f. 15* (Henry Bradshaw Society 34), London 1908.

³²⁷ Cf. SWETE, *Church Services*, 87.

³²⁸ Cf. BRAY, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 266–271.

³²⁹ Cf. DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 464 f.

³³⁰ Cf. PROCTER – FRERE, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 54; SWETE, *Church Services*, 14 f. See also Judith MALTBY, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History), Cambridge 2000, 114 f.

³³¹ Cf. TARGOFF, *Common Prayer*, 22.

worshipped God as an experience had fundamentally changed, both materially and linguistically.

Cranmer's preface to the Prayer Book enunciates again the desire for intelligibility in the liturgy:

wheras S. Paule would have suche language spoken to the people in the churche, as they mighte understande and have profite by hearyng the same: the service in this Church of England (these many yeares) hath been read in Latin so the people, whiche they understand not, so that they have heard with theyr eares onely: and their hartes, spirite and minde, have not been edified thereby.³³²

And:

is ordeyned nothing to be read, but the very pure word of God, the holy scriptures, or that whiche is evidently grounded upon the same: and that in such a language and ordre, as is moste easy and plain for the understanding, both of the readers and hearers.³³³

For a book as influential and long-lived in England and the English-speaking world as the *Book of Common Prayer*, it is not difficult to find a ready and willing corpus of commentators to shower accolades upon its words. Of course, anyone can shower praise upon something that resonates with their own personal taste. Yet the Prayer Book, perhaps whilst appealing to taste, cannot be reduced *solely* to personal taste. Many things have come and gone that have been the flavour of the day, only to rapidly be forgotten and unloved. It cannot be denied that there are few works that have stood the test of time for as long as the Prayer Book. The fact that today numerous books continue to be written about it is telling. Despite various attempts at “modernising” the liturgy of the Church of England, the singular elocution of the 1662 Prayer Book remains an official expression of the liturgy.³³⁴ As the Royal Navy planted the Union Jack across the globe, so too spread the Prayer Book.³³⁵ As English colonies grew into fledgling nations, local variations of the Prayer Book were developed. As attendance at church was compulsory, everyone would have heard the words of the Prayer Book. Only the Bible itself would have broader use than the Prayer Book. Just as the words of the *Authorised Version* came to be associated with the Word of God, so too did the words of the Prayer Book become associated with the idea of going to church.

³³² CUMMINGS, Texts, 4.

³³³ Ibid., 5.

³³⁴ Indeed, in England, the 1662 Prayer Book cannot be displaced as the official Prayer Book without an Act of Parliament.

³³⁵ In this author's library is a 1767 Prayer Book, perhaps not dissimilar to the Prayer Book that would have been on board HM Barque *Endeavour*, which claimed Australia for the Crown in 1770, or the Prayer Books that would have been on board the ships of the First Fleet, which established a penal colony at Port Jackson in 1788, now known as Sydney Harbour.

To better appreciate the standing of the Prayer Book, some indulgence must be allowed with respect to what others have said. Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay in his *History of England*, known in itself for its literary style, has this to say of the Prayer Book:

It was a bold undertaking; for in general the style of that volume is such as cannot be improved. The English Liturgy indeed gains by being compared even with those fine ancient Liturgies from which it is to a great extent taken. The essential qualities of devotional eloquence, conciseness, majestic simplicity, pathetic earnestness of supplication, sobered by a profound reverence, are common between the translations and the originals. But in the subordinate graces of diction the originals must be allowed to be far inferior to the translations. And the reason is obvious. The technical phraseology of Christianity did not become a part of the Latin language till that language had passed the age of maturity and was sinking into barbarism. But the technical phraseology of Christianity was found in the Anglosaxon and in the Norman French, long before the union of those two dialects had, produced a third dialect superior to either. The Latin of the Roman Catholic services, therefore, is Latin in the last stage of decay. The English of our services is English in all the vigour and suppleness of early youth. To the great Latin writers, to Terence and Lucretius, to Cicero and Caesar, to Tacitus and Quintilian, the noblest compositions of Ambrose and Gregory would have seemed to be, not merely bad writing, but senseless gibberish, The diction of our Book of Common Prayer, on the other hand, has directly or indirectly contributed to form the diction of almost every great English writer, and has extorted the admiration of the most accomplished infidels and of the most accomplished nonconformists, of such men as David Hume and Robert Hall.³³⁶

It may seem bold to claim that the English of the Prayer Book cannot be improved upon, but all attempts thus far have failed. John Dowden says the following: “The simple, unlettered Churchman who joins in the Church’s public worship, or who uses the Prayer Book as his manual of private devotion, finds in it satisfaction, comfort, delight.”³³⁷ David Curry observes:

The language of the Book of Common Prayer is prose that borders on poetry, prose that is almost on the verge of bursting into song. Its powerful language shapes and instils an understanding of the truth and beauty of God in the soul. Like the King James Bible, the Prayer Book, too, is almost deliberately archaic in its voice and expression. It is emphatically not the street talk of any age of the English language.

There is, perhaps, no idea more mistaken than the assumption that the Liturgy translated into the vernacular tongues of the newly emergent European states meant a commitment to the banal and the everyday, to the idiomatic or the conventional. No: in a language ‘understood of the people’ (Article XXIV) meant in a language that everyone was capable of being taught; not something immediately acquired. And unlike the King James Bible and Shakespeare’s poems and plays, the archaic terms and expressions of the Book of Common Prayer are really quite minimal. In short, it is capable of being understood.³³⁸

³³⁶ Thomas Babington MACAULAY, *History of England. To the Death of William III*, vol. 3, London 1967, 175 f.

³³⁷ John DOWDEN, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book. In its Literary and Liturgical Aspects*, London 1902, 2.

³³⁸ David CURRY, *Something Understood*, in: Prudence DAILEY (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: Past, Present & Future*, London 2011, 52–69, here: 53.

This is to say that the language of the Prayer Book does not lower itself to a lowest common denominator of banality, but it challenges the hearers of the Prayer Book to lift themselves into the language and to be changed by it. Accessibility of language does not automatically mean dumbed down.

Some have attacked the language of the Prayer Book precisely because of its age and archaic tones. The Anglican bishop of London, Richard Chartres, noted a response to the royal wedding of William and Kate in 2011, who, presumably having all the modern concoctions available to them, choose to use the 1928 Prayer Book liturgy. In the weeks following the service,

the Church Times published letters from clergy deploring the ‘archaic order’ and expressing exasperation that ‘the language of the liturgy remained buried in the past’ and that ‘once again the opportunity to present the church in a more up-to-date way was missed’. In the following week’s edition of the paper, another clergyman wrote to point out that the three who had decried the ‘stuffy service’ were born respectively in 1960, 1951 and 1937. The royal couple who had chosen the service were both born in 1982, and the author of the letter suggested that we should allow the young people their voice in church since ‘it would appear that nothing dates so rapidly as yesterday’s modernity’.³³⁹

It is often those who should know better, those who should understand the distinction between the sacred and the secular, who are the greatest critics of anything traditional, of anything that comes across as actually being sacred in the liturgy.

The 2022 funeral of Queen Elizabeth II was unashamedly traditional in its form.³⁴⁰ Although the funeral and committal services did not follow an existing order, but rather drew from a variety of sources, their elements were immediately familiar and identifiable as being proper to the Prayer Book tradition.³⁴¹ Traditional language effused from clergy and congregation alike. It is known that the Queen had carefully planned the rituals and liturgies of her funeral well before her death. It is also plain from her choices that she actually believed the Christian faith professed within her funeral liturgy. The Queen’s funeral was amongst the most watched live television events in history. It would appear the oft proclaimed demise of traditional language is premature.

³³⁹ Richard CHATRES, Afterword, in: Prudence DAILEY (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: Past, Present & Future*, London 2011, 199–202, here: 199.

³⁴⁰ For the orders of service, see ST GEORGE’S CHAPEL WINDSOR CASTLE, *The Committal of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (19 September 2022)*. URL: https://www.royal.uk/sites/default/files/media/committal_of_her_majesty_queen_elizabeth_ii_order_of_service.pdf [accessed: 19 September 2022]; WESTMINSTER ABBEY, *The State Funeral of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (19 September 2022)*. URL: https://www.royal.uk/sites/default/files/media/state_funeral_of_her_majesty_queen_elizabeth.pdf [accessed: 19 September 2022].

³⁴¹ For a detailed analysis of the various services held for the Queen, see Daniel LLOYD, *A Tradition of Invention. Rites and rituals surrounding the death and funeral of Queen Elizabeth II*, in: *Ex Fonte – Journal of Ecumenical Studies in Liturgy* 1 (2022) 191–237.

For the average Englishman, Pentecost 1549 meant a complete change in the way that their religion was practiced. The English Bible had been broadly available for ten years. Now, both the Word of God and the liturgy were in English. In time, the Prayer Book would often be bound with the Bible. The Office was not only Englished but was greatly simplified. No longer the exclusive prayer of the monastery, the new “hybrid” offices of Mattins and Evensong would become greatly popular with the people. This all took place in the context of the emergence of English out of Middle English into modern English. The Prayer Book, along with the English Bible, became guidebooks to the English language.

2.1.2.6 *Music in the Vernacular*

Among the best known and loved aspects of the Anglican patrimony is the English choral tradition. A procession of surpliced choir boys, or the singing with great gusto a typically English hymn are enduring and endearing images of Anglicanism. Yet, this idea of Anglican music – choir boys and good hymns – is a relatively recent development.

At the end of Henry the Eighth’s reign, the musical repertoire of the medieval Church was essentially Latin. However, the increasing stature of the English language in society and in the Church made it inevitable that this should be reflected also in the world of music. Unsurprisingly, studies on church music are primarily concerned with musical aspects. Our concern here, however, is not with the music itself, but rather how from the sixteenth century onwards vernacular has been used in the music of the English church, and its contribution to the development of a sacral English vernacular. This question in itself is worthy of a separate study, hence what is presented here are merely some of the most important examples. It is certainly not intended to be a systematic or complete study.

The replacement of the Latin Mass with the vernacular *Book of Common Prayer* meant that effectively overnight the entire repertoire of music used in the English church was now obsolete. As Duffy opines, “Not the least of the shocks brought by the prayer-book of Whitsun 1549 must have been the silencing of all but a handful of choirs and the reduction of the liturgy on one of the greatest festivals of the year to a monotone dialogue between curate and clerk.”³⁴²

As the Church of England had already introduced English Bibles, and there was general movement towards the use of vernacular in the liturgy, the embracing of English in the Mass itself should not really have come as a surprise. The passage of time and the political and

³⁴² DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 465; cf. Henry C. COLLES, *Voice and Verse. A Study in English Song*, Oxford 1928, 27.

religious upheavals between 1549 and the present make it challenging to know the details of how musicians responded. There are, however, some tantalising clues remaining as to the response of composers in the 1540s. The most important example is the *Wanley Manuscripts*.³⁴³ This was a set of four part-books, of which three remain, the Tenor part having been lost. James Wrightson has produced a critical edition in which the missing part has been reconstructed using other contemporary sources or reconstructed by himself where necessary.³⁴⁴ Wrightson notes that the *Wanley Manuscripts* included everything needed, in English, for the typical liturgical services of a parish: the Offices, Holy Communion and the Occasional Services.³⁴⁵ Wrightson concludes that they were intended for liturgical use, probably in a London parish church.³⁴⁶

Wanley includes ten settings of the Communion Service. Six of these are, more or less, the wording of the 1549 Prayer Book Service. The remaining four are likely to have been composed before the 1549 texts were available, possibly being translations from the Latin Mass, whilst there are other elements that are descended from the Sarum Mass.³⁴⁷ Also included are Anthems, including Thomas Tallis' *If Ye Love Me* and *Hear the Voice and Prayer*.

It is difficult to definitively date *Wanley*, but there does appear to be a weight of evidence that musicians were indeed preparing for a change to the language of the liturgy. Wrightson dates *Wanley* from 1548–1550 noting that the consistency in hand indicates a relatively short production time.³⁴⁸ Kenneth Long's dating is 1549–1552, yet notes “much of the music dates from c. 1546–48”³⁴⁹. There are two of John Taverner's Latin Mass settings translated into English. Long is of the view that these translations are Taverner's, who died in 1545, and indicate a preparation on his part for a Protestantised liturgy.³⁵⁰ Long also notes that two of Tallis' Anthems which appear in *Wanley* are known to pre-date the 1549 Prayer Book.³⁵¹ Edmund Fellowes notes,

³⁴³ The original manuscripts are in the Bodleian Library, Mss Mus. Sch. 420, 421 and 422.

³⁴⁴ Cf. James WRIGHTSON (ed.), *The Wanley Manuscripts*, 3 vols., Madison 1995.

³⁴⁵ Cf. WRIGHTSON, *Wanley Manuscripts*, vol. 1, xiv.

³⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, xiii, xiv.

³⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, xv.

³⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, xiii.

³⁴⁹ Kenneth R. LONG, *The Music of the English Church*, London 1972, 64.

³⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 76.

Without doubt the musicians of that day had perceived what was coming, and were already seeing to it that the great traditions of English Church music should not fall into decay, whatever changes might be forthcoming at the hands of the Crown, Parliament, or the Clergy.³⁵²

Andrew Gant notes that much of the music of *Wanley* has an experimental feel.³⁵³ In terms of music, there are settings typical of the elaborate polyphonies of the period, yet on the other hand, examples of the embracing of the newly desired Reformation simplicity. According to Gant, Tallis' *If Ye Love Me* is the greatest example, "the perfection of simplicity, the Reformation in sound."³⁵⁴ Nicholas Temperley dates *Wanley* as Edwardian, whilst acknowledging its likely use by church choirs.³⁵⁵

Another important example of the response of musicians to the first Prayer Book is John Merbecke's 1550 setting of the English Communion service to music in his *Book of Common Prayer Noted*.³⁵⁶ Changes to the Prayer Book in 1552 rendered Merbecke's setting obsolete, and with Edward's death in 1553 and the Catholic restoration under Mary, a new version was never produced. The Marian restoration theoretically meant a musical restoration, but with Mary's reign only lasting for five years, Protestant viewpoints soon enough once again made themselves manifest in musical repertoire.

Adopting the same principles as Merbecke's earlier setting of Cranmer's *Litany*,³⁵⁷ again is seen in the *Book of Common Prayer Noted* the dual notion of common prayer and intelligibility in liturgy manifesting itself. Whilst the "one syllable, one note" principle was not formally established throughout the realm, in 1548 Royal Injunctions for Lincoln Cathedral decreed the following:

They shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or any other Saints, but only of our Lord, and them not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one³⁵⁸.

³⁵² Edmund H. FELLOWES, *William Byrd*, London 1948, 116.

³⁵³ Cf. Andrew GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord. A History of English Church Music*, London 2015, 87.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Nicholas TEMPERLEY, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge Studies in Music), London 1979, 24.

³⁵⁶ For a facsimile, see HUNT, *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, 121–256; David N. GRIFFITHS, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer 1549–1999*, London 2002, 1550:1; hereafter GRIFFITHS. This referencing method refers to a specific entry within Griffiths, in this case the first Prayer Book in the year 1550.

³⁵⁷ For a facsimile, see HUNT, *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, 65–120.

³⁵⁸ FRERE, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, vol. 2, 168.

In music is seen an expansion of the relationship between word, melody, and rhythm. Whilst speech is not often thought of melodic in a strict sense, it is melodic in that individual words have their own proper sounds and tones. Likewise, as noted elsewhere in this dissertation, the proper flow of rhythm is essential to idiomatic English. Thus, music that properly fits can indeed amplify these properties of the spoken word. Music makes it clear that rhythm is more than just syllables. It is not difficult at all to find English metrical verse that will not fit a particular tune because, whilst having the correct number of syllables, the rhythm of the words is incompatible with that of the tune.

The end of the Latin Mass in England also meant the end of the Latin Motet, to be replaced with the English Anthem. It is not correct to say that an Anthem is simply a Motet in English, since the scope of the Anthem as a musical genre is somewhat broader than that of the Motet, whilst broadly embracing the principle of musical simplicity so as to be understood by the people.

Much of the early focus of the Reformation composers was in producing music to suit the new liturgy. There was a certain irony to this endeavour. The fifteenth century response to the Wycliffe Bible had been to effectively prohibit all translation of Biblical texts. Hence, English Biblical texts were not allowed. By the 1530s, the English Bible was mandated in the English church, and in 1549 the English Liturgy was mandated. As a result, the official texts available to composers to be set to music were now all in English. Furthermore, it was considered that only official texts should be used, that is, the text of the liturgy, or the text of the Bible, including the Psalms. A certain amount of poetic license could be allowed in creating a musical setting, but composers were not to write new texts.

English Psalters were not new. Neither should it be a surprise that with the Reformation the Psalter should be amongst the first and most popular of texts to set to music. Miles Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songs*³⁵⁹ was an early setting of English Psalms to music. It also included the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments as well as a selection of hymns. It is generally considered to be the first English hymn book, although it was banned, along with all of Coverdale's works, in 1546.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Cf. Miles COVERDALE, *Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes drawn out of the holy Scripture, for the comferte and consolacyon of soch as loue to reoiyse in God and his Worde*, London 1535 [The Queen's College, Sel.d.81(4)]; STC (2nd ed.) / 5892; DARLOW & MOULE, no. 47. For the Parker Society edition, see George PEARSON (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter*, Cambridge 1846, 533–590. Cf. LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 27.

³⁶⁰ See Henry's 1546 proclamation banning all of Coverdale's books in: HUGHES – LARKIN, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 373–376.

As well as Anthems and settings of the Canticles, much of the labours of the composers who applied themselves to English liturgical music was to settings for the *preces*, versicles and responses. Merbecke's *Book of Common Prayer Noted*, of course, included these. Thomas Tallis and William Byrd amongst others produced musical settings for these.³⁶¹

After the instability of the Edwardian and Marian periods came the long reign of Elizabeth. Elizabeth took a middle ground between the extremes of Puritanism and the perceived errors and superstitions of Rome. The 1559 Elizabethan Injunctions allowed for beauty in music for those who appreciated such things, provided it did not come at the expense of intelligibility:

And that there be a modest and distinct song so used, in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing. And yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or suchlike song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived.³⁶²

In 1559, *hymn* did not mean what it means now. For places that had the capability, such as a cathedral, this would be an Anthem.³⁶³ For those with lesser musical resources, a Psalm could be sung. In 1662, a famous rubric was added to the end of Evensong: "In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem."³⁶⁴ This was not a change in policy as such. Additional material had been added to Evensong in 1662,³⁶⁵ and this rubric made it clear that the Anthem was to take place after the third Collect and not after the additional material.³⁶⁶

Returning to Elizabeth and the sixteenth century, Elizabeth herself was a lover and patron of music. As Fellowes says, "she was fond of pomp and ceremony in all matters, and this fact influenced her attitude towards the ritual of the church services."³⁶⁷

The musicians and composers attached to the Chapel Royal experienced privilege and status. It was of course the Chapel *Royal*. This was especially the case with Elizabeth. The Chapel

³⁶¹ Cf. FELLOWES, Byrd, 118.

³⁶² BRAY, Documents of the English Reformation, 345.

³⁶³ Cf. Nicholas TEMPERLEY, Anglicanism and Music, in: Jeremy GREGORY (ed.), The Oxford History of Anglicanism, vol. 2, Oxford 2017, 351–370, here: 352; Edmund H. FELLOWES, English Cathedral Music, London ⁵1969, 51.

³⁶⁴ CUMMINGS, Texts, 256.

³⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Cf. TEMPERLEY, Anglicanism and Music, 352.

³⁶⁷ FELLOWES, English Cathedral Music, 51.

Royal became an epicentre for the development of English church music. In some senses, it was somewhat of a safe haven, with those under the patronage of the Queen able to produce what might attract unwanted attention elsewhere.³⁶⁸ Many of the realm's greatest composers began as choristers at the Chapel Royal.

Cathedrals were the other main locale with the means to support music of a high standard.³⁶⁹ They were able to provide the full spectrum of liturgical services, having the means to train sufficient boys to sing in the necessary choirs. The same, however, could not be said of the average parish church. Often, the music was of a very poor standard, with the people more or less musically illiterate. The general notion was that church music could only utilise the words of the liturgy itself (for example, Mass settings and Offices), or sacred Scripture. The most obvious part of sacred Scripture to utilise for singing was the Psalms, for the same reasons that the Psalms were amongst the earliest parts of the Bible to be translated into English. Likewise, many Psalters appeared with the Psalms set to music. This was all very well for trained choirs, but in a typical parish, the people were unable to sing the variable chants of Coverdale's psalms. This held true whether they be plainchant³⁷⁰ or the later Anglican chant tradition, as these were much more suited for trained musicians. The response to this problem was to produce a metrical version of the psalms. This way, the variable length of the musical passages was done away with, and the people could learn a few metrical accompaniments, and thus be able to sing the entire Psalter with a very limited repertoire.

Thomas Sternhold & John Hopkins' metrical Psalter³⁷¹ of 1562 became the standard metrical Psalter throughout the Church of England. It claimed for itself the place of the hymn mentioned in the 1559 Injunctions, stating on the title page that its contents were allowed to be sung "before and after Morning and Evening Prayer; also before and after Sermons; and moreover in private houses."³⁷² In places that did not have the musical ability to do something else, it was highly likely that Sternhold & Hopkins would be the standard musical

³⁶⁸ Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 106, 119.

³⁶⁹ Fellowes' previously referenced *English Cathedral Music* is the standard text on this topic.

³⁷⁰ Plainchant also fell out of favour because it was considered to be too "Romish".

³⁷¹ The referenced copy is bound into a 1767 Prayer Book in the author's library: Thomas STERNHOLD – John HOPKINS, *The Whole Book of Psalms Collected into English Metre*, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and Others; Conferred with the Hebrew, Oxford 1767; hereafter Sternhold & Hopkins.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, [Title page].

book.³⁷³ Nothing came close to displacing Sternhold & Hopkins in popularity until 1696, when Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady published their own metrical psalter.³⁷⁴ Perhaps anticipating a day when hymns would be broadly accepted, from the early eighteenth century, Tate & Brady added in some true hymns as a supplement, the most famous being *While Shepherds Watched their Flocks by Night*.³⁷⁵ As Tate & Brady was considered to be legal, so too were the hymns in the supplement considered to be legal. Such fixtures were these two publications in parish music, that Sternhold & Hopkins became known as the “Old Version”, and Tate & Brady the “New Version”. Either the Old or New version were commonly bound into the back of Prayer Books. Ironically, it was to be the practical monopoly of the “Old” and “New” versions that would also lead to their downfall and bring about regular congregational hymn singing in the Church of England.

An interlude shall be made here to consider briefly music not intended for use in the services of the Church of England, yet still directed to religious subjects. We shall do so by way of one great example amongst many composers who wrote music on religious subjects. George Frideric Handel (Georg Friedrich Händel) was German, but moved to London in 1710, and become a British subject in 1727.³⁷⁶ At that time one could only become naturalised by Act of Parliament. *Zadok the Priest* was written for the coronation of George II in 1727 and has been used at the coronation of every English monarch up to Elizabeth II.³⁷⁷ *Messiah*, his oratorio of 1741, is perhaps his most famous work. It drew from the *Authorised Version* of the Bible, and the Coverdale Psalter. In becoming one of the most well-known works of music on a religious subject, *Messiah* has etched these English texts into living memory in a way that transcends the words themselves. Many of these texts are so well known precisely because of Handel’s *Messiah*. Who, knowing *Messiah*, cannot but hear the words “the trumpet shall sound” and then in their mind’s ear immediately hear the trumpet of Handel’s aria of the same name? This is before we even mention *I Know that My Redeemer Liveth*,

³⁷³ For a broad description of Sternhold & Hopkins and its place in English society, see GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 110–113.

³⁷⁴ The referenced copy is bound into an 1856 Prayer Book in the author’s library: Nahum TATE – Nicholas BRADY, *A New Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches*. By N. Brady, D. D. and N. Tate, Esq., Oxford 1855. For a description of Tate & Brady, and its place in the musical world of the English church, see Thomas K. MCCART, *The Matter and Manner of Praise. The Controversial Evolution of Hymnody in the Church of England 1760–1820*, Lanham/MD 1998, 18–22. Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 216–218.

³⁷⁵ Cf. LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 287.

³⁷⁶ Cf. FELLOWES, *English Cathedral Music*, 191.

³⁷⁷ At the time of writing, the coronation of HM King Charles III had not yet taken place.

and, of course, the *Hallelujah Chorus*. Thus, we see in this one example music that has made a great contribution to inscribing sacral vernacular onto the public conscience.

Meanwhile, there had been various attempts to popularise singing hymns. George Wither's *Hymnes and Songs of the Church*³⁷⁸ of 1623 included fifteen tunes by Orlando Gibbons, many of which are well known today. Wither had royal support for his hymnal, but it never received broad acceptance. Even a royal patent for his hymnal to be bound with Sternhold & Hopkins could not popularise his work. The response to this prospect was vehement. Clearly the moment of the hymn was not yet.³⁷⁹

Much of the resistance to hymns was due to the puritanical notions imported into England by returning Genevan exiles. In their mind, only Scripture should be used in worship.³⁸⁰ To them, the idea of replacing the very word of God with words of mere human composition was unthinkable. This particular scruple, however, was not found in emerging non-conforming churches of the eighteenth century. "Non-conformist" is a rather unfortunate category to use, yet what we are broadly speaking of is a grouping of different churches, each with their own characteristics and positions, out of which emerged a love for hymn singing. Associated with this is the idea of evangelicalism. For the evangelicals, hymns were not only a way to express their faith, but a way to teach it.

The earliest non-conformist hymn writer of note is Isaac Watts.³⁸¹ Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*³⁸² included not only Scriptural paraphrases, but that taboo of the Church of England, freely composed hymnody.³⁸³ His hymnal included an apologetic essay on how to improve psalmody "by the Use of Evangelical Hymns in Worship".³⁸⁴ Ten of Watts' hymns are included in the *English Hymnal*. Amongst his most famous works are *Joy to the World*, *When I survey the Wondrous Cross*, and *Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun*.

Watts was truly a great, but the evangelical movement would produce even greater yet. Arguably, no other name has a greater stature than that of Wesley. Watts may well have been the father of the hymn singing movement, but it was the Wesleys who initiated an unstoppable avalanche of hymn singing. This was partly due to a tremendous output of

³⁷⁸ Cf. George WITHER (ed.), *Hymnes and Songs of the Church*. Divided into Two Parts, London 1623.

³⁷⁹ Cf. MCCART, *Matter and Manner of Praise*, 14.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Barry A. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, in: Stewart J. BROWN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, Oxford 2017, 376–386, here: 376.

³⁸¹ Cf. MCCART, *Matter and Manner of Praise*, 23–25.

³⁸² Cf. Isaac WATTS, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. In Three Books, London 1707.

³⁸³ Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 240.

³⁸⁴ WATTS, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, [Title Page].

hymns, but volume alone a movement doth not make. The hymns were good. Not that Watts' were bad – they weren't – but with Methodism, the Wesley's had a movement to support the wide dissemination and popularisation of hymn singing. John Wesley produced a number of hymnals for use in the new movement and was taken to court for using hymns in the services of the church.³⁸⁵ A distinctive property of Wesleyan hymns was the notion of a proper tune for each hymn. This was very different to what was found in the typical English parish, with its handful of metrical tunes to support Sternhold & Hopkins.³⁸⁶ Gant describes the Wesleyan hymn in this way: “to be carried around in a pocket, the confident offspring of the Enlightenment concept of an educated, literate readership, able now to put away the childish things of Sternhold & Hopkins, with their short words and nursery imagery.”³⁸⁷ People now had a way to truly express their faith in word and song. John Wesley translated hymns for his hymnals, and wrote a few of his own, whilst his brother Charles wrote over 6000 hymns. Amongst his best known are *Jesus Christ is Risen Today*, *Love Divine*, *All Loves Excelling*, *Hark! The Herald Angels Sing*, *And Can it Be That I should gain? Come, Thou Long Expected Jesus*, *Hail the Day that Sees Him Rise*, *Lo! He Comes with Clouds Descending*, *Jesu, Lover of my Soul*, *O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing*, and *Rejoice the Lord is King*. This miniscule sampling of Charles' voluminous output demonstrates what a momentous contribution to English hymn singing this one man made.

There are many other hymn writers of this period who perhaps could or should be mentioned, but the point nonetheless has been made. The evangelical movement brought about a great volume of English hymn writing. Compared to the repetitiveness of the metrical psalters, the difference was chalk and cheese. Did one want to sing the personal expressions of faith of the evangelicals, or tolerate the turgid monotony of the handful of tunes, perhaps on an oh-so-slowly played barrel organ, of Sternhold & Hopkins?³⁸⁸ It was now simply impossible to deny that congregational hymn singing worked.

The establishment did its best to hold out against the burgeoning popularity of hymn singing. Part of the resistance was the notion that hymn singing was something that non-conformists and agitators did. However, the central platform against hymn singing in the Church of

³⁸⁵ Cf. MCCART, *Matter and Manner of Praise*, 26.

³⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.* It must be remembered that Methodism was initially a movement *within* the Church of England, with John Wesley considering himself to be an Anglican Priest to the day he died.

³⁸⁷ GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 263.

³⁸⁸ On the tendency for extremely slow singing, see TEMPERLEY, *Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, 91–93.

England was the broad notion that anything outside of the “Old” and “New” versions was prohibited as far as a congregational “hymn” book was concerned. Writing in 1814, William Charles Dyer bemoaned “the motley introduction of Watts’s hymns.”³⁸⁹ Dyer continued, “The only version of Psalms, allowed by authority to be sung in all churches, is that of Sternhold & Hopkins, or the new version by Tate and Brady. Consequently, every other hymn and psalm is spurious and illegitimate, and ought not to be used in our churches.”³⁹⁰ Dyer was simply stating what everyone presumed to be true. However, the question was, did actual positive legislation exist so as to *make* it true?³⁹¹ Sternhold & Hopkins claimed to be *allowed*.³⁹² Being bound with Prayer Books and Bibles would create a greater perception of some sort of official status. For this reason, Tate and Brady had sought and received royal approval for their metrical Psalter.³⁹³ Despite the ongoing stand-off between hymnody and psalm-singing, eventually things would come to a head. This came about in 1819, when an Anglican clergyman named Thomas Cotterill published the eighth edition of his own hymn book, in which he claimed in the preface that hymn singing was indeed legal in churches.³⁹⁴ Some of his parishioners disagreed and in 1820 took Cotterill to court for introducing unauthorised hymns.³⁹⁵ The judge found that a strict interpretation of the law excluded anything whatsoever outside of the prescribed liturgy. This included Sternhold & Hopkins. Despite being outside the strict letter of the law, Sternhold & Hopkins, and Tate & Brady, had experienced long term permissiveness. The judge found, therefore, that because there was a precedent of permissiveness, these could continue to be used as long as they did not interfere with the proper celebration of the liturgy, and that this permissiveness must also be extended to hymns. So essentially what the court found was that metrical Psalters and hymns were not technically, but practically legal.

2.1.2.7 *More Music in the Vernacular and the Anglo-Catholic Movement*

The legalisation of hymns in the Church of England came at the cusp of two important phenomena, being the Victorian era and the Oxford Movement. The modern idea of going

³⁸⁹ William Charles DYER, Friendly Thoughts on rightly performing the Duties of the Church, in: *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 84/2 (December 1814) 531–533, here: 532. Motley in this context means incongruous.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Quoted in GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 266.

³⁹¹ For a detailed discussion on this question see MCCART, *Matter and Manner of Praise*, 75–78.

³⁹² Sternhold & Hopkins, [Title page].

³⁹³ Cf. MCCART, *Matter and Manner of Praise*, 78.

³⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 93–95.

³⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 98. For the full details of the court case, see *ibid.*, 98–102.

to church and singing English hymns is fundamentally a product of the Victorian era. This did not happen instantaneously with the legalisation of hymns in 1820 (incidentally the year after Victoria's birth), but as soon as what could legally be sung in church was opened up, a huge range of pre-existing material spanning many traditions became available to be used as raw material for translation, adaption, and incorporation in the flood of hymnals that ensued.³⁹⁶ This movement was fundamentally parish driven. As Gant says, by the end of the Victorian era, "there were probably more choirs, more organs, and more people singing in the pews than at any time before or since."³⁹⁷ In short, people who love the idea of Anglican hymnody look back upon the Victorian era as its golden age.

The Victorian age very much brought music into the realm of the parish. Previously, church music was focused on cathedrals, with their cathedral schools and professional musicians. Parish music, especially outside the cities, tended to be illiterate and tone deaf, arguably something more so to be suffered.³⁹⁸ That is not to say that cathedrals were musical oases at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as they too had greatly suffered due to neglect, careerism and nepotism.³⁹⁹

There were growing calls within the Church of England for reform. John Keble's 1833 sermon on *National Apostasy* was one of these calls and is generally recognised as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. It would be untrue to say that the Oxford Movement was single-handedly responsible for the rise of hymnody in the Church of England. However, just as the Oxford Movement is a defining part of the English church in the nineteenth century, so too is the Oxford Movement a defining part of the development of English church music in the nineteenth century. As Long says:

It was the Oxford Movement that broke down the prejudice against hymns.[...] The more deeply they delved into early liturgical forms the more ancient and universal they found the practice of hymn-singing to be.⁴⁰⁰

In their mind, hymn singing should not be seen as an act of rebellion from the established church, but rather a marker of the ancient church which the Church of England claimed to originate from.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 287.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ Cf. LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 325 f.

³⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 319–321.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 332.

⁴⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*

In 1827, Bishop Reginald Heber's *Hymns, Written and Adapted to the Weekly Church Services of the Year*⁴⁰² was published. Heber's hymnal, as the title suggests, was arranged around the Church calendar, and is generally regarded as the first modern hymnal.⁴⁰³ Heber was a High Church sympathiser, who wrote perennial favourite *Holy, Holy, Holy! Lord God Almighty*, now usually sung to John Bacchus Dykes' *Nicaea*.

In the same year, John Keble anonymously published his *The Christian Year*.⁴⁰⁴ *The Christian Year* was a great exemplar of the Anglo-Catholic poetic tradition and certainly the best-selling.⁴⁰⁵ Like Heber's hymnal, Keble's *Christian Year* was designed to be a companion and guide throughout the liturgical year. For the Anglo-Catholics, poetry was an important application of the "Principle of Reserve"⁴⁰⁶, the notion that religious truth should be taught gradually and with reverence, such that a person is built up to be able to receive the highest truths concerning God himself.⁴⁰⁷ The practical application of Tractarian hymnody and poetry through the window of "Reserve" demonstrates distinctiveness from Evangelicalism.⁴⁰⁸ While Evangelicalism encouraged teaching and individual intellectual assent, Tractarianism sought to draw together a community based upon ritual, worship and song. It *creates* Christians by drawing them to the practice of the faith. It is not that Tractarianism did not believe in teaching – homiletics was seen as vital – but this was only one part of the story.

The verse of the Tractarians and the later Anglo-Catholics was ripe for being set to music, with many of the best-known hymns of the Victorian era originating from poetry. Ten of Keble's works are included in the *English Hymnal*. He is best known for *Blest are the Pure in Heart*, *New Ev'ry Morning is the Love*, and *Sun of my Soul, Thou Saviour Dear*. Keble's fellow Tractarian John Henry Newman, whilst much more voluminous in things other than

⁴⁰² Reginald HEBER (ed.), *Hymns, Written and Adapted to the Weekly Church Service of the Year*, London 1827.

⁴⁰³ Cf. Maurice FROST (ed.), *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient & Modern*, London 1962, 111; LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 332.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. John KEBLE, *The Christian Year*, 2 vols., Oxford 1827; Heber's hymnal was published posthumously, whilst Keble initially published *The Christian Year* anonymously.

⁴⁰⁵ For an examination of *The Christian Year*, see Kirstie BLAIR, Keble and *The Christian Year*, in: Andrew W. Hass et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*, Oxford 2007, 607–623.

⁴⁰⁶ For further detail on the "Doctrine of Reserve", see Raymond CHAPMAN (ed.), *Firmly I Believe. An Oxford Movement Reader*, Norwich 2006, 131–149.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. John BONEHAM, Tractarian Theology in Verse and Sermon, in: Stewart J. BROWN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, Oxford 2017, 271–286, here: 273 f.; Kirstie BLAIR, The Influence of the Oxford Movement on Poetry and Fiction, in: Stewart J. BROWN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, Oxford 2017, 410–426, here: 414 f.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. BONEHAM, Tractarian Theology in Verse and Sermon, 274 f.

verse, has also nonetheless made an impact upon hymnody. His most famous works are now staples within the Catholic Church, namely *Praise to the Holiest in the Height*, *Firmly I Believe and Truly*, and *Lead Kindly Light*.⁴⁰⁹ *Praise to the Holiest* and *Firmly I Believe* both came from *Dream of Gerontius*, perhaps being highlights of what Barry Orford describes as a “turgid” work, with Edward Elgar’s musical setting raising the status of the work several notches.⁴¹⁰ *Lead Kindly Light* too was a poem later set to music. Whilst Keble and Newman are dwarfed by later hymn-writers, these early tentative steps dispelled the fear that hymn and verse was something that Evangelicals did, and laid the way for a confidence in hymn writing that would bring about the triumph of the Victorian hymn.⁴¹¹

Preaching too, was especially important to the Tractarians and later Anglo-Catholics. Indeed, the Oxford Movement itself began with a sermon. Like their verse, Tractarian sermons were important applications of the “Principle of Reserve”, with sermons not treated as a theological treatise, but whilst grounded in theological truth, intended to have a personal resonance with the listener and to give them practical helps and guides in living the Christian life.⁴¹² This technique is characteristic of Anglo-Catholic preaching, and remains important today within the Ordinariates. This was a point of distinction of the Tractarians from the Evangelicals. Prior to the rise of the Tractarians, preaching was seen to be something proper to Evangelicals and non-conformists. Methodists were well known for their emphasis on preaching. However, this Evangelical style of preaching was ordered towards generating an emotional response in the hearers. Evangelical preachers would “work” their crowd, whipping them up into a state of excitement. For the Tractarians, this was fundamentally opposed to the notion of “Reserve”. For them, sermons must be grounded in the truths of God, but must also be able to be received by the hearers.

John Henry Newman is well known for his prodigious output of sermons.⁴¹³ The compilation *Parochial and Plain Sermons*⁴¹⁴ runs to eight volumes and contains 191 sermons. It was published volume by volume throughout Newman’s life, the final volume being published

⁴⁰⁹ These hymns of course constitute a miniscule proportion of Newman’s life’s work, however it says something of the greatness of the man that had he written nothing more than these three hymns he would still have been considered to have made a great contribution to the Church.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 377.

⁴¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴¹² Cf. BONEHAM, *Tractarian Theology in Verse and Sermon*, 271, 275.

⁴¹³ For further information on Newman as a preacher, see Denis ROBINSON, *Preaching*, in: Ian KER – Terrence MERRIGAN (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman*, Cambridge 2009, 241–254.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. John Henry NEWMAN, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, 8 vols., London 1879/1880/1881/1882/1869/1881/1882/1882. The reference is from the copy in the author’s library.

in 1868. Newman made careful use of language and rhetorical devices to make his point to his listeners.⁴¹⁵ Of course, Newman was not the only Tractarian who valued preaching. Another example from the author's library is an 1847 book of sermons edited by Edward Pusey, *A Course of Sermons on Solemn Subjects Chiefly Bearing on Repentance and Amendment of Life*.⁴¹⁶ One can certainly sense from the title the practical objective of these sermons.

As the Oxford Movement passed through Ritualism and into the Anglo-Catholic movement, so developed the Victorian Sermon. These sermons, whilst retaining much of the ethos of the earlier Tractarian sermons, embraced a distinctiveness of style that clearly set them apart. Firstly, a homeliness. One could well feel like one was sitting in one's living-room next to the hearth listening to beloved grampa telling a story, rather than sitting in church listening to the priest. The second quality can only be described as Victorian "syrup". These sermons effuse an overpowering sweetness. In the right quantity it is like nectar, but too much of it and one starts to feel ill. A beloved example of this kind of preacher is Father Arthur Stanton, who was for fifty years curate of St Alban's, Holborn. Arguably his greatest sermons were published in *Father Stanton's Last Sermons in S. Alban's, Holborn*.⁴¹⁷ Take this extract from Father Stanton's sermon *If Thou Wilt*:

He was nameless—one of the nameless notables—the leper. He came to Jesus and was cleansed. You do not want to know his name, do you? That is nothing. He came to the Master and found salvation—cleansing—that is the point. What is his name? That man's name was written in heaven before the foundations of the world were laid. Don't you know that God's salvation is from everlasting to everlasting? God's healing comes out of Eternity and goes into Eternity. A great multitude—and the leper! I wonder whether you see it. For instance, in this congregation we are a lot of us together this morning, but some of us may be quite alone in our sickness, in our sorrow, in our sadness, and our sin. It is all very well being a lot of us together, but out of the multitude, God knows, there may be one or two of us who in our sorrow, sadness and sin, feel that we are all alone, quite alone. There was a great multitude and in the midst of it a poor leper. He is very pathetic, I think.⁴¹⁸

Although this style of preaching is now very old-fashioned, it is nonetheless a style that remains a great inspiration for those of the Anglo-Catholic tradition and within the Ordinariates.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. ROBINSON, *Preaching*, 241.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Edward B. PUSEY (ed.), *A Course of Sermons on Solemn Subjects Chiefly Bearing on Repentance and Amendment of Life*, preached in St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, during the week after its consecration on the Feast of S. Simon and S. Jude, 1845, Oxford ²1847.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Edward F. RUSSELL (ed.), *Father Stanton's Last Sermons in S. Alban's, Holborn*, London ²[1916].

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 41 f.

One of objectives of the Tractarians was for the Church of England to reconnect with its roots; that is, its Catholicity. Whilst the first Tractarian leaders were primarily concerned with doctrine, their successors embraced the ancient musical traditions of the Catholic Church and inculcated them into the Church of England.⁴¹⁹ Hence is seen the Englishing of many of the Latin plainsong hymns of the Middle Ages. In this sense, the claims to Catholicity of the English church in the present would be strengthened not by writing new hymns, but by adopting those of the past. Many of the so-called Anglo-Catholic hymnals included such things as the Latin Office hymns, Sequences, and other Latin hymns, all translated into English. It was not just hymns of the Roman tradition that were appropriated. If something was considered to be of value and meet the aims of the translator, then it was fair game. For example, many German hymns were translated into English whilst keeping their original German tunes.⁴²⁰

The greatest of these “appropriators” was John Mason Neale. *The English Hymnal* contains 72 hymns⁴²¹ ascribed to Neale, most of which are translations. Neale translated hymns into English, presenting the ancient treasury of the Church in an accessible yet sacral vernacular to the masses; but it wasn’t just that Neale had decided to translate some Latin hymns. As Orford says,

What distinguishes Neale’s work, however, is its manifest superiority to all previous attempts at translation. Not only were his wording and versification better than those of his predecessors, he was determined to translate the Latin hymns in a metre which made them suitable for singing with their original plainsong melodies.⁴²²

In 1851, Neale published his work with Thomas Helmore in *The Hymnal Noted*.⁴²³ “It was a major Tractarian contribution to English language hymnody, and of the 105 hymns in the book ninety-four were by Neale.”⁴²⁴ Many of Neale’s hymns form staples not just of the hymnody of the Anglican tradition, but also the (Roman) Catholic tradition. Favourites include *A Great and Mighty Wonder*, *All Glory Laud and Honour* (which appears in the Palm Sunday liturgy in *Divine Worship: The Missal*)⁴²⁵, *Christ is Made the Sure Foundation* (usually sung to *Westminster Abbey*), *O Come, O Come, Emmanuel*, *Of the Father’s love*

⁴¹⁹ Cf. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 378.

⁴²⁰ Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 287, 300 f.

⁴²¹ This is the highest number of contributions by a single person in *The English Hymnal*.

⁴²² ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 378.

⁴²³ John Mason NEALE – Thomas HELMORE, *The Hymnal Noted*, London 1851.

⁴²⁴ ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 379.

⁴²⁵ Cf. *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 323.

begotten, Sing my tongue, the glorious battle (which appears in the Good Friday liturgy in *Divine Worship: The Missal*)⁴²⁶, *The Royal Banners forward go, The day of resurrection*, and far too many others to mention. Listing these titles to anyone who knows anything about hymns in English will emphasise just how important these hymns are in the English hymn singing tradition, not just in churches of the Anglican tradition, but the Catholic as well. One can almost guarantee that *All Glory Laud and Honour* will be sung on Palm Sunday in most English-speaking Catholic parishes. Likewise, the singing of *O Come O Come Emmanuel* (probably on the First Sunday of Advent rather than the more appropriate Fourth Sunday) is a safe bet. It was Neale's collaborator Helmore who (re)discovered and re-appropriated the chant melody now used for *O Come, O Come Emmanuel*, whilst Neale provided the translation.⁴²⁷ It seems impossible to imagine Christendom without the hymn *O Come, O Come Emmanuel*, yet had it not been for Neale and Helmore, this would be the case.

According to Kirstie Blair, an example of the universal ideals of Tractarianism is found in Cecil Frances Alexander – “recognition of a global church united across time and space by its shared language and ritual.”⁴²⁸ Alexander's poetry, when set to music, provided some of the most well-known hymns of the Victorian era – hymns whose popularity continues to the present day. These include *Once in Royal David's City, All Things Bright and Beautiful*, and *There is a Green Hill Far Away*.

The victory of the vernacular English hymn was not as simple as publishing hymnals. As noted earlier, in many parishes the musical standard was poor at best. Cathedrals were considered to be the places where good music was to be found. The Anglo-Catholics realised it did not need to be this way, seeing that there was no reason why they could not set up their own parish-based music schools, which would produce the musicians necessary to have parish music that could compete with the cathedrals. The London High Church movement had much to do with the nineteenth century renewal of church music. Many of the London Anglo-Catholic churches had their own choir schools and colleges.⁴²⁹ These choir schools would become the focal points for the re-invention of church life. Today there are perhaps few things considered more Anglican than a surpliced choir, yet this stemmed from the Anglo-Catholic movement.⁴³⁰ This movement also brought an impetus to reclaim the

⁴²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 380–382.

⁴²⁷ Cf. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 378.

⁴²⁸ BLAIR, *Influence of the Oxford Movement on Poetry and Fiction*, 417 f.

⁴²⁹ Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 290.

⁴³⁰ Cf. LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 327.

Offices (Matins and Evensong) for parishes, sung by properly trained choirs. Hence the flood of nineteenth and twentieth century musical settings for these services. For the Anglo-Catholics, these services, especially Evensong coupled with Benediction, were not just liturgies, but lived expressions and actions of faith. Hence this brought about the Victorian notion of Evensong as a spectacle.⁴³¹

In some senses, the legal victory of the hymnal led to the postponing of the victory celebrations. So many hymnals came out in such a short time that one could not stand out amongst the myriad hymnals being published. Secondly, the early hymnals did not associate a particular set of words with a particular tune. However, as the people fundamentally receive a hymn as a sensory experience, broad popularity is greatly aided by the pairing of a set of words with a particular tune.⁴³² It would take time for the multitude of hymnals to be reduced to a few which could truly be called the national hymnals of England.

Thus began a movement of hymnals, out of which would emerge the modern idea of a hymnal – familiar words, paired with a familiar tune. The problem for modern authors (not translators) and composers was that there was no money for them in hymnals that were full of ancient hymns. Yet the scene had been set. Hymns had become popularised, and when anything has become popular, there is always a desire for something new. It was out of this context that came the great nineteenth and twentieth century hymn-writers. According to Gant, the Victorian hymn writers filled a hole in Victorian society – they “did for the English what opera did for the Italians.”⁴³³

Whilst Neale and Helmore’s *Hymnal Noted* was not successful, Neale was convinced of the need for a popular hymnal within the Church of England.⁴³⁴ The only way to do this was to break the endless cycle of hymn books all doomed to obscurity. In 1858, a group of stakeholders who were all in various ways working on hymnal projects, agreed to pool their resources and work on a single hymnal.⁴³⁵ Advertisements were placed in *The Guardian* inviting interested persons to contact the committee, to which more than 200 responses were received.⁴³⁶ The text version was published in 1860, and the music edition in 1861, having

⁴³¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴³² Which has also cursed every priest since with the complaint “Oh Father, you had the wrong tune.”

⁴³³ Cf. GANT, *O Sing Unto the Lord*, 305.

⁴³⁴ Cf. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 380.

⁴³⁵ For background on the formation of this group, see FROST, *Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient & Modern*, 119.

⁴³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

being guided by organist and choir director of King's College, London, William Henry Monk, who also suggested the name of the work, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.⁴³⁷ By 1868, four and a half million copies had been sold,⁴³⁸ and by the end of the nineteenth century, 35 million copies had been sold.⁴³⁹

Hymns Ancient and Modern was an immediate success, becoming effectively the national hymnal of the Church of England. The Victorian hymnal achieved what the Prayer Book had in the sixteenth century, but this time without the Injunctions. A good hymn book, drawing from a good range of sources, was a way for its owner to have access to a musical companion to accompany them in the various states and affairs of life and faith.⁴⁴⁰ It is no accident, then, to find into the twentieth century the vast majority of editions of the Book of Common Prayer being bound with *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and if not that, the *English Hymnal*. Hence, it would become most common to see on a typical English shelf a spine adorned with the text "Common Prayer. Hymns A&M".

Whilst those who had compiled *Hymns Ancient and Modern* were Tractarian sympathisers, they had taken Keble's advice to produce a hymnal that would have broad appeal. Hence their work was not a Tractarian hymnal as such, and included the works of dissenters such as Wesley and Watts.⁴⁴¹ The inclusion of these great writers amplified their popularity and ensured that their works would become enshrined within the Anglican tradition. By 1895, three-quarters of churches in England were using *Hymns A & M*.⁴⁴² The successors to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* continue to be published to this day, and remain an important part of the corpus of English hymnody.

Despite the enormous success of *Hymns A & M*, at the end of the nineteenth century there was a desire amongst Anglo-Catholics for something that provided more hymnody appropriate to Anglo-Catholic faith and praxis. The solution was Percy Dearmer's *English Hymnal* of 1906.⁴⁴³ The musical editor was Ralph Vaughan Williams. Its aim was not only to provide a hymnal more suited to Anglo-Catholic use, but to rectify some of the faults of

⁴³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 120.

⁴³⁸ Cf. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 381.

⁴³⁹ Cf. John R. WATSON, *Ancient or Modern, 'Ancient and Modern': The Victorian Hymn and the Nineteenth Century*, in: *The Yearbook of English Studies* 36/2 (2006) 1–16, here: 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁴² Cf. ORFORD, *Music and Hymnody*, 382.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Percy DEARMER (ed.), *The English Hymnal. With Tunes*, London 1906.

Hymns A & M.⁴⁴⁴ A revised edition was published in 1933,⁴⁴⁵ and it is this edition that was the formative hymnal for Anglo-Catholic parishes for the rest of the twentieth century and beyond. For the same reason, the *English Hymnal* is arguably the most important hymnal embraced by the Ordinariates, at least in the United Kingdom and Australia. Even *The New English Hymnal*⁴⁴⁶ of 1986 was not able to displace the 1933 edition from parishes, with perhaps a common view being that the older hymnal represents a “purer” form of the Anglican hymnal published at the height of hymnody in the English church, and therefore should be favoured over what were perceived to be “modern” hymnals. Perhaps indicative, however, of the rise of *Merbecke* is its inclusion in an appendix in *The New English Hymnal*. The preferential position amongst many of the 1933 *English Hymnal* has been amplified as it is now being re-printed by the Indian facsimile printers. Dearmer began the preface with the bold claim, “The English Hymnal is a collection of the best hymns in the English language”.⁴⁴⁷ Perhaps measuring the sobriety with which the task was undertaken, Dearmer continues, “It is not a party-book”.⁴⁴⁸

The English Hymnal succeeded where many other hymnals had tried but failed. Not only did it bring about popular hymns tailored for Anglo-Catholic worship, but it unashamedly embraced the ancient traditions of the Catholic Church by including a broad range of propers and sequences for the various holy days. Interestingly, the provenance of these propers was Sarum, meaning that even where the priest’s service book included the Roman propers, the choir would sing the Sarum ones where they differed.⁴⁴⁹

One more example will now be given of how music and words can contribute to a public consciousness of religious language. This example is chosen precisely because so many elites wish it had never been written. John Stainer’s *Crucifixion*, with words by William J. Sparrow Simpson is an example of the Victorian oratorio. It effuses syrup and homeliness. Indeed, looking at the music it would be difficult to make it any more syrupy than it is. Two well known hymns derive from it, being *Cross of Jesus* and *All for Jesus. God So Loved the World* remains greatly popular as a choir piece. Likewise, the *Processional to Calvary* with

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 399. A new edition of *Hymns A&M* had been recently published, and it was poorly received by the public.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Percy DEARMER (ed.), *The English Hymnal. With Tunes*, London ²1933.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. George B. TIMMS (ed.), *The New English Hymnal. Full Music Edition*, Norwich 1986.

⁴⁴⁷ DEARMER, *The English Hymnal*, 1906, iii.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ Mark DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons: 1549, Interim Rite and Roman* (*Joint Liturgical Studies* 41), Cambridge 1998, 18.

its dramatic “Fling wide the gates!” is often used as a stand-alone piece. *Crucifixion* was written so as to be able to be performed with nothing more than a four-part choir and organ. This meant that it was within reach of the average Victorian parish.

Crucifixion has long been despised by musical purists, no doubt enraged that despite their most vitriolic criticisms, *Crucifixion* continues to be performed by thousands of choirs every Passiontide. Long has this to say: “It seems all the more extraordinary that a man so cultured and gifted should, as a composer, be so lacking in taste and discretion.”⁴⁵⁰ And: “Sparrow-Simpson’s appalling doggerel set to Stainer’s squalid music is a monument to the inane.”⁴⁵¹ Long goes on to complain that “each year hundreds of performances continue to be given.”⁴⁵² Perhaps the issue here is really about popularism versus elitism. If music is to be so pure and elite that it becomes inaccessible, then what is its purpose? Is this not very similar to the argument about the use of the vernacular in church? Of course, elitists are going to criticise something that is accessible to ordinary people. This is why *Crucifixion* is an important example. Everyone knows that it is soppy sentimentalism, and they love it! The beauty of *Crucifixion* precisely was, and remains, that it could be performed by the kind of choir that was readily available, and needed no more than the parish organ to accompany it. It was something that was accessible to most parishes. Something that may well be pure and elite by definition cannot be popular. So whilst the technical criticisms of *Crucifixion* may be well justified, that does not change the reality of what it achieved in making broadly available a religious experience of both music and language. It is perhaps telling that fifty years after the publication of Long’s book, *Crucifixion* remains broadly popular.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, English hymnody came to be associated with the very idea of Englishness just as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had the Prayer Book and the *Authorised Version*. They were part of the ordinary life of the average person. Who cannot but hear Hubert Parry’s *Jerusalem* (which isn’t actually a hymn) or Cecil A. Spring-Rice’s *I Vow to Thee My Country* set to Holst’s tune adapted from *The Planets* and not feel a great surge of patriotism, whether they are English or not? Thus, while the development of music got off to a slow start, initially focussing on the liturgy itself, psalms and anthems, the repertoire of music contributed to the engraving of this religious language

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. LONG, *Music of the English Church*, 364.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 365.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

into public consciousness. Later, as new words were written by non-conformists and within the established church, a new way was found of expressing the faith, in both word and song.

2.1.2.8 *The Anglo-Catholic Missals*

Compared to the complexity of the medieval liturgical books, the 1549 Prayer Book must have seemed in many ways not only a gross simplification, but a denuding of the liturgy. There had been a richness and depth to medieval piety that had now for the most part been stripped away. There is an old saying “nature abhors a vacuum”, and this was true with respect to the liturgy. Whilst the liturgy itself was certainly not something to be tampered with, at least at the beginning of the Reformation, richness could be found through decoration and beauty. It was common for other works to be bound with Prayer Books. A 1767 Prayer Book in the author’s library has Sternhold & Hopkins bound with it. Also bound with this Prayer Book is *The Companion or Spiritual Guide at the Altar containing Prayers, Ejaculations, Meditations, and The Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper: According to the Usage of the Church of England. Directions and Devotions at the Lord’s Table and at Home, after Receiving the Sacrament and an Introductory Discourse explaining the Nature and End of this Sacrament; and the Obligations we are under to receive the Lord’s Supper.*⁴⁵³ This very long title makes clear that it is intended for use by the owner both in public and in private for the edification of their faith.

In the Victorian era, the popularity of exquisite things and their availability to middle class people greatly grew. One example is the publisher William Pickering’s 1853 *Book of Common Prayer*.⁴⁵⁴ This was a re-imagining of what a royal prayer book would look like. In content, it is the same as any other Prayer Book, but each page is surrounded by ornate woodcuts, sourced from a book of prayers owned by Queen Elizabeth. The copy in the author’s library is stunningly bound in gold-worked leather, with gilt and gauffered edges. Custom bindings were available for customers who desired something even more exquisite and unique. It is amongst the most important of the Victorian Prayer Books and demonstrates the public desire for enrichment of worship.

The Anglo-Catholic movement saw a desire amongst clergy and laity in various ways to reconnect with the Catholic roots of the Church of England, and this meant in liturgy and prayer. This took place in the context of a broader romantic antiquarian nostalgia, for

⁴⁵³ No bibliographical information is provided within this publication except the title.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. GRIFFITHS, 1853:22. The Folio Society produced a facsimile in 2004.

example, as manifested in the Gothic revival.⁴⁵⁵ Hence, among priests there was a desire for them to be able to identifiably relate the liturgy they celebrated to the Church of the ages. This was much of the motivation of the Ritualist movement. In 1858 John Purchas published the *Directorium Anglicanum*⁴⁵⁶, which provided directions for the celebration of the communion service and offices. It also included detailed descriptions of the altar, the use of the chasuble, ornaments of the church and the like. These descriptions claimed to be of the ancient use of the Church of England, and this is true in the sense that they predated the reforms of Henry VIII and his successors. The *Directorium* established a pattern that would be followed by the successors of Purchas who would publish later worship aids and rubrical directories. As Ritualism spread and developed in degree, Ritualism came to be perceived as a threat within the Church of England, even to the point of being subversive.⁴⁵⁷ The greatly expanded second edition of the *Directorium* was published in 1865⁴⁵⁸, although Purchas' name as editor was replaced by that of Frederick George Lee. Also in 1865, the Church Association was formed to support action against Ritualist clergy in the courts.⁴⁵⁹ Purchas was prosecuted with the case going to the Privy Council on appeal who ruled against Purchas on all but one count.⁴⁶⁰ The so-called Purchas Judgement caused great dissension, commonly being viewed as judicial overreach into church affairs, and demonstrated that despite what might seem like a resounding victory for the anti-Ritualists, the argument as to precisely what was legal had not yet run its course.

Priests were obliged to carefully follow the liturgy of the Church of England. However, in their mind, there was no reason why they could not add in some private devotions of their

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Nigel YATES, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain. 1830–1910*, Oxford 1999, 40 f. The greatest proponent of this architectural revival in England was Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. See Rosemary HILL, *God's Architect. Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain*, London 2007.

⁴⁵⁶ John PURCHAS, *Directorium Anglicanum; being A Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, For the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and For the Performance of Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Ancient Uses of the Church of England*, London 1858. For other contemporary Ritualist publications also appealing the old uses of the English church, see John David CHAMBERS, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries Contrasted with and Adapted to that in the Nineteenth*, London 1877; W[illiam]. E. SCUDAMORE, *Notitia Eucharistica. A Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal and Historical, on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion According to the use of the Church of England, with an Appendix on the Office for the Communion of the Sick*, London 1872.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. YATES, *Anglican Ritualism*, 150.

⁴⁵⁸ Frederick George LEE, *The Directorium Anglicanum; being A Manual of Directions for the Right Celebration of the Holy Communion, For the Saying of Matins and Evensong, and For the Performance of Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Ancient Use of the Church of England*, London²1865.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. YATES, *Anglican Ritualism*, 151 f.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 218 f.

own for use in the Communion Service. After all, it was not uncommon for books intended for the laity to do precisely this. However, what might be a few private devotions soon became essentially the silent celebration of Mass in the midst of the Prayer Book Communion Service.⁴⁶¹ These private devotions were provided either by material developed by individual priests for their own personal use, or by means of commercially available printed supplements that could be used at the altar.

The first commercially available book designed to act as an altar supplement was Peter Medd's 1861 anonymously published *Priest to the Altar*.⁴⁶² This author's copy is gold embossed with a previous owner's name, "Alexander Low Rhind, Priest" on the cover. The flyleaf contains hand-written details of admission to the "Holy Order of Priesthood". Clearly Father Rhind did not see himself as a "minister". *Priest to the Altar* could only be used as a supplement to the Prayer Book, as it did not contain the entire Order, but later editions were expanded in content.⁴⁶³

Some further observations are here made regarding the Third Edition. *Priest to the Altar* included much supplementary material, drawn primarily from Sarum Use. This is arranged to be used whilst celebrating. For example, the 1662 order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper is presented, yet immediately after the Prayer of Humble Access is the *Te igitur*, in English.⁴⁶⁴ The Sarum form of the Prayer of Oblation (*unde et memores* and *supra quae*) is placed immediately after the Consecration, along with the 1549 form.⁴⁶⁵ Throughout, the 1662 text is in large type, whilst the "aids" are presented in smaller type.⁴⁶⁶ As noted earlier, the practices of "Romish" priests did not go unnoticed. So scandalised was one clergyman that in 1866 he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury complaining about certain practices and the lack of action taken:

In the first Church I visited for this purpose I saw a Communion-table, studiously assimilated to a Romish altar by its form, its drapery, a moveable cross, and other decorations.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. E[dward] C. R. LAMBURN, *The Liturgy Develops*, London 1960, 46 f.

⁴⁶² Cf. [Peter Goldsmith MEDD], *The Priest to the Altar or Aids to the Devout Celebration of Holy Communion chiefly after The Ancient English Use of Sarum*, London ³1879. This is the third edition, from the author's library and all subsequent references are to this edition.

⁴⁶³ Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 4. For further on these unauthorized altar companions, the entirety of Dalby's work is commended. On the tendency for the earlier companions to supplement but not replace the Prayer Book, see LAMBURN, *The Liturgy Develops*, 54 f.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. [MEDD], *Priest to the Altar*, 166.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 169*. 1549 was favoured over 1662 as being closer to the traditional Roman structure of the Mass, and it was common, as Medd did, to reproduce the entire 1549 order in these books intended as Priestly aids.

⁴⁶⁶ Dalby gives a comparison of the editions. Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 4–6.

I observed that the Minister read the Litany not from the desk, but from the step under the Chancel arch, his back being turned to the people; and that the whole Service was intoned, so as to be hardly intelligible. I also heard the preacher say, *inter alia*, that the Church had power to produce Christ and set him before us in the Holy Sacrament.

I was deliberating whether it was my duty to bring these irregularities under the notice of the ecclesiastical authorities, when I received an account of a Service held in the Church of St. Philip and St. James, Oxford, on the afternoon of Good Friday, according to the printed programme, where, with the exception of one psalm, and that not the proper psalm for the day, the Prayer Book was not once made use of; but there was a marked approximation to Romish models both in Ritual and in Doctrine.⁴⁶⁷

Another important “Mass companion” is Orby Shipley’s 1870 *Ritual of the Altar*.⁴⁶⁸ As these supplements began to spread, they grew in how far they were prepared to push the boundaries. Certainly, when doing a side-by-side comparison, *Ritual of the Altar* looks much more like an altar missal than *Priest to the Altar*. Its supplementary material was based on the modern Roman usage rather than Sarum.⁴⁶⁹ The preface to the 1878 second edition makes some bold claims that are revealing of the author’s mind: “Everything Catholic, not at issue with Anglican formularies is our right”,⁴⁷⁰ and, “The Ritual of the Altar aspires to be, though it is not called, a Missal for daily use in the English church, unauthorized indeed, but not without authority.”⁴⁷¹ So essentially, in the words of the editor, *Ritual of the Altar* is a missal in every way except for name. This is easily determined by examining its contents. The Ordinary of the Mass begins with the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, including, in English, *Aufer a nobis* and *Oramus te Domine*. It gives the ninefold Kyrie, in English, as an alternative to the Summary of the Law. Following the Sentences, the traditional Offertory Prayers are provided. The Roman Canon is wrapped around the Prayer Book Canon. The translation is obviously a different translation to that of *The English Missal*. The Last Gospel is provided after the Blessing. Rubrics are included for the celebration of High Mass, with deacon and sub-deacon.

These two important examples demonstrate a growing impetus during the second half of the nineteenth century to the catholicisation of worship in the Church of England. As Mark

⁴⁶⁷ William ACWORTH, *The Acts of Uniformity Set at Nought in the Diocese of Oxford. A Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, Oxford 1866, 5.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Orby SHIPLEY (ed.), *Ritual of the Altar. The Order of the Holy Communion with Introits, Collects, Epistles, Graduals Gospels, Offertories, Secrets, Communions and Postcommunions Throughout the Year according to the Use of the Church of England together with Rubrical Directions Secret Prayers, Ritual Music and the General Rubrics Illustrated*, London ²1878; This is the second edition, from the author’s library and all subsequent references are to this edition.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 9. For Dalby’s description of *Ritual of the Altar* see *ibid.*, 9–11.

⁴⁷⁰ SHIPLEY, *Ritual of the Altar*, [Preface].

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Dalby notes, at the turn of the twentieth century, “at a typical anglo-catholic mass the priest would continue after the consecration with the silent Gelasian Canon while the congregation sang an appropriate hymn of adoration.”⁴⁷²

In 1902, Knott published *Votive Masses for the use of the Church of England*, which essentially provided for Low Mass using the Roman Ordinary and canon.⁴⁷³ One can imagine the angst amongst the reformers at the idea of a growing number of priests who were in their mind celebrating the Catholic Mass. So concerning was the situation that in 1904 a Royal Commission was established, handing down its findings in 1906.⁴⁷⁴ The report itself noted the apparent use of other canons:

One of the most noticeable features of a celebration in some churches, when extreme ritual is practiced is a long pause in the service both before and after the Consecration Prayer. During this pause hymns or anthems (*e.g.*, Benedictus or Agnus Dei) are so introduced as to ‘let or hinder’ the Communion Office of the Church of England, contrary to the principle laid down by Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln Judgment. While these hymns and anthems are being sung, the celebrant, standing before the altar, handling the sacred vessels, stooping over it, and sometimes kissing it, appears to be silently repeating prayers (sometimes from a book or card placed in front of him) accompanied by gestures, crossing, bowings, and genuflexions. In the midst of this prolonged interval the celebrant reads the Consecration Prayer, sometimes audibly, sometimes in so low a voice that it is not audible. Many witnesses have given accounts of services of which the foregoing is a summary.

It was suggested in many cases, and not denied, that the celebrant was at this point in the service, in fact, employed in reading with the prescribed ceremonial acts the prayers of the Canon of the Mass, translated into English and given according to either the Sarum or the Roman Use. In some cases it was admitted by the clergymen concerned that the witnesses’ surmise was correct. Furthermore, various altar-cards, books and manuals have been published, in which the English Communion Service, is incorporated with the Missal Service, so that both can be used together. We deal with these publications generally at a later stage (see paragraph 279). Evidence was given of the presence of altar-cards in more than 100 churches; and the witnesses, in describing services of Holy Communion at these churches, in a very large number of cases stated that the celebrant acted in the manner described in the last paragraph.⁴⁷⁵

Despite the Royal Commission’s calls for interpolations in the liturgy to cease, the publications continued.

In 1912, arguably the most important unofficial missal of all was published by W. Knott & Son. *Missale Anglicanum: The English Missal*⁴⁷⁶ was compiled by Henry William Gordon Kenrick of Holy Trinity, Hoxton. In time, owning a copy of *The English Missal* would

⁴⁷² DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 16. See also LAMBURN, *The Liturgy Develops*, 46 f.

⁴⁷³ Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 16.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁷⁵ Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, London 1906, 34.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. [Henry William Gordon KENRICK], *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal*, London ¹1912. The subsequent references are to the fourth edition from the author’s library, unless otherwise noted. Cf. [Henry William Gordon KENRICK], *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal*, London ⁴1940.

become an indication of being a *serious* Anglo-Catholic priest. In the twentieth century, it was not uncommon for Catholic leaning parishes to be defined by whether they were faithful to the Prayer Book or *The English Missal*. Being a so-called “*English Missal* shop” did not necessarily mean that the Roman Canon was used, but that the arrangement of the liturgy as celebrated was generally in accordance with the options presented in *The English Missal*. That is, use of the Preparation, Minor Propers, traditional Offertory, Gloria in the Roman position, Last Gospel, and so on. As well as providing in English both Roman and Prayer Book forms, in later editions, the canon in Latin was included.⁴⁷⁷ As Dalby notes, its “ordinary and canon provided a straightforward combination of everything in 1662 with everything in *Missale Romanum*. Nothing at all was omitted.”⁴⁷⁸ Kenrick’s aim was to provide a missal grounded firmly in authority, whether that be English or Roman. However, as Dalby continues, “*The English Missal* made no attempt to present a single coherent rite which could be used *in toto*, and it was left to the individual celebrant to make the final selection.”⁴⁷⁹

The genesis of the familiar *English Missal* is found in a leatherbound manuscript missal, also entitled *The English Missal*, which is in the Pusey House Library, Oxford.⁴⁸⁰ The preface to this manuscript missal reveals that Kenrick’s original intention was to produce a missal that was primarily a work of art, whilst secondarily providing the Latin texts of the *Missale Romanum* along with the texts of the Prayer Book to assist the priest in his private devotions:

The idea of this book is to group the great pictures of the world around the Altar; and so to shew Art in captivity to Christ in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

There is here also an attempt to combine absolute loyalty to the English Church and Liturgy with the felt want of systematic aids to the private devotions of the priest.

The Latin parts are sanctioned in principle by the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer ‘Concerning the Service’.

⁴⁷⁷ The first edition is English only. The fourth and fifth edition include the canon in Latin. The author has not sighted a second or third edition of *The English Missal*. The page numbering somewhat betrays the *ad hoc* approach to the arrangement of content, at least in the fourth edition, as the Prayer Book Canon and the *Canon Missae* are inserted immediately before the Easter Day propers, with the Prayer Book Canon having its own asterisked page numbers, and the *Canon Missae* having no page numbers at all, with the numbering resuming after the insert from where it left off.

⁴⁷⁸ DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 19 f.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 20. This is certainly true in the later editions. The first edition, however, more so reflects the general layout of earlier altar books, with the Roman Canon “wrapped around” the Prayer Book eucharistic prayer. As such, the first edition of the *English Missal* is much more coherent and Mass could be said in the manner that one would expect from an altar missal.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. [Henry William Gordon KENRICK], *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal*, London 1906 [Manuscript, Pusey House Library, 265.331]. The author is most thankful to the librarian of the Pusey House Library for arranging for the viewing of this document and for permission to reproduce its text in this dissertation.

One who desires to use only the Prayer Book can do so by reading only the English parts of this book. Any exceptions need the sanction of the Bishop.

H. W. G. Kenrick.⁴⁸¹

This manuscript missal has been entirely produced and bound by hand. Each page is ornately decorated with illuminated text and drawings. As indicated in its preface, prints of various artwork have been cut out and pasted into the missal. The text of the Prayer Book is faithfully reproduced. Like the earlier altar companions, the *Ordo Missae* provides the text of the Roman Canon around that of the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration. For the Propers, the Prayer Book Collects and Readings are provided, supplemented with the Propers, in Latin, from the *Missale Romanum*. The *Ordo Missae* is essentially that of the *Missale Romanum*, with English text from the Prayer Book provided, where available. The rubrics of the *Missale Romanum* have been translated into English, but none of the Latin liturgical text has been translated. A significant amount of plainchant is included, and where this is given for the Mass Parts, Merbecke is used, although no chant is given for the *Agnus Dei*.

Accompanying this manuscript missal is a handwritten letter, signed by Father Kenrick himself, gifting his missal to the Pusey House Library:

September 4, 1942

Reverend Father

Will you accept the enclosed volume as a gift to Pusey House Library. It is I believe a unique specimen of an illuminated M.S. Missal of the 20th Century. Done entirely by myself manuscript illuminations (mostly) and bound by my own hands.

I do not know what to do with it and shall be glad to think it has found a permanent home in your library. I used it at the altar for some time and then translated into English, made many additions and then got it printed as (The English Missal).

I hope you will think it good enough to keep.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. G. Kenrick

The Librarian of Pusey House

Oxford⁴⁸²

It is especially important to note Kenrick's comment that he used this missal at the altar. Whilst the missal itself shows little signs of wear, this is not surprising given the tremendous number of hours that must have been spent in its creation. There are, however, in places handwritten notes. There are also handwritten supplementary celebration notes written on the rear of people's handouts from Holy Trinity, Hoxton, clearly indicating the use of this missal at the altar.

⁴⁸¹ [KENRICK], *English Missal* (1906) [Preface, Reproduced with permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House].

⁴⁸² [KENRICK], *English Missal* (1906) [Accompanying Letter, Reproduced with permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House].

Another missal in the Pusey House Library⁴⁸³ at first glance appears to be a first edition 1912 English Missal, but closer inspection reveals it to be a “Frankenmissal”. That is, it is a custom missal that has been made by binding various parts taken from other missals. It has two frontispieces bound one after the other. One is from the 1912 *English Missal*, while the other from the 1912 missal of the Society of Saint Peter and Paul. It includes a number of Ordinaries of the Mass. One of these Ordinaries comes from a publication with much smaller pages. Spacers have been made to adapt the pages up in size to fit this custom missal. This missal is an important example of the not uncommon practice of Ritualist priests to create missals, of varying production quality, to suit their own purposes.

Returning to *The English Missal*, unique amongst these altar books is the use of a so-called “secret code”. In altar missals, the use of coloured and sometimes intricately decorated drop-caps is quite common. Usually, however, there is no deeper meaning other than decoration. This is not the case with *The English Missal*. Professor Hans-Jürgen Feulner mentioned to this author that Bishop Peter Elliott had told him about this code. Bishop Elliott confirmed to this author the existence of this “secret code”.⁴⁸⁴ It is quite easily observed, for example, by examining the 1940 edition in the author’s private library. Material originating from the *Missale Romanum* has a red drop-cap. Material originating from the Prayer Book has a black drop-cap. There are a few places, however, where the rule does not hold. For example, the Prayer of Humble Access has a red drop-cap⁴⁸⁵, as do the Prayer Book words of institution.⁴⁸⁶ Interestingly, where the Prayer Book Prayer of Consecration is later re-produced on its own rather than surrounded by the Roman Canon,⁴⁸⁷ the drop-caps are black throughout. Whether these are simply typesetting errors, or there is some other meaning, is unable to be determined.

The English Missal was much more popular than any other altar book, with the final edition being printed in 1958.⁴⁸⁸ A monochrome re-typeset version of the 1958 edition was

⁴⁸³ Cf. Pusey House Library, 73.32 e1.

⁴⁸⁴ The secret code is not present in the manuscript *English Missal*, and neither is it present in the 1912 or 1958 editions in the author’s library.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. [KENRICK], *English Missal* (1940), 266.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 273.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 286*.

⁴⁸⁸ DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 32; cf. [Henry William Gordon KENRICK], *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal*, London ⁵1958.

published by Canterbury Press in 2001.⁴⁸⁹ Its broad popularity amongst Anglo-Catholics is why it, along with *The Anglican Missal*, played an important role as a source text for *Divine Worship: The Missal*. In 1944, Knott published a companion to *The English Missal*, being *The English Ritual*.⁴⁹⁰ This was essentially a *vade mecum* to allow an Anglo-Catholic priest to celebrate the occasional services according to either the Prayer Book, or an English version of the *Roman Rituale*. It also provided a number of sacramentals in English and Latin, including Benediction.

Also of great importance amongst these altar books is the Society of Saints Peter and Paul's 1921 *The Anglican Missal*.⁴⁹¹ Unlike *The English Missal*, the compilers of *The Anglican Missal* sought to provide what they thought was most useful to the celebrant. Generally speaking, the translations of *The Anglican Missal* are superior to those of *The English Missal*.⁴⁹² As Dalby has noted, "*The English Missal* stood for literal translations; *The Anglican Missal* stood for literary ones."⁴⁹³ It included the full 1549 Communion Service, as well as the so-called Interim Rite in which the Prayer of Oblation is placed immediately after the Consecration. Dalby says it was the first full missal to do so.⁴⁹⁴ *The Anglican Missal*, whilst in its overall format and typesetting is substantially inferior to *The English Missal*, was beautifully adorned with illustrations by Martin Travers. These illustrations are reproduced throughout *Divine Worship: The Missal* and *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*.

Whilst only the 1662 Prayer Book was legally able to be used within the Church of England, the existence of the earlier altar companions, later evolving into altar missals demonstrates a broad variety of lived practice. In some cases, what the congregation observed may appear to be, more or less, the Prayer Book Communion Service. In others, it may resemble a

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. [Henry William Gordon KENRICK], *Missale Anglicanum. The English Missal*, London 52001 [2001 reissue of the 1958 fifth edition].

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. *The English Ritual. The Book of Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church in England, Wales and Scotland, together with the Form and Manner of Blessing Certain Persons and Things and with Sundry Prayers and Devotions*, London 1944.

⁴⁹¹ *The Anglican Missal containing The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion commonly called The Mass together with Propers of the Season and of The Saints, Customary to be used in Churches and also the Forms of Prayer necessary for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion set out in the order of the first English Liturgy of 1549*, London 1939. This is the 1939 edition, from the author's library and all subsequent references are to this edition.

⁴⁹² Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 23.

⁴⁹³ Mark DALBY, *Anglican Missals*, in: *The Church Quarterly Review* 168 (1967) 204–215, here: 212.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. DALBY, *Anglican Missals and their Canons*, 24.

Catholic Mass rather than a reformed liturgy.⁴⁹⁵ In the post Vatican II years, it was not uncommon to hear the claim that Anglo-Catholic worship was “more Catholic than the Catholics”. One example of the extent that the compilers of the later altar books would go to in replicating Roman worship in an English context is *The Order For Holy Week*⁴⁹⁶, first published in 1957 by Church Literature Association. This was an English adaptation of the 1955 revised Holy Week liturgies, as found in *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus*.⁴⁹⁷ A side-by-side comparison of the two orders confirms that *The Order for Holy Week* is for the most part a close translation of the ceremonies of Roman order, even faithfully translating the rubrics. However, the Ordinal provides various options for celebrating the Mass, depending on how closely the celebrant wished to observe the Roman Use or English Use and how much Latin he wished to use in the canon. Unsurprisingly, the Chrism Mass is omitted. The compilers have clearly sought to be faithful as possible to the sources they have adopted, but have also adapted to the English Use where they have considered necessary and added in material from the Prayer Book.

To give some sense as to how much these kinds of books were used in the actual celebration of Mass, this author’s copies of *The English Missal*, *The Anglican Missal*, and *Order for Holy Week* all exhibit evidence of use, including hand “corrections” made by previous owners. Another example is *Notes on Ceremonial*.⁴⁹⁸ The third edition in the author’s library includes the Roman Canon around the Prayer Book Canon. In this copy, thumb tabs have been inserted by a previous owner for the pages of the canon. Ironically, the bookseller description noted: “Eucharist section heavily thumbbed”. Clearly this copy has been heavily used by a previous owner for the celebration of the Eucharist. This author’s copy of *The Anglican Missal* was presented to Father Gordon Guy in 1957 by the Yelarbon Women’s Guild. Yelarbon is a tiny town of a few hundred people in remote south-western Queensland, Australia.

In England, John Hunwicke says, “Go into any Anglo-Catholic sacristy in England and, gathering dust on some top shelf, you will find *The English Missal Missale Anglicanum*. And

⁴⁹⁵ Michael YELTON, *Anglican Papalism. A History: 1900–1960*, Norwich 2005, 9.

⁴⁹⁶ *The Order for Holy Week*, London ²1965 [This is the 1965 edition, from the author’s library and all subsequent references are to this edition].

⁴⁹⁷ *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus*, Vatican City 1956.

⁴⁹⁸ *Notes on Ceremonial from the Antient English Office Books with the Order of the Holy Communion and Ritual Directions for Choral and Plain Celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, Solemn Evensong, and Funerals*, London ³1888.

probably more than one copy in more than one edition.”⁴⁹⁹ Hunwicke gives a good overview of how *The English Missal* was used liturgically in England, and how its use was received by the laity and the hierarchy.

Even to the present day, anyone who considers himself a *real* Anglo-Catholic with an interest in liturgy will own a copy of *Ritual Notes*⁵⁰⁰. *Ritual Notes* was essentially the Anglo-Catholic equivalent of Adrian Fortescue’s *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*.⁵⁰¹ *Ritual Notes* provided everything required for the celebration of the liturgy according to the Roman Rite that was not included elsewhere, including description of church layout, altar, altar linen, brass and plate, ritual actions, and a full directory of ceremonial for the liturgies of the English church. Armed with, for example, *The English Missal*, *The English Ritual*, and *Ritual Notes*, it was possible to celebrate fully any ceremony that a Catholic priest could, albeit in an English context, and in Prayer Book English.⁵⁰²

Two final examples demonstrate the broad desire amongst Anglican priests for the Roman Liturgies to be adapted to the English Use. *The Anglican Breviary*⁵⁰³ is an American publication based on the 1911 revised Latin Breviary and was first published in 1916, with the final edition in 1955, which continues to be reprinted. It made use of the Prayer Book Psalter, Prayer Book Collects and Canticles, and for Scripture readings, the *Authorised Version*. Winfred Douglas’ *Monastic Diurnal*⁵⁰⁴ brought the day hours of the Benedictine Office into Prayer Book English, whilst also providing the relevant Prayer Book collects and sundry matter.

⁴⁹⁹ John HUNWICKE, *The English Missal* [5-part series], in: Fr Hunwicke’s *Mutual Enrichment*. URLs: <http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.com/2015/06/the-english-missal-1.html>, <http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.com/2015/06/the-english-missal-2.html>, <http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.com/2015/07/the-english-missal-3.html>, <http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.com/2015/07/the-english-missal-4.html>, <http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.com/2015/07/the-english-missal-5.html> [accessed: 3 March 2021].

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. *Ritual Notes. A Complete Guide to the Rites and Ceremonies of the English Church*, London 1926. This is the seventh edition, from the author’s library.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. Adrian FORTESCUE, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*, London 1918. Interestingly, whilst in Catholic circles Fortescue is widely regarded as *the* authoritative reference on the pre-conciliar ceremonies of the Roman Rite, *Ritual Notes* pre-dates it. *Ritual Notes Part I* was first published in 1890, however *Part II* was never published. The first complete edition was published in 1894.

⁵⁰² There were various other publications that attempted to do similar things to *Ritual Notes*, however certainly in Anglo-Catholic circles it was *Ritual Notes* that was considered to be authoritative.

⁵⁰³ Cf. *The Anglican Breviary containing The Divine Office according to the general usages of the Western Church put into English in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer*, Long Island, 1955. This is the 1998 reprint of the 1955 edition from the author’s library.

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. Winfred DOUGLAS, *The Monastic Diurnal or Day Hours of the Monastic Breviary According to the Holy Rule of Saint Benedict with Additional Rubrics and Devotions for its Recitation in Accordance with the Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford 1963.

It is the widespread use of the unofficial altar books, especially *The English Missal* and *The Anglican Missal*, that belies the impression that they were no more than an exercise in popish liturgical esoterica. They *were* widespread, and even today original editions of *The English Missal* are highly collectable.⁵⁰⁵ It is precisely because of their broad use, especially in Anglo-Catholic parishes, that they are of interest in a consideration of liturgical language. Furthermore, these works are relatively recent examples of the studied adaption and emulation of Prayer Book English in translating Latin texts. As noted earlier, this is why the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group used these altar books, especially *The English Missal* and *The Anglican Missal*,⁵⁰⁶ as primary sources, because they constitute part of the genuine patrimony and liturgical distinctiveness of those seeking to become Catholic through the Ordinariates.

In terms of language, these books, especially the later complete missals, are the first broad ecclesial use of many of the texts of the Latin Rite in the vernacular. To put it another way, the texts of the Latin Rite were first translated into English and broadly used within the Anglican Church. The Prayer Book included only Collects, Epistles and Gospels. Therefore, if one wanted to celebrate a liturgy using all of the Mass propers, then Introit, Offertory Sentence, Secret, Communion Sentence and Postcommunion Prayer would need to be provided, not forgetting also Graduals and Tracts; and indeed, these were provided. Likewise, as we have seen, the Canon of the Mass was also translated. In producing *Divine Worship: The Missal*, the role of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group was not to invent a new *faux* patrimony through the composing of new texts, but to wherever possible use existing texts. That is, the principle is that the liturgical texts of *Divine Worship* are wherever possible *received* texts. Thus, in terms of the Roman Canon, this canon is of course *the* canon of the Roman Church, not in terms of being the only canon, but being the one that is in the first place. This is the same reason why silent recitation of the Roman Canon by Anglo-Catholic priests was so common. It is highly significant to recognise that the Roman Canon in English was used in the celebration of Mass within the Anglican Church for around a century before it was commonly used in English within the Catholic Church. For this reason,

⁵⁰⁵ In the final stages of editing this dissertation, the author located and purchased a first edition *English Missal* on eBay.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Andrew BURNHAM, *Divine Worship: The Missal* and ‘the Liturgical Books Proper to the Anglican Tradition’ (*Anglicanorum Coetibus*, Art. III), in: Uwe Michael LANG (ed.), *Authentic Liturgical Renewal in Contemporary Perspective. Proceedings of the Sacra Liturgia Conference held in London 5–8 July 2016*, London 2017, 155–170, here: 162–164.

not only the texts themselves are important, but their translations as examples of sacral English are an especially important and treasured part of the Anglican patrimony.

As one would expect, the translations vary from one Altar Book to the next. There is an apocryphal story that it was Miles Coverdale who first translated the Roman Canon into English. There is, however, little positive evidence that this is the case. One example is *The Little Missal for the Laity*,⁵⁰⁷ published in 1916. The title page notes “the Translation of the Canon Being That of Bishop Miles Coverdale”.⁵⁰⁸ Dalby does not mention *The Little Missal* at all in his work, and little has been found elsewhere about it. It was printed by the De La More Press in London, which also printed a number of other liturgical supplements.

The translation of the canon found within *The English Missal* is sometimes called “Coverdale’s translation”.⁵⁰⁹ There are a few problems with this. Firstly, a comparison between the translation of the canon in *The English Missal* and *The Little Missal for the Laity* indicates they are substantially different, and therefore cannot both be “Coverdale’s translation”. Secondly, a comparison between the Canon of the Mass in the first edition and fourth edition of *The English Missal* reveals that the later edition has significant differences. As the translation of the canon varies from edition to edition, it is certainly impossible for *all* of them to be “Coverdale’s translation.”

Clint Brand in correspondence with this author indicated the possible origins of this “legend”:

There is in a 1684 edition of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs (Acts and Monuments) a rough English rendering of the Roman Canon ascribed to Coverdale, a questionable claim in itself, included in order to illustrate the Popish abomination of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Years ago, I tracked down this edition of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and checked out this ‘Englishing’ of the Roman Canon, supposedly from the pen of Coverdale. As I recall, it was a crude translation and bears only the most superficial resemblances to the translation in the ‘Knott Missal.’⁵¹⁰

The relevant passage was located in the 1563 edition, in a section entitled “The Abominable Blasphemy of the Mass” within “The Tenth Book. The Beginning of the Reign of Queen Mary.”⁵¹¹ It is well known that in the sixteenth century many experimental texts were

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. *The Little Missal for the Laity*, London [1916].

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, [Title page].

⁵⁰⁹ This attribution is specifically noted in the 2001 reprint of the 1958 version of *The English Missal*. Cf. *The English Missal* (2001), vii f. See also SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 278.

⁵¹⁰ Clinton Allen BRAND, *Roman Canon in English*, email to the author from 18 June 2020, Houston/TX. See also Burnham’s comment, “we have an English version of the Roman Canon from the time, though it is probably not, as sometimes thought, a version translated by Miles Coverdale”. Andrew BURNHAM, *Heaven and Earth in Little Space. The Re-enchantment of Liturgy*, Norwich 2010, 14.

⁵¹¹ John FOXE, *Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church*, vol. 9. *The Reign of Queen Mary I. – Part I*, 1563, p. 10–18 URL: <https://www.exclassics.com/foxe/foxe9pdf.pdf> [accessed: 3 March 2021].

produced in anticipation of liturgical change. It would not be surprising to discover or unreasonable to postulate that Coverdale had indeed created an English translation of the authorised liturgy within the Church of England at the time. Cranmer himself, after all, had also produced various experimental liturgical texts. There is, however, no way to know for certain just who is the author of the translation in Foxe ascribed to Coverdale. Foxe's narrative is known for polemical embellishment.

An examination of this translation indicates that it is substantially different to that of the *English Missal*. Coverdale may well have been the first to translate the Roman Canon into English. It has, however, become fashionable in some circles to claim his authorship for just about any sacral English translation of the canon without any evidence whatsoever. One must admit, calling a canon the "Coverdale Canon" has a certain romantic appeal, even if it is but a fantasy. As Brand opines, "I really do think calling the English Missal translation of the Roman Canon 'the Coverdale Canon' is a complete misnomer and a mistaken fantasy that's gotten passed around without any effort at confirmation."⁵¹² Kenrick himself notes in his handwritten letter gifting his manuscript *English Missal* to the Pusey House Library that it was "translated into English"⁵¹³ in the process of creating the first edition of *The English Missal*. It really does seem quite unbelievable that Kenrick, or any other Ritualistic priest for that matter, would have "borrowed" a translation of the canon from Foxe. The facing page of the first edition of *The English Missal* expresses thanks from the compiler (Father Kenrick) and acknowledges various sources for English translations of Latin texts.⁵¹⁴ There is no acknowledgment regarding a source for the Canon of the Mass. While we cannot know for certain the ultimate origins of the English translation of the Canon of the Mass within

⁵¹² BRAND, Roman Canon in English. Perhaps adding fuel to this particular legend is the most readily available version of the *English Missal*, the 2001 Canterbury Press reissue of the 1958 5th edition. The fore matter to the reissue (not present in the 1958 edition) includes the canon of the Mass, with a subheading "A translation attributed to Miles Coverdale". Anyone casually and uncritically observing this material would be likely to take it at face value and presume that the canon that follows is indeed authored by Coverdale. However, an examination of this canon reveals that it is identical to the canon of the *English Missal*, and is significantly different to the canon attributed to Coverdale by Foxe. Cf. *The English Missal* (2001), vii f.

⁵¹³ [KENRICK] *English Missal* (1906) [Accompanying Letter, Reproduced with permission of the Principal and Chapter of Pusey House].

⁵¹⁴ "The compiler desires to thank the Proprietors of the 'English Hymnal' and the 'New Office Hymn Book' for permission to reprint their translations of the Sequences; and Messrs. R. & T. Washbourne for the use of many of their translations of the Collects, Secrets, and Post-communions, and the Holy Saturday service. Also the translator of the Friday Feasts of the Passion; the Compiler of the 'Day Office of the Church' for his translation of the Order of Blessing of Holy Water; and the Proprietors of the 'Order of Divine Service' for translations of the Candlemas, Ash-Wednesday and Psalm-Sunday service." [KENRICK] *English Missal* (1912), facing page.

The English Missal, it would seem reasonable to acknowledge Father Kenrick as being responsible for it even if he did not actually translate it himself.

2.1.2.9 *The Anglo-Catholic Prayer Books*

During the Anglo-Catholic revival, there was a huge outpouring of devotional material intended for the edification of the faithful. Many of these were intended as didactic aids to teach the Catholic Faith as expounded by the Anglo-Catholics. Some of them were based upon the appeal to Tradition which was such a central platform of Anglo-Catholic belief. The Anglo-Catholics were not afraid to re-appropriate something to their purposes if they thought it expedient to do so. One example is *The Preces Privatae of Lancelot Andrewes*. Andrewes, who had a leading role in the production of the *Authorised Version* of the Bible, had died in 1626. Andrewes was a High Churchman, so it is not surprising that his *Preces* were embraced in the nineteenth century, with the great Anglo-Catholic scholar Frank E. Brightman's 1903 translation⁵¹⁵ being the most famous. An edited version of selections was published in 1908.

In 1881 William Walsham How, who wrote the hymn *For All the Saints*, published a communion companion: *Holy Communion, Preparation and Companion*.⁵¹⁶ It was immensely popular, demonstrating the strong demand for such publications.⁵¹⁷

The first half of the twentieth century coincided with the peak of the Anglo-Catholic revival. During this period, a plethora of material was published. *A Manual of Catholic Devotion*⁵¹⁸ was greatly popular and is representative of the material produced. As its preface notes, it hoped to "supply members of the Church of England with a book adequate to their devotional needs."⁵¹⁹ It included a broad range of catholic devotions, including the seven daily offices, as well as the entire proper for the Mass, drawn from *The Anglican Missal*.⁵²⁰ The wide popularity of the "MCD", as it was affectionately known, demonstrates again that catholic devotion and liturgy was not the theoretical fantasy of a few rebellious papists, but was broadly used throughout Anglicanism. Further examples can be seen in the following titles

⁵¹⁵ Cf. Frank E. BRIGHTMAN (ed.), *The Preces Privatae of Lancelot Andrewes*, London 1903.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. W[illiam] Walsham HOW, *Holy Communion, Preparation and Companion*, London 1881.

⁵¹⁷ This author owns three copies, all found at the local book "jumble sale". It is amongst the most common of this type of book seen at the sales. The 1917 edition in the author's library states it is the 1630th Thousand printing. It was published at least until the 1950s.

⁵¹⁸ Cf. *A Manual of Catholic Devotion*, London 1957. This is the fourth edition from the author's library and all subsequent references are to this edition.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

found in this author's library: *The Christian Way. A Simple Guide to Doctrine, Devotion and Duty*⁵²¹, *The Fatherhood of God. A Series of Simple Instructions Arranged for Use During the Forty Days of Lent*⁵²², *Before the Throne. A Manual of Private Devotion*⁵²³, *Helps to Worship. A Manual for Holy Communion and Daily Prayer*⁵²⁴, *The Christian's Handy Book of Prayer*⁵²⁵, *In His Presence. A Prayer Book and Guide to Confirmation, Communion and Church Teaching*⁵²⁶, *A Communicant's Manual*⁵²⁷, and *The Priest's Book of Private Devotion*⁵²⁸. The aforementioned titles were generally found in Commonwealth countries. *Saint Augustine's Prayer Book*⁵²⁹ is an example of a popular devotional prayer book intended for Episcopalians.

The *Centenary Prayer Book*⁵³⁰ was published to commemorate the centenary of the Oxford Movement. Its content is what one would expect to find in a Catholic prayer book, except that it is in English, and it is intended for Anglo-Catholics within the Church of England. It included the 1549 Communion Service, as well as 1662, with the option for the so-called Interim Rite. It included many litanies and private devotions, including the Rosary, Way of the Cross, Penance, order for Benediction, Visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and many others. *The English Catholic Prayer Book*⁵³¹ is identical to the *Centenary Prayer Book* and printed by the same printer, except no date is given and it was printed for the Faith Press rather than Church Literature Association. The *Anglo-Catholic Prayer Book*⁵³² was similar in content and format to the *Centenary Prayer Book*. It had the *English Hymnal* bound with it.

⁵²¹ Cf. Vernon STALEY, *The Christian Way. A Simple Guide to Doctrine, Devotion, & Duty*. London 1909 [Reprint: 1920].

⁵²² Cf. Vernon STALEY, *The Fatherhood of God. A Series of Simple Instructions Arranged for Use During the Forty Days of Lent*. Oxford 1905.

⁵²³ Cf. William BELLARS, *Before the Throne. A Manual of Private Devotion*, London ²⁰1914.

⁵²⁴ Cf. Charles BOYD – Meara H. G. MEARA, *Helps to Worship. A Manual for Holy Communion and Daily Prayer*, London 1909.

⁵²⁵ [W. B. TREVELYAN et al. (eds.)], *The Christian's Handy Book of Prayer*. London ³⁴1927.

⁵²⁶ Cf. Denis E. TAYLOR (ed.), *In His Presence. A Prayer Book and Guide to Confirmation, Communion and Church Teaching*, Oxford ¹¹1967.

⁵²⁷ Cf. Berkeley W. RANDOLPH (ed.), *A Communicant's Manual*, London Revised Edition 1965; First published 1917.

⁵²⁸ Cf. John. STOBART et al. (eds.), *The Priest's Book of Private Devotion*. New and Revised Edition. London 1960; First published 1878.

⁵²⁹ Cf. Loren GAVITT (ed.), *Saint Augustine's Prayer Book. A Book of Devotion for members of the Episcopal Church*, New York Revised Edition 1967; First published 1947.

⁵³⁰ Cf. *Centenary Prayer Book*, London 1933.

⁵³¹ Cf. *The English Catholic Prayer Book*, London n.d.

⁵³² Cf. *Anglo-Catholic Prayer Book*, London 1944.

These titles are highly significant because they became for the laity their personal companions of faith and private devotion. They took the place of the primers that had been so important in medieval English piety. The faithful lived and breathed their faith through these books. Their prayers were expressed through and by them, in Prayer Book English.

Whilst these prayer books in time became old fashioned and fell out of favour, there were nonetheless various attempts to create modern prayer books in the same spirit. One example is *A Pocket Manual of Anglo-Catholic Devotion*⁵³³, compiled by *Anglicanae Traditiones* member Andrew Burnham. The new publications have, however, tended to embrace modern English and have therefore lacked a certain resonance to the ear found in the older devotional books.

The literary and devotional beauty of the Anglo-Catholic prayer books and the lack of a modern equivalent led to there being a perceived need to create a “modern” book of devotions in the spirit of the Anglo-Catholic Prayer Books. It was in response to this need that the *St. Gregory’s Prayer Book. A Primer of Catholic Devotions from the English Patrimony*⁵³⁴ was created as a joint venture between the three Ordinariates and the *Anglicanorum Coetibus* Society. As a constituent part of the language of *Divine Worship*, this book will be discussed later.

2.1.3 The Language of the Book of Common Prayer

Consideration is now given specifically to the language style within the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Prayer Book was not the first stage in the development of the sacralising of the English tongue; however, it was a stage of that process that fundamentally differed from those that had come before. As Stella Brook says, the Prayer Book was “a first attempt to adapt the English language to the special needs of formal liturgical style.”⁵³⁵ Nonetheless, the contributions of Tyndale, Coverdale and others who came before Cranmer should not be downplayed. Acknowledgement must be made of the very different kind of work undertaken by the editors of the English Bible and Cranmer, for Biblical translation into English is one particular genre of sacral vernacular. The starting point of a Biblical editor is an inspired text to which the editor must be faithful. The work of the editor must always be held in reference to the original text. Moreover, whilst the Bible is used *in* liturgy, it is not a liturgical text

⁵³³ Cf. Andrew BURNHAM (ed.), *A Pocket Manual of Anglo-Catholic Devotion*, Norwich 2004.

⁵³⁴ Cf. Clinton Allen BRAND (ed.), *St. Gregory’s Prayer Book. A Primer of Catholic Devotions from the English Patrimony*, San Francisco 2019.

⁵³⁵ Stella BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, London 1965, 91.

per se. Cranmer, on the other hand, had a much broader freedom in his work in constructing the Prayer Book.

In composing a new English liturgy, Cranmer was not tied to a single definitive source text. Indeed, the purpose of the exercise was, in part, to break with the previous source text, being the Latin Sarum Mass. Essentially, he only needed to produce something that was identifiable as being Christian worship. Cranmer could appropriate for himself whatever sources he wished and, if necessary, adapt them to his own purposes. Influence from Continental sources upon Cranmer is well known. If something new was required, he could compose it.

For Biblical sources, the *Great Bible* was the Englished Bible of Cranmer's time. Thus, the English Liturgy of 1549 is the coming together of the three greatest contributors to the English Language of the sixteenth century, being the *Great Bible* (essentially Tyndale and Coverdale) and Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*. As Timothy Rosendale says, "The language of Thomas Cranmer [...] along with that of William Tyndale and his successors in Bible translation, formed the twin textual and linguistic pillars of religious Englishness."⁵³⁶ In the language of the English church, nothing would approach Tyndale, Coverdale and Cranmer until the 1611 *Authorised Version* of the Bible – but even then, the *Authorised Version* owes its parentage to Tyndale.

When considering Prayer Book English as a genre, just what is meant? According to Brand, Prayer Book English has the ability to bridge

time and eternity, earth and heaven, sin and grace, the here-and-now with salvation history, while connecting, as well, the homely and the supernal, and linking the earthy coziness of simple English words with the lofty abstractions of Latin theology.⁵³⁷

Prayer Book English is precisely what it says it is – it is the genre of prayer, the expressions of the human heart, the desiring of man to pour out the depths of his being before his creator, in his own language. Yet also it is a language that by its style, not only in *what* it says, but in *how* it says it, he whose heart speaks in Prayer Book English immediately knows that he is communicating on a higher plane, not on the everyday plane of the here and now, but is reaching into eternity, is reaching into God's world, is seeking to project his heart to where God is. As the words pass through his intellect, subtle clues constantly remind the inner "I" that this communication is a conversation with the Almighty. The use of archaisms brings a timelessness not found in vulgar speech. The ordering of the words and phrases indicate an

⁵³⁶ ROSENDALE, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*, 8.

⁵³⁷ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 150.

“otherness” likewise not found in everyday speech. Yet, despite the “otherness” of Prayer Book English, it holds a nearness, a familiarity. The language does not distract and yell “look at me”, but rather flows like a stream, like an outpouring of human consciousness.

Within the Prayer Book itself, there are various types of writing. These are Scripture translations where Scripture passages are used in the Prayer Book, accompanying matter such as the rubrics, Preface, Articles and so on, and the actual words of the liturgy.⁵³⁸

2.1.3.1 Prose and the Prayer Book

In developing a sacral vernacular, Cranmer was faced with similar challenges to Tyndale. At that time, the English language was highly in flux. This can clearly be seen by the broad variety in spelling in the sixteenth century. Tyndale had needed in many senses to invent English prose – not Latin sentences with English words, but the “proper English” of a true native English idiom. Cranmer too would need to make his own contribution to developing a truly English prose. However, the creation of this new language was not intended simply to be a new secular language, but precisely to be a new sacred language, a sacred vernacular.

A sacred diction had to a large extent to be created. The Primers and other popular forms of devotion had, to be sure, done something. But in the main it is to Coverdale’s [Great] Bible and the Prayer Books of Cranmer and his colleagues that we are indebted for the language, so apt, so stately, so tender and winning, in which religious thought and feeling has been wont to find utterance⁵³⁹.

It wasn’t that English material didn’t exist. However, the material that did exist had not yet developed a true English idiom of its own. Speaking of the material of the time, Stanwood says, “primers and instructional books are often quite wordy, the language cumbersome and awkward, the translations unused to English syntax and rhythm.”⁵⁴⁰

Sometimes it is suggested that, as the Prayer Book was written in the great age of English prose, it was almost inevitable that the Prayer Book would become an English classic. Yet this seems somewhat like saying that because The Beatles and The Rolling Stones wrote their songs in the golden age of Rock-n-Roll it was inevitable they would become smash hits. Ian Robinson counters by pointing out that “before the 1540s there was no English prose at all!”⁵⁴¹ It may seem surprising that English prose took so long to develop. As we

⁵³⁸ Cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 121.

⁵³⁹ DOWDEN, *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, 165 f; cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 16.

⁵⁴⁰ STANWOOD, *Prayer Book as Literature*, 142.

⁵⁴¹ Ian ROBINSON, *The Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, in: Prudence DAILEY (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: Past, Present & Future*, London 2011, 70–81, here: 70. Elsewhere Robinson points out that some of the worst English prose ever written is also found in the sixteenth century. See Ian

have seen, prior to the Reformation verse and poetry were fundamental to the prayers of the laity. The reaction to Lollardy had prevented the translation of Scripture into English. Publications such as the *Lay Folks Mass Book* were representative of popular piety.⁵⁴² The Reformation brought about a fundamental change in didactics, away from the mysterious and figural of the Latin Mass to the pithy matter-of-factness of the public worship of the Prayer Book. The prayers of the people were no longer to be uttered in verse in the walls of one's own home, but to be proclaimed in the worship of the Church.⁵⁴³

It is important here to remember just what it was that Cranmer was doing in inventing English prose. Prose does not simply mean everything that isn't verse. Robinson defines prose as "the ordinary non-verse form of the written language, in which thoughts are expressed in grammatically well-formed, often complex sentences."⁵⁴⁴ Modern prose takes syntax for granted. Indeed, without it, many sentences become incomprehensible or their meaning is changed. It was Cranmer who for the first time infused the properties of syntax into English prose.⁵⁴⁵ Prior to Cranmer, prose was still verse-like with punctuation ordered to metrical boundaries rather than syntax.⁵⁴⁶

In the medieval period, there was no "conception of the sentence as a syntactic unit."⁵⁴⁷ Punctuation was always metrical, never syntactical. In a pre-printing age, most people did not have access to printed matter – the written text was therefore not ordered towards reading, but speaking, and the punctuation was intended to convey not meaning, but directions on the speaking. The meaning was conveyed not in the reading of the text, but in the speaking of it.⁵⁴⁸ This is fundamentally seen in the use of virgules, a vertical line in the text intended to mean a break. A virgule looks like this: | . Virgules literally are a speaking directive. However, the use of virgules began to shift with the English Bibles. Tyndale retained the full use of virgules, as did the *Matthew Bible*. However, Coverdale's first English Bible dispensed with them. The *Great Bible* would make only the occasional use of

ROBINSON, *The Establishment of Modern English Prose in the Reformation and the Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1998, 105.

⁵⁴² Cf. TARGOFF, *Common Prayer*, 57, 60.

⁵⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁴⁴ ROBINSON, *Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, 70.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁴⁷ ROBINSON, *Establishment of Modern English Prose*, 13.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 20; BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 68 f.

virgules.⁵⁴⁹ With the gradual embracing of Roman text rather than Gothic, and the rejection of virgules in lieu of syntactic sentences, English slowly but surely took on a modern look. Whilst consensus on punctuation would not come for a century, the Prayer Book from its first 1549 edition rejected virgules in favour of modern commas, colons, and full stops.⁵⁵⁰ Robinson notes that prose is not metrical, but it has number and rhythm.⁵⁵¹ Robinson continues: “Rhythm is whatever forms a whole out of parts”⁵⁵²; and,

In English, the rhythms of sound are made out of patterns of stress. Stress may be absolute but is always comparative. Accentual-syllabic verse, the ordinary verse of modern English, makes lines by the repetition and variation of certain patterns of comparative stress, called the metre.⁵⁵³

Perhaps one of the most memorable parts of the Prayer Book is the *Gloria*. As Robinson notes, “The Gloria in Excelsis could easily have been a disaster, as this kind of rhythmic prose writing must be if not closely governed by a sense of what needs saying, by a confident sense of English prose, and by a fine ear.”⁵⁵⁴ The idiom of the Latin *Gloria* is clearly fundamentally different to the English version. “The Latin original has a quite different rhythm and internal rhyme, though constructed on similar principles. This is a good example of Cranmer’s confident naturalizing of a Latin rhythmic movement into English idiom.”⁵⁵⁵ Robinson proceeds to describe how Cranmer linguistically builds a crescendo in the Gloria using beat and rhythm:

We wor - ship thee
 One two three

We glor - i - fy thee
 One two three four

We give thanks to thee for thy great glor - y
 One two three four **five** six **seven** eight⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁴⁹ ROBINSON, Establishment of Modern English Prose, 78 f.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 88.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 45.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 83 f. The diagram is mine.

2.1.3.2 *Some Particular Properties*

Turning to some particular properties of Prayer Book English, firstly is repetition. This is a favourite technique of Cranmer's.⁵⁵⁷ In this technique, a single Latin word is translated into one or more English words. In new composition, if one word can be used, two or more are used. Perhaps the greatest example is found in the Collect of the Fourth Sunday of Advent, "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest". Clearly this could have been said in a much more concise manner, but to do so would lose the literary impact of this fourfold repetition. Doublets are much more common: "malice and wickedness" (Easter Day 2nd communion), "heart and mind" (19th Sunday after Trinity), "direct and rule" (20th Sunday after Trinity), "refuge and strength" (23rd Sunday after Trinity). Another property is alliteration, which is commonly used with repetition.⁵⁵⁸

Rhythm is critical to the entire movement of Prayer Book English, and is discussed in more detail elsewhere in this dissertation.⁵⁵⁹ Rhythm is the difference between stilted, disconnected phrases and an English that naturally flows off the tongue from idea to idea. The tongue literally becomes the modulator of ideas. C. S. Lewis describes a sentence as a "succession of peaks and valleys, the peaks being those syllables on which (at least) there is a full accent."⁵⁶⁰ Lewis notes as characteristic of the Prayer Book "strongly supported rhythm", being where "the peaks come close together and the valleys are short."⁵⁶¹

Brand notes some stylistic qualities of Prayer Book English – "dignity, sobriety, sonority, and balance, the Prayer Book's sentences are famous for exhibiting the quality that C. S. Lewis called 'pithiness.'"⁵⁶² Brand continues, "this special dialect takes voice in rich periodic sentences, built on patterns of subordination (with many relative clauses) and coordination (with frequent use of synonymous constructions and parataxis in doublets and

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. ROBINSON, *Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, 76; James A. DEVEREUX, *The Collects of the First Book of Common Prayer as Works of Translation*, in: *Studies in Philology* 66/5 (1969) 719–738, here: 724 f.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. ROBINSON, *Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, 76.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 76 f. For further discussion on rhythm, see the preceding section on the Language of the Authorised Version.

⁵⁶⁰ Clive S. LEWIS, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century. Excluding Drama*, New York 1954, 219.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁵⁶² BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 149. Brand's reference is to LEWIS, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, 217–220.

triplets).”⁵⁶³ Brook points out that many of the distinctive characteristics of the Prayer Book find their origins in Old English.⁵⁶⁴

In terms of linguistic style, the 1549 Prayer Book has a certain finality about it and was formative for future editions of the Prayer Book.⁵⁶⁵ In the subsequent revisions up to 1662, the style of language of the Prayer Book is consistent. The changes in later revisions from 1549 were concerned with theology. In 1549 the template for Prayer Book English was certainly set.

The Prayer Book joined the *Great Bible* in a tendency to archaism. To modern ears, this may seem like a case of a changing use of language. To an extent this is true, but, as was the case with the English Bible, sacral vernacular embraced elements of English that were falling out of use so as to separate itself from vulgar language. The use of *thou* and *thee* is the most obvious example. Yet even through the revisions of the Prayer Book, this tendency is in some senses strengthened. For example, the 1662 revision, whilst modernising some obsolete expressions whose meaning had changed, the use of *ye* was greatly increased as compared to 1549.⁵⁶⁶

It is interesting to note in 1662, with the Prayer Book already over one hundred years old, the deliberate archaism of the revisers:

[W]hile the 1662 revisers made some changes in favour of clarity for their ‘modern’ readers, they were linguistically conservative in other respects, including orthography. They wished to make the text correspond to an idea of inherited tradition, and therefore used black-letter (or ‘gothic’) founts, by now decidedly out of date.⁵⁶⁷

2.1.3.3 *The Psalter*

Perhaps the most loved and memorable part of the Prayer Book is technically not a part of the Prayer Book, and neither was it penned by Cranmer. The Psalter is of course central to Christian prayer, and despite many attempts, nothing has ever surpassed Coverdale’s rendering. In the earlier Prayer Books, the Psalter was not included. It was not until 1662 that the Psalter was included as standard with the Prayer Book. So ingrained was Coverdale’s rendering of the Psalms into the English prayer-memory that Coverdale’s Psalter saw many newer translations come and go, as the Coverdale Psalter continued to be used in the Prayer Book. As Brook says, “the decision to retain the older version of the Psalter in the 1662

⁵⁶³ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 149.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 64.

⁵⁶⁵ STANWOOD, *Prayer Book as Literature*, 142.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 54–56.

⁵⁶⁷ CUMMINGS, *Texts*, lvii.

Book of Common Prayer can be regarded as a profession of stylistic faith on the part of the revisers, and it is a decision which one may welcome.”⁵⁶⁸ The Prayer Book Psalter is not *identical* to any Psalter from the Great Bible.⁵⁶⁹

Perhaps the reason why Coverdale’s efforts with the Psalter stand above his renderings of the rest of the Bible is precisely that the Psalter is poetry, not prose. A translation of poetry, by its very nature if it is to work, requires a translation not just of words, but of rhythm, of rhyme, of image and of heart. It must permeate all the dimensions of the human person. Coverdale’s Psalter does this in a timeless way. Even its glaring inaccuracies and downright mistakes nonetheless contribute to the fondness and affection held even today for Coverdale’s Psalter. As Dowden observes,

In the Prayer Book Psalter we possess a noble monument of a diction characterised by an archaic stateliness, yet possessed withal of a singular freedom of movement. It abounds in happy turns of expression, and furnishes not a few examples of the tenderest grace and most delicate beauty.⁵⁷⁰

An especially notable aspect of Coverdale’s English Psalter is that it is a rendering, a re-imagining, a reimagining of Hebrew poetry into one of the greatest works of the English language. Furthermore, this reimagining of the Psalter would not be permitted under a strict interpretation of the principles of translation as codified in the instruction *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001).

2.1.3.4 *The Collects*

The Collects are amongst the most famous and loved parts of the Prayer Book. Whilst it is not clear as to just exactly how much of the Prayer Book was written by Cranmer himself, it is generally accepted that the Collects are his. Robinson showers high praise upon them, saying, “Modern English prose was invented when Archbishop Cranmer worked out how to compose Collects.”⁵⁷¹

The Collects are perhaps the greatest examples of English idiom in English liturgy. Those that are based upon the Latin Sarum Collects are not word for word translations – that is, they are not Latin Collects in English. They are true constructs of the English language – sensible and intelligible to the hearer who thinks only in English.⁵⁷² As MacCulloch says,

⁵⁶⁸ BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 119.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 148–150.

⁵⁷⁰ DOWDEN, *Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, 175.

⁵⁷¹ ROBINSON, *Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, 75.

⁵⁷² It should be noted that the Collects of the 2010 translation of the Roman Missal retain their Latin idiom, as required by *Liturgiam Authenticam*.

“these jewelled miniatures are one of the chief glories of the Anglican liturgical tradition, a particularly distinguished development of the genre of brief prayer which is peculiar to the Western Church.”⁵⁷³

In writing the English Collects, Cranmer was able to retain the overall structure of the Latin Collects – a language that is fundamentally and significantly structurally different to English – while utilising English idiom, syntax and rhythm.⁵⁷⁴ Brook gives an example in terms of “word-play”.⁵⁷⁵ Word-play by definition cannot be maintained identically across languages. To attempt to translate a Latin word-play in English would simply not work. However, much of the stateliness of the original can be maintained by introducing word-plays that do work in English.

The Collects generally follow a set structure, being essentially a single sentence consisting of five parts.⁵⁷⁶ First is the Invocation, usually addressed to the Father. Then, is a relative Acknowledgment, which usually mentions some property of God. The Petition follows, which is the actual intent or request of the prayer. The Aspiration is the desired purpose of end of the Petition. The prayer concludes with the Pleading. Sometimes the order of parts is interchanged or even omitted, yet this general schema demonstrates the general structural plan of the Collects.

2.1.3.5 *A Defence of ‘both’*

One Prayer Book Collect is often subjected to ridicule, this being the Second Collect (the Collect for Peace) at Evening Prayer. Its wording, as found in the 1662 Prayer Book, is as follows:

O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed; Give unto thy servants that peace which the world cannot give, that both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments, and also that by thee we being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour.⁵⁷⁷

Apart from the modernisation of the spelling, this Collect is found in identical form in the 1549 Prayer Book except for some variations in punctuation. The phrase in question is “that

⁵⁷³ MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 417.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. ROBINSON, *Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, 75; ROBINSON, *Establishment of Modern English Prose*, 85.

⁵⁷⁵ BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 131; See also Donald GRAY, *Cranmer and the Collects*, in: Andrew W. HASS et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*, Oxford 2007, 561–574, here: 569.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. GRAY, *Cranmer and the Collects*, 564 f.

⁵⁷⁷ CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 256.

both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments”, specifically the word “both”, which is omitted in some forms of the Collect.⁵⁷⁸

Donald Gray harshly characterises this phrase as a “liturgical howler.”⁵⁷⁹ Stella Brook describes this as “thoroughly clumsy syntax”⁵⁸⁰, but she then proceeds to discuss the relationship of the structure of the English Collects to the Latin, comparing the Latin construct *et ... et* to the English *both ... and...*⁵⁸¹ Walter Frere makes a different grammatical point to Brook, as to how in his opinion the phrases should be arranged.⁵⁸² Notably, the two suggestions cannot both be simultaneously reconciled in changes to the text, indicating that a supposed resolution is not as simple as one might first think. As Brook admits, idiom does change, and we should not presume that our way of reading this phrase with modern ears correlates to the sixteenth century ear.⁵⁸³

Gray says, “Cranmer showed no signs of even being aware of the problem.”⁵⁸⁴ Perhaps there is a reason for this. It must be remembered that this Collect is not a new composition of Cranmer’s, being found in the Sarum Breviary⁵⁸⁵, and in English in the primers. That being said, in the forms earlier examined⁵⁸⁶, *both* is absent from the Middle English forms, and the *King’s Primer*, but is present in the 1549 Prayer Book. For a Collect intended to be prayed every day of the year, and given Cranmer’s well known desire to reform the Breviary, it seems difficult to accept that his decision to include *both* in the 1549 Prayer Book version was taken lightly, or is somehow the result of sloppiness.

In defending Cranmer’s inclusion of *both* in the Collect for Peace, it must be stated that there is certainly the rejection of any notion of the imposition of infallibility upon Cranmer – this defence is not made simply because “that’s the way Cranmer wrote it”. Also rejected is the notion that *both* is defended simply because of the familiarity of the text.

⁵⁷⁸ “Both” is present in the 1928 Prayer Book. It is present in the 1637, 1912 and 1929 Scottish Prayer Books. It is omitted in the 1789 Protestant Episcopal Church Prayer Book (first Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church). It is omitted in the 1918 and 1962 Canadian Prayer Books.

⁵⁷⁹ GRAY, Cranmer and the Collects, 571.

⁵⁸⁰ BROOK, Language of the Book of Common Prayer, 135.

⁵⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁵⁸² Cf. Walter Howard FRERE, Collects Good and Bad, in: John H. ARNOLD – Edward G. P. WYATT (eds.), Walter Howard Frere. A Collection of His Papers on Liturgical and Historical Subjects, London 1940, 187–190, here: 187 f. Frere’s suggestion is that “that both” should be changed to “both that”, however doing so would destroy the structure *both... and...* which equates to the Latin structure *et... et...*

⁵⁸³ Cf. BROOK, Language of the Book of Common Prayer, 136.

⁵⁸⁴ GRAY, Cranmer and the Collects, 571.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. BRIGHTMAN, English Rite, vol. 1, 164.

⁵⁸⁶ See page 28.

The premise of this defence is based upon the well-established importance of rhythm in Prayer Book English, and Prayer Book English is fundamentally designed not only to be read but also to be heard. Punctuation conveys some reading directions relating to rhythm. However, punctuation alone does not give complete directions. It must also be remembered that punctuation was very much in a state of flux even in the mid-sixteenth century, often varying between printings and printers. As prayer, liturgical speech should be spoken with a clear diction, and a careful precise rhythm. What should happen and what does happen are not necessarily the same thing. Anything can be rattled off should the speaker so desire. The Collect for Peace is a classic example of prayer that is beautiful if *prayed*, but destroyed when rattled off.

Let us now examine the rhythm of this phrase. To do so, virgules will be used. A double virgule will indicate a pause equivalent to a comma, whilst a single virgule will be half that length. An incorrect rhythm is insensitive to the requirements of rhythm, and literally takes the punctuation as being the only places where any pause whatever is made, as follows:

that both our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments || and also that by thee
 x x x - x x x x x - x x - - x x x x x -

we being defended from the fear of our enemies may pass our time in
 x x- x x x x x - x x x x - x x x x x

rest and quietness
 x x x x -

When spoken this way, there are a number of problems. The most obvious is the one commonly noted, being “that both our hearts.” This rhythm completely changes the meaning of the sentence, now rather comically suggesting that there are only two people at Evensong, as the dual number of “both” has been incorrectly attributed to “hearts”. The second problem is less obvious, but nonetheless real. There is no comma after “thee”, even though it is obvious that “we being defended...” is a relative clause. This clause ends with “our enemies” and again there is no comma before the next clause begins “may pass our time...”⁵⁸⁷ The problem is not so obvious in these last two examples as the long concluding syllables of “thee” and “enemies” substitute in part for a pause. Furthermore, unlike “both our hearts”, clumsy rhythm here does not result in a change in meaning.

⁵⁸⁷ In this last example, the comma is present in 1549 as reproduced in Cummings.

A correct rhythmical interpretation is as follows:

that both | our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments || and also that by thee ||
x x x - x x x x x - x x - - x x x x x -

we being defended from the fear of our enemies || may pass our time in
x x- x x x x x - x x x x - x x x x x

rest and quietness
x x x x -

Correct rhythm demands a half-pause after “both”. This solves the problem with the meaning, whilst correctly retaining the both... and... structure that is lost if “both” is removed. This structure is demonstrated as follows:

that **both**
our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments,
and
also that by thee
we being defended from the fear of our enemies
may pass our time in rest and quietness

Removing “both” fundamentally shifts the rhythm of this part of the Collect, again with two ways of rhythmical interpretation:

that our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments || and also that by thee
x x - x x x x x - x x - - x x x x x -

we being defended from the fear of our enemies may pass our time in
x x- x x x x x - x x x x - x x x x x

rest and quietness
x x x x -

This rhythm results in one feeling like one has stumbled from the beginning, with the rushed “that our hearts”. All of the other rhythmic problems of the first example remain. The only problem that has been solved is the shift in meaning by the incorrect application of “both” to “hearts”.

The second rhythmic interpretation is as follows:

that | our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments || and also that by thee ||
x x - x x x x x - x x - - x x x x x -

we being defended from the fear of our enemies || may pass our time in
x x- x x x x x - x x x x - x x x x x

rest and quietness
x x x x -

This too, is rhythmically problematic. It more clearly delineates the structural parts, but the single staccato “that” feels decidedly unnatural. Instead of confidently concluding the prayer, one feels wrong-footed.

This then, brings us back to Cranmer’s inclusion of “both”, despite strong historical precedent for its omission. When spoken with rhythmic sensitivity, “both”, with its half pause, is the point of balance for the entire second half of the Collect. To remove the pause, or to remove “both”, is to fundamentally throw the second half of the Collect entirely off balance.

2.1.4 Thomas Cranmer as a Writer

Thomas Cranmer is without doubt responsible for crafting the shape of English worship in the sixteenth century. If Cranmer were an interior decorator, he would be able to look at any room and work out exactly what was needed to turn it into a place of beauty and perfection. This is essentially what he did with the English liturgy. Whilst Cranmer made a tremendous contribution to English prose, his strength was not in producing vast volumes of it. He was not like Shakespeare, who could issue forth prose like a spouting faucet. Hilaire Belloc describes Cranmer as a jeweller.⁵⁸⁸ Cranmer sets his task to producing the most perfect of diamonds, finely yet subtly cutting and polishing the base rock, until completely free of spot or blemish.

It is certainly correct to acknowledge Cranmer as responsible for the Prayer Book. How much of it is his own work is more difficult to say with certainty. Cranmer did have a number of assistants.⁵⁸⁹ Nonetheless, one can be confident that the most prized gems of the Prayer

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. Hilaire BELLOC, *Cranmer. Archbishop of Canterbury 1533-1556*, Philadelphia 1931, 41–43.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. ROBINSON, *Establishment of Modern English Prose*, 82.

Book would not exist without Cranmer.⁵⁹⁰ Robinson is of the view that “the probability is that before and after due consultations, Cranmer wrote the 1549 Prayer Book himself.”⁵⁹¹ Furthermore, the Prayer Book is broadly known as “*Cranmer’s Book of Common Prayer*”. Notwithstanding the very real questions of sources and authorship, there seems to be no impetus whatever to ascribe the Prayer Book to Cranmer *et al.*

Cranmer was very good at “appropriating” other people’s work. If he liked a turn of phrase, he would adapt it for his own purposes, even if in its original use its purpose was opposed to Cranmer’s. For example, one memorable text in Cranmer’s preface to his draft breviaries was taken from Quiñones’ own breviaries.⁵⁹² Cranmer, however, completely turned around the meaning of the sentence to support his own Reforming position. As MacCulloch notes: “If he were writing liturgy today, he would face crippling lawsuits for breach of copyright.”⁵⁹³

A foretaste of Cranmer’s future editorial activities dates from 1531. Working for the Royal Court, Cranmer was tasked with editing drafts of polemical material supporting the King into readable English. This is when Cranmer began developing the skills he would use to create the Prayer Book.⁵⁹⁴ Also in 1531, Cranmer translated into English an academic paper, *Determinations*, which would give support for the King’s claim for an annulment. In so doing, Cranmer demonstrated a flair for English words. Cranmer “tried to make the English language work harder than it had done before”.⁵⁹⁵ Cranmer’s characteristic pairing of words is already seen in *Determinations*.⁵⁹⁶

Cranmer was no bibliomaniac. His library was a scholar’s library, serving as his immediate working knowledge base.⁵⁹⁷ Cranmer’s library probably had up to 700 printed books. This

⁵⁹⁰ For a discussion on authorship and sources of the Prayer Book, see MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 414–421.

⁵⁹¹ ROBINSON, Establishment of Modern English Prose, 82.

⁵⁹² Cf. MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 225. For detail on Cranmer’s draft Breviary schema, cf. *ibid.*, 222–226; See also Geoffrey Cuming’s analysis. Geoffrey CUMING, *The Godly Order. Texts and Studies Relating to the Book of Common Prayer* (Alcuin Club Collections 65), London 1983, 1–25. For a transcription of Cranmer’s draft Breviary schema see John Wickham LEGG, *Cranmer’s Liturgical Projects*. Edited from British Museum Ms. Royal, 7. B. IV (Henry Bradshaw Society 50), London 1915. The original is in the British Museum, Ms. Royal 7B IV.

⁵⁹³ MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 631. MacCulloch’s treatment of the Collects is a good example of Cranmer’s propensity to borrow from any source that suited him. Cf. *ibid.*, 418–420.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 54.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. David G. SELWYN, *Cranmer’s Library: Its Potential for Reformation Studies*, in: Paul AYRIS – David SELWYN (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer. Churchman and Scholar*, Woodbridge 1993, 39–72, here: 43. For

is especially large for a private library of the sixteenth century, perhaps rivalled only by that of John Fisher.⁵⁹⁸ Robinson notes, “I nevertheless share the opinion of most observers. Cranmer was the best-read liturgical scholar in the England of his day [...]; his library was the best available for the purpose, an unusual personal extravagance.”⁵⁹⁹

Turning now to Cranmer’s particular style, Robinson notes “Cranmer is more directly than Tyndale concerned with constructions of sound.”⁶⁰⁰ Tyndale’s Bible was intended for private reading, whereas Cranmer’s Prayer Book was intended for reading aloud in public. Hence its rhythm becomes critical.⁶⁰¹ Robinson continues the comparison of Cranmer and Tyndale’s respective styles:

His [Cranmer’s] prose is nevertheless decisively post-medieval in a way that Tyndale’s translations are not. The Prayer Books are composed in a prose to which the syntax of the well-formed complex sentence is as necessary as the phrasal rhythms of sound.⁶⁰²

This distinguishing feature between Cranmer and Tyndale is essential for understanding the significance of Cranmer as a writer, and just what the Prayer Book did for English Prose that Tyndale’s Bible had not. That being said, both are essential for the development of modern English prose.

Cranmer’s first major “public” liturgical writing was his 1544 *Litany*. As Robinson notes, it was here

that Cranmer, already in his mid-fifties, first showed his hand as a liturgist and developed his sense of the rhythms of spoken English. [...] The probability is that Cranmer completed his discovery of modern liturgical prose when, five years later, he was making the Collects [...] Here he accepted the challenge to retain a Latin form in English.⁶⁰³

Cranmer’s genius in the Collects was his ability to simultaneously retain their Latin structure whilst embracing true English idiom.⁶⁰⁴ Cranmer’s achievement can easily be observed by speaking aloud any of his Collects, and then attempting to do the same for the Collects of the 2010 translation of the Roman Missal. The Collects, as the pinnacle of Cranmer’s work,

Selwyn’s work on reconstructing the contents of Cranmer’s library, see David G. SELWYN, *The Library of Thomas Cranmer*, Oxford 1996.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. SELWYN, *Cranmer’s Library*, 58.

⁵⁹⁹ ROBINSON, *Establishment of Modern English Prose*, 82.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 82 f.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 84 f.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.* 85. MacCulloch comments on Cranmer’s “scissors and paste” from various sources, cf. MACCULLOCH, *Thomas Cranmer*, 328.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. ROBINSON, *Establishment of Modern English Prose*, 84 f.

are exemplars of the threefold nature of Cranmer's writing process: i) adaption of ancient sources, ii) refinement of existing translations, or iii) outright composition of new texts.⁶⁰⁵

Proximate to the 1544 *Litany* is the *King's Primer* of 1545. The question of authorship of the *King's Primer* is much more difficult than that of the Prayer Book, but MacCulloch is of the view that Cranmer had an integral role in its compilation.⁶⁰⁶ It includes the *Litany*, amongst various other works that may well be Cranmer's. MacCulloch speculates that Cranmer reused earlier texts from his draft vernacular services.⁶⁰⁷ What is not speculation is that the now familiar standard texts of the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis* and Lord's Prayer are found in the *King's Primer*.⁶⁰⁸

Another example of Cranmer's writing is found in the 1547 *Book of Homilies*.⁶⁰⁹ It included twelve homilies, of which Cranmer himself wrote four.⁶¹⁰ Every parish was required to obtain a copy. Cranmer had the book published so that there would be a source of sermons sound in reformed doctrine. As with his liturgical works, Cranmer plagiarised whatever suited his purposes in writing his sermons.⁶¹¹ Of course, typical Cranmer is to be found in his 1548 Communion Service, which was included, with minor editing, in the 1549 Prayer Book.

As noted earlier, many things can be said of Cranmer, but prolific is not one of them. His contribution in length is relatively modest, yet the religiosity and language of the English people was fundamentally transformed by Cranmer. He was revolutionary for the English language not just in the vernacular, but also the sacral vernacular. The last word shall be given to *the* authority on the Language of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Stella Brook: "Cranmer's amazing sensitivity to the possibilities of English as a liturgical language produced a homogeneous style that could adapt itself equally to close or free translation or to fresh creation."⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 417.

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 335. See also Cf. BUTTERWORTH, English Primers, 272.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 336.

⁶⁰⁸ Cf. *ibid.*; CUMING, Godly Order, 29 f.

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. Ronald B. BOND, *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547) and A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570)*. A Critical Edition, Toronto 1987. For the later Elizabethan *Book of Homilies* and its influence, see Brian T. HARTLEY, The Liturgical Reordering of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*: Faithful Understanding in the Elizabethan Homilies of 1563, in: *Anglican and Episcopal History* 76/4 (2007) 489–519.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. MACCULLOCH, Thomas Cranmer, 372.

⁶¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 375.

⁶¹² BROOK, Language of the Book of Common Prayer, 122.

2.1.5 *Popular Reception of the Prayer Book*

The title of this section is somewhat of a misnomer, because the Prayer Book was not received but imposed by royal decree. Anyone who opposed it was taking the very dangerous and potentially life-shortening path of opposing the King himself. Despite the theoretical lack of any choice, that does not mean that there was not opposition, at times to the point of obstinacy. Neither does it mean that the English clergy were overnight transformed into reformers. It must be remembered that by 1549, the faithful of England had been subjected to the gradual stripping away of many of the beloved aspects of their faith. As Duffy notes, “This ritual impoverishment, in particular the abandonment of sacramentals, was to feature as prominently in popular rejection of the prayer-book as did the shift to the vernacular.”⁶¹³ They had seen, amongst other things, the coming of the English Bible, the introduction of the Our Father and Creed in English, the replacing of processions with the English Litany, and the introduction of the Communion Service. As early as 1543 people were refusing to recite the Lord’s Prayer in English, because they were uncertain as to whether the prayer could work if not prayed in Latin.⁶¹⁴ This example belies the true depths of what was at stake and why the seemingly trivial example of the Lord’s Prayer in English was a gross violation of the religious sensibilities of the people. For them, religion was ritualistic. As Brian Cummings notes, all ritual “involves saying the right words in the right order and in the right place and circumstances.”⁶¹⁵ Embracing this viewpoint, it is no wonder that there was such resistance to change. Yet this incantational notion of religion was one thing the reformers wanted dispelled, or perhaps we could say de-spelled.

Despite all the people had been through by Whitsun 1549, one can imagine how disruptive the first Sunday use of the *Book of Common Prayer* must have been in parishes, with the complete removal of Latin, and the expectation that the congregation would now answer, in English, a liturgy substantially different to the one they had attended the previous Sunday. Having acknowledged all this, mention must also be made of that fundamental human quality that is resistance to change, especially in matters of passion such of the living out of one’s religion. In the end, the introduction of the Prayer Book was not something that would

⁶¹³ DUFFY, *Stripping of the Altars*, 466.

⁶¹⁴ Cf. CUMMINGS, *Texts*, xxiii.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*

effect broad support for the reformed liturgy, but was something that the people would need to be reconciled to.⁶¹⁶

Rebellions were not a new thing in England. Indeed, many of Henry's acts with respect to the Church had been to strengthen his own position. Now his sickly son was the King. What no-one knew at this time is that Edward would be dead in only a few years' time. Meanwhile, Edward's half-sister Mary continued to hear the old Mass privately. Whilst rebellions are always by definition political in nature, the so called "Prayer Book Rebellions" were assuredly religiously motivated.⁶¹⁷ The most famous took place in Devon and Cornwall, with the rebels releasing a list of grievances and demands.⁶¹⁸ There were also riots in various locales in England, and a genuine fear that the rebel forces from Devon and Cornwall would loot Exeter.⁶¹⁹

The written articles of the Devon and Cornwall rebels are revealing in precisely what the objections of the rebels were. Nicholas Pocock has reproduced Nicholas Udall's tract *An answer to the articles of the commoners of Devonshire and Cornwall, declaring to the same how they have been seduced by evil persons, and how their consciences may be satisfied and stayed concerning the said articles, set for by a countryman of theirs, much tendering the wealth both of their bodies and souls*, which addressed each of the complaints.⁶²⁰ Essentially, the rebels demanded the restoration of the services to as they were during the time of Henry. "[W]e will have the mass in Latin as was before and celebrated by the priest without any man or woman communicating with him."⁶²¹ In addition to the Mass, they demand a restoration of sacramentals: "[W]e will have holy bread and holy water made every Sunday, palms and ashes at the times appointed and accustomed, images to be set up again in every church, and all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother the holy Church."⁶²² The rebels pointed out that they do not understand English.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. Aidan GASQUET – Edmund BISHOP, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, London ³1928, 205.

⁶¹⁷ The standard text on the topic is MacCulloch and Fletcher's *Tudor Rebellions*. For their treatment of the western rebellions, see Diarmaid MACCULLOCH – Anthony FLETCHER, *Tudor Rebellions*, London ⁷2020, 58–70.

⁶¹⁸ Cf. MARSHALL, *Reformation England*, 80–83.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Christopher HAIGH, *English Reformations*, 174.

⁶²⁰ Cf. Nicholas POCOCK (ed.), *Troubles Connected with The Prayer Book of 1549. Documents Now Mostly for the First Time Printed from the Originals in the Record Office, The Petyt Collection in the Library of the Inner Temple, The Council Book and The British Museum (Camden Society New Series 37)*, Westminster 1884, 141–193. The original manuscript is in the British Library, Royal Ms. 18 B xi.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 165.

[W]e will not receive the new service because it is like a Christmas game, but we will have our old service of matins, mass, evensong, and procession in Latin, not in English, as it was before. And so we Cornishmen (whereof certen of us understand no English) utterly refuse this new English.⁶²³

It is interesting to note that this is the same objection made by many against the 2010 translation of the Roman Missal.

The rebels objected too against the vernacular Bible: “[W]e will have the Bible and all other books of Scripture in English to be called in again; for we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.”⁶²⁴ In some cases, parishioners would demand their priest to celebrate the old Mass instead of the Prayer Book.⁶²⁵ The rebellion was in the end brutally dealt with, with foreign mercenaries used to defeat the rebel forces.⁶²⁶ Priests were made examples of. One priest, Robert Welshe, who had fully embraced the rebellion and everything it stood for, was dressed in his Mass vestments and hung from the tower of his own church.⁶²⁷

Manuscripts from the time are revealing of the situation. In August 1549 the Lord Protector wrote to Lord John Russell who had been charged with putting down the rebellion advising him what to do with the ringleaders: “pyk out the most sturdie and obstynate rebells to make example of them by theyr ponyshment to the terror of all other. And then with exception of those ye thynke mete to promulgate the kyngs ma^{ts} generall pardon to all others.”⁶²⁸ In September, Russell was advised to take down the bells from churches, noting that “the rebells of the cuntrye of Devonshyre and Cornwall have used the belles in every parishe as an instrument to sturr the multitude and call them together”.⁶²⁹ In December, a letter from Cranmer and others, in the name of Edward, was sent to the bishops ordering them to destroy the old service books, stating we

require and nevertheless straitly command and charge you that ye immediately upon the receipt hereof do command the Dean and Prebendaries of your Cathedrall Church, the Parson, Vicar, or Curate and Church wardens of every Parish within your Diocesses, to bring and deliver to you or your Deputy, every of them for their Church and Parish, at such convenient place as ye shall appoint, all Antiponers, Missalles, grayles, Processionalls; amuells, Legends,

⁶²³ Ibid., 169.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 175.

⁶²⁵ Cf. Eamon DUFFY, *The Voices of Morebath. Reformation & Rebellion in an English Village*, New Haven 2001, 129. Duffy’s book gives a viewpoint of the rebellion from the perspective of the village of Morebath.

⁶²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 133 f.

⁶²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 134.

⁶²⁸ POCOCK, *Troubles*, 64. The original manuscript is in the Inner Temple Library, Petyt Mss. 538 vol. 46, fol. 458.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 73. The original manuscript is in the Inner Temple Library, Petyt Mss. 538 vol. 46, fol. 465.

pyes, porcastes, tournalls, and ordinalles after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, Bangor, Herford, or any other private use, and all other Books of Service the keeping whereof should be a let to the using of the said book of common prayers, and that ye take the same books into your hands or into the hands of your Deputy, and then so deface and abolish, that they never hereafter may serve either to any such use as the were first provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniforme order which by a common consent is now set forth.⁶³⁰

This order was codified in an Act in 1550.⁶³¹

It must be remembered that whilst the turmoil of the rebellion was ongoing, Edward had to suffer the embarrassment of his half-sister continuing to hear the old Mass. The privy council summoned Mary's private chaplain Dr Hoxton, while Edward himself wrote to Mary urging her to be docile regarding the matter of the Mass.⁶³²

The reformers were determined that any Romish concept of a Mass should pass away from religion in England. One thing that especially brought about the ire of the reformers was priests who, whilst saying the words in the Prayer Book, celebrated as closely as possible as they had done before and claiming that it contained the Catholic essentials.⁶³³ Then there were those who, even into the nineteenth century, claimed that the Prayer Book service was not a new service, but simply a re-ordering of the Mass. Whilst the 1549 Prayer Book was no doubt a great rupture from what had been experienced before, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the notion that it had any sort of reforming finality about it. 1549 was always expected to have a short life, with the next stage of reform taken when expedient to do so. The 1552 Prayer Book was far more reforming in its nature, "a determined attempt to break once and for all with the Catholic past".⁶³⁴ However it is likely these reforms were, more or less, intended as a broader program of Reform rather than as a formal response to the reception of the 1549 Prayer Book.⁶³⁵

The introduction of *The Book of Common Prayer* at Pentecost 1549 would have seemed to a few as a gift from heaven. A much greater number would have been indifferent, or begrudgingly accepting, whilst others responded with rebellion. The changes accompanying the 1552 Prayer Book made it clear that the ways of the past were gone. The truncated reign of Mary did indeed bring back the "old religion", but the long reign of her successor and

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 127; Domestic Papers of Edward VI vol. ix, Art. 57.

⁶³¹ An Acte for the abolishinge and puttinge awaye of divers Books and Images. The Statutes of the Realm, vol. 4, London 1819, 110 f. See also DUFFY, Stripping of the Altars, 469.

⁶³² Cf. POCOCK, Troubles, 20 f.

⁶³³ Cf. DUFFY, Stripping of the Altars, 470.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 472 f.

⁶³⁵ Cf. *ibid.* The Anglo-Catholics favoured the 1549 Communion Service, as it bore a closer resemblance to a Catholic Mass than any of its successors.

half-sister Elizabeth and its accompanying religious settlement would create the political and religious stability needed for the Prayer Book to finally be received. Whilst initially the Prayer Book was imposed, in time it was received by the English people. It was simply too good not to be. The Prayer Book would develop such an affinity to the English spirit that even the interlude of the Commonwealth and its *Directory for Public Worship*⁶³⁶ could not seriously affect the attachment of the English people to what had become “their” Prayer Book. It was not until the embrace of modernism and post-modernism in the twentieth century, with its disdain for anything old or “outdated” that the Prayer Book was seriously challenged. Despite this, there are strong reasons to suspect that the so-called demise of the Prayer Book may have been prematurely declared, notwithstanding that Prayer Book English is now an official part of the liturgy of the Catholic Church with *Divine Worship*.

2.1.6 The Contribution of the Prayer Book to the English Language

If you were to ask the average person on the street to name an influential piece of English literature, it is likely that many would name Shakespeare, perhaps a few might name the *King James Bible*, and if you are lucky, someone *might* mention *The Book of Common Prayer*. This demonstrates why popular opinions are frequently unreliable. Surely almost every Anglophone with a high school education will have heard of Shakespeare, whilst a much smaller proportion will have ever heard of *The Book of Common Prayer*.⁶³⁷ Yet this broad opinion is a gross distortion of the story of the English language. David Crystal opines as follows: “The problem with Shakespeare is that his literary greatness has led enthusiastic linguistic amateurs to talk absolute rubbish about his role in the development of the English language.”⁶³⁸ Shakespeare was certainly prolific. He deliberately sought to distinguish his work through the invention of new words. David Crystal estimates Shakespeare used a vocabulary of around 20,000 lexemes.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁶ Cf. A Directory for the Publique Worship of God, Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common-Prayer: and For establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, London 1644.

⁶³⁷ Indeed, this author is precisely in this category, never having heard of *The Book of Common Prayer* until beginning to attend an Anglican church.

⁶³⁸ CRYSTAL, *Stories of English*, 315.

⁶³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 316 f. A lexeme refers to the different forms of a word, for example *have, has, had, having* and so on. To further illustrate Shakespeare’s tendency to amplify vocabulary, the *Authorised Version* of the Bible has 8,000 lexemes.

Shakespeare was probably born in 1564,⁶⁴⁰ a full fifteen years after the 1549 Prayer Book of Edward VI, but notably, five years after the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559. In these formative years of Anglicanism, it was this edition of the Prayer Book that was to be the most influential, effectively concretising the overall shape and plan of the Prayer Book even to this day. The 1604 Prayer Book did not embrace the changes hoped for by the Puritans, and Shakespeare, who died in 1616, was long dead by the beginning of the interregnum in 1649.

Daniel Swift examines how Shakespeare and his work was influenced by the Prayer Book.⁶⁴¹ Swift firmly situates Shakespeare within the Elizabethan world, a world in which religious life and ritual was framed by the 1559 Prayer Book. Shakespeare, like so many others from the Elizabethan age onwards, was fundamentally shaped by the language of *The Book of Common Prayer*. Of course, one cannot imagine the Elizabethan age without Shakespeare, but neither can it be imagined without the Prayer Book. When considering the permeation of language into society, however, the supremacy of the English Liturgy, namely the English Bible and the Prayer Book, cannot be disputed.⁶⁴² To hear Shakespeare, one had to go to a play. To hear the Prayer Book, one went to church, and *everyone* went to church.

As noted earlier, prior to *The Book of Common Prayer* and the English Bible, there was no such thing as modern English.⁶⁴³ The architects of modern English are without a doubt William Tyndale and completer of Tyndale's work Miles Coverdale, their successive editors, and Thomas Cranmer. It is these men who are responsible for the typical works of modern English – the *Authorised Version* of the English Bible and *The Book of Common Prayer*. In these works are seen the embracing of a true English idiom. It must also be qualified that in this discussion Prayer Book does not mean just the Prayer Book alone, but Prayer Book worship. That is, the Prayer Book *with* the English Bible and the Psalter.

As Peter Toon and Louis Tarsitano note:

⁶⁴⁰ There is no record of his birth date, however he was baptised on 26th April, 1564.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Daniel SWIFT, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers. The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age*, Oxford 2013.

⁶⁴² The phrase "English Bible" is used rather loosely here as the popular Bible of the Elizabethan age was the *Geneva Bible*, even though it was never officially approved for use in England. The *Geneva Bible* became Shakespeare's preferred source for Biblical quotations.

⁶⁴³ See Section 2.1.3.1 Prose and the Prayer Book. Ian Robinson's work is most especially commended. The full references are provided here for convenience. Ian ROBINSON, *The Establishment of Modern English Prose in the Reformation and the Enlightenment*, Cambridge 1998; Ian ROBINSON, *The Prose and Poetry of the Book of Common Prayer*, in: Prudence DAILEY (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: Past, Present & Future*, London 2011, 70–81.

The form of English used in the English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in the sixteenth century was the major factor in the establishment of modern English because as texts the Bible and the Prayer Book were almost the only examples of clear, fluid, dynamic English prose generally available to any Englishman (try reading Milton's prose, written a century later).⁶⁴⁴

To formally identify three specific contributions of the Prayer Book to the English language, these are:

- 1) The development of modern English prose;
- 2) by so doing bringing genuine English idiom into a modern form;
- 3) universalising this new language amongst English speakers precisely by virtue of being their universal (or common) Book of Prayers.

It isn't that the Prayer Book just happened to strike it lucky in getting the English language "right". We may well say that indeed it did, but what is so special about the Prayer Book is not only its language, but that it is a faithful and beloved companion throughout the moments of life. As Cummings says, the Prayer Book is not just a book of devotion, but "a book to live, love, and die to."⁶⁴⁵ The Prayer Book was, certainly from the sixteenth into the twentieth century, life-defining. A book that is life-defining for as long a period as this cannot but be a pivotal influence for the language of the people who use this book. To put it another way, it could be said that the Prayer Book is i) beautiful, ii) memorable, and iii) universal. Bringing these three things together results in a corpus of written material that becomes a part of social memory and social identity. Prayer Book English became a part of the way that people thought. Social memory and social identity go hand-in-glove. Without social memory, society simply becomes a collective of individuals, with little to nothing in common except their geographical location.⁶⁴⁶

Cummings makes an especially profound statement: "Human life in the English imagination is mediated through its idiom".⁶⁴⁷ Cummings continues: "Prayer Book prose has seeped into the collective consciousness more profoundly than any other book written in English, even the Bible. Millions of English speaking people, godly, wicked, or indifferent, have been baptized, married, or buried to its words."⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁴ Peter TOON – Louis R. TARSITANO, *Neither Archaic Nor Obsolete. The Language of Common Prayer and Public Worship*, Philadelphia 2003, 8.

⁶⁴⁵ CUMMINGS, *Texts*, xii.

⁶⁴⁶ There are strong arguments to believe that modern society is becoming more and more like this, with no social memory and therefore no social identity, as seen in so-called "identity politics", where the individual identity is held with absolute primacy at the expense of community and society.

⁶⁴⁷ CUMMINGS, *Texts*, ix.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

The English idiom does not mean the English language seen in the sense of a computer program or a linguistic code, neither can it be distilled down to the contents of the *Oxford English Dictionary*; something much more human than that is meant here. It means the particular way in which people think – their particular concepts, ideas, hopes, dreams, and fears – all of those manifestations and states of the human spirit that are mediated through the spoken tongue. It is because of difference in idiom that translation between languages is such a specialist field. Words are meant to capture a concept, and the way these concepts or ideas are converted into words differs from one idiom to another. English speakers think differently to, for example, Italian speakers. There is nothing *wrong* with either language, however they are fundamentally different in idiom. This is also the reason why it is often difficult, if not impossible, to faithfully translate some words or phrases from one language to another.

The English idiom is fundamental to the inner workings of the mind of one whose language of infancy is English. It defines how they think. Prayer Book English had a tremendous influence on the development of the modern English idiom. Thus it could be said, whether they know it or not, that Prayer Book English is fundamentally a part of who people are.

This leads to another aspect. Considering again the notion of human life mediated through the English idiom, the memorableness of these key moments of human life in the words of the Prayer Book is fundamentally related to their ability to become part of social memory, and thereby become a part of social *traditio*. This is the handing on by society of its memories to the next generation, who in turn make it a part of their own memory, and then hand it on to the successive generation. Of all English works, surely the Prayer Book must be unchallenged in this regard. Its contents were faithfully transmitted more or less uninterrupted to successive generations into the 1970s. If, however, something is truly to be a part of social *traditio*, it must in fact be memorable, for the banal is quickly forgotten. For example, newspaper articles are deliberately written to be understood, but don't usually contain anything particularly memorable apart from the occasional witty headline. Social memory has a reliable habit of sorting out what is worthy of memory, and discarding to the dustbin of history what is not. Modern alternatives to the Prayer Book have embraced modern English at the expense of Prayer Book English. Tellingly, the first of these, published in the 1970s and 1980s, have already been replaced. Perhaps also tellingly, the 1975 English translation of the Missal of Paul VI only lasted 35 years before being jettisoned. One must wonder how history will treat the 2010 translation.

It is fundamentally difficult for banal translations to become a part of social *traditio*. King Charles, as patron of the Prayer Book Society, has noted with respect to the Prayer Book:

over recent years, we have witnessed a concerted effort to devalue the currency of these resonant words. But who was it who decided that for people who aren't very good at reading, the best things to read are those written by people who aren't very good at writing? Poetry is surely for everybody, even if it's only a few phrases. But banality is for nobody. It might be accessible for all, but so is a desert.⁶⁴⁹

It may be tempting to attempt to quantify the influence of the Prayer Book upon modern English through a systematic examination of modern usage whilst searching for phrases and even words that are identifiable from the Prayer Book.⁶⁵⁰ Indeed, this can be a valuable activity; however, it undervalues the influence of the Prayer Book on modern English for two reasons. Firstly, this examination is rather restrictive, based on an assumption that the influence of the Prayer Book is limited to what is identifiable as “from the Prayer Book”. As should be clear from the above, the influence of the Prayer is not solely defined by memorable phrases, as valuable as these are, but in terms of its overall influence in the development of modern English, both sacral and secular. Secondly, as the western world of the twenty-first century rejects its religious past and fully embraces secularism, phrases that were once commonplace have now, more or less, been lost to social memory. Indeed, given that the influence of the Prayer Book is so ingrained and intertwined with modern English that it is perhaps not even noticed demonstrates the defining impact that the Prayer Book has had upon the English language.

⁶⁴⁹ HRH Prince Charles of Wales, Foreword, in: Prudence DAILEY (ed.), *The Book of Common Prayer: Past, Present & Future*, London 2011, vii.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 192–206.

2.2 English Vernacular in the Catholic Church

This section will briefly examine the introduction of vernacular in the liturgies of the Catholic Church. This study is important because although *Divine Worship* originates from the Anglican tradition, it is a liturgy of the Catholic Church. Therefore, a context must be established by the examination of the Catholic Church's own history of adopting the English vernacular and the pastoral impacts of that change. Current Church documents relating to language in the liturgy will also be examined, along with consideration of the current normative expression of the Roman Rite in English in reference to those documents.

2.2.1 The Adoption of English Vernacular in the Catholic Church

The emergence of an English vernacular liturgy in the Catholic Church is very much a twentieth century phenomenon. Historically, the Church has reacted strongly to what are perceived as challenges to her authority. This is seen, for example, in the reactions against the English Scriptural translations of Wycliffe and Tyndale. Whilst the Church would respond to Protestant English Bibles with her own English *Douay Rheims* Bible in the late sixteenth century, an English liturgy would not come until the twentieth century.

Whilst in the fifteenth century the question of vernacular in the liturgy was not considered a closed topic, as soon as Protestant groups introduced a vernacular liturgy, it effectively became politically untenable for the Church to do the same. Hence, any question of expanding vernacular use in the liturgy was solidified into a resounding negative.

One could form the false impression that this is how things stayed until the 1970s, with the implementation of the *Novus Ordo* in English. This notion forgets the widespread and common usage of English within the Catholic Church prior to the Second Vatican Council. Firstly, ordinary Anglophone Catholics were unlikely to have a Latin *Vulgate* as their household Bible. They would have had an English Bible. At Mass, the Bible readings, after having been read in Latin were commonly read again in English. Parish Hymnals included a broad repertoire of hymns in English. Just as English Catholics had prior to the Reformation, Catholics followed the Mass with hand missals. *The Roman Catholic Daily Missal (1962)*⁶⁵¹ is a hand missal based upon the last of the pre-conciliar hand missals, and is typical of these missals. It provides an English translation adjacent to the Latin text. The English translation of the Bible readings is taken from the *Douay Rheims*. The *Douay Rheims* is a translation that makes use of sacral English, albeit a rather awkward Latinate English

⁶⁵¹ Cf. *The Roman Catholic Daily Missal (1962)*, Kansas City 2004.

when compared to that of the *Authorised Version*. Likewise, the English translations of the Mass in the pre-conciliar hand missals is sacral English, although lacking the quality of English of the classical Anglican prayer books. Sacral English is also commonly used in the hymns typically found in parish hymnals. Sacral English was broadly used in popular piety. For example, devotional books intended for the laity such as *The New Key of Heaven*⁶⁵² are filled with sacral English. Thus, it is seen that where English was used in the Catholic Church prior to the liturgical revisions following the Second Vatican Council that the style of English is very often sacral English.

Having said all of this, it could still nonetheless seem as if the position of Latin in the liturgy was unassailable, even into the 1960s. The twentieth century, however, saw the coming of the Liturgical Movement. This was a movement that sought to re-engage the life of the Church with ordinary people, especially through participation in the liturgy, and to remedy a perceived separation between popular piety and the liturgy of the Church.⁶⁵³ In 1938 Virgil Michel wrote a short article in *Orate Fratres* discussing the possibility of a fully vernacular liturgy.⁶⁵⁴ He presumed that such a liturgy would stand beside the liturgy in Latin. That is, he did not envisage a time where most priests would be incapable of celebrating the Mass in Latin: “We cannot imagine that anyone would advocate the use of the vernacular to the extent of wishing to drop the Latin altogether, and we are moreover in favor of teaching simple liturgical Latin courses even in our grade schools.”⁶⁵⁵ Michel did not see the possibility of vernacular translation resulting in a fragmentation of the Roman Rite:

Long before the liturgical movement had spread the knowledge of liturgical Latin more widely and had brought back the idea of active participation in the Mass, the beauty of a unified rite universally recognizable was frequently mentioned. The force of the argument does not rest upon unity of language, but unity of rite.⁶⁵⁶

Hence, the question of vernacular in the liturgy was a topic of great discussion. Ironically, many of the objectives of the Liturgical Movement were the same as those of Thomas Cranmer four-hundred years before.

⁶⁵² Cf. *The New Key of Heaven. A Prayerbook for the Use of Catholics*, Sydney 1946.

⁶⁵³ Cf. Alcuin REID, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy. The Principles of Liturgical Reform and Their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council*, San Francisco 2005, 79–81; For a detailed overview of the Liturgical Movement, see chapters two and three; For a shorter summary of the Liturgical Movement and its principles, cf. Alcuin REID, *The Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement*, in: Alcuin REID (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, London 2016, 153–174.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. Virgil MICHEL, *The Liturgy in the Vernacular*, in: *Orate Fratres* 12/4 (1938) 172 f.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

In the 1960s there was a coming together of factors that would bring about new possibilities for the question of vernacular in the liturgy. Firstly is the fact that this was the sixties, with its constant fear of nuclear armageddon and its revolutionary and rebellious spirit. Secondly, this was the age of the *ad experimentum* liturgy and local permissions for the use of vernacular.⁶⁵⁷ Thirdly, this was the time of the Second Vatican Council and the spirit of *aggiornamento*. In the minds of some, the time was ripe for the liturgy to be renovated.

The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1963), whilst stating that “the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites”⁶⁵⁸, commended the broadening of the use of vernacular languages in the liturgy, noting: “since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advantage to the people, the limits of its use may be extended.”⁶⁵⁹ According to *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, vernacular use would apply firstly to “the readings and ‘the common prayer,’ but also, as local conditions may warrant, to those parts which pertain to the people”.⁶⁶⁰

Few would have imagined that there would be a Mass where Latin was completely displaced. Many presumed (as even Cranmer had considered at one point), that the canon at least would remain in Latin. The so-called Interim Missal of 1964⁶⁶¹ manifested this vision. In its form, it resembled a pre-conciliar missal. The readings, in English, are included in the missal. Most of the Mass is in English, while the Canon of the Mass and the Preface is in Latin. Everything pertaining to the people is in English, with the remainder in Latin. It is, literally, what the Council called for. Sacral English has, however, been entirely dispensed with, in both the Mass and in the Scripture readings, with modern English made use of, the only exception being the Our Father. This missal was, however, interim only. In 1967, Pope Paul VI granted

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. REID, Organic Development of the Liturgy, 268–270. In the United States of America, a ritual was approved in 1954 that allowed the celebration of most rites in the vernacular. It was not successful and withdrawn in 1956. See Nico FASSINO, Hand Missal History. Forgotten English Rituals. The *Collectio Rituum* of 1954 and the Untold History of the Vernacular Administration of the Sacraments. URL: <https://handmissalhistory.com/feature-rituals/> [accessed: 4 November 2022]. Fassino also includes an in depth study and bibliography of rituals using vernacular from 1738.

⁶⁵⁸ SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, Constitutio de Sacra Liturgia *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December 1963), in: AAS 56 (1964) 97–134 (Latin text); English translation in: The Liturgy Documents, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 275–302, here: 36 §1.

⁶⁵⁹ SC 36 §2. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 284.

⁶⁶⁰ SC 54. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 287.

⁶⁶¹ Cf. Altar Missal. Missale Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum Sumorum Pontificum Cura Recognitum cum Versionibus Lingua Anglica Exaratis et a Coetu Episcoporum Australiae Rite Approbatis, New York 1964.

permission for even the Canon of the Mass to be in the vernacular. Hence the *Novus Ordo* in English would be entirely in English.⁶⁶²

Whilst the Council had expressed a desire for vernacular liturgy, there would be much work to do in making this a reality. Paul VI's *Motu Proprio Sacram Liturgiam* (1964)⁶⁶³ would provide a broad overall direction. Noting that SC had already granted permission for clerics to pray the Office in the vernacular, Paul VI stated "the various vernacular versions must be drawn up and approved by the competent, territorial ecclesiastical authority."⁶⁶⁴ A curial committee, known as the Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, would take the lead in implementing the desire of SC 36 for vernacular in the liturgy.⁶⁶⁵ The first formal instruction on implementing *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was the instruction *Inter Oecumenici* (1964).⁶⁶⁶ *Inter Oecumenici* enunciated in further detail what Paul VI had begun in *Sacram Liturgiam*. It must be acknowledged that these early documents were always considered to be transitory, as they served a purpose in taking the Church through the various milestones that would be necessary to achieve the stated desires of liturgical reform. As such, when a document describes a transitory milestone, then the elements of the document relating to the milestone become redundant once the milestone has been passed. In terms of translation, *Inter Oecumenici* established some foundational principles that would be necessary for the development of a more detailed methodology of

⁶⁶² For further on the interim missals, see Andreas BIERINGER, *A Halfway House to Aggiornamento? Die ersten muttersprachlichen Messbücher in den USA (1964–1966)* (Studien zur Pastoralliturgie 38), Regensburg 2014.

⁶⁶³ PAULUS PP. VI, *Litterae Apostolicae Motu Proprio Datae Sacram Liturgiam* (25 January 1964), in: AAS 56 (1964) 139–144 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 309–312.

⁶⁶⁴ SL IX. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 311. Of course, ecclesiastical authority did not draw up the English translation, a not insignificant factor being that in the Anglophone world there is no single ecclesiastical authority covering all English speaking countries, hence the need for a body like, for example, ICEL.

⁶⁶⁵ For an overview of liturgical language, the work of ICEL, the Consilium, and "dynamic" and "formal" equivalence, see Andrew R. WADSWORTH, *The New Missal: The Process and Principles of Translation and the Catechetical Implications*, in: *Catechetical Review*. URL: <https://review.catechetics.com/new-missal-process-and-principles-translation-and-catechetical-implications> [accessed: 14 February 2023].

⁶⁶⁶ SACRA CONGREGATIO RITUUM, *Instructio ad Executionem Constitutionis de Sacra Liturgia Recte Ordinam Inter Oecumenici* (26 September 1964), in: AAS 56 (1964) 877–900 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 321–340. Although *Inter Oecumenici* was drawn up by the Consilium, in AAS it is ascribed to the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

translation.⁶⁶⁷ Paul VI, in an address to translators,⁶⁶⁸ reminded them of the relationship between the Church, ecclesiastical authority, and the liturgy.

The Consilium developed the Instruction, *Comme le prévoit* (1969)⁶⁶⁹, which established the basic principles for the translation of the liturgy into vernacular languages.⁶⁷⁰ *Comme le prévoit* rightly acknowledged the not insignificant differences between languages, framing the approach to translation in terms of the transmission of ideas.⁶⁷¹ *Comme le prévoit* established that “the ‘unit of meaning’ is not the individual word, but the whole passage.”⁶⁷² Whilst not explicitly using the term, the principles of translation established by *Comme le prévoit* are known as “dynamic equivalence”, whereby the individual words of the original Latin text, their meaning and even their style are considered secondary to the overall idea of the passage. The embracing of “dynamic equivalence” as a translation principle led to a subjectification of the results – equivalent according to whom or by what criteria? The result was that imagery found in the Latin text was in places abandoned altogether, whilst in others, images were introduced that are found nowhere in the Latin text. This has, in some senses, been one of the chief impetuses for the ongoing liturgy wars and the question as to just what should the vernacular text of the Roman Rite be, with some advocating for a “free” translation according to the principles of dynamic equivalence, with others advocating for translation exhibiting a much closer relationship with the Latin text under the principles of “formal equivalence”.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁷ See especially IO 40a–d and 48g which discuss specifically vernacular translation.

⁶⁶⁸ PAULUS PP. VI, Allocutiones to translators of liturgical texts (10 November 1965), in: AAS 57 (1965) 967–970 (Latin text); English translation in: Documents on the Liturgy, no. 113.

⁶⁶⁹ CONSILIUM FOR IMPLEMENTING THE CONSTITUTION ON THE SACRED LITURGY, Instruction *Comme le prévoit* – On the Translation of Liturgical Texts for Celebrations with a Congregation (25 January 1969), in: Enchiridion Documentorum Instaurationis Liturgicae, vol. 1, ed. by Reiner KACZYNSKI, Turin 1976, 1200–1242 (French text); English translation in: The Liturgy Documents, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 417–425.

⁶⁷⁰ For further on *Comme le prévoit* as well as its closeness in translation style and ethos to the *Good News Bible*, see George PELL, Two Different Documents on Liturgical Translation, I. The Instruction *Comme le prévoit*, in: CanticaNOVA Publications. URL: <http://www.canticanova.com/articles/liturgy/art9d11.htm> [accessed: 13 February 2023].

⁶⁷¹ Cf. *Comme le prévoit*, 6.

⁶⁷² *Comme le prévoit*, 12. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 418.

⁶⁷³ For a defence of “dynamic equivalence”, see Keith F. PECKLERS, *Dynamic Equivalence. The Living Language of Christian Worship*, Collegeville/MN 2003. See also Tom ELICH, Onwards to 1998?, in: *Liturgy News* 17/4 (2017) 2 f. Elich sees *Magnum Principium* as a “sidelining” of *Liturgium Authenticam* and a return to the freer translation principles of *Comme le prévoit* 6, see Tom ELICH, *Magnum Principium – The Voice of the Church*, in: *Liturgy News* 17/3 (2017) 2. See also Uwe Michael LANG, Found in Translation, in: *Adoremus Bulletin*, Online Edition 16/6 (2010). URL: <https://adoremus.org/2010/09/found-in-translation/> [accessed: 14 February 2023].

One of the challenges the Church faced in implementing vernacular liturgies was the reality that language transmits many things. What should be the priority? *Comme le prévoit* seemed to establish the rather broadly subjective concept of the unit of an idea as being the most important. As such, communication, intelligibility, and comprehension have been prioritised, explaining, at least in part, the intellectually puerile and banal style of the 1973 ICEL translation. Peter Elliott has approached this question in terms of whether a translation transmits the *truth* of the original text, or even worse, *tells lies* when compared to the original.⁶⁷⁴ Arguably, the greatest truth found of the liturgy is found in the sacramental formulae. The CDF noted difficulties in proposed sacramental formulae that had been presented to it, and noted in the declaration *Instuaratio Liturgica* (1974) that “sacramental forms should be translated in a way that conveys their original sense according to the idiom of the vernacular”, and “the meaning of the translation is to be understood in accord with the mind of the Church as expressed by the original Latin text.”⁶⁷⁵ A 1973 circular letter from the CDW discussed various principles for the confirmation of liturgical texts, while noting that sacramental formula should “correspond as closely as possible to the Latin text.”⁶⁷⁶ Bruce Harbert describes how ICEL, remotely from the bishops, produced an English translation that was a deliberate break from the “rhetorical flourishes” of the Latin text, “uprooting a text formed in the court-milieu of late Antiquity and transplanting it into the democratic world of the late twentieth century West.”⁶⁷⁷ In 1973 the English translation of

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. Peter J. ELLIOTT, *Liturgical Translation: A Question of Truth*, in: Adoremus Bulletin, Online Edition 13/4 (2007). URL: <https://adoremus.org/2007/06/liturgical-translation-a-question-of-truth/> [accessed: 14 February 2023]. According to Elliott, the flawed implementation of “dynamic equivalence” resulted in many of the most obvious problems of the 1973 ICEL missal. He gives the Collects as an example, noting that the compact Latin of the Collects demands “rich expansion in the vernacular; otherwise a collect sounds abrupt, trite, even absurd, which is what has happened. Each collect has been reduced to something like this: ‘God! You are good. So do this for us’, followed by a slightly inaccurate version of the trinitarian ending. Yet, by eliminating any traces of the Latin ‘oratorical cursus, rhetorical-prose cadence’, the unknown translator had only followed *Comme le prévoit*.”

⁶⁷⁵ CONGREGATIO PRO DOCTRINA FIDEI, *Declaratio De sensu tribuendo adprobationi versionum formularum sacramentalium Instuaratio Liturgica* (25 January 1974), in: AAS 66 (1974) 661 (Latin text); English translation in: INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ENGLISH IN THE LITURGY, *Documents on the Liturgy 1963–1979*. Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts, Collegeville/MN 1982, no. 131.

⁶⁷⁶ CONGREGATIO PRO CULTU DIVINO, *Litterae Circulares Dum toto terrarum* (25 October 1973), in: AAS 66 (1974) 98 f. (Latin text); English translation in: INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ENGLISH IN THE LITURGY, *Documents on the Liturgy 1963–1979*. Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts, Collegeville/MN 1982, no. 130. The letter continues to state “Should the sacramental forms [...] not be translated word for word, convincing reasons are to be given for changing them vis-à-vis the Latin text.”

⁶⁷⁷ Bruce E. HARBERT, *Englising the Mass*, in: Alcuin REID (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, London 2016, 383–400, here: 385. See also Eamon DUFFY, *Rewriting the Liturgy: The Theological Implications of Translation*, in: *New Blackfriars* 78/911 (1997) 4–27. Duffy’s article is interesting in that he critiques the 1973 ICEL translation in anticipation of its 1998 replacement, which was ultimately rejected.

the *Novus Ordo* was approved for use. In English speaking countries, the Mass of the Latin Church was now essentially entirely in English. Uwe Michael Lang notes how the 1973 translation, for the most part, deliberately avoids using grammatical features that had come to be equated with sacral English. These features are the use of archaisms, especially with reference to God, vocative syntax, and special religious vocabulary.⁶⁷⁸

Given the relative speed in which the 1973 ICEL translation was produced, and acknowledging that in many ways the Church was doing a new thing in developing vernacular liturgies, it was inevitable that the voice of the Church in guiding the process of translation would need to be both forward and backward looking. It would need to be backward looking in objectively assessing the journey travelled thus far. This reflective learning would assist in informing the forward looking activity of providing further guidance and refinement of the official instructions for the process of translation of the liturgy. *Varietates Legitimae* (1994)⁶⁷⁹ is one of the more significant of these documents, in that it considers and establishes principles for inculturation and the more radical adaptations of the Roman Rite which had been discussed in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. As a current instruction having direct significance to the liturgy of the Ordinariates, *Varietates Legitimae* is discussed further elsewhere in this dissertation. Likewise, the current instruction on vernacular translation, *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001),⁶⁸⁰ is discussed in detail elsewhere in this dissertation.

Whilst the official liturgy of the church has for the most part abandoned sacral English, it still remains a part, albeit much reduced, of Catholic consciousness. The Lord's Prayer remains in sacral English, arguably the form of that prayer able to be prayed from memory by just about any Christian. Some of the sequences in the Lectionary are in sacral English – for example the sequences for Pentecost and Corpus Christi. Traditional hymns using sacral

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Uwe Michael LANG, *The Voice of the Church at Prayer. Reflections on Liturgy and Language*, San Francisco 2012, 164 f. Lang gives a good overview of the directives that allowed “dynamic equivalence” and resulted in the 1973 translation, recognizing the general banality of the result and the response to this problem with the promulgation of *Liturgiam Authenticam* in 2001. Cf. *ibid.*, 158–168.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM, *De Liturgia Romana et Inculturatione. Instructio Quarta «ad executionem constitutionis Concilii Vaticani Secundi de Sacra Liturgia recte ordinandam»* (ad Const. art. 37-40) *Varietates Legitimae* (25 January 1994), in: AAS 87 (1995) 288–314 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents*, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 495–517.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM, *Instructio quinta «ad executionem Constitutionis Concilii Vaticani Secundi de Sacra Liturgia recte ordinandam»* (ad Const. art. 36) *Liturgiam Authenticam* (28 March 2001), in: AAS 93 (2001) 685–726 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents*, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 527–562.

English remain popular in many parishes.⁶⁸¹ The *Hail Mary* is for the most part prayed using the traditional wording, for example, “blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.” So, while the post conciliar Church has made a deliberate move away from sacral English, it would be premature to be holding its funeral, especially when one considers the new expression of sacral English in the Catholic Church in the form of *Divine Worship*.

2.2.2 Pastoral Impacts of the Change from Latin to the Vernacular

The overall shape of the changes made in the Catholic Church in the years after the Second Vatican Council bear a striking similarity to the changes made in the Church of England in the sixteenth century. Just as in the sixteenth century, Catholics experienced not only the replacing of the Latin Mass with an English dialogue Mass, but they also saw the re-ordering of their parish churches. The re-arrangement of churches commonly went further than intended by the Council, and in some cases churches were gleefully stripped with an enthusiasm resembling that of Thomas Cromwell’s inspectors of over four hundred years before.⁶⁸²

It is a historical fact that large numbers of clergy, religious, and laity left the Church in the years after the changes. Even today, members of the faithful will tell, with a tear in their eye, how they felt like their religion was taken away from them. Others will recount the poor or completely lacking preparation for the changes. In the Church of England, the changes had been gradual and progressive. However, in the Catholic Church the changes were made in a much shorter timeframe.

Interestingly enough, the Catholic Church did many of exactly the same things that Cromwell’s men had enforced specifically to deny the Catholic doctrine of the Mass. People recount stories of arriving for Mass one Sunday to discover pews re-arranged to allow a shoddily-built timber platform to stand in front of the high altar, covered in the best 1970s shag-pile carpet, with a timber altar-table placed upon it. There are other stories of sanctuaries being gleefully renovated with a jackhammer and of bishops “doing the rounds” of their dioceses ordering priests to rip out their high altars and altar rails, both things not

⁶⁸¹ There really does seem to be no justification for the abhorrent practice found in some modern hymnals of “de-archaising” the wording of traditional hymns.

⁶⁸² For an excellent American perspective of how the changes came about and the virtual hi-jacking of the program of reform, see Susan BENOFY, *The Day the Mass Changed*, in: *Adoremus Bulletin*, Online Edition 15/10 (2010). URL: <http://adoremus.org/2010/02/15/The-Day-the-Mass-Changed/> [accessed: 25 October 2018]; Susan BENOFY, *The Day the Mass Changed. How it Happened and Why*, in: *Adoremus Bulletin*, Online Edition 16/1 (2010). URL: <http://adoremus.org/2010/03/15/The-Day-the-Mass-Changed/> [accessed: 25 October 2018].

required or even envisaged by the Council. In the minds of at least some of the faithful, this rapid re-arranging of their houses of prayer could only be seen as a desecration. At Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Brisbane, Australia, the high altar was removed, with the *mensa* being broken up and buried. At All Hallows Five Dock in Sydney, Australia, the high altar was demolished, with the *mensa* being set into the floor as a paving stone. How utterly diabolical, that the very place of the sacrifice of the Lord is now trodden underfoot. In the same church the marble baptismal font has been turned into a pedestal for the tabernacle.

It would seem that there was, on the part of some, a desire to create a deliberate rupture, an intention to set up an opposition between the Church of the past, and “nu-Church”. By creating and emphasising this rupture, it would be far easier for proponents of change to label whatever they opposed as belonging to the past and demand that it be swept away. Even today it is not uncommon to hear the occasional member of the faithful say, “you’re taking us back to before the Council”, when something that they perceive as being traditional is utilised at Mass, as opposed to their own now decidedly dated 1970s version of nu-Church. Alcuin Reid’s *A Bitter Trial*⁶⁸³ recounts the experiences of the famous English author and convert Evelyn Waugh in the church of the 1960s. Waugh writes of the effect of the changes on his practice of the faith: “Every attendance at Mass leaves me without comfort or edification. I shall never, pray God, apostatize but church-going is now a bitter trial.”⁶⁸⁴

Waugh corresponded regularly with Archbishop of Westminster John Heenan about the changes. In January 1965, Waugh wrote to Archbishop Heenan,

my friends and I are totally at a loss to understand the new form of the Mass.

Any idea that it will attract Protestants may be dismissed. The Anglicans have an elegant and comprehensible form of service. All they lack is valid orders to make it preferable. If a completely English Mass is desired the first book of Edward VI, with very few amendments, would be satisfactory. Instead we have a jumble of Greek, Latin and uncouth English.⁶⁸⁵

Those committed to a reconstructionist vision of liturgy believed that, eventually, the holdouts would die out. Essentially, they thought that a few sentimentalist “fuddy-duddies” who liked the “old Mass” were all that prevented the final triumph of the “new Mass”. What church authorities have (so far) failed (or refused) to acknowledge is that the new millennium has brought with it a wave of young Catholics who are not seeking a re-constructed liturgy, but are seeking a liturgy that is tangibly situated within Sacred Tradition. They do not want

⁶⁸³ Cf. Alcuin REID (ed.), *A Bitter Trial*. Evelyn Waugh and John Carmel Cardinal Heenan on the Liturgical Changes, San Francisco 2011.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 69 f. Waugh is here referring to the Interim Rite.

to distance themselves from the Church of the ages through the embracing of postmodernism and some self-defining (and self-referential) spirit of the age. They want to be a part of the Church of the ages, and they want to be able to know and feel that in the way they experience the liturgy. These are the real “in-the-pews” Catholics that the Council sought to reach in its reforms, yet today what for them is their spiritual reality is for the most part ignored or even dismissed. Many young people are desperately searching for something that is awe-full, instead of being awful. When the active participation so desperately yearned for by the Council Fathers has devolved into sitting in the back pew slurping a takeaway coffee whilst updating one’s social-media status, it must be recognised that something has gone terribly wrong.

The question here is not about whether vernacular has a place in the liturgy. That war has been done, run and won. The Church has always rejected restorationism, and the suggestion that the vernacular should be thrown out of the liturgy is clearly ludicrous. This does not mean, however, that as the Council Fathers requested, the Latin tongue should not have a revered place in the Liturgy of the Church. Neither does it mean that serious questions should not be asked about what kind of vernacular should be used, and the pastoral implications of that decision. It is the contention of this dissertation that *sacral* and *vernacular* should not merely co-exist, but can be truly symbiotic in such a way that the religious spirit and the native tongue of the worshipper can indeed be intertwined through the right application of sacral vernacular.

It is difficult to make an objective assessment about the change from the Latin to the vernacular in the *Novus Ordo*. This is partly because of the subjective nature of personal experience. It is also because no one experienced the change in language in isolation. It was always experienced as a package of changes, and one’s personal reaction to the changes will be based on the entire package, rather than on one aspect of it. Therefore, any consideration of the pastoral impacts of the introduction of the vernacular Roman Mass in the 1960s can only be seen in terms of a broader pastoral question.

Despite this difficulty, it would clearly be nonsensical to claim that there were no pastoral impacts. For many, those impacts were positive. For many others, they were negative. It would seem, however, difficult to deny that some of the lessons of the English Reformation were not heeded in the manner in which the changes were made, whilst the motivations of some of those making decisions about the nature and extent of changes can be questioned.

2.2.3 *Liturgiam Authenticam and the Revised Translation of 2010*

The 1973 ICEL translation of the *Novus Ordo* would not last forty years before being discarded. It has perennially been beset by two criticisms. Firstly, as noted earlier, was the concern that an excessively broad application of dynamic equivalence resulted in a text that was not faithful to the normative Latin text. Secondly, was the observation that the style of language was decidedly banal and overfamiliar. It was, in part, in response to these concerns that *Liturgiam Authenticam* was published in 2001. This document would establish principles for the revision of the vernacular texts of the Mass, the English version being finally approved in 2010. Our purpose here is not to revisit history that has been covered *ad nauseum* elsewhere but rather to make some critical observations of *Liturgiam Authenticam* as they are relevant to the broader consideration of sacral English which is of central concern in this dissertation.

Liturgiam Authenticam established a vision for vernacular in the liturgy that would result in the use and development of a sacral vernacular.

While the translation must transmit the perennial treasury of orations by means of language understandable in the cultural context for which it is intended, it should also be guided by the conviction that liturgical prayer not only is formed by the genius of a culture, but itself contributes to the development of that culture. Consequently it should cause no surprise that such language differs somewhat from ordinary speech. Liturgical translation that takes due account of the authority and integral content of the original texts will facilitate the development of a sacral vernacular, characterized by a vocabulary, syntax and grammar that are proper to divine worship, even though it is not to be excluded that it may exercise an influence even on everyday speech, as has occurred in the languages of peoples evangelized long ago.⁶⁸⁶

And:

Since liturgical texts by their very nature are intended to be proclaimed orally and to be heard in the liturgical celebration, they are characterized by a certain manner of expression that differs from that found in everyday speech or in texts intended to be read silently. Examples of this include recurring and recognizable patterns of syntax and style, a solemn or exalted tone, alliteration and assonance, concrete and vivid images, repetition, parallelism and contrast, a certain rhythm, and at times, the lyric of poetic compositions. If it is sometimes not possible to employ in the translation the same stylistic elements as in the original text (as often happens, for example, in the case of alliteration or assonance), even so, the translator should seek to ascertain the intended effect of such elements in the mind of the hearer as regards thematic content, the expression of contrast between elements, emphasis, and so forth. Then he should employ the full possibilities of the vernacular language skillfully in order to achieve as integrally as possible the same effect as regards not only the conceptual content itself, but the other aspects as well. In poetic texts, greater flexibility will be needed in translation in order to provide for the role played by the literary form itself in expressing the content of the texts.

⁶⁸⁶ LA 47. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 541.

Even so, expressions that have a particular doctrinal or spiritual importance or those that are more widely known are, insofar as possible, to be translated literally.⁶⁸⁷

On the surface, this vision looks encouraging, but paragraph 59 manifests a problem that is found throughout *Liturgicam Authenticam*. The stated desire to replicate the intended effect in the mind of the hearer seeks to apply a formulaic approach to something that is, by definition, subjective. There will be no two hearers who have the exact same idea form in their mind. If someone says, “a yellow flower”, the speaker and a hearer will both have in their minds an image of a yellow flower, but they will almost certainly not be the same flower if you were to ask them both to make a drawing. Whilst the desire expressed may be meritorious, the formulaic approach is flawed.

The vision is for sacral vernacular to be distinguished from the language of the street, or ordinary or everyday language. Yet, in the case of English, it must still be proper English. That is, it must respect the idiomatic properties of English. Most people would acknowledge Shakespeare as an example of this. It is clearly not everyday English, but it is good English. The problem with *Liturgicam Authenticam* is that whilst it acknowledges idiom, it then seeks to achieve its ends by a formulaic approach that is so rigid that there is little room left for idiom to survive once the source text has been processed through the translation “algorithm” that is *Liturgicam Authenticam*.

This formulaic approach is perhaps most manifest in paragraph 20:

While it is permissible to arrange the wording, the syntax and the style in such a way as to prepare a flowing vernacular text suitable to the rhythm of popular prayer, the original text, insofar as possible, must be translated integrally and in the most exact manner, without omissions or additions in terms of their content, and without paraphrases or glosses. Any adaption to the characteristics or the nature of the various vernacular languages is to be sober and discreet.⁶⁸⁸

It is clear that this paragraph is an attempt to deal with the problems of dynamic equivalence. Things that are not in the Latin text must not be said, and things that are in the Latin text must not be left out. The problem here is not with what is said or not said, but with *how* it is said. In considering the English language, we could consider “a flowing vernacular text suitable to the rhythm of popular prayer” to mean a text that embraces a true English idiom. This is, however, merely “permissible”. The same paragraph also notes the “characteristics or the nature of the various vernacular languages”. This too, could be understood to mean a true English idiom. The paragraph notes that the primary guiding principle to the translation

⁶⁸⁷ LA 59. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 544.

⁶⁸⁸ LA 20. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 533.

of the original text is faithfulness to that text. The result is, as seen in the 2010 translation of the Roman Missal, an English text that is awkwardly Latinate in style and structure.⁶⁸⁹

Brook notes one greatly significant difference between English and Latin idiom. She points out that the loss of inflections in English has resulted in a language that by its nature is not capable of the compactness of Latin and is far more dependent on word order for meaning.⁶⁹⁰

The consequence of this is that in translation, retaining a Latin word order (but losing the inflection) will result in a sentence whose meaning is less than clear. Brook continues in noting the problem of “trying to force English into an inevitably unsatisfactory imitation of the quite different natural resources of Latin.”⁶⁹¹

Liturgiam Authenticam, as applied, fails to take into account the reality that the idiom of the Latin and English languages are fundamentally different. The result is language that often feels unnatural to the English speaker. In celebrating Mass, the priest must often avoid the temptation to stumble over clumsy sentence structures. At times, the un-natural structure can result in a prayer completely lacking the comprehension so sought by *Liturgiam Authenticam*.⁶⁹²

Chant historian Peter Jeffery has provided a critical assessment of *Liturgiam Authenticam* in his *Translating Tradition. A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam Authenticam*.⁶⁹³ The value of Jeffery’s study is that it was made prior to the release of the 2010 English translation of the Roman Missal. Therefore, Jeffery’s assessment is based purely upon what *Liturgiam Authenticam* says rather than being coloured by what has been produced:

Inaccuracies, misrepresentations and contradictions so abound in *LA* that anyone who tried to obey it religiously would find himself hopelessly mired in absurdities, demonstrating fidelity to Roman tradition by doing and saying things that are neither Roman nor traditional.⁶⁹⁴

Jeffery notes that in the minds of the writers of *Liturgiam Authenticam* the Roman Rite is what is codified in the texts, and nothing else.⁶⁹⁵ This notion creates a caricature of the

⁶⁸⁹ David Crystal describes the problems of a word for word Latin translation. He proceeds to describe three types of translation, word for word, literal, and free. We would call *free* dynamic equivalence. He proceeds to describe a number of factors a free translation must consider to be authentic, namely *sense, style, dialect, diachronics*. Crystal then names two factors which are impossible to achieve, *total linguistic equivalence* and *total cultural equivalence*. Cf. David CRYSTAL, *Linguistics and Liturgy*, in: *The Church Quarterly* 2 (1969) 23–30, here: 25–27.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 128.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹² Cf. *LA* 25.

⁶⁹³ Cf. Peter JEFFERY, *Translating Tradition. A Chant Historian Reads Liturgiam Authenticam*, Collegeville/MN 2005.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 52 f.

Roman Rite, which demands a faithfulness to the texts that is so rigid that translation from one idiom to another is not possible. Jeffery, who describes his personal tastes as “conservative as one can get without rejecting Vatican II”⁶⁹⁶, and bearing in mind that he had not as yet seen any of the results of *Liturgiam Authenticam*, goes as far as to say that *Liturgiam Authenticam* should be “summarily withdrawn”⁶⁹⁷.

Gerald O’Collins provides a harshly critical assessment of the 2010 translation of the Roman Missal.⁶⁹⁸ Admittedly, O’Collins is writing from the perspective of those who supported the 1998 ICEL translation which was rejected by the Holy See. Whilst many of O’Collins’ complaints are drawn from the standard “progressive” list of grievances⁶⁹⁹, he can certainly be agreed with when he says “the 2010 translation every now and then produces expressions that prove to be clumsy and even tongue-twisters.”⁷⁰⁰ O’Collins is correct in noting that the Latinate English of the 2010 translation is simply not good English.⁷⁰¹ However, his presumption that good English must by definition be modern English, excluding the use of what O’Collins calls “old-fashioned English words that hardly belong to the spoken and written English of today”⁷⁰², must be rejected. This presupposition makes one wonder whether O’Collins has ever seen the *Book of Common Prayer*. O’Collins can be resoundingly agreed with when he says: “Translations must sound like original compositions in the receptor language.”⁷⁰³

Certainly, the 2010 translation is a vast improvement on the 1973 translation. Many of the translations are much closer to those of the Anglican and Anglo-Catholic liturgies. The 1973 translation embraced common English to the point of banality. It frequently diverged so far from the Latin source text as to be unrecognisable. The 2010 translation moves greatly in the right direction in resolving these problems. As Lang notes:

unlike its predecessor, the 2010 ICEL version makes the treasury of the Latin liturgical tradition available to the Church in the English-speaking world. It also contributes greatly to the formation of a ‘sacral vernacular’, as envisaged by *Liturgiam authenticam*: an idiom of

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., 100.

⁶⁹⁸ Gerald O’COLLINS – John WILKINS, *Lost in Translation. The English Language and the Catholic Mass*, Collegeville/MN 2017. For a somewhat polemical critique of the 2010 English translation, see Thomas O’LOUGHLIN (ed.), *Liturgical Language and Translation. The Issues Arising from the Revised English Translation of the Roman Missal (Joint Liturgical Studies 77)*, Norwich 2014.

⁶⁹⁹ For example, see O’COLLINS – WILKINS, *Lost in Translation*, 110.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., 51.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 110.

⁷⁰² Cf. *ibid.*, 38.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 22.

worship that is distinguished from everyday speech and is experienced as the voice of the Church at prayer.⁷⁰⁴

That being said, the fundamental failure of *Liturgiam Authenticam* is in terms of idiom. The 2010 English translation of the Roman Missal is clearly an English that is not every day, however neither is it “proper English”. It does well to recall the principles of Luther and Erasmus embraced by Tyndale that a translation into English should result in “proper English.”⁷⁰⁵ A fundamentalist approach to rejecting dynamic equivalence as being “bad” in all forms has effectively painted liturgical translation into a corner from which it seemingly cannot escape. *Magnum principium* (2017)⁷⁰⁶ may somewhat change the landscape, with its decentralisation of responsibility for translations, but *Liturgiam Authenticam* remains the current instruction guiding the principles for translation. The simple fact is that something as magnificent as Coverdale’s Psalter would be impossible under the current directives. It appears that the authors of *Liturgiam Authenticam* were unfamiliar with Stella Brook, who said, “If English is to be used as the actual liturgical language, and not merely to provide a ‘crib’ to accompany a Latin liturgy, then respect for English idiom must be a necessary constituent of English liturgical style.”⁷⁰⁷ Sadly, this seems to be precisely what has happened with the 2010 translation. Tyndale, Coverdale, and Cranmer understood the fundamental difference in idiom between languages, something that *Liturgiam Authenticam* fails to adequately acknowledge.

The 2020 directive of the CDWDS to remove the word “one” from the English Collects of the Roman Missal is a striking example of the failure to respect a proper English idiom in

⁷⁰⁴ LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 178.

⁷⁰⁵ See page 36.

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. FRANCISCUS PP., *Litterae Apostolicae Motu Proprio Datae Magnum Principium* (3 September 2017), in: AAS 109/10 (2017) 967–970 (Latin text); English translation in: Daily Bulletin (9 September 2017). URL: <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2017/09/09/170909a.html> [accessed: 13 October 2022]. See also *Postquam Summus Pontifex* which codifies and clarifies the implementation of *Magnum Principium*. CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM, *Decretum ad dispositiones can. 838 Codicis Iuris Canonici efficiendas Postquam Summus Pontifex* (22 October 2021), in: Daily Bulletin (22 October 2021). URL: <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/it/bollettino/pubblico/2021/10/22/0683/01452.html> (Latin & English text) [accessed: 13 October 2022]. *Postquam Summus Pontifex* repeats the requirements of *Liturgiam Authenticam* that faithfulness to the Latin text is to come above all other considerations. “Faithfulness above all to the original text, i.e. in Latin, found in the typical liturgical books of the Roman Rite.” PSP 21. “Faithfulness then to the language into which the translation is made, since each language has its own characteristics.” PSP 22. *Postquam Summus Pontifex* does allow for the possibility of “more radical adaption”. PSP 5, 8, 9, 12, also mentioned in *Magnum Principium*. Just exactly what “more radical adaption” means will most probably not become clear until it happens. See also James BRADLEY, *Postquam Summus Pontifex: Further Observations and Questions*, in: *The Jurist: Studies in Church Law and Ministry* 78/1 (2022) 203–229.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. BROOK, *Language of the Book of Common Prayer*, 130.

the liturgy. It is also an example as to how the mindset of *Liturgiam Authenticam* can lead to an obsession with individual words and word-for-word translation to such an extent that one is left engaging in logomachy⁷⁰⁸ to the point of absurdity. The directive is found in a letter from the Prefect, Cardinal Robert Sarah, to the English-speaking Bishops' Conferences⁷⁰⁹, and is concerned with the formula "*Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum*" which in the Roman Missal had been translated as "one God, for ever and ever." According to the letter, *Deus* refers to Jesus Christ. Therefore translating this as "one God" is to say that Jesus is "one" God, hence leading to the false notion that there are three Gods.⁷¹⁰ The CDWDS is so concerned about this perceived problem that they say "the word 'one' corrupts the *lex orandi* and therefore the *lex credendi*".⁷¹¹ This argument seems weak, and despite a historical context being given, seems to be based on the notion that the only way of reading or understanding the doxology is in a narrowly Christological rather than a comprehensively Trinitarian manner. One wonders whether this letter from the CDWDS is intended to make a doctrinal statement such that there is (now) only one correct understanding.

Since 1973, the English translation of the Roman Missal has used "one" in the doxology. The 2010 translation retained it.⁷¹² Hence, in the minds of the CDWDS for fifty years English speaking Catholics have been confused about how many Gods there are. One must wonder how many actual Catholics could be found who have thought this.

In the Anglican tradition, the form "one God" has been used since the first English Prayer Book of 1549. It remains the currently approved form in the 1662 Prayer Book. *The English Missal*, in its translation of the Latin Collects, directs "If the Collect is addressed to the Father, it ends, *Through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord; who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.*"⁷¹³ The form "one God" is

⁷⁰⁸ OED – "contention about words". Logomachy, n., in: Oxford English Dictionary (March 2022).

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS, Unpubl. letter. for Presidents of member Episcopal Conferences of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy from 13 May 2020 (Prot. N. 228/20).

⁷¹⁰ See also Joseph Jungmann's comments on the Collect endings, especially notes 38 & 39, cf. Joseph A. JUNGSMANN, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, vol. 1, New York 1950, 383.

⁷¹¹ Cf. CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS, Unpubl. letter for Presidents of member Episcopal Conferences of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy from 13 May 2020 (Prot. N. 228/20).

⁷¹² The draft Missal submitted to the CDWDS omitted "one", however the CDWDS directed that it was to be put back in.

⁷¹³ [KENRICK], *English Missal* (1940), (14) f.

also found in the modern Prayer Books used across the Anglican Communion.⁷¹⁴ John Hunwicke has written a commentary on this change from the perspective of those originating from the English tradition, concluding, “I think we may be in a slightly Oops situation”.⁷¹⁵ The Lutheran Church also uses the formula “one God”.⁷¹⁶ It would seem to be a logical inconsistency that the CDWDS has found after fifty years that “one God” is supposedly confusing, when this is precisely the formula used by many other traditions, who are (apparently) not confused.

Within the Ordinariates, the formula is “ever one God”. Of course, there is no authoritative Latin text for *Divine Worship*. Yet there seems to be another contradiction of logic here. In the Roman Missal, “one God” is supposed to cause mass confusion, yet in the Ordinarate “ever one God” does not. In *The Book of Divine Worship*, the formula is also “one God”.

In a Q&A session with doctoral students of the University of Vienna, this author asked for *Anglicanae Traditiones* member and Professor of English Clinton Brand’s thoughts on this change. Brand notes and defends the Anglican tradition of understanding the Collect endings in a Trinitarian sense:

In the Anglican tradition ... from the very beginning the Latin formula concluding Collects was understood primarily in a Trinitarian register, whereby we assemble the different persons of the Trinity ‘ever one God’. Now, [the CDWDS says], ‘these were never intended to be Trinitarian, they were always Christological’. It seems to me inventing a problem that none of us knew that we really had until now.⁷¹⁷

In terms of the form “ever one God” in *Divine Worship*, Brand said,

I think our Collect endings are perfectly defensible in terms of the long continuity of this Anglican praxis of understanding the concluding doxologies as having a comprehensively Trinitarian register which of its nature includes the Christological, and I’m not sure people really are confused about there being three Gods rather than one God, or mistaking one or other person of the Trinity for one or another of those Gods.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁴ For example, see ANGLICAN CHURCH OF AUSTRALIA, *A Prayer Book for Australia*. Melbourne 1995, 463; EPISCOPAL CHURCH, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rights and Ceremonies of the Church Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David According to the Use of the Episcopal Church*. New York 2007, 211; ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA, *The Book of Alternative Services of the Anglican Church of Canada*. Toronto 1985, 268; CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *Common Worship. Services and Prayers for the Church of England*. London 2000, 376.

⁷¹⁵ John HUNWICKE, *Liturgical Change (2)*, in: Fr Hunwicke’s *Mutual Enrichment*. URL: <http://liturgicalnotes.blogspot.com/2020/11/liturgical-change-2.html> [accessed: 4 June 2021].

⁷¹⁶ In the Lutheran Church of Australia, the Collects were last published in the *Lutheran Hymnal*, cf. LUTHERAN CHURCH OF AUSTRALIA, *Lutheran Hymnal*. Tune Edition. Adelaide ²1975, 63. The LCA no longer publishes liturgical books, with worship resources provided online. The Collects are included in the sets of resources published for the Sundays of the year available here: <https://www.lca.org.au/departments/commissions/commission-worship/sunday-by-sunday/>

⁷¹⁷ Clinton Allen BRAND, *Online Question and Answer Session with Doctoral Students of the University of Vienna from 7 April 2021*, Houston/TX.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Whilst the motivation of this directive is doctrinal, the obsession over one word fails to acknowledge the later phrase of the doxology *per omnia saecula saeculorum* which is essentially untranslatable into English. In the Roman Missal it is rendered as “for ever and ever.” In the Anglican tradition it is usually rendered as “throughout all ages, world without end.” This is the ending that is found in *Divine Worship*, and it must be admitted that this is very different to “for ever and ever.”

Hence, in examining *Liturgiam Authenticam* and the 2010 Roman Missal, it is possible to see the results of the failure to provide sufficient leeway for an appropriate respect of idiom in translating from the Latin to English. The broad discontent surrounding the Roman Missal, whilst admitting that much of it is tied up in Church politics and disagreements between so-called “progressives” and “conservatives”, demonstrates the 2010 translation is likely to need substantial re-working within the next decades. This is a far cry from the longevity of the 1662 Prayer Book.

2.3 *Some Principles*

Prior to proceeding to a specific examination of the language of *Divine Worship*, it is necessary to establish some general principles in the more general context of language and the liturgy. Therefore, a framework will be established that will permit a working understanding of what is meant by sacral vernacular. Secondly, a framework will be established for what is meant by the organic development of the liturgy.

2.3.1 *What Should a Sacral Vernacular Be?*

In establishing some principles relating to sacral vernacular, a threefold approach will be taken. Firstly, the semantics of the term “sacral vernacular” will be considered. Secondly, what the Church has said in major documents relating to sacral vernacular will be examined. Lastly, some important contributions by scholars will be examined.

In considering the semantics of the term “sacral vernacular”, it is firstly noted that “vernacular” is a noun, and “sacral” is an adjective. The adjective “sacral” qualifies what *type* or *kind* of vernacular is being considered. The fact that an adjective is used at all establishes that there do indeed exist different categories of vernacular. If different categories of vernacular did not exist, then the adjective would be meaningless. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines “vernacular” as “The native speech or language of a particular country or district.”⁷¹⁹ The OED notes the etymology derives from the Latin *vernaculus*, meaning “domestic, native, indigenous.”⁷²⁰ Due to the very broad semantics of the term “native”, its meaning in the context of vernacular language must also be established. The definition given by the OED is: “Of an attribute, ability, etc.: belonging to or natural to a person by reason of place of birth or nationality”⁷²¹, noting “Used esp. of a first language.”⁷²² Thus, in considering a particular group of people, what is meant by vernacular language is the language that is proper to them by virtue of belonging to that group of people. Of course, there is a certain generality here which must be accepted. No two persons use language identically, or even have an identical vocabulary. It would seem reasonable, however, to acknowledge that two persons are utilising their native vernacular language when their day-to-day conversation is able to flow with no barriers to comprehension. This

⁷¹⁹ Vernacular, adj. and n., in: Oxford English Dictionary (December 2022).

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ Native, adj., in: Oxford English Dictionary (December 2022).

⁷²² Ibid.

is an acknowledgment that languages have dialects, turns of phrase, and even slang that preclude universal comprehension for all speakers of that language.

Based on this consideration, a definition will be established for the term “vernacular” for the purposes of this study. **Vernacular means the language that is common to all the members of a particular group, such that there are no obstacles to comprehension in between any of the members of the group.**

Turning now to the adjective “sacral”, which the OED defines as: “Of or pertaining to sacred rites and observances; set apart for a religious purpose, sacred; pertaining to that which is sacred.”⁷²³ The OED notes the etymology as deriving from the Latin *sacrum*, meaning “sacred thing, rite”.⁷²⁴ For the purposes of this study, “sacral” is defined as **set apart for a religious purpose**. Therefore, sacral vernacular can be defined as **the language that is common to all the members of a particular group, such that there are no obstacles to comprehension in between any of the members of the group which is set apart for a religious purpose**. At first glance, there appears to be a contradiction here. Sacral vernacular is both common and set apart. Indeed, it is often said of sacral vernacular that it is *not* common. The usage of the term “common” needs to be qualified here. In this definition of vernacular, what is presumed to be common to all the members of the group is *not* necessarily usage, but *comprehension*. Person A uses a phrase that person B does not use, yet person B can still comprehend what it is that Person A is saying. A sacral vernacular is language that is set apart for sacred or religious things however it can still be comprehended or understood by those who speak the vernacular language.

This distinction between common usage and common understanding is very important. It is often said that the language of the liturgy is not the language of the street or marketplace. In considering this example with respect to vernacular, the usage, or *style* of sacral vernacular is uncommon and distinctive whilst its meaning is common. As Josef Pieper notes, sacred things are “different” to other things.⁷²⁵ Sacred language is different to other language, and sacred vernacular is different to the vernacular that is not set apart for religious discourse.

Turning now to what the documents of the Church have said, as previously noted, the Second Vatican Council opened up the possibility and indeed the desirability of the broad use of

⁷²³ Sacral, adj.2, in: Oxford English Dictionary (December 2022).

⁷²⁴ Ibid.

⁷²⁵ Cf. Josef PIEPER, *In Search of the Sacred. Contributions to an Answer*, San Francisco 1991, 15. See also the entire first chapter, “The Sacred and its Negation”.

vernacular in the liturgy.⁷²⁶ The current document guiding the principles of translation within the Latin Church is *Liturgiam Authenticam*, to which consideration has already been given. *Liturgiam Authenticam* itself expressed a desire to “contribute to the gradual development, in each vernacular, of a sacred style that will come to be recognized as proper to liturgical language.”⁷²⁷ *Liturgiam Authenticam* notes that it replaces all previous instructions, except for *Varietates Legitimae* (1994)⁷²⁸ which is concerned with inculturation in the liturgy, alongside which LA is to be understood. The specific principles enunciated in both documents with respect to sacral vernacular will now be examined.

Positive principles

- Liturgical language “must always express, along with the truths of the faith, the grandeur and holiness of the mysteries which are being celebrated.”⁷²⁹
- It is “important to take account of the different literary genres used in the liturgy: biblical texts, presidential prayers, psalmody, acclamations, refrains, responsories, hymns and litanies.”⁷³⁰
- “[T]ranslations must be understandable to participants [...], suitable for proclamation and singing, with appropriate responses and acclamations by the assembly.”⁷³¹
- “[T]ranslators must be attentive to the relationship between the text and the liturgical action, aware of the needs of oral communication and sensitive to the literary qualities of the living language of the people. The qualities needed for liturgical translations are also required in the case of new compositions, when they are envisaged.”⁷³²
- Translations should be “easily understandable”.⁷³³

⁷²⁶ Cf. SC 36.

⁷²⁷ LA 27. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 535.

⁷²⁸ Cf. CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM, De Liturgia Romana et Inculturatione. Instructio Quarta «ad executionem constitutionis Concilii Vaticani Secundi de Sacra Liturgia recte ordinandam» (ad Const. art. 37-40) *Varietates Legitimae* (25 January 1994), in: AAS 87 (1995) 288–314 (Latin text); English translation in: The Liturgy Documents, vol. 3. Foundational Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 495–517.

⁷²⁹ VL 39. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 508.

⁷³⁰ VL 39. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 508.

⁷³¹ VL 53. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 511.

⁷³² VL 53. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 512.

⁷³³ LA 25. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 534.

- “[T]ranslations will respond to the hunger and thirst for the living God that is experienced by the people of our own time, while contributing also to the dignity and beauty of the liturgical celebration itself.”⁷³⁴
- “[W]ords or expressions are sometimes employed which differ somewhat from usual and everyday speech, it is often enough by virtue of this very fact that the texts become truly memorable and capable of expressing heavenly realities.”⁷³⁵
- Sacral vernacular is characterised by “a vocabulary, syntax and grammar that are proper to divine worship”.⁷³⁶
- Vocabulary should be so as to distinguish sacred things from everyday things.⁷³⁷
- Liturgical texts are “characterized by a certain manner of expression that differs from that found in everyday speech or in texts intended be read silently. Examples of this include recurring and recognizable patterns of syntax and style, a solemn or exalted tone, alliteration and assonance, concrete and vivid images, repetition, parallelism and contrast, a certain rhythm, and at times, the lyric of poetic compositions.”⁷³⁸

Negative principles

- Translation into vernacular is not to result in “new varieties or families of rites.”⁷³⁹
- Translations are to avoid expressions that reflect ideologies, passing fashions or meaning that is contextually variable.⁷⁴⁰

In 2001, the CDWDS established the *Vox Clara* committee, chaired by Archbishop of Sydney, George Pell. This committee would effectively oversee the translation process of the new English translation of the Roman Missal. As part of its work, a guiding document, *Ratio Translationis for the English Language*⁷⁴¹, was produced. This document expands and elaborates upon *Liturgiam Authenticam* specifically in the context of creating an English translation of the Latin liturgical rites.

⁷³⁴ LA 25. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 535.

⁷³⁵ LA 27. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 535.

⁷³⁶ LA 47. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 541.

⁷³⁷ Cf. LA 50.

⁷³⁸ LA 59. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 544.

⁷³⁹ LA 5. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 529.

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. LA 32.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS, *Ratio Translationis for the English Language*, Vatican City 2007; hereafter *Ratio Translationis*.

Some points made by the *Ratio Translationis* are noteworthy. Firstly, the *Ratio Translationis* insists that vernacular translations are to be seen as, and in the context of, the organic growth, or development, of the Roman Rite.⁷⁴² Concerning the question of inculturation, the *Ratio Translationis* gives the marriage formulae as an example of sacred texts having a major impact upon vernacular language, noting the origin of those texts in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and ultimately the Sarum Use: “As a result of its widespread influence, the language of ‘for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, in sickness and in health’ has come to define nearly all marital obligation in Western societies, and not simply Christian ones.”⁷⁴³ The *Ratio Translationis* briefly touches on the development of a liturgical vernacular, and in doing so notes the work of Christine Mohrmann, whose contribution will be considered later.⁷⁴⁴

What is interesting, and perhaps surprising, is how little the documents have to say that is proper to the field of linguistics. True vernacular idiom is occasionally mentioned in passing, but then subjugated to the goal of faithfulness to the Latin text. This phrase from the *Ratio Translationis* is telling: “Every word and concept presented in an original text must be fully accounted for within a translation, even when the language into which the text is being translated must be pushed beyond its normal limits of expression.”⁷⁴⁵ It is clear from this statement that idiom is to come secondary to word-for-word translation. The documents seem to be fixated with the Latin text and faithfulness to that text above all else. It is almost as if the principle that a good translation should appear as if it had been originally composed in the destination language has been redefined such that in the Roman Rite a good translation of the Latin text is one in which it is obvious that it has been translated from Latin.

Despite the lack of attention of the liturgical documents to the idiomatic and linguistic considerations of liturgical translation, scholars and the field of linguistics have made a positive contribution to this question. Christine Mohrmann’s seminal work *Liturgical Latin: Its Origins and Character*⁷⁴⁶ discusses Latin as a liturgical language and the properties of liturgical language in general. Mohrmann notes that language is at its most fundamental ordered towards communication. However, human language is not confined solely to

⁷⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, 14 f.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 20–22.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 35. Emphasis mine.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. Christine MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin: Its Origins and Character. Three Lectures*, Washington 1957.

language as communication, but also language as expression.⁷⁴⁷ Different kinds of communication will have different kinds and levels of expression. It is difficult to discuss mathematics expressively, whilst it is difficult to discuss love inexpressively. Religious discourse – or sacral language – is especially expressive. In language as communication, intelligibility is the most important factor, but in sacral language, intelligibility is not necessarily essential, as the expressive dimension can transcend that of the communicative, earnestly reaching to the transcendental and incomprehensible God.⁷⁴⁸ In a given discourse, as expression moves to the fore, so too will stylistic properties.⁷⁴⁹ As sacral language is especially expressive, it follows that sacral language is highly stylised. As Mohrmann notes, “sacral stylization forms an essential element of every official prayer language and that this sacral, hieratic character cannot, and should never, be relinquished.”⁷⁵⁰

It is important to acknowledge that sacred language is not sacred language simply because of its subject.⁷⁵¹ The distinctiveness of sacred language is not just in subject but also in style. There does exist, however, a distinction between primary and secondary sacred language. Primary sacred language is considered sacred from the beginning, whereas secondary sacred language takes on its sacral categorisation over time.⁷⁵² Whilst accepting this distinction, one must be careful not to think that liturgical Latin has *become* sacred because it is now a dead language. Classical or spoken Latin was very different to the highly stylised liturgical Latin, so much so that Latin speakers would often struggle to understand it.⁷⁵³ The Roman Canon developed over time into its highly stylised form.⁷⁵⁴ This does not mean that the Latin liturgy started out as vulgar Latin. As Mohrmann emphatically states, “Vulgar Latin has

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 3; LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 46. See also the entire chapter “Sacred Language” which draws heavily from Mohrmann’s work; LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 45–72. See also Lang’s chapter “The Liturgy and Sacred Language” which repeats many of the salient aspects of “Voice of the Church at Prayer” in abbreviation; Uwe Michael LANG, *The Liturgy and Sacred Language*, in: Alcuin REID (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, London 2016, 365–382.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin*, 6.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 9 f. See also Mohrmann’s amplification of this point in: Christine MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, in: *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens*, vol. 4 (Storia e Letteratura 143) Rome 1977, 143–159, here: 150 f.

⁷⁵⁰ MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin*, 86.

⁷⁵¹ MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 151.

⁷⁵² Cf. LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 53.

⁷⁵³ Cf. MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin*, 61; MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 150 f.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. MOHRMANN, *Liturgical Latin*, 65–68.

never been used in Roman liturgy.”⁷⁵⁵ She gives examples of a number of sacred languages in which she includes “Elizabethan English of the Book of Common Prayer” and “the liturgical Latin of the Roman Catholic Church.”⁷⁵⁶

The *Book of Common Prayer*, and the English Bible (which must always be seen alongside the Prayer Book) were clearly intended to be distinctive in language. As noted earlier, Tyndale deliberately chose in his Biblical translation to not align his English with common English, but to insist that the language of the Bible should stand separately as its own sacred dialect. Cranmer followed this distinctiveness of language in the Prayer Book. The Prayer Book and the English Bible had a tremendous impact upon common English, and much of their vocabulary and turns of phrase became part of common English, but they did not start out as common English and only come to be considered as sacred language later on.

Mohrmann formally identifies three rules that are proper to all sacred languages. Firstly, Sacred language has a natural stability or conservatism, holding on to “old linguistic forms and formulas”, even to the point of archaism.⁷⁵⁷ This conservatism is related, in part, to the incantational character of sacred language.⁷⁵⁸ Sacred language is ordered to the divine. If a divine *effect* is to be expected, then the integrity of the language must be protected. Harkening back to what Mohrmann associates with a linguistic magical mindset is the notion that a spell only works if the right words are used.⁷⁵⁹ Such was the objection of the western rebels to the change of the formula of the liturgy in 1549. As the subject of sacral language is divine things, one should expect a precision of language. Unclear or vague language should be avoided in matters of faith and doctrine. Hence sacral language makes

⁷⁵⁵ MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 151. See also Uwe Michael LANG, *The Roman Mass. From Early Christian Origins to Tridentine Reform*, Cambridge 2022, 104–110. Lang describes the development of sacral Latin as, in part, the Christianisation of pagan Rome: “The formation of a Latin liturgical idiom was a major contribution to this project of evangelising Roman culture and thus attracting the influential elites of the city and the empire to the Christian faith. It would not be accurate to describe this process simply as the adoption of the vernacular language in the liturgy, if ‘vernacular’ is taken to mean ‘colloquial’. The Latin of the canon, of the collects and prefaces of the Mass transcended the conversational idiom of ordinary people. This highly stylised form of speech, shaped to express complex theological ideas, would not have been easy to follow by the average Roman Christian of late antiquity.” *Ibid.*, 109.

⁷⁵⁶ MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 151.

⁷⁵⁷ Lang also gives consideration to Mohrmann’s “rules”, thus in the references the first reference will be to Mohrmann, with the second to Lang’s consideration. Cf. MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 151; LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 47. It should be noted that archaisms in sacred language exist at two levels, those that become archaic over time, and those that were intended to be distinctly “archaic” from the beginning.

⁷⁵⁸ Cf. MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 153.

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

use of technical terminology, much of which is proper to sacred things. As Mohrmann notes, technical language with its defined meaning is semantically resistant in a way that colloquial language is not.⁷⁶⁰ This is one reason why in sacral language colloquialisms should be avoided, and precise language tending to the technical should be favoured. Hence, we see another dimension of the conservative nature of sacred language.

Secondly, Mohrmann notes the introduction of foreign elements so as to create a connection with ancient religious tradition.⁷⁶¹ This rule emphasises the transcendental nature of the liturgy in a temporal sense. Examples are the use of vocabulary such as *Amen* and *Alleluia*, or some of the most important quotations of Jesus being given in the Scriptures in ancient languages. Another example is the choice in the first Catholic Edition of the *RSV* Bible to retain the use of archaic pronouns for the most solemn discourse, such as when it is God who speaks.

Thirdly is the use of stylistic qualities that are proper to the oral style such as “parallelism and anti-thesis, rhythmic clausulae, rime, alliteration and so forth.”⁷⁶² As Mohrmann notes, “By these and other stylistic means there are particular linguistic and stylistic structures which are clearly different from common languages and which are handed down from generation to generation, practically unchanged.”⁷⁶³ To re-iterate what has been said previously, *good sacral language does not need to be substantially reworked every fifty years!*

The linguist David Crystal has also examined the properties of sacred language.⁷⁶⁴ Speaking generally as to what a sacred or a liturgical language is he says,

the language of a liturgy is a set of distinctive verbal forms used in official public worship on behalf of a religion (i.e. a register). This may be a completely different language from the one

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 149.

⁷⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 151 f.; LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 48.

⁷⁶² Cf. MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 152; LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 48.

⁷⁶³ MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 152.

⁷⁶⁴ His most important studies relevant to sacral language are given here in chronological order. See David CRYSTAL, *A Liturgical Language in a Linguistic Perspective*, in: *New Blackfriars* 45/534 (December 1964) 148–156; David CRYSTAL, *Linguistics, Language and Religion* (*Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* 126), New York 1965; David CRYSTAL, *Language and Religion*, in: Lancelot SHEPPARD (ed.), *Twentieth Century Catholicism* (3), New York 1966, 11–28; David CRYSTAL, *Linguistics and Liturgy*, in: *The Church Quarterly* 2 (1969) 23–30; The chapter “*The Language of Religion*”, in: David CRYSTAL – Derek DAVY, *Investigating English Style*, Bloomington 1969, 147–172; David CRYSTAL, *Liturgical Language in a Sociolinguistic Perspective*, in: David JASPER – Ronald C. JASPER (eds.), *Language and the Worship of the Church*, Basingstoke 1990, 120–146. It should be noted that the first article cited is foundational, many of the later works repeat and build upon what is examined in this article. See also his website, <https://www.davidcrystal.com>.

normally used by the speech-community (e.g., Latin), or it may be a relatively abnormal kind of the same language, as with the vernacular.⁷⁶⁵

He describes liturgical language as “formally abnormal”, a style “which one does not expect to meet in ordinary situations, and which is valuable because its unfamiliarity signals the extra-ordinary purpose of the liturgical situation and demands added concentration.”⁷⁶⁶

Crystal offers a context for two important terms commonly used in the field of linguistics. He associates *style* with the degree of formality of a particular social situation.⁷⁶⁷ The more formal the situation, the more use is made of stylistic language. As sacred language is a highly formal discourse, one should expect highly stylised language to be made use of. One should expect that a heightened social situation is accompanied with heightened language. “Colloquial language, slang, loosely-phrased expressions and contractions, vogue-words, and so on, would certainly be out of place.”⁷⁶⁸ *Register* is used to categorise identifiable forms of language that are “characteristic of a definable social situation.”⁷⁶⁹ Thus sacred language is an identifiable register of English use.⁷⁷⁰

Crystal presents some general features of liturgical language. Stylistically, the use of more “conservative words where there is a choice, to add to the formality”.⁷⁷¹ He notes that liturgical language has a certain syntactic form in sentence structure and length and that this is the most important stylistic feature.⁷⁷² He warns, however, of the dangers of going too far in the search for distinctiveness. Distinctiveness should not be equated with obscurity, which will then sacrifice intelligibility:

[L]iturgical language needs to strike a balance between ostentatious intellectualism and a racy colloquialism. It must be both dignified and intelligible. It has to be formally characterized as God’s, and not confusable with any other style, for a substantial overlap would lead only to profanity and carelessness in worship.⁷⁷³

⁷⁶⁵ CRYSTAL, *Liturgical Language in a Linguistic Perspective*, 149.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 149.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 149.

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. Robert L. WILKEN, *The Church’s Way of Speaking*, in: *First Things* 154 (2005) 27–31. Wilken describes religious language in terms of a particular way of speaking.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 150.

⁷⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, 150 f.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*, 151.

Crystal identifies three primary properties or elements of liturgical (or sacred) language that come together to form its particular distinctiveness. These are: 1) use of archaisms; 2) formulaic diction; and 3) specialised vocabulary.⁷⁷⁴

Crystal defines archaism as follows:

a form (not necessarily a single word) with a particular morphological and/or syntactic structure that is excluded from any other natural English style or register (i.e., not in non-religious current usage) and which therefore has no systematic function in the language as a whole.⁷⁷⁵

Note that this definition is much broader than the popular notion that archaism means (only) words like *thee* and *thou*.

The OED defines “archaism” as follows:

esp. of language: Belonging to an earlier period, no longer in common use, though still retained either by individuals, or generally, for special purposes, poetical, liturgical, etc. Thus the pronunciation *obleege* is archaic in the first case; the pronoun *thou* in the second.⁷⁷⁶

It is important here to make a distinction between archaic and obsolete language. It is commonly assumed that archaic language is by definition obsolete. Brand distinguishes archaic language and obsolete language in this way:

we use archaic words and expressions all the time in everyday usage. Sometimes we forget that they’re archaic – that is to say they hearken back to older grammatical forms and older modes of diction but within their context they remain intelligible ... modes of speech particularised to different context of different interactions. We use archaic language all the time. Because in fact language, every language, is a strata of a series of series of historical developments and within the sphere of religious English, in which I would include Prayer Book English as well as the idiom of the *Authorised Version*, there are archaic forms that hearken back to origins, sources, roots, or which in some cases simulate the older forms of the languages of revelation, in the Hebrew, and the Greek, and as transmitted through the Latin tradition. But these words, though not in common everyday usage are nonetheless intelligible for those who are experientially and repeatedly immersed in that specialised language of worship. Law has its own language. Sports has its own language. Politics has its own language, and all of these linguistic usages abound in archaic idioms which are not truly completely obsolete. That which is obsolete is no longer intelligible – is no longer even minimally functional. And to be sure, obsolete expressions live past their “sell by date” and need to be pruned away.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 151.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁷⁷⁶ Archaism, n., in: Oxford English Dictionary (December 2021).

⁷⁷⁷ BRAND, Online Question and Answer Session with Doctoral Students of the University of Vienna from 7 April 2021, Houston/TX.

Crystal details various forms of archaisms that are used in sacral language.⁷⁷⁸ A few of the most important of these are grammatical words and inflections, syntactic structures, vocative forms of address, imperative use, and uncommon word orders.⁷⁷⁹

Crystal's second quality is formulaic diction. This is a set of words that through repeated use has become so familiar within the register of liturgical language so as to be prescribed.⁷⁸⁰ Examples are "world without end" and "Dearly beloved, we are gathered here...", and of course, "Our Father, who art in heaven..." Crystal notes:

Such formulaic units, then, are the idioms, proverbs, familiar metaphors and similes, clichés, commonly-known quotations and catch-phrases of language, currently in use, all composed of any number of words, but nonetheless taken as a single lexical unit.⁷⁸¹

Crystal's third quality is specialised vocabulary. In sacred language this means vocabulary whose meaning is proper to the sacred register. Crystal gives detailed examples of the varied way that specialised vocabulary is manifested in sacred language.⁷⁸²

Writing twenty-six years later, Crystal restated these principles, noting, however, that many of them had fallen out of use in the revised liturgies of many churches, including the Catholic Church.⁷⁸³ Lang has also drawn attention to Crystal's three principles, noting that archaisms, vocative syntactical structures and much specialised vocabulary had been "deliberately avoided in the 1973 translation" of the Roman Missal.⁷⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that with the 2010 translation, two of these have been restored, namely vocative syntactical structures and specialised vocabulary.

Prior to turning to a synthesis of these principles, it is apt to recall the goal of *Liturgiam Authenticam* for "the development of a sacral vernacular, characterized by a vocabulary, syntax and grammar that are proper to divine worship".⁷⁸⁵ This idea could be captured in the term *Sondersprache*. Drawing attention to this goal, Lang notes: "The task of reproducing the beauty and dignity of the Canon of the Mass or the ancient orations of the *Missale*

⁷⁷⁸ CRYSTAL, *Liturgical Language in a Linguistic Perspective*, 152.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 153.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸² Cf. *ibid.*, 154 f.

⁷⁸³ Cf. CRYSTAL, *Liturgical Language in a Sociolinguistic Perspective*, 122 f.

⁷⁸⁴ LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 164.

⁷⁸⁵ LA 47. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 541.

Romanum in the vernacular would require translators as gifted in their mother tongue as Miles Coverdale or Thomas Cranmer were in the sixteenth century.”⁷⁸⁶

Having therefore considered principles from prominent linguists, a synthesis of principles of sacral vernacular is now postulated. Sacral vernacular:

- 1) Is an identifiable category or register of vernacular
- 2) Encompasses both the communicative and expressive dimensions of language
- 3) Is distinguished from common speech and avoids colloquialisms
- 4) Is highly stylised
- 5) Is intelligible
- 6) Is stable and resistant to change, changing much more slowly than the common vernacular
- 7) Uses archaic linguistic forms
- 8) Uses formulaic diction
- 9) Uses specialised vocabulary

2.3.2 Principles for the Organic Development of the Liturgy

The liturgy is central to the very life and identity of the Church. However, Jesus himself never wrote a liturgy. In terms of a set pattern of prayer, Jesus gave us the prayer we call “The Lord’s Prayer” and indeed this prayer forms a central part of the liturgy. Jesus and his disciples were Jews. His earthly ministry takes place in the context of Jewish religious practice. The Last Supper was a celebration of the Jewish Passover. John’s Gospel records a long discourse by Jesus at the Last Supper which exhibits liturgical qualities.⁷⁸⁷ In celebrating this Passover meal, Jesus ritually takes bread and wine and distributes it to his disciples, telling them that they are to “do this” themselves.⁷⁸⁸

Christianity emerged in the context of the ritualistic practices of Judaism. Indeed, one of the early arguments in the Church was whether Gentiles needed to convert to Judaism before they could become Christians.⁷⁸⁹ Ritually repeating what Jesus himself had done in the celebration of the Eucharist was central to the practice of the early Christians.

From the beginning, the liturgy was in a state of development. In the West, by the end of the fourth century the recognisable basic structure of the Roman Rite was in place.⁷⁹⁰ As the

⁷⁸⁶ LANG, *Voice of the Church at Prayer*, 171.

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. John 17.

⁷⁸⁸ Cf. Matthew 26: 26–29; Mark 14: 22–25; Luke 22: 14–20.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. Acts, 15:1–31.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. JUNGSMANN, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 58. For further on the history and structure of the Roman Rite see Adrian FORTESCUE, *The Mass. A Study of the Roman Liturgy*, London ²1937; Bryan D. SPINKS, *Do This in Remembrance of Me. The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (SCM Studies

Church exists in time, the liturgy is always tending to and capable of development. One cannot point to a particular moment in time and say that *this* was the liturgy in perfection, and that all other forms are somehow less perfect. As Alcuin Reid notes:

[T]he Liturgy is a developing entity. There was no one time in the first six centuries where its development halted. The Liturgy was a living reality, an organism, and was capable of further growth. This cannot but be a fundamental component of any principles of liturgical reform.⁷⁹¹

The Second Vatican Council acknowledged the necessity for liturgical development to develop organically: “[C]are must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing.”⁷⁹² The biological image of an organism is apt. An organism is in a state of perpetual change, yet it always remains the same organism. The liturgy of the Church must respect this same principle. The liturgy of 500 years ago, or 1500 years, or of today, are all equally the *lex orandi* of the Church and a participation in divine mysteries which transcend time and space. The liturgy of the Church must not be seen as a succession of liturgies that have been “constructed” at various moments of history with no relationship to one another, but a unifying thread that continues throughout her entire life. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a number of scholars discussed the development of the liturgy in terms of organic growth.⁷⁹³ In considering what he called the “laws of liturgical evolution”, Anton Baumstark formally identified the “law of organic development”.⁷⁹⁴ Fritz West notes that Baumstark was “the first to make systematic use of organic thought for the study of the liturgy.”⁷⁹⁵ Baumstark saw organic development as a

in *Worship and Liturgy*), London 2013, 200–205; Helmut HOPING, *My Body Given for You. History and Theology of the Eucharist*, San Francisco 2019, 131–173; LANG, *The Roman Mass*, especially chapter 4.

⁷⁹¹ REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 21.

⁷⁹² SC 23. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 281. It can be easy to see this principle through Latin eyes only, yet the council also noted the importance of organic development in the context of the Eastern Churches, noting that liturgical “changes are to be introduced only to forward their own organic development.” SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, *Decretum de Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (21 November 1964), in: AAS 57 (1965) 76–89 (Latin text), here: 6; English translation in: *Vatican Council II, vol. 1, The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. by Austin FLANNERY, Northpoint/NY 1996, 443.

⁷⁹³ Cf. Fritz WEST, Introduction, in: Anton BAUMSTARK, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy*, Collegeville/MN 2011, 2 f. West’s entire introduction is commended for its overview of organic principles applied to the liturgy. For background on the beginnings of the use of “organic thought”, that is the comparison to living things, and the development of the comparative method, see Fritz WEST, *The Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark* (*Joint Liturgical Studies* 31), Cambridge 1995, 16–25.

⁷⁹⁴ Anton BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, Westminster/MD 1958, 23. See also HOPING, *My Body Given for You*, 294.

⁷⁹⁵ WEST, Introduction, in: BAUMSTARK, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy*, 5. For background on the development of Baumstark’s “laws” and his “law of organic development, see WEST, *The Comparative Liturgy of Anton Baumstark*, 27 f. See also Robert F. TAFT, *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark* (d. 1948): A Reply to Recent Critics, in: *Worship* 73/6 (1999) 521–540.

progressive development or evolution in which new elements would stand beside older elements, with the older elements as they become primitive eventually disappearing or existing only in vestigial form.⁷⁹⁶ According to this evolutionary model of liturgy, the relationship of the liturgy of today with that of yesterday or tomorrow is self-evident, yet this may not be case when comparing the liturgy of several hundred years ago with today's liturgy.

Writing in 1945 Lambert Beauduin also used the image of a living entity:

The Church has not received the institutions of the sacraments, any more than she has also received Sacred Scripture, as a fixed and dead treasure that she must guard without change; rather, she has received them as a living deposit that she continually develops according to the many and varied needs of successive generations.⁷⁹⁷

Consideration of the organic development of the liturgy is an expansive topic in itself, including the disciplines of liturgical history, liturgical studies and pastoral liturgy. Reid's work *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*⁷⁹⁸ provides a synthesis that includes these disciplines, and as such will be used as a primary source for enunciating some specific principles.⁷⁹⁹

It is firstly necessary to identify two extremes that must be avoided if liturgy is to truly organically develop. These two are antiquarianism, which can also manifest itself as archaeologism, and pastoral expediency. Antiquarianism places an excessive value on antiquity. It places a priority on earlier liturgical forms, often arguing that they are somehow

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁹⁷ Lambert BEAUDUIN, Normes Pratiques Pour Les Reformes Liturgiques, in: *La Maison-Dieu* 1 (1945) 9–22, here: 13. English translation taken from REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 136.

⁷⁹⁸ For convenience the full reference is again provided: cf. Alcuin REID, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy. The Principles of Liturgical Reform and Their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council*, San Francisco 2005. West notes two schools of thought with respect to organic thought, *descriptive* and *prescriptive*. West categorises Reid's as prescriptive, and notes that a prescriptive understanding of organic development "has received the approbation of Pope Benedict XVI". WEST, Introduction, in: BAUMSTARK, *On the Historical Development of the Liturgy*, 5.

⁷⁹⁹ For further perspectives on organic development, see Clare V. JOHNSON, From Organic Growth to Liturgico-Plasticity: Reconceptualizing the Process of Liturgical Reform, in: *Theological Studies* 76/1 (2015) 87–111; Mariusz BILINIEWICZ, Inner Dynamics of Divine Worship: Joseph Ratzinger on Liturgical Development, in: *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* 22/1 (2014) 21–36. John Baldovin specifically objects to Reid's position on the organic development of the liturgy. See John F. BALDOVIN, *Reforming the Liturgy. A Response to the Critics*, Collegeville/MN 2008, 51–61. See also Andrea Grillo who sees liturgical reform in a non-organic way. Andrea GRILLO, *Beyond Pius V. Conflicting Interpretations of the Liturgical Reform*, Collegeville/MN 2013. See also Reid's review of Grillo's book. Alcuin REID, *Beyond Pius V*, by Andrea Grillo – Review by Dom Alcuin Reid, in: *New Liturgical Movement* (21 January 2014). URL: <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2014/01/beyond-pius-v-by-andrea-grillo-review.html> [accessed: 4 November 2022]. Also see Grillo's response. Andrea GRILLO, *Andrea Grillo Replies to Alcuin Reid's Review of 'Beyond Pius V'* [trans. by Gregory DIPIPO], in: *New Liturgical Movement* (30 January 2014). URL: <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2014/01/andrea-grillo-replies-to-alcuin-reids.html> [accessed: 4 November 2022].

“more pure” than later developments. It has an aversion to perceived “accretions” in the liturgy, and will often demand their pruning. The problem is that antiquarianism, in its most extreme form, can only lead to the logical conclusion that any development of the liturgy somehow results in something that is inferior to earlier forms. Put simply, the more ancient an element of the liturgy is, the better it is considered to be. It should be plain that this notion is incompatible with that of the organic development of the liturgy. Liturgy seen through antiquarian eyes is like a museum piece. Tradition becomes a process of strict preservation, as if the object being handed on is to be kept in an environmentally controlled glass case, lest any damage should come to it. Preservation trumps use. This extreme form of antiquarianism fails to see the liturgy as a living thing which is always in a state of development.

One manifestation of antiquarianism is archaeologism. The revision of liturgical forms is like an archaeological dig, sorting and sifting tradition, looking for a lost prized gem from the past liturgical life of the church that can be rediscovered and reappropriated back into the liturgy of the Church. Again, principles of the organic development of the liturgy are easily ignored when doing so. As antiquarianism and archaeologism are looking backwards in time, they easily ignore the reality of the pastoral needs of the Church in the here and now of the present.

Beauduin notes that acknowledging that the liturgy is traditional “does not make of the Liturgy a fossilised antique, a museum curiosity. The Liturgy *lives* and unfolds itself also today.”⁸⁰⁰ Reid notes Louis Bouyer’s argument that Beauduin has discovered a most important principle.⁸⁰¹ According to Beauduin, “we must not try to provide an artificial congregation to take part in an antiquarian Liturgy, but rather to prepare the actual congregations of the Church today to take part in the truly traditional Liturgy rightly understood.”⁸⁰²

Reid’s examination of the history of the Liturgical Movement repeatedly notes the rejection of antiquarianism. A particularly salient example is in the encyclical of Pius XII *Mediator Dei* (1947):⁸⁰³ “Assuredly it is a wise and most laudable thing to return in spirit and affection

⁸⁰⁰ Lambert BEAUDUIN, *Liturgy. The Life of the Church* (Popular Liturgical Library 1/1), Collegeville/MN 1929, 36; quoted in REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 80 f.

⁸⁰¹ Cf. REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 81.

⁸⁰² Louis BOUYER, *Life and Liturgy*, London 1956, 15; quoted in REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 81.

⁸⁰³ Cf. PIUS PP. XII, *Litterae Encyclicae De Sacra Liturgia Mediator Dei* (20 November 1947), in: AAS 39 (1947) 521–595 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents*, vol. 3. Foundational

to the sources of the sacred liturgy. [...] But it is neither wise nor laudable to reduce everything to antiquity by every possible device.”⁸⁰⁴

Whilst antiquarianism tends to an obsession with the past, pastoral expediency tends to an obsession with the here and now without sufficient respect for what has been received. It fails to see the Church as a custodian of the liturgy, but rather its master, who can re-arrange liturgy as she sees fit, to meet any perceived need of the worshipping community. This notion ignores the reality that the liturgy transcends time. While the pastoral and spiritual needs of the community gathered in the here and now *are* important and should be addressed, the Church of the present is not master of the liturgy. Unfortunately, this tendency is often manifested within parishes, where liturgy is not seen as the liturgy of the Church, but “what we do here”. For example, it is not uncommon to see a “canon-within-the-canon” approach to liturgy in parishes or even entire dioceses, where particular sections of the missal are rejected, contrary to the notion that to be Catholic is to do as the Church does.

Reid notes Annibale Bugnini’s assertion that the common goal amongst various desires for reforming the liturgy is “to adjust the Liturgy according to the actual spiritual needs of the clergy and laity.”⁸⁰⁵ Reid continues that this “is the fundamental principle behind the desire for a so-called ‘pastoral’ Liturgy.”⁸⁰⁶ Whilst the liturgy must consider the needs of the people, as the liturgy is the work of the people, to overemphasise this notion is to tend to pastoral expediency.

Reid’s assessment of Joseph Jungmann is of note: ⁸⁰⁷ “Jungmann was a liturgical antiquarian.”⁸⁰⁸ He put forth a view that the liturgy had become corrupted over time and was in need of purification.⁸⁰⁹ Jungmann, however, was also a great proponent of pastoral expediency. Thus, in Jungmann, we see the embodiment of both antiquarianism and pastoral expediency in his own principles of liturgical reform.⁸¹⁰ For Jungmann, the Roman Rite was ripe for a serious pruning in a search for the purity of antiquity yet at the same time a re-

Documents on the Origins and Implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Chicago/IL 2013, 107–156, here: 62–64; REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 140 f.

⁸⁰⁴ MD 62. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 123.

⁸⁰⁵ Annibale BUGNINI, *Per una riforma liturgica generale*, in: *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 63 (1949) 166–184, here: 184; REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 150.

⁸⁰⁶ REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 150.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 164–172.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁸⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁸¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 171.

moulding according to the perceived needs of the here and the now. This was in a sense a perfect storm for liturgical development, in which it could be argued that tradition was relegated to a minor place in favour of other liturgical principles.

Hence, it is necessary that tradition and the pastoral needs of the worshipping community of today must both be respected and held in balance. Reid quotes a letter from Adrian Fortescue, where Fortescue warns against formulating a rite by stringing together the prettiest bits from various liturgies. He gives the high church Anglican liturgies as an example of this, with their “combinations of their Prayer Book with the juiciest morsels from the Roman Mass.”⁸¹¹ Both antiquarianism and pastoral expediency can lead to this danger, which is why respect for authentic organic development of the liturgy is necessary. Certainly, the notion of a “Choose Your Own Adventure”⁸¹² liturgy must be rejected, where liturgy is no longer the prayer of the universal Church, but the product of liturgy “planners”, and the worship books are no more than a resource to serve this task of planning.⁸¹³

As Reid notes, “Organic development holds openness to growth (prompted by pastoral needs) and continuity with Tradition in due proportion.”⁸¹⁴ As Reid notes elsewhere,

If pastoral considerations were excluded, the living organism that is the Liturgy would be reduced to an archaism rambling throughout history. However, were pastoral needs to be the sole or overriding principle of reform, the objective traditional organism that is the Liturgy would be subjected to the mercy of each passing age.⁸¹⁵

Hence organic development seeks equilibrium between these two seemingly opposing forces.

Whilst Reid considers many principles with respect to the organic development of the liturgy, for the purposes of this study, the principles from the so-called Carolingian reforms of the early ninth century will be used.⁸¹⁶ According to Reid, the work of the unidentified

⁸¹¹ Adrian FORTESCUE, Letter to Stanley Morrison. 26 April 1920 [Cambridge University Library, Morison Papers, I, 16–18]; cf. REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 88.

⁸¹² “Choose Your Own Adventure” is a popular children’s fiction format, in which at the end of each page the reader makes a choice, which directs to continue reading from another page. For example, a page might conclude, “You come to a door that says ‘Danger – do not enter’. If you choose to enter anyway, go to page 13. If you choose to turn around and go back the way you came, go to page 77.” Whilst very exciting for the reader, there is no common shared experience amongst those who have read the book.

⁸¹³ The most recent prayer books within the Anglican Communion more closely resemble books of worship resources rather than actual liturgical books. Some denominations no longer use printed liturgical books, but simply provide a resources page on their web sites. The inevitable result is a loss of liturgical unity (not to be mistaken for uniformity) within these churches.

⁸¹⁴ REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 308; also quoted by Brand in: BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 137.

⁸¹⁵ REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 77.

⁸¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 21–27.

Carolingian editor “is the principle of the organic development of the Liturgy in operation. It combines profound respect for the received liturgical Tradition with an openness to necessary development.”⁸¹⁷ The Carolingian principles are:⁸¹⁸

- 1) A necessity for development (there is a tangible need)
- 2) Profound respect for liturgical tradition (what has been received, or handed on)
- 3) Little pure innovation (see above)
- 4) Tentative positing of newer liturgical forms alongside the old
- 5) Integration of newer forms following their acceptance over time (reception)

It is now possible to formally enunciate some principles for the organic development of the liturgy for the purposes of this study. These are:

- 1) The development is not antiquarian or archaeologising
- 2) The development does not reject what has been received in the name of pastoral expediency
- 3) The development is a response to an actual need
- 4) The development can identifiably be situated within liturgical tradition
- 5) The development uses genuine innovation (that is, something that is *not* received) only when necessary

These principles will be used as a reference point for examining *Divine Worship* with respect to the organic development of the liturgy.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

3 The Language of *Divine Worship*

Part Two of this dissertation provided a broad description of the currents of development that resulted in a sacral English vernacular in England. It briefly considered the embracing of English vernacular in the Catholic Church, before concluding with a consideration of some important principles relating to sacral vernacular and the organic development of the liturgy.

Part Three considers specifically the language of *Divine Worship*. It is not intended to cover in any detail questions relating to the sources, structure or history of the development of *Divine Worship*, as these are being covered in detail in other scholarly research projects. The primary consideration of this dissertation is the sacral English which constitutes a distinctive element of *Divine Worship*, and most certainly one of the most immediately obvious points of distinction for those who participate in *Divine Worship* liturgy. Part Three will also situate and contextualise *Divine Worship* as a liturgy of the Catholic Church, building on the principles established in Part Two.

3.1 *The Book of Divine Worship as Antecedent*

One of the most obvious distinctive qualities of *Divine Worship* is its use of sacral English. *Divine Worship*, however, is not the first sacral English liturgy within the Catholic Church. Neither are the Ordinariates erected under *Anglicanorum Coetibus* the first provision made for former Anglicans within the Catholic Church. In 1980 the Pastoral Provision was established in the United States of America, as a means for Anglicans to become Catholic, whilst retaining elements of their patrimony.⁸¹⁹ A proposed liturgy for the Pastoral Provision

⁸¹⁹ Cf. CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, Decree Establishing the Pastoral Provision from 22 July 1980 (Prot. N. 66/77), in: Stephen CAVANAUGH (ed.), *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church. Reflections on Recent Developments*, San Francisco 2011, 227–231. For a history of the Pastoral Provision and the *Book of Divine Worship*, see Daniel SEPER, *United not Absorbed. Geschichte und Gottesdienst der Katholiken anglikanischer Tradition* (ÖSLS 11), Wien 2020, 311–313. See also Jack D. BARKER, *A History of the Pastoral Provision for Roman Catholics in the USA*, in: Stephen CAVANAUGH (ed.), *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church. Reflections on Recent Developments*, San Francisco 2011, 3–26; Christopher G. PHILLIPS, *An Example of What It's Like to Come Home to Rome*, in: Stephen CAVANAUGH (ed.), *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church. Reflections on Recent Developments*, San Francisco 2011, 27–39. William H. STETSON, *A History of the Pastoral Provision (1980–2010)*, in: Canon Law Society of America. *Proceedings of the Seventy–Second Annual Convention (2010)*, Buffalo/NY 2011, 217–227; Donald Paul SULLINS, *The History of the 1980 Anglican Pastoral Provision*, in: *The Catholic Historical Review* 103/3 (Summer 2017) 529–558. Cf. James Matthew SHEEHAN, *A New Canonical Configuration for the 'Pastoral Provision' for Former Episcopalians in the United States of America?* [unpublished dissertation Pontifical University of the Holy Cross, Rome], 2009, 83–132. For a history of the development of Anglican Use liturgy, see SHEEHAN, *A New Canonical Configuration for the 'Pastoral Provision'*, 166–186.

existed as early as 1981.⁸²⁰ The liturgy for the Pastoral Provision would be known as *The Book of Divine Worship*, with interim approval being granted in 1984.⁸²¹ A “master copy” of the liturgy, as approved, existed by 1985.⁸²² After a process of revision and correction, in 1987 the CDWDS formally approved *The Book of Divine Worship*.⁸²³ The Decree noted that the confirmation of *The Book of Divine Worship* was “for interim use only within the Pastoral Provision until such time as other arrangements be made.”⁸²⁴ As approved, *The Book of Divine Worship* did not physically exist as a missal-like book. The liturgy was celebrated utilising the various sources which constituted *The Book of Divine Worship*, and then loose sheets in a folder.⁸²⁵ It was not until 2003 that Newman House Press published *The Book of Divine Worship* in book form.⁸²⁶ This edition is revelatory of the nature of *The Book of Divine Worship*. Unlike *Divine Worship: The Missal*, there is no Decree. The only indication of any official standing as a publication is the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Law, ecclesiastical delegate for the Pastoral Provision.⁸²⁷ The Title Page states that *The Book of Divine Worship* is “elements of the Book of Common Prayer Revised and Adapted According to the Roman Rite”.⁸²⁸ The Colophon indicates that it includes excerpts from the 1928 Episcopal Church *Book of Common Prayer*, the 1979 Episcopal Church *Book of Common Prayer*, and the 1973 ICEL translation of the *Missale Romanum*.⁸²⁹ As such, *The Book of Divine Worship* has

⁸²⁰ Cf. BARKER, *History of the Pastoral Provision*, 21–22; “During the conference, three priests of the pro-diocese concelebrated a Votive Mass of the Chair of Peter, using a proposed Pastoral Provision liturgy.” For background leading up to the beginning of the work of preparing a liturgy and the identification of the so-called precedent of Amritsar that would guide what elements of Anglican liturgy should be accepted or rejected, see SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 267–271.

⁸²¹ cf. SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 282–284; BARKER, *History of the Pastoral Provision*, 22; SHEEHAN, *A New Canonical Configuration for the ‘Pastoral Provision’*, 176. For background on the process of drafting the new liturgy for the Pastoral Provision, see SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 271–282.

⁸²² cf. SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 287.

⁸²³ Cf. SACRED CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP, Unpubl. decree. Liturgical Elements of the ‘Pastoral Provision’ from 13 February 1987 (Prot. N. 1038/83) [private archive Daniel Seper]; SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 293–295; Michael Gregory EARTHMAN, *Liturgical Adaptions to the Order of Mass Present in Divine Worship: The Missal in the Light of the Apostolic Constitution Anglicanorum Coetibus*, [unpublished dissertation Pontifical University of the Holy Cross, Rome], 2018, 33.

⁸²⁴ SACRED CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP, decree. Liturgical Elements of the ‘Pastoral Provision’.

⁸²⁵ Cf. SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 285 f., 298; Austin COOPER, *Catholics Using Cranmer*, in: *Australasian Catholic Record* 83/3 (2007) 267–278, here: 268. The Decree describes *The Book of Divine Worship* as a collection of texts; cf. SACRED CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP, decree. Liturgical Elements of the ‘Pastoral Provision’.

⁸²⁶ Cf. *The Book of Divine Worship*, Mt. Pocono 2003. For a history of events from the approval of the *BDW* in 1987 culminating in its eventual printing, see SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 299–303.

⁸²⁷ Cf. *The Book of Divine Worship*, [Colophon]; COOPER, *Catholics Using Cranmer*, 269.

⁸²⁸ *The Book of Divine Worship*, [Title page].

⁸²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, [Colophon].

somewhat the appearance of being a hotchpotch, with its mix of modern and sacral English and cut-and-paste from various rites.⁸³⁰

For the celebration of Mass, two Rites were provided, Rite One and Rite Two. Rite Two provided four Eucharistic Prayers, taken from the 1973 ICEL translation of the Roman Missal. Rite One provided the Roman Canon in sacral English.

The Eucharistic Prayer is the climax of all the liturgy of the Church. The Church rightly guards and protects her Eucharistic Prayers as being central to her very nature. In making provision for former Anglicans in the Pastoral Provision, the Church did not approve any new Eucharist prayers. She did, however, approve a new, at least for the Catholic Church, translation of the most important anaphora of the Latin Church, namely the Roman Canon. Therefore, the significance of *The Book of Divine Worship* cannot be understated because it is the first formal approval by the Church of not only a sacral English Eucharistic Prayer, but the Roman Canon in sacral English.

With the approval of *Divine Worship: The Missal*, two variants of the Roman Canon in Sacral English have now been approved by the Catholic Church. A comparison of these canons to that found in the *English Missal* demonstrates their close consanguinity to the Anglican missals tradition:

⁸³⁰ Cf. COOPER, *Catholics Using Cranmer*, 277. For further background on the mix of linguistic styles in the *BDW*, see SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 311–313.

English Missal (1940) ⁸³¹	The Book of Divine Worship ⁸³²	Divine Worship: The Missal ⁸³³
<p>Therefore, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly pray and beseech thee, that thou accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy and unspotted sacrifices,</p> <p>which, first, we offer unto thee for thy holy catholic Church: that thou vouchsafe to keep it in peace, to guard, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world: together with thy servant our Chief Bishop <i>N.</i>, our Bishop <i>N.</i> and all the orthodox, and those who profess the catholic and apostolic faith.</p> <p>Commemoration for the Living Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids <i>N.</i> and <i>N.</i> and all here present, whose faith and devotion unto thee are known and manifest, for whom we offer unto thee: or who themselves offer unto thee this sacrifice of praise, for themselves, and for all to whom they are bound: for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety: and who render their vows unto thee, the eternal living and true God.</p> <p>Joining in communion and venerating the memory, first of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ: as also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip,</p>	<p>Most merciful Father, we humbly pray thee, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, and we ask, that thou accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy and unspoiled sacrifices.</p> <p>We offer them unto thee, first, for thy holy catholic Church: that thou vouchsafe to keep it in peace, to guard, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world; together with thy servant <i>N.</i>, our Pope and <i>N.</i>, our Bishop and all the faithful guardians of the catholic and apostolic faith.</p> <p>Commemoration of the Living Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids [<i>N.</i> and <i>N.</i>] and all who here around us stand, whose faith is known unto thee and their steadfastness manifest, on whose behalf we offer unto thee, or who themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice of praise; for themselves, and for all who are theirs; for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety; and who offer their prayers unto thee, the eternal God, the living and the true.</p> <p>United in one communion, we venerate the memory, first of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ; of Joseph her spouse; as also of the blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, [James, John, Thomas, James,</p>	<p>Therefore, most merciful Father, we humbly pray thee, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, and we ask, that thou accept and bless these gifts, these offerings, these holy and unblemished sacrifices.</p> <p>We offer them unto thee, first, for thy holy Catholic Church: that thou vouchsafe to keep her in peace, to guard, unite, and govern her throughout the whole world; together with thy servant <i>N.</i>, our Pope, <i>N.</i>, our Bishop, (or <i>N.</i>, our Ordinary), and all the faithful guardians of the catholic and apostolic faith.</p> <p>Commemoration of the Living Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids (<i>N.</i> and <i>N.</i>) and all who here around us stand, whose faith is known unto thee and their steadfastness manifest, on whose behalf we offer unto thee, or who themselves offer unto thee this sacrifice of praise; for themselves, and for all who are theirs; for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their health and well-being; and who offer their prayers unto thee, the eternal God, the living and the true.</p> <p>United in one communion, we venerate the memory, first of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ; of Blessed Joseph her spouse; as also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John,</p>

⁸³¹ [KENRICK], English Missal (1940), 269–277.

⁸³² The Book of Divine Worship, 314–320.

⁸³³ Divine Worship: The Missal, 637–648.

<p>Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian: and of all thy Saints; by whose merits and prayers grant that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection. Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.</p> <p>This oblation, therefore, of our bounden service, as also of all thy family, we beseech thee, O Lord, graciously to accept: and order our days in thy peace, and bid us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thine elect. Through Christ, our Lord. Amen.</p> <p>Which oblation do thou, O God, we beseech thee, vouchsafe in all things to make blessed, approved, ratified, reasonable and acceptable: that unto us it may become the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.</p> <p>Who the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and lifting up his eyes to heaven unto thee, O God, his almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, he blessed, brake and gave it to his disciples saying: Take and eat ye all of this.</p> <p>For this is my Body.</p> <p>Likewise, after Supper, taking also this excellent Chalice into his holy and venerable hands: and giving thanks to thee, he blessed, and gave to his disciples, saying: Take and drink ye all of it.</p> <p>For this is the Chalice of my Blood, of the new and eternal</p>	<p>Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian] and of all thy Saints: grant that by their merits and prayers we may in all things be defended with the help of thy protection.</p> <p>We beseech thee then, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation from us thy servants, and from thy whole family: order thou our days in thy peace, and bid us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the fold of thine elect. [Through Christ our Lord.]</p> <p>Vouchsafe, O God, we beseech thee, in all things to make this oblation blessed, approved and accepted, a perfect and worthy offering: that it may become for us the Body and Blood of thy dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.</p> <p>Who the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven, unto thee, God, his almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, he blessed, broke and gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>Take this, all of you, and eat it: this is my body which will be given up for you.</p> <p>Likewise, after supper, taking also this goodly chalice into his holy and venerable hands, again giving thanks to thee, he blessed, and gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>Take this, all of you, and drink from it: this is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and</p>	<p>Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus; Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy Saints; grant that by their merits and prayers we may in all things be defended with the help of thy protection. (Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.)</p> <p>We beseech thee then, O Lord, graciously to accept this oblation from us thy servants, and from thy whole family; order thou our days in thy peace, and bid us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the fold of thine elect. (Through Christ, our Lord. Amen.)</p> <p>Vouchsafe, O God, we beseech thee, in all things to make this oblation blessed, approved, and accepted, a perfect and worthy offering; that it may become for us the Body and Blood of thy dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.</p> <p>Who the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven, unto thee, God, his almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, he blessed, broke and gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND EAT OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH WILL BE GIVEN UP FOR YOU.</p> <p>Likewise, after supper, taking also this goodly chalice into his holy and venerable hands, again giving thanks to thee, he blessed, and gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND DRINK FROM IT,</p>
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<p>Testament: the mystery of faith: which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.</p> <p>As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.</p> <p>Wherefore, O Lord, we also thy servants, together with thy holy people, mindful of the blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord, as also his resurrection from hell and glorious ascension into heaven: do offer unto thine excellent majesty of thine own gifts and bounty, a pure host, a holy host, a spotless host, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Chalice of everlasting salvation.</p> <p>Upon which vouchsafe to look with a favourable and gracious countenance: and to accept them, even as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham : and the holy sacrifice, the spotless host, which</p>	<p>everlasting covenant. It will be shed for you and for all so that sins may be forgiven. Do this in memory of me.</p> <p>Therefore we proclaim the mystery of faith: [A] Christ has died, Christ is risen, Christ will come again. [B] Dying you destroyed our death, rising you restored our life. Lord Jesus, come in glory. [C] When we eat this bread and drink this cup, we proclaim your death, Lord Jesus, until you come in glory. [D] Lord, by your cross and resurrection you have set us free. You are the Savior of the world.</p> <p>Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants, and thy holy people also, remembering the blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord, as also his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven; do offer unto thine excellent majesty of thine own gifts and bounty, the pure victim, the holy victim, the immaculate victim, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Chalice of everlasting salvation.</p> <p>Vouchsafe to look upon them with a merciful and pleasant countenance; and to accept them, even as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy servant Abel the Righteous, and the sacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham; and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate victim, which thy</p>	<p>FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, THE BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT, WHICH WILL BE Poured OUT FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME.</p> <p>The mystery of faith.</p> <p>We proclaim thy Death, O Lord, and profess thy Resurrection until thou come again.</p> <p>When we eat this Bread and drink this Cup, we proclaim thy Death, O Lord, until thou come again.</p> <p>O Saviour of the world, who by thy Cross and precious Blood has redeemed us: save us and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.</p> <p>Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants, and thy holy people also, remembering the blessed Passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord, as also his Resurrection from the dead, and his glorious Ascension into heaven; do offer unto thine excellent majesty of thine own gifts and bounty, the pure victim, the holy victim, the immaculate victim, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Chalice of everlasting salvation.</p> <p>Vouchsafe to look upon them with a merciful and pleasant countenance; and to accept them, even as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy servant Abel the righteous, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham; and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate victim, which thy</p>
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<p>thy high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee.</p> <p>We humbly beseech thee, almighty God: command thou these to be brought by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high, in the presence of thy divine majesty : that, as many of us as by this partaking of the altar shall receive the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace.</p> <p>Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.</p> <p>Commemoration of the Dead</p> <p>Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids, <i>N. and N.</i>, who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we beseech thee to grant a place of refreshing, of light, and of peace. Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.</p> <p>To us sinners also, thy servants, trusting in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy Saints: within whose fellowship we beseech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness. Through Christ our Lord. By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever create; dost sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow upon us.</p> <p>Through him, and with him, and in him, unto thee, O God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour, and glory. Throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.</p>	<p>high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee.</p> <p>We humbly beseech thee, almighty God, command these offerings to be brought by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high, in sight of thy divine majesty; that all we who at this partaking of the altar shall receive the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace. [Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.]</p> <p>Commemoration of the Dead</p> <p>Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids, [<i>N. and N.</i>], who have gone before us sealed with the seal of faith, and who sleep the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we beseech thee to grant the abode of refreshing, of light, and of peace. [Through the same Christ our Lord.]</p> <p>To us sinners also, thy servants, who hope in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, [Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia] and with all thy Saints, within whose fellowship, we beseech thee, admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness; through Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom, O Lord, thou dost ever create all these good things; dost sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow them upon us;</p> <p>By whom, and with whom, and in whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honor and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.</p>	<p>high priest Melchisedech offered unto thee.</p> <p>We humbly beseech thee, Almighty God, command these offerings to be brought by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high, in sight of thy divine majesty; that all we who at this partaking of the altar shall receive the most sacred Body and Blood of thy Son, may be fulfilled with all heavenly benediction and grace.</p> <p>(Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.)</p> <p>Commemoration of the Dead</p> <p>Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids, (<i>N. and N.</i>), who have gone before us sealed with the seal of faith, and who sleep the sleep of peace. To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we beseech thee to grant the abode of refreshing, of light, and of peace. (Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.)</p> <p>To us sinners also, thy servants, who hope in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy Saints: within whose fellowship, we beseech thee, admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness; Through Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom, O Lord, thou dost ever create all these good things; dost sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow them upon us.</p> <p>By whom and with whom and in whom, to thee, O Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.</p>
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At the erection of the Ordinariates, *The Book of Divine Worship* was the only approved liturgy of the Catholic Church which drew from the Anglican tradition. In Australia, on the erection of the Ordinariate of Our Lady of the Southern Cross in 2012,⁸³⁴ only the 2010 Roman Missal was initially permitted to be used, as no other alternatives had been approved. In 2013, *The Book of Divine Worship* was approved for use in Australia. Later in 2013 a revised order of Mass based upon the *Book of Divine Worship* was distributed for use within the Ordinariate. This edition, in a maroon ring binder, was Rite One only, and came with instructions that Rite Two was no longer permitted to be used.⁸³⁵ When the interim Order of Mass for *Divine Worship: The Missal* was approved for use *ad experimentum* towards the end of 2013, the Propers and Prefaces from *The Book of Divine Worship* continued to be used.⁸³⁶ As *The Book of Divine Worship* was approved for use within the Ordinariates on an interim basis, it is certainly not an exaggeration to describe it as antecedent to *Divine Worship: The Missal*.

It is, however, important to examine in further detail the place of *The Book of Divine Worship vis-à-vis* the work of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group in producing *Divine Worship: The Missal*. Despite the similarities in name, it is erroneous to state that *Divine Worship: The Missal* is simply a new revision of *The Book of Divine Worship*.⁸³⁷ It would also be incorrect to see *Divine Worship: The Missal* as resulting from an editorial process originating with *The Book of Divine Worship*, for example, in the way that the RSV Bible derives from the ASV. As stated earlier, the significance of *The Book of Divine Worship* is that it was a liturgy of the Church. When bringing things *into* the liturgy of the Church, critical questions rightly must be asked. However, in *The Book of Divine Worship* there already existed a liturgy of the Anglican tradition which had been approved for use in the Catholic Church. Thus, *The Book of Divine Worship* served not so much as a template, but as a reference point for what had already been approved as *Anglicanae Traditiones* began its

⁸³⁴ For the Decree of Erection, see CONGREGATIO PRO DOCTRINA FIDEI, Decretum erectionis Ordinariatus personalis *Our Lady of the Southern Cross* Australiae (15 June 2012), in: AAS 104/7 (2012) 599–603 (Latin & English text).

⁸³⁵ These events come from the author's first hand recollection. For further information on how similar events unfolded in North America and the UK, see FEULNER, 'Anglican Use of the Roman Rite?', 61f. and fn. 125. Rite Two was abrogated because it used the now obsolete 1973 ICEL translation of the Roman Missal.

⁸³⁶ This author created an interim missal that was used through the Ordinariate of Our Lady of the Southern Cross. The editorial principle utilised was that the *ad experimentum* material took precedence, supplemented by material taken from *The Book of Divine Worship*.

⁸³⁷ As stated, for example, by Kevin Irwin in: Kevin W. IRWIN, Context and Text. A Method for Liturgical Theology, Collegeville/MN 2018, 322.

work to create the “liturgical books proper to the Anglican tradition, which have been approved by the Holy See”⁸³⁸ as required by *Anglicanorum Coetibus*.⁸³⁹

Anglicanae Traditiones member Hans-Jürgen Feulner, writing in 2009, noted that a future ordinal for former Anglicans

would have to be worked out on the basis of the Book of Divine Worship (as the ‘official’ liturgical book already approved by the Church), but with consideration of other liturgical books, especially the American Missal and the English Missal, together with the other sacramental rites of that tradition, including the 1549 and 1928 Books of Common Prayer.⁸⁴⁰

Steven Lopes, who was co-ordinating secretary of *Anglicanae Traditiones*, notes that this is essentially what took place in the development of a hierarchy of sources:

Given its use as an approved Catholic liturgical text for the parishes of the Pastoral Provision in the United States, the Book of Divine Worship has been accorded primacy of place in the selection of texts. In the second place, the classic Prayer Book heritage (represented by England 1549, 1662, and 1928, USA 1928, Scotland 1929, South Africa 1954, and Canada 1962) has been taken into account. In the third place, consideration was given to The English Missal (1958) and The Anglican Missal (1961). If a consultation of the above sources did not provide the necessary material for a particular liturgical celebration, then Common Worship (2000) or the Roman Missal were consulted⁸⁴¹.

In correspondence with this author, Lopes elaborated as follows:

It is true that the *Book of Divine Worship* was the starting point for the DW Missal. At the very beginning, the commission surveyed a rather disorienting number of liturgical texts currently in use in Anglican communities. Some authorized, many not, and many of the ones not authorized had been used for decades. How to sort through this, particularly given the notable differences in liturgical practice in OZ, USA, and UK? For all its deficiencies, the BDW was already an approved Catholic liturgical book. We knew that the approval process for a Missal for the Ordinariates would be complicated. It made good sense to choose as a starting point something that already had the approval of the Congregation for Divine Worship. It gave us something to build on—a structure with which the Holy See was already familiar and upon which we could graft other legitimate expressions of Anglican liturgical patrimony.

By the time we got deeper into the work of the Missal, reliance on the BDW as a source text lessened notably. It at the very beginning of the process, having something that already enjoyed Catholic approval and could orient and structure the work was invaluable.⁸⁴²

⁸³⁸ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 236.

⁸³⁹ Brand describes *The Book of Divine Worship* “as an important precedent and prefiguration, albeit one limited in scope and somewhat tentative in context, certainly in comparison with *Divine Worship*.” BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 132. For further background see BURNHAM, *Divine Worship: The Missal* and ‘the Liturgical Books Proper to the Anglican Tradition’ (*Anglicanorum Coetibus*, Art. III), 156–157, 160. See also SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 235–240.

⁸⁴⁰ Hans-Jürgen FEULNER, *The Anglican Use within the Western Liturgical Tradition. Importance and Ecumenical Relevance from the Perspective of Comparative Liturgy*, in: Stephen CAVANAUGH (ed.), *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church. Reflections on Recent Developments*, San Francisco 2011, 184–224, here: 217.

⁸⁴¹ Steven J. LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates: The Work of the Anglicanae Traditiones Interdicasterial Commission*, in: *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal* 19/2 (2015) 116–131, here: 121.

⁸⁴² Steven J. LOPES, *The Language of DW*, email to the author from 24 November 2019 (9.19 am), Houston/TX. Typographical errors have been corrected.

Brand's response to questions from this author was somewhat more nuanced, explicitly acknowledging the American centric nature of the *Book of Divine Worship* would be problematic when faced with making world-wide liturgical provisions,⁸⁴³ whilst also acknowledging the highly important role of *The Book of Divine Worship* in making liturgical provision according to the Anglican patrimony, that it had really seen its day and that a simple revision would not do. The extent and detail of Brand's response demands a verbatim quotation in its entirety:

It all depends on what you mean by "starting point." Insofar as there was a determination not to give undue preference to one country over another, or even to one era of Anglican worship over another, there was a ready recognition that the *BDW* as such would not "work" for the UK, Canada, and Australia, nor even for Americans coming from traditions more inflected by the 1928 US BCP and/or the Anglican missal tradition. Moreover, there was a ready recognition of the limitations of the *BDW*, the narrowness of its adoption for the particular circumstances of the Pastoral Provision, the haste with which it was prepared (roughly 1982-1983), and its failure in adequately harmonizing traditional and modern language, together with texts of diverse origins.

But, on the other hand – as much as the 1662 English BCP – the *BDW* did enjoy a "pride-of-place" in our deliberations, particularly at the beginning. It did so as the first *approved* Catholic liturgical book for former Anglicans, as a reference point for assessing the experience of Pastoral Provision Catholics over a full generation, and as a precedent for aggregating and attempting to harmonize texts from Anglican sources for Catholic worship. The *BDW* was made up of texts principally drawn from the 1979 US BCP but also some deriving from the 1928 US BCP, from the Anglican Missal in the American Edition, and from the 1974 Catholic ICEL Sacramentary. Thus it was an important precedent and a less-than-completely successful experiment for the work of the commission in hybridizing and making a selection of sources more representative and more suited to the occasion and purposes of *Anglicanorum coetibus*.

In early drafts of the Ordinary of the Mass, however, the *BDW*'s Rite I Holy Eucharist was taken as a practical "starting point" insofar as all additions, deletions, and changes from the *BDW* text were carefully and extensively annotated and as the details of the successive drafts grew from the baseline "scaffolding" of the *BDW* text. Thus the *BDW* was simply a convenient point of reference and point of departure for a project that quickly left the *BDW* behind and assumed its own direction quite apart from the particular contents of the *BDW*.

In other words, everyone on the commission was keenly aware of the importance of the *BDW* as precedent and model but also of its considerable weaknesses, faults, and inadequacy for our purposes.⁸⁴⁴

It is interesting and perhaps pleasing to see from Brand's recollections how the process of providing liturgical provision evolved beyond the *BDW* as the work progressed. When asked to elaborate further on the process utilised, Brand responded as follows:

After some discussion of the practical challenge of beginning the drafting process and some consideration of proceeding from the Ordinary of the Mass in the 1549 English BCP (a

⁸⁴³ A fact often forgotten by Americans, who sometimes seem to think that the *Anglicanorum Coetibus* was simply an expansion of the Pastoral Provision with the tacking on of a few extra countries. The perspective is very different within those countries where the Pastoral Provision never existed.

⁸⁴⁴ Clinton Allen BRAND, *Thinking Points for Responses from Experts*. Answers from Dr. Clinton Brand, member of *Anglicanae Traditiones*, written response to the author from 15 March 2021, Houston/TX, 5–6.

proposal quickly rejected), the first draft of the Ordinary of the Mass took the *BDW* Rite Holy Eucharist as a “skeleton” and annotated all the relevant variants in the historic BCP and Anglican missal traditions, as well as variants from RM3. We took the *BDW* Rite I Holy Eucharist as a base text simply as a logistical convenience, and might have come up with exactly what ended up in *DW: The Missal* had we started from another base text. For each single distinctive element of the *BDW* that ended up in *DW: The Missal* there were some dozen details that came from the historic BCP tradition, from the Anglican missals, and from the modern Roman Rite.⁸⁴⁵

When asked specifically about the sources of Propers, Brand responded as follows:

Here is a list of the principal sources ‘quarried’ for the collects, prayers over the offerings, and postcommunions:

- Classic BCPs (1662, 1928 Eng, 1928 US, 1929 Scot, 1954 SA, 1962 Can, etc)
- EM – English Missal
- AM – Anglican Missal
- AB – Anglican Breviary
- PBO – Prayer Book Office 1944
- CUDM – Church Union Daily Missal (variant of AM)
- LF&F – Lesser Feasts and Fasts 1963
- RM – Roman Missal 2010
- COLW – Customary of Our Lady of Walsingham (mostly from CW Lesser Festivals)
- BDW – Book of Divine Worship
- ACCC AM - Anglican Catholic Church of Canada Altar Missal
- ACLH – Anglican Catholic Liturgy of the Hours⁸⁴⁶

Whilst *The Book of Divine Worship* was somewhat eclectic and used only fleetingly outside of the United States, its importance as immediate predecessor to *Divine Worship* and its role as the first reconciliation to the Catholic Church of Anglican liturgical sources should not be understated. *The Book of Divine Worship*, like the Pastoral Provision itself, always had an air of anticipation that there was something more as yet to develop.⁸⁴⁷ This anticipation has now been fulfilled with the Ordinariates and *Divine Worship*.

3.2 The Rationale of the Anglicanae Traditiones Working Group

When *Anglicanorum Coetibus* was promulgated in 2009, it stated that the “liturgical, spiritual and pastoral traditions of the Anglican Communion” were to be maintained within the Catholic Church by means of “liturgical books proper to the Anglican tradition, which

⁸⁴⁵ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 6.

⁸⁴⁶ Clinton Allen BRAND, *Our Lady Help of Christians*, email to the author from 16 October 2021, Houston/TX. Due to its place as the first Prayer Book which established the shape and form of the subsequent Prayer Books, the 1549 Prayer Book also served as an important point of reference.

⁸⁴⁷ “The statute or ‘pastoral provision’ will not be definitive, but rather will be granted ‘ad tempus non determinatum’.” CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, *Decree Establishing the Pastoral Provision* (Prot. N. 66/77), in: CAVANAUGH (ed.), *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 229; “this Congregation, by special mandate of Pope JOHN PAUL II approves and confirms the said BOOK OF DIVINE WORSHIP for interim use only within the Pastoral Provision until such time as other arrangements are made.” SACRED CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP, *decree. Liturgical Elements of the ‘Pastoral Provision’*. See also SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 304.

have been approved by the Holy See”.⁸⁴⁸ When the Ordinariates were erected in 2011 and 2012, *The Book of Divine Worship* was the only approved Catholic liturgy of the Anglican tradition. However, as previously noted, the *Book of Divine Worship* had served its purpose and was clearly not suitable for a project encompassing numerous Anglican traditions around the world. Those groups seeking communion included Prayer Book Anglicans, Anglo-Catholics of various missal traditions and, especially in England, groups using the 1973 ICEL Roman Missal. A new liturgical provision would need to be made to accommodate these diverse traditions.

Theorising about how a future Anglican Use liturgy could meet the needs of these diverse groups, Hans-Jürgen Feulner postulated:

The Holy See should organise a committee of competent liturgists from the abovementioned *three* main groupings (Anglican Use parishes, TAC, and other former Anglicans from the Episcopal Church in the USA), so as to collect and sort collectively all the liturgical services of the various groups, already now, in order to present ideas and liturgical suggestions for *one* revised and modified Book of Divine Worship, so as to engage in discussion and arrive at a common liturgical proposal that would not contradict the received Catholic faith (cf. *lex credendi–lex orandi*).

[...]

A committee of competent liturgists of the different directions/groups of former Anglicans should think about *one* combined Anglican Use/Rite, maybe with only one or two alternative formulae for the Eucharist at the most. The template for revision could be the already officially approved Book of Divine Worship, but with more liturgical elements from the Anglican and American Missals, the 1549/1928 Prayer Books, the Anglican Service Book, the Western Orthodox Rite, and other sources, including the missing rituals (e.g. Anointing of the Sick, Confession, Marriage, Confirmation, etc.). Relevant liturgical studies need to be conducted as soon as possible.⁸⁴⁹

In around 2010 the CDF wrote to various groups that had expressed an interest in corporate reunion, requesting them to forward examples of their liturgies to the Congregation, so as to allow the Congregation to have an appreciation of the liturgical traditions that an approved liturgical book of the Anglican tradition would need to encompass.⁸⁵⁰

Lopes notes that it was always intended that the CDF would take a lead role in making liturgical provision.⁸⁵¹ The Ordinariates were to provide the texts themselves, which after suitable review and amendment, the Holy See would approve. However, an initial ad hoc

⁸⁴⁸ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 236.

⁸⁴⁹ FEULNER, *Anglican Use within the Western Liturgical Tradition*, 220 f.

⁸⁵⁰ The author has been unable to locate a copy of this letter, but remembers reading it most probably in 2010. The letter acknowledged the broad liturgical uses of those who had sought corporate reunion, and asked for examples of liturgies in use to be forwarded to the Congregation in a timely manner so that the work could commence in making liturgical provision in accordance with *Anglicanorum Coetibus*.

⁸⁵¹ Cf. Steven J. LOPES, *Unity of Faith in a Diversity of Expression: The Work of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (Lecture)*, Universität Wien, Institut für Historische Theologie – Liturgiewissenschaft und Sakramententheologie Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät: 28 March 2017, Vienna, 15.

committee formed for this task was unable to unify the broad number of sources, and was disbanded after its first meeting.⁸⁵²

An initial informal working group was established in October 2010.⁸⁵³ This group would, in time, evolve into the *Anglicanae Traditiones* Working Group, with statutes promulgated in October 2011. Whilst being rather boilerplate in content, the statutes specify the purpose of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group, which “assists the CDF and the CDWDS in the task of preparing liturgical books reflecting the Anglican tradition for the Personal Ordinariates according to the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus*, n. III.”⁸⁵⁴ That is, *Anglicanae Traditiones* would do the leg-work of implementing *Anglicanorum Coetibus* III. In addition to ensuring representation of the CDF and the CDWDS, various liturgical experts were appointed to the group.⁸⁵⁵ This is clearly an implementation of the often repeated desire of the Church that the revision of the liturgy is to involve appropriate experts.⁸⁵⁶

As it commenced its work, the group faced a broad array of liturgical books: “The task of the commission was to extract out of this variety a *lex orandi*, the systematic presentation of the Christian faith, nourished and preserved in the classical Prayer Books and Missals”.⁸⁵⁷

The work of *Anglicanae Traditiones* bore fruit with the approval of *Divine Worship: Occasional Services* in 2014, and *Divine Worship: The Missal* in 2015. Shortly thereafter the working group was disbanded. Although disbanded, *Anglicanae Traditiones* had in the process of developing *Divine Worship: Occasional Services* and *Divine Worship: The Missal* developed what had been lacking in 2010 when the first attempt was made to respond to the requirements of *Anglicanorum Coetibus* III. It had worked out how to produce a homogeneous and harmonious Catholic liturgy according to the Anglican tradition. This is broadly what can be described as the *rationale* of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group which includes the working *ratio* it established to guide its work, but more broadly

⁸⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁵³ Cf. CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, Unpubl. letter to Prof. Hans-Jürgen Feulner from 5 October 2010 (Prot. N. 217/08–33351) [private archive Hans-Jürgen Feulner].

⁸⁵⁴ CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH – CONGREGATION FOR DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS, Statutes of the Interdicasterial Working Group ‘*Anglicanae Traditiones*’ from 3 October 2011 (Prot. N. 536/2012), 1.

⁸⁵⁵ Chairman: Augustine Di Noia. Vice Chairman: Andrew Burnham. Secretary: Steven Lopes. Members: Hans-Jürgen Feulner, Clinton Brand, Peter Elliott, Uwe Lang, Salvatore Cordileone. Consultant: Peter Wilkinson

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. SC 25, 40§3; VL 65; LA 11, 38, 86, 96.

⁸⁵⁷ LOPES, A Missal for the Ordinariates, 119.

encompasses the entire working process, aims and principles of the Group. As such, even though *Anglicanae Traditiones* was disbanded after the approval of *Divine Worship: The Missal*, this same now established *rationale* should be seen as the overarching and guiding *ethos* in the formulation of *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying* and *Divine Worship: Daily Office* in both its Commonwealth and North American editions.

Lopes recounts that as *AT* prepared the texts for *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, the close agreement between the various received texts made its work relatively straight forward and non-controversial.⁸⁵⁸ In turning to preparing a missal, however, the working group was faced with a broad variety of uses, and thus determined to establish some guiding principles and underlying objectives and presuppositions that would serve as a semi-formal *ratio*.⁸⁵⁹ This *ratio* should be seen as the enunciation of the broader *rationale* of the working group. As the work of the *AT* was to capture the essence of the Anglican liturgical tradition in a single liturgy now incorporated into Catholic worship, the first question to be asked (perhaps with fear and trembling) was what is the Anglican liturgical patrimony? This is in some senses an unanswerable question, as anyone from the Anglican tradition knows *precisely* what the Anglican patrimony is, and will vigorously argue the point. The problem is that it is different for everyone. It is somewhat like asking, for example, what it means to be Australian. Everyone would give a different answer, but with sufficient answers common themes begin to emerge. The same too can be said of the Anglican patrimony. The working group approached Anglican liturgical patrimony as “that which has nourished the Catholic faith throughout the history of the Anglican tradition and prompted aspirations towards ecclesial unity”.⁸⁶⁰

Elsewhere, Lopes acknowledged the importance of the liturgy as an expression of the Anglican patrimony. “When we speak of the ‘Anglican patrimony’ preserved in the Ordinariates, certainly liturgical expression is the most tangible expression of patrimony and the most distinctive feature of Catholic life in the Ordinariates.”⁸⁶¹ This recognition that the primary point of distinction of the Ordinariates must be liturgical was recognised very early in the work of making liturgical provision. Ordinariate Catholics cannot simply look like Roman Catholics who like pretty hymns and nice vestments. Writing after the 2014

⁸⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.* For Earthman’s review of the *ratio* see EARTHMAN, *Liturgical Adaptions*, 56–63.

⁸⁶⁰ LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 120.

⁸⁶¹ LOPES, *Unity of Faith*, 13.

Ordinary's meeting in Rome, Harry Entwistle recounts the mistake of some Anglo-Catholics in rejecting their own liturgical distinctiveness in pursuit of Catholicity:

In the heady days of the expectations of imminent unity between Anglicanism and Rome in the 1970's, many British Anglo-Catholics prepared themselves for this eventuality by dumping the BCP and adopting what was then the *Missa Normativa*. The clergy abandoned the recitation of Anglican offices (except for Evensong and Benediction) and began to use the Roman Daily Office. They were liturgically Roman in a C of E context. The Anglican bishops either did not know about this (for they were rarely invited to the parishes) or ignored it in typical Anglican style. These congregations have known nothing other than the various Roman Mass Rites and have never been exposed to the BCP for the last 40 years. Consequently, it is the laity in some Ordinariate groups, as opposed to the clergy, who are resisting using the Ordinariate liturgy and some are leaving to be absorbed into the local Latin parish.

When this was raised in the meetings with the CDF, the response was a shrug of the shoulders with the comment, **'While the Divine Worship liturgy is not the sole deposit of Anglican Patrimony, it is the most tangible expression of it.'** In other words, if people do not want to express their Anglican Patrimony through the liturgy of the Ordinariate, they are free to join the local Latin parish and adopt the whole of the more Mediterranean culture of the Latin Rite. The error of those priests who tried to identify with the Latin Rite in the 1970's was the presumption that unity involved liturgical absorption.⁸⁶²

Sadly, it remains common for many Anglicans who become Catholic for some reason to determine that it is necessary to reject the very tradition that has nurtured their faith up until that moment, and indeed been a compelling force to seek communion. The Ordinariates stand as a proclamation of the Church that such a renunciation is not necessary.

Lopes has provided a detailed overview of the *ratio* of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group.⁸⁶³ The ten points of the *ratio* are somewhat lost in the detail of Lopes' article, hence for the sake of brevity the specific points and guiding principles of the *ratio* are distilled and enunciated here.

Firstly, the eight guiding principles and objectives of the working group are as follows:⁸⁶⁴

- 1) Preservation for Catholic worship of the worthy Anglican liturgical patrimony.
- 2) Preservation of characteristics of the Prayer Book and Anglican missal traditions.
- 3) To propose an Order of Mass traditionally Anglican in character, content and structure whilst also a recognisable expression of the Roman Rite.
- 4) Anglican patrimony is to be received from Anglican sources, not composed. Neither are new liturgical forms to be devised.
- 5) To provide a harmonisation of use throughout the liturgical provision.
- 6) Options are only to be provided where there is a genuine pastoral need.

⁸⁶² Harry ENTWISTLE, Pastoral Letter to the clergy of OLSC after the first meeting of Ordinaries in Rome, Perth 3 March 2014 [author's private archive], 2. Emphasis original.

⁸⁶³ Cf. LOPES, A Missal for the Ordinariates, 119–125.

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 120.

- 7) Received texts are to retain their integrity as far as possible.
- 8) To offer an instrument of sanctification and unity.

The ten “points” of the *ratio* are as follows:⁸⁶⁵

- 1) Establishment of the eight principles and objectives as above.
- 2) Establishing a hierarchy of sources for the preparation of a missal: *The Book of Divine Worship*, the classical Anglican Prayer Books, the Anglo-Catholic Altar Missals, *Common Worship* (2000) and the *Roman Missal* respectively. Chant texts taken from existing translations of the *Graduale Romanum* as found in *The English Missal*, *The Anglican Missal* and *The Anglican Use Gradual*.
- 3) The Order of Mass for the Ordinariates is to have its own integrity.
- 4) The linguistic register will be Prayer Book English.
- 5) The Lectionary will be Revised Standard Version (Second Catholic Edition). The Psalms may be substituted from Coverdale.
- 6) Permissiveness of rubrical flexibility so as to accommodate the broad range of liturgical praxis from the various groups entering the Ordinariates.
- 7) Inclusion of particular features proper to the Prayer Book tradition, for example the Decalogue, Collect for Purity, Prayer of Humble Access.
- 8) Establishment of the Roman Canon as the normative Eucharistic prayer.
- 9) Location of the Sign of Peace in the Roman position after the *Pater noster*.
- 10) The Collects are drawn primarily from the Prayer Book tradition. The Prayer Over the Offerings and the Postcommunion Prayers are drawn primarily from the Anglican missal tradition.

An eleventh principle may be found by “reading between the lines” of the *ratio* and its underlying principles and objectives, being the rejection of a “Choose Your Own Adventure” liturgy, where the celebrant chooses from provided options *ad libitum* with a complete lack of consistency in options selected from one Sunday to the next.

Turning now to the work of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group specifically with respect to areas relating to language, the question of linguistic register is perhaps amongst the most prominent. The *Book of Divine Worship* had taken an each-way bet, with both sacral and modern English options provided. It was, however, impossible to celebrate Mass with *exclusively* sacral English, as some texts (for example the Offertory) were taken word for word from the Roman Missal with no sacral equivalent provided. So not only did this create

⁸⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 119–125.

a perhaps grating inconsistency in linguistic register, but also a guaranteed obsolescence as soon as the Roman Missal was changed, as it was in 2010.

As the Group turned its attention to a missal, the new English translation of the *Missale Romanum* was only a few years old, with most Catholics still learning the changes. Due to their close temporal proximity, it was inevitable that the Ordinariate missal would be closely compared to the new translation of the Roman Missal. It was therefore important that the Ordinariate missal did not appear to be a “dissenting opinion” vis-à-vis the Roman Missal, or as a resource book to supplement the Roman Missal, or simply as an alternative to the Roman Missal, without anything distinctly Anglican about it. It was vital that the Ordinariate missal be clearly identifiable as a liturgy proper to the Anglican tradition whilst also being a Catholic missal. Lopes recalled this consideration:

There was some discussion early on as to whether to follow the pattern of the *Book of Divine Worship* and produce two liturgical ‘forms,’ one expressing the traditional idiom of the Prayer Books and another in a more contemporary linguistic register and idiom. This proposal was quickly rejected, largely due to the promulgation of the new English translation of the *Roman Missal*. Rather it was decided that the texts chosen for this provision would be broadly representative of the classic Prayer Book tradition while also attempting to avoid undue preference for wordings distinctive to the English, or the American, or the Canadian heritage. Arcane expressions were modified, and alternatives found for words whose meaning has shifted notably over time. This was done to preserve the character and beauty of Prayer Book English while also ensuring clear and intelligible texts suitable for worship.⁸⁶⁶

Brand was asked to elaborate on the discernment process for linguistic register, and his detailed response is reproduced here verbatim:

From the first plenary meeting of *Anglicanae Traditiones*, in St. Wilfrid’s Hall at the London Oratory, starting on January 9, 2012, there was a ready consensus in favour of the ‘sacral English’ of the historic Books of Common Prayer, as distinct from the varieties of modern English current in the diverse liturgical books of the contemporary Anglican Communion. From my vantage point, this working consensus, later becoming a de facto determination, was less a ‘decision-making process’ than a function of convergent discernment issuing from the following factors:

1. The approbation and publication of new English translation of the Roman Missal *Editio tertia typica* (2010).
2. The principles of liturgical translation and norms for liturgical language deriving from *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001) which served as the rationale for the new English translation of RM3.
3. A CDF survey of the liturgical books in use among the erstwhile Anglican congregations coming into the Catholic Church via the Ordinariates. This survey showed an overwhelming preference for traditional, ‘Prayer Book’ English (with the exception of certain UK communities, who used the Missal of Paul VI, the 1974 ICEL ‘Sacramentary,’ and a few in the USA, who used Rite II of the 1979 US BCP).
4. My first contribution to *Anglicanae Traditiones* in the form of a report on the Book of Divine Worship (1983/2003) and its use in the Pastoral Provision parishes of the United States.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid., 122.

5. Pragmatic discernment about focusing the array of source texts whilst respecting the broadest, most widely shared sources of Anglican liturgical identity amenable to ‘repatriation’ and seeking to identify a distinctive, patrimonial ‘voice’ and the abiding character of the ‘Anglican way of praying the liturgy’ for evangelistic fruitfulness in the Catholic Church.

These factors converged as follows:

1. Per Article III of *Anglicanorum coetibus*, it was judged that the 2010 English translation of RM3 would be adequate provision for Ordinariate congregations accustomed to and/or wishing to celebrate the liturgy in a more contemporary idiom. Since those among the Ordinariate constituencies who were already shaped by the more-or-less ‘modern’ English of the *Novus Ordo* and/or kindred modern Anglican revised texts in a contemporary dialect, their move to the new English translation of the RM3 would be relatively easy and put them in the same stead as ordinary diocesan Catholics making the transition to the new translation.
2. With *Liturgiam Authenticam* came a shift of official Catholic principles of liturgical translation, moving away from ‘dynamic equivalence’ toward more ‘formal equivalence’ and fidelity to the Latin source texts not only in terms of accuracy but also in terms of stylistic register and biblical resonance. The ‘philosophy’ of liturgical language in *Liturgiam Authenticam* had the effect of greatly complicating any expedient selection of revised Anglican liturgical texts in more contemporary English. This complication came about because (a) many of these modern Anglican texts were very close to or almost indistinguishable from the 1974 *Novus Ordo* versions now supplanted and replaced by the revised English translation of RM3; and (b) notwithstanding the ecumenical work of ICET (1969-1975), paradoxically the older texts of the historic BCPs in ‘sacral English’ were now more in tune with *Liturgiam Authenticam* and RM3 than contemporary English Anglican revisions; and (c) where the texts and linguistic register of revised Anglican liturgies in modern English differed from their Catholic counterparts, it would be insuperably difficult to weed out elements of manifest banality, theological ambiguity, and the intrusion of the gender-inclusive language, largely reprobated by *Liturgiam Authenticam*. In other words, it was judged that provision for modern language Ordinariate texts would be not only difficult in voicing a liturgical idiom distinct enough from the modern Roman Rite, but it would be a reversion to a ‘time-warp’ of superannuated fashion in liturgical language from the 1960s to the 1980s as the period in which modern English came to the fore in Anglican worship, yet without quite replacing an abiding affection for the traditional hieratic English of the BCPs. It is noteworthy that in most provinces of the Anglican Communion (never mind the congeries of ‘Continuing’ Anglicans), traditional language resources for worship remain authorized side-by-side with modern language forms. The 1662 BCP remains authorized in the Church of England, for instance; various ‘traditional orders’ and options are embedded in the array of alternative texts and linguistic registers present in *Common Worship*; and in the US Episcopal Church, as in ACNA, Rite I traditional texts coexist with Rite II contemporary texts.
3. Also relevant to the consensus in favour of traditional sacral English was the survey undertaken by (then) Msgr. Steven Lopes, as the CDF ‘point man’ for the implementation of *Anglicanorum coetibus*. He found that the various congregations and clergy coming into the Catholic Church via the Apostolic Constitution had used as Anglicans a dizzying array of at least a dozen different liturgical forms. The constituencies making up the Ordinariates did not come to the Catholic Church with any unified liturgical formation. But his survey did indicate a strong preference for traditional liturgical English, as contained in the historic BCPs, many Anglican service books, and the various Anglican missals. Some UK congregations were accustomed to the modern Roman Rite and some American congregations favoured Rite II services, but most judged ‘Anglican liturgical patrimony’ to inhere in traditional language worship.

4. Complementary with the survey yet independent from it, my first contribution to the commission was a report on the use of the *BDW* among the Pastoral Provision parishes of the US over a period of some thirty years worshipping in the so-called ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’ in full communion with the Catholic Church. Based on a series of meetings over several years with the pastors of the Pastoral Provision communities and based also on some familiarity with their habits and histories of worship, I reported that all of the Pastoral Provision parishes (with the partial exception of one) overwhelmingly favoured and exclusively used the Rite I, traditional language resources of the *BDW*. The lone exception (St. Mary the Virgin in Arlington, Texas) used both Rite I and Rite II, with a strong contingent of the parish attached to the former. Moreover, my report shared the strong consensus of the Pastoral Provision pastors that their congregations desired even more robust and consistent use of traditional language and often expressed dissatisfaction and annoyance with the *BDW*’s uneven mixing of traditional and modern linguistic registers.
5. All of the above factors came together in the commission’s pragmatic discernment of an authentic ‘voice’ for Ordinariate usage, if only to expedite our work, narrow the possible range of source texts to harmonize for Catholic worship, and to provide a working ratio for our project. Without dismissing the achievements and quality of some Anglican experiments with modern language texts (readily acknowledged in some cases to be more euphonious and stylistically attractive than many of their Catholic vernacular English counterparts), nonetheless there was wide agreement that one of the most resonant, distinctive, and enduring components of Anglican liturgical patrimony is the use of a characteristic hieratic or sacral English derived from the historic BCPs. The commission quickly ditched the prospect of developing two complete orders of worship, like Rite I and Rite II, or different linguistic registers per some contemporary Anglican liturgical books. This discernment went hand-in-hand with the development of working *ratio* for selecting, combining, and harmonizing texts of Anglican provenance for Ordinariate usage. This *ratio* came to specify three criteria: *integrity*, *continuity*, and *pastoral utility*.

Integrity: All of the texts, despite their various origins in Anglican and Catholic experience, should manifestly ‘go together’ to constitute a distinctively voiced order of worship with a consistent style, vocabulary, and cadence that would be recognizably Anglican in character yet duly conformed to Catholic theological, canonical, and liturgical requirements. The language and texts of the historic BCPs and traditional Anglican missals presented a readily accessible quarry to build up and evince this sense of integrity.

Continuity: The vast majority of texts making up Ordinariate worship should proceed from the lived liturgical experience of the people making up Ordinariate faithful and impelling them to Catholic unity. That is to say, the commission had no mandate to create, innovate, or fashion anything novel (much less recur to obsolete forms such as recreating the Sarum use), but rather to aggregate and harmonize liturgical texts derived from longstanding, continued experience over several generations.

Pastoral utility: In some sense, this criterion emerged with a view toward the practical application to lived worship of judgments about integrity and continuity, which otherwise might become somewhat academic or historicist. Accordingly, the commission spent some time discussing the practical realities of language and linguistic register in sustaining both unity and distinctiveness and concurring to the norms of Catholic worship. The Anglican abandonment or fragmentation of truly common prayer in a common language and shared liturgical dialect, we agreed, offers a cautionary tale. A certain pluralism or diversity of language (say, Latin, or modern vernaculars of post-Conciliar worship, or the traditional vernaculars of the Eastern rites) can manifest the authentically inculturated richness of the Catholic faith, but there is something to be said for retrieving the promise of common prayer for the Ordinariates in a linguistic usage admittedly archaic but certainly not obsolete.

Thus, the commission perceived the rationale for sacral English, rather than contemporary English, and thus the commission came to articulate the challenge of discerning, practically,

the differences between a still vital archaic liturgical dialect and certain elements, which might be judged functionally obsolete.⁸⁶⁷

Brand's comment that those seeking a liturgy more in accordance with the *Roman Missal* have the *Roman Missal* as an option should especially be noted, as should his comment on the initial work of *AT* indicating that sacral English was perceived to be an especially important aspect of the Anglican liturgical tradition.

In terms of spelling, obviously there would need to be a choice, British or American. The *RSV-2CE* uses American spelling, something which grates somewhat on those used to British spelling. Lopes responded to this question in terms of faithfulness to the received texts:

There was never much debate on choosing British spelling over American for DW. While the USA certainly had and has the lion's share of Ordinariate faithful, the source materials were rather united in preserving British spelling conventions. The commission understood its work as receiving texts, not inventing/composing texts. So altering the spelling seemed like an unnecessary intervention in the source material.⁸⁶⁸

Brand's response was somewhat more pragmatic:

British orthography was adopted as a pragmatic convenience for the sake of consistency and in recognition that British spelling obtains in the UK, Australia, and Canada. In comparison, American spelling is the one that seems idiosyncratic. The decision to go with British spelling was a way to honor the source or homeland of our common mother tongue. It was also thought that Americans would have an easier time accepting British spelling than the British, Australians, or Canadians would have accepting American spelling. Until fairly recent times, British spelling was common throughout the Prayer Book tradition, even in countries, like the USA, that eventually developed different orthographic conventions.⁸⁶⁹

Biblical translation is an area of great passion for Anglicans. Section 2.1.2.3 has described the contribution of the English Bible to the development of modern English, and the pride of place of the *Authorised* or *King James Version* as the jewel of all English translations. Certainly, the *KJV* was *the* Biblical translation of classical Anglicanism. It was also the translation used in the Anglican Missals. It remains common to hear those from the Anglican tradition dreaming of broad use of the *KJV* in the liturgy. This may well be appealing for sentimental reasons, but not so much for practical ones. Lopes notes that the first decision of *AT* was to select the *Revised Standard Version Second Catholic Edition* Lectionary as the Lectionary for the Ordinariates.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁷ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 1–3.

⁸⁶⁸ Steven J. LOPES, *The Language of DW*, email to the author from 24 November 2019 (9.22 am), Houston/TX. Typographical errors have been corrected.

⁸⁶⁹ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 6.

⁸⁷⁰ Cf. LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 122.

Despite the resonance of and affection for the *KJV*, a number of factors make it problematic for liturgical celebration. Firstly, it is well-known that the *KJV* contains significant errors. Secondly, the ongoing evolution of the English language has resulted in there being significant sections of the *KJV* whose meaning is nearly incomprehensible to modern ears, either due to sentence construction or the use of arcane words whose meanings have substantially shifted.⁸⁷¹ Put simply, the *KJV*, as loved as it may be, has been left behind by advances in Biblical scholarship and language.

In terms of a lectionary for Catholic use, there are a number of important factors. Firstly, the starting point for a lectionary must be an already approved Catholic Scriptural translation. Firstly, a translation must be approved for liturgical use.⁸⁷² To create a Lectionary from an approved translation involves an immense amount of work. It was earlier recounted the large amount of work involved in what was supposed to simply be a reprint of the already approved *RSV-CE*, eventually becoming *RSV-2CE*. Much of the Anglophone world has waited for many years for a revised Lectionary to be approved and printed so as to replace their now disintegrating Jerusalem Bible Lectionaries. Of the Lectionaries available to the working group, the *RSV-2CE* was the closest relative to the *KJV*, and already in use by some Anglican groups, so there was perhaps a sense of inevitability in its selection as the Lectionary for the Ordinariates.

The liturgy itself is fundamentally Biblical, with the liturgical texts themselves containing significant numbers of Scriptural passages. One could be forgiven for thinking that *AT* pored through a variety of *Biblical* sources in selecting these texts. This is, however, to forget the principle of the *ratio* whereby faithfulness to the sources is to be maintained as far as possible. As such, faithfulness to the Scriptural passages in the various missals and Prayer Books has priority over selecting passages from a particular translation. As Lopes recounts:

At no point did the commission have a copy of the KJV Bible (or DR [Douay Rheims]) open for consultation. [...]

The chants of the mass exist in many Anglican liturgical sources, including national Prayer Books, missals, and English translations of the Graduale Romanum. These are the sources that were consulted in assembling the chants of the Mass. And these sources had hundreds of variations of word order, punctuation, vocabulary and syntax. As a promulgated liturgical text, the DW Missal sets forth with authority now for first time the text of the chants.

⁸⁷¹ This author as an Anglican priest celebrated a weekday Mass using the *English Missal* with its readings from the *KJV*. I recall on a number of occasions proclaiming the readings and then thinking to myself at the end “I have no idea what I just said.”

⁸⁷² To the best of this author’s knowledge, the *KJV* has never been approved for Catholic liturgical use.

It may be true that the source books for the chants relied on KJV, so it might be argued that *secondarily* the missal follows KJV for these texts. But not directly.⁸⁷³

When asked to respond specifically on the Scriptural sources for *Divine Worship*, Brand responded as follows:

Psalm texts come [from] the Book of Common Prayer's traditional Coverdale Psalter (usually in the 1662 text but occasionally favouring slight variants from the 1928 US BCP). Otherwise, where Scriptural passages are woven into the fabric of the ritual texts (e.g., the non-psalm Propers, as for the Comfortable Words at Mass and the Burial Sentences in funeral rites), these match the traditional Prayer Book texts as taken from the AV or stemming from original BCP renderings. Lectionary readings, however, come from the RSV-CE2 In other words, it was agreed that recurrent Scriptural texts featuring in ritual texts should retain their traditional BCP wordings – as consonant with their familiarity and as integral to their 'poetic' coherence – whilst readings from the Lectionary derive from the slightly different (sometimes more contemporary and clearer) idiom of the RSV-CE2 since the stylistic register of the lections serve in particular way the goals of accessibility and clarity for edification.⁸⁷⁴

The wide diversity of liturgical practices that *AT* would seek to accommodate in a single liturgical provision has already been noted. There were a variety of local histories and usages to be accommodated, ranging from Prayer Book English of various flavours, to modern Anglican usages which were more or less reflective of the 1973 ICEL translation, to English Anglo-Catholics who faithfully celebrated the *Novus Ordo* according to its 1973 translation.

Lopes elaborated on how the working group faced this challenge as follows:

To approach this challenge, you have to go back to the formal definition of patrimony (found in both Archbishop DiNoia's article and my article in *Antiphon*). Patrimony is not identified with one or other specific moment of liturgical usage, or time, or place. Patrimony, as DW and the Ordinariates understand it, looks at the whole history of Anglicanism and the liturgical experience that develops and eventually prompts clergy and faithful to seek the fullness of Catholic communion. The Catholic Church recognizes elements that are expressive of Catholic Faith—and therefore essentially already hers—expressed in a new and felicitous manner.

Indeed, as Msgr. Entwistle has often argued, it is necessary to reach back before Anglicanism into the deep well of English Christianity and medieval piety. That and the Sarum Rite are of critical importance for understanding the DW Missal, not least because of their influence on the 1549 BCP, which the commission understood as the major structural source for the Missal. The restoration of the Votive Mass of the Five Wounds also illustrates this.

So, yes, the diversity in custom and experience at the time of the promulgation of *Anglicanorum coetibus* was a real challenge. But it is also a very recent phenomenon. When considered in this broader historical and liturgical context, it becomes easier to evaluate the recent custom and 'plot' a course for a universal liturgical provision. It is clear, therefore, that prayer book English shapes the entire liturgical experience of Anglicanism. So it's not simply a matter of PBE still being used in a majority of Ordinariate congregations outside of the UK as the fetch that recommends its preservation. It is rather the specific idiom of the English language that shapes the patrimony over the course of centuries. That idiom is therefore essential to the liturgical experience.

⁸⁷³ Steven J. LOPES, The Language of DW, email to the author from 24 November 2019 (9.35 am), Houston/TX.

⁸⁷⁴ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 8.

Practically, now 4 years since the promulgation of the Missal, you are seeing the local customs and experiences evening out. More communities in the UK are celebrating Mass according to the DW Missal. Communities in North America which once had wildly different customs are evening out. The more that clergy and faithful realize the power of the Missal to shape and sustain Ordinariate identity, the more a unanimity emerges in terms of liturgical celebration.⁸⁷⁵

Brand commented as follows:

Yes, the commission faced the challenge of accommodating the shaping experiences of diverse groups from around the world, people coming into the Catholic Church from different linguistic habits and registers. We realized that there was no magic formula for a unified liturgical usage, at least one that would not devolve into a hodgepodge, without making decisions that would have full weight, force, and *gravitas* of the Church's *authoritative* judgment.

Herein, parsing and applying the language of Article III of *Anglicanorum coetibus* became an important and sensitive issue of deliberation:

III. Without excluding liturgical celebrations according to the Roman Rite, the Ordinariate has the faculty to celebrate the Holy Eucharist and the other Sacraments, the Liturgy of the Hours and other liturgical celebrations according to the liturgical books proper to the Anglican tradition, which have been approved by the Holy See, so as to maintain the liturgical, spiritual and pastoral traditions of the Anglican Communion within the Catholic Church, as a precious gift nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinariate and as a treasure to be shared. (*emphasis added*)

Note the words underscored. First, we understood that the current, approved texts of the modern Roman Rite (RM3) could not be excluded from Ordinariate worship and would, in fact, provide a worthy alternative or option for communities more attuned to contemporary language and to the general habits and culture of post-conciliar Catholic worship (thus accommodating those coming from UK as 'Novus Ordo Anglo-Papalists' or from the US as 'Vatican II Episcopalians,' both relatively small constituencies).

Second, the challenge was to discern the relevant 'liturgical books proper to the Anglican tradition,' while understanding the scope and diversity of this tradition. Obviously, we could not conjure with everything that is arguably *proper* to Anglican liturgical praxis, as such. But the Holy See could exercise due judgment and authority in deciding and *approving* for Ordinariate worship some sources and texts as more *proper* than others (or having more *propriety* for sanctifying Ordinariate faithful in the bonds of Catholic communion). Thus in discerning the books, sources, and linguistic registers *proper* to the Anglican tradition, the commission developed a working 'hierarchy' of preferences and sources and a pragmatic 'method' for their harmonization. Part of this ranking involved the determination not to give undue preference or privilege to the liturgical tradition of one country or one national Anglican tradition at the expense of another (English, Scottish, American, Canadian, or Australian). Likewise, while valuing continued, lived experience, there was a pragmatic determination not to give undue emphasis to one era or historical instantiation of Anglican worship over another (say, contemporary revisions as opposed to older forms, time-tested, with proven 'track-records'). Thus we sought to appreciate a sense both of the 'organic development' of Anglican worship through the ages and around the world and also the historical, political, and cultural 'accidents' to understand their divergences. Practically, at least in terms of liturgical dialect and linguistic register, these reflections gave pride-of-place to the language of the 1662 English BCP, since that book represents the point at which the idiom of Anglican prayer 'gelled' or stabilized enough for wide diffusion in the English-speaking world, while yet susceptible to small, incremental 'tweaks' and minor revisions in later periods and for different countries. Hence we identified the lineage and filiation of the historic BCPs for characterizing

⁸⁷⁵ Steven J. LOPES, The Language of DW, email to the author from 25 November 2019 (2.03 am), Houston/TX. Typographical errors have been corrected.

a representative Anglican liturgical dialect that carried over into ‘Catholicizing’ books such as the various Anglican missals, the Monastic Diurnal, the Anglican Breviary, et al.

The idea, then, was to make for two fundamental alternatives:

1. the modern Roman Rite in its currently authorized editions, possibly including also the Extraordinary Form in Latin; and
2. a representative harmonization of texts and sources of wide Anglican provenance, orchestrated and conformed, as necessary, to the norms of Catholic worship, suited to the promises of evangelizing potential, and all duly *approved* by authority of the Holy See.⁸⁷⁶

As previously noted, the linguistic register of Divine Worship is that of sacral English, or more precisely Prayer Book English. One point of distinction of Prayer Book English is its use of archaic language. Whilst sacral English is inherently more stable than the language of the street, it is still subject to changes in usage and meaning. The 1662 Prayer Book itself had been edited so as to remove a few arcane expressions. Lopes has noted a similar exercise undertaken by the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group.⁸⁷⁷ An apocryphal story circulating within the Ordinariates was the notion of the working group debating how many ‘vouchsafes’ there should be. Responses from Lopes and Brand to this question dispelled any notion of a formulaic or mechanical process to determine whether a particular archaism should be “in or out”. When this apocryphal story was put to Lopes, the starting point of his response was once again grounded in faithfulness to and integrity of the sources:

There was never a concern or even a discussion on the use of Vouchsafe. We simply took it as it was given in the source texts.

The one archaic expression we did discuss at some length is the verb Prevent. The meaning of this word in English has so changed that any connection to *praeveniens* in Latin is totally obscure. Modern English hears prevent and thinks ‘from what’. I believe there are four collects in the Missal that begin ‘Prevent us, O Lord,...’ I recall that both ‘precede’ and ‘Go before us’ were proposed as equivalents to the original meaning of prevent. We wound up using both, depending on the grammatical context. One sounded better than the other. But you will find both used in those collects.

Another discussion was on the vocative tense, no longer used in English but extremely common in the sources (O Lord, Jesu Christ, who...). Even though it’s archaic, we determined to keep the vocative form in prayers of ancient origin, particularly ones that were not subject to much alteration through the centuries. Hence you will find it used in the votive Mass of the Five Wounds. But in prayers in the Ordinary of the Mass (such as the prayer before the Peace), we decided to forego the vocative and just use the familiar Jesus, since that is something prayed every single Mass and the archaic expression would be jarring.⁸⁷⁸

Brand approached this question in terms of the distinction between archaic language, and language that is truly obsolete and no longer able to function as originally intended:

Yes, the commission gave considerable attention to the relationship between *archaic* forms in traditional Anglican texts and truly *obsolete* expressions. It was readily recognized that the

⁸⁷⁶ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 4 f.

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 122.

⁸⁷⁸ Steven J. LOPES, *One More*, email to the author from 25 November 2019 (4.27 pm), Houston/TX.

idiom of Prayer Book English abounds in archaism, which is nonetheless intelligible to those habitually immersed in this liturgical dialect. In fact, in some measure, the specialized language (*Sondersprache*) of Christian liturgical worship in diverse linguistic registers necessarily and unavoidably incorporates some *archaic* expressions (e.g., ‘Hosanna’ etc.) by virtue of their origins in biblical, patristic, and early Christian contexts. This fact is acknowledged and vindicated in *Liturgiam Authenticam* as the charter for the 2010 English translation of the Roman Missal. *Archaism* is one thing, genuine *obsolescence* another. Some archaic verbal forms have become over time virtually unintelligible or even misleading. Take, for example, the medieval and early modern verb ‘prevent’ as meaning ‘go before’ or ‘precede.’ In recognition of this reality, the commission was careful to replace usages of ‘prevent’ with ‘go before’ or ‘precede’ as warranted by a need for baseline intelligibility in context. Other archaic forms, by contrast, such as the verb ‘vouchsafe’ are not necessarily obsolete, at least not for those habitually immersed in their usage; contextually, it is fairly easy to grasp, even for the un-initiated, that ‘vouchsafe’ means ‘give or grant in a gracious manner.’ Thus the commission was careful to preserve those intelligible archaisms which are integral to the distinctive stylistic character or *gestalt* of traditional Anglican worship while carefully modifying those expressions which might be considered truly obsolete. For example, in the text that opens the Introit for Maundy Thursday, *Nos autem gloriari*, the traditional rendering of the proper (‘But as for us, it behoveth us to glory in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ’) was replaced with ‘We should glory in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ given the judgment of one commission member that that verb ‘behoveth’ is not simply archaic but downright obsolete.

In the deliberations of the commission, however, there was never a “quota” system nor any mechanical effort to ‘balance’ archaic and more contemporary word choices. To be sure, our discussions of this matter were often lively, with diverse perspectives and sometimes disagreements, but the method was simply to review the drafts of received texts, to read them aloud, and to discuss them according to our working criteria of discerning and preserving a distinctive liturgical for its integrity, continuity, and ongoing pastoral utility. Our method was informed by the precedent of the ‘organic development’ of classic Prayer Book texts themselves in their long development and incremental modification from the sixteenth century right through to the 1960s. If you carefully compare the texts of the 1549 BCP with its more enduring crystallization in 1662, you will find many little changes – pruning wordiness and dropping some obsolete expressions, etc. Then if you compare the 1662 BCP with more recent revisions (e.g., England 1928, US 1928, Scotland 1929, South Africa 1954, and Canada 1962) still within the classic Prayer Book idiom, you will see many other similar modifications, all fairly seamless, many almost imperceptible. Thus our endeavour was both to preserve the traditional and still resonant character of classic Prayer Book English while also taking into account the need for baseline intelligibility and the reality of linguistic change with a view to nurturing the future of this liturgical idiom for generations yet to come.⁸⁷⁹

A sacral vernacular liturgy will require pruning from time to time because of the changes in language. However, it is possible to on occasion, even accidentally, over-prune a noble tree. Brand has noted the example of the Maundy Thursday Introit.⁸⁸⁰ This introit is crucial, because it begins the liturgy of the Easter Triduum, it is literally the first words uttered in the beginning of the Liturgy of the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. It could be argued that the pruning of this introit has been its ruination. The effect can be observed by comparing various translations of this introit:

⁸⁷⁹ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 10 f.

⁸⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

Anglican Missal (1939) ⁸⁸¹	English Missal (1940) ⁸⁸²	Divine Worship: The Missal ⁸⁸³	Roman Missal
But as for us, it behoveth us to glory in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ : in whom is our salvation, our life and resurrection : by whom we were saved and obtained our freedom. <i>Ps. 67.</i> God be merciful unto us, and bless us : and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us. But as for us.	But it behoveth us to glory in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ : in whom is our salvation, life, and resurrection : by whom we are saved, and set free. <i>Ps. 67.</i> God be merciful unto us, and bless us : and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us. But it behoveth.	We should glory in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ: in whom is our salvation, life, and resurrection, through whom we are saved and delivered. (<i>Ps</i>) God be merciful unto us, and bless us: and show us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us. GLORY. We should...	We should glory in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom is our salvation, life and resurrection, through whom we are saved and delivered. ⁸⁸⁴

As previously noted, one of the most important principles of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group is that of reception. *Divine Worship* does not contain original compositions, because its purpose is not to create a new liturgy, but to incorporate Anglican liturgy into Catholic worship. There are occasions where there was no Anglican source available, in which case Catholic sources were drawn from. These sources, however, could not simply be cut-and-pasted. Equivalent versions in Prayer Book English would need to be prepared. At first glance, it might seem that this can be done by simply inserting some *thees* and *thys*. A more detailed examination quickly reveals that archaic language is not merely vulgar English with archaisms added. In this instance, the working group needed to adapt these sources to genuine patrimonial Prayer Book English, whilst also being faithful to the original sources, bearing in mind that in many cases these are ultimately Latin.

Brand commented on this matter as follows:

[T]here are no purely original compositions in *DW*. As much as possible, the commission endeavoured to receive received texts in their full integrity, with a minimum of adjustment and tinkering. That said, however, some of the rubrics were adapted as necessary for clarity and precision from their counterparts in the Roman Missal and in the BCP and Anglican missal traditions. Some of these rubrics and, of course, the language of the Rubrical Directory might

⁸⁸¹ Anglican Missal (1939), 344.

⁸⁸² [KENRICK], English Missal (1940), 143.

⁸⁸³ Divine Worship: The Missal, 343.

⁸⁸⁴ The Roman Missal. Renewed by Decree of the Most Holy Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Promulgated by the Authority of Pope Paul VI and Revised at the Direction of Pope John Paul II. English Translation According to the Third Typical Edition. Approved for use in the Dioceses of Australia, England and Wales, and Scotland by the Bishop's Conferences of Australia, England and Wales, and Scotland and Confirmed by the Apostolic See, London 2010, 330.

count as original compositions. But the euchological and ritual texts all derive substantially from the received source texts.

On a few occasions, expressions that were considered hopelessly *obsolete*, rather than merely *archaic* (such as the verb ‘prevent’ in a few of the original Collects), were adjusted to more readily intelligible phraseology (such as ‘precede’ or ‘go before’). In just a few instances, details of the wording changed a little for greater doctrinal precision (as in the Preface for Holy Matrimony and the Preface for the Blessing of Palms on Palm Sunday), but these changes were slight. Where classical Prayer Book references mention Christ as ‘our only Mediator and Advocate,’ we had to drop the word ‘only,’ since Our Lady can be claimed a mediatrix of grace and since all the Saints in the Church Triumphant are our advocates. Where traditional Anglican Collects refrained from mentioning the intercession and merits of the Saints, we had on a few occasions to gingerly re-insert phrases like ‘by his merits and intercession.’⁸⁸⁵

Brand outlined the methodological approach to adapting Catholic sources to Prayer Book English as follows:

This process of ‘retro-fitting’ was undertaken carefully and delicately to assure that such adaptations would match as seamlessly as possible the linguistic and stylistic *gestalt* of *DW* while at the same time assuring substantial fidelity to their approved English translations in the Ordinary Form, as well as accuracy to the original Latin texts. This work was never simply a matter of sprinkling texts with *thees* and *thous* and merely substituting sacral pronouns and verb forms for their more contemporary counterparts. Rather, these adaptations proceeded from immersion in the traditional Anglican idiom of prayer and deep familiarity with its characteristic diction, phrasing, syntax, and sentence structure in order to make the necessary adaptations as smooth and as pleasing as possible. This work also required a discerning sensitivity to biblical allusions and resonances in the stylistic register of BCP texts and the AV. These adaptations involved frequent recourse to the original Latin texts and careful study of other, older models and precedents for rendering Latin liturgical texts in Prayer Book English. The idea was to capture as faithfully as possible in Prayer Book English something like a formal equivalence with the original Latin texts, while respecting the 2010 English translations of RM3 and utilizing the full resources of our hieratic liturgical dialect.

In the *DW* rendering of Offertory Form II, for instance, we realized that traditional Prayer Book English affords some opportunities for more precise and nuanced translation than the resources of contemporary English might allow. As an illustration, here is the footnote, for the draft Ordo Missae, that I appended to the proposed rendering ‘*whence* it shall become for us the bread of life / our spiritual drink’:

This is an attempt to render the modern Offertory Prayers in the traditional hieratic idiom of ‘Prayer Book English.’ Unlike every other part of the Ordinary of the Mass, the modern Offertory Prayers do not have a history of commendable Anglican translations nor clear biblical antecedents. Hence this adaptation had to be undertaken from scratch, as it were, prompted by the new ICEL translations and by the original Latin: *Benedíctus es, Dómine, Deus univérsi, quia de tua largitáte accépmus panem, quem tibi offérimus, fructum terræ et óperis mánuum hóminum: ex quo [ablative of source] nobis fiet panis vitæ. / Benedíctus es, Dómine, Deus univérsi, quia de tua largitáte accépmus vinum, quod tibi offérimus, fructum vitis et óperis mánuum hóminum: ex quo [ablative of source] nobis fiet potus spiritalis.* Since ‘Prayer Book English’ classically involves not only traditional pronouns and verbal forms, but also attention to diction, cadence, and periodic syntax, this adaptation ventures a ‘holistic’ rendering for the sake of stylistic integrity as well as linguistic and theological precision. Here, for the Offering of the Bread (and for the Offering of the Wine) the English word ‘whence’ translates the Latin ablative of source *ex quo* (‘from which’ or ‘out of which’). Alternative versions could include the following

⁸⁸⁵ BRAND, *Thinking Points*, 9.

formulations: ‘from this [gift] will come for us the bread of life / our spiritual drink’ or ‘from it shall be made for us the bread of life / our spiritual drink.’⁸⁸⁶

A most important point must be re-iterated by paraphrasing Brand. The Anglican idiom of prayer is characterised by diction, phrasing, syntax, and sentence structure.⁸⁸⁷ For a given text to truly reflect Anglican idiom, it must do so in each of these four properties.

The work of *AT* in adapting a number of texts where an Anglican source did not exist will now be demonstrated by means of a number of examples:

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., 9 f.

⁸⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 9.

Roman Missal (1973 ICEL)	Roman Missal (2010)	Divine Worship: The Missal
<p>Offertory⁸⁸⁸ Blessed are you, Lord, God of all creation. Through your goodness we have this bread to offer, which earth has given and human hands have made. It will become for us the bread of life.</p> <p>By the mystery of this water and wine may we come to share in the divinity of Christ, who humbled himself to share in our humanity.</p> <p>Blessed are you, Lord, God of all creation. Through your goodness we have this wine to offer, fruit of the vine and work of human hands. It will become our spiritual drink.</p> <p>Lord God, we ask you to receive us and be pleased with the sacrifice we offer you with humble and contrite hearts.</p> <p>Lord, wash away my iniquity; cleanse me from my sin.</p>	<p>Offertory⁸⁸⁹ Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation, for through your goodness we have received the bread we offer you: fruit of the earth and work of human hands, it will become for us the bread of life.</p> <p>By the mystery of this water and wine may we come to share in the divinity of Christ who humbled himself to share in our humanity.</p> <p>Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation, for through your goodness we have received the wine we offer you: fruit of the vine and work of human hands, it will become our spiritual drink.</p> <p>With humble spirit and contrite heart may we be accepted by you, O Lord, and may our sacrifice in your sight this day be pleasing to you, Lord God.</p> <p>Wash me, O Lord, from my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin.</p>	<p>Offertory⁸⁹⁰ Blessed art thou, O Lord, God of all creation, for of thy bounty have we received this bread which we offer unto thee, fruit of the earth and the work of human hands: whence it shall become for us the bread of life.</p> <p>By the mystery of this water and wine may we come to share in the divinity of Christ who humbled himself to share in our humanity.</p> <p>Blessed art thou, O Lord, God of all creation, for of thy bounty have we received this wine which we offer unto thee, fruit of the vine and the work of human hands: whence it shall become for us our spiritual drink.</p> <p>In a humble spirit, and with a contrite heart, may we be accepted of thee, O Lord, and so let our sacrifice be offered in thy sight this day that it may be pleasing unto thee, O Lord God.</p> <p>Wash me thoroughly, O Lord, from my wickedness and cleanse me from my sin.</p>

⁸⁸⁸ The Roman Missal. Revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI. The Sacramentary. Approved for Use in the Dioceses of the United States of America by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Confirmed by the Apostolic See. English Translation Prepared by the International Commission on English in the Liturgy, New York 1985, 370 f.

⁸⁸⁹ Roman Missal (2010), 564 f.

⁸⁹⁰ Divine Worship: The Missal, 573 f.

Eucharistic Prayer II⁸⁹¹	Eucharistic Prayer II⁸⁹²	Alternative Eucharistic Prayer⁸⁹³
<p>Father, it is our duty and salvation, always and everywhere to give you thanks through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ. He is the Word through whom you made the universe, the Savior you sent to redeem us. By the power of the Holy Spirit he took flesh and was born of the Virgin Mary.</p>	<p>It is truly right and just, our duty and our salvation, always and everywhere to give you thanks, Father most holy, through your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, your Word through whom you made all things, whom you sent as our Saviour and Redeemer, incarnate by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin.</p>	<p>It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, through thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, thy Word through whom thou hast made all things, whom thou didst send as our Saviour and Redeemer, incarnate by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin.</p>
<p>For our sake he opened his arms on the cross; he put an end to death and revealed the resurrection. In this he fulfilled your will and won for you a holy people.</p>	<p>Fulfilling your will and gaining for you a holy people, he stretched out his hands as he endured his Passion, so as to break the bonds of death and manifest the resurrection.</p>	<p>Fulfilling thy will and gaining for thee a holy people, he stretched out his hands as he endured his Passion, so as to break the bonds of death and manifest the resurrection.</p>
<p>And so we join the angels and saints in proclaiming your glory as we say: [Sanctus]</p>	<p>And so, with the Angels and all the Saints we declare your glory, as with one voice we acclaim: [Sanctus]</p>	<p>Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; ever more praising thee, and saying, [Sanctus]</p>
<p>Lord, you are holy indeed, the fountain of all holiness. Let your Spirit come upon these gifts to make them holy, so that they may become for us the body and blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ.</p>	<p>You are indeed Holy, O Lord, the fount of all holiness. Make holy, therefore, these gifts, we pray, by sending down your Spirit upon them like the dewfall, so that they may become for us the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.</p>	<p>Truly thou art Holy, O Lord, the fount of all holiness. Make holy, therefore, these gifts, we pray by sending down thy Spirit upon them like the dewfall, that they may become for us the Body and Blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ.</p>
<p>Before he was given up to death, a death he freely accepted, he took bread and gave you thanks, He broke the bread, gave it to his disciples, and said: Take this, all of you, and eat it; this is my body which will be given up for you.</p>	<p>At the time he was betrayed and entered willingly into his Passion, he took bread and, giving thanks, broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take this, all of you, and eat of it, for this is my Body, which will be given up for you.</p>	<p>At the time he was betrayed and entered willingly into his Passion, he took bread, and giving thanks, broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND EAT OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH WILL BE GIVEN UP FOR YOU.</p>

⁸⁹¹ Roman Missal (1985), 548–551.

⁸⁹² Roman Missal (2010), 679–683.

⁸⁹³ Divine Worship: The Missal, 644–648.

<p>When supper was ended, he took the cup. Again he gave you thanks and praise, gave the cup to his disciples, and said:</p> <p>Take this, all of you, and drink from it; this is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and everlasting covenant. It will be shed for you and for all so that sins may be forgiven. Do this in memory of me.</p> <p>In memory of his death and resurrection, we offer you, Father, this life-giving bread, this saving cup. We thank you for counting us worthy to stand in your presence and serve you. May all of us who share in the body and blood of Christ be brought together in unity by the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>Lord, remember your Church throughout the world; make us grow in love, together with N. our Pope, N., our bishop, and all the clergy.</p> <p>Remember our brothers and sisters who have gone to their rest in the hope of rising again; bring them and all the departed into the light of your presence. Have mercy on us all; make us worthy to share eternal life with Mary, the virgin Mother of God, with the apostles, and with all the saints who have done your will throughout the ages. May we praise you in union with them, and give you glory through your Son, Jesus Christ.</p>	<p>In a similar way, when supper was ended, he took the chalice and, once more giving thanks, he gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>Take this, all of you, and drink from it, for this is the chalice of my Blood, the Blood of the new and eternal covenant, which will be poured out for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this in memory of me.</p> <p>Therefore, as we celebrate the memorial of his Death and Resurrection, we offer you, Lord, the Bread of life and the Chalice of salvation, giving thanks that you have held us worthy to be in your presence and minister to you. Humbly we pray that, partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, we may be gathered into one by the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>Remember, Lord, your Church, spread throughout the world, and bring her to the fullness of charity, together with N. our Pope and N. our Bishop and all the clergy.</p> <p>Remember also our brothers and sisters who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection, and all who have died in your mercy: welcome them into the light of your face. Have mercy on us all, we pray, that with the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, with blessed Joseph, her Spouse, with the blessed Apostles, and all the Saints who have pleased you throughout the ages, we may merit to be co-heirs to eternal life, and may praise and glorify you through your Son, Jesus Christ.</p>	<p>Likewise, when supper was ended, he took the chalice and, once more giving thanks, he gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND DRINK FROM IT, FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, THE BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT, WHICH WILL BE Poured OUT FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME.</p> <p>Therefore, as we celebrate the memorial of his Death and Resurrection, we offer thee, Lord, the Bread of life and the Chalice of salvation, giving thanks that thou hast accounted us worthy to be in thy presence and minister unto thee. Humbly we pray that, partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, we may be gathered into one by the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>Remember, Lord, thy Church, spread throughout the world, and bring her to the fullness of charity, together with N. our Pope, [N. our Ordinary,] or [N., our Bishop,] and all the Clergy.</p> <p>Remember also our brethren who have fallen asleep in the hope of the resurrection and all who have died in thy mercy: welcome them into the light of thy countenance. Have mercy on us all, we pray thee, that with the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, with blessed Joseph, her Spouse, with the blessed Apostles, and all the Saints who have pleased thee throughout the ages, we may merit to be co-heirs to eternal life, and may laud and glorify thee through thy Son, Jesus Christ.</p>
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<p>Through him, with him, and in him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all glory and honor is yours, almighty Father, for ever and ever. Amen.</p>	<p>Through him, and with him, and in him, O God, almighty Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all glory and honour is yours, for ever and ever. Amen.</p>	<p>By whom and with whom and in whom, to thee, O Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">Collect for John Henry Newman⁸⁹⁴</p> <p>O God, who bestowed on the Priest Blessed John Henry Newman the grace to follow your kindly light and find peace in your Church, graciously grant that through his intercession and example we may be led out of shadows and images into the fullness of your truth. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, who lives and reigns with you in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, for ever and ever.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Collect for John Henry Newman⁸⁹⁵</p> <p>O God, who didst bestow upon thy Priest Blessed John Henry Newman, the grace to follow thy kindly light and find peace in thy Church: graciously grant that, through his intercession and example, we may be led out of shadows and images into the fulness of thy truth; through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end.</p>

Examining the texts from *Divine Worship: The Missal* indicates a number of ways in which the text has been moulded to the Anglican idiom. For example, strengthening of the vocative as in “Lord” to “O Lord”. In terms of diction, the use of first person archaisms such as *thee* and *thou* are perhaps the most obvious, however inspection shows many other instances where archaic diction and syntax have been introduced. For example, “goodness” to “bounty”, “bestowed” to “didst bestow”, “will” to “whence it shall”, “you have” to “thou hast”, “your face” to “thy countenance”, and “offer you” to “offer unto thee”. It is especially interesting to note that the Lavabo prayer reintroduces the “thoroughly” of Psalm 51 as found in the 1662 Prayer Book. Whilst phrasing is necessarily consistent with the source text, there are places where classical Anglican idiom is found. For example, immediately prior to the *Sanctus*, “ever more praising thee, and saying”. As one would expect, the conclusion to the Collect is in its classical Prayer Book form.

⁸⁹⁴ Roman Missal (2010), 1027.

⁸⁹⁵ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 855.

3.3 Divine Worship *and Tradition*

It is on occasion argued that the Ordinariate liturgy is a Protestant liturgy, or at least derives from a Protestant liturgy, and as such has no place within the Catholic Church.⁸⁹⁶ This argument appears to see *Divine Worship* as having appeared *ex nihilo* as a Catholic liturgy, with the only thing about it that is Catholic being its approval by the Holy See. Whilst it is true that Church does have the right to regulate and approve her own liturgies, she also has a very long tradition of resisting genuine novelties in the liturgy. The notion of the Church approving a liturgy that is a genuine novelty is contrary to the principle of tradition and the Church's self-understanding of her liturgy.

The English word "tradition" derives from the Latin *traditio*, which according to the OED means "handing over".⁸⁹⁷ This action of handing over presumes that there is an action of reception. That which is handed over is received. From a Catholic perspective, Sacred Tradition refers to the content of the Gospel message.⁸⁹⁸ The liturgy is the ritualisation and actualisation of the saving work of Jesus Christ. Thus, the liturgy stands within the context of Tradition because it is the normal way that the faithful participate in the handing on of the Gospel message. Whilst the liturgy can and does develop, the principles of reception and the avoidance of novelty are most important in guiding this development. As has been seen in the previous section, these two principles were foremost in the work of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group. *Divine Worship*, as a liturgy of the Catholic Church, was to be received, and was to avoid novelty. It was not to be an exercise in composing a *new* liturgy. It would be gravely erroneous to see this as a process of rehabilitation, that something that had previously been considered "bad", is now "good" simply because the Church says so. The Church has repeatedly acknowledged that the operation of the Church cannot be limited to her visible confines. Elements of goodness, truth and even sanctification exist outside of the visible confines of the Church. The Second Vatican Council's Decree on Ecumenism (1964) acknowledged the existence of Catholic things within the Anglican church, noting as a result of the Reformation, "many communions, national or confessional, were separated from the Roman See. Among those in which Catholic traditions and institutions in part

⁸⁹⁶ For the usual objections, see Darrick TAYLOR, On the Authenticity of the Ordinariate Liturgy, in: *Controversies in Church History*. URL: <https://churchcontroversies.com/2021/08/14/on-the-authenticity-of-the-ordinariate-liturgy/> [accessed: 22 October 2021]. For an especially pejorative example, see Why the Ordinariate is not Catholic, in: *A Catholic Land*. URL: <https://acatholicland.org/why-the-ordinariate-is-not-catholic/> [accessed: 22 October 2021].

⁸⁹⁷ Tradition, n., in: *Oxford English Dictionary* (December 2022).

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Sydney, ²2000, no. 901; DV 7–10.

continue to exist, the Anglican communion occupies a special place.”⁸⁹⁹ J. Augustine Di Noia, commenting on the work of identifying and incorporating the English liturgical patrimony into the Catholic Church, noted that the recognition of an English patrimony worthy of preservation had been acknowledged by Popes Paul VI and Benedict XVI.⁹⁰⁰ Paul VI spoke of “the worthy patrimony of piety and usage proper to the Anglican Church.”⁹⁰¹ Benedict XVI writing as Joseph Ratzinger, spoke of an integral Catholicity which remained within Anglicanism.⁹⁰²

The approval of *Divine Worship* should not be seen solely as a juridical act, but rather as a confirmation and re-incorporation of an authentic expression of the one faith of the Catholic Church from outside of her visible boundaries to within them. As Di Noia notes,

The liturgical books comprised by *Divine Worship* arise from an exercise of Peter’s authority over the churches that recognizes the authentic faith of the Church expressed in Anglican forms of worship and confirms that expression as a treasure or patrimony for the whole Church. In other words, the Church recognizes the faith that is already hers expressed in a new idiom or felicitous manner.⁹⁰³

These sources cannot be simply written off or condemned as being irredeemably Protestant, for “[t]hese liturgical forms ‘return’ to the Church having been purified and transformed in Catholic communion.”⁹⁰⁴ Put simply, *Divine Worship* expresses the faith of the Church.

The liturgy of the pre-Reformation English church existed in various “Uses” of the Latin Rite. The Eucharistic Prayer of these various Uses was the Roman Canon.⁹⁰⁵ Even with the introduction of the Prayer Book in 1549, the English Liturgy was clearly recognisable as a liturgy of the Western Church. Whilst the Roman Canon was replaced by Cranmer’s own Eucharistic Prayer, the Roman Canon was widely used amongst Anglo-Catholics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Therefore, as Lopes notes, “the fact that Anglican

⁸⁹⁹ SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, *Decretum de Oecumensimo Unitatis Redintegratio* (21 November 1964), in: AAS 57 (1965) 90–107 (Latin text), here: 13; English translation in: Vatican Council II, vol. 1, *The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. by Austin FLANNERY, Northpoint/NY 1996, 463.

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. J[oseph] Augustine DI NOIA, *Divine Worship* and the Liturgical Vitality of the Church, in: *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal* 19/2 (2015) 109–115, here: 112. See also Steven J. LOPES, *The Worship of God in the Beauty of Holiness: A Presentation of Divine Worship*, in: Tracey ROWLAND (ed.), *The Anglican Patrimony in Catholic Communion*, London 2021, 45–64, here: 47–52.

⁹⁰¹ PAUL VI. Homily on the Canonization of Forty Martyrs from England and Wales, 25 October, 1970. URL: https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/it/homilies/1970/documents/hf_p-vi_hom_19701025.html [accessed: 22 October 2021].

⁹⁰² Cf. Joseph RATZINGER, *Salt of the Earth. Christianity and the Catholic Church at the End of the Millennium. An Interview with Peter Seewald*, San Francisco 1997, 145.

⁹⁰³ DI NOIA, *Divine Worship* and the Liturgical Vitality of the Church, 113.

⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 113 f.

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. MASKELL, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, 112–153.

liturgical patrimony develops entirely within the context of the Roman Rite is precisely what allows the Catholic Church to recognize and approve this patrimony for Catholic worship.”⁹⁰⁶ The Anglican liturgical tradition is *already* incorporated in the Tradition of the Church.

“*Divine Worship* is not a museum piece, but rather the Holy See’s prudent grafting of proven Anglican shoots on the rooted, living trunk of the Roman Rite to promote new and healthier growth.”⁹⁰⁷ Those shoots were born of the Roman Rite in the first place. There are two images that come to mind with respect to the re-incorporation of the Anglican tradition into the Catholic Church. The first is that of the Prodigal Son, who leaves the Father’s house in a spirit of independent rebellion, yet is welcomed home with unconditional love. The second is that of the vine and branches of John 15. Jesus reminds his disciples that the branches can do nothing if they are separated from the one vine. A separated branch has been re-incorporated into the vine, where it will assist in the generation of fruit. The words and the language of *Divine Worship* is now “the words of the Church and her faith.”⁹⁰⁸

Thus, it can be seen that the English Liturgy develops firstly within the context of the Tradition of the Church, and secondly that it is *received* by the Church as an already existing expression of the faith of the Church. As such, *Divine Worship* is clearly situated within the context of the Tradition of the Catholic Church.

3.4 Divine Worship and the Roman Rite

As noted in the previous section, the Anglican liturgy is a Western Rite liturgy, which “develops entirely in the context of the Roman Rite.”⁹⁰⁹ This section will examine the question of the situation of *Divine Worship* with reference to the Roman Rite. It is immediately recognised that this cannot be done in a definitive or formulaic sense. To do so would require a formal definition of precisely what the Roman Rite *is*, and by extension, what the Roman Rite is *not*. As will become clear, this question in itself is problematic, even before turning to consideration of *Divine Worship*. That being said, it is nonetheless possible to identify and discuss the important questions that arise.

In terms of a taxonomy of Eucharistic liturgical rites, the *anaphora* is a central characteristic serving classification. It could be presumed that the Roman Rite is characterised by the

⁹⁰⁶ LOPES, A Missal for the Ordinariates, 124.

⁹⁰⁷ DI NOIA, *Divine Worship* and the Liturgical Vitality of the Church, 112.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., 114.

⁹⁰⁹ LOPES, A Missal for the Ordinariates, 124.

Roman Canon. However, since the revisions following the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Canon is now an option, being one choice of Eucharistic Prayer amongst many. The Roman Canon is not even mandated for use on Sundays or Solemnities, the celebrant being able to choose the Eucharistic Prayer *ad libitum*. It is possible for a priest of the Roman Rite to exercise his entire priesthood without having ever once incanted the words of the Roman Canon. In the celebration of *Divine Worship*, the Roman Canon is normative and mandatory for Sundays and Solemnities.⁹¹⁰

Rite (Latin: *ritus*) in a liturgical sense refers to the entire liturgical tradition⁹¹¹ (liturgy) of a particular church or church *sui iuris*.⁹¹² This even extends to the liturgy of some religious orders.⁹¹³ The Roman Rite⁹¹⁴ (*Ritus Romanus*) was initially celebrated only in the Diocese of Rome, but with Rome being the most important particular Church, and the Pope being the “Patriarch of the West”, of course the Roman liturgy has been greatly influential upon the entire Western liturgical tradition.⁹¹⁵ As such, the Roman Rite as a whole is seen as a family of liturgies.⁹¹⁶ Thus, even though local variations may develop, these variations of liturgy still remain within and a part of the Roman Rite, rather than constitute a new Rite. A Rite,

⁹¹⁰ Cf. Rubrical Directory, *Divine Worship: The Missal*, London 2015, 127 (no. 32). “The Roman Canon is the normative Eucharistic Prayer for the *Divine Worship* celebration of Mass. The Alternative Eucharistic Prayer, which corresponds to Eucharistic Prayer II of the *Roman Missal*, is provided for Masses on weekdays, for Masses with children, and other Masses where pastoral needs suggest it.”

⁹¹¹ That is, the liturgies, prayers, rituals, observances and other practices. The sense here is broader so as to encompass the entire liturgical tradition. The narrower sense is to speak of *the* rite, for example *the* “baptismal rite” which in this case refers to liturgical celebration of the sacrament of baptism according to the authorised, prescribed and official ritual text.

⁹¹² For further on Rite, see FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 34–39; John HARPER, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, Oxford 1991, 13 f. For a “family tree” of Western liturgies see *ibid.*, 40. See also Gabriel RAMIS, *Liturgical Families in the West*, in: Anscar J. Chupungco (ed.), *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1, Collegeville/MN 1997, 25–32.

⁹¹³ Cf. FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 38; Archdale A. KING, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, Milwaukee/WI 1955.

⁹¹⁴ Again, this refers to the entire liturgical tradition proper to the local particular Church of Rome – including but not limited to celebration of the Eucharist, Sacraments and sacramentals, the Divine Office, feasts, seasons and observances.

⁹¹⁵ By the sixth century, the Western liturgies could be divided into the Roman Rite, Old Gallican Rite and Celtic Rite. By the eighth century, the Roman Rite had become ascendant. Cf. HARPER, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 14. Prior to the liturgical ascendancy of the Roman Rite, there were various other non-Roman Western liturgies, such as the Old Spanish or “Mozarabic” (still in use in Toledo), the Milanese or “Ambrosian” (still in use in Milan), and diocesan Uses in Braga, Lyon and other major cities. Cf. Archdale A. KING, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, London 1957.

⁹¹⁶ Prior to the English Reformation, the Uses found in England were Sarum, York, Hereford, Lincoln and Bangor, with Sarum and York being the most dominant Uses. These Uses were all Uses of the Roman Rite and as such share the overall shape and form of the Roman Rite. Immediately prior to the reform of the English liturgy, Sarum was certainly the dominant Use. For further see Archdale A. KING, *Liturgies of the Past*, London 1959, especially chapter 5, “Rites of Mediaeval England”.

or Ritual family, is able to stand on its own without depending on a “parent” Rite as such.⁹¹⁷ A Use is a variant within one of these principal Ritual families, but is clearly situated within the family tree of the parent Rite and does not constitute the creation of a new Rite. There are certainly not as many Rites as there are particular churches or Uses (for example Braga, Lyon, Sarum, Zaire, Dominican).

In discussing the Roman Rite, one of the foremost principles that the Church has consistently repeated and seeks to preserve is the substantial unity of the Roman Rite.⁹¹⁸ This does not necessarily require the elimination of any semblance of variation within the Roman Rite. However, the principle of the substantial unity of the Roman Rite demands that variations of the Roman Rite do not constitute the creation of new rites or ritual families, but are truly to be seen as variations within the Roman Rite.⁹¹⁹

Attention is now turned to the immediate predecessor of *Divine Worship*, the *Book of Divine Worship*. The Title Page notes that it is “elements of the Book of Common Prayer revised and adapted according to the Roman Rite.”⁹²⁰ The Explanatory Note to the Decree of approval states “The BOOK OF DIVINE WORSHIP, as now approved, in no way constitutes a special Rite.”⁹²¹ Clearly the intent of this first implementation of liturgical provision for former Anglicans was to maintain the substantial unity of the Roman Rite.⁹²²

⁹¹⁷ It is acknowledged that the terms “Rite” and “Use” are often used interchangeably, for example, the Sarum Use is often called the Sarum Rite, however these terms are not equivalent.

⁹¹⁸ Cf. SC 38; LA 4, 5; VL 34, 36, 70; MP. *Postquam Summus Pontifex*, in giving direction to the implementation of *Magnum Principium*, describes “the ‘inculturation’ of the Roman Rite” in terms of the “more radical adaption of the Roman Rite (cf. SC n. 40), while always safeguarding the substantial unity attested to in the typical liturgical books”. PSP 9.

⁹¹⁹ For some important questions of the substantial unity of the Roman Rite with respect to liturgical provision in accordance with *Anglicanorum Coetibus*, see FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 68 f.

⁹²⁰ The Book of Divine Worship, [Title page].

⁹²¹ CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, Unpubl. Explanatory Note on Liturgical Elements of the ‘Pastoral Provision’ from 13 February 1987 (Prot. N. 66/77) [private archive Daniel Seper]; cf. EARTHMAN, *Liturgical Adaptions*, 33.

⁹²² See SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 272. “Grundsätzliche Überlegungen zur Integration anglikanischer Liturgie wurden zunächst bei einem Treffen von 11. bis 14. Oktober 1981 an der Universität von Dallas in Irving/TX gemacht. Auf Einladung des Kirchlichen Delegaten sprach John A. Gurrieri vom BCL vor den am Übertritt interessierten Episcopalians über die liturgische Erneuerung in der Katholischen Kirche. Er verwies dabei auf die Liturgiekonstitution des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils als zentrale Richtschnur. Mit diesem Dokument sei auch der Weg von Vereinheitlichung hin zu Vielfalt in der Liturgie in der Katholischen Kirche geebnet worden. Konkret verwiesen die Artikel 38 und 40 von SC in diese Richtung, wenn dort von der möglichen Anpassung des Römischen Ritus an verschiedene Gruppen unter Wahrung seiner Einheit im Wesentlichen oder von einer manchmal auch tiefergreifenden.” English translation: “Basic reflections on the integration of Anglican liturgy were first made at a meeting from 11 to 14 October 1981 at the University of Dallas in Irving/TX. At the invitation of the Ecclesiastical Delegate, John A. Gurrieri of the BCL spoke to Episcopalians interested in conversion about liturgical renewal in the Catholic Church. He referred to the Liturgical Constitution of the Second Vatican Council as a central guideline. This document also paved the way from standardisation to diversity in the liturgy of the Catholic Church.

The text of *Divine Worship* itself will now be examined so as to see what is said of the Roman Rite. *Divine Worship: Occasional Services* is examined firstly as it was first *Divine Worship* liturgy to be approved. The Introduction to the Rite of Baptism notes: “For any circumstances that are not covered in this Order, reference should be made to the normative Roman Ritual, *Rite of Baptism*, or the *Order of Christian Initiation of Adults*.”⁹²³ This directive only makes sense if *DW: OS* is a legitimate variation of the *Roman Ritual*. A similar directive is found in the Introduction to the Order of Solemnisation of Holy Matrimony⁹²⁴ and the Order of Funerals⁹²⁵.

The Title Page to *Divine Worship: The Missal* states that it is “In accordance with the Roman Rite”.⁹²⁶ The Decree of approval, found in the fore matter, states that *Divine Worship: The Missal* is “a legitimate adaption of the Roman Rite, drawn up in the English language”.⁹²⁷ Immediately after the fore matter the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* is reproduced in full. The Rubrical Directory follows the GIRM. This directory is most helpful in situating *Divine Worship* within the Roman Rite: “The celebration of the Holy Eucharist expressed by *Divine Worship* is therefore as once distinctively and traditionally Anglican in character, while also being clearly and recognizably and expression of the Roman Rite.”⁹²⁸ This statement is especially important. This is not an opinion of a third-party commentator or blogger, but an authoritative statement in the *praenotanda* of an approved liturgy of the Catholic Church. *Divine Worship* is an *expression* of the Roman Rite. The Directory continues, “The liturgical norms and principles of the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* are normative for this expression of the Roman Rite, except where otherwise stipulated in this Directory and in the particular rubrics of *Divine Worship*.”⁹²⁹ That is, for

Specifically, Articles 38 and 40 of SC pointed in this direction when they spoke of the possible adaptation of the Roman Rite to different groups while preserving its unity in substance, or of a sometimes more profound inculturation.” (Translation H.-J. Feulner) This demonstrates that from the very beginning liturgical provision for the Pastoral Provision was seen in terms of adaption of the Roman Rite, as per *SC* 37–40. Also, SEPER, *United not Absorbed*, 294. “Es handelt sich also um keinen neuen anglikanischen Ritus, der damit begründet wird, sondern vielmehr um eine anglikanische Form des Römischen Ritus.” English translation: “It is not, therefore, a new Anglican rite that is thereby established, but rather an Anglican form of the Roman Rite.” (Translation mine, via deepl.com)

⁹²³ *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, 12 (no. 5).

⁹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 59 (no. 13).

⁹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 111 (no. 18).

⁹²⁶ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, [Title page].

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 121 (no. 6).

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.* (no. 7).

Divine Worship the GIRM is normative, with the Rubrical Directory establishing the derogation from the norm. The Directory continues to establish that “*Divine Worship* expresses an integral liturgical provision [...] It is to be taken as a whole, and its constitutive elements are not interchangeable with elements of the *Roman Missal*.”⁹³⁰ That is to say, *Divine Worship* is not to be considered as a resource book or supplement. The Directory allows for the use of the texts and chants of the *Graduale Romanum*, and Anglican translations of the *Graduale*.⁹³¹ In examining the content and structure of *Divine Worship: The Missal* it is evident that whilst remaining faithful to the sources, the structure of the material has, for the most part, been harmonised with the Roman Missal.⁹³²

The General Introduction to *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying*, like *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, refers to the *Roman Ritual* as normative, whilst again using the phrase “expression of the Roman Rite” –

The liturgical norms and principles of the Roman Ritual, *Pastoral Care of the Sick: Rites of Anointing and Viaticum* are normative for this expression of the Roman Rite. For any circumstances that are not covered in this current Order, reference should be made to the normative Roman Ritual, *Pastoral Care of the Sick: Rites of Anointing and Viaticum*.⁹³³

Thus, it is seen in the text of *Divine Worship*, the self-referential phrase used is *expression* of the Roman Rite. This is no surprise, as the third of the eight principles and objectives established within the *Ratio* of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group was “To propose an Order of Mass traditionally Anglican in character, content and structure whilst also a recognisable *expression* of the Roman Rite.”⁹³⁴ As Lopes noted on the publication of *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, “it must be affirmed quite clearly that the *Divine Worship* texts do not constitute a new Rite.”⁹³⁵ The term Rite is carefully chosen. Lopes continued:

these *Divine Worship* texts represent the development or further articulation of the Roman Rite within a specific historical and socio-religious context which, though possessing their own integrity and internal consistency, nevertheless remain clearly part of the Roman Rite.⁹³⁶

⁹³⁰ Ibid., 122 (no. 8).

⁹³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 123 (nos. 13–14).

⁹³² See Lopes, “[W]hile *Divine Worship* preserves some external elements more often associated with the Extraordinary Form, its theological and rubrical context is clearly the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite.” LOPES, *The Worship of God in the Beauty of Holiness*, 47.

⁹³³ *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying*, 18 f. (no. 5).

⁹³⁴ LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 120. Emphasis mine.

⁹³⁵ Steven J. LOPES, *Divine Worship: Occasional Services. A Presentation*, in: *The Jurist: Studies in Church Law and Ministry* 74 (2014) 79–89, here: 81.

⁹³⁶ LOPES, *Divine Worship: Occasional Services. A Presentation*, 82. See also Feulner, “the liturgical form of the Personal Ordinariates is not understood as a particular ‘rite’ in the same sense as those celebrated in the Eastern Particular Churches *sui iuris*, so it does not represent another independent rite in addition to the five Eastern liturgical traditions of the Catholic Church or to the other few rites within the ‘Latin

What Lopes is describing here is the process of the inculturation of the Roman Rite. Indeed, the principle of inculturation acknowledges precisely that legitimate variations (*varietates legitimae*) of the liturgy can and do exist within the Roman Rite whilst simultaneously maintaining the unity of the Roman Rite.

This unity is currently expressed in the typical editions of liturgical books, published by authority of the supreme pontiff and in the liturgical books approved by the episcopal conferences for their areas and confirmed by the Apostolic See. The work of inculturation does not foresee the creation of new families of rites; inculturation responds to the needs of a particular culture and leads to adaptations which still remain part of the Roman rite.⁹³⁷

As Feulner notes,

Unity does not require rigid uniformity, and the catholicity of the church admits diverse forms of expression, drawing from different cultures and traditions. ... Thus, a broader understanding of inculturation in the sense of *aptatio ad diversos coetus* (adaptation to different groups) according to *Sacrosanctum Concilium* justifies an Anglican Use that is informed by specific cultural traditions, yet remains an integral part of the Roman Rite.⁹³⁸

One may argue that inculturation only applies with respect to ethnicity.⁹³⁹ However, to claim this is to claim that culture is racist – that culture can *only* be categorised on the basis of one's race. Indeed, part of the genius of culture, seen as the cultivation of the goods and values of creation, is precisely that it transcends racial or ethnic categories. Furthermore, *Liturgiam Authenticam* repeats the statements of *Varietates Legitimae* 36 with respect to inculturation, noting that the adaptations are “introduced out of cultural or pastoral necessity”⁹⁴⁰. *Liturgiam Authenticam* states that such variations “become part of the Roman Rite”.⁹⁴¹ In announcing *Anglicanorum Coetibus*, the Prefect of the CDF, William Levada, framed the provision made by the Holy See for former Anglicans in terms of “cultural

Church’, but rather is to be seen as an integral variant of the Roman Rite.” Hans-Jürgen FEULNER, On the Liturgical Perspective of the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus*, in: Walter OXLEY – Ulrich RHODE (eds.), *A Treasure to be Shared. Understanding Anglicanorum coetibus*, Washington/DC 2022, 89–151, here: 92. See also GIRM 395–399 which discusses adaptations of the Roman Rite.

⁹³⁷ VL 36. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 507. For further discussion see EARTHMAN, *Liturgical Adaptions*, 51–55. For further commentary on *Varietates Legitimae* see David N. POWER, *Liturgy and Culture Revisited*, in: *Worship* 69/3 (1995) 225–243.

⁹³⁸ Hans-Jürgen FEULNER, *Unity of Faith in Diversity of Liturgical Expression: An Ecumenical Approach from a Catholic Perspective by means of the “Anglican Use of the Roman Rite”*, in: *Liturgy* 30/4 (2015) 10–19, here: 15. See also FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 50–52.

⁹³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 49. While missionary activity may have been the initial focal point of inculturation, it is quite clear that it is used in a broader sense. For example, GIRM n. 26 refers to SC 40, however does so in terms of traditions and cultures, rather than specific missionary activities.

⁹⁴⁰ LA 5. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 529.

⁹⁴¹ LA 5. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 529.

diversity”.⁹⁴² This deliberate choice of term by the Prefect clearly demonstrates that the Ordinariates and their liturgy can indeed be seen in terms of inculturation.

The scope of these variations of the Roman Rite can on occasion be significant. Perhaps the most prominent example is the missal approved for the Dioceses of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly Zaire, which is significantly different from the typical Roman Rite yet is clearly an expression of the Roman Rite.⁹⁴³ Feulner appeals to the future Benedict XVI, who describes this liturgical provision as “the Roman rite ‘in the Zairean mode’.”⁹⁴⁴ Writing prior to the publication of *Divine Worship: The Missal*, but as the work of making liturgical provision was unfolding, Feulner wrote:

There will certainly be no creation of a new ‘Anglican-Catholic Rite’, but only a special liturgical form (or use/usage) of the Roman Rite, adapted to the Anglican patrimony (i.e., to the Anglican liturgical and spiritual heritage), so that the substantial unity of the Roman Rite is preserved.⁹⁴⁵

The particular word *adaption* is of critical importance, precisely because of the definition of inculturation found in *Varietates Legitimae*. Inculturation “leads to adaptations, which still remain part of the Roman rite.”⁹⁴⁶ The Decree approving *Divine Worship: The Missal* states that it is a “legitimate adaption of the Roman Rite”.⁹⁴⁷ Therefore, applying the definition found in *Varietates Legitimae*, *Divine Worship: The Missal* remains a part of the Roman Rite because it is a “legitimate adaption of the Roman Rite”. Of added significance is that *Varietates Legitimae* is not a historical document, but a current Instruction of the Catholic Church. As noted above, the qualifying adjective used in the *Divine Worship* texts themselves is *expression*.

As noted earlier, the first approved liturgy of the Catholic Church drawing from Anglican sources was the *Book of Divine Worship*. This liturgy was commonly known as “The Anglican Use”. The term “Anglican Use” was never used in the official documents, which only referred to *The Book of Divine Worship* by name, and “common identity” parishes. As

⁹⁴² CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, Note of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith about Personal Ordinariates for Anglicans Entering the Catholic Church, in: Daily Bulletin (20 October 2009). URL: <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/it/bollettino/pubblico/2009/10/20/0650/01517-1.html> (English text) [accessed: 27 February 2023].

⁹⁴³ FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 47 f.

⁹⁴⁴ Joseph RATZINGER, *Collected Works. Theology of the Liturgy*, San Francisco 2014, 105; FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 52. See also *ibid.* 48 f.

⁹⁴⁵ FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 62 f.

⁹⁴⁶ VL 36. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 507.

⁹⁴⁷ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 5.

such, it is perhaps unsurprising that a more “user friendly” term such as “Anglican Use” was broadly adopted in public parlance relating to the liturgy of the Pastoral Provision.⁹⁴⁸

There were, however, a number of problems with continuing the – albeit unofficial – terminology of “Anglican Use”. Firstly, for those located outside of North America, and perhaps even for Canadians, the phrase “Anglican Use” represented a liturgical provision that was a fundamentally American phenomenon, that due to it only being situated in the United States of America, took into account only the Prayer Book tradition proper to that nation, with no consideration of the differing Prayer Book traditions of, for example, Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia. Moreover, terminology too similar to extant terminology risked unintentionally suggesting that the liturgy of the Ordinariates was no more than a revision of the *Book of Divine Worship*.⁹⁴⁹ If the implementation of *Anglicanorum Coetibus* was to be truly international, then it was critical that it did not look simply like an expansion of the Pastoral Provision, with an essentially American liturgy foisted upon nations with very different liturgical histories and sensibilities. Then there is the reality that in the mind of many, “Anglican” means “that Protestant church started by Henry VIII”.⁹⁵⁰ As Lopes notes,

the Holy See expressly desired to avoid the designations ‘Anglican use’ or ‘Anglo-Catholic,’ the former being an ambiguous term for Catholic worship and the latter having its own proper meaning and context within Anglicanism.⁹⁵¹

The Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) sheet produced by the Ordinariate of the Chair of Saint Peter to introduce *Divine Worship: The Missal* said this:

The name Divine Worship purposely avoids some familiar but inaccurate designations for Anglican and Anglican-inspired liturgical forms (“Anglican Use,” “Anglo-Catholic,” etc.). This is in view of overcoming the confusion caused by the great variety of liturgical forms in the Anglican world, each of which advances a competing claim to authority as “Anglican use.” The intention is to situate Divine Worship firmly within the shape and context of the Roman

⁹⁴⁸ Cf. LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 118. The *Anglicanorum Coetibus Society* was previously known as the *Anglican Use Society*, with its conferences known as “Anglican Use Conferences”. The Gradual commonly used within the Pastoral Provision was the *Anglican Use Gradual*.

⁹⁴⁹ As has been noted elsewhere, a number of liturgists have erroneously stated that *Divine Worship* is a revision of the *BDW*.

⁹⁵⁰ This author has on multiple occasions encountered members of the faithful who either think that he is still an Anglican Priest, or that he is somehow not a Catholic Priest, because he belongs to the “Anglican Ordinariate”.

⁹⁵¹ LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 118. See also fn. 2, LOPES, *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*. A Presentation, 80.

Rite so that it might be approached in a manner which respects its own integrity and authority.⁹⁵²

Despite the general avoidance of the term “Anglican Use”, the term “Ordinariate Use” is used within the Ordinariates.⁹⁵³

Another term used to describe the celebration of Mass according to *Divine Worship* is “Ordinariate Form”.⁹⁵⁴ The wide adoption of the descriptor “form” to describe variants of the Roman Rite was a result of the *Motu Proprio* of Benedict XVI, *Summorum Pontificum* (2005)⁹⁵⁵. Until that time, the most common term used to describe the Roman Missal promulgated by Paul VI was the *Novus Ordo*.⁹⁵⁶ Benedict spoke of the “Latin liturgy of the Church in its various forms.”⁹⁵⁷ Benedict established that the Mass of Paul VI and that of Pius V were “two usages of the one Roman Rite.”⁹⁵⁸ Benedict described the 1962 Roman Missal as “an extraordinary form of the Liturgy of the Church.”⁹⁵⁹ Whilst *Summorum Pontificum* did not use the terms “Extraordinary Form” or “Ordinary Form in a formal sense, Benedict’s accompanying letter to the bishops did establish these terms as, at least, semi-formal definitions, describing the Mass of Paul VI, as revised, as “the *Forma ordinaria*” and the 1962 Missal as “a *Forma extraordinaria*”.⁹⁶⁰ Benedict continued, “It is not appropriate

⁹⁵² Steven J. LOPES, Introducing *Divine Worship: The Missal*. Frequently Asked Questions, in: The Ordinariate of the Chair of Saint Peter. URL: http://ordinariate.net/documents/2015/10/151027_DW_FAQs.pdf [accessed: 26 October 2018], 1.

⁹⁵³ Cf. Liturgy, in: Catholic Church Most Precious Blood. Borough, London Bridge, SE1. URL: <https://www.preciousblood.org.uk/liturgy.html> [accessed: 4 December 2021]; Liturgy – Ordinariate Use, in: Personal Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham. URL: https://www.ordinariate.org.uk/resources/liturgy_ordinariate.php [accessed: 4 December 2021].

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. Liturgy, in: The Cathedral of Our Lady of Walsingham. URL: <https://olwcatholic.org/liturgy-sacraments> [accessed: 4 December 2021]. Lopes describes *Divine Worship* as “the Ordinariate Form of the Roman Rite”. See LOPES, *The Worship of God in the Beauty of Holiness*, 52.

⁹⁵⁵ Cf. BENEDICT PP. XVI, Litterae Apostolicae «*Motu Proprio*» Datae *Summorum Pontificum* (7 July 2007), in: AAS 99/9 (2007) 777–781 (Latin text); English translation in: *The Liturgy Documents*, vol. 4. Supplemental Documents for Parish Worship, Devotions, Formation and Catechesis, Chicago/IL 2013, 649–652.

⁹⁵⁶ A rather anachronistic descriptor for an *ordo* that is over fifty years old.

⁹⁵⁷ SP. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 4, 649. The Latin text is “*liturgiam latinam variis suis formis Ecclesiae*”. That is, the Latin word translated as *form* is *formis*.

⁹⁵⁸ SP Art. 1. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 4, 651. The Latin text is “*sunt enim duo usus unici ritus romani*.”

⁹⁵⁹ SP Art. 1. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 4, 651. The Latin text is “*uti formam extraordinariam Liturgiae Ecclesiae*”.

⁹⁶⁰ Benedict PP. XVI, Letter to the Bishops on the Occasion of the Publication of the Apostolic Letter “*Motu Proprio Data*” *Summorum Pontificum* on the use of the Roman Liturgy Prior to the Reform of 1970 (7 July 2007). URL: https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/letters/2007/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20070707_lettera-vescovi.html [accessed: 14 October 2022].

to speak of these two versions of the Roman Missal as if they were ‘two Rites’. Rather, it is a matter of a twofold use of one and the same rite.”⁹⁶¹

These words of Benedict XVI, albeit introducing new terminology, would appear to be entirely in accordance with the repeatedly stated desire of the Council Fathers and the Church for the preservation of the unity of the Roman Rite and the avoidance of the creation of any new “families” of rites. That is, to speak of the various “forms” of the Roman Rite would seem to be entirely consistent with what the Church has taught in the past and to be a suitable way to express the liturgical diversity that exists within the Church even within the Roman Rite, and as such “Ordinariate Form of the Roman Rite” is an appropriate way to describe the celebration of Mass according to *Divine Worship*.

However, the situation has been somewhat complicated since the publication of the *Motu Proprio* of Pope Francis, *Traditionis Custodes* (2021).⁹⁶² Whilst the subject of *Traditionis Custodes* is the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, *Traditionis Custodes* raises serious questions for liturgical studies and indeed liturgical studies concerning *Divine Worship*.

Summorum Pontificum had described the so called Ordinary and Extraordinary Forms as two forms of the Roman Rite. *Traditionis Custodes* contradicted this, and indeed appeared to seek to abrogate the language of “forms” of the Roman Rite. Nowhere does *Traditionis Custodes* use the terms “Ordinary Form” or “Extraordinary Form”, instead referring to “the liturgical books promulgated by Saint Paul VI and Saint John Paul II”⁹⁶³, “the Roman Missal

⁹⁶¹ Ibid.

⁹⁶² FRANCISCUS PP., Litterae Apostolicae Motu Proprio Datae *Traditionis Custodes* (16 July 2021) (Latin text) URL: https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/la/motu_proprio/documents/20210716-motu-proprio-traditionis-custodes.html [accessed: 14 October 2022] English translation, URL: https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu_proprio/documents/20210716-motu-proprio-traditionis-custodes.html [accessed: 14 October 2022]. *Traditionis Custodes* has been the subject of vigorous commentary. For example see Raymond BURKE, Statement on the Motu Proprio ‘Traditionis Custodes’, in Cardinal Raymond Burke (22 July 2021). URL: <https://www.cardinalburke.com/presentations/traditionis-custodes> [accessed: 5 January 2022]; Massimo FAGGIOLI, Traditionalism, American Style, in: *Commonweal* (23 November 2021). URL: <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/traditionalism-american-style> [accessed: 5 January 2022]; James MARTIN, Making sense of Pope Francis’ new restrictions on the Latin Mass, in: *America. The Jesuit Review* (19 July 2021). URL: <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2021/07/19/latin-mass-pope-francis-james-martin-241078> [accessed: 5 January 2022]; Georg MAY, Das Motu proprio ‘Traditionis Custodes’ des Papstes Franziskus, in: *Glaubenswahrheit.org*. URL: https://www.glaubenswahrheit.org/traditionis_custodes [accessed: 22 September 2021]; Gerhard MUELLER, Cardinal Mueller on the New TLM Restrictions, in: *The Catholic Thing* (19 July 2021). URL: <https://www.thecatholicthing.org/2021/07/19/cardinal-mueller-on-the-new-tlm-restrictions/> [accessed: 20 July 2021]; Alcuin REID, Does *Traditionis Custodes* pass Liturgical History 101?, in: *The Catholic World Report* (6 August 2021). URL: <https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2021/08/06/does-traditionis-custodes-pass-liturgical-history-101/> [accessed: 25 August 2021].

⁹⁶³ TC Art. 1.

edited by John XXIII in 1962”⁹⁶⁴, “the 1962 Roman Missal”⁹⁶⁵, “the Missal antecedent to the reform of 1970”⁹⁶⁶, and like terms. Whilst there is no formal prohibition of using the term “form”, the plain reading of *Traditionis Custodes* would seem to indicate a clear intention to rescind the language of “forms” of the Roman Rite that had become widespread subsequent to *Summorum Pontificum*.⁹⁶⁷ A plain reading of the letter accompanying *Traditionis Custodes* to the bishops of the world seems to indicate a desire for uniformity of expression within the Roman Rite. The Accompanying Letter quotes Paul VI, who

declared that the revision of the Roman Missal, carried out in the light of ancient liturgical sources, had the goal of permitting the Church to raise up, in the variety of languages ‘a single and identical prayer,’ that expressed her unity. This unity I intend to re-establish throughout the Church of the Roman Rite.⁹⁶⁸

The bishops are advised, “it is up to you to proceed in such a way as to return to a unitary form of celebration”⁹⁶⁹. The letter concludes by speaking of “the unity of one, single Rite, in which is preserved the great richness of the Roman liturgical tradition.”⁹⁷⁰ The so-called “dubia” response of Arthur Roche clarifies the vision of *Traditionis Custodes* with respect to a single expression of the Roman Rite:

The Motu Proprio *Traditionis custodes* intends to re-establish in the whole Church of the Roman Rite a single and identical prayer expressing its unity, according to the liturgical books promulgated by the Popes Saint Paul VI and Saint John Paul II, in conformity with the decrees of the Second Vatican Council and in line with the tradition of the Church.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁴ TC.

⁹⁶⁵ TC Art. 2.

⁹⁶⁶ TC Art. 3. Technically the Missal antecedent to the reform of 1970 is the 1964 Interim Roman Missal, which is apparently not the Missal being referred to here.

⁹⁶⁷ The *Complementary Norms of the Apostolic Constitution “Anglicanorum Coetibus”* as revised in 2019 refer to *Divine Worship* as a “liturgical form”. CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, *Complementary Norms*, 15 §1. The clause is almost a verbatim quote from the Rubrical Directory of *Divine Worship: The Missal*, however the expression “liturgical form” is not present. See *Divine Worship: The Missal*. Rubrical Directory, 120 (no. 3).

⁹⁶⁸ FRANCISCUS PP., Letter of the Holy Father Francis to the Bishops of the Whole World, That Accompanies the Apostolic Letter Motu Proprio *Datae Traditionis Custodes* (16 July 2021), English translation, URL: <https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2021/documents/20210716-lettera-vescovi-liturgia.html> [accessed: 15 October 2022], 3.

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷¹ CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM, *Responsa ad dubia della Congregazione per il Culto Divino e la Disciplina dei Sacramenti su alcune disposizioni della Lettera Apostolica in forma di «Motu Proprio» Traditionis Custodes del Sommo Pontefice Francesco* (4 December 2021), in: *Daily Bulletin* (18 December 2021). URL: <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/it/bollettino/pubblico/2021/12/18/0860/01814.html#ing> (English text) [accessed: 15 October 2022].

The first principle established by *Traditionis Custodes* is this: “The liturgical books promulgated by Saint Paul VI and Saint John Paul II, in conformity with the decrees of Vatican Council II, are the unique expression of the *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite.”⁹⁷² This principle is a clear abrogation of that established in *Summorum Pontificum*, which stated that

The Roman Missal promulgated by Paul VI is the ordinary expression of the ‘Lex orandi’ (Law of prayer) of the Catholic Church of the Latin rite. Nonetheless, the Roman Missal promulgated by St Pius V and reissued by Bl. John XXIII is to be considered as an extraordinary expression of that same ‘Lex orandi,’ and must be given due honour for its venerable and ancient usage.⁹⁷³

Perhaps the most notable statement of *Traditionis Custodes* is that it establishes the current liturgical books as “the unique expression of the *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite” which in the official Latin text is “*unica expressio ‘legis orandi’ Ritus Romani sunt.*”⁹⁷⁴ This statement is repeated in the Apostolic Letter *Desiderio Desideravi* (2022).⁹⁷⁵ The significance of this phrase depends on how the word “unique” or “unica” is applied. In English, “unique” can commonly mean “of which there is only one; single, sole, solitary”⁹⁷⁶ or “that is the only one of its kind; having no like or equal; unparalleled, unrivalled, esp. in excellence”⁹⁷⁷. In English, whilst “unique” tends towards an exclusive sense, it does not necessarily mean to the exclusion of all others. Whereas, in Latin, “unica” has a stronger implication of the exclusive sense, thus “unica” would generally translate as “only”.

Either sense brings important questions for liturgical studies. If understood in a “softer” sense such that the liturgical books of the Second Vatican Council are to be seen as the first, or prime, or greatest expression of the Roman Rite, then this requires an unacceptable admission of a hierarchy of rites which is contrary to a Catholic understanding of the liturgy and the *actio* of the sacraments. If understood in the more exclusive sense, in which the language would seem to imply that the liturgical books of the Second Vatican Council are the *only* expression of the *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite, other serious questions arise:

- 1) Is this statement to be considered as a formal definition of what is (and what is not) the *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite?

⁹⁷² TC Art. 1.

⁹⁷³ SP Art. 1. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 4, 650.

⁹⁷⁴ TC Art. 1.

⁹⁷⁵ FRANCISCUS PP., Apostolic Letter on the Liturgical Formation of the People of God *Desiderio Desideravi* (29 June 2022), English translation, URL: https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_letters/documents/20220629-lettera-ap-desiderio-desideravi.html [accessed: 15 October 2022], 31.

⁹⁷⁶ Unique, adj. and n., in: Oxford English Dictionary (March 2022).

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid.

- 2) Is the *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite now defined by juridical act or declaration?
- 3) If the liturgical books of the Second Vatican Council are indeed the only *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite, then when did the other forms of the Roman Rite cease to have a valid *lex orandi*?⁹⁷⁸
- 4) Is this declaration retrospective? If it is, it means that the Missal of John XXIII was *never* a valid *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite. If it is not retrospective, then it means that one day it was a valid rule of praying, and the next it was not.
- 5) As the Missal of John XXIII continues to be a legal and celebrated expression of the Mass, then what *lex orandi* are the members of the faithful assisting at this Mass expressing, if it is not a *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite?
- 6) How can this be reconciled with the statement of the Second Vatican Council, “the sacred Council declares that holy Mother Church holds all lawfully acknowledged rites to be of equal right and dignity; that she wishes to preserve them in the future and to foster them in every way”?⁹⁷⁹
- 7) In writing to the clergy of the Archdiocese of Sydney, Archbishop Anthony Fisher noted:

Within the Western or Latin Rite there are several variations: the *Novus Ordo* (Roman Missal of 1970 as amended), which is by far the most commonly celebrated; the ‘Extraordinary Form’ (‘Old Mass’, ‘Traditional Mass’ or ‘Tridentine rite’) from which the *Novus Ordo* evolved and which is still permitted to be celebrated; the Mass of the Anglo-Catholic [sic] ordinariates (in Australia, the Ordinariate of Our Lady of the Southern Cross); the ‘Gallican’ rites (Ambrosian, Braga, Lyonaise and Mozarabic rites celebrated in certain parts of Europe); and the rites of some older religious orders (Benedictine, Carmelite, Carthusian, Cistercian, Dominican and Premonstratensian, which rites members of those orders still use in certain circumstances). So, while we share one rite, Western Catholics are also ritually diverse.⁹⁸⁰

In addition, there is also the “Zaire form” of the Roman Rite which was previously mentioned. The point is, there are many liturgical uses that fall within the family of the Roman Rite. Precisely what *lex orandi* is it that is celebrated at these liturgies? If the *lex orandi* of these liturgies is no longer to be considered a *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite but some other *lex orandi*, then how can this be reconciled with the repeated desire of the documents of the Second Vatican Council and subsequent documents that the substantial unity of the Roman Rite be preserved? As Feulner has noted: “Unity of liturgy does not mean rigid uniformity, but allows for a diversity of liturgical forms of expression within the Roman

⁹⁷⁸ May points out that even a liturgy that is no longer celebrated nonetheless remains a part of the *lex orandi* of the Church. See MAY, *Das Motu proprio ‘Traditionis Custodes’*.

⁹⁷⁹ SC 4. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 276.

⁹⁸⁰ Anthony FISHER, *On celebrating Mass according to the Extraordinary Form in the Archdiocese of Sydney following the publication of Pope Francis’ motu proprio*, Sydney 21 July 2021 [author’s private archive]. For further on adaptations and variations within the Roman Rite, see IRWIN, *Context and Text*, 319–323.

Rite, which always has been acknowledged in the Catholic Church, especially since Vatican II.”⁹⁸¹

- 8) If faithfulness to the Holy See and Catholic Communion is incompatible with any form of criticism or even scholarly discussion of the form of the liturgy⁹⁸², then does it follow that the current expression of the Roman Rite is to be considered the perfect and final expression of the liturgy, and that no further development of the liturgy is to be expected until the end of time?
- 9) What are the ecumenical implications for churches whose own liturgies derive from the Roman Rite (for example Anglican, Lutheran)? Is it now asserted that these separated brethren no longer possess a valid *lex orandi*?

When examined alongside the formal teaching of the Catholic Church and Sacred Tradition, *Traditionis Custodes* appears to manifest problems with the law of non-contradiction. *Traditionis Custodes* appears to attempt to resolve these inconsistencies in Article 8, which states “Previous norms, instructions, permissions, and customs that do not conform to the provisions of the present *Motu Proprio* are abrogated.”⁹⁸³ However, this statement appears to see *Traditiones Custodes* solely from a juridical viewpoint, without taking into account liturgical history. Liturgical history and Sacred Tradition cannot be abrogated.

With respect to *Divine Worship* a number of points must be affirmed. It must be repeated that any notion of a hierarchy of Rites cannot be admitted. Every celebration of the Mass is an equal participation and making present in time and space the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The Mass is not dependant on how good the music is, whether the priest celebrates well or poorly, how many of the faithful are present, whether the Mass is celebrated in a glorious medieval cathedral or on a temporary altar in the wilderness. Neither is the reality of the Mass dependant on the valid Rite which is celebrated. The Mass is either the Mass, or it is not. Again repeating the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, “the sacred Council declares that holy Mother Church holds all lawfully acknowledged rites to be of equal right and dignity; that she wishes to preserve them in the future and to foster them in every way.”⁹⁸⁴ Indeed, Feulner makes clear that whilst acknowledging and protecting the unity of the Roman Rite, legitimate variation within that Rite is indeed a stated

⁹⁸¹ FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 41. See also FEULNER, *Liturgical Perspective*, 149.

⁹⁸² Which indeed there has been no shortage of throughout the history of the Church.

⁹⁸³ TC Art. 8.

⁹⁸⁴ SC 4. English transl.: *Liturgy Documents* 3, 276.

vision of the Second Vatican Council.⁹⁸⁵ Therefore, it must indeed be said and affirmed that *Divine Worship* is very much a fruit of the Council, is in accordance with the vision of the Council, and could not have happened without the Council.

It must also be affirmed that every valid celebration of the Eucharist, and indeed all of the Sacraments, must be said to possess a valid *lex orandi*. This is clear from the earliest days of the Church: “And they held steadfastly to the apostles’ teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of the bread and to the prayers” (Acts 2:42). As previously noted, *Divine Worship: The Missal* itself states that it is an “expression of the Roman Rite.”⁹⁸⁶ The apparent contradiction arising from the statement “the unique expression of the *lex orandi* of the Roman Rite”⁹⁸⁷ cannot be resolved in this dissertation.

Ultimately, we are left with a binary choice. Either *Divine Worship* is a part of the “context” of the Roman Rite, or if “outside” of the Roman Rite then it must constitute a separate western “Rite”.⁹⁸⁸ Both positions are problematic in the context of *Traditiones Custodes*. As previously expounded, the actions of the Church and the history of the development of the *Book of Divine Worship* and *Divine Worship* demonstrate a strong avoidance of any notion of the creation of a new or separate rite. However, as noted, the seemingly prescriptive attempt of *Traditiones Custodes* to define the Roman Rite or at the very least its *lex orandi* causes problems when considering the broader “family” of the Roman Rite as found in the various expressions of the Roman Rite. If *Divine Worship* is not part of the Roman Rite, then why does the GIRM form a part of its instruction on the celebration of Mass? If *Divine Worship* is indeed not a part of the Roman Rite, then surely the GIRM should be deleted and a new Instruction written specifically for *Divine Worship*.

What is clear is that the goal of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group, as enunciated in the third principle of the first point of the working ratio, was to produce what was “clearly and recognisably an expression of the Roman Rite”.⁹⁸⁹ Group secretary Steven Lopes stated, “it must be affirmed quite clearly that the *Divine Worship* texts do not constitute a new

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. FEULNER, ‘Anglican Use of the Roman Rite’?, 41–49.

⁹⁸⁶ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 121 (no. 6).

⁹⁸⁷ TC Art. 1.

⁹⁸⁸ Helmut Hoping notes that *Divine Worship* is a legitimate adaption of the Roman Rite, whilst also pointing out that as recently as 2020 in the Decree *Quo Magis* other forms of the Roman Rite are mentioned. See Helmut HOPING, Der Liturgie-Hammer des Papstes, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine (29 July 2021). URL: <https://www.faz.net/-gsf-ae5uo> [accessed: 16 January 2022].

⁹⁸⁹ LOPES, A Missal for the Ordinariates, 120.

Rite.”⁹⁹⁰ Lopes continued, “these *Divine Worship* texts represent the development or further articulation of the Roman Rite within a specific historical and socio-religious context which, though possessing their own integrity and internal consistency, nevertheless remain clearly part of the Roman Rite.”⁹⁹¹

Although it is possible that the legitimate authorities of the Church could make an after-the-fact declaration excluding *Divine Worship* from the Roman Rite, the record of history shows that the *Anglicanae Traditiones* members were certainly of the belief that the liturgy they were working on was a part of the Roman Rite. It is interesting to note the lengths that some commentators will go to in an attempt to demonstrate that *Divine Worship* is *not* a part of the Roman Rite and constitutes a separate Rite of its own, whilst ignoring statements to the contrary by members of the working group responsible for *Divine Worship* and indeed the liturgical texts themselves.⁹⁹²

A pertinent question is whether the Roman Rite is solely what is prescribed, or whether the Roman Rite itself is broader than juridically approved texts. The texts themselves seem to favour the latter position, with the GIRM specifically drawing attention to what is *not* prescribed in the texts as belonging to the Roman Rite:

[A]ttention should be paid to what is determined by this General Instruction and the traditional practice of the Roman Rite and to what serves the common spiritual good of the People of God, rather than private inclination or arbitrary choice.⁹⁹³

Thus it is clear that the *modus operandi* of the priest celebrant is not to be *ad libitum*, but in accordance with the tradition of the Church, including in those things which are not specifically written down in the GIRM. As Michael Sanders notes, this stipulation was not included in the original GIRM, and was first seen in the draft GIRM of 2000, becoming law in 2002.⁹⁹⁴ Sanders argues that GIRM 42 should be interpreted from a perspective of continuity.⁹⁹⁵ Thus, GIRM 42 itself sees the Roman Rite existing in Tradition, not prescription. In this context it is worthwhile to again recall the problems associated with *Liturgiam Authenticam* and its tendency to see liturgy solely in terms of prescription:

⁹⁹⁰ LOPES, *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*. A Presentation, 81.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁹⁹² For example, see Christopher MAHON, *Treasuring Anglican Catholic Identity: A Reply to Fr Hunwicke and Mgr Entwistle*, in: *Shared Treasure formerly Anglican Embers*. Journal of the Anglicanorum Coetibus Society on the Anglican Patrimony in the Catholic Church 4/12 (2021) 619–653.

⁹⁹³ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 27 (no. 42).

⁹⁹⁴ Michael Casey SANDERS, *An Interpretation of 1983 CIC Canon 846 §1 in the Light of GIRM 42* [unpublished dissertation Catholic University of America, Washington/DC], 2021, 30.

⁹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35–38.

LA presents a nearly-fundamentalist view of the liturgical texts currently in force. Whatever is in the approved books today (no matter how or when it got there) is the Roman rite by definition, not only juridically but even historically. Since the current books are the Roman rite, they can simply be equated with the Latin liturgical tradition (singular rather than plural), and must therefore represent whatever the Latin Church Fathers taught (the *LA* authors themselves have not read the Fathers). The result is a kind of telescoped liturgical history in which nothing ever really changed.⁹⁹⁶

Clearly, the Roman Rite is broader than positive definitions. *Divine Worship* is most certainly a liturgy of the Roman Rite, whose story begins with the ancient English liturgies which themselves belonged to the family of the Roman Rite, then with the Prayer Book of 1549 and its subsequent revisions, the Anglo-Catholic altar books, which unashamedly borrowed content from the Roman Rite, and finally with *Anglicanorum Coetibus* Art. III. The Ordinariates were created as a means to bring some of what had been lost back into the fulness of Catholic Communion. Clearly, *Divine Worship* as a part of this story can only be seen with reference to and within the context of the Roman Rite. To do otherwise would be to re-write history.

3.5 Divine Worship and the Organic Development of the Liturgy

The question of examining *Divine Worship* with respect to the organic development of the liturgy is closely related to the situation of *Divine Worship* within Tradition. As such, attention is drawn to Section 3.3 above. In July 2004, the future Benedict XVI wrote these prophetic words in providing the preface to Reid's *Organic Development of the Liturgy*:

The pope is not an absolute monarch whose will is law; rather, he is the guardian of the authentic Tradition and, thereby; the premier guarantor of obedience. He cannot do as he likes, and he is thereby able to oppose those people who, for their part, want to do whatever comes into their head. His rule is not that of arbitrary power, but that of obedience in faith. That is why, with respect to the Liturgy, he has the task of a gardener, not that of a technician who builds new machines and throws the old ones on the junk-pile. The 'rite', that form of celebration and prayer which has ripened in the faith and the life of the Church, is a condensed form of living Tradition in which the sphere using that rite expresses the whole of its faith and its prayer, and thus at the same time the fellowship of generations one with another becomes something we can experience, fellowship with the people who pray before us and after us. Thus the rite is something of benefit that is given to the Church, a living form of *paradosis*, the handing-on of Tradition.⁹⁹⁷

⁹⁹⁶ JEFFERY, *Translating Tradition*, 53. Despite what appears to be an attempt to resolve some of these issues in *Magnum Principium, Traditionis Custodes* would seem to manifest the same presuppositions named by Jeffery *vis-à-vis* the substance of the Roman Rite.

⁹⁹⁷ Joseph RATZINGER, Preface, in: REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 11. See also RATZINGER, *Collected Works. Theology of the Liturgy*, 103.

In less than a year Ratzinger would himself take up this task of liturgical gardener in becoming Pope, and five years later, *Anglicanorum Coetibus* would be promulgated.⁹⁹⁸ It is not difficult to see how the future Pope's words can be seen to be prophetic with respect to *Divine Worship*. *Divine Worship*, "the rite", can be seen as "a condensed form of the living Tradition" of the Anglican patrimony. It is a bringing together of the "fellowship of generations [...] fellowship with the people who pray before and after us."⁹⁹⁹ As Benedict XVI, he described the Anglican tradition as a "treasure to be shared."¹⁰⁰⁰ This is clearly an example of the rite being "something of benefit that is given to the Church, a living form of *paradosis*, the handing-on of Tradition."¹⁰⁰¹

The situation of the Ordinariates and the liturgy that would be *Divine Worship* is perhaps not dissimilar to that faced by Augustine in the English church. Augustine was faced with a group of people who already had a lived expression of faith, yet who were to be brought under the authority of Rome. The response of Pope Gregory shows his acknowledgement of the necessity to respect the particular needs of a local people. To impose a liturgy upon a people from without in a false spirit of unity or uniformity of liturgy would effectively be to say that their faith journey to that point was of no value. As Reid notes,

Gregory's reply to Saint Augustine [demonstrates] that there is a clear sense in which the Liturgy is received and not simply constructed anew according to the tastes of the people among whom he finds himself and that innovation must be for good reason and carefully integrated with the Tradition.¹⁰⁰²

Hence, the liturgy is both received, but also respects local customs and usages and the specific needs of a local people. Thus it is salient to be reminded of the points made by Bouyer and Beauvain, that liturgy must exist as a lived reality for the people that *are* rather than trying to fabricate a congregation that will suit a fossilized liturgy.¹⁰⁰³

Peter Elliott commented on the tension between utilitarianism and antiquarianism with respect to *Divine Worship* as follows:

As Bouyer rightly describes it, at least today in the rites of the Church, there is a tension between antiquarianism and utilitarianism. However this tension was stronger fifty years ago

⁹⁹⁸ See Uwe Michael LANG, The Liturgical Legacy of Pope Benedict XVI, in: Adoremus. URL: <https://adoremus.org/2023/01/the-liturgical-legacy-of-pope-benedict-xvi> [accessed: 2 January 2023]. Especially see Lang's comments on *Anglicanorum Coetibus* and *Divine Worship* with respect to the organic development of the liturgy.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁰ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church, 237.

¹⁰⁰¹ RATZINGER, Preface, in: REID, Organic Development of the Liturgy, 11.

¹⁰⁰² REID, Organic Development of the Liturgy, 21. Bede, Book I, Chapter 27; cf. The Venerable BEDE. The Ecclesiastical History of the English People [trans. by Thomas Stapleton], London 1935, 42 f.

¹⁰⁰³ Cf. REID, Organic Development of the Liturgy, 80 f.

when reform, change, rupture from the past, experiments and innovations provoked the reaction to the utilitarian new translations, on the one hand by conservative Anglicans in Prayer Book Societies and on the other hand by traditionalist Catholics maintaining the pre-conciliar rites in Latin.

The situation is no longer polarized, because it is not set within the historical context of mid-twentieth century modernism. That mood was expressed in abstract art, brutalist architecture, atonal music and senseless poetry. These streams obviously still exist, albeit largely modified, but now they are forced to coexist alongside a “post-modern” trend towards conservation, restoration, continuity, artistic realism, harmonious music and popular aesthetics. This current context favours a healthy integration of old and new that is truly traditional but alive. This context thus favours a truly pastoral response that preserves, yet animates, many traditions handed down within Christianity.

Anglicanorum Coetibus was timely because it could not have been possible even ten years earlier. The timing and content of the papal provisions was truly providential.¹⁰⁰⁴

An important example is the often heard call, if not demand, amongst liturgical fetishists that the liturgy of the Ordinariates should have been a full restoration of the Sarum Use. To do so would be to completely ignore the principles of Organic Development – not because of any insufficiency with the Sarum Use as such, but because Sarum has not existed as a lived liturgy, the *lex orandi* of a particular group, since its brief restoration under Mary, ending with her death in 1558. A Mass celebrated according to the Sarum Use, whilst a valid Mass, would be an exhibition, rather than being a lived expression of the faith of the Church. If *Divine Worship* had been crafted like a beautifully preserved museum piece, then the only place it could have been honoured and loved would have been in a museum. Liturgy is not to be admired, it is to be lived, and to be lived it must have people. This principle is the very reason why the first action of the Holy See in responding to *Anglicanorum Coetibus* Article III was to conduct a worldwide survey in order to determine just what the lived liturgy was of those intending to enter into the Ordinariates.

Some would seek to situate *Divine Worship* using a hermeneutic of rupture, claiming that is not an organic development of the liturgy, but rather a “Frankenliturgy”. This was precisely what Fortescue accused the Anglo-Catholic altar missals of being.¹⁰⁰⁵ In order to critically examine *Divine Worship* with respect to the organic development of the liturgy, *Divine Worship* will now be examined with respect to the principles established earlier in Section 2.3.2. To reiterate, the principles established are as follows:

- 1) The development is not antiquarian or archaeologising
- 2) The development does not reject what has been received in the name of pastoral expediency
- 3) The development is a response to an actual need

¹⁰⁰⁴ Peter J. ELLIOTT, Response to Five Questions, written response to the author from 12 April 2021, Melbourne, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. FORTESCUE, Letter to Stanley Morrison.

- 4) The development can identifiably be situated within liturgical tradition
- 5) The development uses genuine innovation (that is, something that is *not* received) only when necessary

In examining these principles, attention is also drawn to the eight guiding principles of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group, found on page 187 above, and also the ten points of the *ratio*, found on page 188.

Firstly, **the development is not antiquarian or archaeologising**. This would be the case if *Anglicanae Traditiones* had embraced liturgical elements solely because of their antiquity. Indeed, to repeat the example given above, a wholesale re-embrace of Sarum would indeed have been antiquarian. As it is, however, *Divine Worship* does include elements drawn from Sarum,¹⁰⁰⁶ and these elements were included precisely not for antiquarian reasons, but because of their continued use within the Anglican *lex orandi*. Likewise, Prayer Book English, despite the rejection of so-called archaism by much of the Anglophone liturgical world, is embraced not for antiquarian reasons, but because it represents both a point of distinction and a received *lex orandi*.

It should also be noted that the first guiding principle of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group acknowledges that there does indeed exist a worthy Anglican liturgical patrimony. If there is *not* a worthy Anglican liturgical patrimony, then Anglican liturgies as such can only be seen as no more than source books for the construction of a new liturgy. The recognition of the validity of the patrimony necessarily situates it within the principle of organic development of the liturgy.

Secondly, **the development does not reject what has been received in the name of pastoral expediency**. Principles two, four and seven of *Anglicanae Traditiones* clearly demonstrate that *Divine Worship* is intended to be a *received* liturgical expression. That is, it respects and defers to received texts wherever possible within the context of the overall aims of the liturgical provision. The texts themselves are respected in their integrity (acknowledging a variety and hierarchy of sources), whilst restricting the editing of texts to what is absolutely essential for genuine pastoral or doctrinal reasons. The overall form of the texts respects the shape and form of the Roman Rite, as the liturgical development itself is a legitimate adaption of the Roman Rite, whilst acknowledging that the Anglican liturgical patrimony in itself ultimately derives from the Roman Rite.

¹⁰⁰⁶ For example, the Collect for Purity.

Thirdly, **the development is a response to an actual need.** It is quite clear from the very first words of *Anglicanorum Coetibus* that the Ordinariates are a response to a pastoral need: “In recent times the Holy Spirit has moved groups of Anglicans to petition repeatedly and insistently to be received into full Catholic communion individually as well as corporately. The Apostolic See has responded favourably to such petitions.”¹⁰⁰⁷ Paragraph III establishes that liturgical provision is a necessary and intrinsic element of that pastoral response. The purpose of making a specific liturgical provision is “so as to maintain the liturgical, spiritual and pastoral traditions of the Anglican Communion within the Catholic Church, as a precious gift nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinariate and as a treasure to be shared.”¹⁰⁰⁸ Thus, the liturgical provision is made so as to assist the faith of a particular group of the faithful.

Fourthly, **the development can identifiably be situated within liturgical tradition.** As was noted in Section 3.4 above, *Divine Worship* is clearly situated within the context of the Roman Rite as a legitimate adaption of the Roman Rite. The Anglican tradition was born out of a local Use of the Roman Rite, namely the Sarum Use. Thus, the entire history of what is called the Anglican patrimony, is seen within the Western, or Latin, liturgical tradition. Section 3.3 above situates *Divine Worship* within Tradition. Therefore, *Divine Worship* can clearly and identifiably be situated within liturgical Tradition, which would be impossible were it not an organic development of the liturgy.

Fifthly, **the development uses genuine innovation (that is, something that is not received) only when necessary.** This principle is clearly seen in principle four of the guiding principles of the working group: “Anglican patrimony is to be received from Anglican sources, not composed. Neither are new liturgical forms to be devised.” Primarily, the texts of *Divine Worship* are to be received. Point two of the *ratio* establishes a hierarchy of sources. New texts are composed only in the cases where there is no text to be received. Even if there is no text in the Anglican tradition, a text is to be received from the Roman Missal where it exists. As such, there are very few genuine compositions to be found in *Divine Worship*. Thus, it could be said that *Divine Worship* embraces innovation as a pastoral response, but rejects innovation as liturgical expression, being faithful to its sources. Therefore, it can be seen that *Divine Worship* can clearly be established within the principles of the organic development of the liturgy and must be acknowledged as such.

¹⁰⁰⁷ AC. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 233.

¹⁰⁰⁸ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 236 f.

3.6 Examining the Linguistic Distinctiveness of Divine Worship

Everything that has preceded thus far has been ordered to the purpose of contextualising and situating *Divine Worship*. The intent has been to demonstrate that *Divine Worship* is not a novel “constructed” liturgy, but is firmly situated within the Roman Rite, with a lineage that dates back to the Sarum Use of the Roman Rite itself. There is, therefore, an element of “coming home” in the *Divine Worship* liturgy. Attendance at a liturgy of *Divine Worship* will immediately manifest to the observer a distinctive style of language. The language of *Divine Worship* is certainly not to be confused with the common language of the street, but it is also clearly a different style to that of the *Novus Ordo*.

3.6.1 Prayer Book English

As was noted in Section 3.2, the first four guiding principles of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group clearly indicate that *Divine Worship* is to receive its fundamental “personality” from Anglican sources. Point four of the *Ratio* indicates that the linguistic register of *Divine Worship* is to be Prayer Book English. Further attention will now be given to the significance of this reality.

Firstly, it should be noted that the phrase Prayer Book English should not be seen in an overly restrictive sense, as if Prayer Book English constitutes only the text of the *Book of Common Prayer* itself. The 1549 Prayer Book did not include a psalter or a lectionary, these being read from the *Great Bible*. Later Prayer Books included various appendices, which whilst not part of the Prayer Book itself, were clearly an important part of Anglican worship. Rather, Prayer Book English should be seen in a broader sense, which is the same sense that will be used here for examination of the language of *Divine Worship*. Prayer Book English in the broader sense means all the language that would be experienced at a Prayer Book liturgy. The language of *Divine Worship* means all the language that would be experienced at a *Divine Worship* liturgy. As Brand notes, when thinking of the style of *Divine Worship*, we are not referring to

just the particular linguistic properties of this or that prayer, but rather a function of the larger, sustained, recursive experience of liturgical worship, the orchestration and harmonization of the parts to the whole in a unified rite with its own integrity, continuity, and pastoral utility.¹⁰⁰⁹

Hence what is being referred to is fundamentally experiential.

This broad sense can indeed admit language that is strictly speaking outside of the liturgies of the Prayer Book itself, but none the less a part of Anglican tradition, for example the

¹⁰⁰⁹ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 149.

English Missal and the Anglo Catholic devotional books. Likewise, the language of *Divine Worship* can and does include, for example, *Saint Gregory's Prayer Book* as it forms part of the linguistic tradition that is proper to the Ordinariates.

The language of *Divine Worship* is one genus of sacral vernacular. Specifically, it is a form of sacral English. At first glance, it is clearly delineated from common English by the use of archaisms, but it is certainly erroneous to claim that the language of *Divine Worship* is modern English with some *thees* and *thys* thrown in. As noted in Section 3.2, the classic idiom of Anglican prayer is denoted by diction, phrasing, syntax, and sentence structure. These four characteristics are plainly manifested within the language of *Divine Worship*.

The progenitor of the language of *Divine Worship* is to be found in the English Bibles of the Tyndale and Coverdale tradition, and Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer*. As was examined in Section 2.1, it is this linguistic tradition that made a tremendous impact upon the development of modern English, and the development of English vernacular in the Church of England.

In terms of locating a suitable descriptor for the received style of language embraced by *Divine Worship* from the Anglican tradition, perhaps the reason why this task is so challenging is precisely because of the long and broad defining impact that the Prayer Book and the English Bible have made upon the English language itself. This reality is resistive of the tendency to want to pigeonhole into a neatly defined category. Brand has discussed reasons as to why Prayer Book English is the best descriptor for the language of *Divine Worship* and the problems with some of the more common names used to describe the language of *Divine Worship*, and indeed that of the Prayer Book itself.¹⁰¹⁰

The term "Shakespearian English" seeks to appeal to perhaps the most commonly known form of archaic language. Most people will have at least heard of Shakespeare. However, as noted above in Section 2.1.6, the contribution of Shakespeare to the English language was much less than his modern fame might indicate, with the Prayer Book being far more important, and the height of Shakespeare's fame well after the publication of the first Prayer Book.

The term "Tudor English" serves only to draw attention to a particular time in history, whilst reinforcing the false notion that people went around in the street using the same language that they used at church. It is a gravely imprecise term. The term "Elizabethan English" has the same faults, except of course that the Prayer Book of Elizabeth is the third Prayer Book.

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 145 f.

This Prayer Book was the most important in the establishment of “Anglicanism”, but the shape and form of Prayer Book English was established in the first Prayer Book. As such, Elizabeth post-dates the most important moments in the development of Prayer Book English.

The term “Edwardian English”, whilst being slightly less incorrect, again has the problems of drawing attention to a particular moment of history for a process that was broader than this designation implies. The *Great Bible* pre-dates Edward. The term “Tudorbethan” might sound witty, but has little else going for it.¹⁰¹¹ The story of the development of sacral English and indeed the language of *Divine Worship* is far more complicated than any clever titles anyone may be able to dream up. Brand sums it up well as he says,

the first BCPs and the original AV did not arise in a linguistic vacuum, but neither did they merely reflect or imitate a given, pre-existing English vernacular, certainly not everyday speech; rather these books served to create and forge what would become its own stable, enduring religious language, one that underwent a very slow, at times almost imperceptible, conservative, organic development in the centuries to follow, up to and including *Divine Worship*, not to mention the Revised Standard Version of the Bible in its Catholic Edition, itself heavily indebted and impressively faithful to the cadences of the King James Bible and now approved for liturgical use in the Ordinariates.¹⁰¹²

Brand makes a most important observation here. The language of *Divine Worship* itself is a part of the organic development of sacral English. The language of *Divine Worship* is not uncritically received or parroted. As a part of ongoing organic cultivation, changes and careful pruning have taken place, as is necessary with any living liturgy, just as had taken place with the Prayer Book itself. It is in acknowledging this ongoing growth and development of language that Brand rejects categorisation tied to a particular period of history, and embraces the term Prayer Book English, which is the term also used within this dissertation in assigning the language of *Divine Worship* to a particular genus of language. The language of *Divine Worship* is, by its very nature, a modern sacral vernacular. Mohrmann discusses the problems of a modern sacral vernacular, noting how most western languages have tended to desacralisation: “it won’t be easy [...] to find the material for a modern form of sacred style [...] fit to replace – to cite only two examples – the Latin of the Roman liturgy and the stylized English of the Book of Common Prayer.”¹⁰¹³ Amazingly, this is precisely what *Divine Worship* is – the Roman liturgy in Prayer Book English. Accompanying this process of desacralisation is a tendency to reject formality. This is

¹⁰¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 146.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, 146 f.

¹⁰¹³ MOHRMANN, *The Ever-Recurring Problem of Language in the Church*, 154.

especially notable in a country such as Australia, with its strong sense of egalitarianism and rejection of social classes, in which formality, with scant few exceptions, is considered to be pompous and arrogant. Perhaps the language of *Divine Worship* can play a small part in resisting this tendency to desacralisation of language.

3.6.2 *Set Apart*

The distinctive linguistic style of *Divine Worship* is clearly set apart from common English. As Brand notes, “Liturgy, of its very nature, as the public worship of God and the recollected enactment of divine mysteries, requires a language set apart from everyday communication, description, and commerce.”¹⁰¹⁴ *Divine Worship* is not merely set apart with respect to common English. As an English liturgy of the Catholic Church, it was important that *Divine Worship* did not appear to simply be an alternative to the 2010 Roman Missal, whilst being, more or less, the same in overall style as that missal.¹⁰¹⁵ As *Divine Worship* is an expression of the Roman Rite, clearly its distinctiveness would need to be found in qualities of style, rather than form and substance.

As Brand notes, the language of *Divine Worship* is based upon proven maturity:

This language, though unabashedly old-fashioned and sometimes slightly archaic without being obsolete, has proven itself over the centuries remarkably conducive to the active participation of the faithful and remains in its own way richly intelligible.¹⁰¹⁶

There is a pastoral conclusion to be made here. The language of *Divine Worship*, whilst distinctive, to the point of otherness, works positively towards the often-stated goal of active participation. By challenging the intellect of the faithful with a language that is precisely *not* what they would hear on the street, they are drawn out of the inattentiveness of banal familiarity.

To be set apart means by definition to have identifiable qualities or properties that make categorization possible. If Prayer Book English was no different from any other form of English, then the categorization would be meaningless. Brand proffers some particular properties of Prayer Book English:

In addition to the aural qualities of dignity, sobriety, sonority, and balance, the Prayer Book’s sentences are famous for exhibiting the quality that C. S. Lewis called ‘pithiness.’ [...] Both ‘pithy’ and ‘spacious’ at once, this special dialect takes voice in rich periodic sentences, built on patterns of subordination (with many relative clauses) and coordination (with frequent use of synonymous constructions and parataxis in doublets and triplets) [...] The native English

¹⁰¹⁴ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 139.

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. BURNHAM, *Divine Worship: The Missal* and ‘the Liturgical Books Proper to the Anglican Tradition’ (*Anglicanorum Coetibus*, Art. III), 167.

¹⁰¹⁶ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 133.

habit of using two words to express a single multivalent idea (a convention going back to Anglo-Saxon times) also serves in Prayer Book English to illuminate the sense of specialized Latin loan-words through their coupling with common English equivalents, thereby enriching the meanings of both.¹⁰¹⁷

These properties are indeed to be found in the language of Divine Worship and form a constitutive basis of its distinctive style.

3.6.3 *Archaic, not Obsolete*

Archaic language is perhaps the most immediately obvious aspect of the language of *Divine Worship*. It must be noted once again that it is erroneous to limit archaic language solely to vocabulary, with phrasing, syntax and sentence structure also making up the distinctiveness of traditional Anglican sacral English. The vast majority of this distinctiveness is inherited from the principles of sacral English established by Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer and the editors of the *Authorised Version*.

Archaic language is a particular form of specialized language. Every field of human endeavour is noted for its specialized language and vocabulary. The fact that a particular activity is not the same as other activities necessitates that there is language to describe precisely what the distinctiveness of the activity is. Indeed, one of the tasks of the Church in her early centuries was to develop the specific vocabulary required to describe her beliefs. As has been repeatedly noted, Tyndale deliberately chose to use elements of English that were not commonly used, precisely because he sought to develop a specialized language in his English translation of the New Testament that would set apart the word of God from the common language of the street. It is patently incorrect to state that archaic language is by definition obsolete.

As Brand notes,

the first BCP in 1549 and the AV in 1611 already sounded old-fashioned, even slightly archaic, when they were first published, and they did so deliberately in order to capture with the native resources of the English tongue the feel, the gravitas, the ‘givenness,’ of much older texts.¹⁰¹⁸

The careful use of archaism emphasizes a notion of tradition, that the liturgy is not innovated – it is received.

The use of *thou* and *thee* is the most obvious aspect of sacral English. Already out of common use by the sixteenth century, but deliberately repurposed by Tyndale, these terms bring about an immediate intimacy that is otherwise lacking. As the generic “you” that has

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., 149 f.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid., 147.

replaced *thou* and *thee* can be used in either the singular or plural sense, it lacks the immediacy of a term that is used exclusively in the singular. For many people today, this use of language is known only in Shakespeare and the Lord's Prayer. Nonetheless, it is still commonly recognized that *thou* and *thee* express an intimacy that is lacking in the more generic *you*. Aside from the examples given above, the use of *thou* and *thee* in the first Catholic *Revised Standard Version* specifically to reference God, and resonant and memorable phrases such as "with this ring I thee wed" are further examples of important contributions to perceptions of the immediacy signified in this language.

As Brand notes, "[t]he use of 'thou' and 'thee,' then, is not simply ornamental but rather functional in bearing witness to the inter-subjective mystery of personhood, the I–Thou relationship."¹⁰¹⁹ Dietrich von Hildebrand notes the fundamental difference between a *we* relationship and an I-thou relationship. In a *we* relationship, the persons are side by side, facing something outside of themselves. In the *I–Thou* relationship, necessarily involving only two persons as both terms are singular, the two stand face to face.¹⁰²⁰ To do so there is a necessitated closeness, an immediate intimacy, it is not possible to stand face to face whilst far apart. The persons must make themselves present to one another to be able to enter into an *I–Thou* relationship. Thus there are serious implications in the nature of the interpersonal relationships that are signified by the use of these immediate and intimate terms.

The trend has been to ditch so called archaic language across the board, yet it remains commonly used in the Lord's Prayer, Rosary, and of course Shakespeare. One can imagine the outrage if anyone were to dare to suggest a modern English version of Shakespeare. It is somewhat ironic that as many churches have jettisoned archaic language in their liturgy, and in many cases discarding what is their own proper patrimony, that archaic language has found a proper place in Catholic communion.¹⁰²¹

The language of *Divine Worship* is fundamentally beautiful. This beauty is the result of a bringing together of various elements, each in its proper place and in the right amount. Archaism is but one of these elements. As former Anglican bishop of Rochester Michael Nazir-Ali said at his ordination as a Catholic priest:

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid., 153.

¹⁰²⁰ Cf. Dietrich VON HILDEBRAND, *Marriage. The Mystery of Faithful Love*, Manchester/NH 1991, 9.

¹⁰²¹ For background on the progressive discarding of archaic language in religious use, see TOON – TARSITANO, *Neither Archaic Nor Obsolete*, 58–71. See also Barry SPURR, *The Word in the Desert. Anglican and Roman Catholic Reactions to Liturgical Reform*, Cambridge 1995.

Whatever else Archbishop Cranmer's gifts may or may not have been, I think beauty of language was certainly one of them. And I commend such beauty to liturgists today. It is not always a gift that is found among them in recent years, may I say.¹⁰²²

3.6.4 *Types and Modulation of Language*

Of course, not all of the language of *Divine Worship* is the same, as there are various types and usages of language to be found. The language of the Canon of Mass is different to, for example, the rhetorical style of the Collects. As Brand notes, there is a modulation of language depending upon the intent and purpose of the language within the liturgy.

Divine Worship displays a graduated modulation of styles of traditional English: the readings (largely instructional and edifying) show the lucid intelligibility and accuracy of the RSV Bible in its Catholic Edition; the orations, next, speak clearly but with a measure of rhetorical figuration (like the Latin originals); while the Mass antiphons and psalm texts provide a more poetic counterpoint and hence exhibit a greater degree of archaic diction and stylized syntax. *Divine Worship* makes the most of this modulated scriptural resonance through a rich provision for minor propers, following not only the precedent of the *Roman Missal* but also the tradition of the so-called Anglican missals of weaving "devotional enrichments" into the unadorned *Book of Common Prayer*.¹⁰²³

As such, further attention will now be given to the various types of language found in the language of *Divine Worship*.

3.6.4.1 *Liturgical Texts*

By liturgical texts is meant the actual spoken words of the liturgy. Contained within the text itself are a number of sub-categories, some of which will be considered separately. These texts are a divine dialogue, the *I–Thou* encounter between Christ and his bride, the Church. The most important moments in the liturgy of the Church are to be found in these texts. It is through these words that the sacraments are conferred. As such, one is to expect the most formal, expressive, and intimate language of all to be found in these texts.

In *Divine Worship*, this modulation of language is perhaps more obviously seen in these texts. For example, the response to the salutation "The Lord be with you" of "and with thy spirit" immediately brings a closeness and intimacy that is certainly lacking in "and also with you", but also not present to the same degree in "and with your spirit".

This can be further demonstrated with some examples:

¹⁰²² Michael NAZIR-ALI, Ordination to the Priesthood, London October 30th, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPGbk2INMFk>, 2:01:14.

¹⁰²³ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 151.

Roman Missal (1973 ICEL) ¹⁰²⁴	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰²⁵	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰²⁶
Bless and approve our offering; make it acceptable to you, an offering in spirit and in truth. Let it become for us the body and blood of Jesus Christ, your only Son, our Lord.	Be pleased, O God, we pray, to bless, acknowledge, and approve this offering in every respect; make it spiritual and acceptable, so that it may become for us the Body and Blood of your most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.	Vouchsafe, O God, we beseech thee, in all things to make this oblation blessed, approved, and accepted, a perfect and worthy offering; that it may become for us the Body and Blood of thy dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the consecratory epiclesis of the Roman Canon, a precursory glance indicates that the 1973 ICEL text has substantially less content than the 2010 Roman Missal and *Divine Worship: The Missal*. The ICEL text has a feeling of almost being blurted out, without any finesse or grace. It is matter of fact, with little rhetorical flair. The 2010 translation is clearly much more faithful to the Latin text, both in its structure and content. The strengthened vocative “O God” has been restored, as has the critical phrase “bless, acknowledge and approve” which is unrecognisable in the 1973 text. The epiclesis of *Divine Worship* clearly contains a modulation of text that is lacking in the 2010 Roman Missal. This modulation is found in diction, for example in the use of “vouchsafe” and “oblation”. The precise syntax and phrasing results in what is classic Prayer Book English. The phrase “blessed, approved, and accepted” manifests an incremental rhythmic structure as follows:

blessed	ap - proved	and	ac - cept - ed
x	x x	x	x - -

This incremental rhythmic structure is most pleasing to the ear, whereas the 2010 Roman Missal does not have an incremental rhythmic structure.

The phrase “perfect and worthy offering” is classic Prayer Book English, with its doublets “perfect and worthy”, which are much more pleasing to the ear than “spiritual and acceptable” as found in the 2010 Roman Missal. As Brand notes, “such expressions serve as the sinews of a uniquely powerful tool of accumulative mediation”¹⁰²⁷. If they are not there, or clumsily blundered, then something is lost in our experience of the divine.

Turning now to the consecration:

¹⁰²⁴ Roman Missal (1985), 544.

¹⁰²⁵ Roman Missal (2010), 672.

¹⁰²⁶ Divine Worship: The Missal, 640.

¹⁰²⁷ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 149 f.

Roman Missal (1973 ICEL) ¹⁰²⁸	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰²⁹	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰³⁰
<p>The day before he suffered he took bread in his sacred hands and looking up to heaven, to you, his almighty Father, he gave you thanks and praise. He broke the bread, gave it to his disciples, and said:</p> <p>Take this, all of you, and eat it: this is my body which will be given up for you.</p> <p>When supper was ended, he took the cup. Again he gave you thanks and praise, gave the cup to his disciples, and said:</p> <p>Take this, all of you, and drink from it: this is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and everlasting covenant. It will be shed for you and for all so that sins may be forgiven. Do this in memory of me.</p>	<p>On the day before he was to suffer, he took bread in his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes raised to heaven, to you, O God, his almighty Father, giving you thanks, he said the blessing, broke the bread and gave it to his disciples saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND EAT OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH WILL BE GIVEN UP FOR YOU.</p> <p>In a similar way, when supper was ended, he took this precious chalice in his holy and venerable hands, and once more giving you thanks, he said the blessing and gave the chalice to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND DRINK FROM IT, FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, THE BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT, WHICH WILL BE Poured OUT FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME.</p>	<p>Who the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven, unto thee, God, his almighty Father, giving thanks to thee, he blessed, broke and gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND EAT OF IT: FOR THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH WILL BE GIVEN UP FOR YOU.</p> <p>Likewise, after supper, taking also this goodly chalice into his holy and venerable hands, again giving thanks to thee, he blessed, and gave it to his disciples, saying:</p> <p>TAKE THIS, ALL OF YOU, AND DRINK FROM IT, FOR THIS IS THE CHALICE OF MY BLOOD, THE BLOOD OF THE NEW AND ETERNAL COVENANT, WHICH WILL BE Poured OUT FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME.</p>

The syntax of the 1973 ICEL text results in a disconnection between “he gave you thanks and praise” and “He broke the bread...” as if they are two separate actions, which results in an interruption to the flow of the narrative. This is remedied in both the 2010 Roman Missal and *Divine Worship: The Missal*, wherein these actions are syntactically re-connected, as they are in the Latin text. The trifold action of blessed, broke and gave is absent in the 1973 ICEL translation. In the 2010 Roman Missal, the triplet is to be found, but its impact is lost in a syntactical jumble: “giving you thanks, he said the blessing, broke the bread and gave it

¹⁰²⁸ Roman Missal (1985), 544 f.

¹⁰²⁹ Roman Missal (2010), 673.

¹⁰³⁰ Divine Worship: The Missal, 640.

to his disciples”. The sequence of “blessed, broke and gave” is interrupted by the insertion of “the bread”, which is not to be found in the Latin text, but perhaps the translators felt that it was so long ago that the bread was mentioned that a reminder was in order. *Divine Worship: The Missal* presents a perfect triplet in classic Prayer Book style: “blessed, broke and gave” which closely corresponds to the Latin *benedixit, fregit, deditque* in a way that the Roman Missal does not. Whilst the structure of the consecration prayer within *Divine Worship: The Missal* is overall very similar to that of the 2010 Roman Missal, it can be observed how the use of archaic diction and classical Prayer Book English phrasing and syntax has resulted in an amplification and modulation of language that is certainly not out of place at this, the most important moment of the Mass.

A further example can be seen in the *Ecce Agnus Dei*:

Roman Missal (1973 ICEL) ¹⁰³¹	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰³²	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰³³
This is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world. Happy are those who are called to his supper.	Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world. Blessed are those called to the supper of the Lamb.	Behold the Lamb of God, behold him that taketh away the sins of the world. Blessed are those who are called to the Supper of the Lamb.

As can be seen, the 1973 ICEL text is completely missing the double *ecce* of *Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui.... Ecce* is an interjecting verb. It is an imperative direction to do something. The 1973 text has replaced the verb with the nominative “This is”, but it is nominative only in the sense of referring to the action of taking away the sins of the world. The double direction to the listener to “behold” is absent. In both the 2010 Roman Missal and *Divine Worship: The Missal* this dual imperative is present.

In the 1973 ICEL text, *beati* has been translated with the terribly weak “happy”. In English, a very broad spectrum is possible between being happy, and being blessed as in the sense of beatitude. The 1973 text is also missing the second “Lamb”, which results in “Supper of the Lamb” in the 2010 Roman Missal and *Divine Worship: The Missal*. This would seem to be a deliberate reference to the many Scriptural references to the Supper of the Lamb, which is completely lost when rendered as “his supper.”

¹⁰³¹ Roman Missal (1985), 564.

¹⁰³² Roman Missal (2010), 704.

¹⁰³³ Divine Worship: The Missal, 653.

As can be seen, the 2010 Roman Missal and *Divine Worship: The Missal* texts are almost identical. In *Divine Worship*, “takes” is rendered with the archaic “taketh”, and there are the two additional words “who are” in the final sentence. Nonetheless, this particular form is familiar to many Anglicans of the Anglo-Catholic tradition and as such pre-dates the 2010 Roman Missal. Whilst the 2010 Roman Missal translation is almost identical to the *Divine Worship* text, as has been noted, this is certainly not the case with the 1973 ICEL text. It has been pleasing to the ears of many former Anglicans that there are many instances where the 2010 Roman Missal texts are much closer to those of the Anglican tradition than those of the 1973 ICEL text.

3.6.4.2 *Proper Texts*

Much of the text of the liturgy is invariable. That is to say, the same texts are said at every liturgy. There are of course variable texts, including the readings and the propers. The propers themselves contain some of the most beautiful and memorable texts of *Divine Worship*. As was noted in Section 2.1.3.4, the Collects of the Prayer Book are often acknowledged as the pinnacle of Cranmer’s creativity. The English Collects of the Prayer Book tradition are a symbiosis of two seemingly incompatible areas of linguistic distinctiveness – the traditional structure of the Latin Collect is used as a framework for a pithy ecosystem of ideas in proper English prose, each one of them individually tuned to the resonances of the English language. Some of the greatest examples of these will now be examined.

Arguably one of the most loved Collects of the Anglican tradition is that of the Second Sunday of Advent:

Blessed Lord, who has caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning: grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy Word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ; who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end. Amen.¹⁰³⁴

For a Collect this prayer is rather long, yet is a demonstration of how Cranmer’s craftsmanship could take what might otherwise have been a disaster and produce a prayer in perfect balance and rhythmic division. Cranmer has somehow managed to make work a triplet in the midst of a list of five items. This triplet, “read, mark, learn” is probably the most famous triplet of them all. The word “them” after the first item of five “hear” is essential to the success of the triplet that follows. The way that the word “them” is produced

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid., 158.

by the English tongue forces a pause while one's lips and tongue are repositioned in preparation for the next word. This is easily demonstrated by removing the word "them" and noting the result: "... in such wise hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest". As can be seen, the pause before "read" is now gone, as is the triplet, resulting in a jumble of words. This simple example once again demonstrates how utterly critical proper rhythm is for Prayer Book English.

It would seem, however, that Cranmer was not satisfied with simply one couplet, for following the conjunction "that" is found the doublet "patience and comfort". This Collect can be further appreciated by a structural examination of its rhythm and balance:

Bles-sed Lord,

x x -

who has caused all ho-ly Scrip-tures

x x - - x x - -

to be writ-ten for our learn-ing:

x x x x - - - -

grant that we may in such wise hear them,

x x x x x x x - -

read, mark, learn,

x x x

and in-ward-ly di-gest them,

x x - x x - -

that by pa-tience and com-fort of thy ho-ly Word,

x x - - x - - x x x x -

we may em-brace and ev-er hold fast

x x x x x x x - -

the bles-sed hope of ev-er-last-ing life,

x x x - x x x - - -

which thou hast giv-en us

x x x x x x

in our Sav-iour Jes-us Christ;

x x - - x x -

who liv-eth and reign-eth with thee,

x x x x x x x -

in the un-it-y of the Ho-ly Spi-rit,

x x x x x x x x x x x

ev-er one God,

x x x x

world with-out end.

- x x x

Am-en.

- -

Another example is the Collect for the Second Sunday in Lent:

Almighty God, who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves: keep us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls; that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul; through [...] ¹⁰³⁵

This Collect is completely lacking in couplets, depending entirely on its resonant phrasing for its success. These critical phrases are indicated below:

Almighty God, who seest that we have **no power of ourselves to help ourselves**: keep us both **outwardly in our bodies**, and **inwardly in our souls**; that we may be **defended from all adversities** which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may **assault and hurt the soul** ...

The centre and balance point of the Collect is a couplet not of words, but of the two phrases, “outwardly in our bodies” and “inwardly in our souls”.

The Collect for the Second Sunday after Epiphany is not an Cranmeran *ad lib* composition, but a translation of a Roman collect. An appreciation for this Collect in its Prayer Book English form can be gained by comparing it to its other forms.

Missale Romanum, 3rd Edition (2008) ¹⁰³⁶	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰³⁷	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰³⁸	Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹⁰³⁹
Omnípotens sempitérne Deus, qui cæléstia simul et terréna moderáris, supplicatiónes pópuli tuí cleménter exáudi, et pacem tuam nostris concéde tempóribus. Per Dóminum.	Almighty ever-living God, who govern all things, both in heaven and on earth, mercifully hear the pleadings of your people and bestow your peace on our times. Through [...]	Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth: mercifully hear the supplications of thy people; and grant us thy peace all the days of our life; through [...]	Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth, mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life, through [...]

Noteworthy properties of this Collect are the doublet “heaven and earth”, the diction “supplications” and the resonant phrase “days of our life”. It is interesting to note that these are all absent from the 2010 translation. The Latin *supplicationes* is rendered as “pleadings” in RM 2010, whereas *Divine Worship* and the Prayer Book use “supplications.”

The same methodology can be applied to the consideration of some further examples:

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid., 252.

¹⁰³⁶ Missale Romanum ex Decreto Sacrosancto Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II Instauratum Auctoritate Pauli PP. VI Promulgatum Ioannis Pauli PP. II Cura Recognitum. Editio Typica Tertia. Vatican City 2008, 452.

¹⁰³⁷ Roman Missal (2010), 704.

¹⁰³⁸ Divine Worship: The Missal, 204.

¹⁰³⁹ CUMMINGS, Texts, 284 f.

Collect for the Epiphany of the Lord

Missale Romanum, 3rd Edition (2008) ¹⁰⁴⁰	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰⁴¹	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰⁴²	Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹⁰⁴³
Deus, qui hodierna die Unigénitum tuum géntibus stella duce revelásti, concéde propítius, ut, qui iam te ex fide cognóvimus, usque ad contemplándam spécíem tuæ celsitúdinis perducámur. Per Dóminum.	O God, who on this day revealed your Only Begotten Son to the nations by the guidance of a star, grant in your mercy that we, who know you already by faith, may be brought to behold the beauty of your sublime glory. Through [...]	O God, who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy Only Begotten Son to the Gentiles: mercifully grant that we, who know thee now by faith, may be led onward through this earthly life, until we see the vision of thy heavenly glory; through [...]	O God, who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only begotten Son to the Gentiles: Mercifully grant, that we which know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruition of thy glorious godhead, through [...]

It can quite plainly be seen that RM 2010 is more faithful to the Latin text. However, this has resulted again in a loss of resonance. Arguably, this is necessarily so due to the requirements for translation that each Latin word be accounted for. In this example, *hodierna*, “on this day” is completely missing from the *Divine Worship* and Prayer Book texts. The result is a complete shift of focus. In RM 2010, the attention of the hearer is drawn to “on this day” as the first idea that is introduced after “O God”. In *Divine Worship*, the first idea introduced is “the leading of a star”. In RM 2010, this is rendered as “guidance of a star”. Perhaps not as resonant, but nonetheless effective in itself, but its positioning at the end of the phrase means that it tends to be lost in a chain of ideas, almost seeming like an afterthought. This can be exemplified by examining the structure of the first phrase of the collect:

	Roman Missal (2010)	Divine Worship: The Missal
Subject 1	who on this day	who by the leading of a star
Subject 2	revealed your Only Begotten Son to the nations	didst manifest thy Only Begotten Son to the Gentiles
Subject 3	by the guidance of a star	

¹⁰⁴⁰ Missale Romanum (2008), 175.

¹⁰⁴¹ Roman Missal (2010), 212.

¹⁰⁴² Divine Worship: The Missal, 198.

¹⁰⁴³ CUMMINGS, Texts, 282.

As can be seen, *Divine Worship* introduces two subjects, whilst RM 2010 introduces three ideas, the first of which is not essential to the meaning of the Collect. If approached from the perspective of comprehension, RM 2010 asks more of the hearer, requiring assimilation and processing of three ideas, the first of which is not essential for comprehension of the Collect but nonetheless must still be processed and interpreted by the brain so as to result in comprehension. When subjected to a stream of auditory information, a higher degree of attentiveness is required to process the information, which comes with a very real risk of losing concentration, meaning that comprehension become impossible. That is, the higher number of ideas found in RM 2010 requires more processing by the brain, especially given the unnatural sentence structure and dissonant rhythm, presenting a higher threshold to comprehension by the hearer. Another comparison can be made by examining the rhythmic structure of the two phrases:

Roman Missal (2010)	Syllables	Divine Worship: The Missal	Syllables
who on this day revealed your Only x x x x x x x x x x Begotten Son to the nations by the x x x - x x - - x x guidance of a star x x x x -	24	who by the leading of a star x x x x x x x x - didst manifest thy Only Begotten x x x x x x x x x x x Son to the Gentiles - x x - -	8 15

In RM 2010, there is no break in the rhythm of the phrase. Although the word “Son” is a long syllable, as the words “to the nations” belong with “Only Begotten Son” as a single idea, a pause is not possible: “Only Begotten Son – to the nations” does not make any sense. In *Divine Worship*, the long syllable “star” also marks the completion of a single idea and is conducive to a pause at that point. Thus, we see in the rhythmic structure of the two variants of this Collect that in *Divine Worship*, two subjects are introduced which are broken up into rhythmic groups of 8 and 15 syllables respectively. RM 2010 contains three ideas, which are presented in a single group of twenty-four syllables. Thus, in *Divine Worship*, the highest demand placed on the brain is to process fifteen syllables containing one idea, whereas in RM 2010 the brain is asked to process twenty-four syllables containing three ideas.

Collect for the 5th Sun after Epiphany / 5th Sunday OT

Missale Romanum, 3rd Edition (2008) ¹⁰⁴⁴	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰⁴⁵	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰⁴⁶	Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹⁰⁴⁷
Famíliam tuam, quæsumus, Dómine, continúa pietáte custódi, ut, quæ in sola spe grátiae cæléstis innítitur, tua semper protectióne muniátur. Per Dóminum.	Keep your family safe, O Lord, with unfailing care, that, relying solely on the hope of heavenly grace, they may be defended always by your protection. Through [...]	O Lord, we beseech thee to keep thy Church and household continually in thy true religion: that they who do lean only upon the hope of thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by thy mighty power; through [...]	O Lord, we beseech thee to keep thy Church and household continually in thy true religion, that they who do lean only upon the hope of thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by thy mighty power, through [...]

Again is found a classical Prayer Book English couplet in “Church and household”. This couplet is not possible in a strict translation of *famíliam*, rendered in RM 2010 as “family”, yet is a typical Prayer Book device of strengthening a single word through the use of two. The choice of the word “household” is a classic example of the homeliness that Prayer Book English is noted for. RM 2010 rather weakly renders *pietate* as “safe”. In English, this implies being protected from something, but has no necessarily religious connotation. *Divine Worship* renders *pietate* as “true religion”, a classic Prayer Book understanding of the concept of piety.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Missale Romanum (2008), 455.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Roman Missal (2010), 503.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Divine Worship: The Missal, 210.

¹⁰⁴⁷ CUMMINGS, Texts, 288.

Collect for Palm Sunday

Missale Romanum, 3rd Edition (2008) ¹⁰⁴⁸	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰⁴⁹	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰⁵⁰	Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹⁰⁵¹
Omnípotens sempitérne Deus, qui humano géneri, ad imitándum humilitátis exémplum, Salvatórem nostrum carnem súmerem, et crucem subíre fecísti, concéde propítius, ut et patiéntiæ ipsíus habére documénta et resurrectiónis consórtia mereámur. Qui tecum.	Almighty ever-living God, who as an example of humility for the human race to follow caused our Saviour to take flesh and submit to the Cross, graciously grant that we may heed his lesson of patient suffering and so merit a share in his Resurrection. Who [...]	Almighty and everlasting God, who, of thy tender love towards mankind, hast sent thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the Cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility: mercifully grant that we may follow the example of his patience, and so be made partakers of his Resurrection; through the same [...]	Almighty and everlasting God, who of thy tender love towards mankind, hast sent thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility; Mercifully grant that we may both follow the example of his patience, and also be made partakers of his resurrection, through [...]

In this example, *Divine Worship* includes, as does the Prayer Book, the additional phrase “of thy tender love towards mankind”. The addition of this phrase is an example of the poetic license often taken in Prayer Book, which, whilst utilising many of the Roman Collects found in the Sarum Missal, certainly did not claim to be a translation of them as such, but rather a reappropriation of material as it suited Cranmer. Thus, this Collect is noted again by a series of resonances found in phrasing: “tender love towards mankind”, “take upon him our flesh”, “suffer death upon the Cross”, “example of his great humility”, “example of his patience”, “partakers of his Resurrection”. Whilst, with the exception of the first, all of these phrases are to be found in RM 2010 in one form or another, it can be noted that they are lacking the resonances to the ear as found in the Prayer Book tradition.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Missale Romanum (2008), 281.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Roman Missal (2010), 310.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Divine Worship: The Missal, 325.

¹⁰⁵¹ CUMMINGS, Texts, 301 f.

Collect for the Ascension of the Lord

Missale Romanum, 3rd Edition (2008) ¹⁰⁵²	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰⁵³	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰⁵⁴	Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹⁰⁵⁵
Concéde, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut, qui hodierna die Unigénitum tuum Redemptórem nostrum ad cælos ascendisse crédimus, ipsi quoque mente in cæléstibus habitémus. Qui tecum.	Grant, we pray, almighty God, that we, who believe that your Only Begotten Son, our Redeemer, ascended this day to the heavens, may in spirit dwell already in heavenly realms. Who [...]	Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God: that like as we do believe thy Only Begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ to have ascended into the heavens; so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell; who [...]	Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that like as we do believe thy only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ to have ascended into the heavens; so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell, who [...]

A similar point can be noted here. Aside from the attention-grabbing diction of “thither”¹⁰⁵⁶, the success of this Collect is essentially in its resonant phrasing. The phrases “like as we do believe” and “to have ascended into the heavens” establish the resonance of the first part of the Collect. The couplet “heart and mind” establishes the resonance of the second part. This is a classical Prayer Book couplet rendering of *mente*, which RM 2010 renders as “spirit”. A strict literal translation of *mente* would be “mind”, but the connotation of the word is the inner being of the person, thus “heart”, “soul” and “spirit” are also valid translations. It would seem that “heart and mind” is a stronger translation in the sense of conveying the meaning of the inner being of the person in the context of a conscious operation of the *nous* to believe (“like as we do believe”), even if “spirit” or “soul” is perhaps a more theological translation.

¹⁰⁵² Missale Romanum (2008), 425.

¹⁰⁵³ Roman Missal (2010), 471.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Divine Worship: The Missal, 458.

¹⁰⁵⁵ CUMMINGS, Texts, 332.

¹⁰⁵⁶ It should be noted that this word was likely not as attention grabbing in 1549 as it is today.

Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity / 17th Sun OT

Missale Romanum, 3rd Edition (2008) ¹⁰⁵⁷	Roman Missal (2010) ¹⁰⁵⁸	Divine Worship: The Missal ¹⁰⁵⁹	Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹⁰⁶⁰
Protéctor in te sperántium, Deus, sine quo nihil est válidum, nihil sanctum, múltiplica super nos misericórdiam tuam, ut, te rectóre, te duce, sic bonis transeúntibus nunc utámur, ut iam possímus inhærére mansúris. Per Dóminum.	O God, protector of those who hope in you, without whom nothing has firm foundation, nothing is holy, bestow in abundance your mercy upon us and grant that, with you as our ruler and guide, we may use the good things that pass in such a way as to hold fast even now to those that ever endure. Through [...]	O God, the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy: increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; that, thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal; grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, who [...]	O God, the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong. Nothing is holy; Encrease and multiply upon us thy mercy, that thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal: Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christs sake our Lord. Amen.

The making of this collect is the couplet of phrases, “nothing is strong”, “nothing is holy”. As is self-evident, the two phrases are identical except for the final word, yet the two syllables of “holy” as opposed to the single syllable of “strong” results in a pleasing singular rhythmic increment. This rhythmic increment is complemented by the two long syllables of “holy”.

The rhythmic structure can be examined as follows:

nothing is strong	
x x x x	4 syllables
nothing is ho-ly	
x x x – –	5 syllables

In RM 2010, this phrase is rendered as “nothing has firm foundation, nothing is holy”. “Strong” would seem to be a much better translation of *validum* than “firm foundation”.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Missale Romanum (2008), 467.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Roman Missal (2010), 515.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Divine Worship: The Missal, 496.

¹⁰⁶⁰ CUMMINGS, Texts, 343.

Irrespective, the reducing syllable count results in a phrasing that appears unnatural:

Nothing has firm foundation	
x x x x x - -	7 syllables
nothing is holy	
x x x - -	5 syllables

Simply reversing the phrases results in a more natural sounding rhythmic structure: “nothing is holy, nothing has firm foundation”. It is acknowledged that this reverses the order of the Latin text, however the problem could have been dealt with an alternative translation of *validum*.

This Collect, in its *Divine Worship* form, includes a number of typical Prayer Book couplets: “increase and multiply”, and “ruler and guide”. Typically, Prayer Book couplets, where they derive from a Latin Collect, are an amplification of a single Latin word into two synonyms. Here, this is not the case with “ruler and guide”, as the couplet is found in the Latin text, *te rectore, te duce*.

In examining these prayers, it is possible to observe the effect of language upon the hearer. Arguably, the meaning of the prayer is unchanged. Some might argue that the effect of the prayer is unchanged. Yet it can be plainly seen that this is not true. When we consider language solely in terms of information, they ostensibly convey the same information. Yet when we consider language in terms of the effect up on the hearer, it is clear that the effect of these prayers in their various forms is not identical.

Of course, *Divine Worship* is not infallible, and there are places where there are problems of language. The Postcommunion Prayer for Septuagesima is a (thankfully rare) example of a prayer originating from the Anglican missals tradition manifesting an awkwardly Latinate translation:

Strengthen, O Lord, we pray thee, the wills of thy faithful people with these thy gifts: that we receiving the same may seek them more earnestly, and seeking the same may obtain them everlastingly; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.¹⁰⁶¹

The second “the same” draws undue attention to itself, causing a dissonance to the ear and unbalancing the rhythmic structure such that it is skewed unduly to the final petition. The first “the same” indicates that what is sought is “these thy gifts”. The second “the same” is technically redundant, only necessary because of the causal relationship explicitly

¹⁰⁶¹ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 215.

established between obtaining these thy gifts and seeking them. This causal relationship is still implicitly present if the prayer is re-balanced as follows:

Strengthen, O Lord, we pray thee, the wills of thy faithful people with these thy gifts: that we receiving the same may seek them more earnestly, and obtain them everlastingly; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The improvement in balance can be observed by comparing the two prayers concurrently.

<p>Strengthen, O Lord, we pray thee, the wills of thy faithful people with these thy gifts: that we receiving the same may seek them more earnestly, and seeking the same may obtain them everlastingly; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.</p>	<p>Strengthen, O Lord, we pray thee, the wills of thy faithful people with these thy gifts: that we receiving the same may seek them more earnestly, and obtain them everlastingly; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.</p>
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3.6.4.3 Scriptural Texts

Of course, much of the text of the liturgy is drawn from Scripture. The Scriptural texts being considered here are not those of the Lectionary, but those that are included within the text of *Divine Worship*. In the liturgy, Scriptural texts are generally found in two forms. Firstly, where a Scriptural verse is woven into the liturgical text. For example, the *Domine non sum dignus*, “Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only, and my soul shall be healed.”¹⁰⁶² The second form is where a Scriptural passage is used in the course of the liturgy. Examples are the minor propers, the Last Gospel,¹⁰⁶³ Psalms for Preparation before Mass,¹⁰⁶⁴ Psalm 43 at the Prayer of Preparation,¹⁰⁶⁵ and the Comfortable Words and Sentences¹⁰⁶⁶. It must be re-iterated that in the liturgical context these texts are not Scriptural translations, but are received English liturgical texts.¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., 653.

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., 1058 f.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid., 1075–1077.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., 1041.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid., 567–569.

¹⁰⁶⁷ “Insofar as *Divine Worship* respects received texts in their integrity [...]”. *Divine Worship: The Missal Rubrical Directory*, 122 (no. 9). See also Section 3.2 above, *The Rationale of the Anglicanae Traditiones Working Group*.

This can be demonstrated by examining the sources of some of these texts¹⁰⁶⁸:

Reading	Source
Preparation, <i>Ps 43</i> ¹⁰⁶⁹	Coverdale ¹⁰⁷⁰ (English Missal, Anglican Missal) ¹⁰⁷¹
Last Gospel ¹⁰⁷²	<i>Authorised Version</i> ¹⁰⁷³ (English Missal, Anglican Missal) ¹⁰⁷⁴
Comfortable Words ¹⁰⁷⁵ Come unto me... God so loved the world... This is a true saying... If any man sin...	BCP-1928US ¹⁰⁷⁶ BCP-1979US ¹⁰⁷⁷ BCP-1928US ¹⁰⁷⁸ BCP-1549 ¹⁰⁷⁹
The Sentences ¹⁰⁸⁰ Let your light so shine... Offer unto God the sacrifice...	BCP-1549 ¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁶⁸ It should be noted that this is not intended to be a complete, detailed or exhaustive source analysis, but merely an example of correlation of the identified texts to selected sources.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Divine Worship: The Missal, 1041.

¹⁰⁷⁰ CUMMINGS, Texts, 505. To be clear, Coverdale here means the Psalter of the 1662 Prayer Book, which has slight variations from the Psalter of the *Great Bible*.

¹⁰⁷¹ [KENRICK], English Missal (1940), 191; [KENRICK], English Missal (1958), 237; Anglican Missal (1939), *31.

¹⁰⁷² Divine Worship: The Missal, 1058 f.

¹⁰⁷³ WRIGHT, Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611, vol. 5, 200 f.

¹⁰⁷⁴ [KENRICK], English Missal (1940), 288f.; [KENRICK], English Missal (1958), 391; Anglican Missal (1939), *153 f.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Divine Worship: The Missal, 567 f.

¹⁰⁷⁶ The Prayer Book referenced here is the 1952 Facsimile of the 1928 “Standard Book” with the 1945 Lectionary. Cf. EPISCOPAL CHURCH, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Greenwich/CT 1952, 76; hereafter BCP-1928US; GRIFFITHS, 1952:4

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cf. EPISCOPAL CHURCH, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David According to the Use of the Episcopal Church, New York 2007, 332; hereafter BCP-1979US.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. BCP-1928US, 76.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. CUMMINGS, Texts, 33.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Divine Worship: The Missal, 568 f. I am thankful for the assistance of Clint Brand in identifying the sources for The Sentences. The three Sentences marked * are cases where the rule of reception does not appear to perfectly hold, as the wording in DW:TM was unable to be found in any source in an *identical* form. Similar wording was found in various sources. A number of *Anglicanae Traditiones* members were queried, however they were unable to explain this apparent discrepancy.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. CUMMINGS, Texts, 25.

Ascribe to the Lord...	BCP-1962CAN ¹⁰⁸²
Walk in love...	BCP-1979US ¹⁰⁸³
I beseech you, brethren...	BCP-1962CAN ¹⁰⁸⁴
All things come of thee...	BCP-1979US ¹⁰⁸⁵
Give alms of thy goods...	AS-1967 ¹⁰⁸⁶
Whatsoever ye would that men...	*
Remember the words of the Lord...	BCP-1962CAN ¹⁰⁸⁷
While we have time...	BCP-1962CAN ¹⁰⁸⁸
Do not neglect to do good...	*
If anyone has the world's goods...	BCP-1979US ¹⁰⁸⁹
Let us with gladness present...	* BCP-1979US ¹⁰⁹⁰
Psalms of Preparation ¹⁰⁹¹	Coverdale, BCP-1928US ¹⁰⁹²
Introit for Christmas: On the Day ¹⁰⁹³	English Missal, Anglican Missal ¹⁰⁹⁴

There are other instances where a Scriptural passage is provided as a reading. Usually this is for convenience, so that the liturgy can be celebrated from a single liturgical book without the need of a Bible or Lectionary. For example, *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying* provides a number of Scriptural readings. Where a Scriptural text is provided as a reading, one would expect the text to be *RSV-2CE*, this being the approved Lectionary for

¹⁰⁸² Cf. ANGLICAN CHURCH OF CANADA, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Anglican Church of Canada together with The Psalter as it is appointed to be Said or Sung in Churches and the Form and Manner of Making Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops Priests and Deacons*, Toronto 1962, 73; hereafter BCP-1962CAN.

¹⁰⁸³ Cf. BCP-1979US, 343.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Cf. BCP-1962CAN, 73.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Cf. BCP-1979US, 343.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cf. CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *Alternative Services – First Series. An Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion*, London 1967, 8; hereafter AS-1967.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. BCP-1962CAN, 74.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cf. BCP-1962CAN, 72.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. BCP-1979US, 377.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. BCP-1979US, 344.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 1075–1077.

¹⁰⁹² CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 546 f., 596. Psalm 85 comes from the 1928 US Prayer Book, BCP-1928US, 446.

¹⁰⁹³ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 190.

¹⁰⁹⁴ [KENRICK], *English Missal* (1940), 17; [KENRICK], *English Missal* (1958), 21; *Anglican Missal* (1939), 42.

use in the Ordinariates.¹⁰⁹⁵ However, a closer examination of the texts themselves indicates that this is not necessarily the case. For example, the reading from Second Corinthians chapter 4 for the Communion of the Sick in *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care* gives verse 16 as “Though our outer nature is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed every day”¹⁰⁹⁶ This is in fact from *RSV-CE*. The corresponding verse in *RSV-2CE* is “Though our outer man is wasting away, our inner man is being renewed day by day.” Likewise, for the Anointing of the Sick Outside of Mass, the Gospel reading from Chapter 8 of Luke is from *RSV-CE*.¹⁰⁹⁷ The other readings contained in *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care* are identical between *RSV-CE* and *RSV-2CE*. Therefore, it is correct to say that the all the Scriptural Readings within *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care* are in fact from *RSV-CE*.

Likewise, in *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, the following readings vary between *RSV-CE* and *RSV-2CE*, with the text in fact being from *RSV-CE*; John 3:1–8,¹⁰⁹⁸ and Matthew 28:18¹⁰⁹⁹. The Order of Solemnisation of Holy Matrimony contains an Appendix of Readings.¹¹⁰⁰ These readings are taken from *RSV-2CE*. The Lectionary included in *Divine Worship: Daily Office (Commonwealth Edition)* is from *RSV-2CE*, while *Divine Worship: Daily Office (North American Edition)* does not include a Lectionary.

There are many instances within *Divine Worship* where a Psalm text is provided for use within the liturgy. Where this Psalm is provided as Psalm *per se*, it is drawn from Coverdale. In the instance of a Psalm text used in a proper text such as, for example, an Introit or Offertory Sentence, these texts are drawn from their respective source missals, again remembering the foundational principle of respecting the integrity of source texts. The result is that whilst *RSV-2CE* is the official source lectionary of the Ordinariates, Scriptural texts used in *Divine Worship* are drawn from a broad range of sources.

3.6.4.4 Rubrics and Forematter

As the rubrics and forematter are not pronounced aloud, they are not heard by the congregation, but they do nonetheless constitute a part of the language of *Divine Worship*. They also constitute part of the experience of *Divine Worship* as the faithful can and do use

¹⁰⁹⁵ “Scripture readings from the *Revised Standard Version, Second Catholic Edition*”. *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying* [Title page].

¹⁰⁹⁶ *Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick and Dying*, 42.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Divine Worship: Occasional Services*, 31.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 95–105.

these texts, especially, for example, in the case of the *Daily Office*, and many of the faithful use the *Divine Worship: The Missal* study edition as a hand missal at Mass.

At first glance, one may presume that the rubrics and forematter do not embrace the same level of archaism as the liturgical texts themselves. It is firstly noted that, of course, these texts are of a different genre to the liturgical texts. Their purpose is to convey information and directions. They are not part of the communicative text of the liturgy. Whilst for the most part stylistically reserved, there are exceptions. Perhaps the most notable example is found in *Divine Worship: Daily Office (Commonwealth Edition)*: “In quires and places where they sing, an Anthem may follow.”¹¹⁰¹ In the Prayer Book, this is rendered as “In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem.”¹¹⁰² So whilst the form of this rubrical direction has been somewhat modernised for *Divine Worship*, clearly the editors have determined that the phrase “in quires and places where they sing” is such a valuable element of the Anglican patrimony so as to be worthy of retention even in a rubrical instruction.

Various other examples can be seen in terms of vocabulary and phrasing. For example, the rubrics refer not to the chair, but to the sedilia.¹¹⁰³ This is a patrimonial term, especially proper to the Anglo-Catholic tradition. The preparation of the altar is explicitly called “The Offertory”¹¹⁰⁴, again a familiar term. A common device of Prayer Book English is the reversal of word order. This is seen within the rubrics. For example, “the prayer following”¹¹⁰⁵ instead of “the following prayer” and “Then shall the Priest”¹¹⁰⁶ instead of “Then the Priest shall”.

3.6.4.5 *The Lectionary*

The approved Lectionary within the Ordinariates is the *RSV-2CE* Lectionary,¹¹⁰⁷ published by Ignatius Press.¹¹⁰⁸ As the Rubrical Directory notes, “The text of the Responsorial Psalm

¹¹⁰¹ *Divine Worship: Daily Office (Commonwealth Edition)*, 382.

¹¹⁰² CUMMINGS, *Texts*, 248.

¹¹⁰³ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 560.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 570.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 314.

¹¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 315, 317.

¹¹⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 125. “The scriptural readings at Mass are taken from the *Lectionary* in the Revised Standard Version (Second Catholic Edition).”

¹¹⁰⁸ *The Roman Missal. Restored by Decree of the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican and Promulgated by the Authority of Pope Paul VI. Lectionary Revised Standard Version Second Catholic Edition*, 2 vols., San Francisco 2006.

may be replaced by those from the Coverdale Psalter”.¹¹⁰⁹ Thus the options for the reading after the First Reading is the Gradual, the Psalm from the *RSV-2CE* Lectionary, or the Coverdale version of the same Psalm. Many of the Anglican groups which entered the Ordinariates were already using the Ignatius *RSV-2CE* Lectionary, including that of the author. The remaining stock of these two volume Lectionaries was purchased from Ignatius Press by Father Christopher Phillips of Atonement Parish, San Antonio, and ultimately transferred to the Ordinariate Chancery in Houston. Ignatius Press subsequently published an *RSV-2CE* Book of Gospels¹¹¹⁰.

Therefore, for many members of the Ordinariate, the *RSV-2CE* Lectionary is familiar to them. Not only is the *RSV* in many instances familiar, it is, as noted in Section 2.1.2.3 above,¹¹¹¹ patrimonial. To repeat, the *Revised Standard Version* is a descendant of the *Authorised Version*, through the *American Standard Version*. It therefore retains much of the characteristics and beauty of the *Authorised Version*, whilst not being encumbered with the problems of intelligibility and errors that are present in the *Authorised Version*. The *Authorised Version* itself is a descendant of the Tyndale-Coverdale *Great Bible*. Thus, the *RSV* very much stands within the Tyndale-Coverdale stream of English Bibles.

It must be acknowledged that the style of English used in the *RSV-2CE* is a more reserved style when compared to Prayer Book English. This will be a disappointment to some people, and no doubt a motivating factor for a sentimental attraction towards the *Authorised Version*. The stylistic differences are certainly plain to see when comparing the *Authorised Version* with the *RSV*, although the *RSV*, as part of its *ratio* did determine to retain a more hieratic style of language in the most important texts, for example, texts where Jesus is speaking, or God is directly being addresses. In *RSV-2CE*, these archaisms were removed.¹¹¹² Certainly, the *Authorised Version*, despite all the worthy accolades showered upon it, has too many problems to be used as a modern liturgical Bible. Nonetheless, valid arguments can be made as to whether the modern successors to the *Authorised Version* have gone too far in their removal of language that is perceived to be archaic, out of date, and perhaps even obsolete.

¹¹⁰⁹ Divine Worship: The Missal, 125.

¹¹¹⁰ The Roman Missal. Renewed by Decree of the Most Holy Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Promulgated by the Authority of Pope Paul VI and Revised at the Direction of Pope John Paul II. The Book of Gospels for use of the Holy See and the Dioceses of the Bishops' Conferences of South Africa, Botswana, and Swaziland and of those countries where the Bishops have given approval, Revised Standard Version Second Catholic Edition, San Francisco 2012.

¹¹¹¹ For the *Revised Standard Version* see pages 56–60.

¹¹¹² See page 59 above.

Robert Alter has, not without justification, described the *RSV* as a “flattening and dilution”.¹¹¹³ This tendency to linguistic dilution, especially in *RSV-2CE*, can be observed by comparing some texts:

Tobit 8:4–7		
Authorised Version ¹¹¹⁴	RSV-CE	RSV-2CE
<p>And after that they were both shut in together, Tobias rose out of the bed and said, “Sister, arise, and let us pray, that God would have pity on us.” Then began Tobias to say,</p> <p>“Blessed art thou, O God of our fathers, and blessed is thy holy and glorious name for ever, let the heavens bless thee, and all thy creatures. Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for an helper & stay: of them came mankind:</p> <p>thou hast said, ‘It is not good that man should be alone, let us make unto him an aid like to himself.’</p> <p>And now, O Lord, I take not this my sister for lust, but uprightly: therefore mercifully ordain, that we may become aged together.”</p>	<p>When the door was shut and the two were alone, Tobias got up from the bed and said, “Sister, get up, and let us pray that the Lord may have mercy upon us.” And Tobias began to pray, “Blessed art thou, O god of our fathers, and blessed be thy holy and glorious name for ever.</p> <p>Let the heavens and all thy creatures bless thee. Thou madest Adam and gavest him Eve his wife as a helper and support. From them the race of mankind has sprung. Thou didst say, ‘It is not good that the man should be alone; let us make a helper for him like himself.’</p> <p>And now, O Lord, I am not taking this sister of mine because of lust, but with sincerity. Grant that I may find mercy and may grow old together with her.”</p>	<p>When the door was shut and the two were alone, Tobias got up from the bed and said, “Sister, get up, and let us pray and implore our Lord that he grant us mercy and safety.” And they began to say, “Blessed are you, O God of our fathers, and blessed be your holy and glorious name for ever.</p> <p>Let the heavens and all your creatures bless you. You made Adam and gave him Eve his wife as a helper and support. From them the race of mankind has sprung. You said, ‘It is not good that the man should be alone; let us make a helper for him like himself.’</p> <p>And now, O Lord, I am not taking this sister of mine because of lust, but with sincerity. Grant that I may find mercy and may grow old together with her.”</p>

¹¹¹³ Robert ALTER, *The glories and the glitches of the King James Bible*, in: Hannibal HAMLIN – Norman W. JONES (eds.), *The King James Bible after 400 Years. Literary, Linguistic and Cultural Influences*, Cambridge 2013, 45–58, here: 45. Alter goes on to note, “The sundry English versions done by the scholarly-ecclesiastical committees of the different denominations in the second half of the twentieth century are for the most part stylistically inept and often embarrassing in their mixture of disparate linguistic registers and in their misguided efforts to make the syntax and diction of the ancient texts sound up-to-date.”

¹¹¹⁴ William Aldis WRIGHT (ed.), *The Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611*, vol. 4, Cambridge 2010, 108. The spelling has been modernised and quotation marks added.

Hebrews 1		
Authorised Version ¹¹¹⁵	RSV-CE	RSV-2CE
<p>God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto that Fathers by the Prophets, Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds,</p> <p>Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, Being made so much better than the Angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.</p> <p>For unto which of the Angels said he at any time, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee"?</p> <p>And again, "I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son."</p> <p>And again, when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world, he saith, "And let all the Angels of God worship him."</p> <p>And of the Angels he saith: "Who maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." But unto the Son, he saith, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a scepter of righteousness is the scepter of thy kingdom.</p> <p>Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."</p> <p>And, "thou Lord in the beginning hast layed the</p>	<p>In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, whom he has appointed the heir of all things, through whom also he created the world.</p> <p>He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs.</p> <p>For to what angel did God ever say, "Thou art my Son, today I have begotten thee"?</p> <p>Or again, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son"?</p> <p>And again, when he brings the first-born into the world he says, "Let all God's angels worship him."</p> <p>Of the angels he says, "Who makes his angels winds, and his servants flames of fire."</p> <p>But of the Son he says, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the righteous scepter is the scepter of thy kingdom.</p> <p>Thou hast loved righteousness and hated lawlessness; therefore God, thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness beyond thy comrades."</p> <p>And, "Thou, Lord, didst found the earth in the beginning, and</p>	<p>In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son, who he appointed the heir of all things, through whom also he created the ages.</p> <p>He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power.</p> <p>When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs.</p> <p>For to what angel did God ever say, "You are my Son, today I have begotten you"?</p> <p>Or again, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son"?</p> <p>And again, when he brings the first-born into the world, he says, "Let all God's angels worship him."</p> <p>Of the angels he says, "Who makes his angels winds, and his servants flames of fire."</p> <p>But of the Son he says, "Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the righteous scepter is the scepter of your kingdom.</p> <p>You have loved righteousness and hated lawlessness; therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your comrades."</p> <p>And, "You, Lord, founded the earth in the beginning, and the</p>

¹¹¹⁵ WRIGHT, Authorised Version of the English Bible 1611, vol. 5, 482 f. The spelling has been modernised and quotation marks added.

<p>foundation of the earth: and the heavens are the works of thine hands.</p> <p>They shall perish, but thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as doth a garment.</p> <p>And as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed, but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail”?</p> <p>But to which of the Angels said he at any time, “Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool”?</p> <p>Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them, who shall be heirs of salvation?</p>	<p>the heavens are the work of thy hands;</p> <p>they will perish but thou remainest; they will all grow old like a garment, like a mantle thou wilt roll them up, and they will be changed.</p> <p>But thou art the same, and thy years will never end.”</p> <p>But to what angel has he ever said, “Sit at my right hand till I make thy enemies a stool for thy feet”?</p> <p>Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to serve, for the sake of those who are to obtain salvation?</p>	<p>heavens are the work of your hands;</p> <p>they will perish, but you remain; they will all grow old like a garment, like a cloak you will roll them up, and they will be changed.</p> <p>But you are the same, and your years will never end.”</p> <p>But to what angel has he ever said, “Sit at my right hand while I make your enemies a stool for your feet”?</p> <p>Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to serve, for the sake of those who are to obtain salvation?</p>
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John 17		
Authorised Version¹¹¹⁶	RSV-CE	RSV-2CE
<p>These words spake Jesus, and lift up his eyes to heaven, and said, “Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee. As thou has given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him. And this life is eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me, with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.</p> <p>I have manifested thy Name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were; and thou gavest them me; and they have kept they word. Now they have</p>	<p>When Jesus had spoken these words, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, “Father, the hour has come; glorify thy Son that the Son may glorify thee, since thou hast given him power over all flesh, to give eternal life to all whom thou hast given him. And this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I glorified thee on earth, having accomplished the work which thou gavest me to do; and now, Father, glorify thou me in thy own presence with the glory which I had with thee before the world was made.</p> <p>I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world; thine they were, and thou gavest them to me, and they have kept thy word. Now they know that</p>	<p>When Jesus had spoken these words, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, “Father, the hour has come; glorify your Son that the Son may glorify you, since you have given him power over all flesh, to give eternal life to all whom you have given him. And this is eternal life, that they know you the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent. I glorified you on earth, having accomplished the work which you gave me to do; and now, Father, glorify me in your own presence with the glory which I had with you before the world was made.</p> <p>I have manifested your name to the men whom you gave me out of the world; they were yours, and you gave them to me, and they have kept your word. Now they know that</p>

¹¹¹⁶ Ibid., 245–247. The spelling has been modernised and quotation marks added.

<p>known that all things whatsoever thou hast given me, are of thee. For I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me, and have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou didst send me. I pray for them, I pray not for the world: but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine. And all mine are thine, and thine are mine: and I am glorified in them. And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep through thine own Name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy Name: those that thou gavest me, I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition: that the Scripture might be fulfilled. And now come I to thee, and these things I speak in the world, that they might have my joy fulfilled in themselves. I have given them thy word, and the world hath hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth. As thou hast sent me into the world: even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth.</p> <p>Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: That they may all be one, as thou Father art in me,</p>	<p>everything that thou hast given me is from thee; for I have given them the words which thou gavest me, and they have received them and know in truth that I came from thee; and they have believed that thou didst send me. I am praying for them; I am not praying for the world but for those whom thou hast given me, for they are thine; all mine are thine, and thine are mine, and I am glorified in them. And now I am no more in the world, but they are in the world, and I am coming to thee. Holy Father, keep them in thy name, which thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are one. While I was with them, I kept them in thy name, which thou hast given me; I have guarded them, and none of them is lost but the son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled. But now I am coming to thee; and these things I speak in the world, that they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves. I have given them thy word; and the world has hated them because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I do not pray that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil one. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth. As thou didst send me into the world, so I have sent them into the world. And for their sake I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth.</p> <p>I do not pray for these only, but also for those who believe in me through their word, that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in</p>	<p>everything that you have given me is from you; for I have given them the words which you gave me, and they have received them and know in truth that I came from you; and they have believed that you sent me. I am praying for them; I am not praying for the world but for those whom you have given me, for they are yours; all mine are yours, and yours are mine, and I am glorified in them. And now I am no more in the world, but they are in the world, and I am coming to you. Holy Father, keep them in your name, which you have given me, that they may be one, even as we are one. While I was with them, I kept them in your name, which you have given me; I have guarded them, and none of them is lost but the son of perdition, that the Scripture might be fulfilled. But now I am coming to you; and these things I speak in the world, that they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves. I have given them your word; and the world has hated them because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world, I do not pray that you should take them out of the world, but that you should keep them from the evil one. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them in the truth; your word is truth. As you sent me into the world, so I have sent them into the world. And for their sake I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth.</p> <p>I do not pray for these only, but also for those who believe in me through their word, that they may all be one; even as you, Father, are in me, and I in</p>
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<p>and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world might believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them: that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou had loved me. Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me: for thou lovest me before the foundation of the world. O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee, but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me. And I have declared unto them thy Name, and will declare it: that the love wherewith thou hast loved me, may be in them, and I in them.”</p>	<p>thee, that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. The glory which thou hast given me I have given to them, that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me, that they may become perfectly one, so that the world may know that thou hast sent me and loved them even as thou hast loved me. Father, I desire that they also, whom thou hast given me, may be with me where I am, to behold my glory which thou hast given me in thy love for me before the foundation of the world. O righteous Father, the world has not known thee, but I have known thee; and these know that thou hast sent me. I made known to them thy name, and I will make it known, that the love with which thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.”</p>	<p>you, that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that you have sent me. The glory which you have given me I have given to them, that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and you in me, that they may become perfectly one, so that the world may know that you have sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me. Father, I desire that they also, whom you have given me, may be with me where I am, to behold my glory which you have given me in your love for me before the foundation of the world. O righteous Father, the world has not known you, but I have known you; and these know that you have sent me. I made known to them your name, and I will make it known, that the love with which you have loved me may be in them, and I in them.”</p>
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3.6.4.6 Musical Texts

The General Instruction of the Roman Missal, which constitutes a part of the fore-matter of *Divine Worship: The Missal*, notes the “importance of singing”.¹¹¹⁷ Likewise, as noted above,¹¹¹⁸ the English musical tradition constitutes a most important element of the Anglican patrimony, and one of the most recognisable. Ordinariate faithful originating from a High-Church or Anglo-Catholic background, would be accustomed to a Sung Mass on Sundays. *Divine Worship* itself provides musical settings for a number of texts within its pages. These texts are now listed as follows:

¹¹¹⁷ *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 26 (nos. 39–41).

¹¹¹⁸ See Sections 2.1.2.6 and 2.1.2.7.

Text	Location in <i>Divine Worship: The Missal</i>
Blessing of the Palms on Palm Sunday	315–316
The Solemn Prayers on Good Friday	359–375
“Behold the Wood of the Cross” on Good Friday	376–377
“May the light of Christ in glory” on Holy Saturday	393
“The Light of Christ” on Holy Saturday	394
The <i>Exsultet</i> on Holy Saturday	395–403
Alleluia for Ps 118 on Holy Saturday	409
Litany of the Saints on Holy Saturday	411–415
The Blessing of Water on Holy Saturday	415–422
The Easter Dismissal	428
Sign of the Cross	560
Sursum Corda	575
Proper Prefaces	576–635
“The Mystery of Faith” and responses (Roman Canon)	641
Doxology (Roman Canon)	643
“The Mystery of Faith” and responses (Alternative EP)	646–647
Doxology (Alternative EP)	648
<i>Pater Noster</i> with introduction and doxology	649–650
The Peace	651
“Christ our Passover is sacrificed”	651
Final Blessing and Dismissal	656–658
Alternative tones for Mass	1073–1074

There are many texts that are typically sung where music is not provided. Foremost of these are the Mass Parts. Merbecke’s Mass setting is the most common and well known. Of course, there are many other Mass settings available. Theoretically, any setting that is suitable for

the Prayer Book can be used within the Ordinariates. The minor propers, in an Anglican context originating from the Anglo-Catholic altar missals, were and are sung to the Gregorian tones. Whilst there are of course a wide range of tones available, a common experience in many Anglo-Catholic parishes was to use a simple subset of tones, commonly using the same tones every Sunday. In many Anglican parishes, and even in Ordinariate parishes, *The Anglican Use Gradual*¹¹¹⁹ served as the primary resource for these tones, indeed itself becoming a source utilised by *Anglicanae Traditiones*.¹¹²⁰ However, whilst serving as a useful reference, there are differences in the texts of *The Anglican Use Gradual* and *Divine Worship: The Missal*. This necessitated either a revision of *The Anglican Use Gradual*, or another resource to meet the needs of Ordinariate parishes. This need was met by the creation of *The Saint Peter Gradual*,¹¹²¹ a much-simplified production as compared to *The Anglican Use Gradual*, which acknowledges the reality that most Ordinariate parishes do not have choirs and have need of music that can be learned and sung by the congregation. As such, the same tones are utilised from Sunday to Sunday, with *The Saint Peter Gradual* providing minor propers for all the Sundays and major feast-days of the year. *The Saint Peter Gradual* was published by the Personal Ordinariate of the Chair of Saint Peter, and as such may be regarded as an official liturgical publication complementing *Divine Worship*.

3.6.4.7 Hymnody

There are a large number of hymn texts interspersed throughout the various *Divine Worship* books, although there is, as yet, no Ordinariate “hymn-book” as such. There are of course a large number of resources available electronically that in some senses perhaps render the idea of a physical hymn book redundant. Any hymn book will always be noted for what was not included that should have been, and for what was included that should not have been. In the twentieth century, Christians of varying denominations became accustomed to the pejorative “four-hymn-sandwich”. Thus, their musical experience came to be defined by the selection of the hymns. It is to be hoped that in the Ordinariates a sufficient broad array of liturgy is provided such that the treasures of English hymnody can indeed be valued and preserved within the Ordinariates, whilst also finding a rightful place for the singing of the propers.

¹¹¹⁹ C. David BURT (ed.) *The Anglican Use Gradual*, Mansfield/MA 2006.

¹¹²⁰ See point 2 of the Ratio of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group on page 188 above.

¹¹²¹ Carl L. REID (ed.) *The Saint Peter Gradual. The Chants of the Mass for Sundays, Solemnities and Feasts as found in Divine Worship: The Missal*, Pine Beach/NJ 2018.

Liturgical fundamentalists will often argue for a “one or the other” approach, but certainly never both. That is, that one is either faithful to the minor propers, or one has the “four-hymn-sandwich”. This really would seem to be a false dichotomy that need not be the case. There is certainly sufficient rubrical flexibility within *Divine Worship* to allow for the use of the sung propers and a broad range of patrimonial hymns. The English hymn tradition can be further utilised within the Ordinariates by their rightful use in other liturgies, such as within the Office.

As noted above, the Anglo-Catholic tradition played an especially important role in the development of hymnody not only in the Church of England, but the broader church. Many of these hymns were translations of Latin hymns. Whilst today English equivalents of these hymns are commonly found in the Catholic Church, even the Anglican translations themselves have become patrimonial. This can be demonstrated, for example, by examining the translation of the *Tantum Ergo* as used at Benediction:

Edward Caswall	J M Neale
<p>Down in adoration falling this great sacrament we hail; ancient types have long departed newer rites of grace prevail faith for all defects supplying where the feeble senses fail</p> <p>Glory let us give and blessing to the Father and the Son, honour might and praise addressing while eternal ages run; and the Spirit, too confessing, who proceeds from both as One.</p>	<p>Therefore we, before him bending, This great sacrament revere: Types and shadows have their ending For the newer rite is here; Faith our outward sense befriending, Makes the inward vision clear.</p> <p>Glory let us give and blessing To the Father and the Son, Honour, might and praise addressing, While eternal ages run; Every too his love confessing, Who, from both, with both is one.</p>

Caswall’s translation is commonly found in Catholic parishes. Interestingly enough, Caswall was an Anglican before his conversion, and responsible for many great hymns of the English tradition. In Anglo-Catholic circles, Neale’s translation would be used. One cannot wonder if this might only be because it is by Neale. Nonetheless, the point here is that over time a particular translation can come to be regarded as patrimonial, if not almost canonical.

3.6.4.8 Homily

At first glance, one may wonder how a homily can be a manifestation of the Anglican patrimony. After all, it isn’t normal to preach a homily in Prayer Book English. Nonetheless, there is a distinctiveness to the preaching style of priests within the Ordinariates, and as such the homily is an element of the linguistic experience of *Divine Worship*. Ordinariate priests

are inspired by the great preachers of the Oxford Movement such as Newman, Pusey and Keble, and their later successors such as Father Stanton of St Alban's, Holborn. Being inspired by these preachers does not mean to attempt to duplicate their preaching style. Every preacher is different, and it would be catastrophic to attempt to copy someone else. However, there are certain elements that can be identified as being proper to the style of preaching within the Ordinariates.

Firstly is a tendency to pithiness, in the sense of being polished and expressive. A homily in an Ordinariate parish is likely to seek expressive and resonant means to make a point to the congregation. Jokes and silly anecdotes are shunned. This does not mean that Ordinariate priests are humourless or dour, but that they will seek the substantive in the devices that they will utilise in their preaching.

In addition to being pithy, homilies in the Ordinariates will tend to “meatiness” – one will not leave feeling hungry or as if nothing substantial has been said. They will also be grounded in the teaching of the Catholic Church. The Ordinariate homily is not seen as a moment for activism, or for the priest to attempt to convert more souls over to his private opinions on the latest matters of politics, or perhaps to vent about how annoyed the Archbishop makes him. Whilst it is almost impossible for the preacher to resonate with all of the people all of the time, the homily within the Ordinariate will seek to resonate with all of the people at least some of the time, nurturing them in the faith both spiritually and intellectually.

3.6.4.9 *Prayer Books*

In terms of formal liturgies, *Divine Worship: Daily Office* provides a magnificent resource for both public and private prayer. However, prior to the publication of *Divine Worship: Daily Office*, and indeed in anticipation of its publication, the need was recognised for a people's prayer book of a similar style to the traditional Anglo-Catholic prayer books. The project to create what would become *St. Gregory's Prayer Book*¹¹²² began in December 2016, at the initiative of the Anglicanorum Coetibus Society (ACS), of which this author was a board member and director. The three Ordinaries were approached to gauge their interest, and it was determined that there was indeed a need for such a book, and that the project would be a joint project of the ACS and all three Ordinariates. The work would be conducted by an editorial board. The members of the editorial board were Clint Brand

¹¹²² Clinton Allen BRAND (ed.), *St. Gregory's Prayer Book. A Primer of Catholic Devotions from the English Patrimony*, San Francisco 2019.

(chair), Andrew Burnham, Stephen Hill and Shane Schaetzel. The first task of the editorial board was to determine a loose working *ratio* for in principle approval by the Ordinariates and the ACS executive. From the beginning, the project was always referred to as a “Book of Devotions”, because of two foundational principles that would underpin the entire work of the editorial board. The first of these was that the book was not to be a liturgical book, or to in some way supplant *Divine Worship*, especially noting at the time the broad need for a Daily Office, but recognising that in all likelihood one would be published as a part of *Divine Worship*. The second principle was that *all* of the content was to be suitable for the use of the laity. That is, it was truly to be a *people’s* prayer book. There is nothing whatsoever in *St. Gregory’s Prayer Book* that is for the use of the priest only. Hence the phrase “Book of Devotion”.¹¹²³ The intention was to truly avoid the inclusion of superfluous material. As things have since transpired, it is apparent that this was a wise and correct decision, as other publications have become available to meet this need. For example, consideration was given as to whether the full Psalter should be included, or a sub-set based, perhaps, around the Penitential Psalms. As *Divine Worship: Daily Office* includes the full Psalter, it is now quite plain that it would have been erroneous to do so in a purported “Book of Devotion” that does not seek to reproduce liturgical texts that are available elsewhere.

It was determined early in the editorial process that Prayer Book English would be used. This author was asked to provide a few small original compositions, in Prayer Book English, for the *St. Gregory’s Prayer Book*, and these can be found on pages 372–373. The *St. Gregory’s Prayer Book* was published in 2019 by Ignatius Press, has sold well, and received overwhelmingly positive reviews. It has, admittedly in the opinion of a member of the editorial board, achieved its goal of being a Catholic Prayer Book of the twenty-first century that captures the best features of the old Anglo-Catholic Prayer Books of a hundred or so years ago. It is certainly to be hoped that the *St. Gregory’s Prayer Book* will not be the last such prayer book produced within the Ordinariates.

3.6.4.10 Other Texts

There are of course, many other texts where the Anglican patrimony is to be experienced, all of which cannot be named, however a few will be mentioned here. Many of these are devotional texts. The Stations of the Cross were commonly included in the old Anglo-

¹¹²³ It is rather ironic that the book in the end included the phrase “Prayer Book” as part of its title.

Catholic devotional books. The *St. Gregory's Prayer Book* provides two patrimonial forms.¹¹²⁴

In many parishes, it is customary to pray the *Angelus* after the main Mass on a Sunday. Again, this has its own patrimonial translation, acknowledging the principle of respecting received texts. In some places this is sung to Anglican Chant.

Of course, the Rosary is a very important Catholic devotion, and was important to the Anglo-Catholics also. It is one of the few remaining instances where sacral English is broadly used within the English-speaking Catholic Church.

One final example is Evensong and Benediction. This liturgy differs substantially in terms of its mode of celebration. The typically Catholic way of celebrating Evening Prayer and Benediction is that the two liturgies are combined. The monstrance is exposed at the beginning of Vespers. Then, Vespers is prayed before the Blessed Sacrament, there is then an extended period of adoration, followed by Benediction. In the English tradition of Evensong and Benediction, the two liturgies maintain their integrity, with Evensong being celebrated first. Then, there may be an Anthem, Sermon, and Hymn after the Sermon, after which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, and then Benediction takes place. Whilst Benediction is, in terms of its content and structure essentially identical to its Roman celebration, there are, as noted earlier, differences in translations, and a worshipper would notice differences in style as to *how* Benediction is celebrated.

3.6.5 *Re-embracing the Familiar*

Many of the phrases of Anglicanism, either in the classical Prayer Book or Anglo-Catholic traditions, have themselves become indicative of the Anglican patrimony. Some of them have become so ingrained into the very idea of the moments of life that they transcend the visible confines of church life and have become broader expressions of culture. Even today, people who know perhaps not even the basic facts of Christianity nonetheless due to the influence of television and broader culture have a notion of a wedding as involving the bridal party processing down a long isle, flowers, stained glass windows, Richard Wagner's *Wedding March* (Here Comes the Bride) and the words "for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health to love and to cherish, till death do us part."¹¹²⁵ As noted

¹¹²⁴ BRAND, *St. Gregory's Prayer Book*, 274–296.

¹¹²⁵ To give one example of the resonance of these words in broader culture, in 1996 a gunman murdered 32 people at Port Arthur, Tasmania, Australia. One survivor, Walter Mikac, lost his wife and two daughters. Mr Mikac wrote a book about the life of his family, entitling it "To Have and to Hold".

earlier,¹¹²⁶ this general form predates the Reformation, but it is certainly in its Prayer Book expression that these words have been imbued into the English-speaking conscience. Likewise, again influenced by television and movies, people just expect that at a funeral the words “dust to dust” will be heard as the coffin is lowered into the grave.

Turning now to the marriage rite, the traditional formula of consent also remains one of the possible options in the ritual approved subsequent to the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. A comparison of this form will now be made:

Book of Common Prayer (1662)¹¹²⁷	Divine Worship: Occasional Services¹¹²⁸	The Order of Celebrating Matrimony¹¹²⁹
<p>I <i>N.</i> take thee <i>N.</i> to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to Gods holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my troth.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>I <i>N.</i> take thee <i>N.</i> to be my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death do us part, according to Gods holy ordinance; and thereto I give thee my troth.</p> <p>With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow: In the Name of the Father; and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.</p>	<p>I N. (N.), take thee, N. (N.), to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse: for richer, for poorer; in sickness and in health; to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God’s holy law’ and thereto I plight thee my troth.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>I N. (N.), take thee, N. (N.), to be my wedded husband, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse: for richer, for poorer; in sickness and in health; to love, cherish, and to obey, till death do us part, according to God’s holy law; and thereto I give thee my troth.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>With this ring I thee wed; with my body I thee worship; and all my worldly goods with thee I share: In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.</p>	<p>I N., take you, N. for my lawful wife. to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, until death do us part.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>I N., take you, N., for my lawful husband. to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, until death do us part.</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>N., receive this ring as a sign of my love and fidelity. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.</p>

¹¹²⁶ See page 19 above. For further on the Prayer Book marriage rite traditions, see STEVENSON, Nuptial Blessing, 134–152.

¹¹²⁷ CUMMINGS, Texts, 436.

¹¹²⁸ Divine Worship: Occasional Services, 76 f.

¹¹²⁹ The Roman Ritual. Renewed by Decree of the Most Holy Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, Promulgated by the Authority of Pope Paul VI. The Order of Celebrating Matrimony. English Translation According to the Second Typical Edition, Sydney 2015, 20 f., 23.

As can be seen, although the Roman Ritual shares the same general form of the Prayer Book (and the earlier, pre-Reformation forms) it is in comparison somewhat emaciated. The formula of *Divine Worship* is not only almost identical to the Prayer Book, but it is positioned within a liturgy that is immediately recognisable as being distinctly Prayer Book English and a liturgy after the style of the Prayer Book. While the phrase “with this ring...” may not be quite as well known as the vows themselves, nonetheless it remains a broadly known and expressive phrase that is immediately associated with marriage.¹¹³⁰ Thus the familiarity of the marriage vows are not only re-embraced in their fullness, but are situated within a liturgy that is consistent and faithful to the origins of those vows in their English expression both linguistically and culturally.

Turning now to funerals, the words of the Rite of Committal have likewise imbued themselves into popular culture. In hearing the words “ashes to ashes, dust to dust” those who stand around the dead person know that the parting of ways has now definitively come.

¹¹³⁰ That is, if one was to say “with this ring I thee wed” people would know immediately what is being referred to, whereas if one said “receive this ring as a sign of my love and fidelity” that is not the case. As a small demonstrative experiment, the phrases “with this ring” and “receive this ring” were entered into Google to see what Google autocomplete would suggest. The first suggestion for “with this ring” was for a movie entitled “With this Ring”, unsurprisingly about a wedding. The second suggestion was “with this ring I thee wed”. For “receive this ring” the first three suggestions related to ringtones for telephones, and there were no suggestions at all related to marriage.

Book of Common Prayer (1662) ¹¹³¹	Divine Worship: Occasional Services ¹¹³²	Order of Christian Funerals ¹¹³³
<p>Forasmuch as it hath pleased almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear <i>brother</i> here departed, we therefore commit <i>his</i> body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.</p>	<p>Forasmuch as it hath pleased almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother (sister) here departed, we therefore commit his (her) body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change the body of our low estate that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.</p>	<p>A Because God has chosen to call our brother/sister N. from this life to himself, we commit his/her body to the earth [...], for we are dust and unto dust we shall return. But the Lord Jesus Christ will change our mortal bodies to be like his in glory, for he is risen, the firstborn from the dead. So let us commend our brother/sister to the Lord, that the Lord may embrace him/her in peace and raise up his/her body on the last day.</p> <p>B In sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ, we commend to almighty God our brother/sister N., and we commit his/her body to [the ground [...]]: earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust. The Lord bless him/her and keep him/her, the Lord make his face to shine upon him/her and be gracious to him/her, the Lord lift up his countenance upon him/her and give him/her peace.</p>

As can be seen by comparison, the Order of Christian Funerals from the Roman Ritual provides two options, which contains elements of the traditional formula, yet there is no option that contains all of the elements, so essentially the celebrant must determine what is to be omitted from the formula in choosing *ad libitum* which option he will use. The form found in *Divine Worship* is almost identical to the Prayer Book form, with the intended meaning of “vile” as in “lowly” or “low estate” having now been lost in common usage.

¹¹³¹ CUMMINGS, Texts, 455.

¹¹³² Divine Worship: Occasional Services, 131.

¹¹³³ The Roman Ritual. Revised by Decree of the Second Ecumenical Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI. Order of Christian Funerals. Approved for use in Australia by the Australian Conference of Catholic Bishops and Confirmed by the Congregation for Divine Worship. Approved for use in New Zealand by the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, Sydney 1989 , 115 f.

Thus in the funeral ritual of *Divine Worship*, we see not only a restoration and re-embracing of the traditional committal formula in its full integrity, but its situation within a liturgy that is clearly a liturgy of the Prayer Book tradition.

While these familiar and resonant words of the marriage and funeral rites may be the best known in broader culture, they are by no means the only ones that are familiar. *Divine Worship* reflects a re-embracing of various other familiar texts from the Anglican patrimony, which are now given a worthy abode in the fulness of Catholic communion. The Collect for Purity,¹¹³⁴ originating from the Sarum Use, is now reinculturated into the Roman Rite. Likewise, the words “Ye that do truly and earnestly repent” now have a place within *Divine Worship* as the introduction for the Penitential Rite.¹¹³⁵ For those originating from an English/Anglican missal background, the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar are provided as the Preparation.¹¹³⁶ Regardless as to which form is used, Cranmer’s Prayer of Humble Access is recited by all communicants immediately prior to the Communion.¹¹³⁷ Once again this prayer is one of the most distinctive and resonant prayers of Cranmer’s Communion Service. The classical offertory prayers are provided as one of two options. Although these prayers are prayed *soto voce*, and as such not heard by the congregation, they nonetheless constitute a part of the experience of *Divine Worship*, and for those from the Anglo-Catholic tradition, a re-embracing of that which is familiar. Likewise, the Roman Canon itself, whilst never approved for use in the Anglican Church, is the re-embracing of what is familiar for those of the Anglo-Catholic tradition. It is for this reason that the text of the Roman Canon within *Divine Worship* is received as an English text, rather than being a new translation of the Latin text. Recitation of the Last Gospel in its *Authorised Version* form would also be familiar to many of the Anglo-Catholic tradition. In *Divine Worship*, the Last Gospel may be proclaimed after the dismissal.¹¹³⁸ Amongst the more infamous of Cranmer’s compositions is the Litany. The Litany is provided in *Divine Worship* for use in procession or before Mass,¹¹³⁹ of course without the phrase “from the tyrannye of the bishoppe of Rome and all his detestable enormities”.¹¹⁴⁰

¹¹³⁴ Cf. *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 560.

¹¹³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 566.

¹¹³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 1040–1043.

¹¹³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 653.

¹¹³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 1058 f.

¹¹³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 1061–1068.

¹¹⁴⁰ BRIGHTMAN, *English Rite*, vol. 1, 176.

Divine Worship also includes a number of other familiar texts. Two forms of the familiar Prayer for the Church are provided amongst the Intercessions.¹¹⁴¹ After the Collect for Purity, the priest may recite the Summary of the Law.¹¹⁴² Alternatively, he may replace the Summary of the Law and the Kyrie with the Decalogue.¹¹⁴³ After the Prayers of the People, and the Penitential Rite if the Prayers of Preparation are not used, are provided the Comfortable Words and the Sentences,¹¹⁴⁴ of which the priest may rehearse one or more of. Also included within *Divine Worship*, is “Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us” at the fraction,¹¹⁴⁵ and the post-communion prayer, “Almighty and everliving God”¹¹⁴⁶.

Finally, it must be noted that the Mass parts reflect, almost identically, those of the Prayer Book. In terms of familiarity this is most important, as this is not only a re-embracing of the familiar, but in retaining these texts, every Mass setting that has been written for the Prayer Book can now be used in the Catholic Mass according to the expression of the Roman Rite that is *Divine Worship*.

3.7 The Language of Divine Worship and the Vision for a Sacred Vernacular

Consideration will now be given to the sacral language of *Divine Worship* with respect to what might be described as the broader vision regarding sacred language. Firstly, some general observations will be made. Secondly, *Divine Worship* will be examined with respect to the principles identified in Section 2.3.1 above. Thirdly, *Divine Worship* will be considered with respect to *Liturgiam Authenticam*.

Joseph Ratzinger recalled the vital principle that Liturgy must be God centred. “For the Liturgy is not about us, but about God. Forgetting about God is the most imminent danger of our age.”¹¹⁴⁷ Ratzinger continued: “In any and every liturgical reform, and every liturgical celebration, the primacy of God should be kept in view first and foremost.”¹¹⁴⁸ The language of *Divine Worship* is an example of a liturgical reform that heeds the father of the Ordinariates’ warning. Its deliberate choice of language draws he who participates in the

¹¹⁴¹ Cf. *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 1048–1050.

¹¹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, 561.

¹¹⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, 561, 1046 f.

¹¹⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 567–569.

¹¹⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 651.

¹¹⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 655.

¹¹⁴⁷ RATZINGER, Preface, in: REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 13.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

liturgy of *Divine Worship* away from the language of the every-day, and into the language of God. It is the opposite of mundane.

The liturgical celebrations of *Divine Worship* are clearly both vertical and horizontal. They are vertical in the sense that it is immediately clear that they are God centred and God orientated. This is not only in terms of language, but in terms of the entire liturgical celebration – the common orientation of priest and people, the reverence of celebration, the careful selection of sacred music – these things come together to clearly manifest a celebration that is orientated towards God and lifting the hearts, minds and souls of those who participate to God.

Yet, the celebration is also clearly horizontal, expressing and making present *communio*. The language of *Divine Worship*, whilst clearly and immediately identifiable as a sacred language, is also vernacular. It must be remembered that it was Thomas Cranmer who essentially invented the dialogue Mass in English in 1549. Thus, *Divine Worship* continues this long tradition of the Mass, not just in English, but in Prayer Book English. Likewise, many of the elements that established the liturgy in the vertical sense also establish it in the horizontal sense. The common orientation of people and priest presents a single unifying liturgical action that unites priest and people in their offering to God. Likewise, the long tradition of congregational singing again unites the people as one.

Much of the discussion on the question of the reform of the liturgy since at the latest the beginning of the Liturgical Movement has been with respect to how to better involve the people in the liturgical celebration. In many instances, attempts to answer this question have been people focussed. It could well be argued that *Divine Worship* achieves this desire by firstly heeding Ratzinger's warning. If the people are truly to be the People of God, then surely this can only be enacted by the liturgy firstly being God-centric. A God-centric liturgy will draw the people into divine realities, resulting in a human-divine dialogue.

In Section 2.3.1 above, *What Should a Sacral Vernacular Be?*, nine principles were established regarding sacral vernacular. For convenience, these are reproduced here.

Sacral vernacular:

1. Is an identifiable category or register of vernacular
2. Encompasses both the communicative and expressive dimensions of language
3. Is distinguished from common speech and avoids colloquialisms
4. Is highly stylised
5. Is intelligible
6. Is stable and resistant to change, changing much more slowly than the common vernacular
7. Uses archaic linguistic forms
8. Uses formulaic diction
9. Uses specialised vocabulary

Divine Worship will now be examined with respect to each of these principles.

1. Is an identifiable category or register of vernacular

Divine Worship is clearly an expression of sacral vernacular, utilising its own sub-category of sacral vernacular, which is best described as Prayer Book English.

2. Encompasses both the communicative and expressive dimensions of language

It is clear that *Divine Worship* encompasses both of these dimensions. It is communicative in that it conveys information that can be comprehended by the human intellect. However, there is clearly more than this. In utilising the hieratic style of Prayer Book English, *Divine Worship* is highly expressive in its use of language.

3. Is distinguished from common speech and avoids colloquialisms

Divine Worship is not easily confused with common speech. While its use of archaisms may be the most immediately obvious difference from common speech, there are clearly many other differences. Colloquialisms are certainly not to be easily found in *Divine Worship*. If this were to be the case, it is more likely due to the meaning of words changing. That is, a word taking on a colloquial meaning which it previously did not possess. *Divine Worship* clearly manifests the English sacral idiom of prayer as characterised by diction, phrasing, syntax, and sentence structure.

4. Is highly stylised

It is clear that the language of *Divine Worship* is indeed highly stylised.

5. Is intelligible

Further consideration will be given to this in Part 4, as the question could be raised, intelligible to *whom*? Specialised vocabulary and archaic word forms can, theoretically, present obstacles to intelligibility. However, these can be learned in the same way that any other word is learned. It could be argued that the sentence structures of *Divine Worship*, unencumbered by clumsy and un-natural Latinate sentence structures, are more easily intelligible than the *Novus Ordo* as revised in 2010.

6. Is stable and resistant to change, changing much more slowly than the common vernacular

It can certainly be argued that this is the case with *Divine Worship*, with much of its content dating to 1549. As noted earlier, the English translation of the Roman Canon pre-dates that of the Catholic Church by a significant amount of time. Future changes can be expected where the meaning of words changes, which can result in a particular word becoming generally problematic, or contextually problematic.

7. Uses archaic linguistic forms

Divine Worship certainly makes use of archaic linguistic forms.

8. Uses formulaic diction

The use of memorable formulaic phrases are indeed a notable and loved aspect of the language of *Divine Worship*.

9. Uses specialised vocabulary

It is quite clear that *Divine Worship* makes extensive use of specialised vocabulary, or *Sondersprache*.

Therefore, having now examined *Divine Worship* with respect to these nine principles, it can be stated that *Divine Worship* does indeed strongly possess all nine qualities pertaining to sacral vernacular.

Turning now to *Liturgiam Authenticam*, the Second Vatican Council acknowledged that use of vernacular in the liturgy could indeed be “of great advantage to the people”.¹¹⁴⁹ This famous statement, coupled together with *Liturgiam Authenticam*, can be seen as enunciating a vision for sacral vernacular within the Catholic Church. *Liturgiam Authenticam* formally establishes the principles for the translation of the Latin texts of the Roman Rite into the various vernacular languages. *Divine Worship* can be examined with respect to these, with one very important caveat. *Divine Worship* is not a translation. There is no Latin *editio typica*. The English text *is* the *editio typica*! *Divine Worship* is constituted of received texts – texts which were received *in English*. As *Divine Worship* is not a translation, any attempt to apply *Liturgiam Authenticam* to *Divine Worship* can be done only in terms of the broader vision presented for sacral vernacular. The stipulations of LA with respect to translation do not apply to *Divine Worship* because, to repeat, it is not a translation.

This reality should hopefully be freeing and allow a constructive examination of *Divine Worship* with respect to *Liturgiam Authenticam* without being burdened by the minutiae of

¹¹⁴⁹ SC 36. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 284.

liturgical translation. It is freeing in the sense that most of the arguments (at least in the Anglophone world) with respect to *Liturgiam Authenticam* have been to do with its requirements for translation, and the resulting 2010 English translation of the Roman Missal. Those arguments are not necessary or relevant here.

What is relevant to the discussion here is how *Divine Worship* meets (or otherwise) the stated vision of *Liturgiam Authenticam* for a liturgical vernacular that is “a sacred style that will come to be recognized as proper to liturgical language.”¹¹⁵⁰ A central platform of this dissertation is the contention that Prayer Book English is itself a particular sacred style that is proper to liturgical language. Previous sections have examined the tremendous impact that Prayer Book English has made not just on the English language, but even on the language of the English-speaking Church. *Divine Worship* formally brings this pre-existing liturgical dialect into the liturgy of the Catholic Church.

Brand sees the linguistic registers of both *Divine Worship* and the 2010 Roman Missal as resulting from a convergence – “a convergence of concerns with shared roots in Vatican II, its Decree on Ecumenism, and its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.”¹¹⁵¹ Brand continues, stating “the liturgical results of this convergence are best grasped with reference to principles of ‘organic development’”.¹¹⁵² Brand qualifies this statement with a quotation from Reid, which is reproduced here verbatim:

Organic development holds openness to growth (prompted by pastoral needs) and continuity with Tradition in due proportion. It listens to scholarly desiderata and considers anew the values of practices lost in the passage of time, drawing upon them to improve liturgical Tradition gradually, only if and when this is truly necessary. Ecclesiastical authority supervises this growth, at times making prudential judgments about what is appropriate in the light of the needs of different ages, but always taking care that liturgical Tradition is never impoverished and that what is handed on is truly that precious heritage received from our fathers, perhaps judiciously pruned and carefully augmented (but not wholly reconstructed), according to the circumstances of the Church in each age, ensuring continuity of belief and practice.¹¹⁵³

In this sense, *Divine Worship* is clearly a response to a pastoral need.

When Prayer Book English is considered as a liturgical dialect in itself, it is contended here that the following statement of Brand is to be accepted as given:

in the sacral language of the traditional Books of Common Prayer, we find a ready-made, time-tested, carefully honed dialect of worship that, *mutatis mutandis*, with only a few adjustments,

¹¹⁵⁰ LA 27. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 535.

¹¹⁵¹ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 136.

¹¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 137.

¹¹⁵³ REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 308.

admirably answers to the promise of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and the requirements of *Liturgiam Authenticam*.¹¹⁵⁴

This indeed was, in part, the work of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group, along with the other editors of *Divine Worship* – to receive various texts, making the necessary “few adjustments” and bringing them into the life of the Church as a new expression of the Roman Rite. Therefore, the liturgy of the Ordinariates can and must be seen not as some sort of rupture or a competitor, but as very much a fruit of the Second Vatican Council and as an embodiment of the desires stated by and since that Council.¹¹⁵⁵ Thus, understanding the motivations that resulted in *Divine Worship*, and seeing *Liturgiam Authenticam* in terms of its broader goals for the use of the vernacular in the Roman liturgy, it is indeed possible to strongly affirm that *Divine Worship* meets this goal and vision.

¹¹⁵⁴ BRAND, *Very Members Incorporate*, 136.

¹¹⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

4 Pastoral Implications

The previous two parts of this dissertation have been primarily concerned with aspects of language. Part 2 examined the historical development of sacral English vernacular, whereas Part 3 considered the language of *Divine Worship*. These two parts together, therefore, address the “Language of *Divine Worship*” portion of the title of this dissertation. Part 4 will address the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship*. This study is necessitated by the very nature of the liturgy itself, in that the liturgy is the work of the people. Any expression of the liturgy cannot be considered and studied as an inanimate object, or as a performance in the way that one might study, for example, Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*.

As such, Part 4 will begin by establishing what is meant by the term “pastoral implications” for the purposes of this study. The study itself will be conducted by means of a survey completed primarily by those who participate in *Divine Worship*. The purpose of this study is not related to matters of taste or personal preference, even though these are important and no doubt will be mentioned in the responses to the survey. At first glance, it might seem that this survey asks people who attend Ordinariate parishes whether they like attending Ordinariate parishes. This is the reason why it is noted that the purpose of the survey is not *primarily* to obtain data on matters of taste and preference. The concern of the survey and this dissertation is pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship*. Therefore, the target respondent group must by definition be people who worship within the Ordinariate, or who at the very least have some sort of connection to the language of *Divine Worship*.

4.1 What is Meant by Pastoral?

The meaning of the term “pastoral” is at face value not only exceedingly broad but also multidisciplinary. As such, this question must be qualified in terms of what is meant by pastoral *here*. The consideration of this fourth part of this dissertation is the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship*. Thus, a clear context is established that must guide this consideration of the meaning of pastoral, which must be seen in terms of the Ordinariates, the reason for their creation, and *Divine Worship* itself. Prior to commencing a focussed examination, however, the broader sense of the term “pastoral” must be clear. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “pastoral” as: “A person or thing associated with spiritual care.”¹¹⁵⁶ In this case, the “thing” is the language of *Divine Worship*, and its

¹¹⁵⁶ Pastoral n. and adj., in: *Oxford English Dictionary* (December 2002).

immediate context is the Ordinariates and the reason for their creation. This examination falls within the discipline of Pastoral Liturgy because its object of consideration is the approval of a new expression of the Roman Rite in order to meet a pastoral need.

The foundational documents of the Ordinariates reflect that their creation is a pastoral response. The Ordinariates are firstly ordered towards the unity of Christians. Their creation presents a wonderful fulfilment of the hopes presented in the first paragraph of *Unitatis Redintegratio* (1964):

The restoration of unity among all Christians is one of the principal concerns of the Second Vatican Council. Christ the Lord founded one Church and one Church only. However, many Christian communions present themselves to men as the true inheritors of Jesus Christ; all indeed profess to be followers of the Lord but differ in mind and go their different ways, as if Christ Himself were divided. Certainly, such division openly contradicts the will of Christ, scandalizes the world, and damages that most holy cause, the preaching of the Gospel to every creature.¹¹⁵⁷

It is no coincidence that the first paragraph of *Anglicanorum Coetibus* not only echoes these hopes, but enunciates the imperative need to respond enacted by the Roman Pontiff:

In recent times the Holy Spirit has moved groups of Anglicans to petition repeatedly and insistently to be received into full Catholic communion individually as well as corporately. The Apostolic See has responded favourably to such petitions. Indeed, the successor of Peter, mandated by the Lord Jesus to guarantee the unity of the episcopate and to preside over and safeguard the universal communion of all the Churches, could not fail to make available the means necessary to bring this holy desire to realization.¹¹⁵⁸

Thus, the Ordinariates have been created in response to a holy desire for unity. The creation of the Ordinariates, and the liturgy *Divine Worship*, provides spiritual care to the members of the Ordinariates, and is as such by definition a pastoral response. One might contend that a liturgical provision is not necessary for unity. This could be put another way – what is the relationship between unity and the liturgy *Divine Worship*? Why is the creation of a new liturgical expression necessarily a part of a response that is ordered to unity? The answer to this question is found in the consistent definition of the Anglican patrimony that has been used in the context of the Ordinariates. This patrimony is always seen in terms of motivation to unity.¹¹⁵⁹ That is, the Anglican patrimony is not seen in terms of matters of good taste (regardless as to how justified such claims may be), but in terms of elements that compel towards unity. *Anglicanorum Coetibus* describes the “the liturgical books proper to the

¹¹⁵⁷ UR 1; English transl. FLANNERY, 452.

¹¹⁵⁸ AC. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church, 233.

¹¹⁵⁹ For example, “[...]Anglican liturgical patrimony, understood as that which has nourished the Catholic faith throughout the history of the Anglican tradition and prompted aspirations towards ecclesial unity.” *Divine Worship: The Missal. Rubrical Directory*, 120 (no. 3).

Anglican tradition, which have been approved by the Holy See” – which would become known as *Divine Worship* – as “a precious gift nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinariate and as a treasure to be shared.”¹¹⁶⁰ The pastoral qualities of this liturgical provision are made explicit in the Apostolic Constitution. It is “nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinariate”.¹¹⁶¹

Returning now to the term “pastoral” in a more general sense, this term comes from the Latin, which means simply “shepherd”. Of course, in the context of the Church, it never means someone who is literally a shepherd. Jesus, describes himself as the Good Shepherd, again not referring to actual sheep, but to human beings, to souls, whom he has the care of. In his teaching, Jesus also uses the image of a sheepfold, a first century sheep-pen with stone walls and a narrow entrance that meant a shepherd could easily keep safe the sheep that were inside.¹¹⁶² Likewise, in the parable of the lost sheep, Jesus portrays relationship with God in terms of a single lost sheep, which is then sought out and found.¹¹⁶³ Those who are of Jesus are commonly called his “flock”, and indeed it is common for a priest to speak of his “flock”. *Lumen Gentium* (1964)¹¹⁶⁴ made extensive use of this imagery in describing the Church and the role of priests:

The Church is, accordingly, a sheepfold, the sole and necessary gateway to which is Christ. It is also a flock, of which God foretold that he would himself be the shepherd, and whose sheep, although watched over by human shepherds, are nevertheless at all times led and brought to pasture by Christ himself, the Good Shepherd and prince of shepherds, who gave his life for his sheep.¹¹⁶⁵

Priests are to “shepherd the faithful”.¹¹⁶⁶ This means that priests are to take as their model Jesus the Good Shepherd.

Turning now to considerations of Pastoral Liturgy, an understanding of the pastoral sense of the liturgy is commonly to be found in considering liturgical development. Liturgy develops because of the changing needs of the people. If the changing needs of the People of God, continuing their pilgrim journey throughout time, are excluded, then surely the liturgy should *not* change, but be a fixed letter. However, as Domenico Sartore notes, the “continual

¹¹⁶⁰ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 236 f.

¹¹⁶¹ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 237.

¹¹⁶² Cf. John 10:1–17.

¹¹⁶³ Cf. Matthew 18:10–14, Luke 15:3–7.

¹¹⁶⁴ SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, *Constitutio Dogmatico de Ecclesia Lumen Gentium* (21 November 1964), in: AAS 57 (1965) 5–67 (Latin text); English translation in: *Vatican Council II, vol. 1, The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. by Austin FLANNERY, Northpoint/NY 1996, 350–423.

¹¹⁶⁵ LG 6. English transl. FLANNERY, 353.

¹¹⁶⁶ LG 28. English transl. FLANNERY, 384. See also LG 41; DV 10.

evolution of the liturgy, so that it might remain a vital reality, expresses the Church's conviction that the liturgy itself must be pastoral and must be able to adapt to the needs of the people."¹¹⁶⁷

Sartore appeals to Jungmann, who considers in more detail this question as to why the liturgy should develop at all rather than there existing a single, unchanging and perfect liturgy utilised by the entire church until the return of our Lord:

The answer lies in the care of the hierarchy, for the Church as the *plebs sancta* who, led by its pastors and even during its sojourn on this earth, are to offer worthy service to God and so to become sanctified. This care was decisive in the shaping of public worship. It accounts for everything.¹¹⁶⁸

That is, the liturgy developed as an exercise of the pastoral care of the shepherds, the hierarchy.¹¹⁶⁹ Jungmann also points out that the liturgy itself is an actualisation of the coming together of the Church. Church buildings were built as gathering places. They were not built only for the ordained. They were for the people gathered with their pastors.¹¹⁷⁰

Truly pastoral liturgy recognises that those who participate in the liturgy need to be not only spiritually nourished, but to also develop spiritually. This spiritual development can be described in various ways using differing terms, but they all acknowledge the journey aspect of the Christian life. We are not to be left where we are. Following Jesus changes us. One descriptor of this change, whilst rather uninspiring but technically accurate, is formation. The instruction *Inter Oecumenici* (1964) states the objective of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in terms of formation: “[T]he Constitution on the Liturgy has as its objective not simply to change liturgical forms and texts but rather to bring to life the kind of formation of the faithful and ministry of pastors that will have their summit and source in the liturgy”.¹¹⁷¹ That is, the changes to the liturgy are not for the sake of the liturgy, but for the faithful, to aid them in their formation, their development as followers of Jesus Christ.

This acknowledgement of the need for formation to be an intrinsic quality of the liturgy leads to the important distinction of the liturgy being performative but not a performance. A performance is a one-way exchange whereby the passive audience receives the spectacle

¹¹⁶⁷ Domenico SARTORE, Pastoral Liturgy, in: Anscar J. CHUPUNGO (ed.), Handbook for Liturgical Studies, vol. 2, Collegeville/MN 1998, 65–95, here: 66.

¹¹⁶⁸ JUNGSMANN, Joseph A., Pastoral Liturgy, Notre Dame/IN 1962, 369.

¹¹⁶⁹ It must be remembered that in this sense “hierarchy” means “priestly rule or government”. Hierarchy, n., in: Oxford English Dictionary (December 2002). For a discussion on the connection between pastoral care and liturgics, see GERHARDS – KRANEMANN, Introduction to the Study of Liturgy, 49–51.

¹¹⁷⁰ JUNGSMANN, Pastoral Liturgy, 369 f.

¹¹⁷¹ IO 5. English transl.: Liturgy Documents 3, 322. See also SARTORE, Pastoral Liturgy, 73, 78.

created by the actions of the actors. Likewise, the actors and the audience are separated from one another. The actors are on the stage, whereas the audience is in the auditorium. In the liturgy, there is not an auditorium, nor an audience. A magnificent secular operatic performance can move the heart, but it is not pastoral. Hence such that the liturgy may be true to its formative nature, all present are called to be actors, to be actively involved in the work of the liturgy.

Liturgy that is truly pastoral must respect both the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the liturgy. Liturgy that is overly obsessed on the perceived needs of the immediate group or parish, the “we” or “us”, can quickly forget about God, with the group quickly becoming a clique, that does not actually want new members, or certainly not ones who will challenge the *status quo* of personal preferences. When liturgy is seen as personal expression rather than the voice of the entire Church at prayer, it can become all too easy to see the liturgy as something to be planned, to make use of all the latest resources, and show off how creative one can be.¹¹⁷² If the liturgy of the Church is to be no more than a resource to be drawn from to suit an immediate need, then it effectively becomes a “Book of Spells”.

As Reid notes, “Liturgy that is authentically pastoral is liturgy that is authentic to its nature as liturgy: liturgy which is truly that of the Church—that which we receive in her living tradition—and which is celebrated as the Church intends it to be celebrated.”¹¹⁷³ If liturgy is truly to be “Work of the People”, then it must precisely be that, an expression of all of the People of God, not the personal plaything of a few people, but truly the voice of all the people, the whole Church at prayer. Good liturgy expresses communion. Bad liturgy ruptures it. Truly pastoral liturgy should lift its participants out of the here and now, not confirm them in it. A self-absorbed liturgy that is grounded in the personal likes and dislikes of the gathered assembly must surely tend towards the latter. This is equally true for the Ordinariates. Their liturgy cannot be grounded fundamentally in personal preference and taste but must be ordered to genuine spiritual nurturing and growth. Thus, an important distinction is made between pastoral expediency and genuine pastoral response. Pastoral expediency fails to respect the nature of the liturgy as an expression of the entire Church,

¹¹⁷² Cf. Alcuin REID, *Pastoral Liturgy Revisited*, in: Alcuin REID (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, London 2016, 341–363, here: 342.

¹¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 353.

including the church of the past, responding in a very localised¹¹⁷⁴ sense to some perceived need.¹¹⁷⁵

Of course, the horizontal sense is necessary for liturgy to be truly pastoral. If only the vertical sense is considered, then where are the People of God? This is the reason why there is technically no such thing as a “private” liturgy,¹¹⁷⁶ as all liturgy is the liturgy of the Church. Yes, the liturgy is called to be transcendent and ordered to God, for without him the liturgy is no more than an earth-bound ritual action with no supernatural power whatever. However, all of salvation history is ordered to the salvation of souls. The liturgy is the ritualisation of the working out of salvation history in space and time. Thus, it is necessary that the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the liturgy are both kept in their right order.

Pastoral implications can be understood in terms of pastoral assistance, or how the faithful are aided in their *lex vivendi*. This can be described in a variety of terms. Formation, worship, full, conscious and active participation, spiritual growth, pastoring, nourishing the faith – these are all different ways of referring to the same general concept.

4.2 Language and Ideas

The consideration of language is a central aspect of this dissertation. However, in considering the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship*, it is insufficient to consider language as an isolated object of study. Rather, it is necessary to consider the *effect* that the language has upon the hearer of it. Putting it very simply, the hearer’s ear receives what is modulated sound pressure waves, which are converted into electrical impulses and are then processed by the brain.¹¹⁷⁷ The result of this processing is an *impression* upon the consciousness that has meaning. All sounds, regardless as to whether linguistic or not, have the capacity¹¹⁷⁸ to make an impression upon the consciousness. A loud crash – “What was that?”, that results in looking to see what has fallen down, or an unknown unexpected sound piques the curiosity. Both the mechanics and the philosophy of this process are beyond

¹¹⁷⁴ Localised here does not mean only in terms of geography.

¹¹⁷⁵ For further on the senses of the pastoral nature of the liturgy, cf. REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 305–306.

¹¹⁷⁶ See SC 26. Cf. also can. 837 §1 CIC/1983.

¹¹⁷⁷ David Crystal has written extensively on the mechanical aspects of how language works. See David CRYSTAL, *How Language Works*, Melbourne 2006 [Reprint: 2008].

¹¹⁷⁸ This does not mean that all sounds do make an impression on the consciousness.

the scope of this dissertation.¹¹⁷⁹ What it is intended to establish here is that the process of hearing¹¹⁸⁰ language results in the forming in the conscious mind of the hearer what we shall call, perhaps somewhat imprecisely and broadly, an *idea*.

The notion of what an idea actually *is*¹¹⁸¹ is also an exceedingly broad field. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines an *idea* as “any product of mental apprehension or activity, existing in the mind as an object of knowledge or thought; an item of knowledge or belief; a thought, a theory; a way of thinking.”¹¹⁸² John Locke gave extensive consideration to ideas, albeit without providing a formal definition as to what an idea actually *is*.¹¹⁸³ Regarding language, Locke saw language as *signs* of ideas. To paraphrase Locke; human beings have the ability to make sounds, and these sounds are “signs of ideas”, and language exists such that “the thoughts of men’s minds be conveyed from one to another.”¹¹⁸⁴ Also, “*words ... come to be made use of by men, as the signs of their ideas.*”¹¹⁸⁵

What needs to be established for the purposes of the considerations of this dissertation is a working framework for what is meant by an idea *here* rather than delving into the philosophy of ideas.

Two essential properties of an idea will be posited here:

- 1) An idea exists as an objective reality in the mind
- 2) The consciousness is aware of its existence

Thus, an idea is held by the conscious “I”. It is something that can be grasped as an object of immediate awareness of the mind. One vital distinction must be here made. The language and the idea are two separate realities.¹¹⁸⁶ If they were not separate realities, then the same word or words would create identical ideas regardless as to who was hearing them. This is clearly not the case.

¹¹⁷⁹ Of course, the field of Philosophy of Language is an exceedingly broad field. For one perspective with respect to religious language, see Ron HOLT, A Socio-Linguistic Approach to Religious Language, in: Australian eJournal of Theology 6 (2006) 1–14.

¹¹⁸⁰ This can also be extended to the language of the “minds ear” as for example, when reading no sounds are actually heard, yet the words exist audibly in the mind of the reader.

¹¹⁸¹ Presuming that one is prepared to accept that an idea has any existence at all.

¹¹⁸² Idea, n., in: Oxford English Dictionary (December 2022).

¹¹⁸³ John LOCKE, An Essay concerning Human Understanding, ed. by Roger WOOLHOUSE, London 1997, 109–121. The marginal note to the first paragraph says, “Idea is the object of thinking”.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 361.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 363. See also ROBINSON, Establishment of Modern English Prose, 6 f.

¹¹⁸⁶ “Words are taken to be signs of conceptions that exist separately from language in the mind.” Ibid., 6.

John Henry Newman wrote extensively on the theory of ideas.¹¹⁸⁷ Whilst his approach was with respect to the development of doctrine, there is one pivotal statement that is critical to establishing the relationship between language and ideas:

It may be objected that inspired documents, such as the Holy Scriptures, at once determine its doctrine without further trouble. But they were intended to create an idea, and that idea is not in the sacred text, but in the mind of the reader; and the question is, whether that idea is communicated to him, in its completeness and minute accuracy, on its first apprehension, or expands in his heart and intellect, and comes to perfection in the course of time.¹¹⁸⁸

Whilst Newman is speaking with respect to Sacred Scripture, his principle holds in the general sense. Newman here clearly enunciates the relationship between language and ideas. The text, or the language, is not the idea. If we consider Locke's notion of language as signs of ideas for the purpose of communicating ideas from one person to another, then our starting point is an idea in the mind of the writer, who uses language to transmit the idea, which in turn forms an idea in the mind of the reader. As Newman alludes to, almost certainly the idea in the mind of the reader will not be identical to that of the writer. This, obviously, does not preclude the usefulness of language for communicating ideas, even in acknowledging the imperfectness of those ideas. Newman also notes how an idea can evolve over time, aspiring to perfection.

This notion is especially important with respect to the liturgy, and to the language of *Divine Worship*. The liturgy is a dialogue between God and his Church. The *idea* of the liturgy is ultimately God, just as the *idea* of Sacred Scripture is ultimately God. The liturgy consists of, amongst others, supernatural aspects, sacramental aspects, and formative aspects. The supernatural and sacramental aspects of the liturgy are independent of language at least in terms of intelligibility and style. The formative aspect, however, is deeply intertwined with these. Re-appropriating Newman's statement above, the words of the liturgy itself result in an idea forming in the mind of the hearer. This idea is affected by the overall *experience* of the liturgical celebration, such that the idea can be brought into sharper clarity, or, blurred and perhaps even displaced from the mind of the participant. Nonetheless, a significant aspect of considering the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship* must be the role of this language in the formation of ideas of divine things in the mind. This notion can be, partially at least, enunciated in the principle of *lex orandi – lex credendi*, which is the subject of the following section.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf. John Henry NEWMAN, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge, 2010, 30–130. See also Leslie ARMOUR, *Newman's Theory of Ideas*, in: *Paideusis: Journal of the Canadian Philosophy of Education Society* 3/2 (1990) 3–16.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

Prior to doing so, however, it is important to demonstrate by means of example the effects of variations of language upon ideas. The basis of the framework of ideas established here is that a unit of language will result in the formation of an idea in the mind. As shall be demonstrated, identical language can result in a wide variety of ideas. Furthermore, presenting what is ostensibly the same concept or fact with differing language results in very different ideas.

For example, a group of people are asked to draw a representation of the idea that comes into their minds in response to the word “dog”. All of the respondents draw faithfully the first thing they think of in response to the linguistic stimulus. One draws a Dachshund, another a Corgi, another a German Shepherd, whilst the last draws a Doberman chasing the mailman. All of these ideas are correct interpretations, but none of them match the idea of the group leader, who was in fact imagining his Poodle curled up in front of the hearth.

It is also possible to greatly affect the resulting idea by changing the way something is said. For example:

I love you.

Roses are red, violets are blue. Honey is sweet and so are you.

Your presence is stimulating the production of vasopressin and oxytocin in my brain.

These statements all ostensibly say the same thing, but it should be self-evident that the resulting ideas are not the same.

Here is another example:

Romeo, Romeo, wherefore art thou Romeo.

Romeo, where are you?

Romeo, you’ve got until the count of three to come here!

Again, the ideas conveyed by each variation are very different, but in this case the use of a formulaic phrase will greatly impact the idea formed. The association of the proper name Romeo and the locational inquisitive immediately points to the famous line from Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*. As such, the subsequent phrases are likely to be rejected as being incorrect. Thus, these simple examples demonstrate how subtle changes in language can greatly affect the idea that is formed in the mind of the hearer.¹¹⁸⁹

¹¹⁸⁹ For further on this theme, see C. S. Lewis’ incomplete essay: C[live] S. LEWIS, *The Language of Religion*, in: Walter HOOPER (ed.), *Christian Reflections*, Grand Rapids/MI 1967, 129–141.

4.3 *Lex Orandi – Lex Credendi*

The well-known adage *lex orandi – lex credendi* is ascribed to Prosper of Aquitaine, who wrote “*legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*”,¹¹⁹⁰ or let the law of prayer establish the law of belief. The connection to the liturgy is self-evident, as the liturgy is the public prayer of the Church. Thus, in the context of language, while being mindful of the previous section on language and ideas, it must be acknowledged that the language of prayer will also have an effect upon what is the sum total of our individual *lex credendi*. If our *lex orandi* is a transcendental experience, then our *lex credendi* will also be transcendental. If our *lex orandi* is overly casual and banal, then our *lex credendi* too will become casual and banal. Our *lex orandi* is not limited to simply *what* is said, but also to *how* it is said. As was noted in the previous section, *how* something is said can greatly change the idea that is formed within the mind. Thus, liturgical language, as the linguistic expression of the *lex orandi*, has a most important relationship to the *lex credendi*.

Whilst it is common to see *lex orandi – lex credendi* as bidirectional, Prosper’s original adage would appear to tend towards being more unidirectional in nature – it is the law of prayer that establishes the law of belief.¹¹⁹¹ David Fagerberg prefers a narrower understanding of *lex orandi – lex credendi*, noting the intrinsic connection between liturgy and theology.¹¹⁹² Fagerberg notes that the liturgy itself must be of its nature theological, because if it is not, then the rite itself simply becomes about “whether it ‘turns you on’”.¹¹⁹³ This consideration, according to Fagerberg, is intrinsically connected to the question of what liturgical language is, how it works, and its performative properties.¹¹⁹⁴

Henry Littlehales makes the following observation in his introduction to the Lay Folks Mass Book:

It is assumed that the *lex orandi* at any period in the history of a church is also its *lex credendi*; and if the common prayers may be accepted as the best evidence of the creed of a church, the

¹¹⁹⁰ PROSPER OF AQUITAINE, *Praeteritorum Sedis Apostolicae Episcoporum Auctoritates de Gratia Dei et Libero Voluntatis Arbitrio*, in: J[acques] P. MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologiae Latinae* 51, Paris 1851, 205–214, here: Kap. 8, 209. See also Joseph A. NOVAK, *Revaluing Prosper of Aquitaine in Contemporary Liturgical Theology*, in: *Studia Liturgica* 44 (2014) 211–233.

¹¹⁹¹ Irwin warns against seeing this in a fundamentalist sense that leads to using ancient liturgical texts as doctrinal statements. See IRWIN, *Context and Text*, 8–11.

¹¹⁹² Cf. David W. FAGERBERG, *Theologia Prima. What is Liturgical Theology?*, Chicago/IL 2004, 63. For a discussion on various theories on the connection between liturgy and theology with respect to *lex orandi – lex credendi*, see Maxwell JOHNSON, *Liturgy and Theology*, in: Paul BRADSHAW – Bryan SPINKS (eds.), *Liturgy in Dialogue. Essays in Memory of Ronald Jasper*, Collegeville/MN 1994, 202–225.

¹¹⁹³ FAGERBERG, *Theologia Prima*, 66.

¹¹⁹⁴ For Fagerberg’s broader discussion see *ibid.*, 63–69.

private prayers of our forefathers, if they were known, would be equally important in an estimate of their personal belief and spiritual condition.¹¹⁹⁵

Thus, *Divine Worship*, and the language of *Divine Worship*, as the common and official prayer of the Ordinariate, must be acknowledged as synonymous with the *lex orandi* of the faithful of the Ordinariate. It is also for this reason that the integrity of *Divine Worship* as an expression of the Roman Rite must be respected. *Divine Worship* is not intended to be “dressed up” to look as much as possible like a Latin Mass.¹¹⁹⁶ Neither is the purpose of the Ordinariates to provide some sort of a ghetto for Latin Mass types who have nowhere left to go, with a priest celebrating a Latin Mass for them. The Ordinariates have their own *lex orandi*. As Lopes has noted, a fundamental task of *Anglicanae Traditiones* was to extract and to realize this particular *lex orandi* for the Ordinariates which is expressed in *Divine Worship*.¹¹⁹⁷ Hence the belief of the Ordinariates is expressed most fully in its liturgical prayer. As bibliographer of the Prayer Book David Griffiths notes, “a written liturgy can express the mind of a church more subtly and flexibly, and hence more permanently, than any set of doctrinal formulations.”¹¹⁹⁸

Ramie Targoff notes the performative nature of public liturgy, especially the English notion that by performing prayer one would be inwardly changed. Hence the desire of the crown to control and unify prayer. If this could be done, then the crown could influence the inward disposition of its subjects, out of which comes the notion of common prayer.¹¹⁹⁹ In this mindset, even “private” prayers were part of the common prayers of the people.¹²⁰⁰

The language wars within Anglicanism beginning from the 1970s are well known. Today, finding a “Prayer Book” liturgy within a typical large city requires significant searching. Many of those outside Anglicanism wonder with bemusement why one of the most distinctive and beautiful aspects of Anglicanism, namely Prayer Book English, has been systematically ditched.¹²⁰¹ As J. Augustine Di Noia has noted:

¹¹⁹⁵ LITTLEHALES, Lay Folks Prayer Book, xvii.

¹¹⁹⁶ The Rubrical Directory does allow for texts from the *Graduale Romanum* to be used, however in so doing the principles discussed here of respecting the integrity of the *lex orandi* of the Ordinariates are to be noted. See Rubrical Directory, *Divine Worship: The Missal*, 123 (no. 13).

¹¹⁹⁷ LOPES, *A Missal for the Ordinariates*, 119.

¹¹⁹⁸ GRIFFITHS, 5.

¹¹⁹⁹ Cf. TARGOFF, *Common Prayer*, 2–4, 18.

¹²⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁰¹ Peter Davies has examined the introduction of contemporary language into Anglican liturgy, coupled with a survey examining worshipper’s responses to the change of language. See Peter Nicholas DAVIES, *Alien Rites? A Critical Examination of Contemporary English in Anglican Liturgies*, Aldershot/England 2005.

It is only in relatively recent times that the traditional Prayer Book has faded in favor of more contemporary forms of worship. In this way, the transformative power of the *lex orandi* embodied by the Prayer Book is diluted in practice as each local community seeks to design its worship to express its own theological and ecclesiastical outlook.¹²⁰²

Prosper of Aquitaine's adage tended towards seeing *lex orandi* – *lex credendi* in terms of cause and effect. That is, the prayers are the cause of the belief, rather than the belief one holds determining the prayers. Today, we generally see *lex orandi* – *lex credendi* as being somewhat more bidirectional than might be indicated by Prosper's original form of this adage. Nonetheless, the concern and title of this dissertation is "The Language of *Divine Worship* and its Pastoral Implications". Thus, our starting point is the *lex orandi* of the Ordinariates, or specifically the language of the *lex orandi*. Insofar as *lex orandi* – *lex credendi* is concerned, the intent of this study is to determine how the *lex orandi* of the Ordinariates assists the faithful not just in terms of their own *lex credendi*, but in terms of their broader life as a Christian, their *lex vivendi*, within the context of someone who's own personal *lex orandi* is shaped and influenced by the *lex orandi* of the Ordinariates. This shall be the concern of the subsequent sections.

4.4 Case Study – Survey on the Language of Divine Worship

The origins of this dissertation are found in a suggestion from Professor Feulner for a survey to be conducted to collect feedback from the faithful of the Ordinariate about the language of *Divine Worship* as a part of their own *lex vivendi*.¹²⁰³ This was because of criticism from outside of the Ordinariates of the language of *Divine Worship*, especially regarding the use of traditional English, or what is consistently called here "Prayer Book English".

4.4.1 Background to Survey Methodology

This section is not intended to be a broad examination of survey methodology theory, but simply to state the factors that were considered in determining the methodology for the case study of this research project. Survey methodology can be broken into two phases. The first of these is the planning and distribution phase. This phase includes everything from the positive decision to conduct a survey up to the actual launch of the survey. The second phase

¹²⁰² DI NOIA, *Divine Worship* and the Liturgical Vitality of the Church, 113.

¹²⁰³ For another survey of faithful of the Ordinariate see the work of Lynda Williams, who interviewed ten lay persons and one priest on their transition into the Ordinariates: Lynda V. WILLIAMS, *When an Episcopal Church Converts to Roman: A Look at the Implications of this Change and How it Affects Parishioner Identity* [unpublished dissertation University of Nebraska, Omaha], 2017.

is the interpretation of results phase, which seeks to identify and evaluate key findings and trends from the raw survey data.

4.4.1.1 Survey Methodology – Planning and Distribution Phase

At first, the idea of carrying out a survey might seem like a simple undertaking. After all, many people will have completed numerous surveys. However, we can also probably think of surveys that were poorly written, had confusing questions, and perhaps frustrated us so much that we gave up and did not complete the survey. This is devastating to a survey. Once a survey has been launched, it cannot be un-launched and restarted, especially in the case of a survey on the Ordinarariate where the population of potential respondents is relatively small. Every action possible must be taken to encourage as many people as possible to respond whilst providing high quality responses that are not tainted by the respondents having to “fight” their way through a poorly designed or executed survey. With surveys, there is rarely a second chance.

As such, much of what is termed survey methodology may seem like it is no more than common sense. Nonetheless, with any errors potentially skewing results, it is vital that due consideration is given to these matters long before one begins writing survey questions.

Firstly, the survey creator must be clear on what the purpose of the survey is, or precisely, what is the research question that is to be answered? If a survey creator is not clear in their own mind as to what is being asked, then how can respondents possibly give meaningful answers? Having clearly established this from the very beginning will allow the survey to be focussed on the research question, only the research question, and nothing but the research question.

Choice of mindset from the beginning can make a great difference in shaping a survey and increasing the value of the responses. We naturally tend to perceive things from our own perspective. However, in surveys, our own perspective matters for nothing. It is the perspective of potential respondents that is critical. A surveyor has their own particular needs and desires that they are seeking to fulfil in conducting the survey. However, one cannot expect potential respondents to complete a survey because of the needs and desires of the surveyor. If any needs or desires are to be satisfied, it will be their own. Therefore, a survey is much more likely to be successful if it is respondent centred.¹²⁰⁴ This simply means to consider the survey from the perspective of the respondent, seeking to anticipate what help

¹²⁰⁴ Cf. Jolene D. SMYTH, *Designing Questions and Questionnaires*, in: Christof WOLF et al. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Survey Methodology*, London 2016, 218–235, here: 218.

or hindrances they may experience in seeking to provide high quality responses, whilst also considering the individual motivations seeking to convert a potential respondent into an actual respondent.

Firstly, some assumptions should be assumed to be true. It can be assumed that most people, including most potential respondents, will be less passionate than the surveyor is about the survey question. It can also be assumed that most respondents have a time/interest threshold. That is, the level of interest they have in completing the survey is finite and directly related to how much time they are prepared to put into completing the survey. If they form the opinion that the surveyor has been lazy or failed to take the time to craft clear questions, the respondent is likely to give up and not complete the survey.

The time that a respondent is most likely to give up is in the first few questions. Thus, it is critical in these questions to make them feel like this survey is for them. Whilst in surveys the first questions are typically demographic type questions, it is important to limit these to what is absolutely essential and ensure that they are relevant to the respondents. These first questions should not bore the respondent or make them feel excluded or uncomfortable but rather pique their curiosity about what is to follow and so want to complete the survey.¹²⁰⁵

It is vital that the respondent feels engaged with every question. The way the question is asked, or even the grammar of the sentence, can have a huge influence on the respondent's engagement. If they are not engaged with the question, they are likely to skip it, give a neutral answer (not sure), a minimal answer, or even a fictional answer.¹²⁰⁶

A survey should have a clear and logical navigational path, with it clearly indicated where the responses are to be written and sufficient room for responses.¹²⁰⁷ Successive questions that do not logically follow or awkwardly overlap are likely to confuse the respondent resulting in confused answers.

Presuming that there is a clear research question that the survey seeks to address, it is vital to understand who the potential respondents are. Another way to ask this question is this – what is common to all of the respondents? Is the survey concerned with a small town, a nation, or the whole world? These questions are vital because it is necessary that all of the respondents clearly understand the questions. Thus, a local survey may be able to use local

¹²⁰⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 219.

¹²⁰⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

¹²⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

slang, whereas an international survey could not because the meaning would not be understood.

These considerations are vital in developing the question wording. A well designed question ensures that all of the words are clearly understood, that the question itself is clearly understood, that it asks only one question, that it uses clarity and brevity, and that it avoids double negatives.¹²⁰⁸ A well worded question should also avoid jargon or overly technical language.¹²⁰⁹

Anyone who has ever filled out a survey has probably encountered a five-point ordinal question like this:

I enjoyed completing this survey:

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

When using these scales it is important to ensure that every box has a label, avoids overlap, with the points conceptually equidistant.¹²¹⁰ For example a scale of unbelievably unhappy, extremely unhappy, very unhappy, unhappy and happy doesn't work because the scale is skewed to unhappiness.

A typical survey includes open and closed ended questions. A closed ended question has fixed answers which the respondent selects one or more of.¹²¹¹ The five-point ordinal question above is a closed ended question. Closed ended questions are especially suitable for categorisation and statistical analysis of the responses. They are also highly likely to be answered. An open-ended question asks the respondent to provide a written answer.¹²¹² For example, "Why did you choose to complete this survey? _____". As open-ended questions require much more thought from the respondent, if the respondent is not engaged with the survey, and trying to get it done as quickly as possible, these questions present a high risk of an ill-considered answer being given or the question being skipped altogether. This is especially the case if the respondent feels that the question is poorly

¹²⁰⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 221.

¹²⁰⁹ Cf. John W. CRESWELL, *Educational Research. Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*, New Delhi, 42011, 389–390.

¹²¹⁰ Cf. SMYTH, *Designing Questions and Questionnaires*, 223.

¹²¹¹ Cf. CRESWELL, *Educational Research*, 386 f.

¹²¹² Cf. *ibid.*

designed.¹²¹³ Semi open-ended questions provide fixed responses, but give an opportunity to provide additional information.¹²¹⁴ The following example is conditionally semi open ended:

- I was baptised:**
- Catholic
 - Other: _____
Please specify
 - I am not baptised

Only in the case of someone who is baptised but not baptised Catholic is the question open-ended. The following question contains an unconditional and a conditional semi open-ended response:

- My favourite food is:**
- Haggis
 - Ice Cream
 - Peanut Butter Sandwiches
 - Pizza
 - Other: _____
Please specify

Please explain why: _____

Traditionally, surveys have been either paper based or conducted as an interview. More recently, there are a variety of internet survey sites that allow the creation and execution of surveys electronically. A major advantage of these surveys is that conditions can be applied that are not possible with a paper-based survey. For example, if answering a particular question is compulsory, then the survey software will not allow the respondent to continue without answering the question. Likewise, if a question with multiple responses is to have only one response or multiple responses selected, the software can enforce this. For open-ended questions, running out of space is not a problem. Furthermore, electronic surveys can

¹²¹³ The respondent is likely to think something along the lines of “if you can’t be bothered to ask a sensible question then I can’t be bothered to answer it.”

¹²¹⁴ Cf. CRESWELL, Educational Research, 386 f.

save a tremendous amount of work in that transcription of paper-based results into an electronic realm is redundant, and survey software typically supports the exporting of data in a variety of formats assisting in data analysis.

Having planned and written a survey, the surveyor must now distribute it. This question should have already been considered in the planning phase. It is too late to think about how to distribute the survey after it has already been written. A number of factors must be considered in developing a distribution model. This includes the number of expected responses. If thousands of responses are expected, then a paper-based survey will require much more effort not just in distribution but also analysis of results. What resources are available to the target demographic set? For example, a survey on the reading habits of people who do not have the internet is perhaps not best served by an internet-based survey! If the population is relatively small, it may be necessary to consider multi-mode survey delivery so as to maximise the number of responses.

4.4.1.2 Survey Methodology – Interpretation of Results

Once a survey has concluded, it is to be hoped that the surveyor will now be in possession of sufficient responses so as to be able to address the research question which motivated the survey in the first place. However, the responses in themselves do not constitute the answer to the research question. This raw data must be evaluated. The way that the data is evaluated will depend on the surveyor's goals and the type of data received, which in itself is highly dependent on the survey questions.

Closed-ended questions are especially suitable to a statistical analysis. Most surveys will include demographic questions which will allow for a statistical analysis of the respondents. Even some open-ended questions can be analysed statistically. For example, "What is your age? _____".

In terms of qualitative data, of which open ended questions are the largest source, there is no set method of analysis.¹²¹⁵ This data needs to be interpreted, and the criteria for interpretation will be determined by the research goals of the surveyor.¹²¹⁶ The surveyor may identify certain themes that emerge from the data. That is, respondents saying similar kinds of things. The emergence of these themes can lend themselves to a thematic analytical analysis. For example, if in a particular open-ended question four themes emerge, the survey may choose to present the respective ratios of occurrences of the themes.

¹²¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 238.

¹²¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

The purpose of open-ended answers is to obtain data that could not otherwise be obtained by closed-ended answers. Of course, unless one is dealing with a very small number of responses, it is normally not practical to reproduce all open-ended answers. This is why interpretation is necessary. A significant number of responses should be able to be encompassed in the interpreted results through the use of thematic analysis. Conversely, there may be individual answers that present opinions or insights that are unique and worthy of verbatim reproduction. Indeed, this should be an objective for the use of open-ended answers. It could rightly be argued that if the data from an open-ended question was able to be distilled down to no more than a series of themes, then why was a closed-ended question not used?

In recent decades the availability of computer-based data processing techniques has revolutionised the handling of survey results. What would once have taken perhaps dozens of analysts hundreds of hours to process can potentially be done by one person in a few hours. In the context of this research project, this is a very good thing indeed, as the data must be able to be processed and interpreted by this sole author.¹²¹⁷

If a survey is delivered via multiple modes, then the resulting data must be transcribed such that all of the data is in the same format. For example, results that are received via a paper survey must be entered electronically so that they end up in the same format as surveys that were completed electronically. The data may require electronic post-processing to get it into a format suitable for analysis.¹²¹⁸ Once the full data set is available in a unified format, criteria must be established for eliminating bad data.¹²¹⁹ Are incomplete surveys to be automatically excluded? Should the data be edited?¹²²⁰ What should be done with data where it is evident that the respondent has misunderstood the question? Should an attempt be made to identify an error tolerance to the data, or at least the interpretation of the data, or should the data simply be allowed to speak for itself without an attempt to quantify errors?

¹²¹⁷ For a broad discussion of processing survey data, see the chapter “Postcollection Processing of Survey Data”, in: Robert M. GROVES et al., *Survey Methodology* (Wiley Series in Survey Methodology), Hoboken/NJ 2009, 329–369.

¹²¹⁸ For example, if Microsoft Excel is to be used for analysis, then the data will need to be exported into a spreadsheet format.

¹²¹⁹ The adage “garbage in = garbage out” is especially appropriate here.

¹²²⁰ Cf. GROVES, *Survey Methodology*, 345. In the case of electronic survey, many of the causes that would require post editing can be eliminated. For example, ranges can be set to validate numerical entries to make it impossible to enter an out of range value, noting that being in range does not necessarily mean the data is error free.

Ultimately, as the overall presentation and interpretation of results is subjective, there is no right or wrong answer to these considerations. What is important is that they are considered, and that the researcher states clearly what approach has been used in the processing and interpretation of the survey results.

4.4.2 Methodology

4.4.2.1 Research Question

The research question to be addressed by the survey is to examine the pastoral implications of the style of language used in *Divine Worship*, that is, Prayer Book English. What is meant by pastoral implications is informed by Section 4.1 above. It must be reiterated that the question of pastoral implications should not be misunderstood as a question of likes or dislikes. The research question is not concerned with whether people attending the Ordinariates *like* Prayer Book English. Presuming that a significant majority *do* like the language of *Divine Worship*, the research question is concerned with how this language assists them in the Christian life. Conversely, it cannot be automatically assumed that the language of *Divine Worship* does indeed assist everybody (or anybody) pastorally, but may indeed be an impediment.

The research question is fundamentally *experiential*. Presuming that the language of *Divine Worship* has a pastoral effect upon individual persons, the way that this is experienced, and described, will vary from person to person. For this reason, the survey makes extensive use of open-ended questions which ask the respondent to explain in their own words what is their pastoral reality with respect to *Divine Worship*.

4.4.2.2 Population

The survey population is the totality of potential respondents. It is necessary to know *who* the population is because this will affect the survey delivery and distribution method. For a survey that seeks to determine the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship* it is self-evident that that the research question is relevant to people who have a connection to the language of *Divine Worship*. At first glance, it might be tempting to identify the population as people who attend the Ordinariate. However, there are many people who due to where they live are not able to attend the Ordinariate. They may well pray the Daily Office at home, whilst attending a *Novus Ordo* parish for Mass. There are also people who have become Catholic many years ago, are settled in their *Novus Ordo* parish, yet still feel a connection to Prayer Book English. Thus it was determined that in identifying the population, a less prescriptive approach would be taken. The population is anyone who in

themselves identifies a connection to the language of *Divine Worship*, regardless as to whether they actually attend an Ordinariate parish.

4.4.2.3 *Distribution Method*

From the conception of this research project, it was intended that this survey would be an international survey encompassing the three Ordinariates. What was initially unclear was whether it would attempt to focus on one Ordinariate in particular. Ultimately, it was determined to seek as many responses as possible from all three Ordinariates. The growing popularity of internet-based survey software made this the most obvious place to begin. LimeSurvey was selected as a platform. The surveys were drafted initially in Word. After incorporating feedback from the research seminars and Professor Feulner, the final surveys were then transcribed into LimeSurvey. Being mindful that the population includes a broad range of ages, it was determined that alternative delivery methods of the surveys were necessary for potential respondents unable to use LimeSurvey.

Consideration was given to the question of potential responses from outside the target population. Whilst LimeSurvey does support a token system that prevents anyone from completing the survey unless they have a “key”, it was determined that it was unrealistic to manage this kind of enforcement, and that it had the potential to substantially reduce the number of respondents. Good surveys should make it easier to complete the survey, not harder. It was determined that reducing responses from outside the population could be managed by careful selection of the means of distributing and advertising the survey. As such, the survey was distributed within Ordinariate parishes and advertised on Ordinariate mailing lists.

A survey package was created, which was then distributed to parishes. Within parishes, the success of the research project was dependant on the priest informing his parish about the survey. The support material that was distributed to parishes is found in Appendix 1. This material included a covering letter to the Parish Priest, a suggested bulletin notice, and a flyer. The survey was launched in North America in August 2021, in the United Kingdom in December 2021, and in Australia in February 2022. A gmail address, divineworship.survey@gmail.com, was created to allow for the return of surveys completed outside of LimeSurvey.

4.4.2.4 *The Survey*

There are in fact two surveys. A usage survey was distributed to priests in charge of parishes only. The purpose of this survey was to gain a picture of how *Divine Worship* is used

throughout the Ordinariates. This survey is found in Appendix 2. The usage survey records data relating to where the community worships, how many clergy it has and any other responsibilities they may have, frequency of Mass according to *Divine Worship* and average attendance, and other liturgies according to *Divine Worship*.

The main survey, which we will simply refer to as “the survey”, is located in Appendix 3. Part 1 of the survey is related to demographics. Part 2 is concerned with attendance, but it also seeks to identify if and where the respondent feels “at home” in the Ordinariate. Part 3 is concerned with what experience of *Divine Worship* the respondent has by asking which of the different liturgies of *Divine Worship* they have attended and what Ordinariate publications they own. Part 4 is concerned specifically with pastoral implications. Here, a range of closed and open-ended questions are used to assist the respondent to give thought to various aspects of *Divine Worship* and to provide their feedback on what this means to them in their own *lex vivendi*.

4.4.3 Survey Results – Usage Survey

One completed survey in MS Word format was received by email. In order to allow all of the data to be treated in the same way, this data was entered into LimeSurvey. All other responses were received via LimeSurvey. To allow processing of the data, it was exported into MS Excel format using the LimeSurvey export function. LimeSurvey retains incomplete surveys, but the user would expect that an incomplete survey would not be considered, and as such all incomplete responses were excluded. A total of 25 completed responses were received.

4.4.3.1 Data Validation

A check for duplicate entries was made by sorting the data by IP address. Whilst duplicate IP addresses were found, these were not duplicate entries but entries relating to different communities. Two entries were found that did not relate to Ordinariate communities but rather to the ministry of Ordinariate priests. As the survey is concerned with usage within Ordinariate communities, these two responses were excluded, resulting in 23 responses remaining.

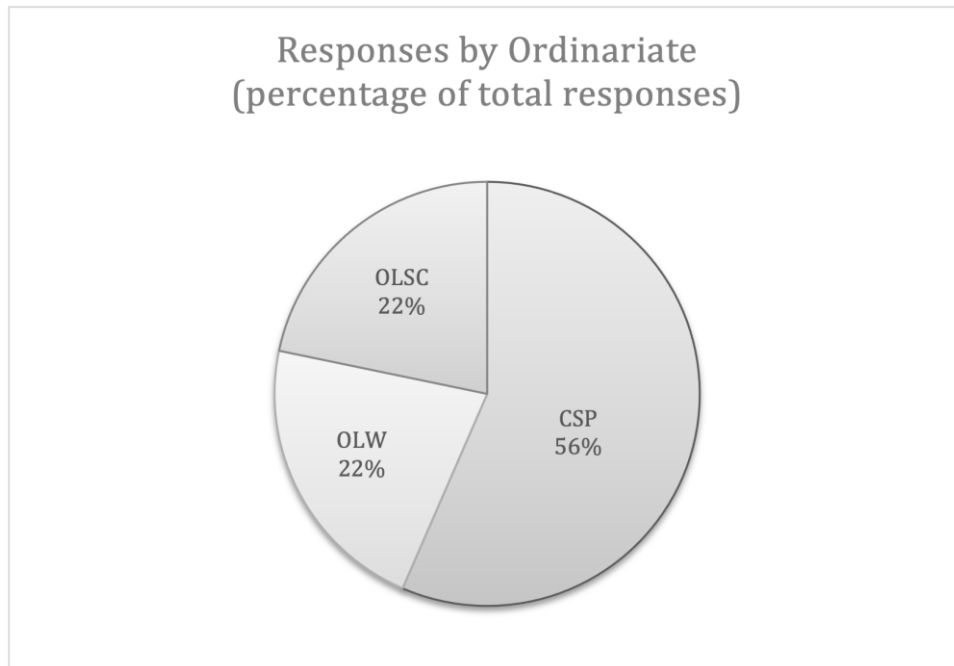
4.4.3.2 Data Analysis

Part 1 of the usage survey was concerned with community details. Each respondent was asked to provide the name of their community and the address of their place of worship. This

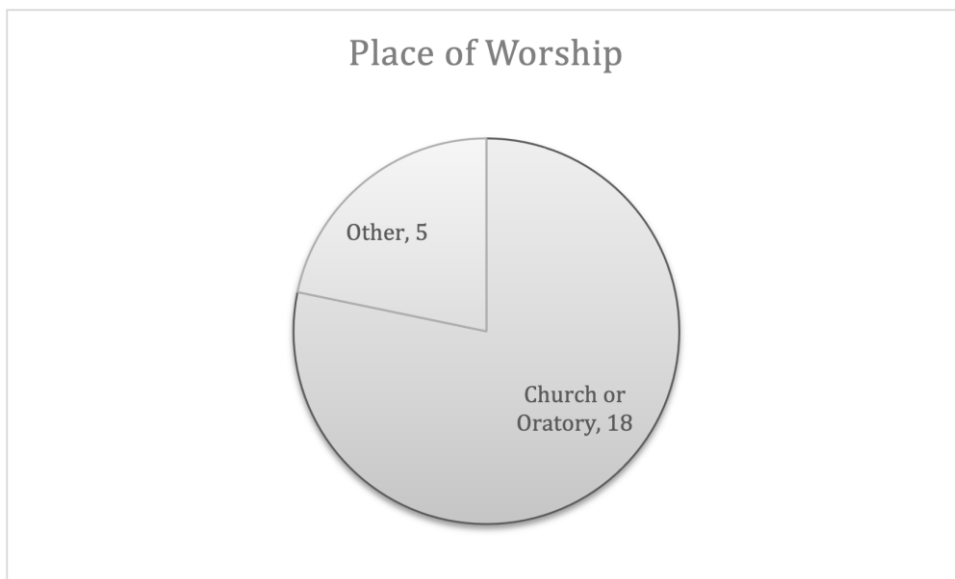
data was used to allocate each response to an Ordinariate. The number of responses received from each Ordinariate is:

OLW	5
CSP	13
OLSC	5

This shown proportionally below:



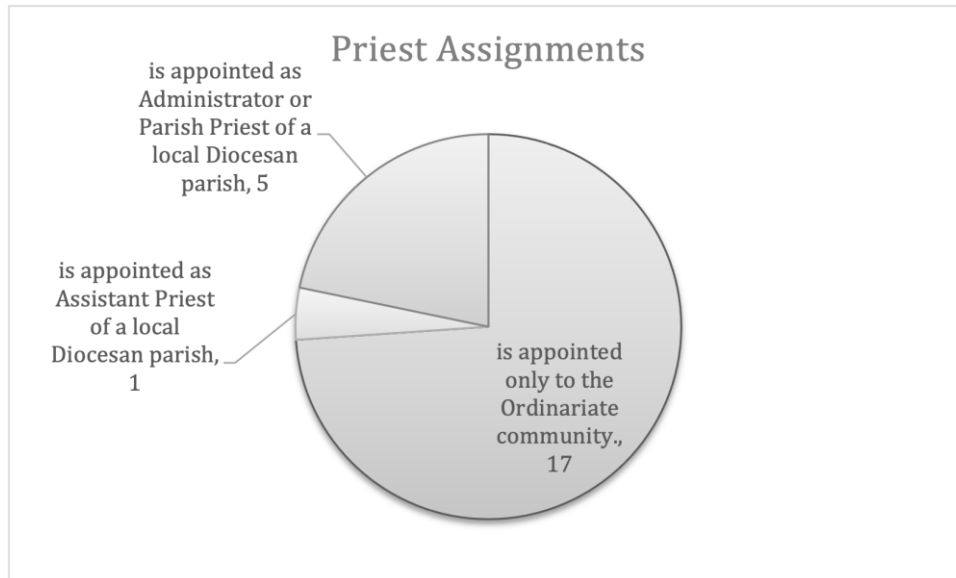
Respondents were asked to indicate whether their place of worship was a church or oratory, or some other kind of building. These responses are indicated as follows:



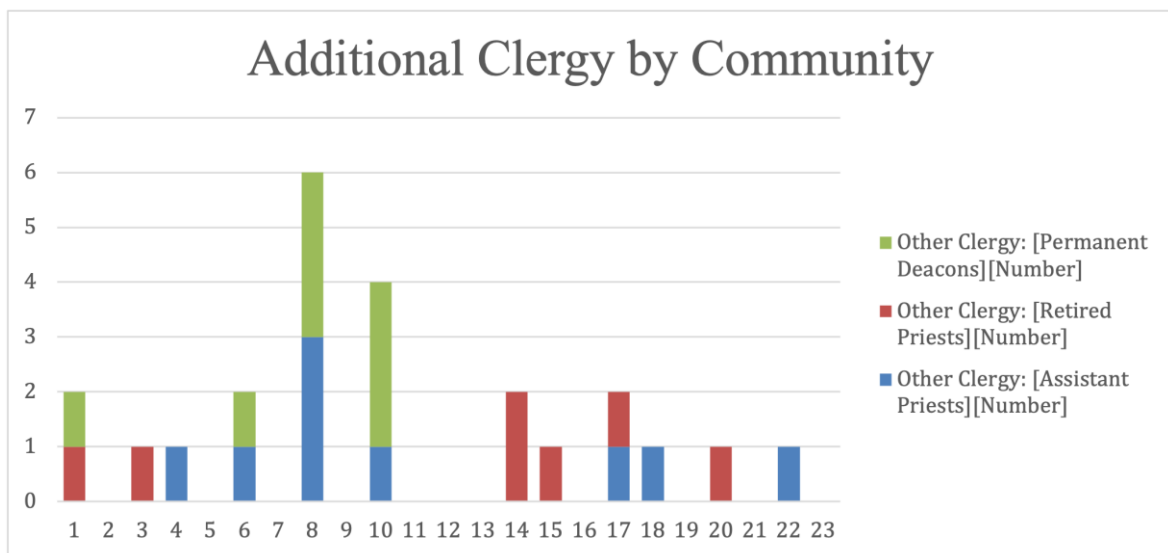
Part 2 of the usage survey was concerned with clergy information. Question 2 a. sought to determine whether priests regularly serving in a community were Ordinariate priests, local

diocesan priests, or both. Of the 23 responses, in all cases no local diocesan priest was regularly assisting, and all priests were Ordinariate priests.

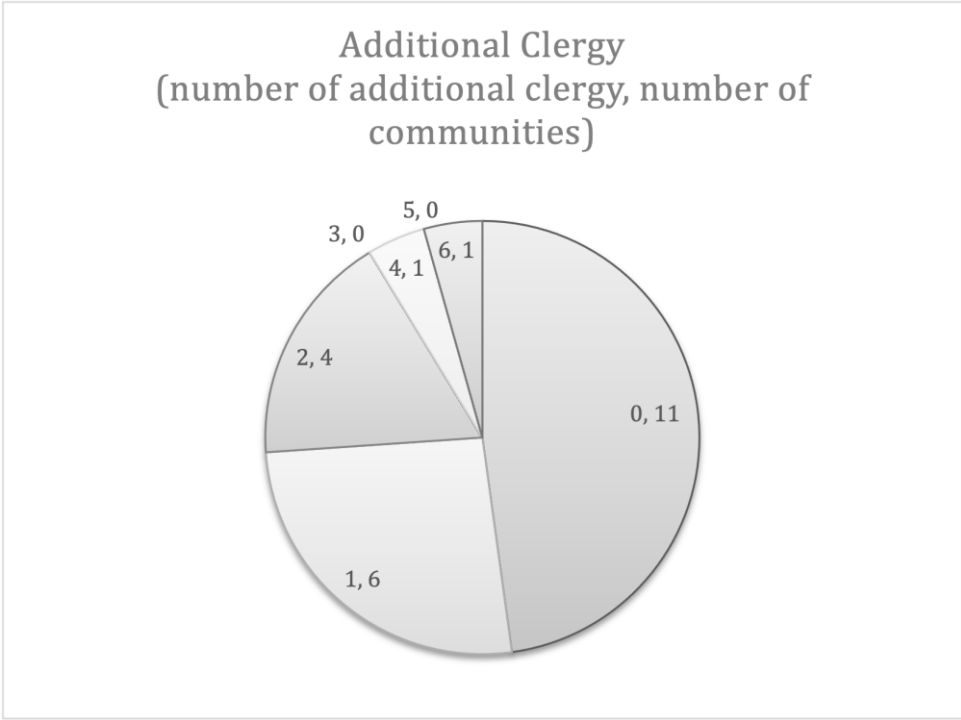
Question 2 b. sought to determine what additional assignments priests had, either as an assistant in a diocesan parish or an Administrator or Parish Priest. As shown below, the majority of respondents were appointed only to the Ordinariate.



Question 2 c. was concerned with whether there were any additional Ordinariate clergy assisting in the community. This data is shown below:

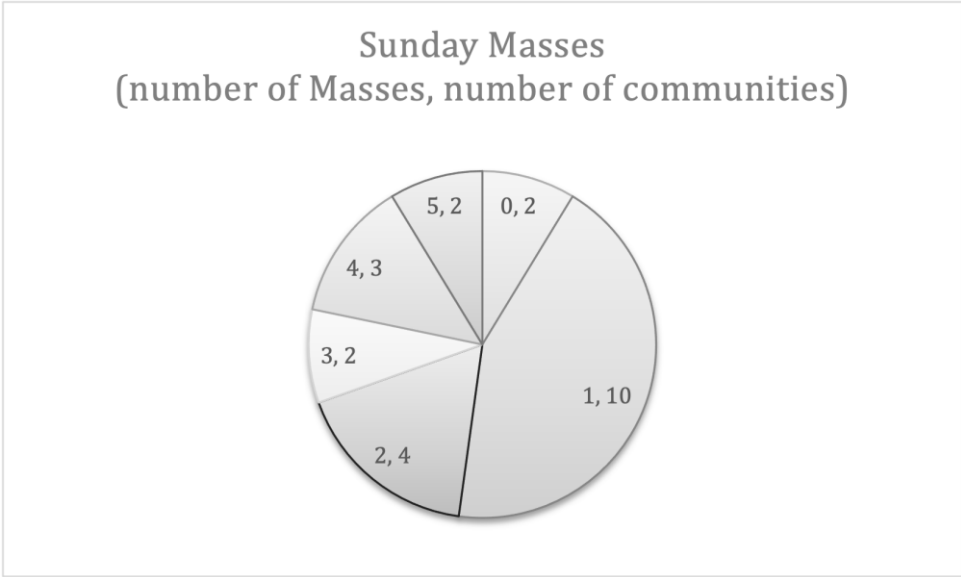


Two communities show a large number of additional priests. Community 8 is the Cathedral of our Lady of Walsingham, and community 10 is Our Lady of the Atonement, San Antonio. No transitional Deacons were reported. The following pie chart shows the distribution of communities by total number of additional clergy:

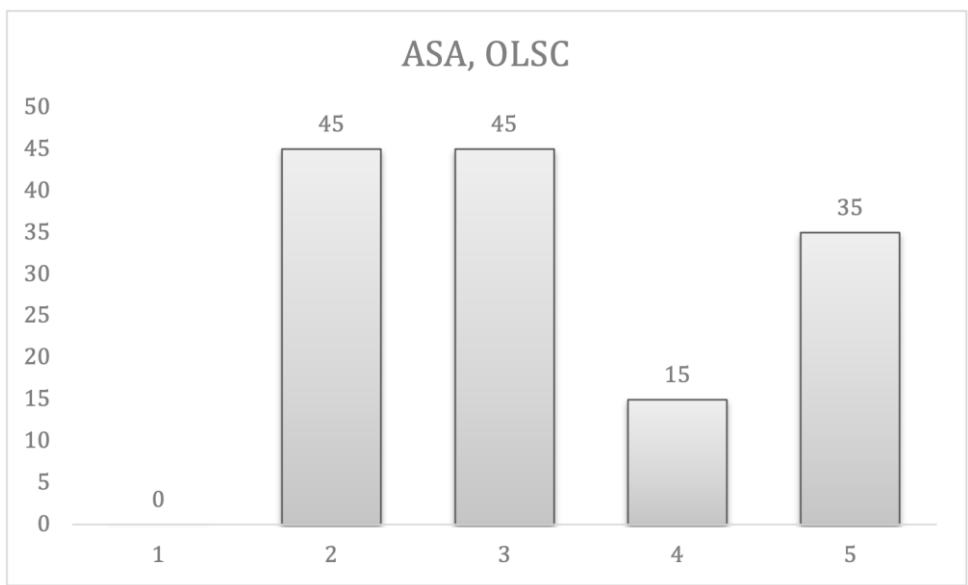
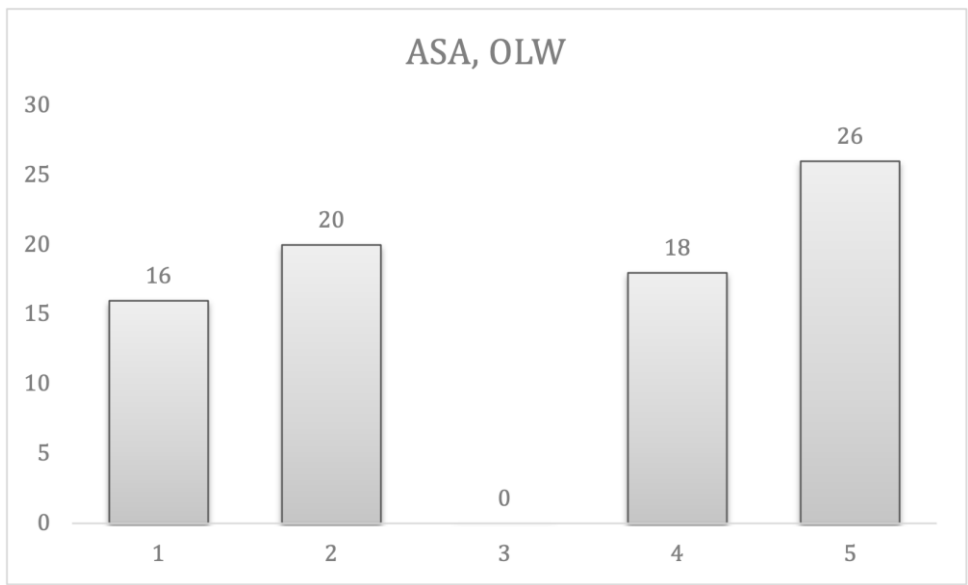
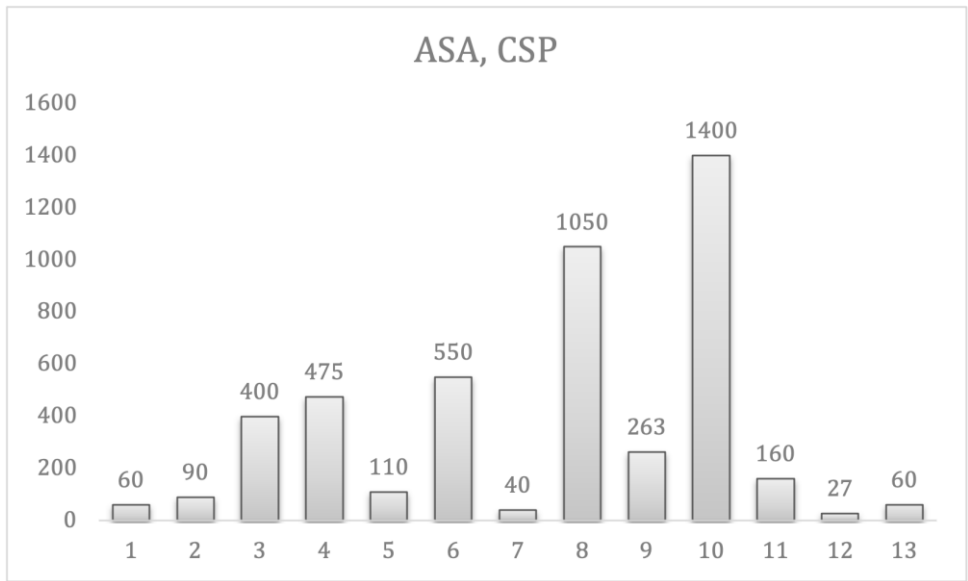


As can be seen, the majority of communities have no additional clergy.

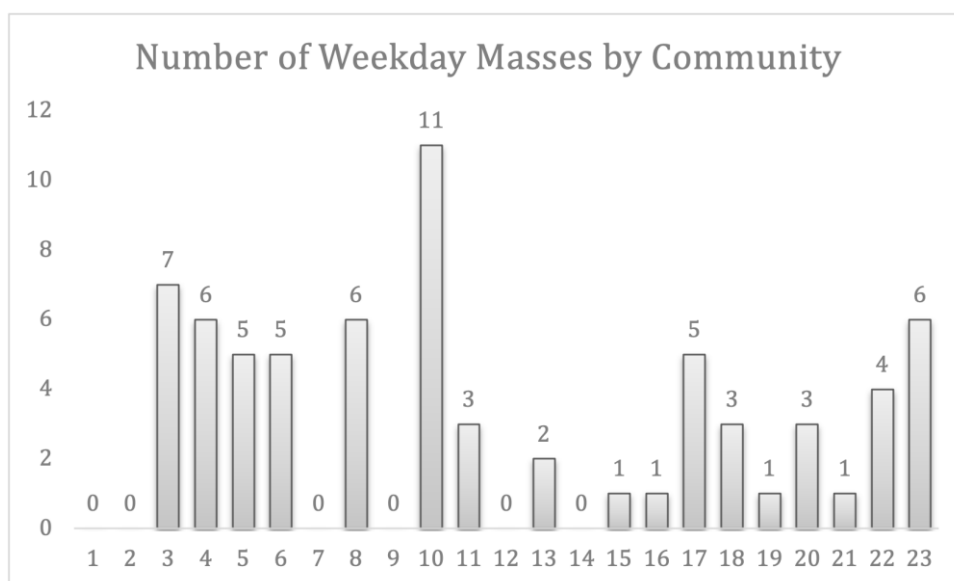
Part 3 of the Usage Survey is concerned with use of *Divine Worship*. Question 3 a. asks the total number of Sunday Masses according *Divine Worship* in the community. This data is collated below:



Question 3 b. is concerned with average Sunday attendance. This is shown separately based on Ordinariate, below:



Question 3 c. asked the number of weekday Masses in a community. As seen from the data below, most responding communities has at least one weekday Mass every week:



Question 3 d. asked what regular liturgies according to *Divine Worship* other than Mass are regularly held in a community. Whilst the frequency varied considerably, many communities reported celebrating either Mattins, Evensong, or Compline. Of the 23 responding communities, 13 reported regular public celebration according to *Divine Worship: Daily Office*.

Question 3 e. asked respondents to list any hymn books used in their community.

Hymnal	Times Reported
Anglican Church of Canada 1938	1
Episcopal Hymnal 1940	5
OCP Journeysong	1
Episcopal Hymnal 1982	2
New English Hymnal	5
English Hymnal	1
Common Praise	1
Catholic Worship Book II	1
Pope Francis Hymnal	1

This data provides an indication as to the hymnals that are informing the musical patrimony of the Ordinariates, at least in those communities whose' pastors responded.

4.4.4 Survey Results – Main Survey

All survey results were received within LimeSurvey. To facilitate processing, the data was exported in Excel format using the LimeSurvey export function. As with the usage survey, incomplete surveys were excluded. A total of 269 completed surveys were received.

4.4.4.1 Data Validation

Duplicate IP addresses were identified by using the conditional formatting function within Excel. Whilst a number of duplicate IP addresses were located, data inspection indicated that the entries related to different persons.

4.4.4.2 Data Editing

Due to the number of completed surveys received, some pre-editing of the data was necessary in order to allow its analysis. This is because of differences in the way that respondents answer questions. For example, when asked to identify their country of residence, some respondents answered “USA”, whilst others answered “United States”. Many responses included typos or punctuation marks. It is impossible to display visually the break up of country of residence with these inconsistent responses, and as such the data must be edited to remedy this problem. This section will describe how the data was edited and the decisions made in editing.

Question 1 c. Country of Residence. Some respondents entered the name of a region or county. In these cases, it was possible to determine their country of residence from the location of the community in which they normally worship. These responses were edited to give the name of a country. All variations of “USA” were changed to “USA”, with the exception of Guam which was shown simply as “Guam”. All variations of “Canada” were edited to “Canada”. Anywhere within the United Kingdom was changed to “UK”. All responses within Australia were edited for consistency to be “Australia”. As this editing took place, each response was also allocated to an Ordinariate to allow data to be displayed by Ordinariate.

Question 1 e. provided a semi open-ended question which asked persons who were baptised, but not Catholic, to indicate in which church they had been baptised. The responses included a large variation in church names, with some respondents indicating multiple baptisms due to lost paperwork. In the case of multiple baptisms, the data was edited to show the first baptism indicated. Church names were edited such that all baptisms from within the Anglican tradition are shown as “Anglican”. All variations of the following denominations were rendered consistently, “Methodist”, “Church of Christ”, “Presbyterian”, “Baptist”,

“Lutheran”, “Orthodox”. One respondent indicated being a catechumen. This response was edited to the correct answer which should have been “I am not baptised”.

Question 2 a. provided an open-ended question which asked respondents to indicate the parish where they most regularly attend Mass. To allow categorisation of responses, these were edited to provide consistency of community naming. Some people listed the name of the Catholic church the community worships in rather than the name of the Ordinariate parish. These were edited to reflect the parish name. Where it was not possible to determine a parish from the information provided, the field was cleared.

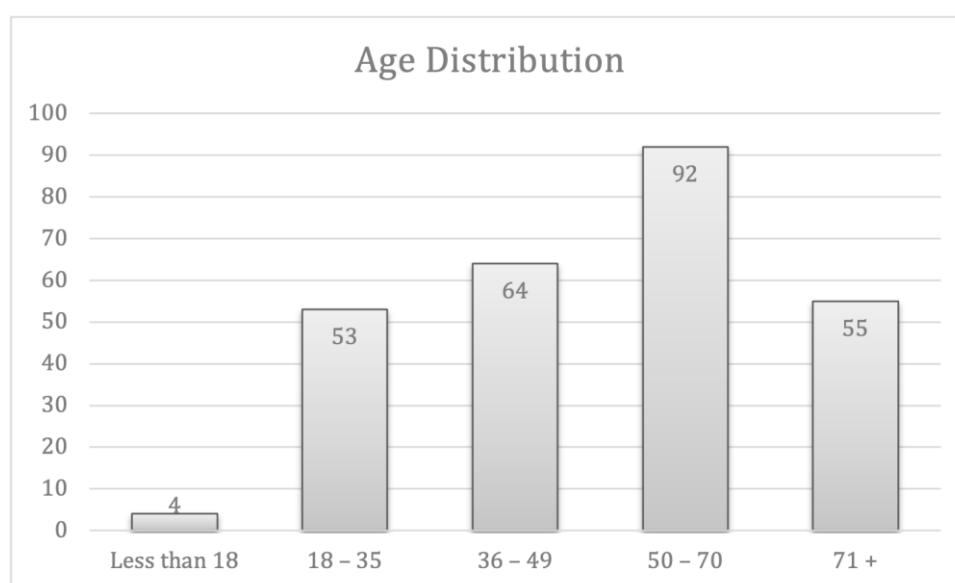
4.4.4.3 Data Analysis – Demographics

Question one of the survey gathers demographic information about the respondent. Question 1 a. is an optional question which asks the respondent to identify their sex. The responses are as follows:

Male	156
Female	111
No answer	2

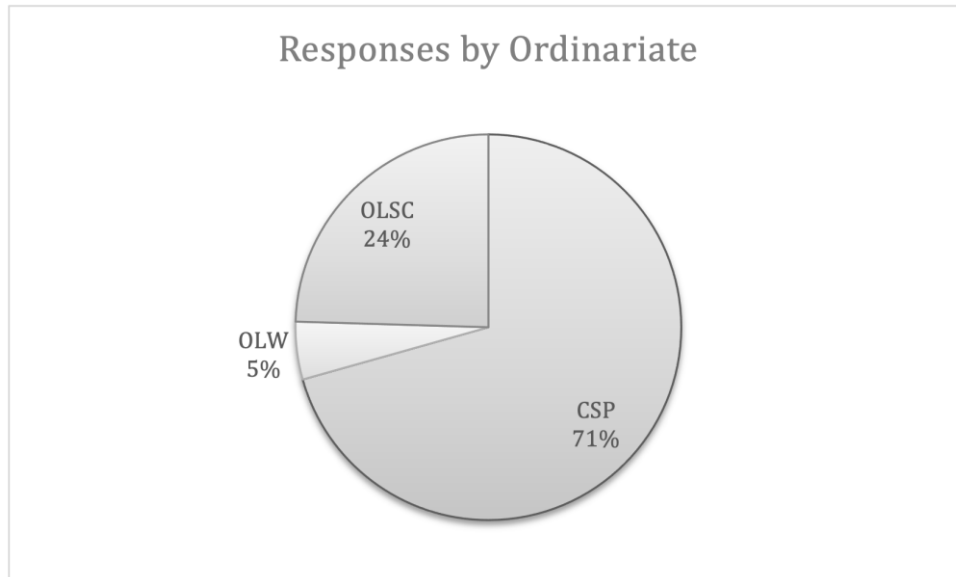
This data shows that 60% of respondents are male. Whilst males are in a majority, there is nonetheless a relatively even balance of responses between males and females.

Question 1 b. is an optional question which seeks to establish an age range of respondents. Only one respondent did not answer this question. To simplify the graphing, this response has been excluded from the following plot, which shows the age distribution of respondents:



As can be seen, there is a skewing of the data towards the above 50 age range. Nonetheless, across the adult age ranges, the data is relatively flat in its distribution.¹²²¹

Question 1 c. asks the respondent to identify their country of residence. This data was used to assign each response to an ordinariate. Respondents from Guam were assigned to OLSC.



Given the relative sizes of the Ordinariates, it is not surprising that the responses are heavily skewed towards CSP, with just over 70% of the responses. What is surprising is the lack of responses from OLW, which makes up only 5% of the responses, with significantly fewer responses than OLSC. This clearly does not reflect the relative sizes of OLSC and OLW. It is also interesting to note that of the CSP responses, only four responses were received from Canada. Whilst the survey was sent out to all pastors of Ordinariate parishes by their respective chanceries, there is no way to know what those pastors actually did with the survey material. Not one response was received from the principal church of OLW. Whilst it is difficult to draw conclusions from responses that have *not* been made, the notable skewing of that data suggests the possibility that some pastors may have failed to promote the survey in the community, or, if they did, a failure of their people to engage with the vision of the Ordinariate. The response data clearly indicates a number of parishes in which the survey was well promoted.

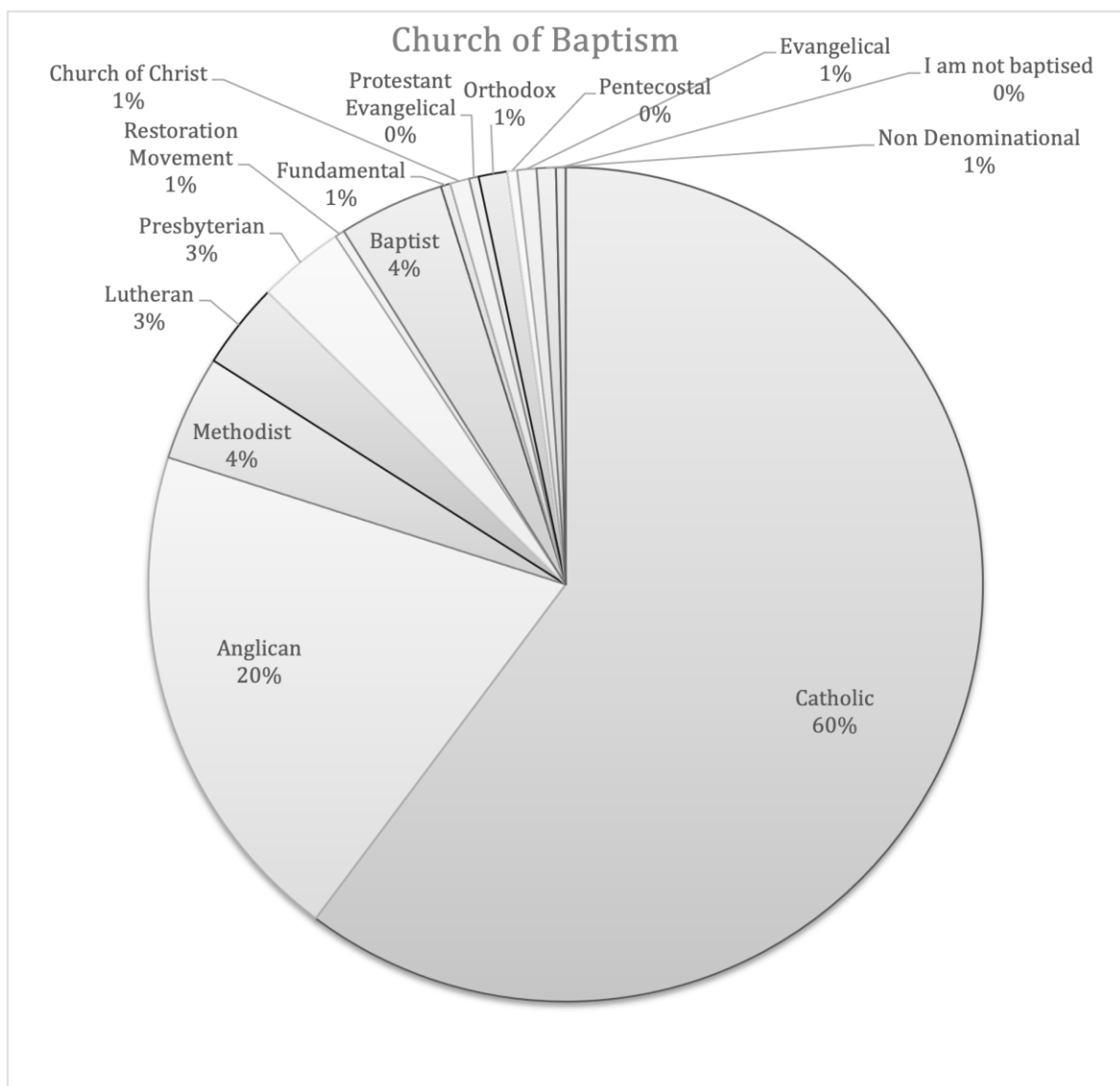
¹²²¹ That is to say, the 50–70 age range is still only around 50% greater in responses than the 36–49 age range. There is no range that is hundreds of percent greater than others.

Question 1 d. asks whether the respondent is Catholic. The response data is as follows:

Yes	263
No	6

This question sought to identify non-Catholic respondents who nonetheless feel some sort of a connection to the Ordinariate. A high proportion of non-Catholic respondents could indicate a potential skewing of the data. With almost 98% of respondents being Catholic, any potential skewing of data is considered to be negligible.

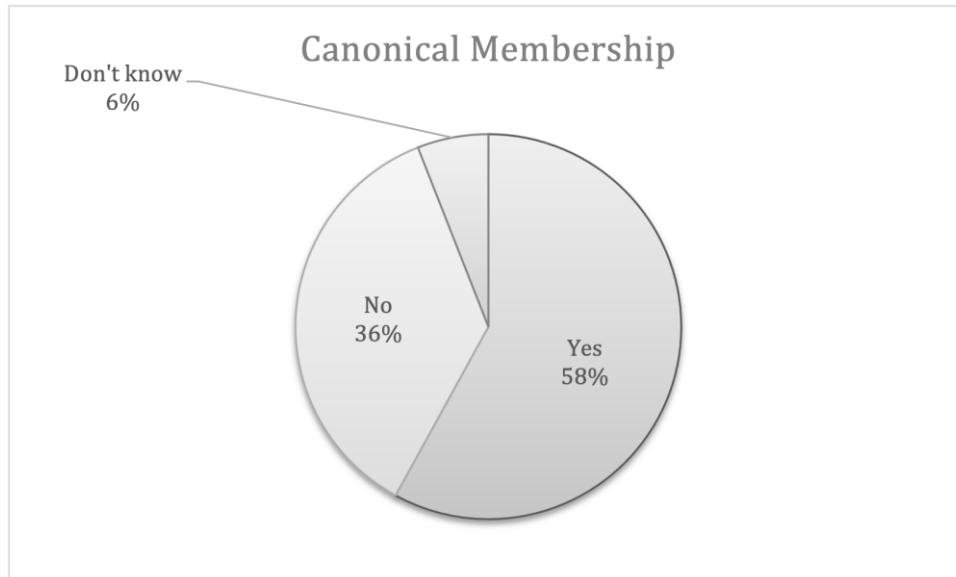
Question 1 d. is a semi open-ended question which is concerned with identifying the church in which respondents were baptised in. The data is summarised in the following chart:



The data indicates that the majority of respondents, at 60%, were baptised Catholic. Only 20% of respondents were baptised Anglican. It is important to note, however, that 71% of

respondents were from CSP, and that prior to the erection of the Ordinariate there were a number of large parishes of the Pastoral Provision within the United States.¹²²² Therefore, this 60% of persons baptised Catholic will include a significant number who were brought up and baptised within the Pastoral Provision.

Question 1 f. asks respondents to indicate if they are a canonical member of the Ordinariate.



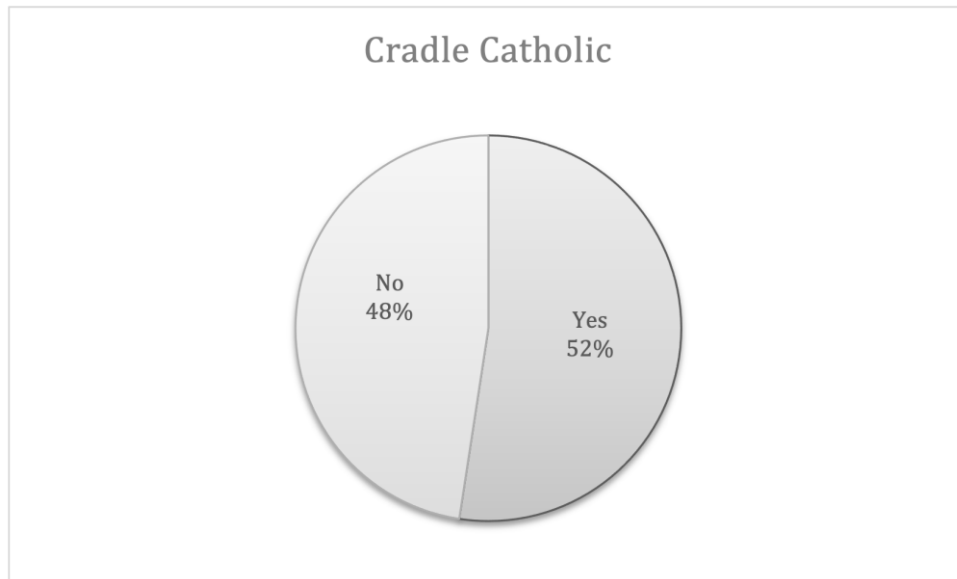
As can be seen, almost 60% of respondents identified as canonical Ordinariate members. It is likely that respondents have answered this question in a stricter sense as the question indicated membership as being by means of a formal act of joining the Ordinariate. In terms of broader definition of canonical membership being in terms of a visibly identifiable group under the care of a pastor, the proportion is likely significantly higher.¹²²³

Question 1 g. asked respondents to identify if they are a cradle Catholic. This is an important distinction from question 1 d. which was concerned with church of baptism, as here the intention is to identify Catholics born and raised in the Catholic Church, as opposed to those who may have been baptised as adults, or indeed baptised Catholic within the Ordinariate. Attention is drawn again to the point made with respect to Question 1 d. With the majority of respondents belonging to CSP, and CSP having a “pre-history” of the Pastoral Provision, there will indeed be significant numbers of respondents who albeit “cradle Catholics” were nonetheless raised within the Pastoral Provision. Therefore, it is not possible from the data

¹²²² As can be seen from Question 2 a below, the three largest respondent groups are OLW Houston and Our Lady of the Atonement, San Antonio, both of which were Pastoral Provision parishes, and Presentation, Montgomery, which was a church plant from OLW Houston.

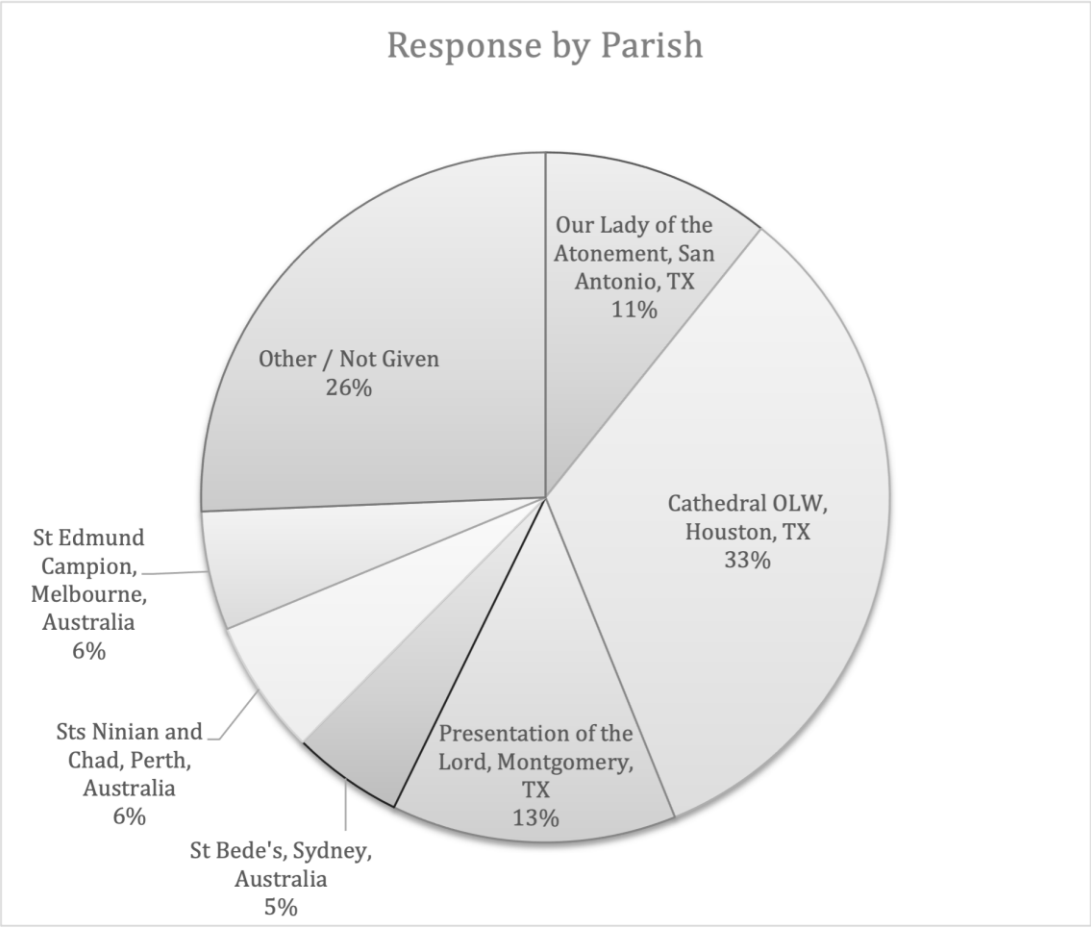
¹²²³ Indeed, it could be argued that anyone who answered question 2 d. in the affirmative in identifying the Ordinariate as their spiritual home is a canonical member of the Ordinariate.

to make a distinction between “cultural Catholics” raised in a regular diocesan parish context, and those raised in the Pastoral Provision.

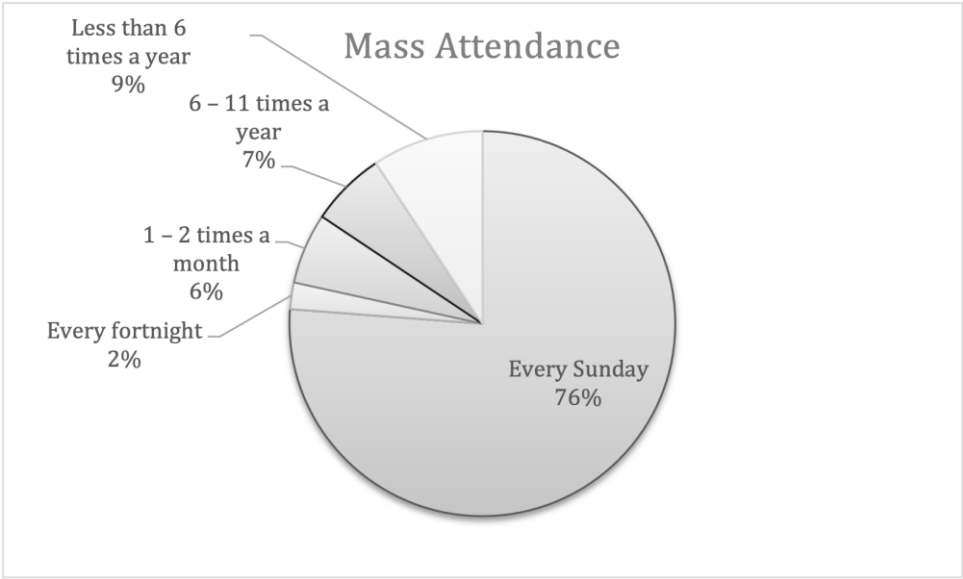


4.4.4.4 Data Analysis – Attendance

Question two of the survey gathers data about the attendance of the respondent. The intent is to qualify the belonging of the respondent to the Ordinariate. Question 2 a. asked the respondent to identify the Ordinariate parish they most regularly attend. A total of thirty-two parishes were identified. For the purposes of the plot below, only parishes that constituted more than 5% of responses are shown, with the remainder grouped under “Other / Not Given”.

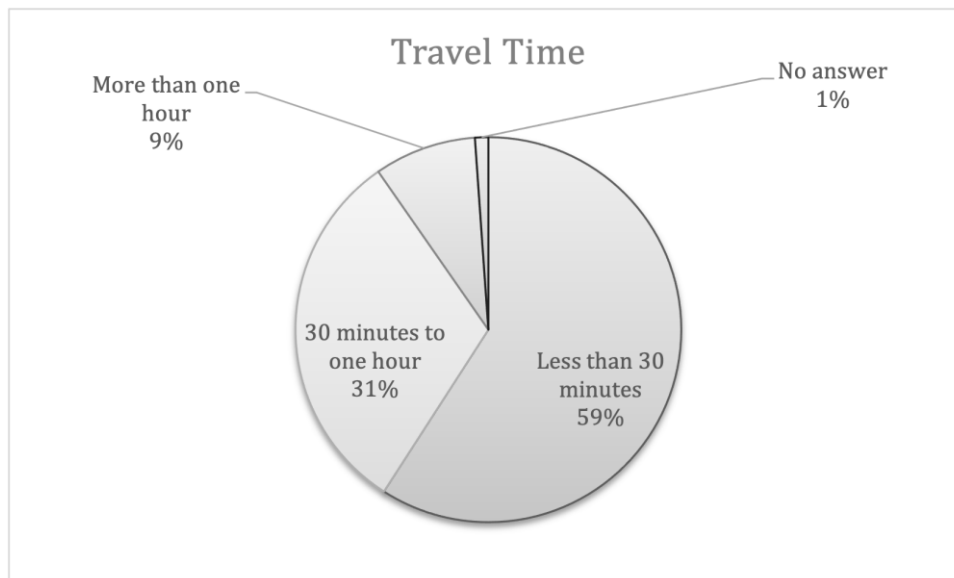


It is interesting to note that there was not one statistically significant parish in the UK. Question 2 b. seeks to identify the frequency of attendance of Mass at the Ordinariate. This closed ended question presented a range of options for the respondent to select from.



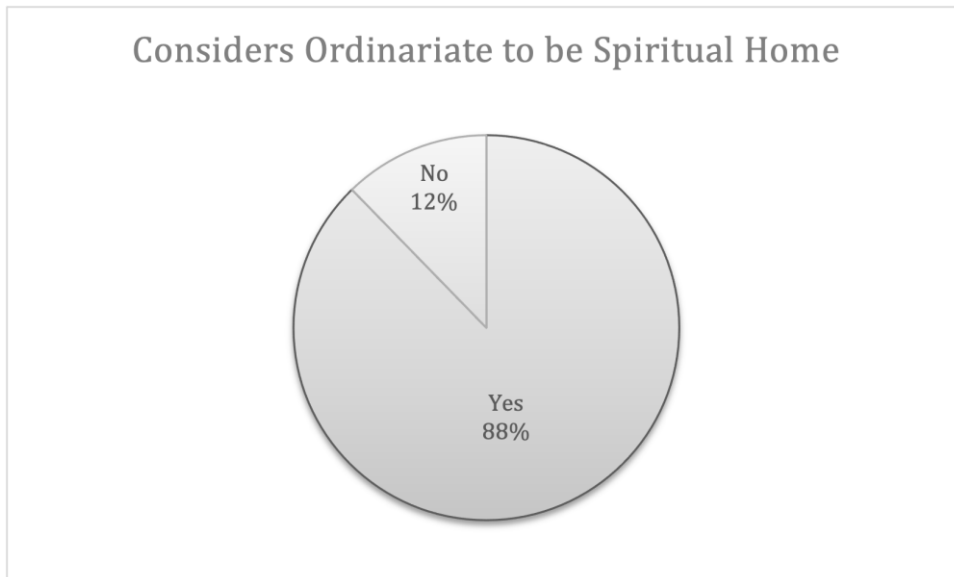
As can be seen from the data, a significant majority of respondents attend Mass within the Ordinariate every Sunday. 84% of respondents attend Mass within the Ordinariate at least once per month.

Question 2 c. is a closed ended question which presents a range of travelling times to the respondent. This is summarised in the following graph:



The data indicates that the majority of respondents travel less than half an hour, and 90% of respondents travel no more than an hour to Mass. Of respondents travelling more than one hour, 78% indicated (in question 2 d.) that they consider the Ordinariate to be their spiritual home, while 26% of those same respondents indicated that they attend Mass in an Ordinariate parish every Sunday. The large numerical difference between respondents who travel more than one hour who the Ordinariate as their spiritual home and those who attend Mass every Sunday indicates that travel time is an obstacle for them.

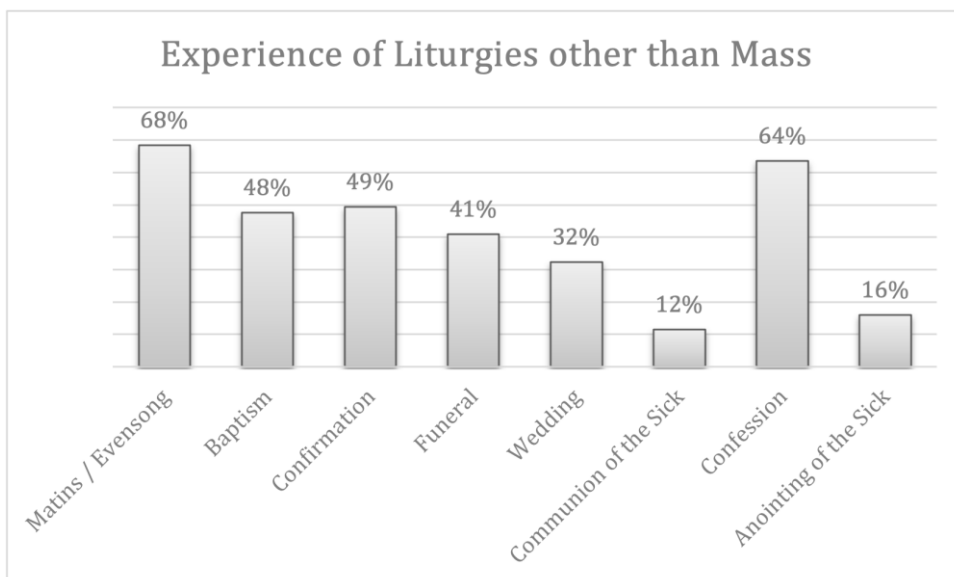
Question 2 d. asked respondents to indicate whether they consider the Ordinariate to be their spiritual home.



As identified in Question 1 f. above, 58% of respondents stated that they were canonical members of the Ordinariate. As can be seen, respondents who consider the Ordinariate to be their spiritual home is significantly higher, at 88%.

4.4.4.5 Data Analysis – Experience of the Language of Divine Worship

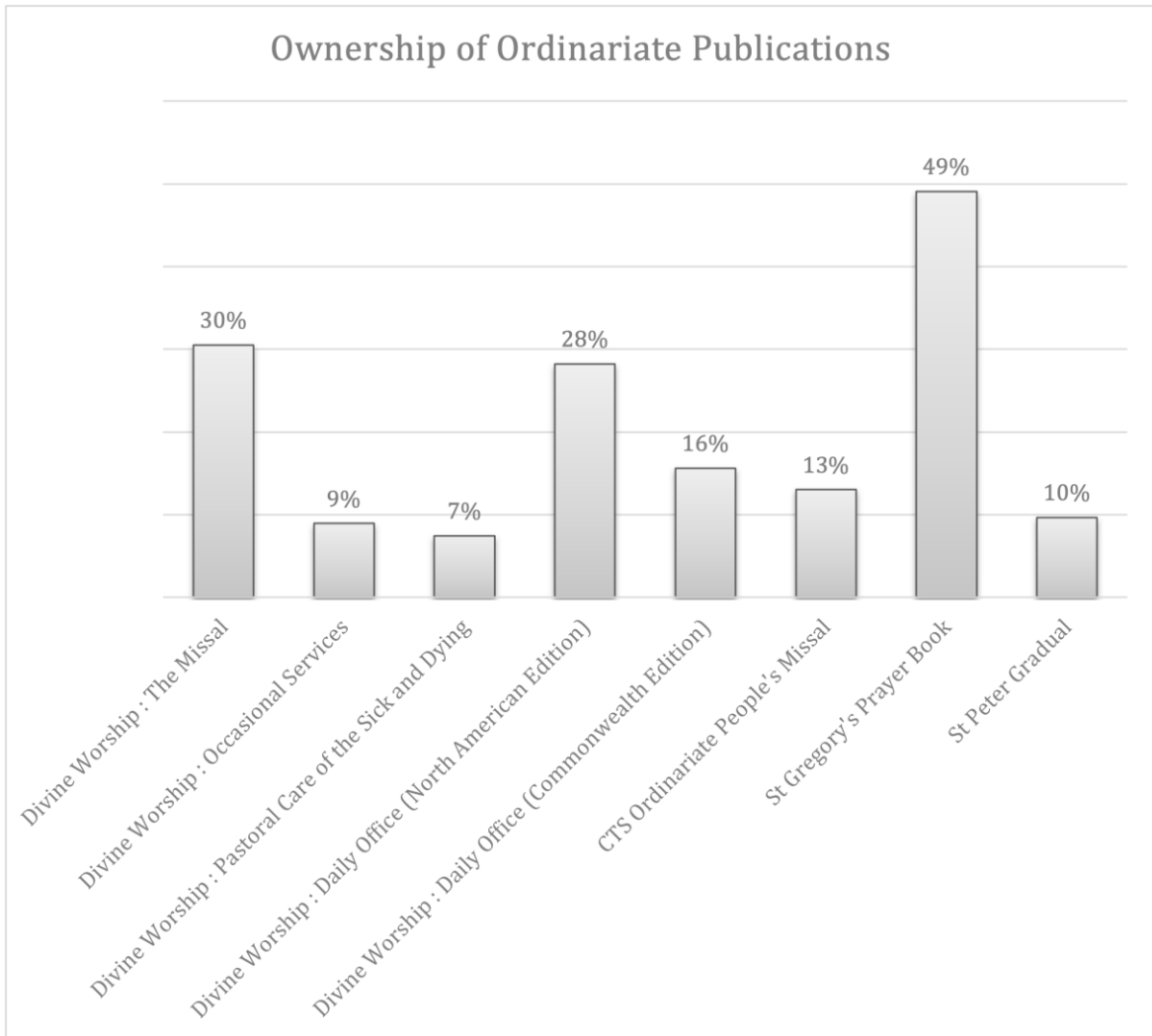
Question 3 seeks to determine what experience respondents have had of the language of *Divine Worship*, either in the liturgy, or through printed Ordinariate publications. Question 3 a. asks the respondent to identify liturgies they may have attended outside of Mass. The following plot shows the percentage of respondents who have experienced each liturgy:



The data shows that respondents have experienced a broad range of liturgies, with almost 70% having experience the Daily Office, either publicly or privately. Other forms of liturgy

also have been broadly experienced, with the exception of ministry to the sick which, of its nature, is generally only used in cases of need.

Question 3 b. asks respondents to identify which Ordinariate publications they own. The following plot shows the percentage of respondents who own each publication.

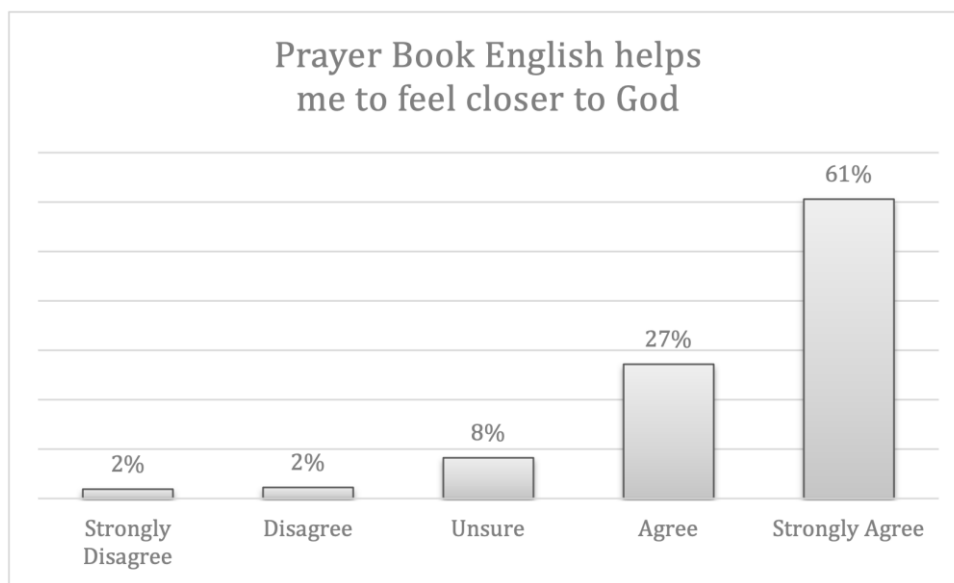


It is interesting to note that 30% of respondents own a copy of *Divine Worship: The Missal*. The question does not distinguish between altar or study edition. It should also be noted that when *Divine Worship: The Missal* was published, there was no people's Missal available. With almost 50% of respondents owning a copy of the *St Gregory's Prayer Book*, this is a strong indication that the recognition of a need for a people's book of devotions in the shape of the greatest Anglo-Catholic prayer books of the twentieth century was well founded. Examination of the data shows twelve respondents who belong to the Ordinariate of the Chair of Saint Peter own copies of *Divine Worship: Daily Office (Commonwealth Edition)*. Whilst some of these respondents are likely to own these for study purposes, it is possible

that some of them may prefer to use the Commonwealth Edition for their own recitation of the Office.¹²²⁴ This is a supposition, as this information is not a part of the survey.

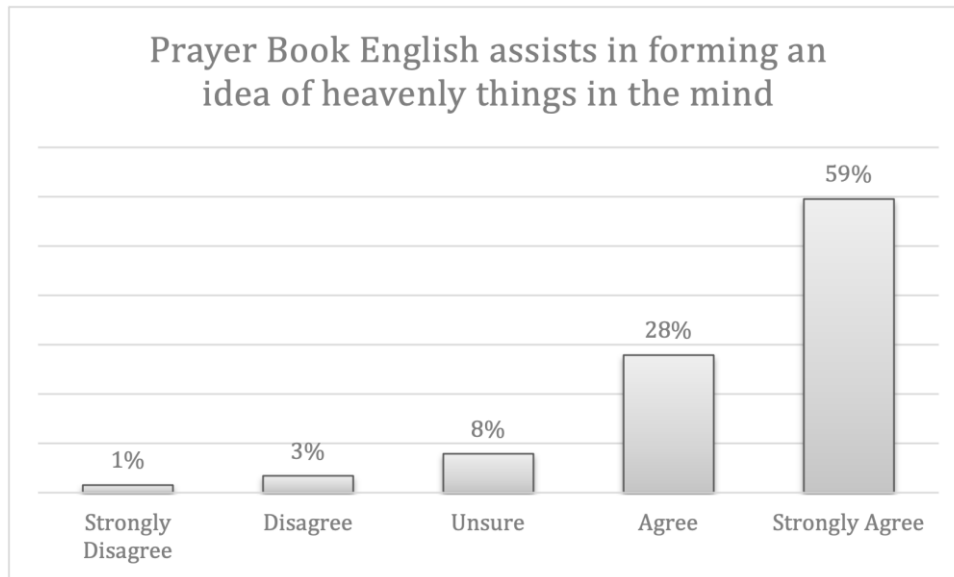
4.4.4.6 Data Analysis – Language and Practice of the Faith

Question four of the survey asks respondents to indicate how the language of *Divine Worship* assists them in the practice of the faith. This question is prefaced with “Thinking now of how the style of language of the Ordinariate liturgy assists you in your practise of the faith:”. Question 4 a. is a closed-ended question which asks the respondent to identify whether or not Prayer Book English helps them to feel closer to God. The response data is summarised in the following plot:



The data indicates a strong majority of respondents indicated that Prayer Book English does assist them in feeling closer to God, with 88% of respondents either agreeing or strongly agreeing. Only 4% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed. While 8% were unsure. Section 4.2 above discussed how words form an idea in the mind. Question 4 b. asked respondents to identify whether Prayer Book English assists them in forming ideas of heavenly things in their minds. Their responses are summarised as follows:

¹²²⁴ It is noted that *DW:DO (NA)* was intended to be a pew resource, and does not include the lectionary, whereas *DW:DO (CE)* was aimed more towards private use, and does include the lectionary.



As can be seen, once again a strong majority agreed, with 87% of respondents either agreeing or strongly agreeing. Again, only 4% disagreed or strongly disagreed, with 8% unsure. This data in itself is not especially surprising, as one would expect those who have an affinity with the Ordinariate to also have an affinity with Prayer Book English. What is of interest here, is to delve into to “how”, which constitutes the second part of Question 4 b. Here, respondents were asked: “Please comment on how the Language of Divine Worship assists in forming an image of heavenly things in your mind:”. With 269 respondents, it is not practical to list every single response, but a number of selected responses are presented below¹²²⁵:

Using the words of Divine Worship certainly is using an elevated form of speech. Elevating my speech elevates my mind which helps to elevate each part of myself in mass to God. It takes me out of my daily habits of speech into a sacred space of speech.¹²²⁶

The language used removes the fluff and focuses on the traditions of the faith, bringing me to a deeper prayer experience.¹²²⁷

The language used assists me with placing the upmost respect, that is deserved, to Our Lord. The language used during mass is not ‘everyday language’ which helps to reinforce that Heaven and God are not of this world; it elevates their importance and my priority of focus. The language creates a humbling, delicate, loving, and beautiful experience through the word choice and prayers built into the mass.¹²²⁸

¹²²⁵ Survey responses have generally been preserved in their original form, including errors, as this is likely to be much less distracting than attempting to correct or surmise what the respondent intended.

¹²²⁶ Response ID 11. LimeSurvey assigns each response a unique identification number. For the purposes of referencing responses, this ID is used.

¹²²⁷ Response ID 43.

¹²²⁸ Response ID 48.

A simplified vocabulary (i.e. Biblia Latinoamericana for Spanish) reduces the sense of reverence in a sentence, ‘pulls down’ the idea without making it necessarily more understandable, and overall the different sections (i.e. Liturgy) feel separated. A vocabulary that is not antiquated but proper, adds a sense of reverence and unity.¹²²⁹

The language literally states what is happening. The old Latin Mass is beautiful but takes a while to understand, the Novus Ordo is entirely cerebral in which one must understand the faith well to follow along. In this form of the Mass, even if your mind wanders, the prayers take hold of you and roots you back to the Mass. For example: ‘so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son.. and to drink His blood’ - one literally states a reality of the Mass.¹²³⁰

Sometimes, hearing things, especially sacred things, in a different way can make it more immediate and present by getting out of habitual hearing and presenting the information in a new way. While the language of Divine Worship, over time, can also become habitual, some aspects are only visited a few times a year, and the language is different enough from modern English that it retains an element of this novelty and its power to distinguish itself and ‘shock’ the understanding into considering it anew.¹²³¹

The language seems to be proper to a higher order, which elevated my heart and mind to God. It’s like attending a wedding. You put on a tuxedo. In this case, you take part in the formal ‘black-tie’ language; All for the love of God.¹²³²

The language of the Divine Worship is not tied to the constantly changing lingo of the everyday. It has endured and has been the language of prayer and devotion of my fathers. Using that language frees me from the limits of here and now and sets my mind on things eternal. A holy space that has been often prayed in leads one to prayer. The language of the Divine Worship works that way. The door to the divine opens more easily because it has been often opened.¹²³³

The formal and poetic structures of the language used in the mass are critical for drawing me into a sense of the transcendent and divine. The archaic English that we use pulls me out of the mundane and everyday, forcing me to focus on each syllable being uttered, helping me meditate on their truth and beauty. The poetic nature of the language breathes beauty into the liturgy revealing that aspect of God’s being to me during the mass.¹²³⁴

The rich, poetic texture of Cranmer's Prayer Book English that is used in Divine Worship really helps form the vivid spiritual imagination, and spiritual vocabulary for discipleship of Jesus Christ. The language is memorable, rooted in Scripture, and elevated, yet feels close. But it gives the heart a language for following Jesus, which is the very heart of Christian life. The language of Divine Worship captures that mysterious tension of the ineffable God whose infinite love for us makes the Son take on our flesh in Jesus Christ. The Coverdale Psalms capture the majesty of the Lord, and his yearning for us. They translate the full range and force of human emotion before God’s presence, while calling for his mercy, justice, and praise. Divine Worship has deeply emotional language that is not captured in other Catholic English liturgical translations. The language conveys the majesty of God ‘the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handy-work’ (Psalm 19), and yet, it gives me such an

¹²²⁹ Response ID 52.

¹²³⁰ Response ID 64.

¹²³¹ Response ID 163.

¹²³² Response ID 179.

¹²³³ Response ID 190.

¹²³⁴ Response ID 247.

intimate portrait of confidence in the Lord, giving him ‘humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to us and all men.’ In the majesty of Divine Worship’s language, God feels closer to me than ever through Jesus Christ, and I feel my tongue has a language to speak a word of love with him.¹²³⁵

The language switches on religion/ church in my brain. For example I am entirely unable to concentrate if I try to read the bible in a modern secular English translation.¹²³⁶

Language, like liturgical art/architecture/music etc, contributes to a sense of sacredness and the definition of sacred space. These things mark out the liturgical environment as distinct and particular, creating an environment which is conducive to a spiritual encounter with God - children pick this up instinctively and adults can also enter this with a receptive, contemplative attitude which understands ‘active participation’ as a spiritual dynamic orienting the self to God rather than material/physical activity (i.e. a participation of the heart rather than mere activity for its own sake).¹²³⁷

Transcendent language rather than language of the BBQ.¹²³⁸

Not every respondent agreed that the language of *Divine Worship* assists them in the formation of heavenly ideas:

There is a beauty to language; however, this assumes one understands the words used. Outdated/olde English words which are only ever used in worship have no real-world context and it is therefore difficult to form images from them.¹²³⁹

I don’t know that the style of words helps me form an image of heavenly things in my mind. The reverence, piety and gestures of the presiding priest and assisting deacons and servers along with the incense probably have more of an effect on me than the language.¹²⁴⁰

I find the use of Elizabethan English to be contrived though I am used to it. At the time of Henry VIII mass was celebrated in Latin, not the vernacular of the the day. If English is to be used my opinion is that contemporary English would be more accessible effective and a less contrived ‘difference’ from USCCB.¹²⁴¹

I find the Old English form to be difficult to say and memorize because we don’t speak that way in our culture. I find the depth and beauty of the reverence shown by the priest and the congregation to be what brings a closer feeling to the mass. When the congregation is unified in prayer and respect, it lifts all those who may struggle on their own to join in the prayers together. I do like the prayers and the mass, but some of the backwards language actually makes it harder to pray because I don’t normally speak to God in those terms outside the Ordinate mass. No one in America says the words ‘meet and right so to do’ in conversations with people nor to God.¹²⁴²

¹²³⁵ Response ID 266.

¹²³⁶ Response ID 280.

¹²³⁷ Response ID 369.

¹²³⁸ Response ID 413.

¹²³⁹ Response ID 25.

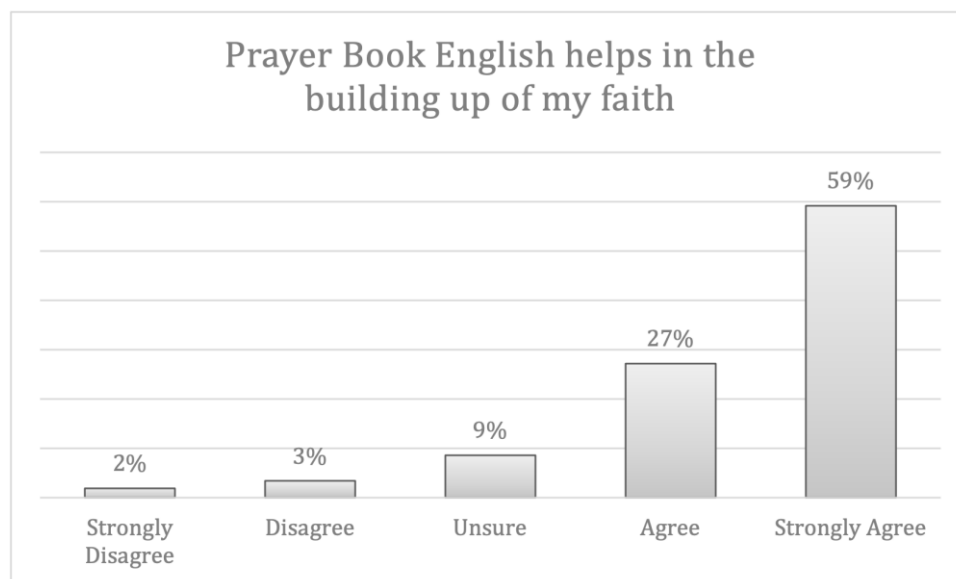
¹²⁴⁰ Response ID 72.

¹²⁴¹ Response ID 201.

¹²⁴² Response ID 239.

A number of themes came strongly through the responses. The strongest theme was that respondents reported that the distinctiveness of language from everyday English assisted them in forming ideas of heavenly things in their minds. Some respondents noted that the distinctiveness of language forced them to be much more attentive during the liturgy. Closely following was the theme that Prayer Book English instilled in the respondent a sense of reverence which drew them to a higher awareness of the otherness of God. To a lesser extent, respondents noted the beauty and poetry of the language and saw this as offering the best we can to God. Others identified a sense of connection to tradition, either in terms of the Church, or in some cases a sense of nostalgia to what was familiar in their childhood. A number of respondents identified an affinity for the Latin Mass, with a perceived similarity of *Divine Worship* being a point of attraction for them.

Question 4 c. asked respondents to identify whether Prayer Book English helped them in the building up of their faith. This should not be seen solely in a didactic sense, but in the broader sense of a strengthening of faith. Responses are shown in the following plot:



A strong majority of 86% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Prayer Book English does assist in strengthening their faith, with 5% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. 9% were unsure. Respondents were then provided with an open-ended opportunity to elaborate in their own words. Prior to examining these responses, it should be noted that a tendency was noted for respondents to “shoot all their bullets” in the previous question. As such, many of their subsequent answers use words to the effect of “as I said above”. Therefore, those responses need to be seen as having relevance to the subsequent questions. It must also be acknowledged that there is a certain overlap between questions.

Selected responses describing how Prayer Book English assists in building up the respondent's faith are given below:

A language that 'requires attention', that is beautiful, helps me in my daily readings. I contemplate as much as I enjoy (aesthetically) the text. It also moves me to read/pray out loud. It encourages me to approach the text.¹²⁴³

It helps build up my faith in a few ways. First I feel I enter more deeply into the Mass and I more 'actively consciously participate' in the Mass. It invokes reverence and and inspires me to want to 'be holy'. On a second level. I feel more connected to those around me as the body of Christ and I find myself wanting to be apart of 'this'. And so my self and my family (wife and I have 9 kids) are participating in activities out side of mass (but directly before or after mass) to be a part of this Catholic family. I have two daughters that are assisting with religious education etc. Lastly I would say the language used helps to build my faith is in the st Gregory prayer book as well as Mass helps me to recollect myself as this language is 'set apart' for worship and not how I talk to the guy at the store.¹²⁴⁴

For example: It is right, and a good and joyful thing, always and everywhere to give thanks to you, Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth,...

The expansion or, more real and richer description of God makes him seem larger and more real. The following sentences bring one out of the the brevity of modern commerce, for example.¹²⁴⁵

When I don't understand a specific vocabulary word, it invites me to look it up and learn more about my Catholic faith.¹²⁴⁶

Having a distinction in the language of worship and everyday usage encourages reflection and theological study. To use the specific words of worship with understanding we have to learn the concepts that made their usage a part of the text. Of course, there are varying levels of this. 'Thee' and 'thou' are not difficult to understand, and serve the purpose of reverential address, which contains theological understand, but does not necessarily demand the same type of investigation as something like 'vouchsafe.'¹²⁴⁷

It inspires me to learn more about the prayers used, and why they are written as they are. It similar how I feel about the Latin Mass, but not understanding Latin, I can understand so much more easily. I am so thankful to be able to attend a Mass that has such reverence and strong ties to the past and tradition that I can actually understand well.¹²⁴⁸

Before finding Our Lady of Walsingham, I was not being spiritually fed at the parishes where I attended Mass. I struggled to grow in my faith and attended weekly Mass out of a sense of obligation more than anything else. The first Mass I attended at Our Lady of Walsingham was a turning point in my life. It was the Easter Vigil and the beauty of the language of the liturgy moved me to tears because it was so heavenly poetic. I remember especially the prayers

¹²⁴³ Response ID 52.

¹²⁴⁴ Response ID 62.

¹²⁴⁵ Response ID 69.

¹²⁴⁶ Response ID 97.

¹²⁴⁷ Response ID 103.

¹²⁴⁸ Response ID 126.

prayed over the newly baptized and newly confirmed. The words spoke to my heart and edified my own faith.¹²⁴⁹

The words used in the mass and prayers being said allow me to better place myself in a ‘state of reverence’ despite my children being children and other possible distractions. The language used, is ‘different’, beautiful and that in which draws me to the divinity and extraordinary that is of Our Lord. The language used is also clear and concise and quite frank and vulnerable in word, which translates to a certain vulnerability of heart and mind.¹²⁵⁰

The language used in the Ordinariate is consistent in the Mass, the hymns, Scripture readings, evensong. The key phrases of our faith ring in my ears with the same tune. They become part of me and strengthen me from within. I also remember that the faithful have been strengthened by these words and the faith they express. I find that when Scripture is reduced to language that lacks cadence and beauty it does not lift the heart.¹²⁵¹

When words are well said, they penetrate the mind more deeply and create a greater conviction than when they are poorly said. Since the Ordinariate’s language is noble and elegant, it reinforces my faith when I listen to it. The words of the Nicene Creed, for example, in the beautiful translation used in the Ordinariate, take a hold of me and cause me to meditate upon them and hold fast to them.¹²⁵²

The Divine Worship liturgies are a veritable school of discipleship teaching how to ‘continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as [the Lord] hast prepared for us to walk in.’ Moreover, it imprints this knowledge on the heart -- even if I don’t pick up a Divine Worship book, I can recall beautiful poetic phrases from the liturgy that remind me how I am to live as a Christian and a follower of Jesus. The Ordinariate’s language delivers the Word of God into my heart, giving me a rich biblical imagination, helping me to keep the Lord’s Words front and center as I recall them throughout the day, and deepens richly my love for Jesus in the Eucharist. I always receive Jesus praying the Prayer of Humble Access, and I pray the General Post-Communion Prayer (even at OF Masses on those occasions) so my understanding of the Eucharist and my discipleship of Jesus is closely linked. And the majestic prayers we sing in the liturgy, including the hymns, in Prayer Book English draw me deeper into the mystery of God’s love, particularly in the Holy Eucharist. And the Prayer Book English truly helps me enter heart and soul into the different seasons of the Church. Advent and Christmas would be so much poorer, without the Ordinariate patrimonial hymns or Lessons and Carols, for example!¹²⁵³

Some respondents disagreed that Prayer Book English assists in building up their faith:

The deep devotion to Christ by the priest and the congregation is what attracts our family to the Ordinariate. The old language is a hindrance for us, but we are willing to endure to be connected to families who are conservative in minds and hearts. We desire the close connection to other families struggling as we are to live a moral life in the world of immorality. We enjoy the reverence given to God in the mass at this church and don’t feel alone in our desire to serve Christ in a traditional, orthodox way. Morality in speech and actions by parishioners, is not so easily found in other Catholic churches and with many other Catholic families. Our Lady of Walsingham has become an oasis for conservative, traditional families to come together seeking the same joy in our Catholic faith. We desire orthodox doctrine

¹²⁴⁹ Response ID 168.

¹²⁵⁰ Response ID 180.

¹²⁵¹ Response ID 190.

¹²⁵² Response ID 193.

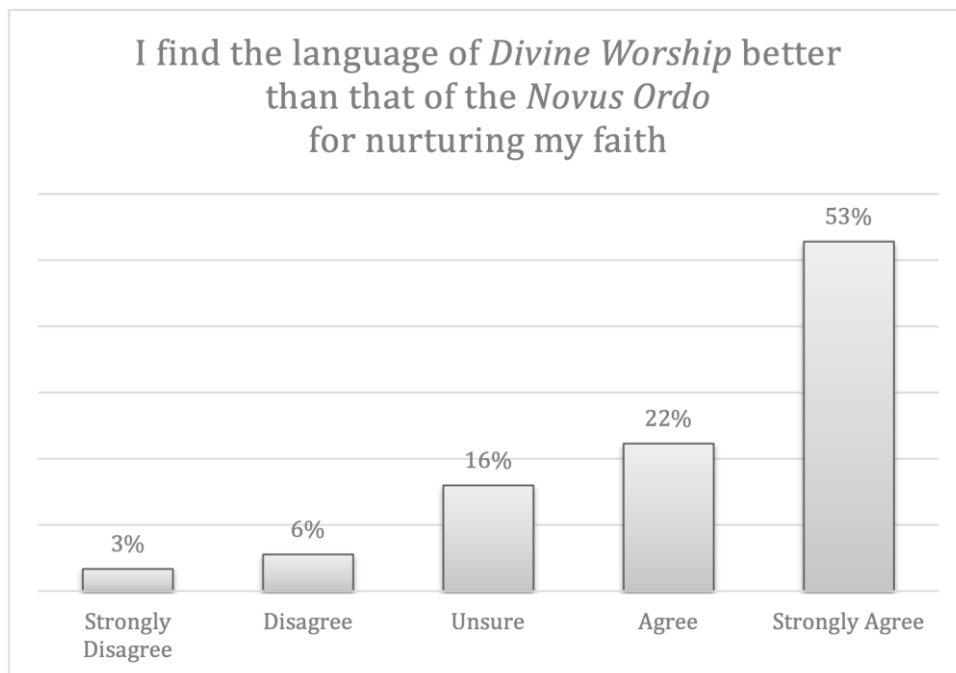
¹²⁵³ Response ID 266.

taught to our children in catechism. We are all looking for truth to be celebrated and shared in the mass, in classes, and in family communities. Dryness is on every corner and in seeking depth and life, we found it alive within the Ordinariate. The prayers are deep, strong, and beautiful. The prayers themselves do add a deepening of faith, but the old language scattered throughout is difficult. The language is tolerable, but not a means in itself of deepening our faith.¹²⁵⁴

The idiosyncrasies of the language, for the most part, do not help, although some turns of phrase are a relief from bad USCCB translations. My family and I love the people, clergy, music, aesthetic and orthodoxy of the Ordinariate – but a longer Mass is not a better Mass.¹²⁵⁵

A number of themes were identified throughout the responses. The strongest theme was that respondents identified that the hieratic and distinctive language used in *Divine Worship* has a direct consequence, either intellectual or emotional. Many respondents noted that the distinction of the text from everyday usage demanded their engagement with the text. A lesser theme was that the reverent nature of the language assisted in building up their faith. Respondents also identified a nostalgic or familiar appeal of the style of language. At first this might seem to be no more than romanticism, but this is a reinforcement of past habits, or a reinforcement of virtue.

Question 4 d. asked respondents to consider the difference in the style of language between *Divine Worship* and the *Novus Ordo*. They were then asked to agree or disagree with whether Prayer Book English is better suited to the nurturing of their faith. These results are summarised in the following plot:



¹²⁵⁴ Response ID 239.

¹²⁵⁵ Response ID 249.

As can be seen, 75% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they find the style of language of *Divine Worship* better suited for the nurturing of their faith than that of the *Novus Ordo*. 9% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Compared to previous questions, we can see that a higher proportion, at 16%, were unsure. It is most important to emphasise that this question should *not* be seen in terms of asking whether respondents see the *Novus Ordo* as “bad” and *Divine Worship* as “good”, although some respondents may have interpreted the question in that way. The question is purely concerned with the differences in style of language.

Respondents were then given an open-ended opportunity to explain why they chose their answer. It is clear from some of the answers, that a number of respondents misunderstood the question, disagreeing with the question yet in their open-ended elaboration, or in their previous answers, agreeing with the question. There is no way with certainty to quantify how many respondents misunderstood the question, but there is no evidence it is sufficiently large to invalidate the data obtained.

Selected responses are presented below:

It maintains the awe of the Lord better to me. I was poorly catechized in the 1960s. Too much Jesus as brother and Jesus as friend and very little of his majesty. Perhaps I am just getting older and smarter?¹²⁵⁶

When I have difficulty praying for a family member or friend, all I have to do is look up a prayer for them in the St. Gregory Prayer book and pray. Over weeks of doing this I noticed a softening of my heart toward this person that only the Holy Spirit could help me with. I have not found this type of prayer book anywhere else; being former military spouse we travelled a lot and have seen many different Catholic parishes.¹²⁵⁷

Prayer Book English is beautifully clear in the images and concepts it is trying to project. There is a lovely ‘flow’ and a ‘poetry’ to the sentences. *Novus Ordo* language has neither.¹²⁵⁸

As mentioned above this language is set apart for worship and this helps to recollect my self and prepare, as well as to be reverent. I have only attended the ordinariate for a little over 1 year now. So I may not be the right person. But I have attended the *novus ordo* mass ever Sunday if my life up until a little over a year ago. I have seen so many, including folks in my extended family that have left the church because they do not understand what is going on. They do not realize that this is where heaven and earth meet and that it is Jesus on that altar. I could go on for a long time as to why but language is one of the reasons. - you can not attend a mass in the ordinariate and not know that something magnificent has happened and that The host is now Jesus on that altar!!! It is impossible!!! That is not always the case in the *novus ordo*. Although I have seen the *novus ordo* done well but that is when it is rich with Latin (as is also the case at OLW Cathedral). So the combination of prayer book English language coupled

¹²⁵⁶ Response ID 29.

¹²⁵⁷ Response ID 51.

¹²⁵⁸ Response ID 58.

with Latin and the rich prayers of the liturgy combine to make an atmosphere that draws you into the liturgy and inspires you to know that something amazing is happening that you want to 'know' and love and be a part of and then you get to finally Receive.¹²⁵⁹

I studied Classics and History, so I am more formal in my written and spoken English usage. The use of Thee/Thou forms of addressing God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost/Spirit is consistent with how I was raised in the Christian faith.¹²⁶⁰

While the Novus Ordo does contain generally elevated language, it includes enough elements of modern English to be more immediate and accessible and hence has less power to force the intellect to reckon with it and ponder it. This is not to say that modern English cannot have this impact, but it does not have it as naturally as Divine Worship English.¹²⁶¹

I find the style of English used in the Novus Ordo to be plain and common. The language used in the Ordinariate feels and sounds much more sacred and proper, especially for use in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.¹²⁶²

It is more expressive of the feeling of worship, deeper than thanks, deeper than sorrow, deeper than devotion. It lifts the mind and the spirit into higher realms of thought and expression. I feel very close to God surrounded by the words from Divine Worship, and it is a joy to speak them and hear them during Mass.¹²⁶³

Divine Worship's Prayer Book English is not encumbered like the Ordinary Form's English translation, which consists of polysyllabic Latinate words, awkward sentence constructions, and have the effect of not being memorable to English speakers or making them feel stupid because they've got five syllables 'college word' to pronounce. Famous example: 'Be-ing of one sub-stance with the Fa-ther' vs. 'Con-sub-stan-tial with the Fa-ther.'¹²⁶⁴

The literal translation of the Ordinary Form has left a lot to be desired - rather than worship in the language of holiness it's become more like worship in the language of technicalities.¹²⁶⁵

The register of the language is clearly intended for worship. It is unafraid to be poetic, in a way that offends against the preference for plain vernacular in modern literature and even in oratory. It is also clear, pithy, and evocative of spiritual realities in a way that avoids overly technical theological terminology or banality. Also, in preserving the singular / plural distinction in the second person pronoun, it emphasizes the unity of God, and even connotes, to an extent, the intimacy of a term that was used in the household when it fell out of use in polite circumstances that required the formal polite plural in place of the plain singular. One thing I find particularly grating in the Novus Ordo is the praying of the Lord's Prayer in the traditional form, then praying the last passage of the longer form of the prayer using 'Yours' rather than 'Thine'. This is a very choice on the part of the liturgists, having clashing registers in words from the same prayer.¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁵⁹ Response ID 62.

¹²⁶⁰ Response ID 90.

¹²⁶¹ Response ID 163.

¹²⁶² Response ID 173.

¹²⁶³ Response ID 208.

¹²⁶⁴ Response ID 266.

¹²⁶⁵ Response ID 268.

¹²⁶⁶ Response ID 282.

The cadence, the beauty, and the formality of the Ordinariate language is starkly contrasted with the flat and uninspired English of the *Novus Ordo*. It conveys a deeper sense of mystery, of verticality in worship, but most of all, of the holiness and transcendence of the LORD - the LORD who we are called to worship in the beauty of holiness.¹²⁶⁷

With the new translation of the *Novus Ordo* missal, the difference is less marked but the old *Novus Ordo* language was very functionalist and, in my own experience of growing up with this missal, the liturgy tended to be a rather cerebral experience.¹²⁶⁸

The strongest theme on why respondents felt that Prayer Book English is better suited for the nurturing of their faith was their perception that the language has stronger sense of reverence and otherness than the language of the *Novus Ordo*. This general theme of reverence is the most common theme that has come out of the open-ended responses.

Of immediate relevance to this question, *Anglicanae Traditiones* member Peter Elliott was asked to comment on the language of *Divine Worship* as an expression of the Roman Rite, considering the somewhat banal translation of the 1973 *Novus Ordo*, and the much elevated, albeit Latinate, English of the 2010 Roman Missal:

The new ICEL translation is a very Latinate form of English. It is strong on dignity, but it does not always flow well because it often resorts to abstract nouns rather than more lively translations that draw on verbs. When we compare it to the Ordinariate texts, we see that in fact the old Prayer Book texts were more personal and pastoral, in the context of their times and the Reformation events. Cranmer and others had a didactic goal of getting Protestant ideology into people's heads. But, at the same time, they did maintain not only a sacral liturgical style but even the rhythm and timbre of Latin texts that were already familiar to people. This obvious in the structure and sound of the Collects but also, for example in the 1549 *Agnus Dei* which can fit the Latin chant. The *Kyrie Eleison* can be better sung as *Lord have mercy upon us*. Merbecke provides evidence for this continuity.

Through maintaining moderately adapted Prayer Book language, *Divine Worship* does provide a 'middle ground' between the banal language of the old ICEL and the more Latinate language of the new ICEL. However, the new ICEL is much closer to the Ordinariate texts, because a distinctive religious vocabulary is passed on in worship. This linguistic choice has irritated critics of the new texts who argue that the higher style and vocabulary is beyond the comprehension of ordinary people. Again, we note that these critics cling to the utilitarian or didactic approach to worship of fifty years ago, not forgetting their clericalist condescension that regards the lay faithful as too stupid to understand words.

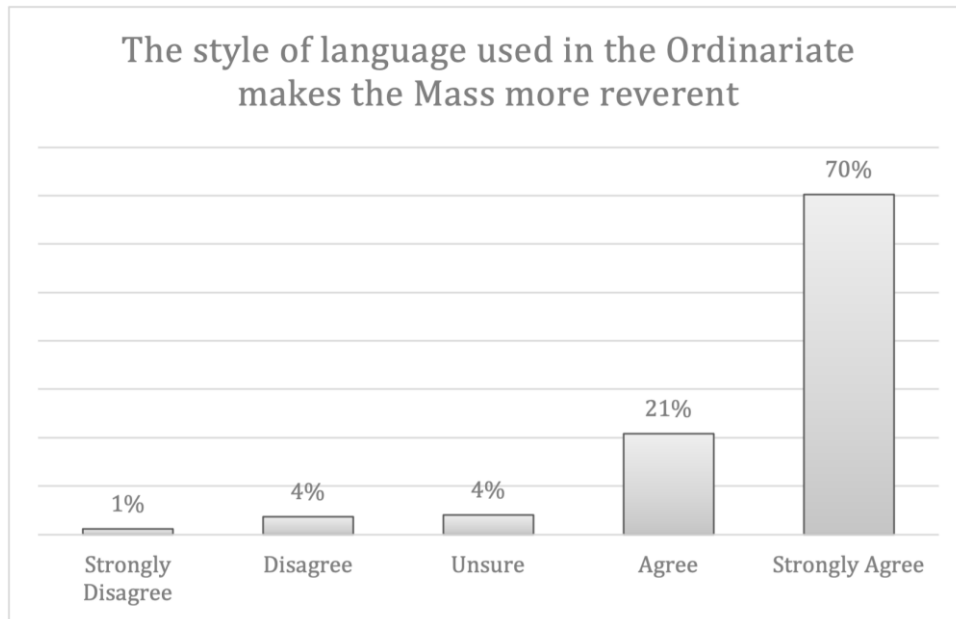
In some years' time, there will be a revision of the new ICEL texts and then the Ordinariate texts will provide a source for a 'reform of the reform of the reform'.¹²⁶⁹

Question 4 e. is a closed-ended question which asked respondents if the language of *Divine Worship* in their opinion makes the Mass more reverent. The results are shown below:

¹²⁶⁷ Response ID 317.

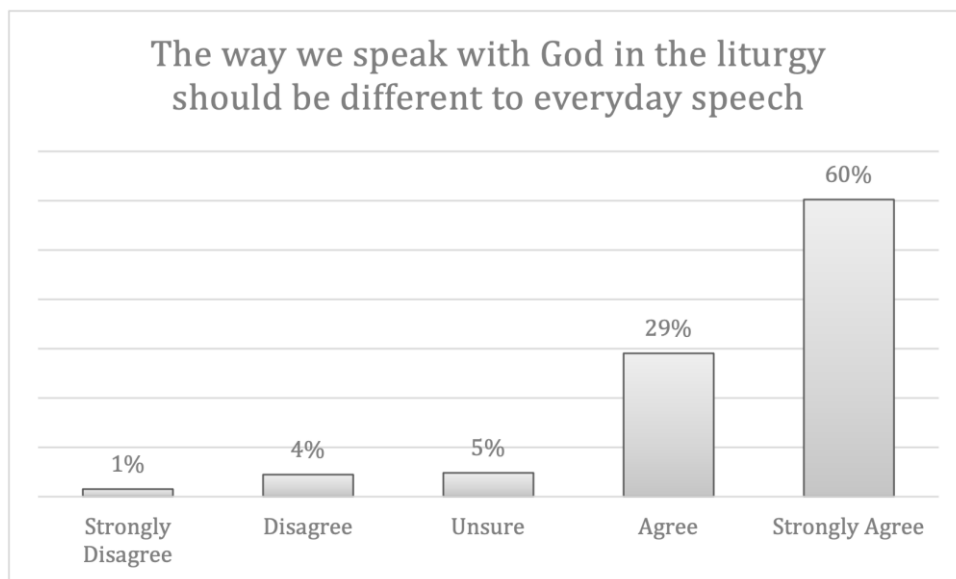
¹²⁶⁸ Response ID 369.

¹²⁶⁹ ELLIOTT, Response to Five Questions, 2.



A very strong majority of 91% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed, that in their opinion the language of *Divine Worship* makes the Mass more reverent. 70% strongly agreed, while 5% disagreed or strongly disagreed, with 4% being unsure. This is the strongest agreement to any question throughout the survey.

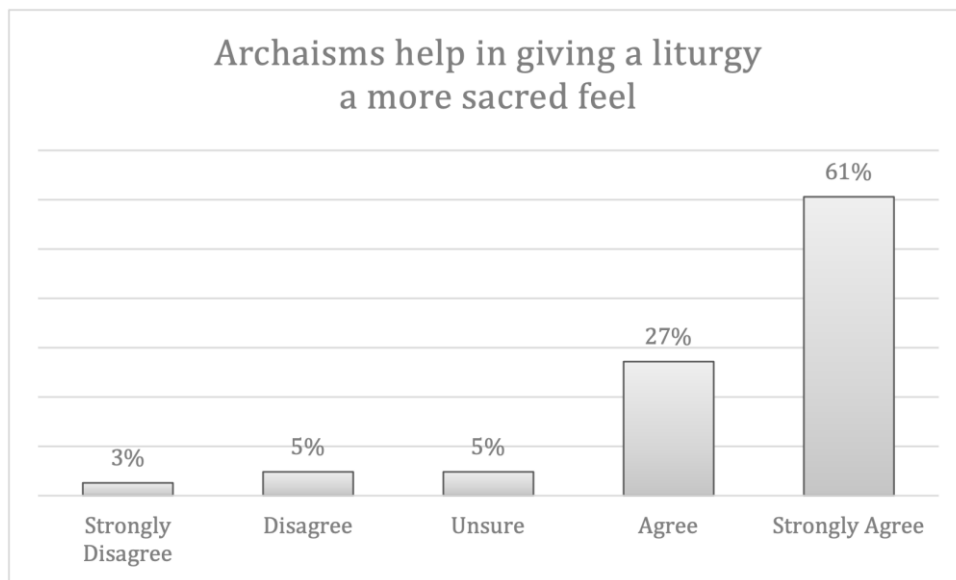
Question 4 f. is concerned with the question of distinctiveness of liturgical language. Respondents were asked whether liturgical language, or “the way we speak with God”, should be different to everyday language. The results of this closed-ended question are shown below:



These results are consistent with previous open-ended questions in which a theme of distinctiveness of language emerged in the respondent answers. Here, 89% of respondents

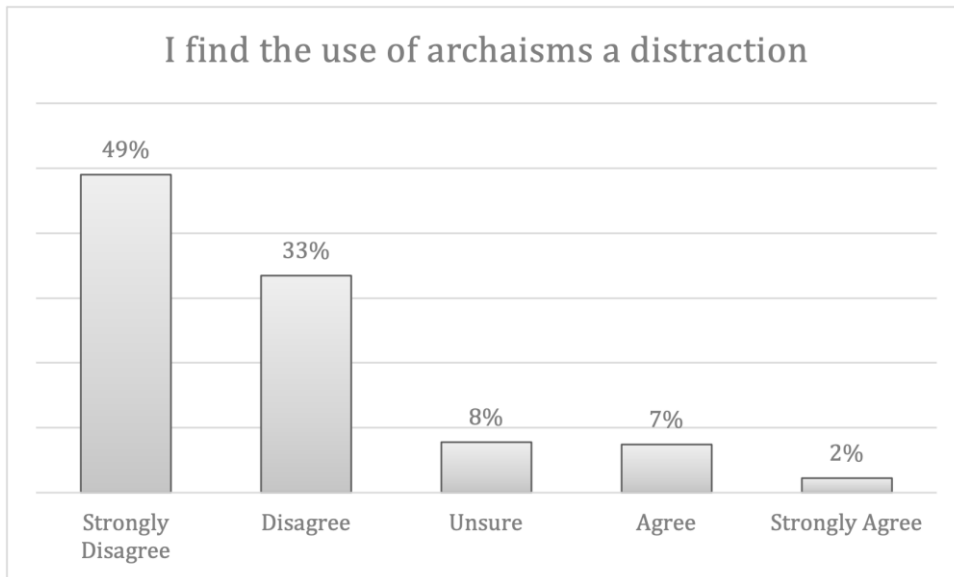
agreed or strongly agreed that liturgical language should be distinctive to common everyday language. 60% of these strongly agreed. 5% disagreed or strongly disagreed, with 5% being unsure.

As noted in Section 2.3.1 above, there are various properties that may be identified within sacral vernacular, with archaisms being one of them. As noted in Section 2.1.2.3 above, in English this principle goes back to principals of translation established by Tyndale and Cranmer, who deliberately made use of archaism in the process of inventing sacral English so as to set it apart from vulgar English. Questions 4 g. and 4 h. relate to the use of archaisms within *Divine Worship*. Question 4 g. asks whether the use of archaisms helps in giving a liturgy a more sacred feel. These results are shown below:



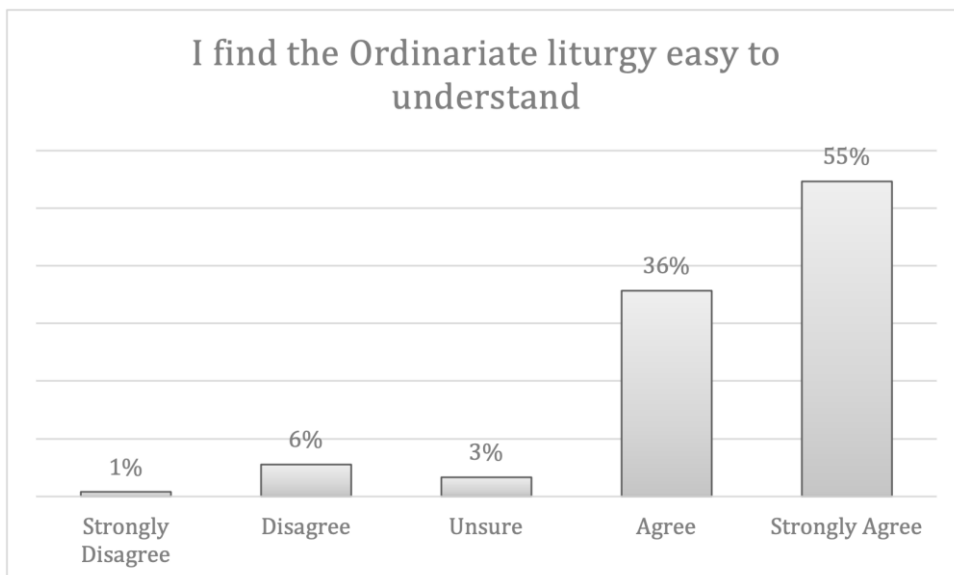
Here we see a slight shift from 4 f. in which 5% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that liturgical language should be different from everyday speech. Here, 8% disagreed or strongly disagreed that archaisms assist in giving the liturgy a more sacred feel. 5% of respondents were unsure. Again, a strong majority of respondents agreed, with 88% agreeing or strongly agreeing that archaisms give the liturgy a more sacred feel, with 61% strongly agreeing.

It would be interesting to see these statistics broken down for just the Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham, as it is known the Anglo-Catholic tradition in the United Kingdom had, for the most part, embraced modern English. However, due to the limited engagement with this survey from OLW, there is insufficient data to be able to draw a reliable conclusion. Question 4 g. seeks to determine whether respondents find the use of archaisms a distraction in a negative sense. These responses are shown below:



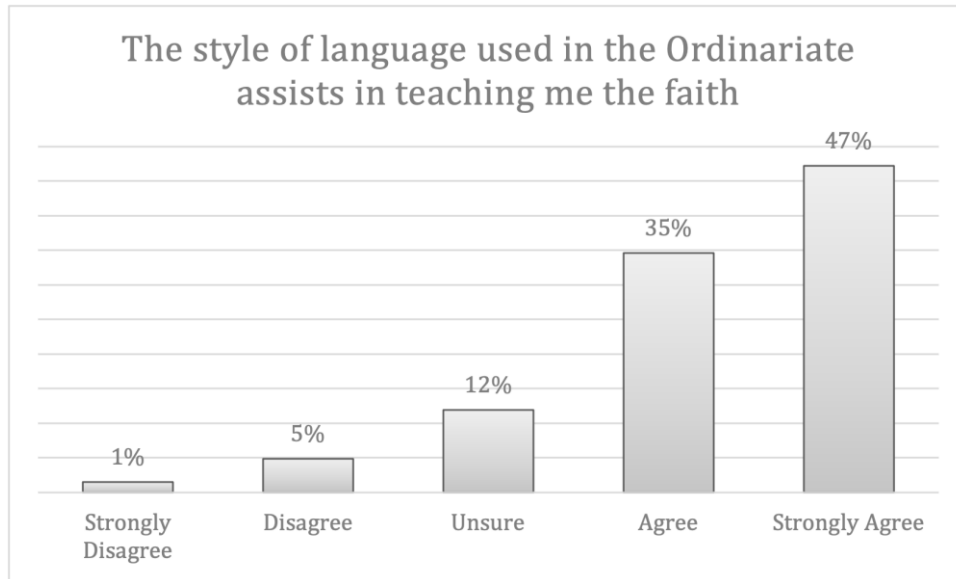
As can be seen, a strong majority of respondents disagreed that they find archaisms a distraction, with 82% either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing. 8% were unsure, with 9% either agreeing or strongly agreeing.

Question 4 i. is concerned with the intelligibility of *Divine Worship*, which is of course a vital element of any vernacular liturgy. Respondents were asked whether they find the Ordinarate liturgy easy to understand. A certain amount of subjectivity must be acknowledged here, due to the variation in just what “easy to understand” means from one respondent to the next. These results are shown below:



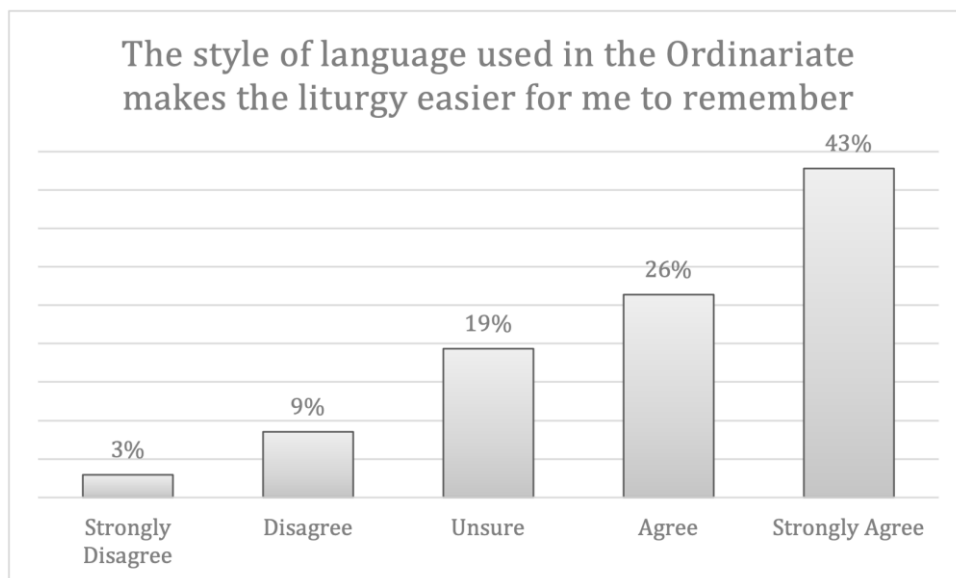
A strong majority of 91% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that they find the Ordinarate liturgy easy to understand. 7% either disagreed or strongly disagreed. The number of respondents who were unsure is lower than previous questions, at 3%.

Question 4 j. is concerned with whether, for the respondents, the language of *Divine Worship* has a didactic value. That is, whether the language itself assists in teaching the faith. The responses are shown in the following plot:



As can be seen, 12% were unsure. 6% either disagreed or strongly disagreed. 82% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that for them the language of *Divine Worship* does have a didactic value.

Question 4 k. is concerned with whether the style of language used within the Ordinarariate makes the liturgy easier to remember. These results are shown below:



Again, a strong majority agreed, with 69% agreeing or strongly agreeing, but it can be seen that this majority is not as strong as in previous questions. 19%, or almost one in five respondents were unsure, while 12% either disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Language theory would indicate that distinctiveness of language equates with memorability. Our minds tend to latch onto that which is unusual, while the humdrum is rapidly forgotten. It is noteworthy that the responses in agreement were not as strong here, and potentially indicates an opportunity for liturgical formation.

Question 4 l. is an open-ended follow up question to question 4 k., which asks respondents to list which parts of the Ordinarate liturgy are most memorable in their language. Responses that were given by three or more respondents are given below:

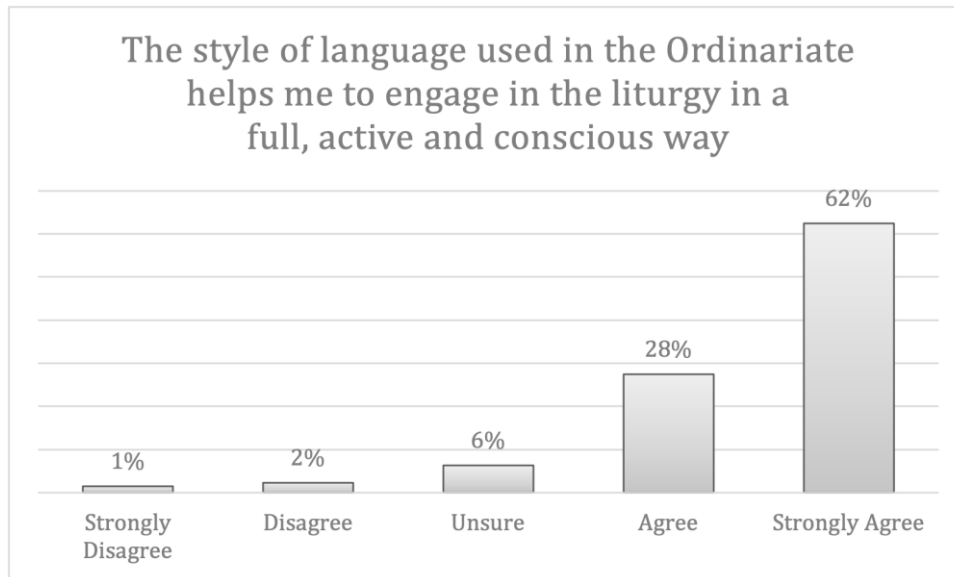
Part of the Liturgy	Number of Respondents who mentioned it
The Prayer of Humble Access	117
Thanksgiving Prayer after Communion	56
The Penitential Rite	35
Magnificat	24
The Preparation	21
Nicene Creed	19
Collect for Purity	18
Collects	15
Nunc Dimittis	15
Gloria	14
Roman Canon / Consecration	12
Summary of the Law	12
“It is meet and right so to do”	10
The Comfortable Words	10
Psalter	10
Te Deum	10
Benedictus	10
Venite	7

Angelus	7
“Lord I am not worthy...”	6
Sanctus	6
Lord’s Prayer	6
Agnus Dei	5
Office opening versicles	5
Last Gospel	4
Introits	3
Office suffrages	3

As can be seen, a large proportion of respondents noted the Prayer of Humble Access as being memorable for them. The Thanksgiving Prayer after communion was the second most frequently identified part of the Mass as being especially memorable in its language. The Penitential Rite was third, with the Preparation being fifth. Many respondents noted that they liked the Penitential Rite and the Preparation because of their emphatic acknowledgment of the reality of sin. In fourth place was the Magnificat.

It is interesting to note that the Lord’s Prayer was identified by only six respondents as being memorable in its language. This is likely to be because the Lord’s Prayer is so ingrained into the English memory that people have forgotten that the familiar English translation is over five-hundred years old and originates from the development of the English liturgy. Therefore, they do not equate the Lord’s Prayer with being proper to the language of *Divine Worship*, which of course it very much is.

Question 4 m. notes the call of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 14 for full, active and conscious participation in the liturgy. Respondents were asked in this question whether the language of *Divine Worship* assists them in fulfilling the vision of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* paragraph 14. The responses are shown in the following plot:



As can be seen, 90% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the language of *Divine Worship* does assist them to engage in the liturgy in a full, active and conscious way after the vision of SC 14. 3% of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed, with 6% being unsure.

Respondents then were given an open-ended opportunity to describe how the language of *Divine Worship* assists them to participate in the liturgy in a full, active and conscious way. Selected responses are given below:

The formality of the language evokes a seriousness that allows me to engage with Christ in a deeper way within the Mass. I truly feel his presence when I hear both the spoken word and the hymns.¹²⁷⁰

The style of language feels so special and unique, after having been part of this style of liturgy for over ten years it feels personal.¹²⁷¹

The set apart language invites me deeper into study and understanding the texts. The beautiful language raises my heart and mind to heaven and invites others to the same. The texts help me to participate fully and actually.¹²⁷²

I am totally engaged, following the readings with my Divine Missal, eager with my responses...I would often daydream while attending the Novus Ordo...not so while at an Ordinariate Mass. Here I am focused on the beauty and reverence, and I observe the same in others.¹²⁷³

¹²⁷⁰ Response ID 17.

¹²⁷¹ Response ID 34.

¹²⁷² Response ID 37.

¹²⁷³ Response ID 44.

The prayers are all old-school English so one has to focus on the words. The psalms themselves, when chanted, are incredibly beautiful because it's old English and it's chanted. Almost like accessible gregorian chant¹²⁷⁴

As I mentioned earlier, having a distinct language of worship requires thoughtfulness, which always encourages participation. Being thoughtful also encourages meaningful understanding.¹²⁷⁵

As it is not common speech for me, it requires me to be attentive and purposeful in listening and responding.¹²⁷⁶

Because the language uniquely relates to the uniqueness of the purpose of the liturgy — namely sacrifice — in terms of reverence, solemnity, and beauty — my mind and heart are more predisposed to worship and to unite my will to the liturgical action.¹²⁷⁷

Because the language is set apart, it focuses your attention to the present. Because the language is precise, it directs your attention to the meaning, and the import of what you and the priest are saying. The fact that the language is that used by generations before you helps you feel a part of the continuity of the Faith. Also, the language reminds me of people like Sts. John Fisher and Thomas More, who died for this Faith.¹²⁷⁸

Certain grammatical constructs (e.g. 'speak the word only'), being different from daily English, force one to consider more deeply what is being said as well as conveying a sense that we are not talking as we normally do, but in a higher register to a higher Audience. Occasionally, a word we no longer use appears and has the same effect, inviting research to understand more deeply what is meant and/or able to express something we now take several words for.¹²⁷⁹

The Ordinariate language engages the mind and emotions, uplifting the soul to God, energizing the entire person to the praise of God's glory. Even on those occasions when the liturgy is not sung, there is a 'music' to its spoken cadences which lifts the individual and unites the congregation in worship.¹²⁸⁰

I believe that everything used and done in the Mass should be carefully chosen to be sacred and glorify God. The language and words chosen are no exception. By forcing me to use language that is different than everyday language (whether it is prayer book english or Latin) it helps me lift my heart and mind to the Lord and forces me to focus on what is actually happening in the Mass.¹²⁸¹

One is more likely to participate in a liturgy when one is caught up in the beauty of it and when its phrases are a joy to repeat. The Ordinariate offers such a liturgy. As my father (a convert from Anglicanism and now an Ordinariate member) once said, 'Who could resist a church where they say things like 'it is meet and right so to do''? Conversely, one is less likely to

¹²⁷⁴ Response ID 64.

¹²⁷⁵ Response ID 103.

¹²⁷⁶ Response ID 126.

¹²⁷⁷ Response ID 137.

¹²⁷⁸ Response ID 160.

¹²⁷⁹ Response ID 165.

¹²⁸⁰ Response ID 172.

¹²⁸¹ Response ID 173.

participate when one feels the language and the ceremony deficient or distasteful. The case might be compared to putting on a theatrical play: if the play is a good one, with excellent lines and business, one is eager to join in; but if the play is dull and its phrases banal, one is hesitant to commit to it.¹²⁸²

The prayers ask us to use language we don't use in ordinary life, emphasizing the extraordinary nature of what we are witnessing in the Mass. The amount of language used, particularly the communal Prayers of Penance, Humble Access, and Thanksgiving, is a lot to pray, and it is not omitted at a weekday Mass!¹²⁸³

You can't mindlessly use this type of English, it requires thought and engagement with what is taking place.¹²⁸⁴

It engages the mind in a different way than typical language. It is both familiar and unfamiliar at the same time, which itself is a great reflection of our relationship to God. I feel that I am immersed in beauty at the Ordinariate liturgy, as the music and language and sacred art engulf me and seem to swoop me up into the heavens. I cannot help but be engaged.¹²⁸⁵

The language is poetic and literary in style and cadence. There's also more unique prayers for the laity to pray aloud together with the priest, like Prayer of Humble Access, the Penitential Rite, the General Post-Communion Prayer, to name a few. So in practical terms: the language is easier to pray aloud, sing parts of the Mass or Mattins/Evensong, and commit the ordinary parts to memory, without the aid of a book. Even if I don't have a pew missal or handout, I can still sing the liturgical parts for the laity. I can't really do that in the ordinary form of the Roman Rite -- and just to be clear, the extraordinary I can hardly stand because its very limited participation for the laity, it's usually pretty silent (I've spoken and heard more Latin from the pew in the ordinary form), and it's not fulfilling. Divine Worship has elevated language, in English, that is poetic, memorable, rich in spiritual imagery, and highly singable. I also have more lengthy prayers to pray in the Ordinariate Mass. So I've never felt more participatory in Mass as a Catholic than at Divine Worship. And I've never fulfilled better Vatican II's vision for the laity participating in the Liturgy of the Hours than with Divine Worship: Daily Office, which is a treasure.¹²⁸⁶

The language is that much more focused on God than on just the people, that it really seems we are worshipping Him together with the same interest and desires; that of pleasing, serving and loving God in the most powerful way, through the Mass. Even facing God together with the priest is a great show of unity between the priest and the people. He is offering the Mass on our behalf, but also with us. We don't feel he is separate from us, like we do with the Novus Ordo. I love how the priest says the Confiteor, and then we ask God to forgive him, and then vice versa. Obviously, the priest has a different offering of the sacrifice, but we are one in our acknowledgement of sinfulness and in our intention to beg forgiveness for the wrongs we have done. Very important, as I feel that we are truly praying for the priest to God in those moments. It helps one see the priest as human, even if he is another Christ :)¹²⁸⁷

¹²⁸² Response ID 193.

¹²⁸³ Response ID 202.

¹²⁸⁴ Response ID 212.

¹²⁸⁵ Response ID 216.

¹²⁸⁶ Response ID 266.

¹²⁸⁷ Response ID 441.

A very strong theme coming through the responses was that the distinctiveness of language from common speech was a direct factor in full, active and conscious participation in the liturgy.

Some respondents, however, disagreed:

The mass helps me engage in the liturgy, the American English language, the devout prayers, the reverence to the Holy altar, sacrifice, and sacred space. Not the Anglican words of the prayers. EVERYONE in the church at Our Lady of Walsingham has to read the prayers and the responses! Even the parishioners who have been at Our Lady of Walsingham 10 years or longer are reading the prayers from the booklets. It is just not our usual language. It is difficult to remember. Even families who speak several languages, are still following along on the booklet 13 years later. At a mass in ordinary form, very few people hold a book. If parishioners do use the booklet, it is to follow along with the readings or pray the extra prayers before or after mass. Other than that, the prayers of the mass are memorized, and followed along in our minds and hearts, partly because the language is familiar to how we speak.¹²⁸⁸

The language provides something to focus on, which distracts from the overall Mass, as it is not the form of Mass I grew up with and am comfortable with.¹²⁸⁹

Question 4 n. notes the importance of hymns as a part of the language of *Divine Worship*. Respondents are asked to name their favourite hymns of the Ordinariate tradition that resonate with them because of their language.

A number of respondents said that they appreciated the hymns but did not know their names. Some people said that the Mass they attend does not have hymns. Some people said that they could not distinguish which hymns were properly from the Ordinariate tradition. This is a very good point because, as was identified in Section 2.1.2.7 above, the English hymn singing tradition has had tremendous influence on the Anglophone Catholic Church, with many hymns commonly sung within the Catholic Church originating from Anglican hymnals. As one can imagine, a very large range of hymns were listed, with many “old favourites” appearing multiple times. However, *Let all Mortal Flesh Keep Silence* seemed to be noted by respondents more often than most everything else. 93 respondents listed hymn titles.

Question 4 o. asked respondents to comment on how the language of *Divine Worship* can assist in the missionary task of the Church to proclaim the Gospel. Selected responses are given below:

We get a lot of people who are new to Catholicism from either an atheistic past, or being unchurched, or fundamentalism, etc. The Ordinariate’s presentation of Catholicism is attractive due to the fact that we aim to bring about the mystery of our faith, the ancient nature of it, the fact that worshipping in church should give glory to God in the best way possible,

¹²⁸⁸ Response ID 239.

¹²⁸⁹ Response ID 254.

and engender an awe inspiring feel to it. This almost always is what these people are seeking (especially when it's coupled with sound doctrinal teaching and preaching, etc.¹²⁹⁰

Although Latin is the universal language of the Church, it is not of course widely known throughout the modern world. However, the language of the Ordinariate could possibly serve as a 'universal' language of sorts throughout the English-speaking world. Its formality and beauty can be used to draw more individuals to the Christ and his Church.¹²⁹¹

Similar to the Extraordinary form, this language feels more transcendent in nature, and may only be somewhat familiar to people in their encounters with classic English literature. It can draw us back into things historical and beautiful, and I believe all seekers are searching for beauty.¹²⁹²

The language is so lovely and different from the current vernacular that it invokes a sense of spiritual awe and wonder, and reminds one of the sacredness of the Holy sacrifice of the Mass. The gospel is clearly preached each time, without the infliction of a priest being, let's say, funny and cracking jokes, trying to be popular, etc. This has been my experience a lot of the time with the Novus Ordo, and quite frankly, I find it offensive. I do not go to Mass to be entertained...I go to worship God. The Ordinariate Mass makes God the focus, and therefore assists the missionary task of the Church in proclaiming the Gospel to those who do not yet know Christ.¹²⁹³

I think the language of the ordinariate can draw people into a deeper relationship with Christ, and help us to be authentic Catholics. Then those folks then can go out and be that light of Christ in the world.¹²⁹⁴

I suppose it would be the same way that one uses poetry to explain love, grief, or joy to someone that hasn't had those stirring passions; it takes takes the universal truth and presents it, not just as a particular truth, but as one infused with beauty. (And worth looking at more closely because it's beautiful!)¹²⁹⁵

Ever ancient; ever new! It gives people something new (to them) to latch onto and to love.¹²⁹⁶

I believe the language automatically puts us in a state of reverence and prayer. This is a huge attraction for those searching for God.¹²⁹⁷

Evangelization is conducted in everyday language, but the language of the Ordinariate makes the prayers, services, and especially the Mass a fitting culmination of catechetical and spiritual efforts, and provides a liturgical space in which the lessons of evangelization sink down into the soul and take root.¹²⁹⁸

¹²⁹⁰ Response ID 1.

¹²⁹¹ Response ID 17.

¹²⁹² Response ID 42.

¹²⁹³ Response ID 44.

¹²⁹⁴ Response ID 62.

¹²⁹⁵ Response ID 64.

¹²⁹⁶ Response ID 68.

¹²⁹⁷ Response ID 100.

¹²⁹⁸ Response ID 102.

I think that conveying the reverence and beauty of worship is crucial to contemporary missions. I agree with Bishop Barron that truth is a problematic point in contemporary society, but beauty can provide access to people who doubt the possibility of truth or are offended by the claims of the church.¹²⁹⁹

I think anytime you present unchurched people with things which are true, good, and beautiful - such as the language of the Ordinarate liturgy - they are drawn to it and through it to God Himself, the author of goodness, truth, and beauty.¹³⁰⁰

I think the language proclaims that this is something important and higher than our everyday. Many people today ask why bother going to church? I can encounter God in nature and in serving the poor, and you can. But the sacramental life feeds us and directs us in recognizing God's presence everywhere. The language of the liturgy speaks of the heavens to raise us above all the good of this earth. We live in a secular and materialistic society, even among Christian communities, and desperately need to be reminded that we are destined for more. This language is both accessible and elevating.¹³⁰¹

God described in the Old Testament the way to worship Him. The language of the Ordinarate brings that reverence to everyone. Parishioners do not have to be versed in Latin to celebrate the mass. God wants to reach us all, and He wants us to worship Him reverently. The language of the Ordinarate is the perfect marriage of both aims.¹³⁰²

Many in my age cohort [18–35] seek authenticity, which in many ways they haven't found in the watered down versions of Protestant worship or indeed some of the ways the Novo Ordo Mass is practiced—Bishop Robert Barron calls it the 'banners and balloons' version of Catholicism and the Mass specifically. Many in my age cohort are seeking wisdom, wisdom and understanding that they haven't found in the Church in their experiences. But wisdom seems to me to be the province of the very old. And of course the very old English used evokes a sense of the Wisdom contained within the concepts and ideas being expressed in our form of the liturgy.¹³⁰³

The language of the Ordinarate first and foremost is the language of discipleship. Prayer Book English is designed to commit the prayers into the depths of soul and the sinews of the heart, for the sake of making men and women follow Jesus Christ in strict obedience to his Word. The prayers stick, and they shape the imagination of the disciple again for living each day in that holy fellowship with Christ and doing all such works as he has commanded for us to walk in. God is majestic, but God is also intimately close in the language of the Ordinarate. Prayer Book English also helps a disciple to evangelize: he can recall the words of the Psalms or prayers of the liturgy in sharing the Gospel of Jesus Christ with others that he meets; and it shapes the disciple's imagination for social justice, recalling the Lord's 'wrath and indignation' committed against the weakest and most defenceless of society. Disciples witness to Christ and they bring people to Jesus Christ.¹³⁰⁴

Many people associate the register of English used by the Ordinarate with spiritual things, so it feels natural in a certain sense, to use it, and perhaps even more so for people that have not

¹²⁹⁹ Response ID 103.

¹³⁰⁰ Response ID 168.

¹³⁰¹ Response ID 216.

¹³⁰² Response ID 242.

¹³⁰³ Response ID 247.

¹³⁰⁴ Response ID 266.

sought God much in the past, and have come to realise the need of his presence. In that matter, it might help express the difference of life with God, compared to life without him.¹³⁰⁵

The deeply textured, solemn, and reverent language of the Ordinariate Mass and Prayer Book provides a dazzling counter balance to our horizontalized and superficial culture. It's transcendent language and beauty pierces the immanent frame we inhabit, cracking open up our 'buffered selves,' to borrow Charles Taylor's words, helping us gain but a glimpse of the majesty and holiness of the transcendent LORD. There are few things our culture needs more, it seems to me. How are Catholics meant to take their faith seriously if the Church does not take worship seriously? How can Catholics inculcate and foster silence, solitude, and reverence, in a noisy and irreverent world? The Ordinariate, while by no means perfect, can help in this task¹³⁰⁶

It is incarnational; reverent and other-wordly, but approachable and warm. I struggle with Latin Masses, although I appreciate the reverence. The Ordinariate Mass is a better alternative in my mind.¹³⁰⁷

I think the modern world is characterised by banality and while many modern people don't know any different, when they do encounter real, soaring beauty they are really struck by it, although often unable to articulate why. This often happens when Australians travel to Europe and see great Cathedrals - they're struck by these ancient awe-inspiring buildings but aren't necessarily sure why or how they are so affected.¹³⁰⁸

The distinctiveness of language was once again a common theme raised by many respondents, who stated that the distinctiveness of the language of *Divine Worship* in itself serves as an evangelical tool, either by means of its intrinsic beauty, or by its distinctiveness from the mundane.

Some respondents thought that the language could be an obstacle for some:

My husband, who is Protestant, feels that the Church should have language that is common to the everyday people to attract more people to the faith. He finds the language of the Ordinariate difficult to follow and alienating. He says that if the Church wants to attract more people than it needs to be more welcoming in its language. He is also very allergic to incense and knows other people that are. He feels the use of it is alienating since it can prevent people who want to attend Mass from being able to attend. My children find the Mass hard to follow and find it alienating as well as it feels exclusive as they don't always understand the language. I do, however, know people that love the language and music of the Ordinariate and believe it brings them closer to their faith. So I guess it depends on the person, their understanding of the language and what appeals to them.¹³⁰⁹

Unfortunately I do not think it assists at all, initially at least. Rather it is a hurdle to overcome. The liturgy and teachings of the Church itself are already difficult for those with little experience of it to understand, but Divine worship is an acquired taste, and people interested

¹³⁰⁵ Response ID 282.

¹³⁰⁶ Response ID 317.

¹³⁰⁷ Response ID 327.

¹³⁰⁸ Response ID 369.

¹³⁰⁹ Response ID 138.

in learning more of our faith will probably need a fair degree of persistence and support before they can appreciate its beauty and spiritual benefits.¹³¹⁰

The final question of the survey, question 4 p., asked respondents to comment on why they consider the language of *Divine Worship* to be a treasure to be shared with the broader Catholic Church. Selected responses are given below:

As I said previously, it represents the English language at its finest. When one goes to church, they want an experience of the Divine. Not to be distracted by casualness, and sloppiness! As much as possible, all efforts should be in line with the expectations of the faithful. The beauty of Catholicism shouldn't be watered down so that it's palatable to the masses, it should strive to reach to the heights of human potential. The language is a key point to bringing that to fruition.¹³¹¹

There's something about participating in a more traditional form of worship in English that really bridges the gap between the Missal of St. John XXIII and Missal of St. Paul VI for me. I really encourage communities to hold on to their English patrimony and not introduce Latin and any more Romanization of your patrimony. Help us make the Church more Catholic rather than more Roman!¹³¹²

I think its important moving forward for the Ordinariate to maintain the Traditions of its patrimony in conjunction with the traditions of the Catholic Church. It is why people who were not Anglican attend the Ordinariate parishes. Particularly in areas where there is no Extraordinary Form of the Mass.¹³¹³

Unfortunately, any feelings of reverence or 'otherness' within most Catholic churches have largely been lost. The language and hymns seem no different than the language and music that surround our everyday lives. Some might argue that it is a good thing that these things are no different, but I would argue that the difference in language causes the listener's mind and body to behave differently, in a positive way. The formality of the language provokes more formal bodily gestures and causes us to think about God in a higher way.¹³¹⁴

The parts of the Latin Rite are perpetually embroiled in a sort of 'conflict' between the Extraordinary Form and the Ordinary Form. Based on my limited understanding of the Anglican Patrimony; namely, it developing separate but parallel to the Latin Rite, it seems to have effectively 'split the difference' between the two forms. This could be applied to far more than the language, but the language is definitely part of this development. It advances from Latin into the vernacular, but does so in a way that maintains the reverence and sacredness that the Ordinary Form is accused of losing. By enshrining this 'intermediary' step in a unique form of the Mass, it seems to provide a sort of 'faithful compromise'. Much in the same way the Eastern Rites provide a faithful contrast by which members of the Latin Rite can better contextualize and understand the Ordinary Form, the Anglican Patrimony does so a little closer to home.¹³¹⁵

¹³¹⁰ Response ID 261.

¹³¹¹ Response ID 1.

¹³¹² Response ID 6.

¹³¹³ Response ID 7.

¹³¹⁴ Response ID 12.

¹³¹⁵ Response ID 16.

It is a very rich treasure for the whole Church! With so many lamenting the reduction of the Latin Mass, we are blessed to be able to have a Patrimony that is strong and very much loved by those who discover it. It may be the remnant of truly reverent worship left after all the ruination of the liturgy by abuses of the Novus Ordo. I have no problem with Novus Ordo that is reverent and proper, but when it is turned into a circus due to abuses, then it's painful.¹³¹⁶

1. The style of language is beautiful and set apart. Some vernacular translations are neither beautiful, nor set apart. Some are filled with grammatical errors, mundane language and off putting, dated colloquialisms. The language of the Ordinariate can be a witness to the wider Church of beauty and sacred language that sets the heart and mind to heavenly realities. 2. The language of the Bible, Prayer and Worship, The Office and the hymns is the same in the Ordinariate. This creates a point of reference that facilitates memory and study. This can also be a witness to the wider Church where often the language of Bible, Prayer and Worship, Office and hymns are a fragmented mess.¹³¹⁷

In my experience and traveling for work, as I attend masses in different areas/states - Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Washington, Hawaii, etc., I have been very disappointed with the broader Catholic Church which has lost reverence during mass. It appears as if many Catholics go to church because they 'have to' versus going to truly worship and adore Our God. The treasure of the Ordinariate being shared with the greater church can bring a different meaning to mass and our faith to others. It can help deepen a more personal relationship with God to others.¹³¹⁸

The English language is being assaulted and destroyed daily. We have a treasure to be shared because it is a jewel of beautiful language that is a higher standard than the inane jargon being tossed around on the internet, television, and radio today.¹³¹⁹

The Prayer Book language of the English Church and Benedictine spiritual influences in English forms of worship to me are treasures of the Church, and I am pleased that Pope John Paul II first made provisions for the Anglican Use and Pope Benedict XVI affirmed it in *Anglicanorum Coetibus*. I was in the Episcopal Church in the US when it was self-destructing in the 1990s. I became a Catholic in 2000 because of the Magisterium and teaching Authority of the Church. The Episcopal Church in the US and the Anglican Communion was devoid of authority. I am delighted that the Anglican Use form of the Mass and Divine Worship traditions have been recognized and affirmed through the formation of the Ordinariates. I feel blessed that my beloved Anglo-Catholic style of worship now has a place in the life of the Roman Catholic Church. It makes me feel at home spiritually.¹³²⁰

I think as I said earlier, the style of language promotes reverence and beauty (especially when coupled with appropriate music and hymn singing). As a convert, I am not deeply invested in the history of the post-conciliar liturgical struggles, but when I see a disconnect in a parish, it is usually in the reverence that is found at mass. I have been to very reverent and beautiful Ordinary Form masses (a striking one was at the Cathedral in Cincinnati before I was received into the Church). However, I think the language of the Ordinariate encourages reverence and beauty and helps to establish the awareness of a spiritual and heavenly dimension to our daily life.¹³²¹

¹³¹⁶ Response ID 21.

¹³¹⁷ Response ID 37.

¹³¹⁸ Response ID 48.

¹³¹⁹ Response ID 68.

¹³²⁰ Response ID 90.

¹³²¹ Response ID 103.

How can our thoughts be elevated if our words never are? Liturgical prayer should use elevated language. Period. I hope the Ordinariate can help spread this idea and practice to the rest of the Church, which is badly in need of an elevated tone and an eye for beauty which should be proper to all divine worship.¹³²²

It reminds me how the Catholic Mass USED to be! At my first Ordinariate Mass, I felt like a starving person at a magnificent banquet. To me, it has the reverence of a Latin Mass, yet the ease of understanding the English language. Albeit a more formal and less used style. Which I find adds to the specialness of the Ordinariate Mass, specifically pointing to its importance.¹³²³

The Anglican Patrimony has preserved much reverence which has been lost, but is accessible in language (vernacular). It is something to be treasured and shared, and it naturally draws people to the faith.¹³²⁴

I would name a few items I mentioned earlier in this survey:

- The simultaneous (relative) accessibility and clear elevation of the language
- The time tested well-craftedness of the language
- The sense that it provides of a long progression of serious Christians all praying using the same language going back as far as possible without losing intelligibility to the average person (e.g. Middle English would be too far)
- The ongoing novelty, both of the language as distinct from Novus Ordo, but also from daily speech, which might otherwise serve to reduce the phrasing to rote recitation. While it is not entirely immune to this effect, the usage only in liturgy and readings tends to keep it more distinct from daily speech than it might otherwise be.¹³²⁵

The broader Catholic Church has made a commitment to allowing the use of the vernacular around the world. However, we may admit in all humility that she has not had long experience in how to implement this - what form of the vernacular to use. The Eastern Churches have experience in this area. So has the Anglican Communion, particularly in the realm of English. For hundreds of years, Prayer Book English has proven itself a beautiful and effective form of the English vernacular for use in worship.¹³²⁶

The style of language of the Ordinariate calls us to reverence and reminds us that the truth of the Holy Catholic Church is for all time, not just a fleeting moment. I think Catholics risk being drowned in the Babel of everyday language. They are looking up for something to guide them. Catholics are called to be in the world but not of it. We need a language that is not worldly to help us follow that call.¹³²⁷

It is, I think, a treasure all the more urgently to be shared now that Mass is commonly said in the vernacular. I think that, for many people, it seems that we are faced with a stark choice: we can have a liturgy that retains mystery and reverence, or one that, though bland, can at least be understood without necessitating the use of a printed missal. The option of something like the Ordinariate's Use of the Mass is completely beyond their ken. What I have found in attending Mass at Our Lady of Walsingham is that the liturgy has an unparalleled power to

¹³²² Response ID 110.

¹³²³ Response ID 126.

¹³²⁴ Response ID 150.

¹³²⁵ Response ID 163.

¹³²⁶ Response ID 172.

¹³²⁷ Response ID 190.

appeal to groups of people that otherwise would not be found in the same place; those who might not regard the Latin Mass as ideal (I do not mean to denigrate that liturgy in any way, of course), but find the Novus Ordo too plain to inspire prayer; and those who reluctantly attend the Novus Ordo, since the Latin Mass is a little too exotic, or perhaps too arcane and incomprehensible; or, perhaps, they just want (like me) to sing some good hymns! In other words, the language of the Ordinariates showed me that we can combine two wonderful things, comprehensibility and sacredness, in a single liturgy, and that is a precious treasure that far too few are aware of. If it were more widely known, we might perhaps see less of the division in such matters that is so lamented!¹³²⁸

I believe this treasure can awaken sleeping Christians with zeal for Heaven, for life in Christ. Many of us are asleep, lulled by the ordinariness of worship. We need beauty in language and art to open our ears and eyes to the beauty, truth, and goodness to which we are called, for which we are created. Elevated language speaks to us the truth that we are made to participate in the heavenly banquet, and we are called to begin that participation here on earth when we attend Mass. As I have experienced the elevation of my mind and heart to the heavens at the Ordinariate liturgy and seen more clearly the light of who I am made to be, I am inspired to share that with my brothers and sisters, that they too would lift their eyes to the heavens.¹³²⁹

The poetic and literary style of the Ordinariates shows really how translation should be done in order to disciple Catholics, lift their hearts up to God, and shape their religious imagination so they can witness to Christ through day to day. The Ordinariate language vindicates what Pope Francis was urging the Church to take up with *Magnam Principium* -- you need literary, poetic translations of liturgy -- not simply literal, dictionary translations that can end up as awkward word choices, with awkward construction and awkward feelings. If liturgy doesn't have emotional life in its translation, it leaves the heart dry and feels unfulfilling. I have met many people who tell me that the prayers they have heard in the Ordinariate have really revived their faith and their desire to follow Jesus. Prayer Book English becomes second nature to them, and makes those prayers second nature.¹³³⁰

All of:

- words in the liturgies that more deeply connect us to a conscious participation in Divine Mysteries
- the metre of the prayers - prose, as opposed to the often brutally abrupt, lacking in flow style of the Ordinary Form
- use of hymns that actually challenge us to think deeply about the words and/or enhance the theme of a given Sunday, rather than 'songs' that are almost insulting in their combination of empty words, sometimes trite phrases, and childish tunes¹³³¹

The beautiful imagery of the language helps me pray and I think that is worth sharing with everyone. The 'old' English also helps me feel I am part of a greater liturgical tradition that I can call on when asking the saints to intercede for me- again, something that is worth sharing with everyone. I enjoy inviting people to Ordinariate Mass with me as the language introduces people to a sense of sacred beauty they rarely encounter elsewhere, which helps open them to God and raises questions to help guide them in their faith development. It makes evangelisation easier for me because I can rely on the Ordinariate Mass to give people an experience that I can't articulate or prompt for them in any other way.¹³³²

¹³²⁸ Response ID 193.

¹³²⁹ Response ID 216.

¹³³⁰ Response ID 266.

¹³³¹ Response ID 323.

¹³³² Response ID 324.

The English speaking Catholic world has been enriched by the English hymn and choral tradition. Why can't the Mass and prayers of the English speaking Catholic world also be enriched by a similar language and charism.¹³³³

I think that there is something important about the language of prayer being easily understood. But it is also very important for prayer to be something particularly set aside for God. Anglican sacral language bridges the gap between the sacred and totally set-apart prayer language of Latin, and the totally understandable modern prayer languages. I think it is the solution to maintaining tradition and reverence while also being useful for congregational participation. Honestly, all English-speakers should be praying with this language.¹³³⁴

People have been brainwashed to believe that worship must always be common and easy if it is to be authentic. But many people are astonished to find how 'right' it feels to be able to worship in language that may seem a bit unfamiliar or stiff at first but which reminds them that God is not just some 'guy in the sky' who asks little of them. I suspect many who feel a bit guilty about not loving the TLM are happy to find that the Ordinariate liturgy is enough like the Mass they are used to (Novus Ordo) to feel comfortable, yet reverent in a way that satisfies a deep need that most NO Masses can't touch.¹³³⁵

Truth survives fashion. To 'modernise' without attachment to truth is to lose something and suppress truth. (See pop music, architecture, literature, fashion, journalism, junk food etc etc) The 'modern' hymns and liturgy of Catholics is stuck in the 70's and has me feeling like i am liturgically wearing brown flares and a large collared orange shirt... and I'd rather wear something classic¹³³⁶

It shows that the language of English church and its sacral language were not wasted during the centuries of divorce. The texts of sacred Music and hymns are part of the greater whole and need to be shared. English is a language for worship and the cadences fom Bede and Caedmon through the Caroline Divines, Romantic poets, Wesley, Newman, JM Neale etc, add an amazing vernacular alongside the latin liturgical texts.¹³³⁷

I believe that our approach to sacred language, both its content and its prosody, is one that should be viewed as an ideal by the wider Catholic Church. I hope that this approach is reflected wherever possible in the Latin rite, even leading to a reform in the linguistic content of the missal, but in the very least in the use of sacred vernacular in music.¹³³⁸

In my experience, most Catholics are scared stiff at the challenge of attending a Traditional Latin Mass because 'they can't understand it'. Use of English makes this much less of a challenge for them but they still get to experience the full richness of the Traditional Rite and all of its 'mystery' and sublimity.¹³³⁹

Common themes once again were the distinctive and elevated nature of the language which forces it to be engaged with in sacral terms. That is, the language is sacred not simply because

¹³³³ Response ID 327.

¹³³⁴ Response ID 343.

¹³³⁵ Response ID 367.

¹³³⁶ Response ID 370.

¹³³⁷ Response ID 392.

¹³³⁸ Response ID 422.

¹³³⁹ Response ID 439.

of its subject, but because of the language itself. Respondents saw an imperative to share this quality of language with the broader Church. Many respondents noted that *Divine Worship* provides a language that is immediately and obviously sacral just as the Latin Mass is, whilst also providing intelligibility. Respondents saw in the language of *Divine Worship* a happy median, which can bridge the gap of the banality often encountered in modern English, whilst not having the high barrier to entry that is found in the Latin Mass. To put it another way, it could be said that the language of *Divine Worship* provides a *via media* of language between the extremes of banality and the exclusivity of sacral Latin. Respondents noted that for many people seeking a more reverent worship experience, the Latin Mass was really a bridge too far for them. The fact that the Ordinariates have an identifiable patrimony in the first place means by definition that there is something that can and should be shared. The final response, admittedly from outside of the survey framework, will be given to Peter Elliott, who was asked to comment on his views as to how the language of *Divine Worship* is a treasure to be shared.

Anglican sacral English created an atmosphere of worship, that is, as a reverent approach to God using gracious language and elegant syntax. This liturgical ambience endured into the twentieth century, hence maintained (with some modernization) in the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* and the *American Book of Common Prayer*. Among Anglo-Catholics, this style was extended by integrating a vernacular Roman Missal and Prayer Book texts in the unauthorized *English Missal*, *Anglican Missal*, *Cowley Missal* and *American Missal*.

In the Ordinariates, this tradition of the sacral vernacular is ‘a treasure to be shared’ with the Church, beginning in the Anglophone Catholic world. It is also a strong corrective to a false direction taken in vernacular translation that appeared in the mid-twentieth century, shaped by the vernacularist stream in the liturgical movement and by the post-Vatican II liturgical reforms now fifty years past.

In that context, bishops were anxious that the people should understand the new vernacular texts. They accepted the trend towards an instructive and simple form of English. In the communication age of Marshall McLuhan, this policy was driven by a didactic utilitarian philosophy calling for instant comprehension, so that liturgy is teaching we receive and not so much a prayerful sacrifice we offer. This explains why a banal style of English characterised the first English translations of portions of the Roman Missal, in 1964. This set the standard for the dull ICEL translations and paraphrases of the new Missal of Paul VI, 1969-1970. However, it should also be noted that, at this time, the new versions of Anglican Prayer Books took a similar sorry path.

The choice of simple or common-place English was shaped by a defective philosophy guiding all vernacular liturgical texts set out in *Comme les prévoit*. This unfortunate document included errors, e.g. that *beatissima* when applied to the *Most Blessed Virgin* is Italianate excess, when in fact it is a precise Mariological doctrinal title. The banal and inaccurate translations endured, under much criticism, until the work of *Vox Clara* produced the new ICEL version, used since 2010.

For the English texts of the *Missale Romanum*, *Rituale* and *Pontificale*, this new ICEL takes the form of a Latinate translation, that is, it is literal, doctrinally precise and formal. The Ordinariate liturgical project carried out by the commission *Anglicanae Traditiones* took this

new corrective approach into account, because the new ICEL made it easier to maintain traditional Anglican English in the *Divine Worship* Missal, the Office and sacramental rites.¹³⁴⁰

4.5 How is the Language of Divine Worship Pastoral?

Liturgy, amongst other things, is a ritualisation of worship. Worship involves a movement towards, a coming before God. The most common theme raised in the survey results was that the language of *Divine Worship* is of its very nature reverent. Worship is reverence in action towards God. God is the one who is revered. Thus, reverent God-language impels the soul towards the act of worship. A sacral vernacular assist to draw the people into reverent worship because they have an intelligible language that is specifically ordered towards worship.

Connected with reverence, and also a strong theme in the survey responses, is that the language conveys a sense of otherness. It draws the focus of the person who uses the language of *Divine Worship* out of the mundaneness of the work-a-day world, from their own personal trials and tribulations, which by definition are approached in the language of the everyday, and draws their souls to the contemplation of the one who is the ultimate “other”, God. Connected with this theme is the theory of ideas. This dissertation in Section 4.2 examined language and the formation of ideas as objects within the mind. Respondents strongly indicated that the language of *Divine Worship* assisted them in forming ideas of divine things in their minds.

Another common theme amongst survey responses was to note the distinctiveness of the language of *Divine Worship*. He who hears this language is immediately forced to recognise a difference in that it is not the vulgar language of the everyday, yet there is also a homely familiarity in that he hears the natural rhythm and cadences of his own language. Respondents noted that it was impossible to engage with the language casually. Many respondents reported looking up words to find out their meaning. The distinctiveness of the language forces the hearer to either engage with its subject, or to withdraw to the “safety” of the mundane. Thus, in this sense, the distinctiveness of the language demands a definite ongoing growth and formation in the liturgy. This property is not invincible, of course. Each individual must positively engage with the demands of the liturgy. Coupled with this formative aspect is also a didactic aspect. The uniqueness of the language draws attention to itself, inviting further enquiry.

¹³⁴⁰ ELLIOTT, Response to Five Questions, 1 f.

Survey respondents noted that the language of *Divine Worship* expresses the best potentialities of the English language. This property *Divine Worship* inherits from the principles of translation established by Tyndale, followed by Coverdale and Cranmer. Tyndale was determined to use “proper” English. Many respondents saw this in terms of offering the best we can to God. This is of course a worthy thing to do, precisely because of who God is. However, there is also a pastoral implication here. If we are giving the best we have, then we are striving spiritually to be the best we can. Spiritual growth is inevitable. The use of the highest form of the English language in our worship cannot but help to change us. English that is ordered towards a twelve year old can never move someone beyond a twelve year old’s level of language. Newsprint English cannot move the reader beyond newsprint intellect. Likewise, newsprint liturgy results in newsprint faith. In using the language of *Divine Worship*, he who participates in the liturgy experiences the perfect balance, rhythm, and cadence of proper English. This sharply contrasts with the stiltedness of Latinate English.

Respondents also noted the immediate manifesting of the good, the true and the beautiful in the language of *Divine Worship*. Especially in manifesting the beautiful, the language of *Divine Worship* can serve as a point of attraction. Beauty attracts. God invented flowers to attract bees to them. Beauty in the liturgy is to the soul as pollen is to the bee. As a point of attraction, it has evangelical potentialities, as well as serving for the building up of one’s faith. The ongoing exposure of the soul to beauty can only serve to benefit the soul. Ongoing exposure to horrid, ugly liturgies can only wound the soul.

Another aspect of the language of *Divine Worship* noted by many respondents was its ability to provide a union between the language of otherness and intelligibility. The use of the Latin as a sacral language immediately conveys a sense of mysterious otherness. However, much of the mystery is due to unintelligibility. In *Divine Worship*, the sense of otherness of language is present, but so is intelligibility. The style of language conveys a sense of mystery and otherness, yet it is also intelligible. Many respondents noted that while people may yearn for the holy mystery conveyed by the Latin Mass, its lack of intelligibility makes it unapproachable for many people. This, therefore, is a significant pastoral implication in that in the language of *Divine Worship*, there is a union of otherness and intelligibility.

Many respondents reported a sense of nostalgia. Whilst some may see this is sentimentalist sopiness, it is no doubt very real for those who expressed it. As noted earlier, this is in fact a reinforcement of virtue. For some, the nostalgia was in the strict sense of reminding them of previous experiences in their faith journey. For others, the nostalgia is not seen in the

strict sense of calling to mind past experiences, but in the sense of reminding them of the timelessness of the Church. That is, they become aware of their participation within Tradition. The experience of *Divine Worship* caused them to remember that the Church is not just the here and the now of their own existence, but of all the baptised who have ever lived – all of the prayers of the Church from the dawn of the Church, until the return of the Lord.

Peter Elliott commented on how *Divine Worship* is pastoral as follows:

When we consider how the language of *Divine Worship* can be a pastoral aid to the faithful in the practice of their faith, we may begin with the transmission of a doctrinal vocabulary. In that sense, the Ordinariate text is ‘didactic’, but in the same subtle way as the old Prayer Books and the *Authorised Version*, which gradually gave the faithful the language of prayer and the thought forms of their Christian faith. This has always been a pastoral fruit of the best praxis of liturgy throughout the West and the East. By singing, saying, hearing and by doing, the Catholic faith is absorbed, celebrated and passed on in the vectors of worship and prayer. This faith flows on into how Christian people live in the world and make their shared journey as the People of God.¹³⁴¹

Note also how Elliott draws attention to the performative aspects of the liturgy.

Gerhard Müller has commented on how *Divine Worship* is ordered to communion both within the visible boundaries of the Church, but also as an outward looking tool of evangelisation:

By ensuring that the sacred liturgy is celebrated worthily and well, you further the communion of the Church by drawing people into the worship of God who is *communio*. The sacred liturgy is also the privileged place for encountering Anglican patrimony. It is how Ordinariate parishes and communities distinguish themselves, bearing witness to the unity of the faith in the diversity of its expression. In this sense, the celebration according to the approved *Divine Worship* texts is both essential to the formation of the identity of the Ordinariate as well as being a tool for evangelization, drawing others into a sacramental encounter with the Divine.¹³⁴²

Therefore, to summarise, the pastoral properties of the language of *Divine Worship* can be identified as:

- 1) Reverent language which inspires worship and instils a sense of otherness
- 2) As a consequence, the language is apt for the formation of ideas of divine things in the mind
- 3) Immediate association with the good, true and beautiful
- 4) Distinctiveness of language which demands engagement and formation

¹³⁴¹ ELLIOTT, Response to Five Questions, 2.

¹³⁴² Gerhard MÜLLER, Address of the Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to the Ordinaries of the Ordinariates established under the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus*, 18 February 2014, Rome. For further on communion and the Ordinariates, see Gerhard MÜLLER, The Call to Communion: *Anglicanorum coetibus* and Ecclesial Unity (Lecture), Ordinariate of the Chair of Saint Peter: Symposium, 2 February 2013, Houston/TX.

- 5) Distinctiveness of language has didactic consequences
- 6) Manifestation of the best potentialities of the English language ordered to God, which by imbibing our very selves are changed
- 7) Union of otherness and intelligibility
- 8) Nostalgia / continuity with tradition

5 Conclusions and Consequences

This dissertation firstly examined the development of sacral English within the Church of England. The development of this distinctive register of English, known as Prayer Book English, is closely connected to the development of modern English. The development of Prayer Book English began in the early sixteenth century with William Tyndale and his assistant Miles Coverdale who were responsible for the English Bible. Tyndale chose to use a style of English in his translation that was both “proper English” but also distinct from the common English of the people. As such he deliberately embraced an archaizing tendency. The most famous example of this tendency is seen in the 1611 *King James Bible*, or the *Authorised Version*.

Thomas Cranmer’s 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* brought about the nationalisation of the prayers of the English people. With the Prayer Book came the development of English prose, most manifest in Cranmer’s Collects. It was Cranmer who brought about the union of syntax and prose in the English language. Prior to the Prayer Book, English prose did not exist, at least as we know it today. As such, Tyndale, Coverdale and Cranmer are the forefathers of sacral English. The development of printing allowed for the mass-distribution of this language in a way that had not been possible before. As a result, it was now within reach for most private citizens to be able to own their own copy of the Prayer Book and an English Bible.

Prayer Book English has had a tremendous impact upon the development of the English language. Even though it is a sacred dialect, it has impacted common English. It has also had tremendous impact even within the Catholic Church, with many of the common turns of phrase and hymnody of Catholic life originating from the Anglican tradition. A brief consideration and study was given to the development and use of sacral English within the Catholic Church.

This dissertation has examined principles for characterising sacral vernacular and the organic development of the liturgy. Consideration was then specifically given to *Divine Worship*, the liturgy approved by the Holy See for use in the Ordinariates established under the Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum Coetibus*. The register of language of *Divine Worship* is Prayer Book English. In approving *Divine Worship* as a legitimate variation of the Roman Rite, the church approves a new style of sacral vernacular which dates back to

the beginnings of modern English which is itself a particular sacred style that is proper to liturgical language.

The work of the *Anglicanae Traditiones* working group was examined, with members of the Group invited to make contributions to this dissertation. The particular style and distinctiveness of the language of *Divine Worship* were examined in detail. *Divine Worship* was then examined with respect to the principles that were earlier established for considering sacral vernacular and the organic development of the liturgy. *Divine Worship* clearly falls within the sphere of sacral vernacular. It also is a legitimate organic development of the liturgy.

This dissertation examined the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship*. The was primarily done through a survey which examined the *lex vivendi* of members of the faithful who attend *Divine Worship*. The questions of this survey allowed for a statistical analysis of a series of closed-ended questions. A series of open-ended questions were used to gather input from respondents in their own words on the significance of the language of *Divine Worship* to them. As such, it was possible to draw conclusions, both from the study of the language of *Divine Worship*, and from the survey responses, as to the pastoral implications of the language of *Divine Worship*.

It is clear from this study that there indeed are pastoral implications to the language of *Divine Worship*. This dissertation examined how *Divine Worship* itself is a part of the pastoral response to a particular need. *Anglicanorum Coetibus* is the first response to this pastoral need. *Divine Worship* is the ritualisation of the response to this pastoral need. That is, it is the provision of a proper liturgy, as an expression of the Roman Rite, that responds to the spiritual benefit of an identifiable group of people. It is precisely because of the identification of this particular group that *Divine Worship* is possible. This is the “actual congregation” of the argument from Bouyer and Beauduin.¹³⁴³ *Divine Worship* was approved as a pastoral response to meet the needs of this actual congregation. *Divine Worship* was not created first, and then a congregation sought out later.

In examining the pastoral implications of *Divine Worship*, a number of consequences become clear. Firstly, there is the reality that there are indeed pastoral implications, or consequences, of the fact that the Holy See has made this liturgical provision. This is not to claim that these pastoral implications are invincible. The fact that the Church makes ongoing

¹³⁴³ Louis BOUYER, *Life and Liturgy*, 15. “[W]e must not try to provide an artificial congregation to take part in an antiquarian Liturgy, but rather to prepare the actual congregations of the Church today to take part in the truly traditional Liturgy rightly understood.”

pastoral responses as she continues her pilgrim journey recognises that people are different. The pastoral needs of one person, or group, are different from another.

Certainly, the vast majority of survey respondents indicated positively that the language of *Divine Worship* was for them a great assistance in the living out of the Christian life, especially as it pertains to their participation in the liturgy, and as such drew them closer to God.

An immediate consequence of the style of language of *Divine Worship* is its intrinsic reverence. It is immediately identifiable from the language itself, and not just from its subject, that the language of God is being used. When the human consciousness realises that it is conversing in sacral vernacular – in God-speak – the entire person is challenged to move out of the sphere of mundane worldliness to the transcendent. Thus, we see the fundamental difference between banal language, which drags the person down to the lowest language of the world, and sacral language, which draws us to the heights of heaven.

A second consequence is closely related to this. This intrinsic reverence of language brings about an awareness of otherness, specifically that it is ordered to the ultimate “other”, God. This otherness is immediately manifest in sacral Latin, however for the English speaker, the language of *Divine Worship* represents a marriage between the otherness of Latin, and the intelligibility and resonances of the English language. As such, the language of *Divine Worship* is especially suited to bringing about an idea in the mind of heavenly things.

The distinctiveness of the language of *Divine Worship* also has consequences. The fact that it is different from normal speech invites anyone who uses it to engage with the language in a positive way. Its difference draws attention. This may play out in terms of didactics, or in terms of memory. A significant majority of survey respondents agreed that the distinction of language positively assists in terms of the memorability of the liturgy, and in the building up and nurturing of their faith.

A consequence of the language of *Divine Worship* is that it meets two of the primary stated goals of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. The first follows from the previous point, in that the liturgy is to be formative.¹³⁴⁴ The second is that the language of *Divine Worship* assists the congregation in their full, active and conscious participation in the liturgy.¹³⁴⁵

Finally, as a treasure to be shared, the language of *Divine Worship* formally brings into the liturgy of the Catholic Church a new, yet familiar vocabulary. It is a vocabulary that is known

¹³⁴⁴ Cf. SC 19.

¹³⁴⁵ Cf. SC 14.

to some extent by all Anglophone Catholics, who use Prayer Book English without knowing it whenever they pray the Lord's Prayer, or recite the Rosary.

To conclude, *Divine Worship* is an expression of the Roman Rite approved by the Holy See, which brings into the Catholic Church the language of the Anglican patrimony in a formal way as a gift "properly belonging to the Church of Christ".¹³⁴⁶ It does so

so as to maintain the liturgical, spiritual and pastoral traditions of the Anglican Communion within the Catholic Church, as a precious gift nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinariate and as a treasure to be shared.¹³⁴⁷

Divine Worship can certainly be seen in terms of what the Father of the Ordinariates, Benedict XVI, Joseph Ratzinger, described as the "rite",

that form of celebration and prayer which has ripened in the faith and the life of the Church, is a condensed form of living Tradition in which the sphere using that rite expresses the whole of its faith and its prayer, and thus at the same time the fellowship of generations one with another becomes something we can experience, fellowship with the people who pray before us and after us. Thus the rite is something of benefit that is given to the Church, a living form of *paradosis*, the handing-on of Tradition.¹³⁴⁸

May the language of *Divine Worship* indeed be "something of benefit that is given to the Church".¹³⁴⁹

¹³⁴⁶ AC, quoting LG 8. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 235.

¹³⁴⁷ AC III. English transl. in: CAVANAUGH, *Anglicans and the Roman Catholic Church*, 236 f.

¹³⁴⁸ RATZINGER, Preface, in: REID, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 11.

¹³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Appendix 1 – Survey Support Material

Support Material Sent to Parishes for the Surveys

Suggested bulletin notice...

Research into the Language of *Divine Worship*. Your input is requested for important Doctoral research being undertaken by Father Stephen Hill of the Personal Ordinariate of Our Lady of the Southern Cross. Father Hill is a doctoral student at the University of Vienna, and his dissertation is on the topic “The Language of *Divine Worship* and its Pastoral Implications”. The survey examines the importance of Sacral English within the Ordinariate and its pastoral significance to those who worship within Ordinariate Parishes. This international survey is an important scholarly development in understanding the particular patrimony of the Ordinariates within the Catholic Church. Your input is greatly appreciated. You can complete the survey online here:

<https://divineworship.limesurvey.net/537637?lang=en>.

For alternative ways to complete the survey, please see the flyer available at the church entrance.

Covering Letter

Fr Stephen Hill
109 Lennox St,
NEWTOWN. NSW. 2042
Australia

25th August, 2021.

Survey on the Language of *Divine Worship* and its Pastoral Implications

Dear Father,

I am writing to ask for your assistance in an important international research project in Liturgical Studies regarding our Ordinariate liturgy *Divine Worship*. This project is supervised and co-ordinated by Professor Hans Jürgen Feulner of the University of Vienna who is an expert in Anglican liturgy, and served on the commission established by the Holy See to prepare the *Divine Worship* liturgy for use in the Ordinariates. My doctoral research project is on the topic “The Language of *Divine Worship* and its Pastoral Implications”.

Central to my research is a survey asking the faithful for their input. I am asking for your assistance in distributing the survey within your parish. For the research to be successful, a significant number of replies are necessary. **This is where you come in. I am most grateful if you can please make your people aware of the survey and encourage them to complete it.** Please remind them more than once. There is no firm end date as such, but timely responses are welcome. The survey is not limited to canonical members of the Ordinariate, anyone who worships in the Ordinariate is welcome to complete it. The survey can be completed online, electronically via MS Word, or via hard copy.

There is also a short usage survey which is intended for you to complete. This survey will provide vital statistical information on the use of *Divine Worship* throughout the three Ordinariates.

Attached is a resource package that will assist with this task. The package includes:

- 1) Suggested bulletin notice for inclusion in your Parish Bulletin.
- 2) Flyer inviting people to participate. Please print these and leave them where people will find / see them. This flyer tells people how they can participate.

- 3) Survey – PDF. This is a version of the survey for printing out for people who prefer to use a hard copy format.
- 4) Survey – Word version. This is an MS Word version for people who want to complete the survey on their computer. If people ask for an electronic version, please give them this.
- 5) Usage Survey for you to complete – Word version. It is preferred to complete online via this link:

<https://divineworship.limesurvey.net/485663?lang=en>

Please note that online completion is preferred for both survey. The main survey is here:

<https://divineworship.limesurvey.net/537637?lang=en>

I have created an email address specifically for this project, which is:

divineworship.survey@gmail.com

If any of your parishioners return the survey to you, please forward it on to me at this email address. You can scan and email hard copies. As a last resort, if you are unable to scan a completed survey, you could post it to:

109 Lennox St,
Newtown. NSW. 2042.
Australia.

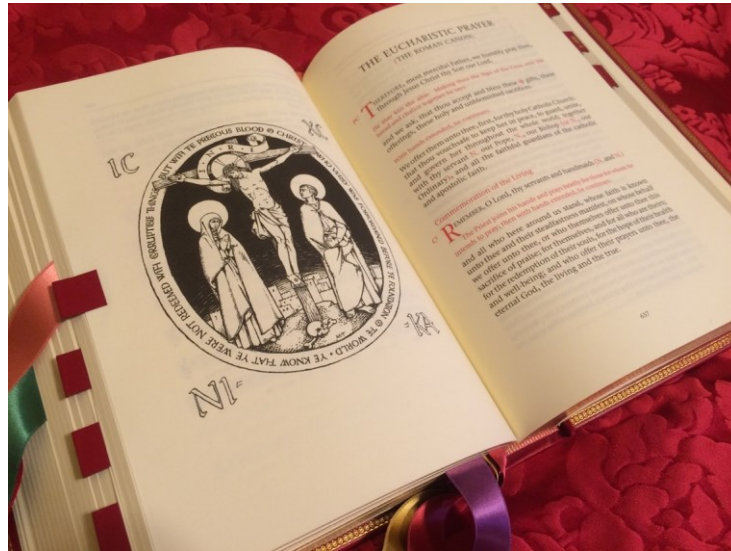
Father, I am very, very thankful for your assistance in encouraging as many people as possible to complete the survey (and of course you are very welcome to complete it yourself!).

With gratitude, and good wishes,

Fr Stephen Hill.

Doctoral Student, University of Vienna.

Is the sacral English of the Ordinariate liturgy important to you?



Your input is needed for an important research project on the Language of *Divine Worship* and its Pastoral Implications.

Father Stephen Hill is an Ordinariate Priest and doctoral student at the University of Vienna.

You can assist this important research by completing a Survey on the Language of *Divine Worship*.

There are three ways you can complete the Survey:

- 1) Complete the Survey online (preferred).
The online version of the survey is here:
<https://divineworship.limesurvey.net/537637?lang=en>
- 2) Complete the Survey electronically.
Your Priest can provide you an electronic version of the Survey for you to insert your responses into, or you can request one by emailing divineworship.survey@gmail.com
- 3) Complete a printed version of the Survey, which is available from your Priest.

Thank you for your assistance

Appendix 2 – Usage Survey

Survey for Pastors of Ordinariate Parishes

Introduction

Thank you for completing this survey, which is intended to be completed by Priests in charge of Ordinariate communities throughout the world. It complements the companion survey on the Language of *Divine Worship*. This survey is necessary so as to obtain data relating to the use of *Divine Worship*.

By completing this survey and returning it, you grant permission to Father Stephen Hill to make use of your answers in his Doctoral research project and dissertation at the University of Vienna.

Please answer all questions and give as complete and detailed answers as you are able to.

1. Community Details

a. Name of Community: _____

b. The Place where we worship is:

Please give full address including country where your community worships. If you worship in more than one location, please list where you have your main Sunday Mass.

c. This Place is a: Church or Oratory

Other: _____
(please describe)

2. Clergy Details

a. Mass in your community is regularly said by:

Tick all those that apply.

Ordinariate Priest

Priest from the local geographical Diocese

b. The Priest in charge:

Tick one only.

- is appointed only to the Ordinariate community
- is appointed as Administrator or Parish Priest of a local Diocesan parish
- is appointed as Assistant Priest of a local Diocesan parish
- We do not have a Priest in charge

c. Other Clergy:

Please indicate number of other Ordinariate clergy within your community in addition to the Priest in Charge. If there are none, please write '0'.

Assistant Priests: _____
Retired Priests: _____
Permanent Deacons: _____
Transitional Deacons: _____

3. Usage of *Divine Worship*

a. How many Sunday Masses (including Vigil Mass) does your community have using *Divine Worship*? _____

b. Across all Sunday Masses according to *Divine Worship*, what is your average Sunday attendance? _____

c. How many weekday Masses do you have according to *Divine Worship*?

d. What other regularly scheduled Ordinariate liturgies do you have?

Please list type of liturgy and frequency. Eg., Evensong, monthly.

e. If your community uses Hymn Books, please list below which ones are used.

Please return the completed survey to: divineworship.survey@gmail.com

Thank you for your assistance!

5. Attendance

a. **The Ordinariate Parish where I most regularly attend Mass is:**

Please provide name and location of community.

b. **I usually attend Mass at the Ordinariate:**

Tick the answer that best applies to you.

- Every Sunday
- Every fortnight
- 1-2 times a month
- 6-11 times a year
- Less than 6 times a year

c. **To travel to the Ordinariate community I usually attend Mass, my travelling time is usually:**

Tick the answer that best applies to you.

- Less than 30 minutes
- 30 minutes to one hour
- More than one hour

d. **I consider the Ordinariate to be my spiritual home:**

Yes

No

6. **Turning now to the style of language used in *Divine Worship*, the style of English used in the liturgy of the Ordinariate is known as Prayer Book English, the style of English used in the Book of Common Prayer.**

- a. **Mass is not the only way that the language of *Divine Worship* can be experienced. Please identify which of the following you have first-hand experience of within the Ordinariate:**

Tick all those that apply.

- Matins / Evensong, either publicly or privately
- Baptism
- Confirmation
- Funeral
- Wedding
- Communion of the Sick
- Sacrament of Reconciliation (Confession)
- Anointing of the Sick

- b. **Which of the following publications do you own?**

Tick all those that apply.

(If you have pre-ordered DW:DO Commonwealth edition, please select it)

- Divine Worship: The Missal – (study or altar edition)*
- Divine Worship: Occasional Services*
- Divine Worship: Pastoral Care of the Sick & Dying*
- Divine Worship: Daily Office, North American Edition*
- Divine Worship: Daily Office, Commonwealth Edition*
- CTS Ordinariate People's Missal*
- St Gregory's Prayer Book*
- St Peter Gradual*
- The Customary of Our Lady of Walsingham*

7. Thinking now of how the style of language of the Ordinariate liturgy assists you in your practise of the faith:

a. The style of language used in the Ordinariate helps me to feel closer to God.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b. The use of words forms an idea in the mind. I find the style of language used in the Ordinariate assists in forming an idea of heavenly things in my mind.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please describe how:

c. I find the language used in the Ordinariate helps in the building up of my faith.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please elaborate:

d. Now specifically comparing the language used in the Ordinariate to the Ordinary Form (*Novus Ordo*), I find the use of Prayer Book English better suited to the nurturing of my faith.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Why?

e. The style of language used in the Ordinariate makes the Mass more reverent.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

f. The way we speak with God in the liturgy should be different to everyday speech.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

g. The use of archaisms (older words not normally used in day-to-day English) helps in giving a liturgy a more sacred feel.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

h. I find the use of archaisms a distraction.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

i. I find the Ordinariate liturgy easy to understand.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

j. The style of language used in the Ordinariate assists in teaching me the faith.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

k. The style of language used in the Ordinariate makes the liturgy easier for me to remember.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

l. Please note specifically the parts of the Ordinariate liturgy that are most memorable in their language for you. For example, it might be “The Prayer of Humble Access” during Mass, or the “Magnificat” during Evensong. List as many as you wish:

m. The Second Vatican Council called for full, active and conscious participation in the liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* 14). The style of language used in the Ordinariate helps me to engage in the liturgy in a full, active and conscious way.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please describe how:

n. Hymn singing is an important part of the language of the Ordinariate. Please name your favourite hymns from the Ordinariate tradition which resonate specifically with you because of their language. List as many as you wish:

o. Please describe how, in your opinion, the language of the Ordinariate can assist in the missionary task of the Church in proclaiming the Gospel to those who do not yet know Christ:

p. The Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum Coetibus* describes the Anglican Patrimony as a *treasure to be shared*. Please describe *why* you consider the style of language of the Ordinariates a *treasure to be shared* with the broader Catholic Church.

Feel free to attach additional pages.

Please return the completed survey to your Priest, or email it to:
divineworship.survey@gmail.com

Thank you for your assistance!

List of Abbreviations

AAS	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i>
AC	<i>Anglicanorum Coetibus</i>
ASV	<i>American Standard Version</i> (of the Bible)
AT	<i>Anglicanae Traditiones</i>
AV	<i>Authorised Version</i>
BDW	<i>Book of Divine Worship</i>
CDF	Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (now known as the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith)
CDW	Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship
CDWDS	Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (now known as the Dicastery for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments)
DV	<i>Dei Verbum</i>
EDIL	<i>Enchiridion Documentorum Instaurationis Liturgicae</i>
GIRM	<i>General Instruction of the Roman Missal</i>
ICEL	International Commission on English in the Liturgy
IO	<i>Inter Oecumenici</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>
LA	<i>Liturgiam Authenticam</i>
LFMB	<i>Lay Folks Mass Book</i>
MD	<i>Mediator Dei</i>
MP	<i>Magnum Principium</i>
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OE	<i>Orientalium Ecclesiarum</i>
PSP	<i>Postquam Summus Pontifex</i>
RM	<i>Roman Missal</i>
RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i> (of the Bible)
RV	<i>Revised Version</i> (of the Bible)
SC	<i>Sacrosanctum Concilium</i>
SL	<i>Sacram Liturgiam</i>
SP	<i>Summorum Pontificum</i>
TC	<i>Traditionis Custodes</i>

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VL *Varietates Legitimae*

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the distinctiveness of the sacral English of *Divine Worship*, the most recent expression of the Roman Rite within the Catholic Church. The dissertation then examines the pastoral implications of this style of language.

As *Divine Worship* draws from the Anglican tradition, the dissertation firstly establishes historical context by examining the development of sacral English within England. Context within the Catholic Church is then established by examination of relevant Church documents on liturgical language, and by examining the place of *Divine Worship* as a legitimate variation of the Roman Rite according to the principles of inculturation. Furthermore, principles for sacral vernacular and the organic development of the liturgy are examined, with *Divine Worship* being evaluated with respect to these principles.

After having examined the linguistic distinctiveness of *Divine Worship*, the methodology and results of an international case study are presented. This case study was conducted by using two surveys. One examined the use of the *Divine Worship* liturgy in parishes. The second survey polled parishioners of parishes. This survey sought to determine from the parishioners themselves what it was that they thought were the pastoral implications of *Divine Worship*.

The dissertation sought to capture and reproduce as faithfully as possible a broad range of responses from parishioners. The results indicate that the distinctiveness of language of *Divine Worship* is, for the most part, pastorally positive for those who responded to the survey, especially in terms of worshipful reverence, active participation, formation and didactics, a union of otherness and intelligibility, and a continuity with tradition.

While the context of this study has been on one expression of the Roman Rite, its findings open up further research questions with respect to the pastoral implications of language in the broader context of the Roman Rite and liturgical studies in general.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Dissertation analysiert die besonderen Merkmale des sakralen Englisch des *Divine Worship*, der jüngsten Ausprägung des römischen Ritus innerhalb der Katholischen Kirche. Außerdem werden die pastoralen Auswirkungen dieses Sprachstils untersucht.

Da *Divine Worship* der anglikanischen Tradition entstammt, wird in der Dissertation zunächst eine historische Kontextualisierung vorgenommen, indem die Entwicklung des sakralen Englisch in England untersucht wird. Der Kontext innerhalb der Katholischen Kirche wird dann durch die Untersuchung einschlägiger kirchlicher Dokumente zur liturgischen Sprache und durch die Analyse der Stellung von *Divine Worship* als legitimer Variante des Römischen Ritus gemäß den Prinzipien der Inkulturation hergestellt. Darüber hinaus werden die Grundsätze für die sakrale Volkssprache und die organische Entwicklung der Liturgie untersucht, wobei *Divine Worship* im Hinblick auf diese Grundsätze bewertet wird.

Im Anschluss an die Untersuchung der besonderen sprachlichen Merkmale von *Divine Worship* werden die Methodik und die Ergebnisse einer internationalen Fallstudie vorgestellt. Diese Fallstudie wurde mit Hilfe von zwei Umfragen durchgeführt. Die erste untersuchte den Gebrauch der *Divine Worship*-Liturgie in den Gemeinden. Die zweite Umfrage galt den Gemeindemitgliedern der Kirchengemeinden und sollte ermitteln, was ihrer Meinung nach die pastoralen Auswirkungen von *Divine Worship* sind.

In der Dissertation wurde versucht, ein möglichst breites Spektrum an Antworten von Gemeindemitgliedern zu erfassen und wiederzugeben. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass die Kennzeichen der Sprache von *Divine Worship* von den Befragten größtenteils positiv bewertet werden, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Ehrfurcht im Gottesdienst, die aktive Teilnahme, die Bildung und Didaktik, die Verbindung von Andersartigkeit und Verständlichkeit sowie die Kontinuität mit der Tradition.

Obwohl sich diese Studie auf eine bestimmte Ausprägung des Römischen Ritus bezieht, eröffnen ihre Ergebnisse weitere Forschungsfragen im Hinblick auf die pastoralen Implikationen der Sprache im breiteren Kontext des Römischen Ritus und der Liturgiewissenschaft im Allgemeinen.